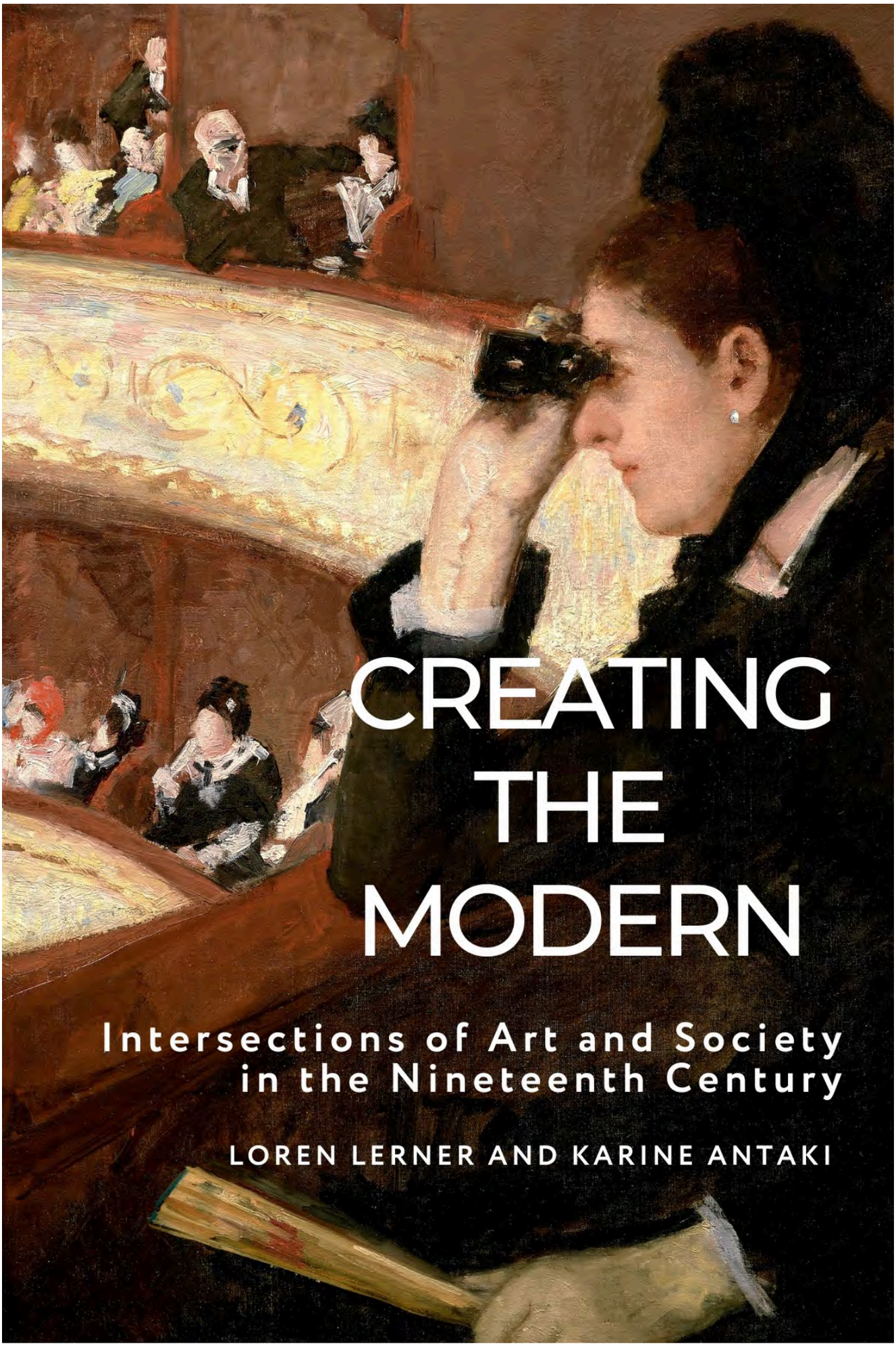

CREATING
THE
MODERN
Intersections of Art and Society
in the Nineteenth Century
LOREN LERNER AND KARINE ANTAKI

CREATING THE MODERN by Loren Lerner and Karine Antaki is licensed under a Creative Commons Attribution 4.0 International License, except where otherwise noted.

Cover image: Mary Cassatt, *In the Loge*, 1878. Oil on canvas. 81 x 66 cm. Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.

CREATING THE MODERN

Intersections of Art & Society in the Nineteenth Century

LOREN LERNER AND KARINE ANTAKI

CONTENTS

Chapter One



Gustave Courbet and Revolutionary Realism

Chapter Two



Édouard Manet and Modern Life

Chapter Three



Female Labour and Prostitution in Paris

Chapter Four



Berthe Morisot, Mary Cassatt and the Affluent Woman's World

Chapter Five



The Modern Portrait in Photography and Impressionist Painting

Chapter Six



Claude Monet and the Impressionist Landscape

Chapter Seven



Paul Gauguin and the Colonial Myth of Primitivism

Chapter Eight



Madness and Modernity

Chapter Nine



Black Slavery, Racism and Modernity

Chapter Ten



Religious and Racial Antisemitism and the Jewish Artist

BIBLIOGRAPHY

BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCHES

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

YouTube VIDEOS

CONTRIBUTORS

About the Authors

Loren Lerner

Loren Lerner is professor emerita of the Department of Art History, Concordia University. She was contributing editor of *Depicting Canada's Children* (2009) and *Afterimage: Evocations of the Holocaust in Contemporary Canadian Arts and Literature* (2002); editor of *Canadian Film and Video: A Bibliography and Guide to the Literature Film et video canadiens: bibliographie et guide de la documentation* (1997, print and eBook) and co-editor of *Art and Architecture in Canada: A Bibliography and Guide to the Literature/ Art et architecture au Canada: bibliographie et guide de la documentation* (1991, print and eBook). Selected publications include: « François-Marc Gagnon et ses publications » (2021); "George Agnew Reid's Paintings in Relation to English Canadian Collective Memories of Rural Childhood in Nineteenth- and Early-Twentieth-Century Canada" (2019); "Youth and Sunlight: Reflections of Childhood" (2019); and "The Manipulation of Indigenous Imagery to Represent Canadian Childhood and Nationhood in 19th Century Canada" (2018). Lerner taught undergraduate courses focusing on 19th century art: "ARTH 366 Aspects of 19th Century Western Art and Architecture: The Changing Idea of the Avant-Garde in Nineteenth and Early Twentieth-Century Painting," "ARTH 262 Studies in Drawing: The Creative Drawing from the 19th Century to the Present Day" and "ARTH 298 Special Topics in Genre Studies: The Human Face."

Karine Antaki

Karine Antaki is an art historian and independent curator and art consultant. She was the former Director/ Curator of the Leonard and Bina Ellen Art Gallery at Concordia University, Director and Canadian Art Specialist at Heffel Fine Art Montreal, and Program Director and Instructor at Centennial College. She has curated numerous Canadian art exhibitions, including *Flight: Gabriella Kardos*; *Massimo Guerrera Porus*; *Between Body and Soul* with David Liss; *Les mystères objectifs. Remembering le refus global*; *Spring Hurlbut: L'ascension*; *Tony Scherman: Les Funérailles de Banquo*; *Ordinary Magic: Aspects of Ritual in Contemporary Art*; *Joanne Tod: The (dis) Order of Things*; *Temporal Borders: Image & Site; Montréal Women Artists of the 1950's*; and *Emily Coonan (1885 -1971)*. CEGEP courses taught in the disciplines of art history, cultural studies and film studies include "Twentieth Century Art and Culture: A Global View," "Contemporary Canadian Cinema and Television," "Art and Communications," "Art and Culture in Canada," "Contemporary Quebec Art," and "The Mix: Art and History in Studio."

Contributors

Authors

The creation of this OER suited to visual studies is a direct result of the years of pedagogical practice and dedication to the discipline of art history by Loren Lerner, an art historian much beloved by decades of students who have passed through Concordia University's Department of Art History. It is equally the result of Lerner's collaboration with curator Karine Antaki as the book's co-author and designer. Her design and art historical background and her collaboration with librarians and students to implement the resulting web design contributed significantly to the realization of the project.

Students

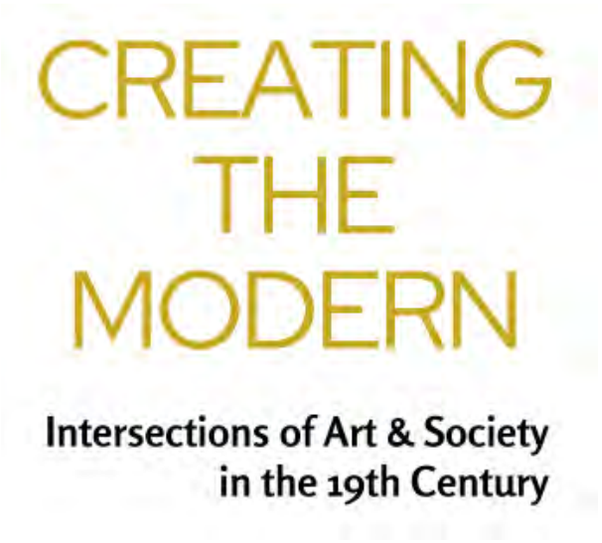
Concordia University's Open Educational Resources program run through the Library made this open textbook project possible. As successful Create Grant recipients, the authors, Loren Lerner and Karine Antaki, with the backing of Cynthia Hammond, Professor, Department of Art History, worked closely with Concordia's students in the Art History program. Through the Create Grant, students August Fallone, Emma Dye, Louis-Philippe Savard, and Elliot Mann produced image citations for the public domain images, bibliographic citations for an extensive bibliography of online and print resources, biographical sketches and artist video vignettes on YouTube. Special thanks go to Elliot Mann for his extensive work, integrating the images, their citations, and alt text into Pressbooks in accordance with the open textbook's design protocols.

Librarians

We are also deeply grateful for the support of Rachel Harris, Scholarly Publishing Librarian, who leads Concordia's OER program. As a researcher who focuses on the intersections between art history and book history, she recognized the importance of this project's value as an accessible open textbook at its inception. Harris offered extensive consultations to support the project from the beginning to its launch. Her understanding of the evolving design needs, facilitation of workflows, and co-development of solutions in collaboration with library colleagues contributed to a well-designed accessible book with text-image pairings in Pressbooks. We are grateful to Pamela Carson, Web Services Librarian, for her expertise in testing and finding the limits within Pressbooks and co-finding solutions to fulfill the designer's intent. With her skills in web design and accessibility standards, Carson developed a way forward with CSS and HTML templates for the customization needs of the project, and offered mentorship for their implementation.

Acknowledgements

We thank students Ava Fallone, Emma Dye, Louis-Philippe Savard, Elliot Mann, and librarians Rachel Harris and Pamela Carson for their pivotal contributions. We also thank Dr. Cynthia Hammond, Professor of Art History at Concordia University, for recognizing the value of this e-publication for the study of nineteenth-century art and for making it possible for us to receive a substantial grant from Concordia University Libraries.



INTRODUCTION

NINETEENTH-CENTURY ART HISTORY is an extensive field of study that intersects with diverse areas of the humanities and social sciences. New research continues to expand our understanding of the era's modernist ideation and cultural production. The aim of *Creating the Modern* is to facilitate access to the research by providing an online platform readily available to learners interested in examining the relationships between art, society and culture at the dawn of modernism.

Creating the Modern comprises ten chapters structured around general and specialized topics within an overarching chronology. In addition to addressing the era's revolutionary aesthetic and stylistic developments, the e-publication engages issues relevant to nineteenth-century art within its socio-political context. Topics such as class and gender, academism and the avant-garde, the reception and consumption of progressive art, the culture of spectatorship, psycho-social illness, Eurocentrism, and religious and racial prejudice encourage a multi-faceted understanding of how the narrative of nineteenth-century art is a narrative intrinsically attached to the problematics, and promise, of emerging modernity.

The source material for *Creating the Modern* was gathered and collated exclusively from online publications, facilitating access and use and affording students and scholars across disciplines opportunities for further research and knowledge production. Extracts from original sources include texts by art historians, artists, philosophers, critics, and theorists, providing an expanded context of the artistic, literary, scientific, and social conditions that informed modern art. As an Open Education Resource (OER), *Creating the Modern* permits no-cost re-use, re-purpose, adaptation, and redistribution by others. To increase its accessibility and use, *Creating the Modern* is available through two formats: Pressbooks, an open-book creation platform best suited for re-adaptation, web-accessibility, and reading on Kindle and other web devices, and PDF, best suited for printing.

NAVIGATING THE WEB-VERSION

CONTENTS

Labelled "contents," a navigation menu drops down from the top left-hand side of the open textbook in a typical web browser on a computer. It is also accessible to screenreaders. Notice that the + sign reveals the descriptive themes that comprise each chapter's subsections.

SEARCH BOX

Notice the “search in book” and magnifying glass. It appears at the top right corner of a typical web browser on a computer and under a waffle menu on your phone/mobile device. Search the entire book for useful terms or artist names. For example, search results for v**an gogh** indicate the sections where the artist’s name appears. After arriving at a relevant section, a control find helps to skim all passages for **Van Gogh** or other terms of choice. While the search is not case-sensitive, otherwise spelling the name or term differently from how it appears in the book will affect the results.

MULTIMEDIA CONTENT

In this image-rich open textbook, each image caption includes the option to **view the source**. You can quickly get to the image source; these hyperlinks allow you to see the details closer. Finally, amongst the helpful appendixes, which include a bibliography, biographical sketches of the artists, and a complete list of illustrations, the Youtube VIDEOS section offers links to instructional videos suited to each theme.

Chapter One

GUSTAVE COURBET & Revolutionary Realism



Gustave Courbet, *Le Désespéré*, 1843-45. Oil on canvas. 45 x 54 cm. Private Collection. View Source.

CONTENTS

Introduction

1.1

Revolution and Reform

1.2

Capturing Contemporary History: The Artist as Witness

1.3

Caricature and Social Critique

1.4

Realism and the Democratization of Art

1.5

Radical Realists: The Advent of the Avant-Garde

1.6

Gustave Courbet and the Paris Salon

1.7

Painting Ordinary People: Elevating the Humble Hero

1.8

A Class in Transition: Courbet's *Young Ladies*

1.9

Art, Patronage, and the Outsider Artist

1.10

Inside *The Artist's Studio*

INTRODUCTION

The Realist Movement in France embodied the aspirations of the cultural avant-garde during a period marked by social, political, and economic upheaval. In the mid-nineteenth century, a demand for revolutionary change in art, paralleling the calls for reform in literature, resonated with the broader movement for democratic change in modern Europe. Radical thinkers in France championed sincerity in art and advocated for thematic content that authentically reflected the realities of contemporary life. The Realist Movement, thus, emerged as a response to the prevailing sentiment that art should engage with and depict the genuine experiences of the time.



Gustave Courbet, *The Stone Breakers*, 1849. Oil on canvas. 165 x 257 cm. Gemäldegalerie, Dresden (destroyed during World War II). View Source

Realism gained ground during the French Second Empire as a politically motivated art movement. It rejected Romanticism's irrelevant subjects, all things exotic and imaginary, and a sensorial aesthetic meant to visually entice. Instead, Realist artists sought out the commonplace and contemporary, real people and events painted in shockingly unembellished terms. Just as literary figures like Émile Zola and Honoré de Balzac fictionalized urban workers and the rural poor, painters eschewed history's grand narratives and personages to make heroes of ordinary women and men.

Gustave Courbet, a painter and provocateur, played a pivotal role in spearheading French Realism. As a self-proclaimed 'avant-gardist,' he boldly flouted academic conventions and challenged traditional rules of artistic representation. Aligned with socialist ideology, Courbet fervently advocated for the democratization of art, aiming to make it more inclusive and accessible to the working proletariat.

This chapter aims to delve into the socio-political and cultural context that gave rise to Realism and facilitated its flourishing. Courbet's collaborations with literary figures and early avant-garde thinkers, his publication of the Realist Manifesto, and his confrontations with the Académie des Beaux-Arts not to mention his several *succès de scandale* at the Paris Salons, will be examined for their contributions to a movement that revolutionized European painting. Additionally, his numerous *succès de scandale* at the Paris Salons will be discussed for their contribution to a movement that revolutionized European painting and laid the ground for the emergence of modernist art.

1.1
| Revolution and Reform

The revolutions of 1848 were a series of widespread republican rebellions throughout Europe. Democratic and liberal in concept, these uprisings were attempts at overthrowing monarchical systems of governance and replacing them with elected nation-states. Beginning in France with the February Revolution of 1848, political upheaval spread rapidly across fifty countries. The dissenting movements generally consisted of temporary coalitions of reformers, labourers and middle-class agitators. Although many revolutions were suppressed

and short-lived, they had important political ramifications. Probably the most significant of these was the dismantling of France's July Monarchy and the proclamation of the Second Republic.



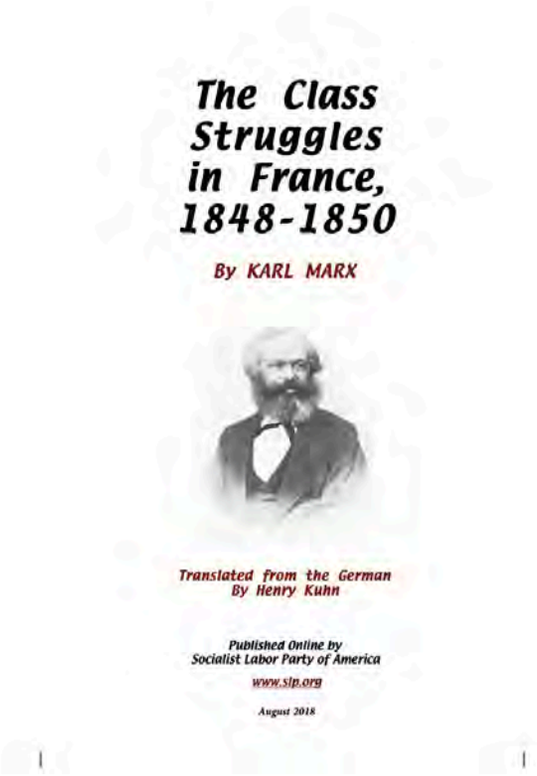
Franz Xaver Winterhalter, *Louis Philippe I, King of the French from 1830 to 1848*, 1841. Oil on canvas. Palace of Versailles. View Source

Louis-Philippe I ruled as the "King of the French," rejecting the pageantry of the Bourbons and introducing broad-based reforms during his early reign. These included religious equality for Catholics and Protestants, electoral reforms, the re-establishment of the National Guard to empower citizens, and his government's adherence to a politically motivated *juste milieu*. By 1840, however, the regime had settled into static stability. The result was that actual power was in the hands of the wealthy who were elevated socially by industrialization.

In *The Class Struggles in France, 1848-1850*, articles written by Karl Marx for the newspaper *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* in 1850, collated and republished as a book in 1895 by Friedrich Engels, Marx writes:

> After the July revolution, when the liberal banker, Lafitte, conducted his compeer, the Duke of Orleans, in triumph to the Hotel de Ville, the former uttered the words: 'From now on the bankers will rule.' Lafitte had revealed the secret of the revolution. Not the French bourgeoisie ruled under Louis-Philippe, but only a faction of the same, bankers, kings of the stock exchange, railroad kings, owners of coal and iron mines and of forests, a part of the land-owning element allied with them—the so-called aristocracy of

finance. It sat upon the throne, dictated laws to the Chambers and handed out the political jobs from the Ministry down to the Tobacco Bureau.



Karl Marx, *The Class Struggles in France, 1848–1850*. With an introduction by Frederick Engels. Translated from the German by Henry Kuhn. National Executive Committee, Socialist Labor Party, first printing, 1924; online edition, 2018. View Source

Marx, a German radical political and economic philosopher and theorist with contributions from his friend and collaborator Friedrich Engels, wrote *The Communist Manifesto* (1848), a pamphlet that succinctly described their theory of historical materialism and predicted the overthrow of capitalism by the industrial proletariat.



Honoré Daumier, *The Uprising*, ca. 1848. Oil on canvas. 87.6 x 113 cm. Phillips Collection, Washington View Source

The July Monarchy was a regime with which the urban workers were profoundly dissatisfied, moved by their misery and the haunting promise of social equality that was instilled by the French Revolution of 1789. This segment of society perceived government policies as veiled attempts to reinforce their power and influence. Other factors, too, exacerbated their discontent. In 1846 a crop failure quickly developed into a full-scale economic crisis: food became scarce and expensive, many businesses went bankrupt, and unemployment rose. There were signs of moral crisis within the governing elite: scandals that implicated some high officials of the regime and growing dissension among the notables.

Along with this was a severe alienation of many intellectuals. For a decade or more, the French proletariat and the middle class had been increasingly drawn toward socialist politics in their various utopian forms. The years 1830 to 1848 were marked by an unprecedented flowering of socialist thought that called for changes that would promote equality and empower a broader constituency of the French population. Fuelled by this rhetoric, a democratic revolution led by the bourgeois population erupted in February of 1848. The upheaval resulted in the Monarchy's overthrow and the proclamation of a French Republic.

By June 1848, the makeshift improvements to the conditions of Paris workers were so negated by the government's right-leaning policies that full-scale fighting broke out in the working districts. The immediate consequence was a brief and bloody civil war in Paris, the so-called June Days (June 23–26, 1848). Thousands of workers suddenly cut off from the state payroll, were joined by sympathizers—students, artisans, and employed workers—in a spontaneous protest movement which led to intense confrontation between the protestors and the National Guard. As the altercation progressed, the insurgents erected makeshift barricades in the streets and armed themselves with weapons they seized in the armouries.



Source gallica.bnf.fr / Bibliothèque nationale de France

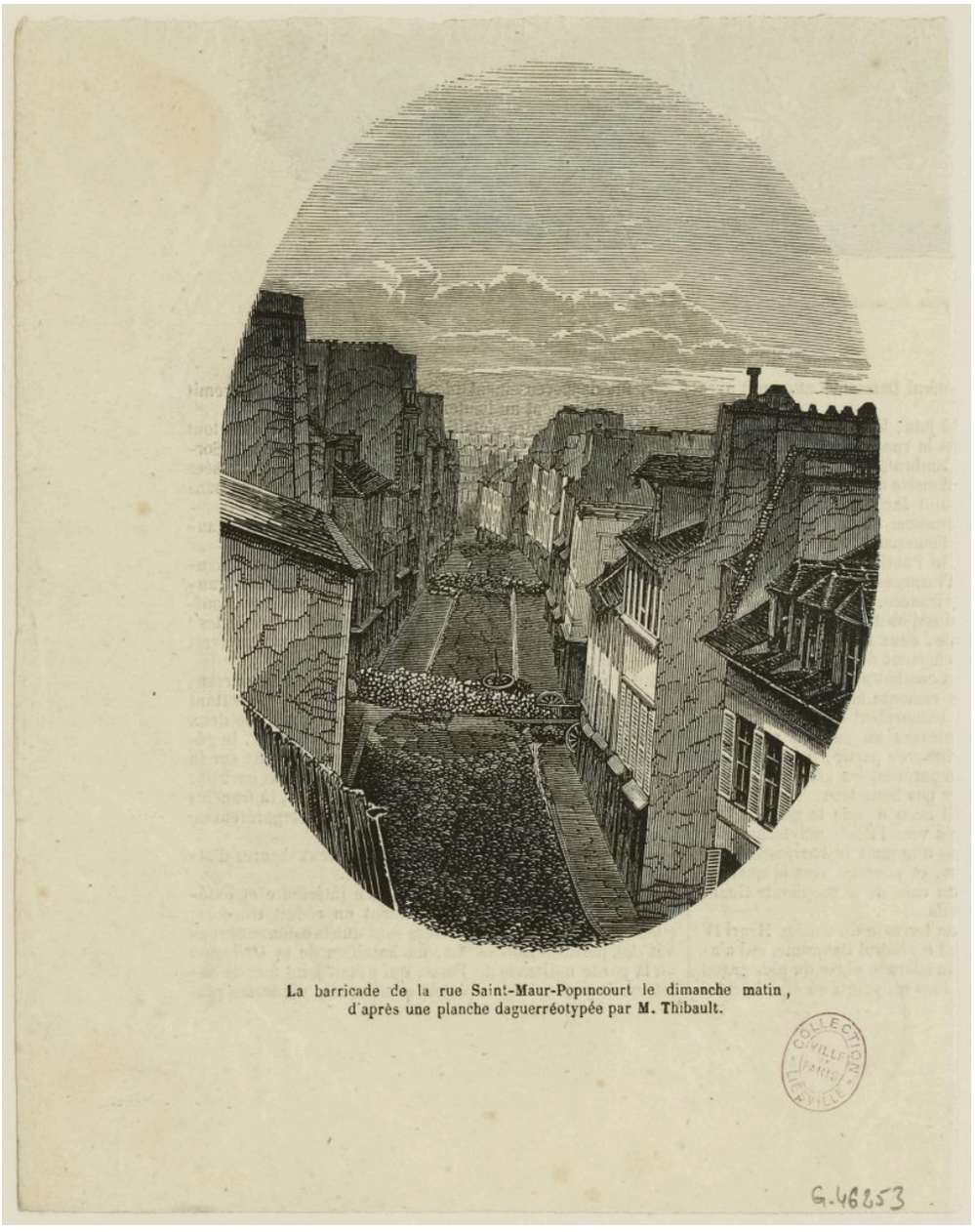
Ange-Louis Janet, *Louis-Eugène Cavaignac*, ca. 1872. Lithograph. Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris. View Source



Charles François Thibault, *Barricades rue Saint-Maur-Popincourt avant l'attaque par les troupes du général Lamoricière, le dimanche 25 juin 1848*, 1848. Daguerrotype. 11.7 x 15 cm.Musée d'Orsay, Paris. View Source



Charles François Thibault, *Barricades rue Saint-Maur-Popincourt après l'attaque par les troupes du général Lamoricière, le lundi 26 juin 1848*, 1848. Daguerrotype. 12.7 x 10.4 cm. Musée d'Orsay, Paris. View Source



Charles François Thibault, *"La barricade de la rue Saint-Maur-Popincourt le Dimanche matin, d'après une planchet daguerréotypée par M. Thibault,"* woodcut engraving, L'Illustration, July 8, 1848, 276. View Source

The pair of daguerreotypes above, showing the revolutionaries' barricades on the rue Saint-Maur before and after the army's attacks, circulated widely as woodcut engravings in *L'Illustration*—a French newspaper. As such, they were among the earliest photo-based newspaper illustrations. It wasn't until the widespread implementation of the halftone printing process in the 1880s that photographs could be faithfully reproduced in the press.

1.2
| Capturing Contemporary History: The Artist as Witness

During and after 1848, artists and intellectuals in France were compelled to address the alarming events they witnessed. Many believed that regardless of the immediate outcome of the June Days insurrection, a new stage in social politics had been reached in which circumstances pressed working-class people to forge alliances to defend their opinions. These increasingly mobilized groups advocated for a radical restructuring not just of

single policies or governments but of society itself. Artists played an important role in this widespread cultural shift.



Ernest Meissonier, *The Barricade*, 1848. Watercolour. 26 x 21 cm. Musée d'Orsay, Paris. View Source

The French Classicist painter Ernest Meissonier (1815–1891) was a National Guard artillery captain during the June Days. Traditionally a middle-class body, the Guard now allied itself with the Republican revolutionaries—a change in allegiance which reflected a general erosion in the popularity of Louis-Philippe and his "Bourgeois Monarchy" rather than any fundamental change in the Guard's makeup. As an artist as well as a soldier, Meissonier painted the horror that he witnessed first-hand. *The Barricade*, a quickly sketched watercolour, depicts the aftermath of civil unrest in a direct, unfiltered way. He would later write:

> When the barricade in the rue de la Mortellerie was taken, I realized all the horror of such warfare. I saw the defenders shot down, hurled out of windows, the ground strewn with corpses, the earth red with the blood it had not yet drunk (T.J. Clark, *The Absolute Bourgeois: Artists and Politics in France, 1848–1851*, 27).



Ernest Meissonier, *The Barricade, Rue de la Mortellerie, June 1848, also known as Remembrance of Civil War*, ca.1850-51. Oil on canvas. 29 x 22 cm. Musée du Louvre, Paris.
View Source

Meissonier would return to a similar composition years later with an oil on canvas rendition of *The Barricade*. Though tiny, this work depicts the horrific outcome of the insurrection in all its fullness. Painted in muted greys, blacks, and browns, the street scene is abandoned; the shutters of the buildings are closed, underscoring the silent finality of the battle's aftermath. The foreground, in contrast, is animated by colour: the jewel-like paving stones, the smocks of red, blue, and white, and the stain of blood, these colours echoing those of the Republican flag. This disquieting pictorial strategy ensures that the viewer's visual focus is drawn to the inanimate corpses strewn across the rubbled ground.



Ernest Meissonier, *Study for The Barricade*, 1848. Graphite, black crayon. 40 x 50 cm. Musée d'Art et d'Histoire, Poissy. View Source



Ernest Meissonier, *Study of an Insurgent*, ca. 1848-50. Graphite, black crayon, and gouache. 11.9 x 16 cm. Private collection. Reproduced from Constance Cain Hungerford, *"Meissonier's Souvenir de guerre civile,"* Art Bulletin 61, no. 2 (June 1979): 286. View Source

In Meissonier's works, the depiction of dead revolutionaries is characterized by a sense of equality. Absent are any visual indicators of weaponry such as guns, pistols, or swords. The absence of a discernible leader, slogans on the walls, or placards contributes to a scene devoid of explicit revolutionary symbolism. The street itself lacks distinctive features, with no road signs or shop names.

However, Meissonier, drawing inspiration from the models he used for this purpose, ensures individualization among the deceased. Each figure is portrayed as distinct from the others, with unique facial features and a distinct physical presence. Despite this individuality, a sense of unity emerges through their shared brutal

fate. The absence of overt political symbols allows for a more universal representation of the human cost of revolution, emphasizing the shared tragedy experienced by each individual depicted.



Jean-Louis-Ernest Meissonier, *Napoleon III at the Battle of Solferino*, 1863. Oil on canvas. 3.5 cm x 76 cm. View Source

While Meissionier's *La Barricade* is a passionate condemnation of the government's brutal suppression of the 1848 riots, he is best known for his later depictions of Napoleon's armies and military themes.

1.3
| Caricature and Social Critique

Honoré-Victorin Daumier, in stark contrast to Meissonier, dedicated a significant portion of his artistic output to critiquing French politics and social life spanning from the Revolution of 1830 to the fall of the second Napoleonic Empire in 1870. Daumier was a fervent Republican democrat, and his satirical caricatures took aim at various political factions, including Royalists, Bonapartists, and politicians of the time. Particularly during the reign of Louis Philippe, Daumier's political cartoons served as provocative indictments against what he saw as a corrupt ruling class. Through his biting and often incisive visual commentary, Daumier contributed significantly to the critical discourse on the political landscape of 19th-century France.



Honoré Daumier, *Gargantua*, 1831. Lithograph. 23.5 x 30.6 cm. Yale University Art Gallery, New Haven. View Source

First published in the journal *La Caricature*, Daumier's unflattering depiction of Louis-Philippe as a giant "Gargantua" devouring the resources of France's beleaguered lower classes earned him a six-month prison sentence for insulting the king. When political satires became illegal in 1835, he turned his attention to images of French society.



Honoré Daumier, *The Uprising*, ca. 1848. Oil on canvas. 87.6 x 113 cm. Phillips Collection, Washington. View Source

Unlike his mocking representations of officials and the bourgeoisie, Daumier's paintings of the working class are sober works, sympathetically rendered. In *Uprising*, the artist depicts the protest from the perspective of the men and women involved, not from a distance, but as a direct experience. In this painting, a white-smocked worker leads an insurgent crowd, his arm raised in defiance, his mouth frozen in a battle cry. Marching beside him on the left is another worker in a *chapeau melon*(bowler hat), his features cast in shadow. The silhouette of a bourgeois in the front line is barely discernible save for the distinctive shape of his top hat. Another in similar dress rises above the multitude from behind the central figure. This second man's deportment appears to align with the crowd's leader, though indicated only by the tilt of his head and the few black smudges that mark out his visage. Together these men press forward in unison, with women and children visible among their ranks. Violent references (blood, weapons, the smoke of gunfire, the barricades) are deliberately left out. These workers are on the move, their actions spontaneous; they do not carry guns. Instead, the rebellion is described through the crowd's unity of purpose. This solidarity is the subject of the work.



Honoré Daumier, *The Third-Class Carriage*, ca. 1863-65. Oil on canvas. 65.4 x 90.2 cm. National Gallery of Canada, Ottawa. View Source

Daumier's artistic focus extended beyond addressing specific events, such as the riots of 1848, to portraying the everyday challenges faced by the lower classes. In works like "The Third-Class Carriage" (one of three canvases sharing this title), Daumier sheds light on the disparities within modern transportation. The lowest-rate railway carriages, as depicted in the painting, were cramped, often unclean, and equipped with uncomfortable wooden seats. The passengers in Daumier's portrayal are closely packed together, traveling in silence, which conveys a sense of quiet resignation. Through such depictions, Daumier not only engaged with the political and social issues of his time but also offered a poignant commentary on the daily struggles endured by those in the lower socioeconomic strata.

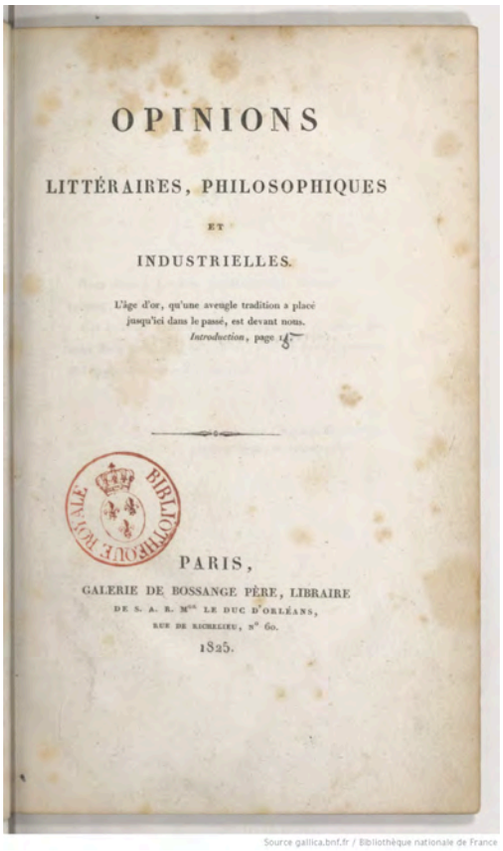
1.4
| Realism and the Democratization of Art

During the period when French society was advocating for democratic reform, avant-garde artists aimed to democratize art by turning their attention to "the everyman." Before the mid-nineteenth century, the gritty and challenging life of the working classes was seldom a subject of artistic representation. When it was depicted, bourgeois painters often approached the subject with sentimentality and distant compassion, lacking a genuine engagement with the realities faced by the working class. The avant-garde, in its pursuit of democratizing art, sought to bridge this gap and bring attention to the everyday struggles and experiences of the common people in a more authentic and relatable manner.



François Gérard, *Portrait de Juliette Récamier, née Bernard (1777-1849)*, ca. 1802-05. Oil on canvas. 257 x 183 cm. Musée Carnavalet, Paris. View Source

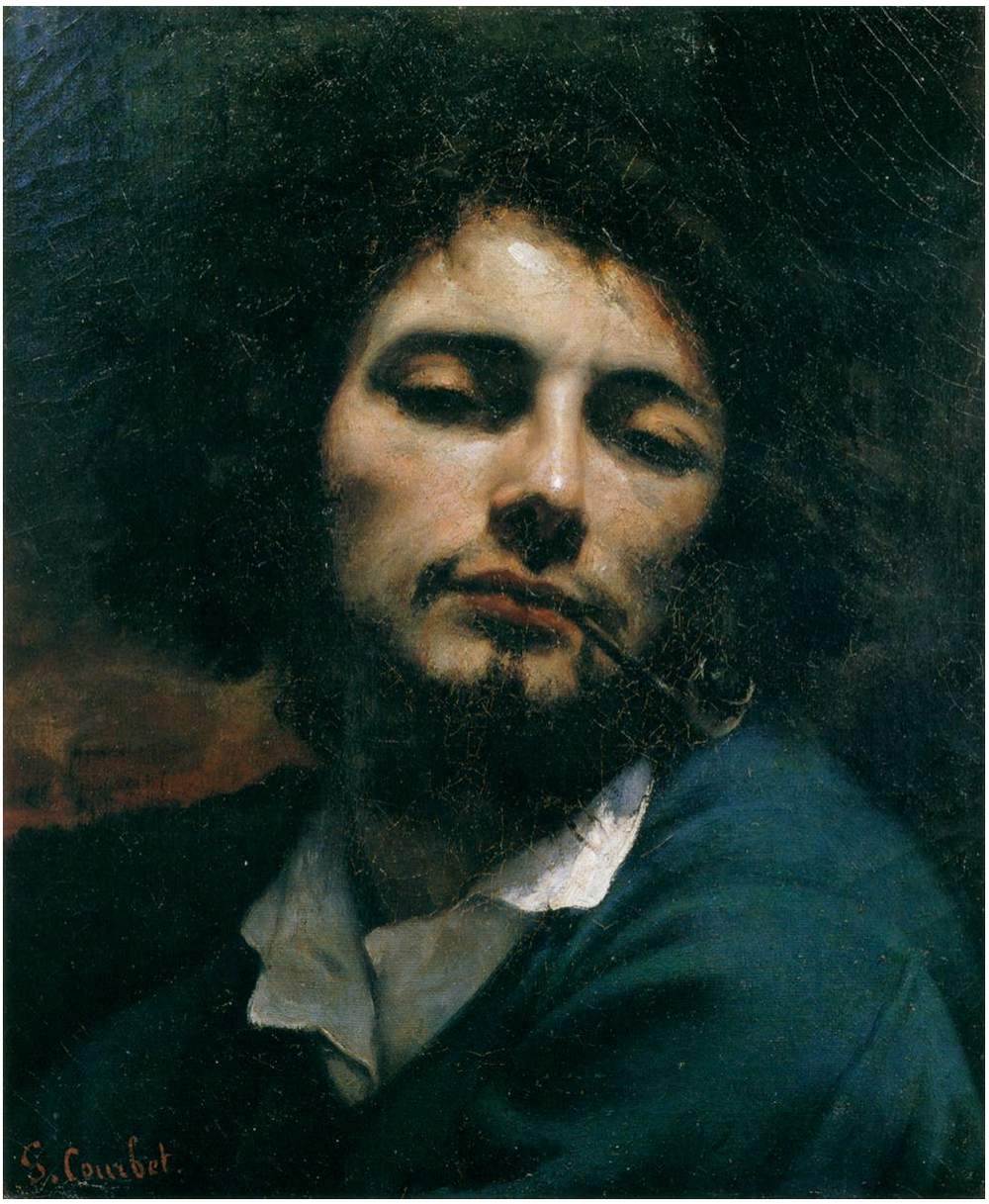
While it's important to acknowledge the diverse and, at times, contradictory approaches within the avant-garde Realist painters, the movement collectively rejected the "escapist" narratives associated with Classical Idealism. This rejection extended to the emphasis on Graeco-Roman standards of form, composition, theme, and subject, as epitomized in François Gérard's portrait of Juliette Récamier. In contrast, Realists infused their work with allusions to the modern age, reflecting the profound disruption of historical continuity experienced by the entire population of Europe.



Léon Halévy and Henri Saint-Simon, *Opinions littéraires, philosophiques et industrielles* (Paris: Galerie de Bossange Père, 1825) View Source

The term "avant-garde" first emerged within the context of art and culture at the beginning of the nineteenth century. The influential French thinker Henri de Saint-Simon, one of the forerunners of socialism, believed that artists, alongside scientists and industrialists, held social power and responsibility. In his 1825 book *Opinions littéraires, philosophiques et industrielles* (*Literary, Philosophical, and Industrial Opinions*), Saint-Simon wrote:

> It is we artists who will serve you as avant-garde … the power of the artists is in fact most immediate and most rapid: when we wish to spread ideas among men, we inscribe them on marble or on canvas … What a magnificent destiny for the arts is that of exercising a positive power over society, a true priestly function, and of marching forcefully in the van[guard] of all the intellectual faculties. (Quoted by Donald Egbert, "The Idea of the Avant Garde in Art and Politics," *American Historical Review* 73 (December 1967): 343)



Gustave Courbet, *Self-Portrait with Pipe*, ca. 1848-1849. Oil on canvas. 45.8 cm x 37.8 cm. Fabre Museum, Montpellier. View Source

Gustave Courbet emerged as the trailblazer who challenged artistic conventions by portraying real people, including rural peasants and the impoverished urban class, in an unembellished manner. Rebelling against heroic and romantic themes, he consistently clashed with academic authorities and was considered an affront to polite society. Regarded as the pioneer of Realism in France, Courbet's public disdain for the Paris Salon and the broader French art establishment influenced like-minded artists desperate to break away from the strict canon of academic art.

Courbet was born to a family of prosperous farmers in the village of Ornans, near Besançon, in the region of central-eastern France called the Franche-Comté. His country upbringing instilled in him a natural kinship with *le peuple*, the working peasants whose lives were threatened by the changing values of industrial modernity and whose plight he determined to bring to light. In this way, his progressive ideas about art paralleled revolutionary politics. Courbet's progressive ideas about art ran parallel to revolutionary politics, and his radical Realism, functioning as a vehicle for social and political change, positioned him as one of the first avant-garde artists.

Self-Portrait with Pipe was bought from the artist in 1854, by his patron Alfred Bruyas. In a letter to Bruyas that same year Courbet described the painting as "the portrait of a fanatic, an ascetic … of a man disillusioned with the stupidities that have served as his education, and who seeks to establish himself in his principles."



Gustave Courbet, *Self-Portrait with Black Dog*, 1842. Oil on canvas. 27 x 23 cm. Musée municipal de Pontarlier. View Source



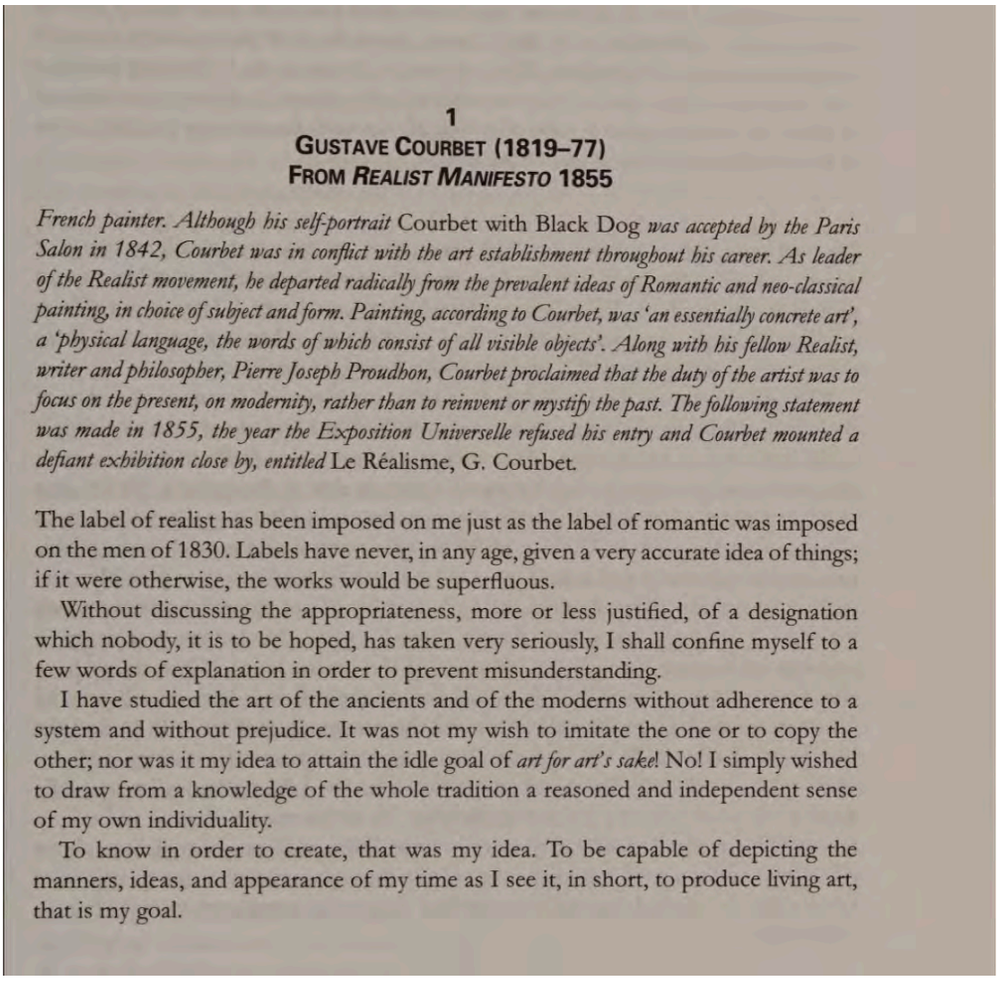
Parmigianino, *Self-Portrait in a Convex Mirror*, ca. 1523-24. Oil on poplar wood. 24.4 cm (diameter). Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna. View Source

Courbet's self-portraits from the 1840s, characterized by their honesty and directness, reveal his self-exploration as a budding artist without resorting to sentiment or allegory. In SELF-PORTRAIT WITH BLACK DOG, the artist's introspective character is evident, especially in the gentleness with which he holds his dog, conveying a sensitive nature that elicits a sympathetic response from the viewer. The composition of the image bears a resemblance to Parmigianino's 1523 self-portrait, where the hand is distorted due to the use of a convex mirror. This positioning of the right hand in Courbet's self-portrait may allude to the manual dexterity of the painter, offering a glimpse into the artist's skills and temperament.



Gustave Courbet, *Self-Portrait with Black Dog*, ca. 1842-44. Oil on canvas. 46.3 x 55.5 cm. Petit Palais, Paris. View Source

Courbet painted a second *Self-Portrait with Black Dog* in 1842, which he reworked in 1844 and exhibited at the Paris Salon that year. His self-image captures his transformation from a provincial youth to an urbane artist. Courbet intended to study law when he arrived in Paris in 1839 but soon abandoned his courses to pursue a painting career. He portrays himself here as a debonaire young man, stylishly dressed in a frock coat and fancy patterned trousers, his hair long and curly beneath a floppy hat, holding a pipe in his hand. His black spaniel sits on one side while a sketchbook rests beside him. The lofty tilt of his head signals his rebellious bohemian attitude, while the country setting within which he is pictured speaks to his bourgeois roots in his native Ornans. By setting up a series of contradictions – landscape or self-portrait? Bohemian or dandy? – Courbet introduces the ambiguous character of his later work.



1

GUSTAVE COURBET (1819–77)
FROM *REALIST MANIFESTO* 1855

French painter. Although his self-portrait Courbet with Black Dog *was accepted by the Paris Salon in 1842, Courbet was in conflict with the art establishment throughout his career. As leader of the Realist movement, he departed radically from the prevalent ideas of Romantic and neo-classical painting, in choice of subject and form. Painting, according to Courbet, was 'an essentially concrete art', a 'physical language, the words of which consist of all visible objects'. Along with his fellow Realist, writer and philosopher, Pierre Joseph Proudhon, Courbet proclaimed that the duty of the artist was to focus on the present, on modernity, rather than to reinvent or mystify the past. The following statement was made in 1855, the year the Exposition Universelle refused his entry and Courbet mounted a defiant exhibition close by, entitled* Le Réalisme, G. Courbet.

The label of realist has been imposed on me just as the label of romantic was imposed on the men of 1830. Labels have never, in any age, given a very accurate idea of things; if it were otherwise, the works would be superfluous.

Without discussing the appropriateness, more or less justified, of a designation which nobody, it is to be hoped, has taken very seriously, I shall confine myself to a few words of explanation in order to prevent misunderstanding.

I have studied the art of the ancients and of the moderns without adherence to a system and without prejudice. It was not my wish to imitate the one or to copy the other; nor was it my idea to attain the idle goal of *art for art's sake*! No! I simply wished to draw from a knowledge of the whole tradition a reasoned and independent sense of my own individuality.

To know in order to create, that was my idea. To be capable of depicting the manners, ideas, and appearance of my time as I see it, in short, to produce living art, that is my goal.

Gustave Courbet, From *Realist Manifesto 1855. In Modernism: An Anthology of Sources and Documents*, eds. Vassiliki Kolocotroni, Jane Goldman, and Olga Taxidou (Edinburgh: University of Edinburgh Press, 1998). View Source

Courbet was essentially self-taught, rejecting the École des Beaux-Arts for private academies such as the Académie Suisse and Lapin and for independent study at the Louvre, where he went to copy masterworks by Spanish, Venetian, and Dutch artists. Courbet insisted that art could not be taught. His copying of old paintings was a starting point which did not end in emulation. As he stated in his *Realist Manifesto* in 1855: "The real artists are those who pick up their age exactly at the point to which it has been carried by preceding times. To go backward is to do nothing; it is pure loss; it means that one has neither understood nor profited by the lessons of the past."

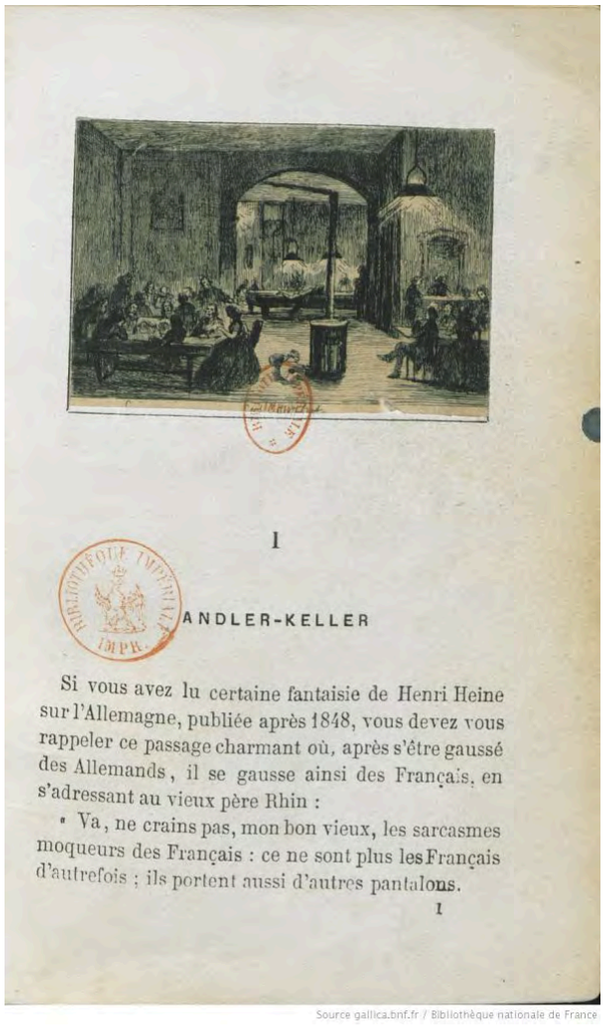


Samuel F. B. Morse, *Gallery of the Louvre*, ca. 1831-33. Oil on canvas. 187.3 x 274.3 cm. Terra Foundation for American Art, Chicago. View Source

The American artist Samuel Morse captured the entrenched practice of copying the Old Masters in his enormous painting *Gallery of the Louvre*. The setting is the Salon Carré, where students were taught to sketch sixteenth-and seventeenth-century masterpieces by artists from Italy, France, Flanders, and Spain. The expanse of the Louvre is visible from the doorway at the back of the room. In the Salon Carré, paintings adorn the sequoia-colored walls in tightly arranged fashion, with classical sculptures occupying each corner of the room. A seated woman in the foreground pauses from her drawing as she listens to the comments of a man leaning over her shoulder. Beyond them, another lady sits in front of an easel while her companions discuss the artwork. A woman at a high table to the right works quietly at a book-sized easel, engaged in solo work. On the left, a man is depicted creating an original composition rather than copying the art on display. Morse's painting provides a snapshot of the era's art teaching methods and ideology, showcasing his adherence to academic art principles.

1.5
| Radical Realists: The Advent of the Avant-Garde

Gustave Courbet's first atelier was situated at 28 rue Hautefeuille on the Left Bank, just a short distance from the Brasserie Andler. This bohemian establishment served as a gathering place for Courbet and a variety of progressive and unconventional figures of the era. Among these notable individuals were Charles Baudelaire, a poet and art critic, Pierre-Joseph Proudhon, a socialist philosopher and anarchist, and Jules François Felix Fleury-Husson, an art critic and novelist who wrote under the pseudonym Champfleury. Courbet would paint portraits of these men as tokens of friendship and respect.



I

ANDLER-KELLER

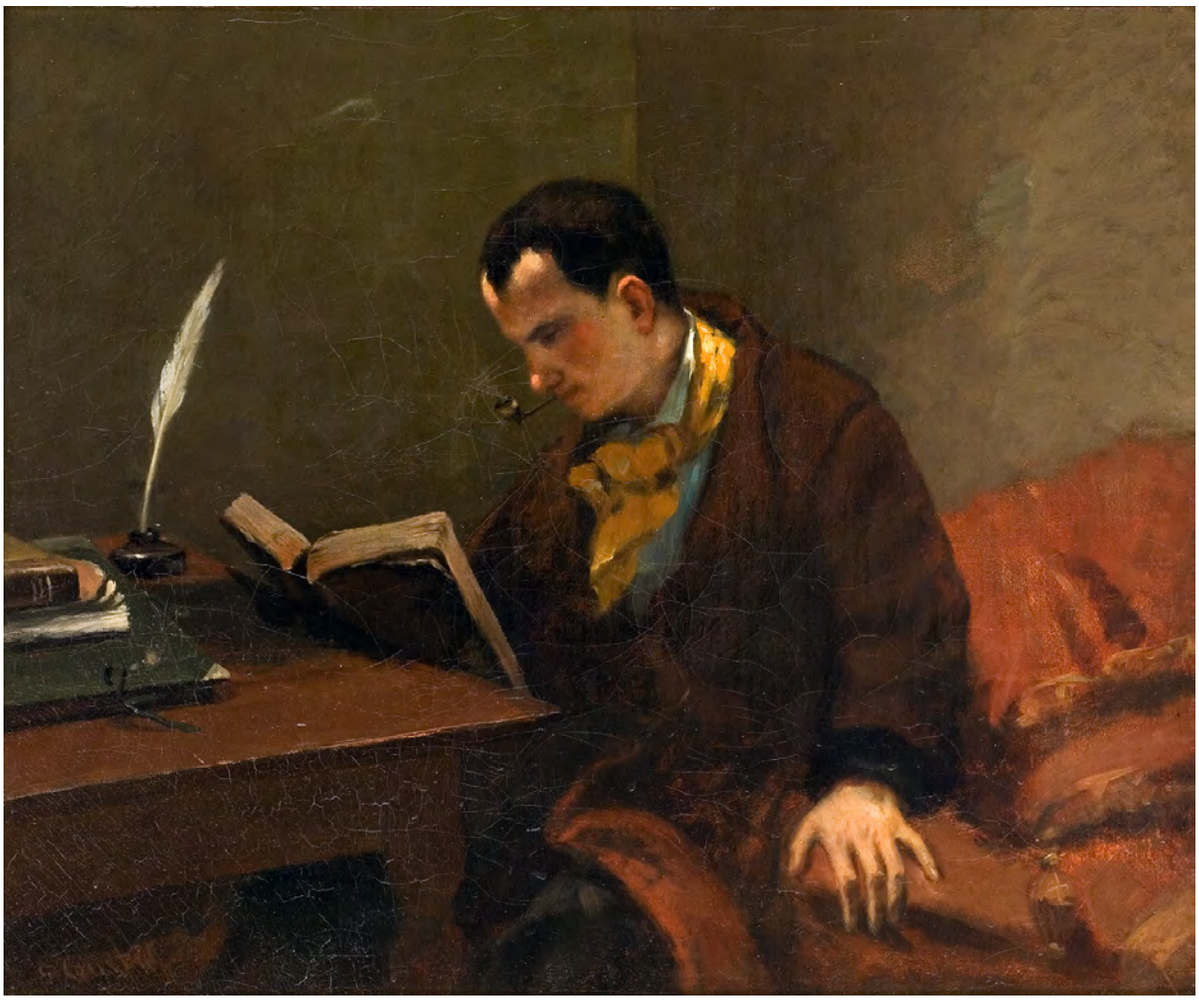
Si vous avez lu certaine fantaisie de Henri Heine sur l'Allemagne, publiée après 1848, vous devez vous rappeler ce passage charmant où, après s'être gaussé des Allemands, il se gausse ainsi des Français, en s'adressant au vieux père Rhin :

« Va, ne crains pas, mon bon vieux, les sarcasmes moqueurs des Français : ce ne sont plus les Français d'autrefois ; ils portent aussi d'autres pantalons.

1

Source gallica.bnf.fr / Bibliothèque nationale de France

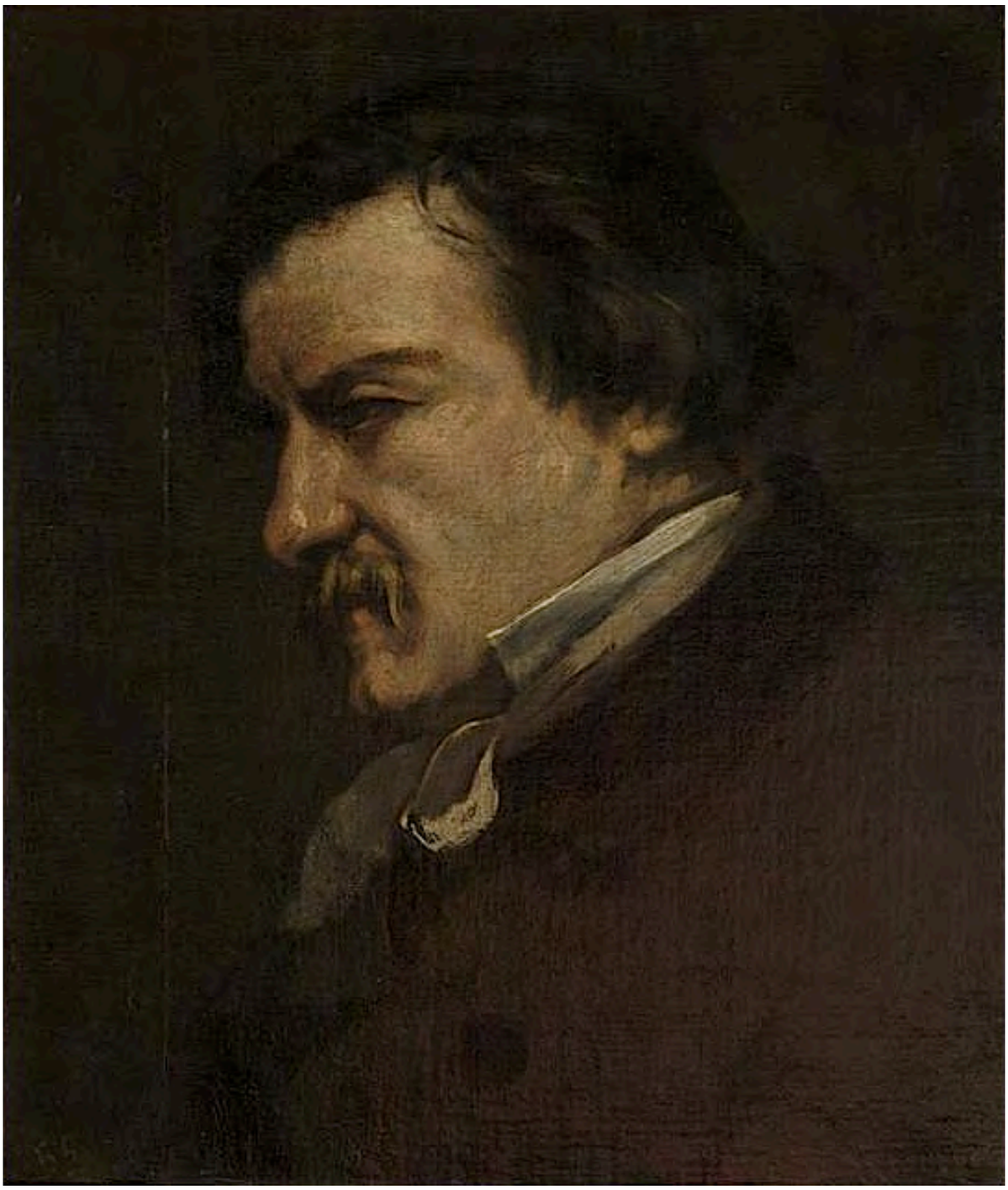
Gustave Courbet, *Cabaret Andler-Keller*, 1862. Etching. Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris. From Alfred Delvau, *Histoire anecdotique des cafés et cabarets de Paris, avec dessins et eaux-fortes de Gustave Courbet, Leopold Flamenf et Felicien Rops* (Paris: E. Dentu, 1862),1. View Source



Gustave Courbet, *Portrait of Baudelaire*, 1848-49. Oil on canvas. 54 x 65.5 cm. Musée Fabre, Montpellier. View Source



Gustave Courbet, *Proudhon and his Children*,1865. Oil on canvas. 186.5 x 236 cm. Petit Palais, Paris. View Source



Gustave Courbet, *Portrait of Champfleury*, 1855. Oil on paper glued to canvas. 46.3 x 38.1 cm. Musée d'Orsay, Paris. View Source

A prominent supporter of the Realist movement in painting and fiction, Champfleury was among the first to promote Courbet's work. His short treatise *Le Réalisme* (1857) was, at the time, one of the only texts written about this stylistic movement. The affiliation between Champfleury and Courbet was so strong that Alfred Delvau, a French journalist, collegially parodied it in his *Histoire anecdotique des cafés et cabarets de Paris* (1862). This was a book of anecdotes illustrated with etchings by a handful of artists, including Courbet. In a chapter headed by Courbet's depiction of the Brasserie Andler's moody, gas-lit interior, Delvau describes the gaggle of admirers that gathered around the two Realist figureheads, saying: "And in this temple of Realism, where M. Courbet was the sovereign pontiff and M. Champfleury the cardinal officiating, the audience of drinkers—students, and wood engravers included—consisted only of realists and non-realists." (translation of Alfred Delvau, *Histoire anecdotique des cafés et cabarets de Paris* (Paris: E. Dentu, 1862), 4).

The young and ambitious Courbet was well-surrounded in this tightly-knit circle. In 1848, he wrote an exuberant letter to his father, Regis, telling him: "I am about to make it any time now for I am surrounded by people who are very influential in the newspapers and the arts and who are very excited about my painting. Indeed, we are

about to form a new school, of which I will be the representative in the field of painting." (Quoted by Albert Boime, *Art in an Age of Civil Struggle*, *1848-1871* (University of Chicago Press, 2008), 144).

1.6
| Gustave Courbet and The Paris Salon

The year 1848 marked a significant turning point for Gustave Courbet. The Revolution had erupted before the mid-March opening of the Paris Salon. In a show of solidarity, the autocratic jury was abolished, and all 5180 submissions were accepted for display in what was described as a "democratic" Salon at the renamed National Louvre Museum. Courbet seized this opportunity and showcased ten of his paintings during this event. This democratic approach to the Salon marked a departure from the previous strict jury selection process, allowing a broader range of artists to exhibit their works.



Theodor Josef Hubert Hoffbauer, *Salon de 1849, aux Tuileries*, ca. 1875-82. Lithograph. 12.2 x 9.6 cm. Brown University Library, Providence. View Source

The following year, *After-Dinner at Ornans* (1849) was one of the eleven works Courbet exhibited in what was considered the first Salon of the Second Republic.



Gustave Courbet, *After Dinner at Ornans*, 1849. Oil on canvas. 195 x 257 cm. Palais des Beaux-Arts, Lille. View Source

After Dinner is a commonplace scene of an interior gathering in Ornans; several friends, including Courbet's father, sit around a country table as one plays the violin. The intimate provincial scene would typically have been rendered on a small scale. Yet Courbet has chosen to paint it in the grandiose dimensions traditionally reserved for historical works. His elevation of "the everyman" to heroic proportions marked Courbet as an audacious radical and implicated him in the era's social politics.



Dirck Hals, *Merry Company at Table*, ca. 1627-29. Oil on oak. 28 x 44 cm. Staatliche Museen, Berlin. View Source

In its simplicity and sober qualities, *After-Dinner at Ornans* presented a stark contrast to seventeenth-century Dutch School genre scene paintings that Courbet would have been familiar with. For one, Dirck Hals' *Merry Company at Table* exhibits the sentimental triviality with which artists were taught to depict ordinary folk well into the nineteenth century. Courbet's rendering was so strikingly original that it impressed his early supporters, including Francis Wey, a fellow Franche-Comtois and man of letters who later became Courbet's friend. In his memoir, Wey recalled being astonished at the freshness and accomplishment of this work by a then-unknown artist.

1.7
| Painting Ordinary People: Elevating the Humble Hero

After exhibiting *After Dinner at Ornans*, Courbet retreated to Ornans to reflect upon his future. In a letter to friends, he wrote: "I am a little like a snake … in a state of torpor. In that sort of beatitude, one thinks so well! …Yet I will come out of it" (quoted by Stephen Eisenman, "The Rhetoric of Realism: Courbet and the Origins of the Avant-Garde" in Stephen F. Eisenman et al., *Nineteenth Century Art A Critical History* (London: Thames and Hudson, 2002), 212).



Gustave Courbet, *The Stone Breakers*, 1849. Oil on canvas. 165 x 257 cm. Gemäldegalerie, Dresden (destroyed during World War II). View Source

During his time away from Paris, Courbet painted three colossal pictures now considered to be among his defining works: *The Stone Breakers* (1849), *A Burial at Ornans* (1849), and *The Peasants of Flagey Returning from the Fair* (1850–51).

The Stone Breakers encapsulates Courbet's interest in depicting humble subjects. It shows two men at work breaking stones to surface a road. The labourers are almost life-sized; they dominate the canvas. The young man at the left, a novice, appears to struggle beneath the weight of the heavy stone; beside him, the old labourer is rigid and deliberate in his actions. The difference in their ages may have been intended as a commentary on the cycle of poverty in a labourer's life, from childhood to old age.

Courbet's canvas is imbued with signs of hardship and deprivation. The figures depicted wear tattered clothing, and the meager meal situated to the right of the painting offers neither adequate nourishment nor respite from work. The limited palette, featuring greys, bleached blues, earthy whites, and browns, contributes to a somber mood. The figures seamlessly blend into their surroundings, emphasizing their inherent connection to the land and labour. Notably, Courbet deliberately obscures the faces of the men, rendering them anonymous. This choice serves as a pointed commentary on their inferior social status and societal invisibility.

Courbet's rough brushwork represents a deliberate rejection of the Neoclassical finish that had previously dominated French art. In this painting, the perfection of line and form takes a backseat to the spontaneous application of paint, reflecting an immediacy of execution that aligns with the artist's direct observations and contributes to the authenticity of the scene.

I stopped to contemplate two men who were breaking stones on the road. It is not often that one encounters the most complete image of poverty, and so, right then and there, I got the idea for a painting

Soon after completing *The Stonebreakers,* Courbet wrote to his friend Francis Wey, a French writer, art and pioneering photography critic (Courbet, Letter to Wey, December 12, 1849, trans. in Petra ten-Doesschate Chu, ed. *Letters of Gustave Courbet* (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 1992), 89-90):

> One side is an old man of seventy, bent over his work, his sledgehammer raised, his skin is burned by the sun, his face is shaded by a straw hat. His pants, of a coarse material are patched everywhere, and inside his patched clogs his heels show through socks that were once blue. On the other side a young man with dusty hair and a swarthy complexion. His filthy and tattered shirt reveals his sides and arms. A leather suspender holds up what is left of his trousers, and his muddy leather shoes show gaping holes on every side. The old man is kneeling, the young man is standing behind him energetically carrying a basket of broken stones. Alas, in that class that is how one begins and that is how one ends up. Scattered here and there is their gear, a hod, a hand barrow, a hoe, a farmer's cooking pot, etc. All of this takes place in bright sunshine, in the middle of the countryside beside a ditch next to the road. The landscape fills the canvas.

When *The Stone Breakers* was first exhibited, it drew both attention and condemnation. Critics accused Gustave Courbet of engaging in socialist propaganda, an accusation that he likely embraced and defended. Courbet expressed his views on Realism and its democratic nature, stating, "Realism is essentially democratic art." This assertion was made during a conference of artists in Antwerp in 1861, showcasing Courbet's commitment to the democratic ideals inherent in his approach to art. The quote is sourced from K. Herding's work, "Courbet (Jean-Désiré) Gustave," published in Grove Art Online, with a translation of G. Riat's "Gustave Courbet: Peintre" (Paris, 1906), pages 191-192. This is what he said in Antwerp in 1861 when he participated in a conference of artists. (Quoted by K. Herding, "Courbet (Jean-Désiré) Gustave," *Grove Art Online,* translation of G. Riat, *Gustave Courbet: Peintre* (Paris, 1906), 191-92):

> The basis of realism is the denial of the ideal … We must be rational, even in art, and never allow logic to be overcome by feeling … By reaching the conclusion that the ideal and all that it entails should be denied, I can completely bring about the emancipation of the individual, and finally achieve democracy. Realism is essentially democratic art. reaching the conclusion that the ideal and all that it entails should be denied, I can completely bring about the emancipation of the individual, and finally achieve democracy.

Some viewers were struck by the social commentary embedded in the painting. Pierre-Joseph Proudhon, who considered labour as a form of property rightfully belonging to the proletariat, notably characterized Courbet's "The Stone Breakers" as an ironic commentary on industrialized society. In a description from 1865, Proudhon described the movement of the older man in the painting: "His rigidified arms rise and fall with the regularity of a lever. There certainly is the mechanical or mechanized man, in the desolation made for him by our splendid civilization." This quote is sourced from "Realist Impulse in Nineteenth-Century Art," Nonsite no. 27 (February 11, 2019), with a translation of Proudhon's work "Du Principe de l'art et de sa destination sociale, 1865" (Paris: A. Lacroix) 1875.



Gustave Courbet, *A Burial at Ornans*, 1849-50. Oil on canvas. 315 x 660 cm. Musée d'Orsay, Paris. View Source

A Burial at Ornans was started soon after *The Stone Breakers,* the artist referring to it as a *tableau historique* [history painting]. Its original title was *Tableau de figures humaines*, *historique d'un enterrement* à *Ornans*.

For the creation of "A Burial at Ornans," Courbet established a studio in his recently deceased grandfather's home. This monumental canvas measures three meters in height and six meters in width, allowing for the visual depiction of approximately fifty life-size figures, including friends, family, and local notables. The burial portrayed in the painting is believed to be that of his great-uncle Teste, who was the first person interred in the new cemetery on the outskirts of Ornans.

The location of the new cemetery became a point of contention between the local church and the community. The church sought to maintain control over its adjacent cemeteries, while others advocated for adhering to modern sanitary practices established by Napoleon, which involved siting cemeteries outside inhabited areas. This conflict adds a layer of social and cultural significance to Courbet's portrayal of the burial scene.

A Burial at Ornans captures the gathering of villagers from Ornans at the graveside, portraying various groups and individuals with distinct roles and relationships. The elders, including Courbet's great-uncle and individuals who experienced the French Revolution of 1789, are depicted closest to the grave. Courbet's parents and friends, with his father wearing a top hat at the center, are present, and his mother is shown offering comfort to Teste's daughter on the far right. The stout, bearded mayor is prominent in the foreground near the grave. The younger generation is represented on the right, featuring Courbet's three sisters, who are shown holding handkerchiefs to teary faces. Notably, Courbet includes his deceased grandfather Oudot, whom he held in deep affection.



Detail of Gustave Courbet, *A Burial at Ornans*,1849-50. Oil on canvas. 315 x 660 cm. Musée d'Orsay, Paris. View Source

Black forms the basis of *A Burial at Ornans*, with various colours playing against it: the flesh colour tones of the hands and faces; the stark white of handkerchiefs and collars, lace caps, spats, the priest's trimmings, the gravedigger's sleeves, and the glossy fur of the dog.



Detail of Gustave Courbet, *A Burial at Ornans*, 1849-50. Oil on canvas. 315 x 660 cm. Musée d'Orsay, Paris. View Source

At the left, where officials are carrying out the requirements of Christian burial, Courbet has intensified his palette with notes of strong colour, in the beadles' costumes, for example.



Detail of Gustave Courbet, *A Burial at Ornans*,1849-50. Oil on canvas. 315 x 660 cm. Musée d'Orsay, Paris. View Source

In the centre foreground are the edges of the burial pit, flanked by a skull, and the gravedigger Antoine Joseph Cassard, the son of a local shoemaker. The man's jacket and woollen hat on the ground are set against the brownish tones of the soil. An aide carries the cross, and behind him is the sacristan.



Detail of Gustave Courbet, *A Burial at Ornans*,1849-50. Oil on canvas. 315 x 660 cm. Musée d'Orsay, Paris. View Source

The prominent crucifix in *A Burial at Ornans* is set against a vast skyline and centred among the craggy hills of Roche du Mont and Roche du Chateau. The hills define the landscape of Ornans and are given equal pictorial weight. In this sense, the very landscape of Ornans is raised to the level of a holy symbol. A sombre mood permeates the painting, matching the dour faces peering into the open grave at the bottom of the image.

Everyone seems to reflect on the very real knowledge that this scene will be replayed again and again for each of them. Painted on a scale meant for historical figures, the ordinary people pictured and the landscape Courbet revered are elevated to the status of classical subjects. Yet Courbet accomplishes this without succumbing to idealization or sentimentality.



El Greco, *The Burial of the Count of Orgaz*, ca. 1586-88. Oil on canvas. 480 x 360 cm. Church of Santo Tomé, Toledo, Spain. View Source

Traditionally, artists sought to infuse representations of death with a spiritual dimension, but Courbet has not done so here. Instead, the sensations attached to the here and now permeate the work.

The depiction of Courbet's figures in *A Burial at Ornans* may be compared to *The Burial of the Count of Orgaz*, by the Spanish Renaissance painter El Greco, particularly in how the officials and individuals are laterally represented in the foreground. But significant differences are evident when viewing the upper plane, where El

Greco's painting is laden with religious symbology. Unlike the works of the Spanish artist and others, Courbet had no spiritual message to impart.



Jacques-Louis David, *Oath of the Horatii*, 1784. Oil on canvas. 330 x 425 cm. Musée du Louvre, Paris. View Source

Courbet's *A Burial at Ornans* departs from traditional conventions in other ways, in its massive dimensions, for example, a scale previously reserved for historical and religious subjects. Jacques-Louis David's *Oath of the Horatii,* painted in 1786, provides a typical example of the monumental history genre favoured by the French Academy.

Courbet's choice of subject was a deliberate act of rebellion against the prevailing norms of academic art. The painting represented a clear rejection of the grandiose themes and glorious events often depicted in academic works. Instead, Courbet opted to focus on the commonplace and the everyday life of his community. His work was regarded as an affront to conventional art and severely denounced.



Gustave Courbet, *The Peasants of Flagey Returning from the Fair*, ca. 1850-55. Oil on canvas. 208.5 x 275 cm. Musée des Beaux-Arts et d'archéologie de Besançon. View Source

The Peasants of Flagey was the third in Courbet's trilogy of monumental depictions of rural life.It provoked controversy due to its realistic portrayal and unconventional stylistic choices. Courbet's use of awkward composition, coarse technique, and the unconventional representation of people and animals challenged the established norms of academic art. The figures in the painting represent landowner farmers from the Doubs region, who engaged in the buying and selling of livestock at the fair while living in close proximity to the animals. The direct and unidealized depiction of the farmers and their entourage conveyed the actual conditions of rural life, including the integral presence of farm animals.



Gustave Courbet, *The Wheat Sifters*, 1854. Oil on canvas. 131 x 167 cm. Musée des Beaux-Arts, Nantes. View Source

Courbet addressed the subject of female labour in *The Wheat Sifters,* painted several years later. In it, two women prepare harvested wheat to be ground into flour. One of them, seated at the left, idly picks through a tray, while her companion in a red dress has taken up the more strenuous task of shaking a large sieve to separate the grain from the stalk. The models are likely Courbet's sisters, Zoé and Juliette, and the young boy playing in the foreground might be Désiré Binet, the artist's illegitimate son.

Courbet articulates the central figure in monumental terms, underscoring the strength required for the chore by exaggerating her strong arms, outstretched to sift the grain. Her body is anchored against the movement by her knees pressed to the ground. Her figure is remarkably forceful. She has turned her back on the viewer, drawing attention to the physical act of labour.



Jean-Francois Millet, *The Gleaners*, 1857. Oil on canvas. 83.5 x 110 cm. Musée d'Orsay, Paris. View Source

Jean-François Millet, a Courbet contemporary, also highlighted the work of rural female labour, gaining recognition for *The Gleaners* of 1857. Although they were both realist painters and shared an interest in similar subjects, Millet's work was more widely accepted than Courbet's, perhaps due to its suggestion of a spiritual dimension. *The Gleaners* seems to echo the biblical story of Ruth, in which a young widow provides for her destitute mother-in-law, Naomi, by gleaning a wealthy landowner's field. The landowner, touched by her act of kindness, offers marriage and security.

This narrative of self-sacrifice and just reward underlies the subject of a trio of women picking up the scraps left behind by the harvesters. The empty field contrasts with the landlord's abundant haystacks and sheaves of wheat in the distance. A man on horseback at the far right, probably an estate steward, supervises the work underway. The gleaners are visually and aesthetically distanced from the background activity by a stark shift in scale and luminosity, appearing large and weighted in the foreground. Their bent postures and Millet's heavy application of paint emphasize the physical hardship of their task. Due to its religious overtones, *The Gleaners* implies something beyond the fact of peasants performing a routine task. It conveys the comforting suggestion of a moral recompense for hard work.



Jean-François Millet, *Man with a Hoe*, ca. 1860-62. Oil on canvas. 81.9 x 100.3 cm. J. Paul Getty Museum, Los Angeles. View Source

Like Courbet, Millet came from a rural background, although his experience included hands-on farm work from a young age. His interest in peasant imagery was, therefore, profoundly personal. Millet's affinity with his subject matter would sometimes get him into trouble. At the Salon of 1863, Millet presented a canvas titled *Man with a Hoe* that caused a storm of controversy. Not only was the central figure of the painting seen as brutish and disturbing, but the Parisian bourgeoisie interpreted the work as a blatant socialist critique.

Millet, resisting the attempts to be classified as an agitator, said:

> The gossip about my *Man with a Hoe* seems to me all very strange, and I am obliged to you for letting me know it, as it furnishes me with another opportunity to wonder at the ideas people attribute to me... My critics are men of taste and education, but I cannot put myself in their shoes, and as I have never seen anything but fields since I was born, I try to say as best I can what I saw and felt when I was at work. (Quoted in Robert Goldwater and Marco Treves, *Artists on Art* (New York, 1945), 292-3)

Tensions were mounting between the cosmopolitan industrial elite and the rural labourers threatened by the gradual mechanization of agriculture and the collapse of grain prices. In this context, Millet's *Man with a Hoe* was seen as provocative by conservatives who recalled the recent peasant uprisings. Though his paintings were always judged in political terms, Millet insisted that he was neither a socialist nor an agitator. Instead, as a religious fatalist, Millet believed everyone was burdened by their destiny. To him, this farmer was 'everyman,' and this painting was a tribute to the dignity and courage of the peasant. However, despite this political disavowal, *Man with a Hoe* was long considered a symbol of the labouring class.



Louis Le Nain, *Happy Family*, 1642. Oil on canvas. 61 x 78 cm. Musée du Louvre, Paris. View Source

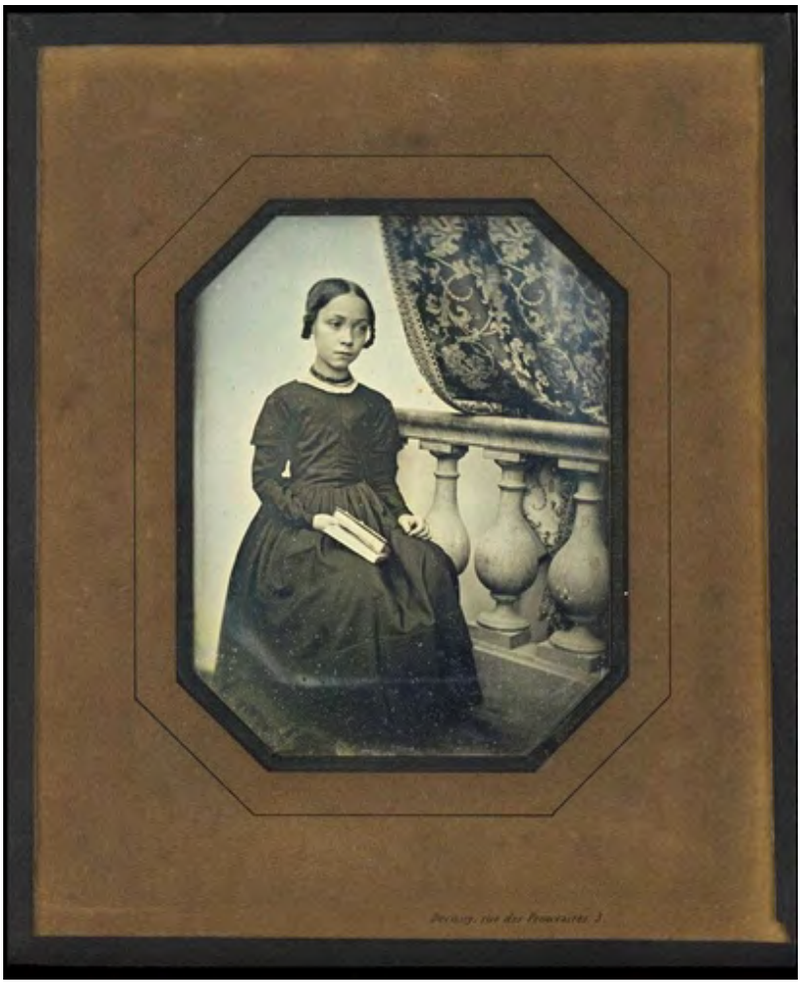
Courbet may have found historical affinities in the oeuvre of the 17th-century Le Nain brothers, Antoine, Louis and Mathieu, and their small-scale works of French peasant life. He would have had access to these works when the Louvre Museum, housed within the Louvre Palace, was being reconfigured to exhibit paintings, industry products, and house a national library.



Philippe-Auguste Jeanron, *Scene of Paris*, 1833. Oil on canvas. 97 cm x 130 cm. Musée des Beaux-Arts de Chartres. View Source

After the February Revolution of 1848, Philippe-Auguste Jeanron, painter of scenes from proletarian life, was appointed Head of National Museums and Director of the Louvre. Favouring painters of the people, Jeanron gave greater attention to hitherto neglected artists like the Le Nain brothers.

Champfleury, among others, praised the Le Nain brothers for their realistic depictions of humble life. He wrote about them in 1849, following his introduction to their work. Charles Blanc would echo his admiration in the fifth volume of his *Histoire des peintres de toutes les écoles* (*The History of the Painters of all Nations*), published in 1852: "This Le Nain (Louis or Matthieu) is a true French painter, a full-blooded Frenchman... No foreign element has intervened to temper his rough Gallic manner." Champfleury, who cites this passage at the end of chapter 12 of his landmark monograph of 1862, *Les peintres de la réalité sous Louis XIII: Les frères Le Nain (Painters of Realism under Louis XIII: The Brothers Le Nain)*, urges readers to "set aside Watteau, Boucher, Fragonard, and focus on a more glorious French school: the Clouets, the Poussins, the Champaignes, the Le Nains." Champfleury noted that the aims and methods of the LeNain brothers could also be found in Courbet's *A Burial at Ornans*.

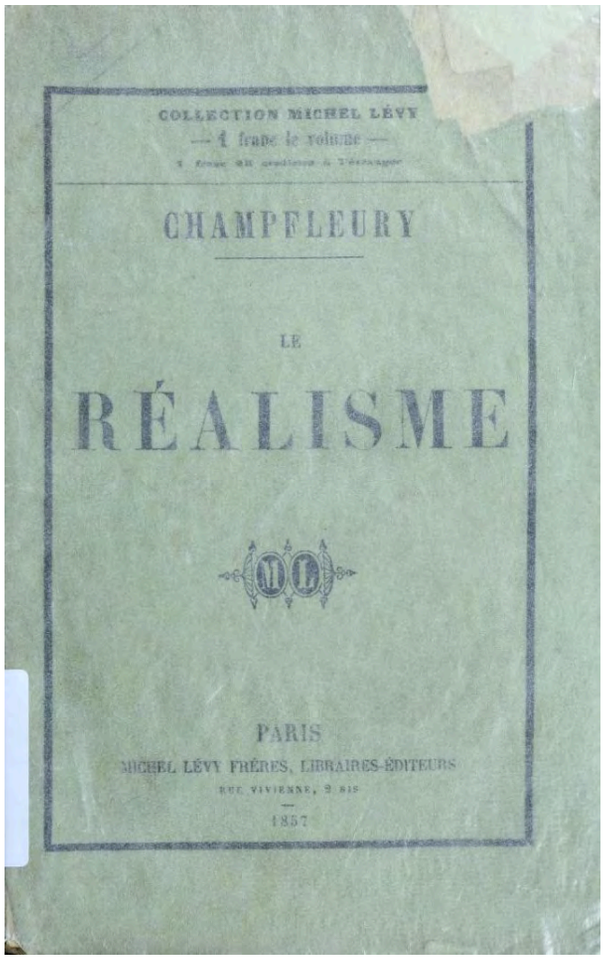


Philippe Derussy, *Portrait of a Young Girl, Standing, Sitting on the Right of a Balustrade and a Drapery*,1846. Daguerreotype. Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris. View Source

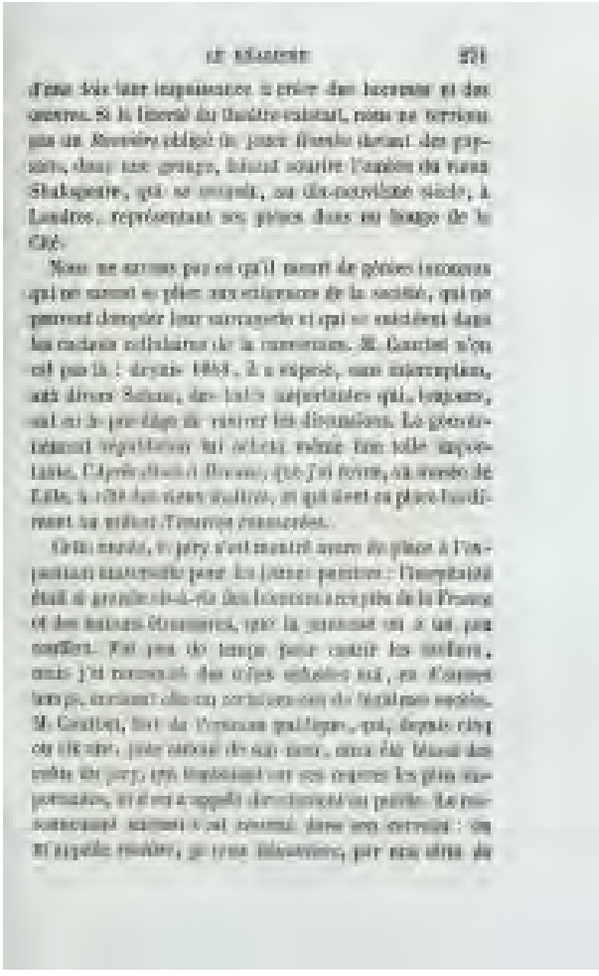
But Courbet's paintings were criticized by others for resembling the working method of daguerreotypists of the mid-nineteenth century. In 1878, French art historian and writer Paul Mantz commented that Courbet resembled the Le Nains, who posed models like a photographer, saying, "don't move." Courbet's paintings were belittled by comparing them with the photographic image.

The art critic and novelist Champfleury refused to confine realism to a single concept. The only principle he recognized, he said, was sincerity in art. Champfleury insisted that realism could not be a mechanical process of simply imitating what one saw: "Man's reproduction of nature will never become a reproduction or an imitation, but will always be an interpretation for no matter what man does to enslave himself to copying nature, he will always be caused by his particular temperament . . . to render nature according to the impression he receives." (Champfleury, *Le Réalisme* (Paris: Hermann, 1973, 10, 92–3)

Champfleury's turn toward more overly-realist realism occurred in the 1850s, especially with the publication in 1857 of *Le Réalisme*. The book was published as a collection of essays from newspapers and periodicals instead of a coherent treatise.



Champfleury, *Le Réalisme* (Paris: Michel Lévy Frères, Libraires Éditeurs, 1857). View Source



de Nerval a été conduit à une mort tragique par le *réalisme*. C'est un gentilhomme amateur qui écrit de pareilles misères ; vos drames de campagne sont entachés de réalisme. Ils renferment des *paysans*. Là est le crime. Dans ces derniers temps, Béranger a été accusé de réalisme. Combien les mots peuvent entraîner les hommes !

M. Courbet est un factieux pour avoir représenté de bonne foi des bourgeois, des paysans, des femmes de village de grandeur naturelle. Ç'a été là le premier point. On ne veut pas admettre qu'un casseur de pierre vaut un prince : la noblesse se gendarme de ce qu'il est accordé tant de mètres de toile à des gens du peuple ; seuls les souverains ont le droit d'être peints en pied, avec leurs décorations, leurs broderies et leurs physionomies officielles. Comment! un homme d'Ornans, un paysan enfermé dans son cercueil, se permet de rassembler à son enterrement une foule considérable, des fermiers, des gens de bas étage, et on donne à cette représentation le développement que Largillière avait, lui, le droit de donner à des magistrats allant à la messe du Saint-Esprit [1] ! Si Velasquez a fait grand, c'étaient des seigneurs d'Espagne, des infants, des infantes ; il y a là au moins de la soie, de l'or sur les habits, des décorations et des plumets. Van der Helst a peint des bourgmestres dans toute leur taille, mais ces Flamands épais se sauvent par le *costume*.

Il paraît que notre costume n'est pas un costume : j'ai honte, vraiment, madame, de m'arrêter à de telles raisons. Le costume de chaque époque est régi par des lois

[1] Voir les curieuses peintures de l'église Saint-Étienne du Mont.

inconnues, hygiéniques, qui se glissent dans la mode, sans que celle-ci s'en rende compte. Tous les cinquante ans, les costumes sont bouleversés en France ; comme les physionomies, ils deviennent *historiques* et aussi curieux à étudier, aussi singuliers à regarder, que les vêtements d'une peuplade de sauvages. Les portraits de Gérard, de 1800, qui ont pu sembler vulgaires dans le principe, prennent plus tard une tournure, une physionomie singulières. Ce que les artistes appellent *costume*, c'est-à-dire, mille brimborions (des plumes, des mouches, des aigrettes, etc.), peut amuser un moment les esprits frivoles ; mais la représentation sérieuse de la personnalité actuelle, les chapeaux ronds, les habits noirs, les souliers vernis ou les sabots de paysans, est bien autrement intéressante [1].

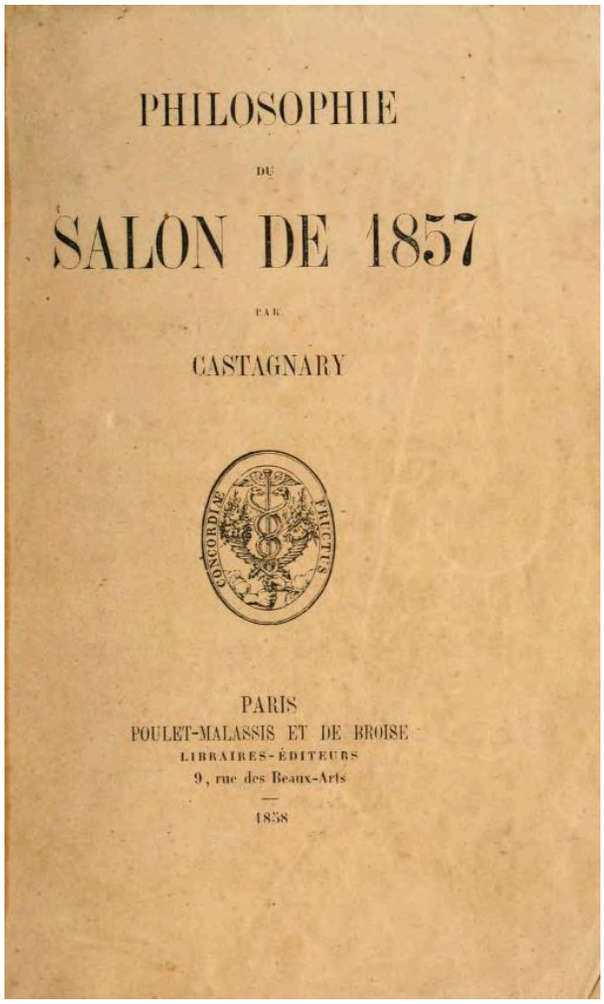
On m'accordera peut-être ceci, mais on dira : Votre peintre manque d'idéal. Je répondrai à cela tout à l'heure, avec l'aide d'un homme qui a su tirer de l'œuvre de M. Courbet des conclusions pleines d'un grand bon sens.

Les quarante tableaux de l'avenue Montaigne contiennent des paysages, des portraits, des animaux, de grandes scènes domestiques et une œuvre que l'artiste intitule :

[1] Les uns aiment les costumes d'une époque, les autres d'une autre ; mais la majorité se prononce en faveur du costume *Louis treize*. Les beaux feutres! les belles plumes pendantes! les beaux pourpoints à l'espagnole! Beautés entrevues à l'aide des *Mousquetaires* d'opéra-comique. J'ai le regret de dire à ces admirateurs qu'ils sont des ignorants. Ce costume Louis treize tant admiré est lourd, incommode ; il *engonce* les personnages. Ce sont les peintres amis de la vérité, et non pas M. *Mélingue*, qu'il faut étudier : le portrait de Cinq-Mars de *Le Nain* démontre suffisamment l'embarras des personnages dans ces beaux habits.

Champfleury, *Le Réalisme* (Paris: Michel Lévy Frères, Libraires – Éditeurs, 1857), 273, 274, 275

In a letter to George Sand, a French novelist and journalist, in July 1855 where he writes about Courbet and realism, Champfleury struggles to define the very term: “Je ne vous définirai pas, madame, le réalisme; je ne sais d’où il vient, où il va, ce qu’il est; Homère serait un réaliste, puisqu’il a observé et décrit avec exactitude les moeurs de son époque [I will not define realism to you, madam; I don’t know where it comes from, where it is going, what it is; Homer would be a realist, since he observed and accurately described the mores of his time]. In this instance, he extends the concept of realism to include the perception of a particular time and place, and associates realism with exactitude of observation and description, creating the possibility of absolute equivalence between writers and their subjects.


PHILOSOPHIE

DU

SALON DE 1857

PAR

CASTAGNARY

CONCORDIA FRUCTUS

PARIS

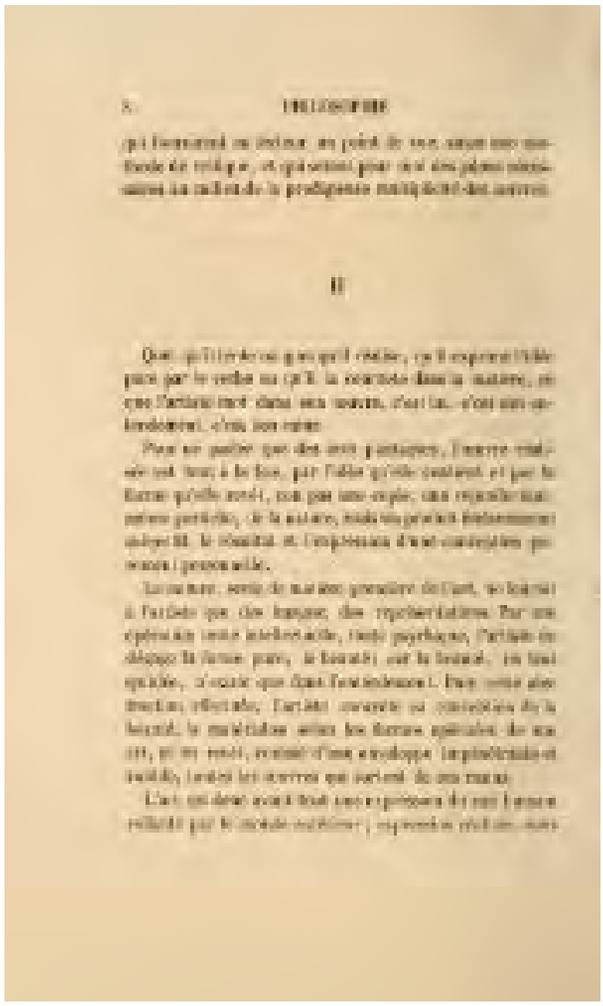
POULET-MALASSIS ET DE BROISE

LIBRAIRES-ÉDITEURS

9, rue des Beaux-Arts

1858

Jules-Antoine Castagnary, *Philosophie du Salon de 1857* (Paris: Poulet-Malassis et De Broise, 1858). View Source



Jules-Antoine Castagnary, *Philosophie du Salon de 1857* (Paris: Poulet-Malassis et De Broise, 1858).8. View Source

Jules-Antoine Castagnary, meanwhile, argued that: “Visual art can be neither a copy nor even a partial reproduction of nature, but rather an eminently subjective product . . . expressing a purely personal conception. . . Above all, art is an expression of the human self solicited by the external world . . . it is one of the highest acts of human consciousness.”

1.8
| A Class in Transition: Courbet’s *Young Ladies*

When Courbet’s *Les Demoiselles de Village* was exhibited in the Salon of 1852, it was seen as the quintessential representation of the vices of realism. Critics commented on its lowly details, ineptitude of composition, faulty rendering of perspective, the ugliness and awkwardness of the figures and the painting’s total disregard for the established canons of beauty and good taste.



Gustave Courbet, *Young Ladies of the Village,* 1851-52. Oil on canvas. 194.9 x 261 cm. Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York. View Source

Young Ladies of the Village depicts Courbet's three sisters, Zoé, Juliette, and Zélie, the latter shown giving alms to a young cowherd.



Bertall, *Caricature of Young Ladies of the Village*, Journal pour rire, April 16, 1852. View Source

Young Ladies of the Village was satirized in the *Journal pour rire*. Courbet's sisters were shown as dummies on stands, while the cattle stood on wheels, and the dog looked like a toy. The caricature pointed to the lack of integration in Courbet's painting. This may have been because Courbet was accustomed to painting landscape settings out-of-doors and figures in his studio.

The critic Anatole de La Forge, active in politics all his life, wrote a book on art entitled *La peinture contemporaine en France* (1856). In it, he clearly articulated many underlying attitudes to the work: "Once upon a time, there were girls in the villages and young ladies in the towns, and the world wasn't the worse for that. Today vanity, this familiar demon, is encouraging country people to abandon their fine dress in order to decorate themselves out in our bizarre fashions. So attired, village girls are passing for young ladies."

It was apparent to contemporaries that Courbet's subjects were not "young ladies" but a lower class of females. For one thing, there was an enormous gap between the attire worn by Courbet's women and what was fashionable at the time.

In Courbet's painting, the dresses worn by the women are noticeably absent of crinolines so that the dresses fall limply from their waists.



Walking dresses, Petit courrier des dames, journal des modes, September 1837. University of Washington, University Libraries. Fashion Plate Collection. View Source

This style had not been fashionable since the first decade of the century. Additionally, a real young lady would not go out without gloves; the mere sight of women's hands would instantly convey to Parisians that these women were of a lower class. Using a straw basket as an accessory was another indicator of the women's social status. Fashionable ladies carried parasols, fans, and embroidered handkerchiefs; only peasants carried straw baskets.

Critics also explained how social class could be revealed through body language. The awkward bearing of the sisters is emblematic of a class in transition, neither peasant nor lady. Courbet's painting indicates the gap between their social aspirations and social reality. When read from left to right, the painting conveys the upward mobility that resulted in the transformation of peasant girls into young ladies.



Gustave Courbet, *Portrait of Zélie*, 1847. Oil on canvas. 57 x 47 cm. Museu de Arte de São Paulo Assis Chateaubriand, São Paulo. View Source

In *Young Ladies of the Village*, Zélie, standing next to the young peasant girl, represents the next stage in transitioning from peasant to young lady. Zélie is part of the rural bourgeoisie but does not yet set herself apart from the peasantry.



Detail of Gustave Courbet, *Young Ladies of the Village*, 1851-52. Oil on canvas. 194.9 x 261 cm. Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York. View Source

Then, Juliette, the most ungraceful of figures, is attempting to be a real lady but failing miserably. Finally, Zoé, the most graceful, has transitioned to the urban bourgeoisie and is the farthest from a peasant girl.

The painting is at once autobiographical and historical, drawing on the history of the artist's own family to illustrate broader socio-economic developments in nineteenth-century France. Courbet conveys the disappearing rigidity of the class structure out of which he, as a member of the rural bourgeoisie, arose. Paris in 1851 was sensitive to questions of rural society for straightforward political reasons. The city was a fragile, self-conscious illusion, a prey to the multitude of immigrants.

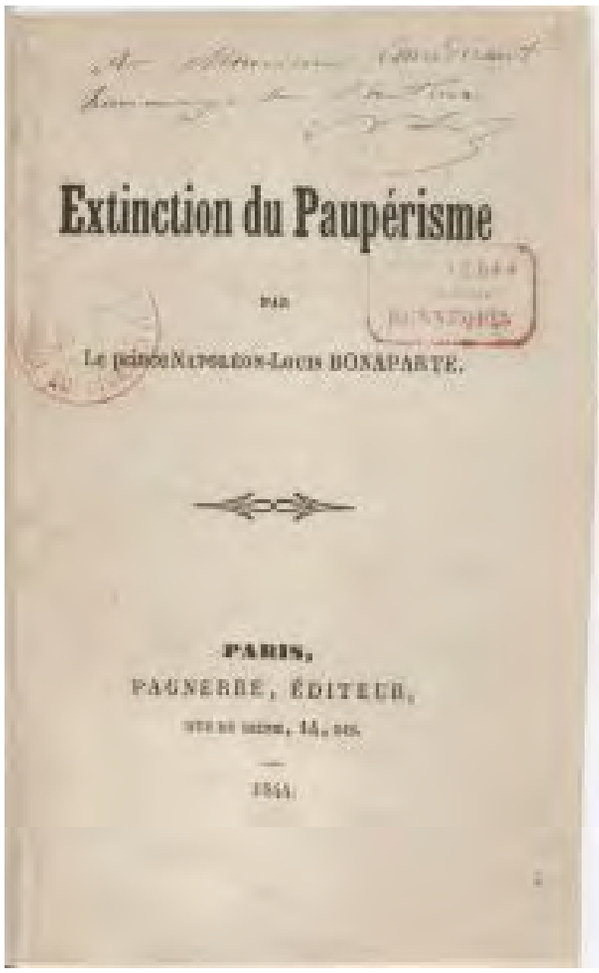


Jean-Antoine Watteau, *The Fortune Teller*, ca. 1710 (copy). Oil on panel. 37.1 x 27.9 cm. Fine Arts Museum of San Francisco. View Source

The French Rococo painter Jean-Antoine Watteau's *The Fortune Teller* appears to have been utilized as a specific prototype. Not only are the positions, poses, and gestures in *The Fortune Teller* strikingly similar to those in Courbet's painting, but Courbet must have been taken with Watteau's spotted, bushy-tailed dog, as he copied it in his painting. Courbet chose to borrow directly from an image in which Watteau depicted two classes.

Courbet's use of the word "demoiselles" here in 1851, appearing for the first time in his titles, may have intended as a specific historical reference to the class conflict between peasants and the bourgeois. "Demoiselles" was

the word used to characterize a band of peasants who in 1829 disguised themselves in bonnets and long shirts and, armed with guns and axes, prowled the countryside at night attacking police, forest guards, and hated landowners. The "War of the Demoiselles," as it had been called, reflected the early nineteenth-century peasant's resentment and fear of bourgeois control. In keeping with his abhorrence of physical conflict, it is possible Courbet painted his own demoiselles as a pacifist response.


Extinction du Paupérisme

PAR

Le prince NAPOLÉON-LOUIS BONAPARTE.

PARIS,

PAGNERRE, ÉDITEUR,

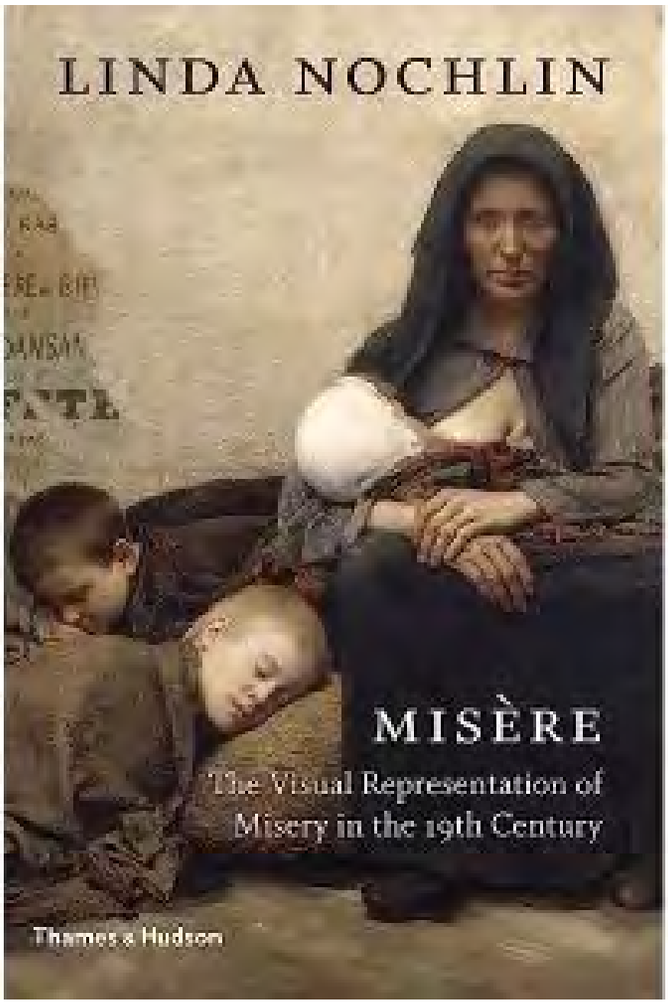
1844.

Louis-Napoleon, *The Extinction of Pauperism* (London: Cleave, 1844). View Source

Courbet's inspiration for such political moralizing probably had its source in several contemporary tracts. One in particular was the perfect reference for Courbet in 1851, Louis-Napoleon's (1808–1873) book *The Extinction of Pauperism*. Written in exile and first published in 1844, it was hailed by the Left but ignored by its author after he became emperor in 1852. A study of poverty among the industrial working class, it called for a communal system of sharing that would see the recultivation of rural areas. His conclusion stated: "The working class has nothing, it is necessary to give them ownership. They have no other wealth than their own labor ...."

This Golden Age dream, which promised the elimination of poverty and unrest, was especially relevant in light of the real events of 1851, which included a coup d'état on December 1 and a peasant uprising on December 7. Publications were circulated to incite the peasant revolt; for example, the *Almanach du village* of that year stated: "Peasants you are the masters, the Kings of this country. It is up to you to change the face of France."

Les Demoiselles du Village was Courbet's response to the specific events of 1851 and to the larger ramifications of a bitter class struggle which affected mid-nineteenth-century French life.



Linda Nochlin, *Misère: The Visual Representation of Misery in the 19th Century* (London: Thames & Hudson, 2018). View Source

Linda Nochlin succinctly captures the meaning of *Les Demoiselles de Village* in *Misère: The Visual Representation of Misery in the 19th Century*:

> It represents Courbet's three sisters—Zoé, Juliette, and Zélie—as well as the object of their benevolence, a ragged, barefooted little guardian of cattle, in a peaceful pasture at the foot of the Roche de dix heures near Ornans. Although Courbet, during this period immediately following Louis-Napoleon's coup d'état, was doubtless deeply upset by the ruler's perfidy and the persecution and subsequent exile of his old friend Max Buchon, his avowed intentions in *Young Ladies of the Village* were far from inflammatory. Nevertheless, the letter in which he describes the project to Champfleury has an undertone of sarcasm that belies his conciliatory phrases: "It is hard for me to tell you what I have done this year for the Exhibition. I am afraid of expressing myself badly. You will be a better judge than I when you see my painting. For one thing, I have misled my judges, I have put them on to new terrain: I have made something graceful [charming]. All they have been able to say until now will be useless."
>
> But is this really an image totally lacking in a political agenda, a harmless genre scene in a sunny landscape? Certainly, it was not received as "charming." Could the theme of charity—detached from religion, attached, specifically, to Courbet's sisters and his home territory—itself raise hackles, a specter of insubordination or even revolutionary socialism at this moment in French history? Diane Lesko, in her excellent article on the *Young Ladies of the Village*, points out that the painting may have been meant as a not-so-subtle reminder to Louis- Napoleon that he had once been the author of a radical text on the subject of abject poverty, *The Extinction of Pauperism*.
>
> Although far from being a simple piece of political propaganda, the allegorical potential of the *Young Ladies of the Village* cannot be thrust aside as irrelevant to the painter's intentions and achievement. In an angry letter to the editor of the *Méssager de l'Assemblée* of 1851, in which he mentions that he

is working on the *Young Ladies of the Village*, Courbet declares his allegiance to the cause of social radicalism: "M. Garcin calls me 'the socialist painter.' I accept that title with pleasure. I am not only a socialist, but a democrat and a Republican as well—in a word, a partisan of all the revolution and above all a Realist. But this no longer concerns M. Garcin, as I wish to establish here, for 'Realist' means a sincere lover of the honest truth." In emphasizing his "Realist" affiliation along with his political ones, Courbet is referring both to the style, in the broadest sense, as well as the subject of his work. The *Young Ladies of the Village* bodies forth poverty and charity—the giving of bread to the needy, without either pathos or picturesque trappings—as an unsentimental everyday affair, concretely and materially represented in a setting that is the artist's own countryside, rough, rocky, unmanicured. It is a small-scale act of justice, a benevolent gesture bridging the chasm separating the comfortable from the needy, that has much larger implications.



Gustave Courbet, *Young Ladies on the Banks of the Seine*, 1857. Oil on canvas. 174 x w. 206 cm. Musée du Petit Palais, Paris. View Source

Several years later, in his *Young Ladies on the Banks of the Seine* (*Les Demoiselles des bords de la Seine*), Courbet would once more use the term demoiselles in a title as a provocative foil for examining social class and character. Along with the pictorial sumptuousness of the work, the finely painted fabrics, the detailed textural passages, and the captivating tonal play, the title reinforces the surface innocence of the work, which was immediately accepted by the jury for the 1857 Paris Salon.

But the image goes much further than Courbet's sisters out walking on a Sunday. While it was a similar assertion of working women as valid subjects for serious painting, here, it is the sexual innuendo represented in pointedly contemporary terms that created controversy. The two fashionable ladies languidly reclining by the

Seine presented a sharp contrast to the polished nudity of idealized goddesses in idyllic landscapes that the Salon public was accustomed to

Not surprisingly the painting caused an outcry. The ladies were not the coarse streetwalkers of the Boulevard, but their suggested intent was no different. To a bourgeois audience accustomed to allegorically encoded sexuality, this contemporary narrative, despite the scarcity of bare flesh and Courbet's nod to codes of feminine decorum, was more disturbing, a breach of propriety worsened by the intentional title of *Demoiselles*. The journalist Maxime Du Camp labelled them *lorettes,* a term for prostitutes and critics such as Champfleury were outraged and incensed for reasons that extended beyond the depiction of *lorettes,* as argued by Petra ten-Doesschate in *The Most Arrogant Man in France. Gustave Courbet and the Nineteenth-Century Media Culture* (Princeton-Oxford, UK: Princeton University Press, 2007), 122):

It is puzzling that none of the contemporary reviewers of the painting addressed the déshabillé of the dark-haired woman. Is it that male critics were so little attuned to the details of fashion that they confused underwear with the newly fashionable white dress of the mid-1850s? Or was there a conscious or unconscious hesitation to address a topic for which the means of a bi-gendered public discourse had not yet been created? For sure, underwear was commonly depicted and discussed in women's magazines in all the technical jargon necessary to explain the details of its complex construction…But the meaning of these words must have been lost on most men, whose vocabulary for women's underwear was more readily found in dictionaries of slang.

"Clearly, Courbet does not understand anything about women," Champfleury wrote to Max Buchon with reference to *The Young Ladies of the Seine*. Was it because the critic was mystified by the déshabillé, which could be interpreted as a gesture of seduction as well as one of defiance (a feminist rebellion against the rule that forbade women to shed any part of their elaborate clothing, while it allowed men to take off their jackets and vests for greater comfort)? Or was he puzzled by the incongruity of these femmes galantes, urban types par excellence, with their bouquets of wildflowers, emblematic of artlessness and innocence?" Or, to suggest yet another possibility, did Champfleury feel, as [Pierre-Joseph] Prudhon did, that there was something unsettling about the 'slightly masculine' (légèrement virils) features of the brunette, whom Prudhon associated with Lélia, the creation as well as the alter ego of George Sand?

All these ambiguities of Courbet's painting seem comparable to the attempts of contemporary writers to erase or, at least, confound the boundaries between masculinity and femininity.



Gustave Courbet, *The Bathers*, ca. 1853. Oil on canvas. 227 x 193 cm. Fabre Museum, Montpellier. View Source

The women's attire and their visible undergarments, particularly the dark-haired woman's white lingerie, accentuated the connotation of immoral behaviour. But the absence of male "suitors" suggests another reading, that the scene depicts a lesbian encounter. This theme reappears in varied guises in paintings by the artist where two females are shown together. As Maura Reilly has discussed in "Le Vice a`la Mode: Gustave Courbet and the Vogue for Lesbianism in Second Empire France" (Ph.D. diss., New York University, 2000), "Courbet's "lesbian" paintings are situated along a spectrum, or continuum, which ranges from the suggestive to the overtly erotic and explicitly sexual. For example, his *Bathers* is deemed his earliest and most subtle exploration into the theme of lesbian eroticism, followed by *Les Demoiselles des bords de la Seine*, 1857, which is reread as an image replete with pictorial signifiers then associated with visual and literary lesbianism."

As a definition, the term "lesbian" had a much more extensive range of connotations during the nineteenth century. While some women would have been sexually involved in same-sex relationships, others who did not ascribe to traditional models of social conduct, Amazons, androgynous, whores and witches, were also labelled as lesbians.

1.9
| Art, Patronage and The Outsider Artist

The collector Alfred Bruyas thought of himself less as a consumer of art than a collaborator, believing that by sponsoring and acquiring the work of select living artists, he could free them from the career constraints of the Salon system. In the early days of their friendship, Bruyas and Courbet saw themselves as partners in a project designed to advance contemporary art's social and moral mission.



Gustave Courbet, *Portrait of Alfred Bruyas*, 1853. Oil on canvas. 91 x 72 cm. Musée Fabre, Montpellier. View Source



Gustave Courbet, *The Meeting or Good Day, Monsieur Courbet*, 1854. Oil on canvas. 129 x 149 cm. Musée Fabre, Montpellier. View Source

The Meeting was possibly begun in Montpellier and finished in Ornans. Courbet was aware of Bruyas's interest in befriending the artists whose works he collected. He knew that Bruyas wanted to commission a painting that would be emblematic of their new relationship. The subject itself is accurate but only partially faithful to the event. Courbet would have traveled not by coach but by the new railroad line; there would have been no occasion for him to be met in the open countryside.

The painting is a large double portrait that records the meeting of the two men from different social strata with different but interrelated societal roles. Bruyas as patron is dressed elegantly and accompanied by a manservant. Courbet, the artist, faces the two in shirtsleeves, apron, and trousers tucked into his spats and carries a folding easel on his back. The interaction betrays no sign of deference. Courbet portrays himself almost as a travelling apostle (of realism), confident and with a sense of high importance about his mission. He is the artist as an outsider and wanderer, recalling his youthful statement as he set out into the world "I am just setting out on the great, vagabond, independent life of a Bohemian."

Courbet paints himself head held high, appearing much more important than his patron, a difference in scale unrelated to their relative placement in the picture. He conveys an ironic authority, and only he casts a shadow, a fact not lost on viewers or on Bruyas. One can see why the word vanity sprang to the lips of its first audience and the painting's dubbing as "Bonjour, Monsieur Courbet!" but one can also see the narrowness of such a response. The artist tilts back his head to gaze thoughtfully at Bruyas, aware of the reciprocal nature of the relationship. He is not a creature of vanity but of pride.



Human-headed winged lion (Lamassu), ca. 883-859 BC. Gypsum alabaster. 311.2 x 62.2 x 276.9 cm. Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York. View Source

His profile pose, with a thick beard jutting directly downward from the chin, was a frequent motif in his paintings, notably in his 1855 *Painter's Studio,* which he famously described as "myself painting showing the Assyrian profile of my head."

Much Assyrian art consists of profile reliefs; protruding beards are a common characteristic. These contemporary allusions, however, did not attempt to emulate the specific knotting and shaping of Assyrian beards, and Courbet's facial features are not directly comparable to the stylized Assyrian features. Courbet's profile, that is, does not indicate a deep interest in Assyrian art. It would hardly be identifiable as Assyrian on its own. Instead, Assyria offers an occasion for the artist's self-assertion. Courbet almost flaunts his lack of concern with the specifics of ancient art in a manner consistent with his subsumption of all past art to his contemporary concerns.

1.10
| Inside *The Artist's Studio*

It is society at its top, bottom, and middle. In a word, it is my way of seeing

society in its interests and its passions. It is the world come to be painted at my place …



Gustave Courbet, *The Artist's Studio, a Real Allegory Summing Up Seven Years of My Artistic and Moral Life*, 1854. Oil on canvas. 361 x 598 cm. Musée d'Orsay, Paris. View Source

Courbet wrote to Champfleury describing *The Artist's Studio* in December 1854, as quoted from *Correspondance de Courbet*, ed. Petra ten-Doesschate Chu (Paris: Flammarion,1996), 121-22):

> *The Artist's Studio* is perhaps even larger than *The Burial* which will show that I am not dead yet, and nor is realism, since realism is a fact of life. It is the moral and physical history of my workshop.
>
> It is society at its top, bottom, and middle. In a word, it is my way of seeing society in its interests and its passions. It is the world come to be painted at my place.
>
> The scene takes place in my atelier in Paris. The painting is divided into two parts. I am in the middle, painting. To the right are all the shareholders, that is to say, my friends, my fellow workers, and amateurs from the art world.
>
> To the left is the other world of … the exploited, the exploiters, people who live on death.
>
> Beginning at the extreme left … at the edge is a Jew I saw in England making his way through the febrile activity of the London streets; religiously carrying a money-box on his right arm; while covering it with his left hand he seemed to be saying, "It is I who am on the right track."
>
> Behind him is a priest with a triumphant look and a bloated red face.
>
> In front of them is a poor withered old man, a republican veteran of '93 . . . a man of ninety years, holding his ammunition bag (possibly used for begging), dressed in old white linen cloth made out of patches and a visored cap. He looks down at the romantic cast-offs at his feet (he is pitied by the Jew).
>
> Next come a hunter, reaper, strong-man, a clown, a textile peddler, a workman's wife, a worker, an undertaker, a death's head on a newspaper, an Irish woman suckling a child, an artist's dummy.

> The Irishwoman is another English product. I encountered this woman in a London street; her only clothing was a black straw hat, a torn green sheet, and a frayed black shawl under which she was carrying on her arm a naked baby.
>
> The cloth peddler presides over all of this; he displays his finery to everyone, and all show the greatest interest, each in his own way. Behind him, lying in the foreground are a guitar and a plumed hat.
>
> Then comes the canvas on my easel with me painting seen from the Assyrian side of my head. Behind my chair is a nude female model. She is leaning on the back of my chair to watch me paint for a moment; her clothes are on the floor in front of the picture and there is a white cat near my chair.
>
> Following this woman come Promayet with his violin. . . Then behind are Bruyas, Cuenot, Buchon, Proudhon.
>
> In the foreground is a woman of the world and her husband, both luxuriously dressed.
>
> Then toward the extreme right sitting on the edge of a table is Baudelaire reading a large book.
>
> Courbet deliberately withholds information about the hidden meaning of the allegory in *The Artist's Studio*. He constantly drops broad hints about its existence, teasing the reader-viewer. After his enumeration of every item in the picture in his letter to Champfleury, he concludes, "I have explained all this very badly, the wrong way round. . . I ought to have begun with Baudelaire, but it would take too long to start again. Make it out as best you can. People will have their work cut out to judge the picture—they must do their best."

Several art historians have written about *The Artist's Studio*. Here are some examples of these writings:

In 1977, during a Louvre exhibition celebrating the anniversary of Courbet's death, curator Hélène Toussaint made an interpretive breakthrough: she discovered that the figures on the left represent actual historical personalities ("Le dossier de *L'Atelier* de Courbet," in *Courbet* (Paris: Réunion des musées nationaux, 1977), 241-77):

> Starting in the left foreground, Napoleon III is seated with two of his ministers. Seated to the emperor's right is the "purveyor of cheap textiles," representing Minister of Interior, Jean Gilbert Victor Fialin, duc de Persigny.
>
> Opposite Persigny is a renegade republican named Émile de Girardin, whom Courbet referred to as "the coroner." Behind him is Emperor Lazare Carnot, who voted for the execution of Louis XVI in 1792 and became the Minister of Interior under Napoleon I.
>
> Next to him in a white uniform is the Italian chasseur, wearing the red scarf of revolutionary armies, and then Lajos Kosuth with a bonnet, representing Hungarian rebels. Tadeusz Kościuszko, holding a scythe, represents the Polish freedom fighters.
>
> Between Persigny and Girardin is a carnival strongman symbolizing Turkey, and a jester in Chinese costume symbolizing European ties with the Far East. Behind Girardin is a young woman who represents an allusion to Greece.
>
> Beneath the life-size lay figure crouches a woman to whom Courbet referred to as an Irish woman, dressed in rags and suckling her baby as an embodiment of poverty.
>
> Crucial to Toussaint's interpretation is the fact that the painting was executed for the Paris World Fair, which opened on May 1, 1855. Courbet surrounds himself with Bonapartists, socialists, Frenchmen, and foreigners to symbolically demonstrate the possibility of a peaceful coexistence of diverse opinions and stances. At the time, France was involved in a state of war. On June 2, 1853, the French fleet was dispatched to the Dardanelles, a narrow strait in northwestern Turkey. On March 27, 1854, Napoleon III declared war on Russia. On June 26, 1854, Greece was occupied by British and French troops.
>
> *The Artist's Studio* also includes a lament, a symbol of hope to abolish poverty, embodied by the mother in rags at the emperor's feet. The painting contains a warning. Louis-Napoleon had published the book

The Extinction of Pauperism in 1844 but it had by no means been fulfilled. On the floor lies a dagger pointed toward the emperor but still in its sheath. The revolutionaries in the background, including the chasseur and faucheur (scyther), wait passively to see what direction the emperor's policy will take.



Detail of Gustave Courbet, *The Artist's Studio, a Real Allegory Summing Up Seven Years of My Artistic and Moral Life*, 1854. Oil on canvas. 361 x 598 cm. Musée d'Orsay, Paris. View Source



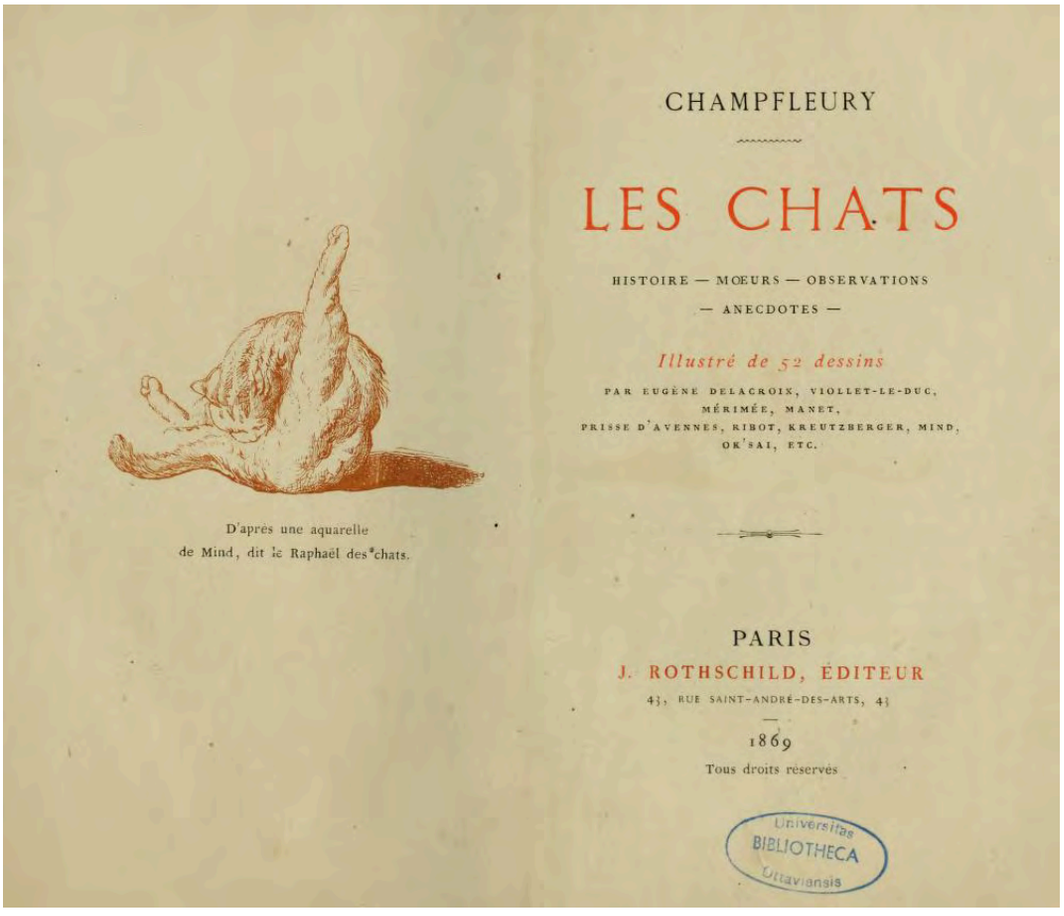
Johann Saenredam, after Hendrik Goltzius, *Allegory of Sight and of the Art of Painting (An Artist and His Model)*,1616. Engraving. 24.4 x 18.4 cm. Museum of Fine Arts, Houston. View Source

In the centre of *The Artist's Studio*, Courbet has portrayed a nude model, a little boy, a white cat, and Courbet himself, in the act of painting a landscape. Margaret Armbrust Seibert suggests in "A Political and a Pictorial Tradition Used in Gustave Courbet's Real Allegory" (*Art Bulletin*, 65, no. 2 (June 1983): 311-316) that Courbet has reassembled the traditional image of a painter, nude, model, little boy, and cat, as exemplified by *Allegory of Sight and of the Art of Painting (An Artist and His Model)*, created by Dutch artist Johann Saenredam (1565–1607) after Hendrik Goltzius (1558–1617). The resemblance between the two works does not mean that Courbet saw Saenredam's work; rather, it represents the continuation of a tradition. Differences between

Courbet's painting and the print raise questions regarding Courbet's recasting of this traditional emblem in a "realist" mode. The boy—an ordinary child, not an angel or putto—is a reference to the unspoiled future generation. Alternatively, he could be a metaphor for Courbet's own sincerity, truth, and naiveté. The model, casting her clothing aside, represents beauty and truth. Thus, the child and model create an effective bracket around the artist at his easel.

Siebert also discusses the origins and Republican use of the white cat as an emblem of Liberty.

In 1848 Theophile Gautier published an article on Republican symbolism in *L'artiste*. This article specifically cites in its text the iconologies of Ripa, and Gravelot and Cochin. Similar information also appeared in Champfleury's *Les chats*: "The origin of the cat as a symbol of independence is of remote antiquity. In the temple of Liberty which Rome owed to Tiberius Gracchus the Goddess was arrayed in white … at her feet was a cat, the emblem of Liberty. From the Middle Ages down to modern times we repeatedly find the cat used as a symbol of independence." Some of the examples cited in Champfleury employ the cat alone as a representative of independence, and special mention is made of its uses as an emblem of the French Republic by both Gautier and Champfleury. The cat became a part of the Republic's coat-of-arms and appeared at the feet of Liberty in Pierre-Paul Prudhon's *Allegory of the Constitution*, a detail of which appeared in Champfleury's *Les chats*. The white cat in Courbet's *Atelier* follows the dictates that Liberty be draped in white, reinforcing the fact that this is her cat, Independence.



Champfleury. *Les chats: histoire, moeurs, observations, anecdotes* (Paris: J. Rothschild, Éditeur, 1869). View Source



Detail of Gustave Courbet, *The Artist's Studio, a Real Allegory Summing Up Seven Years of My Artistic and Moral Life,* 1854. Oil on canvas. 361 x 598 cm. Musée d'Orsay, Paris. View Source



Julien Vallou de Villeneuve, *Nude Study,* registered 1853. Daguerreotype print on salted paper from a paper negative. 16.5 x 12.3 cm. Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris. View Source

Amanda M. Guggenbiller writes in "Compositions of Criticism: A Reinterpretation of Gustave Courbet's Paintings of Nudes" (M.A. Thesis, West Virginia University, 2014):

> Courbet mentioned in a letter to Alfred Bruyas dated December 1854 that he would like Bruyas to send him 'that photograph of a nude woman about which I have spoken to you. She will be behind my chair in the middle of the painting...Send me as soon as possible the two profiles and the photograph of the nude woman.'
>
> The profiles that Courbet said he wanted sent to him were a side profile side of himself and another of Bruyas, which would be used in *The Artist's Studio* from 1854-1855. This request to have the two profiles and the photograph of the nude sent at the same time, and the manner in which Courbet said he would place the nude female within the composition, matches the figures in *The Artist's Studio*. There is no clear indication that lists exactly what photograph Courbet mentioned, but Aaron Scharf argues that the source of the photograph was from Vallou de Villeneuve, a proposal that has been widely accepted by Courbet scholars. The photograph that has the most similarities was registered in 1853, almost ten years prior to the painting being created.
>
> To avoid being accused of photographing pornographic scenes or for illicit purposes, nude photographs were required to be registered as academies or artist's models. Courbet used photographs that were registered under this subject as well.



Detail of Gustave Courbet, *The Artist's Studio, a Real Allegory Summing Up Seven Years of My Artistic and Moral Life,* 1854. Oil on canvas. 361 x 598 cm. Musée d'Orsay, Paris. View Source

Linda Nochlin writes in "Courbet's Real Allegory: Rereading "The Painter's Studio" (in *Courbet Reconsidered*, Sarah Faunce and Linda Nochlin, eds. Brooklyn: Brooklyn Museum, 1988):

> For me... the Irish beggar-woman constitutes not just a dark note of negativity within the bright utopian promise of the allegory of *The Painter's Studio* as a whole, but rather, negates such promise as a totality. The poor woman – a dark, indrawn, passive, source of melancholy within the painting as well as a reference to it outside its boundaries – constitutes both a memorial to melancholy past and the repressed that returns, turning against both the triumphant harmony of Courbet's allegory, interrupting the flow of its intentional meaning. In short, to me, reading as a woman, the beggar-woman sticks out like a sore thumb. In her, the would-be allegorical connection between thing and meaning is really fumbled... Embodying in a single figure the convergence of gender and class oppressions, the Irishwoman for me becomes the central figure, the annihilation-cancellation of Courbet's project, not merely a warning about its difficulty. Figuring all that is unassimilable and inexplicable – female, poor, mother, passive, unproductive but reproductive – she denies and negates all the male-dominated productive energy of the central portion, and thus functions as the interrupter and overturner of the whole sententious message of progress, peace and reconciliation of the allegory as a whole. In my rereading of Courbet's *The Painter's Studio*, the Irishwoman as a figure, refuses to stay in her place and act as a mere vehicle of another more general meaning, be it Poor Ireland or the Problem of Pauperism, an incidental warning signal on the high road to historic reconciliation. In her dumb passivity, her stubborn immobility, she swells to the dimensions of an insurmountable, dark, stumbling block on that highway to constructive progress.



Gustave Courbet, *The Artist's Studio, a Real Allegory Summing Up Seven Years of My Artistic and Moral Life,* 1854. Oil on canvas. 361 x 598 cm. Musée d'Orsay, Paris. View Source

Sophie Rachel Handler writes in "Shadows of Childhood: The Emergence of the Child in the Visual and Literary Culture of the French Long-Nineteenth Century" (PhD diss., Durham University, 2017):

> The small boy drawing on the right of the canvas and that of the young child in the centre who observes the artist, are significant considering what they inform us of Courbet's own view of children, childhood, and their relationship with creativity. During the Enlightenment and Romantic eras childhood began to be discovered as something of a cache of wisdom, insight, and sensitivity. this association of childhood intuitiveness with a sort of 'creative vitality' was gradual, and began in earnest early in the nineteenth century, when the innovative potential of the child emerged, unbound by habit or regulation, as an influence upon avant-garde endeavours.
>
> In light of this, we may consider the small boy scribbling away in Courbet's *Studio*, half submerged in shadow, emerging from the darkness around him, as symbolic of the capacity of the 'wise child', unencumbered by instruction or influence, to draw us out, in both senses, from the dark opacity of art defined by Academic rigour, and genuinely enlighten us with the clarity of his unfettered, inner vision. Courbet sought in this painting to reveal the capacity of the child to create before the intrusion of adult influence, symbolised perhaps by the dwarfing of the child by the engulfment of dark adulthood.
>
> The child is free-drawing. This is reflective of a deeply liberating approach to artistic creation related to free-writing, buttressed by the interchangeable use of the French term écriture for writing, handwriting, and the artist's brushstrokes, Courbet's child is demonstrative of the possibilities when one truly submits oneself to the impulses and direction of nature as opposed to the societal influences around him.
>
> Moreover, Baudelaire in "Morale du joujou" published in 1853, devotes an essay to the analysis of spontaneous creativity of children in relation to their toys. He-goes so far as to maintain that genius nothing but "l'enfance retrouvé è la volonté." The figure of child, only person engaged in some sort of artistic pursuit closely connected with advanced aesthetic theories of time–paying homage to spontaneity and creativity of child and has own creative vigour, an "ignorance voluntary" and childlike directness of approach to painting.



Detail of Gustave Courbet, *The Artist's Studio, a Real Allegory Summing Up Seven Years of My Artistic and Moral Life*, 1854. Oil on canvas. 361 x 598 cm. Musée d'Orsay, Paris. View Source



Gustave Courbet, *Source of the Lison,* ca. 1864-1866. Oil on canvas. 91 x 73 cm. Galerie Paffrath, Düsseldorf. View Source

Petra Ten-Doesschate Chu writes in "Showing Making in Courbet's *The Painter's Studio*," (*Hiding Making – Showing Creation: The Studio from Turner to Tacita Dean*, edited by Rachel Esner et al. (Amsterdam University Press, 2013), 62–72):

> While Courbet's depiction of himself painting a Franche Comté landscape inside his Paris studio may be a reference to his well-known ability to paint "magnificent" and characteristic landscapes from memory, it may also represent his common practice of laying in his landscapes outdoors and finishing them later in the studio.
>
> The sculptor Max Claudet, in his account of the genesis of Courbet's painting of the *Source of the Lison River*, ca. 1864-1866 (probably the version in the Galerie Paffrath in Düsseldorf, Germany), reports that to paint the picture Courbet went to the site, carrying with him a canvas that was about one meter tall. Claudet tells us that Courbet executed this painting outdoors, directly in front of the motif. He carried with him a box containing four jars of paint — white, red, yellow, and blue. Courbet mixed these colors on the palette and then, using his palette knife, applied the paint to the canvas, scraping it on with firm and determined motions. Claudet recounts with astonishment that it took Courbet less than two hours to finish the painting. "We were stunned by that speed of execution! Barely two hours of work to cover a one-meter canvas." Though to Claudet, Courbet's painting looked finished, to the artist it was not. Courbet would subsequently complete it in the studio, working with brushes rather than the palette knife. Indeed, the numerous contemporary accounts about Courbet's rapid execution of his landscape paintings, such as the accounts by Claudet and Castagnary above, are in contradiction to the complex, highly 'worked' surfaces of Courbet's landscapes. These suggest that, back in the studio, Courbet belaboured the rapidly done lay-ins, executed largely with the palette knife, to create the rich surfaces for which Courbet's best landscape paintings are known.

> It appears, then, that Courbet, working either outdoors or from memory, quickly massed in his landscape paintings with the palette knife. In so doing, he achieved such an impression of completeness that his contemporaries often thought of the lay-ins as finished paintings... The artist may well have encouraged this impression, as it helped him to build an image as a virtuoso artist, a painter-magician. However, it would seem that, in reality, the completion of the work took place in the studio, perhaps in numerous sessions.



Eugène Feyen, *Gustave Courbet's studio in Ornans, showing a lay figure,* 1864. Photograph. Institut Gustave Courbet, Ornans. View Source

A photograph of Courbet's studio on the route de Besançon in Ornans, made by Eugène Feyen in 1864, shows several paintings leaning against chairs in the center of the room, suggesting that the artist may have worked on them simultaneously, touching up one as another was drying.

Baillère, who visited Courbet's studio several times between 1865 and 1866, described it as follows:

> Instead of being filled with *bibelots*, like the studios of fashionable painters, the studio of Courbet was decorated only by the master's paintings. They were everywhere, hung on the walls from the baseboard to the ceiling, on easels, several were stacked against the platbands.

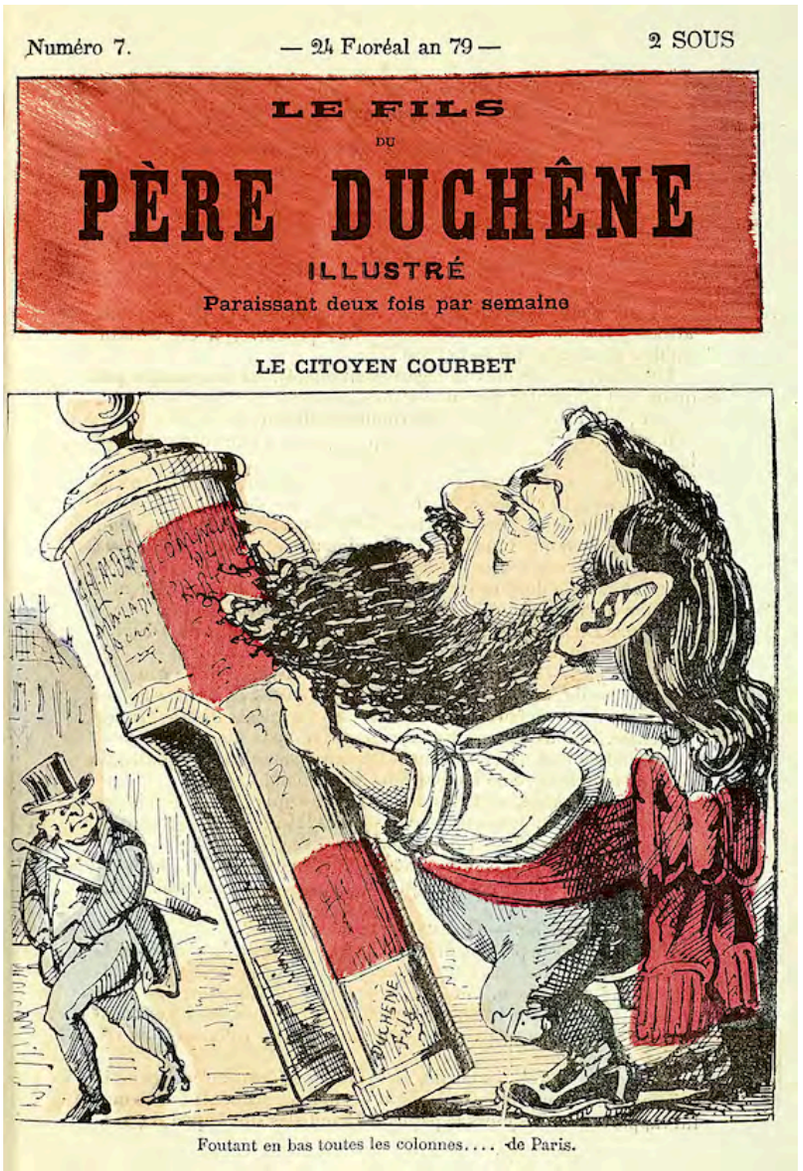
His description was confirmed by Zacharie Astruc, who described Courbet's studio as "full of canvases [emcombré de toiles]," and Castagnary, who wrote that the studio was submerged under an avalanche of paintings.

Despite the apparent emphasis in Courbet's painting on showing creation, the artist is in no way hiding making. On the contrary, he is making a show of it for the group of critics and collectors on the right side of the painting who seem to have come to see him paint.

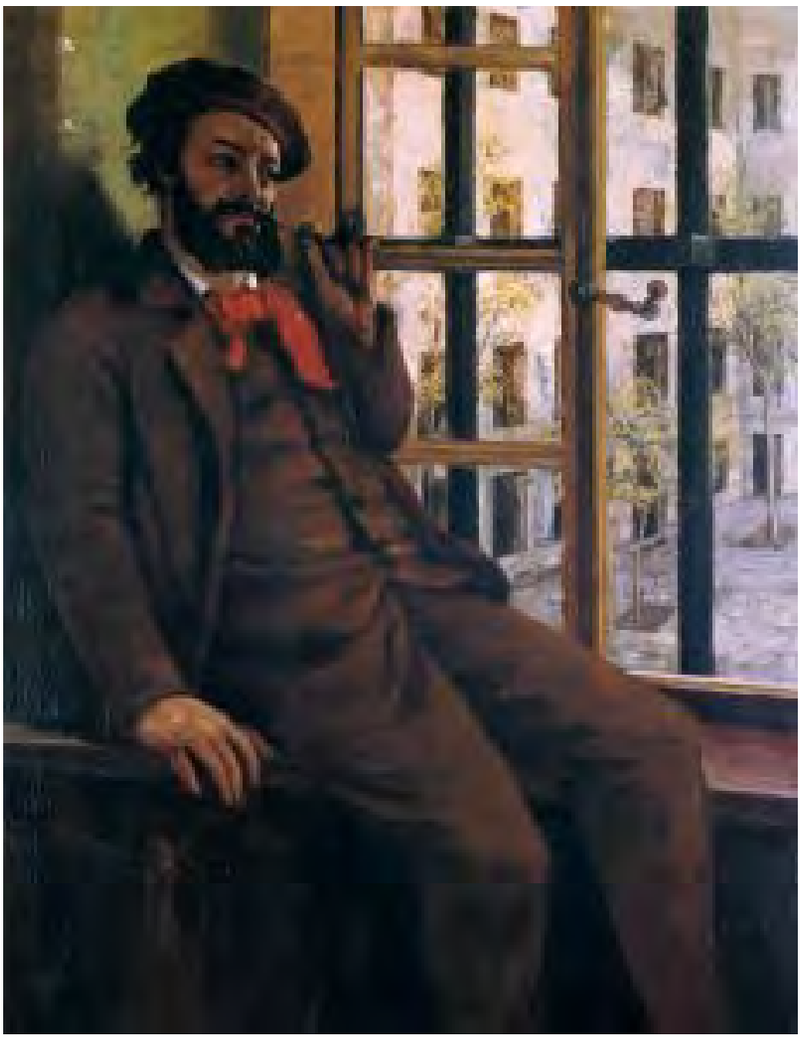
His virtuosity with the palette knife and the brush, as well as his ability to work from memory, were qualities of Courbet's work that were much praised in his time and that drew people to his studio to watch him perform... Perhaps *The Painter's Studio*, that "real allegory," may be said to show creation as well as making.

It is undoubtedly true that Gustave Courbet coveted attention and courted controversy throughout his career. He was the quintessential spectacle artist. For all his anti-market sentiment, he cultivated a brand name for

himself by embracing the popular press and the gossip machine. He had a vain and rebellious nature which for a time served him well. Initially, he promoted his provincial 'difference' as a *homme du peuple*, often holding court and speaking loudly in his Franche-Comte patois. His assumption of infamy, his rejection of the academy and the haute bourgeoisie as his primary audience, and his depiction of the lower classes as noble, contemporary heroes placed him at the head of the artistic avant-garde. At the height of his fame, he refused to sell his work to high-ranking government officials, and when offered the cross of the *Legion d'honneur* by Napoleon III, in 1870, he loudly declined, a controversial decision that was widely publicized, generating more attention than any publicity surrounding the honour would have.



Eugène Vermersch, Maxime Vuillaume and Alphonse Humbert, 'Le Citoyen Courbet', Père Duchêne, 1871. View Source



Gustave Courbet. *Self-Portrait at Sainte-Pélagie.* Oil on canvas. ca. 1872.
92 cm x 72 cm. View Source

Courbet's involvement in politics was undertaken with the same drive and bravado. But his role in the toppling of the Vendome Column (to be discussed in the next chapter) during the revolutionary Paris Commune brought incarceration for six months and financial ruin. When his assets were sequestered in France, he fled to Switzerland, where he died in exile at age 55.



Gustave Courbet, *Portrait of Jules-Antoine Castagnary,* 1870. Oil on canvas. 55.5 x 46.3 cm. Musée d'Orsay. View Source



Gustave Courbet, *Landscape with a Hunter,* 1873. Oil on canvas. 80.5 cm x 120.5 cm. National Museum of Western Art. View Source

For decades after his death in 1877, the legacy of Courbet was minimized, his ground-breaking politically charged and stylistically innovative grand works, such as *The Stonebreakers, A Burial at Ornans* and *The Artist's Studio* were ignored in favour of later images more pleasing to private buyers: portraits and landscapes devoid of social commentary. With recent scholarship, Courbet's art practice and its social significance may now be re-evaluated within an expanded art historical context.
tps://www.wga.hu/html_m/c/courbet/2/courb222.html" target="_blank" rel="noopener">View Source[/caption]

Courbet's involvement in politics was undertaken with the same drive and bravado. But his role in the toppling of the Vendome Column (to be discussed in the next chapter) during the revolutionary Paris Commune brought incarceration for six months and financial ruin. When his assets were sequestered in France, he fled to Switzerland, where he died in exile at age 55.

Chapter Two

ÉDOUARD MANET & Modern Life



Édouard Manet, Le Déjeuner sur l'herbe, 1863. Oil on canvas. 207 x 265 cm. Musée d'Orsay, Paris. View Source

CONTENTS

Introduction

2.1

The Challenge of the New: Modernist Attitudes and the Académie

2.2

Enter Édouard: The Paris Salon of 1859

2.3

The Perfect Storm: *Le Déjeuner sur l'herbe*, the Paris Salon and the Salon des Refusés

2.4

Olympia in Context

2.5

The International Exposition of 1867

2.6

The Political Manet: The Execution of Emperor Maximilian

2.7

Portrait of Émile Zola: Japonisme and the Influence of the Multiple

2.8

Édouard Manet's Entourage

2.9

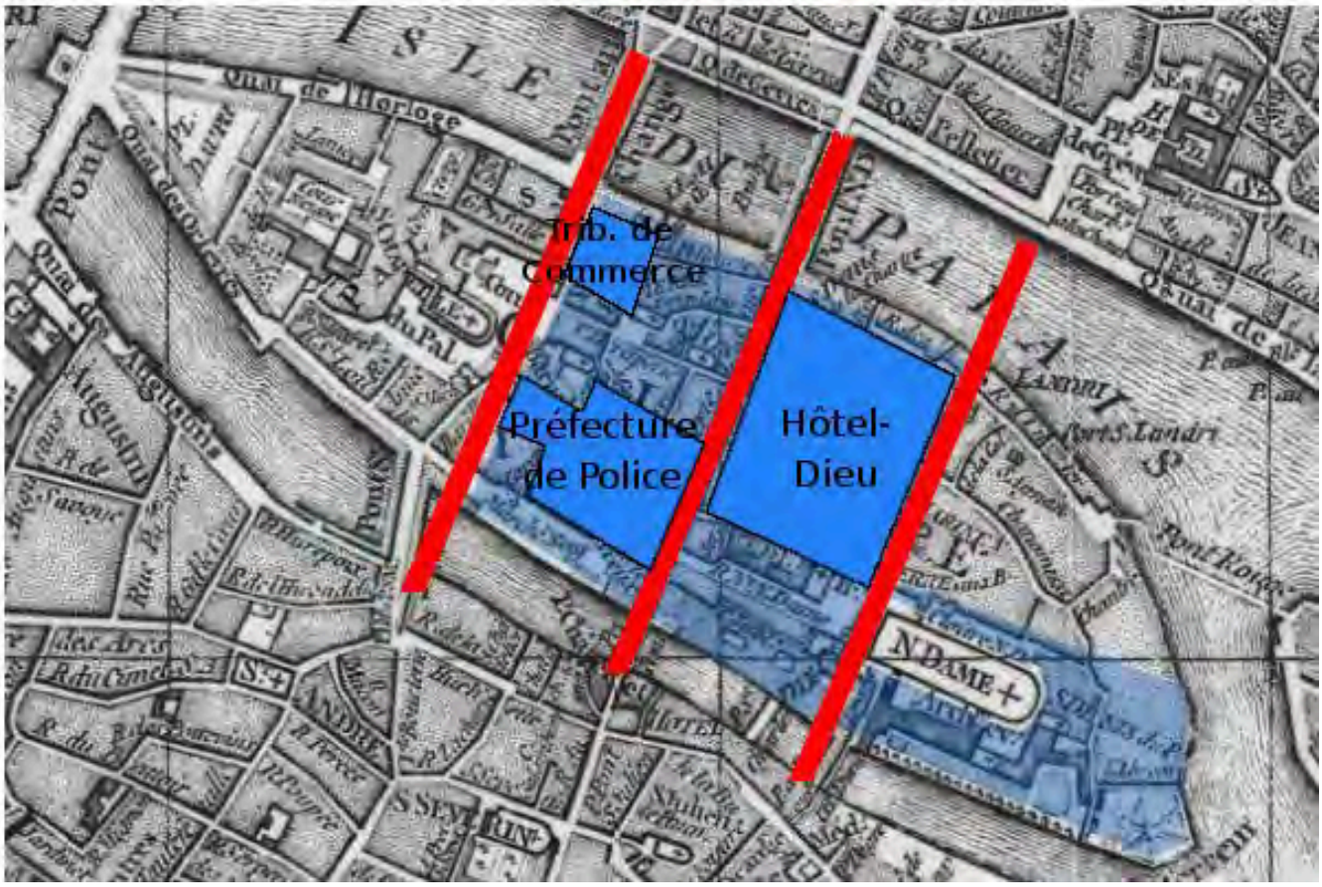
The Paris Commune, 1871

2.10

Impressionism and its Contexts

INTRODUCTION

Édouard Manet forged a path for a revolutionary aesthetic movement in Western art history. During France's Second Empire a shift in the socio-economic order coincided with the rise of cultural modernity and an embrace of innovatory attitudes and ideology. The emergence of a new leisure class, the effects of a modernized Paris, and the development of visual technologies significantly impacted the cultural landscape, and it would go on to affect the production, dissemination, and acquisition of art.



Paris, Ile de la Cité. A map based on the 1771 Robert de Vaugondy plan shows in dark blue the buildings, in light blue the public spaces and in red the streets created by Haussmann. View Source

Cultural modernity was significantly impacted by the reconstruction of Paris as a new metropolis. In the years leading up to *l'année terrible* of 1870-1871, (the Franco-Prussian War and Paris Commune) Napoleon III set out to rebuild the sections of the city destroyed by the revolutions of 1789, 1830, and 1848. His visionary project was undertaken by Baron Georges-Eugene Haussmann, whose *ésprit de géometrie* transformed the old medieval city with its narrow streets and slums into a network of large, lighted boulevards flanked by apartment buildings for the newly minted bourgeoisie.



An aerial view of Paris shows the wide boulevards and uniform apartments designed and constructed under the watch of urban planner Georges-Eugène Haussmann. Photo: Getty Images/James Farley. View Source

Haussmann created an extensive municipal park system, built schools and hospitals, and installed gas lines and an advanced underground sewer system. These massive changes to the built environment transformed social life, facilitating urban mobility and creating new spaces for social interchange.

The social effects of "Haussamanization," the peopled open boulevards, avenues, and parks, as well the visual stimuli of shop vitrines, murals, and advertising bill posts, gave rise to a culture of spectatorship amongst a newly affluent demographic of city dwellers.



Gustave Caillebotte, *Le Pont de l'Europe*, 1876. Oil on canvas. 124.7 cm x 180.6 cm. Musée du Petit Palais. View Source

The emergence of the *flâneur* as a prominent figure in the cityscape became a common phenomenon. The term boulevardier referred to a bourgeois male who dedicated his days to leisurely strolls around the city, observing the unfolding events of the everyday world. The boulevardier embodied a certain lifestyle and attitude, emphasizing a detached and leisurely engagement with urban life, often associated with the leisure class of the time.



Henri Fantin-Latour, *Portrait d'Edouard Manet*, 1867. Oil on canvas. 117.5 cm x 90 cm. Art Institute of Chicago. View Source

For Manet, the quintessential *flâneur*, an inclination towards observing contemporary city life was ignited by the writings of the poet and art critic Charles Baudelaire. In his 1864 essay, "The Painter of Modern Life," Baudelaire emphasized that the artist's duty was to encapsulate the essence of the "fleeting, ephemeral experience of life in an urban metropolis." This philosophy profoundly influenced Manet's artistic perspective, inspiring him to portray the dynamic and transient aspects of modern urban existence in his works.

Manet's fascination with modern life as a subject found a precursor in Gustave Courbet's provocative depictions of rural realism. However, while Courbet portrayed the unvarnished reality of an essentially unaltered peasant world, Manet's modernism was distinctly urban and forward-looking. He departed from the distant historicism of academic art, opting instead for contemporary experiences and pioneered stylistic innovations that broke

with tradition. Alongside fellow avant-garde artists, he looked outward, embracing emerging art technologies such as print reproductions and multiples and drew inspiration from non-Western aesthetics, notably Japanese art and design. This collective engagement with diverse influences marked a departure from conventional artistic norms.

In this chapter, we will delve into the attitudes and values that shaped Manet's artistic journey, exploring the impact of social structures and political events on his art practice. Additionally, we will explore the motivations that gave rise to the early stages of modernism, a movement which challenged the established academic canon and played a pivotal role in altering the trajectory of modern art.

2.1
| The Challenge of the New: Modernist Attitudes and the Académie

The battle between modernist artists and the arch-conservative Académie intensified during Napoleon III's Second Empire (1852–70), playing out publicly at the prestigious annual Paris Salon. As the only official venue for the exhibition of art in Paris, the historic Salon was of vital importance to living artists. It offered direct public visibility and media coverage as well as access to lucrative state commissions and, later, to a new cohort of bourgeois buyers wishing to collect art for their homes.



Édouard Baldus, *Palais de l'Industrie*, ca. 1850-1860. Albumen silver print. 21.6 x 27.9 cm. Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York. View Source

Sponsored by the French government and the Académie des Beaux-Arts, the Salon exerted a significant influence on the prevailing taste in art. From its establishment at the Louvre Museum in 1667, where it was

held until the Revolution of 1848), the Salon maintained its role as a key arbiter of artistic standards.

Sponsored by the French government and the Académie des Beaux-Arts, the Salon had dictated taste in art since its inception at the Louvre Museum in 1667, where it continued to be held until the Revolution of 1848. In 1857 the high-status event was relocated to the newly built Palais de l'Industrie on the Champs Elysées. Exhibitions were juried by Académie officials whose mandate was to promote France's so-called 'new' art, which favoured academic classicism and historical subjects. While it aimed to encourage the enjoyment of art and hone skills of connoisseurship in its viewers, the jury sought to mould public taste in line with its selections and to discourage the exercise of insurgent social ideas. Originally exclusive to students and teachers at the Académie royale, by the nineteenth century, the Salon had expanded its acceptance criteria to French and foreign non-academicians, thereby enlarging its influence as the arbiter of style throughout Europe.

Jules-Antoine Castagnary, a French politician, journalist, critic, and staunch supporter of Courbet's Realism, critiqued the hegemony of French Salon painting during the Second Empire. While Salon exhibitions comprised a variety of stylistic tendencies: history painting, historical genre, Orientalist, eclectic, academic, Classicist, Romanticist, Naturalist and Realist, the vast majority of art on view aligned with traditional art, which in turn was equated with national greatness. In "The Triumph of Naturalism," Castagnary observed that state-sanctioned art was dominated by the genres of landscape and portraiture and could be roughly divided into three stylistic categories: Neoclassicism, Romanticism and Naturalism. He decried the Neoclassicist and Romanticist stranglehold on academic art, championed Realist and Naturalist painters, and called for artists to depict events of their own time ("Salon de 1863, Les Refusé," *Le Courier du Dimanche*, June 14, 1863, 4-5). In 1867 he again urged artists to paint the "modern spectacle," stating, "What need is there to go back through history … to examine the registers of the imagination?" … "beauty is in front of the eyes, not inside the brain; in the present, not in the past … The universe we have here, before us, is the very one that painting ought to translate." ("Salon of 1867," in *Salons (1857-1870)*, (Paris: 1892), vol. 1, 241-242)

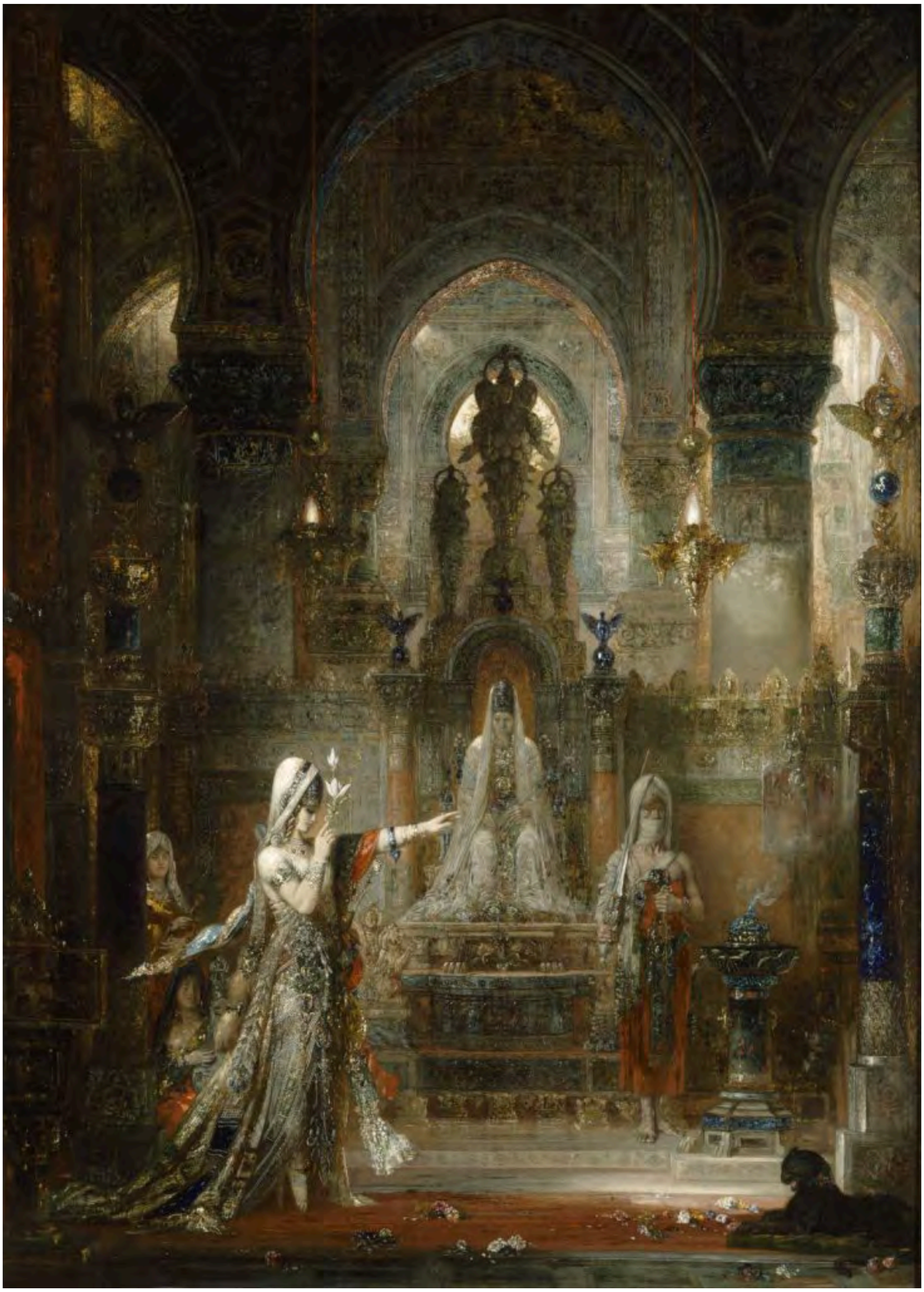


Jean-Léon Gerôme, *Death of Caesar*, ca. 1859-1867. Oil on canvas. 85.5 x 145.5 cm. Walters Art Museum, Baltimore. View Source

The paintings of Jean-Léon Gerome are an example of art popularized by the Academy. Gerome favoured subjects derived from antiquity, and he employed precise drawing techniques and meticulously rendered physical gestures and facial expressions to articulate those subjects. His carefully constructed compositions and

fine finishes were entirely consistent with academic Neoclassicism. *Death of Caesar*, for example, displays a faithful observance of the rules of anatomy, perspective, modelling, and physiognomic expression.

Castagnary also critiqued contemporary artists who continued to work in an 'irrelevant' Romanticist vein, idealizing nature, glorifying the past, and embracing excessively emotive narratives. These artists included Léon Bonnat, Fantin-Latour and Gustave Moreau, each of whom was inspired, to a lesser or greater extent, by Eugène Delacroix, the acknowledged leader of French Romanticism.



Gustave Moreau, *Salome Dancing Before Herod*, 1876. Oil on canvas. 143.5 x 104.3 cm. Hammer Museum, Los Angeles. View Source

Moreau was the quintessential painter of allegory and myth. His *Salome* illustrates Romanticism's penchant for the exoticism of a fictional eastern world, which he mystified further by applying painterly veils of glaze and paint. Moreau's highly detailed illusions stood in contradiction to Courbet's raw Realism and Naturalism's directness of approach.



Théodore Rousseau, *Forest of Fontainebleau, Cluster of Tall Trees Overlooking the Plain of Clair-Bois at the Edge of Bas-Bréau*, ca. 1849-1852. Oil on canvas. 90.8 × 116.8 cm. J. Paul Getty Museum, Los Angeles. View Source

Despite the enduring dominance of Classicism and Romanticism, the Naturalist school was recognized as a new direction for Salon painting. Ironically, Naturalism, while breaking away from traditional styles, served as the direct precursor to one of the most contentious movements of the late nineteenth century: Impressionism.

Naturalism sought to depict the natural world with sympathetic accuracy. It had its roots in the *plein-air* painting of the Barbizon group of landscape artists who worked around the Forest of Fontainebleau near Paris. Their ambition to paint nature *in situ* challenged the idealized pastorales popular at the Salon. The Barbizon group included Narcisse-Virgile Diaz de La Peña, Jules Dupré, Théodore Rousseau, Constant Troyon, Charles-Émile Jacque and Jean-François Millet. Rousseau and Millet, the pioneering leaders, lived in the village of Barbizon.

The term 'Naturalist' carried a profound significance, embodying a new principle of equality and individualism in both society and culture. Castagnary emphasized that Naturalism "springs from our politics which, by taking the equality of individuals and the equality of conditions as a desideratum, has banished from the mind false hierarchies and lying distinctions." This statement establishes a clear connection between Naturalist art and democratic politics.

Rousseau's "Forest of Fontainebleau" exemplifies the unfiltered, directly felt experience of observing the natural world. The painting, featuring beloved oak trees dominating a late afternoon scene, captures diffused light

dappling on a thinly painted pond, tree branches, a single figure, and a herd of cows. Similar to other artists of the Barbizon school, Rousseau initiated the composition on-site, using chalk and thin layers of medium, and later completed it in the studio.



Jules Breton, *Erecting a Calvary*, 1858. Oil on canvas. 43.5 x 79 cm. Palais des Beaux-Arts de Lille. View Source

Although Rousseau and Millet held considerable appeal, it was the traditionalist artists like Jules Breton who garnered favor with patrons and jurors during the mid-1800s. Breton, known for his peasant themes, skillfully integrated idealized narratives of Classicism. His works often portrayed the perceived superiority of ruling notables and conveyed a moral endorsement of proletarian subservience.

Erecting a Cavalry depicts peasants watching a passing religious procession, a representation of the tripartite governing authority: the Church (priest), Commerce (bourgeoisie in suits) and the State (the uniformed gendarme). The work is a realistic portrayal of an event Breton would have witnessed in his youth and is made more meaningful through the inclusion of his wife Élodie de Vigne, who appears twice: as the mother holding the hands of her two children and as the girl in white carrying the crown of thorns on a cushion.



Rosa Bonheur, *Ploughing in Nevers*, 1849. Oil on canvas. 134 x 260 cm. Musée d'Orsay, Paris. View Source

The modernist aspirations of Naturalism found perhaps its most accomplished expression in the truth-seeking animal representations of Rosa Bonheur. Renowned for her eccentric, courageous, and unconventional approach, Bonheur achieved fame within the Salon system and made history as the first woman artist to be honored with the Chevalier of the Légion d'Honneur medal in 1865.

Bonheur's dedication to her craft extended to in-depth research. She delved into zoology books and made visits to stockyards and slaughterhouses to study modern farm animals in their natural environment. Displaying exceptional determination, she even secured police permission to don men's attire, allowing her access to these traditionally male-dominated sites for her observational studies.



Rosa Bonheur, *The Horse Fair*, 1853-55. Oil on canvas. 244.5 x 506.7 cm. Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York. View Source



Cavalcade, Block II from the west frieze of the Parthenon, ca. 447–433 BC. High-relief Pentelic marble sculpture. 100 x 60 cm. British Museum, London. View Source

The monumental artwork *Horse Fair* captures the scene of several Percheron horses being showcased to potential buyers at the horse market near Salpetriere. This striking image draws inspiration from both the Parthenon marbles in London and the artistic styles of Romanticists Théodore Géricault and Eugène Delacroix. Exhibited at the 1853 Salon and the 1855 Exposition Universelle, the painting garnered widespread praise for its evocative depiction and artistic prowess.

Horse fairs were common in nineteenth-century Paris, but the captivating power of Bonheur's interpretation lies in the work's epic, even cinematic, composition and the individuality she assigns each animal. The work's monumental scale (eight feet high and sixteen feet long) allows for a close-up view of Bonheur's anatomic precision and brings one closer to the horses portrayed. Each animal is unique in physiognomy and dynamic movement. Bonheur effectively shows their muscles coiling, hooves kicking, and manes flying. The horses twist and turn within the frame, straining against their bonds or rearing to buck their riders as handlers corral them. The handler wearing a blue shirt in the centre of the painting and looking directly at the viewer is probably a self-image of the artist.



Rosa Bonheur, *Study for the Horse Fair*, ca. 1853-1855. Black chalk, gray wash, heightened with white. View Source

When Bonheur initially approached the French Minister of Fine Arts to secure an official painting commission, the response she received was that the chosen subject demanded a more experienced artist. Undeterred by the dismissal, Bonheur chose to ignore the slight. Instead, she devoted the following eighteen months to visiting the horse market on the Boulevard de l'Hôpital where she diligently drew the subjects she loved and felt confident in portraying in paint.



Rosa Bonheur, wearing the Legion of Honour, 1865. View Source

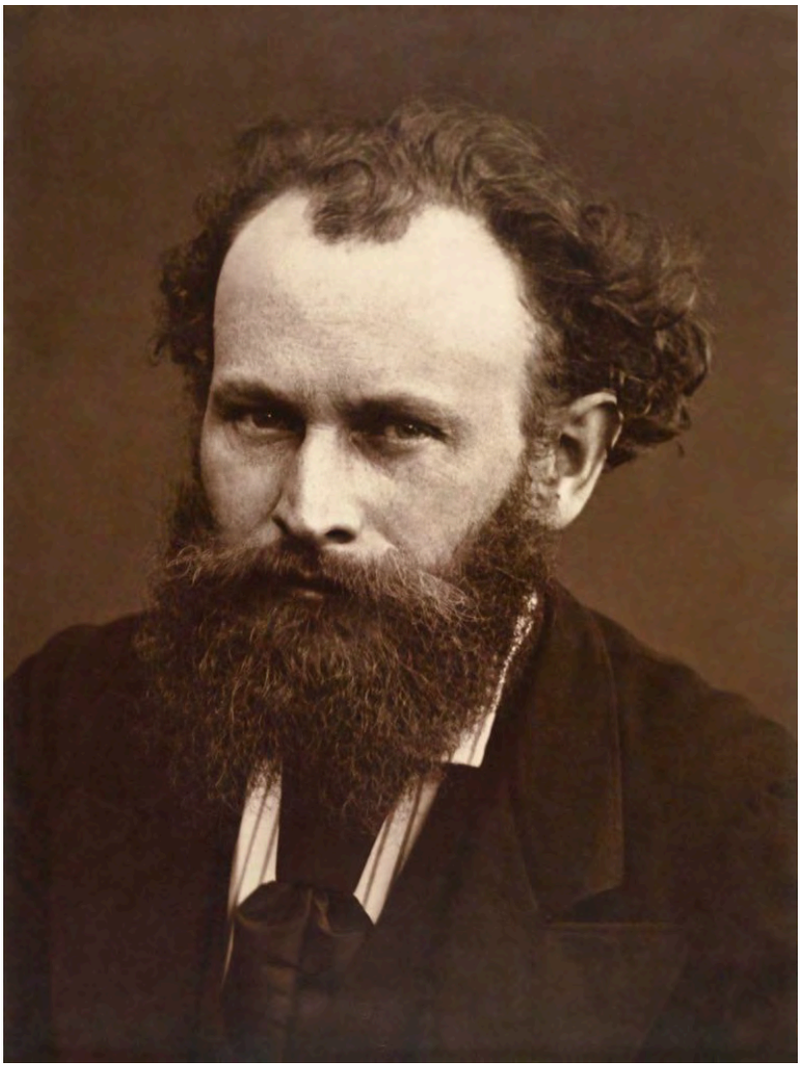
Rosa Bonheur was lesbian or transgender and had two consecutive long-term relationships with women. Kittredge Cherry writes in the online posting "Rosa Bonheur: Cross-dressing painter honored 'androgyne Christ'" that more recently "she has been celebrated as a queer pioneer, feminist icon, and role model for the LGBTQ community." Though originally of Jewish origin, the Bonheur family adhered to Saint-Simonianism, a Christian-socialist sect that promoted women's education alongside men. Bonheur, in her private and professional life, was motivated by the desire to celebrate a new sense of "matrimony"—not the ceremony sealing the subjection of a woman to a man according to the Code Civil—but in a pointed rejection of the patriarchal institution, "matrimony" as marriage between independent, financially autonomous women who freely choose to join their lives, who will live, love and work together for their mutual happiness and professional advancement.

Indeed, although not considered an avant-garde artist because of her traditional painting techniques and devotion to animal paintings, she was avant-garde in her ideas, behaviour, and determination to overcome conventions unacceptable to society.

It was within this context of cultural modernization and contested aesthetic reforms that avant-garde artists emerged in Paris in the 1860s. Working against traditional norms, faced with rejection, hostility and ridicule, they pressed forward for inclusion in the Paris Salon, the premium venue for the cultivation of critical and public attention.

2.2
| Enter Édouard: The Paris Salon of 1859

Édouard Manet led a generation's break from the stranglehold of state art. Born to an upper-middle-class family in Paris, his father, Auguste Manet, was a judge, and his mother, Eugénie-Désirée Fournier, was the daughter of a diplomat and the goddaughter of the Swedish crown prince Charles Bernadotte. Manet rejected a legal profession, opting instead to train for a post in the Navy. After failing the naval examination twice, his father agreed to sponsor his art education. From 1850 to 1856, Manet studied with the French history painter Thomas Couture, who taught him the fundamentals of drawing and traditional painting techniques.



Close-up photograph of artist Édouard Manet, before 1870. 39.6 x 29.8 cm, enlargement by Paul Nadar of his father's original. View Source

The influential late twentieth century sociologist and anthropologist Pierre Bourdieu, argues in *Manet: A Symbolic Revolution* (Polity, 2017), published after his death, that Manet's habitus was fundamentally shaped by his education – an education uniquely hybrid in nature, as it provided elite art historical knowledge while cultivating the artist's revolutionary aesthetic interests. Although his instruction was academic, his mentor Thomas Couture sought to mediate between the "high" subjects of the academy and the "low" subjects of modernity, imparting upon Manet an inclination for dissent that would soon send Paris's art world into an uproar.



Édouard Manet, *The Absinthe Drinker*, 1859 (reworked 1868-72). Oil on canvas. 180.5 x 105.6 cm. Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek, Amsterdam. View Source

The *Absinthe Drinker* sparked Manet's first controversy at the Salon of 1859. It was flatly rejected by the jury (except Delacroix), and he was castigated for the unapologetically realistic portrait of a "low-life" Manet's subject was a chiffonnier or ragpicker by the name of Collardet, who was often seen loitering around the Louvre collecting scraps, along with other unemployed scavengers. Manet's life-size portrayal of the city ragpicker served to put on display Louis Napolean's failure to address the reality of urban poverty.

Here, the disheveled figure draped in a worn cloak and donning a stovepipe hat assumes a dandified pose, rendered absurd by the conspicuous bottle of alcohol lying at his feet. Yet, his demeanor stands in stark contrast to that of a typical ragpicker labouring through the streets burdened by a bag of rags. Instead, his attitude reinforces the perception among bourgeois Salon-goers that the slums represented strongholds of revolutionary resistance. Additionally, the figure hints at the idea of the artist as a marginalized urban outcast, finding inspiration in the streets. This conceptualization may also suggest that by aligning with the rejection experienced by the ragpicker from society, the modern artist envisioned his own liberation from class identity.

Manet maintained a friendship with the poet Charles Baudelaire, a proponent of paintings depicting modern life and a staunch advocate for Realism. Manet was deeply committed to portraying the real world through a contemporary lens. He sought to capture the essence of modern life without succumbing to the restrictive conventions of academic style and subject matter.

The Rag-Picker's Wine

Often, in the red light of a street-lamp
Of which the wind whips the flame and worries the glass,
In the heart of some old suburb, muddy labyrinth,
Where humanity crawls in a seething ferment,

One sees a rag-picker go by, shaking his head,
Stumbling, bumping against the walls like a poet,
And, with no thought of the stool-pigeons, his subjects,
He pours out his whole heart in grandiose projects.

He takes oaths, dictates sublime laws,
Lays low the wicked and succors victims;
Beneath the firmament spread like a canopy
He gets drunk with the splendor of his own virtues.

Yes, these people harassed by domestic worries,
Ground down by their work, distorted by age,
Worn-out, and bending beneath a load of debris,
The commingled vomit of enormous Paris,

Come back, smelling of the wine-cask,
Followed by companions whitened by their battles,
And whose moustaches bang down like old flags;
Banners, flowers, and triumphal arches

Rise up before them, a solemn magic!
And in the deafening, brilliant orgy
Of clarions and drums, of sunlight and of shouts,
They bring glory to the crowd drunk with love!

It is thus that throughout frivolous Humanity
Wine, the dazzling Pactolus, carries flakes of gold;
By the throats of men he sings his exploits
And reigns by his gifts like a veritable king.

To drown the bitterness and lull the indolence
Of all these accurst old men who die in silence,
God, touched with remorse, had created sleep;
Man added Wine, divine child of the Sun!

— William Aggeler, *The Flowers of Evil* (Fresno, CA: Academy Library Guild, 1954)

Charles Baudelaire, "The Wine of the Ragpickers," in *Poems of Baudelaire*, translated by Roy Campbell (New York: Pantheon Books, 1952). View Source

The presence of alcohol in *The Absinthe Drinker* references the habits of Baudelaire's protagonist, "stumbling and bumping against the walls like a poet," in *Les Fleurs du Mal*, first published in 1857. According to Baudelaire, the experience that ought to count for an artist is the personal experience of solitude, isolation stemming from poverty, alcoholic addiction, and nights in a big city. Baudelaire proposed the linkage between intoxication and an authentic experience of modernity on several occasions.



Diego Velázquez, *Aesop*, ca. 1638. Oil on canvas.179 x 94 cm. Museo del Prado, Madrid. View Source

Manet's classical training and commitment to Realism are clearly evident in THE ABSINTHE DRINKER, as is his enduring admiration for Spanish painting. The painting resonates with the influence of the Spanish artist Diego Velazquez (1599-1660), both in its composition and treatment of the prominently placed central figure, and in its unequivocal embrace of the human condition.

By the mid-nineteenth century, Spanish painting had made a significant impact in France. In the 1830s, King Louis-Philippe seized opportunities to amass an extensive collection of Spanish pictures, creating the Galerie Espagnole in the Louvre. By 1846, Baudelaire characterized this Spanish Museum as "a museum of foreign art … an international place of fellowship where two peoples, observing and studying each other in a more relaxed fashion come to know each other and fraternize without arguing."

2.3
| The Perfect Storm: *Le Dejeuner sur l'herbe*, the Paris Salon and the Salon des Refusés

The convergence of efforts to democratize art, a surge in the number of practicing artists flocking to Paris, and the Académie's decision to open its exhibitions to outsiders created a perfect storm. In 1863, the situation was further aggravated by the rejection of two-thirds of the 5000 submissions to the Salon. Prominent artists such as Gustave Courbet, Paul Cézanne, Camille Pissarro, James Whistler, Henri Fantin-Latour, and Édouard Manet were among those spurned by the Salon. This pivotal moment marked a turning point in the art world, foreshadowing the rise of avant-garde movements and challenging the established norms of the time.



Theodor Josef Hubert Hoffbauer, *Salon de 1849, aux Tuileries,*ca.1875-82. Lithograph. 12.2 x 9.6 cm. Brown University Library, Providence. View Source

Amid growing protests against the autocratic and exclusionary regulations of the Académie, the state intervened. In response to mounting discontent, Napoleon III ordered the creation of an alternative exhibition space for the rejected works, known as the Salon des Refusés. In his statement, Napoleon III expressed the desire for the public to assess the legitimacy of the complaints, stating, “His Majesty, wishing to let the public judge the legitimacy of these complaints, has decided that the works of art which were refused should be displayed in another part of the Palais de l’Industrie.” This move by the state carried significant implications, suggesting official acknowledgment of ‘avant-garde’ art and recognition of the shortcomings of the Académie.

The Salon des Refusés featured approximately 800 works, with paintings comprising the majority. The critical response was largely hostile. While a few, like the writer Émile Zola, praised the event, many visitors, influenced by public and press criticism, attended only to mock. Despite the ridicule, the Salon des Refusés drew over a thousand curious spectators daily. This marked the beginning of the end for the official Salon’s dominance as a showcase and arbiter of aesthetic value.



Édouard Manet, *Luncheon on the Grass* , 1863. Oil on canvas. 208 x 264.5 cm. Musée d'Orsay, Paris. View Source

The 1863 *Salon des Refusés* placed Manet in the spotlight for his controversial *Le Dejeuner sur l'herbe* (*Luncheon on the Grass*). The viewing public (including Napoleon III) was scandalized by the painting's 'immorality.' The subject of *Le Dejeuner sur l'herbe* is a suburban luncheon in the park. It features two fully dressed men sharing a picnic with a naked woman while a second semi-dressed female is seen bathing in the background. The painting was decried as pure debauchery, its scandalous imagery made worse by the Manet's bold stylistic approach and the recognizability of the naked woman and her entourage.

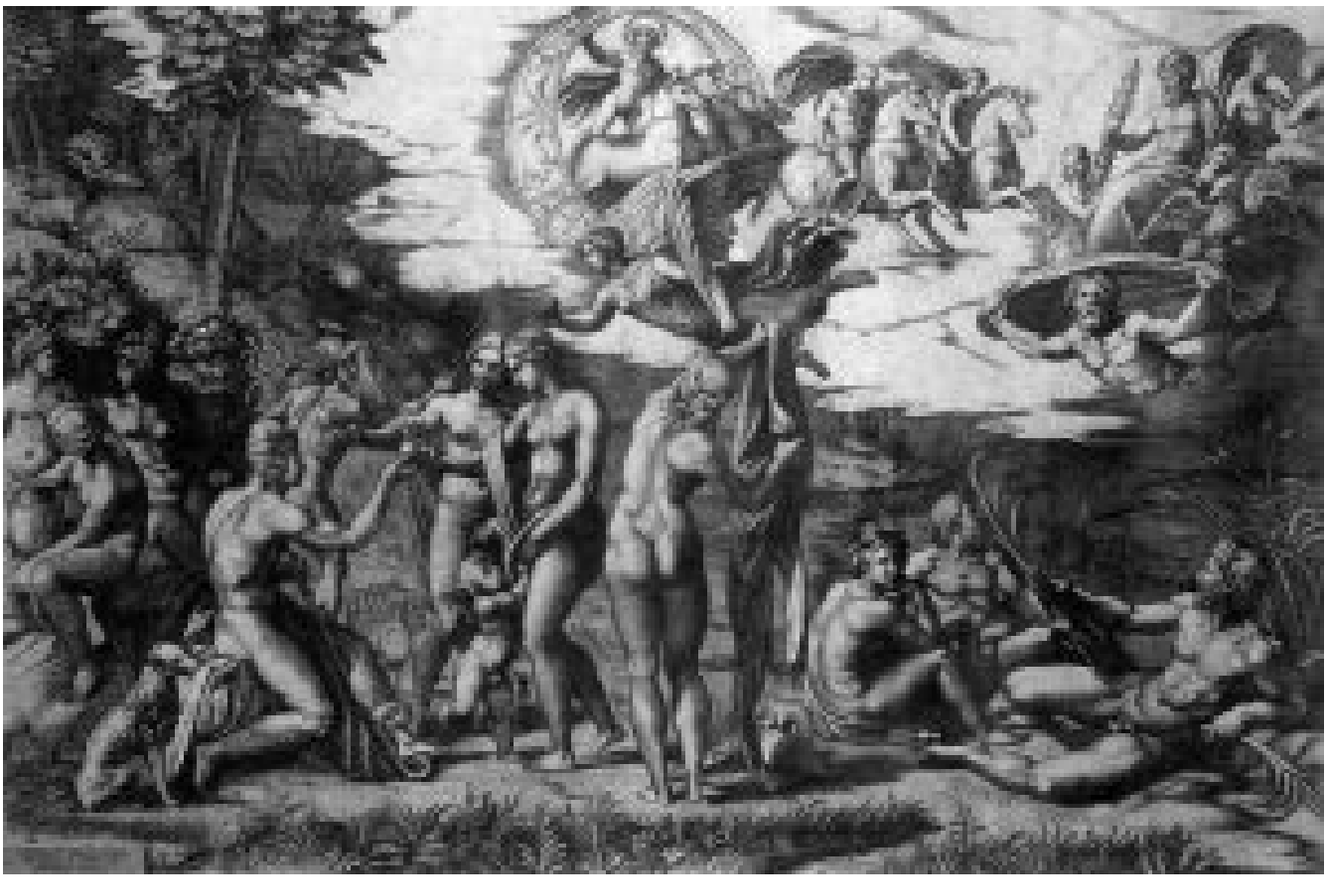
The trope of the female nude was traditionally idealized and mythologized. Here instead was a familiar naked woman, Victorine Meurand, gazing out at the viewer while relaxing in the Bois de Boulogne. It was a blatant recasting of classical iconography, a challenge to the established canons of representation. *Dejeuner* caused a furor, stigmatizing Manet as a radical and a menace to polite society.



Giorgione and/or his disciple Titian (who probably finished the painting after Giorgione's death in 1510), *The Pastoral Concert*, 1509. Oil on canvas, 110 cm x138 cm. Musée du Louvre, Paris View Source

The composition of *The Luncheon on the Grass* was a purposeful quoting of two 16th-century Italian works: *The Pastoral Concert,* an oil painting, and *The Judgment of Paris,* an engraving depicting a scene from Greek mythology.

Manet appropriated the figures in *Dejeuner* from *The Pastoral Concert,* an allegory of poetry and music inspired by pastoral poetry, a genre of prose originating with the idylls of the ancient Greek poet Theocritus that extoled the rustic world of the shepherd, and the beauty of the natural world. Shepherds playing music to muses and woodland nymphs was a common motif in pastoral poetry; *The Pastoral Concert* was a visual quotation of this genre.



Marcantonio Raimondi, after Raphael, *The Judgment of Paris,* ca. 1514-1518. Engraving. 29.8 cm x 44.2 cm. British Museum, London. View Source

The Judgment of Paris was also a reference for Manet 's *The Luncheon on the Grass* particularly the poses of the two river gods and the seated water nymph in the lower right-hand corner.

In the 1860s, Manet's art was rejected by conservative critics for its unconventional brushwork, lack of perspective, and unfinished qualities, leaving the relationship of the artist to the depiction as indeterminate as possible. This "aesthetic gaze," has been explained by Pierre Bourdieu as grounded in a rejection of an academic order, but is also derived from studying traditional images.

Michael Fried, in "Manet's Sources: Aspects of His Art, 1859-1865" (*Artforum* 7 (March 1969): 28–82), argues that a comprehensive account of Manet's achievement must consider his relationship to other French artists, in particular Antoine Watteau, both to signal his "Frenchness" and to situate his art within a traditional context. Fried writes:

> *Dejeuner sur l'herbe* (1863) is probably the most striking instance of the way in which references to specific works by other painters may obscure a less specific but possibly fundamental reliance upon Watteau. In the first place, the three foreground figures in Manet's painting are a direct quotation from Marcantonio Raimondi's engraving after Raphael's *Judgment of Paris*. It is also known that Manet turned to Giorgione's *Concert champêtre* for the most immediately controversial aspect of his painting, the depiction of two fully clothed men picnicking with two women one of whom wears nothing more than a kind of shift and the other of whom is (almost) wholly naked. But despite the specificity of these connections, the basic conception of the *Déjeuner* is far closer to Watteau than to either Raphael or Giorgione.



Antoine Watteau, *Pleasures of Love*, ca. 1718. Oil on canvas. 60 x 75 cm. Staatliche Kunstsammlungen Dresden. View Source

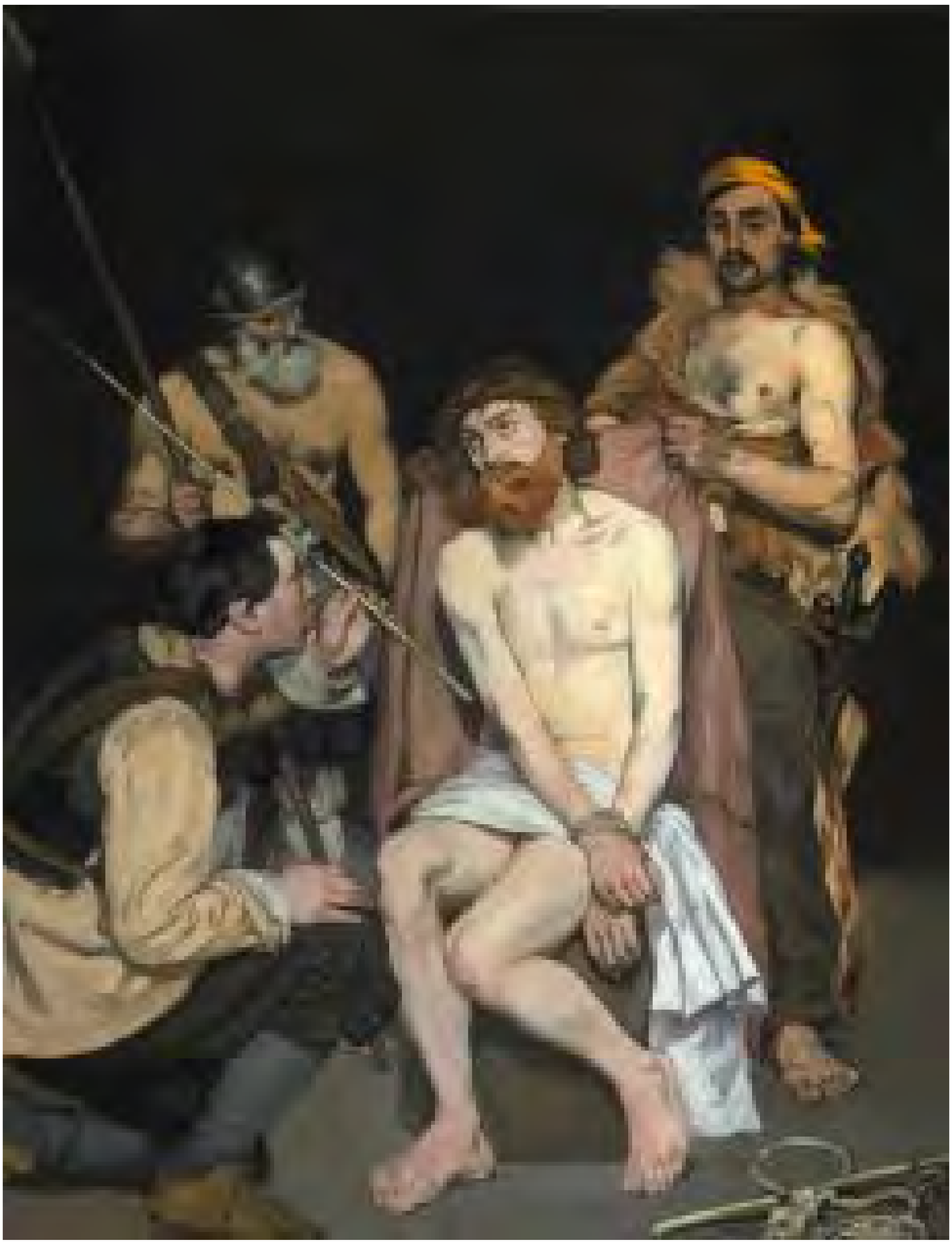
> Without the precedent of Watteau's *fêtes champêtres* (festivals or garden parties) Manet might never have found his way to the conception of perhaps his sheerest, most intractable masterpiece.... Furthermore, the *Déjeuner*'s relation to Watteau's art is not simply generic. When Manet's painting was first exhibited at the Salon des Refusés in 1863 it was called *Le Bain*, a title which inevitably directs attention to the woman who has waded up to her knees in the stream or pond in the middle distance and who now raises her shift and bends over as if to fill some sort of cup or other receptacle with water. There is no equivalent for this figure in Marcantonio's engraving.



Pierre Alexandre Aveline, after Antoine Watteau, *La Villageoise*, 18th century. Engraving. 28.1 x 20.7 cm. Fine Arts Museums of San Francisco, San Francisco. View Source

But there is a painting by Watteau, *La Villageoise*, which also depicts a woman wading in shallow water while raising her skirt and turning her head to the side, and from which I believe Manet adapted the pose of the bathing woman in the *Déjeuner*.... Manet's use of *La Villageoise*, especially in conjunction with the original title of the painting, is evidence for the suggestion that Watteau's art presides over the conception of the Déjeuner as a whole.

But in another sense Manet did not break with that view so much as subsume it in a broader and more fecund vision of Frenchness. He did not, for example, give up seeing French painting as essentially committed to the values, including the ethical values, of realism. Nor did he repudiate his previous canon of French painters: on the contrary, his decision to make the first painting to embody his new vision of Frenchness a large *fête galante*, and moreover to base the one figure not accounted for by Marcantonio's engraving on a painting by Watteau, specifically established the *Déjeuner*'s continuity with his previous work and with the view of the history of French painting on which that work rested. Finally, however, these paintings jointly represent a turning point in Manet's career. In them, by a supreme feat of imagination, Manet discovered the reconcilability, even the deep affinity, between both the Florentine and the Venetian art of the High Renaissance and a conception of the natural genius of French painting that had been formulated largely in opposition to that art and which Manet himself, it seems, had previously held; and by so doing he achieved access, once and for all, to something like the entire range of the great painting of the past ... an undertaking, a phase of Manet's development to which he could never return.

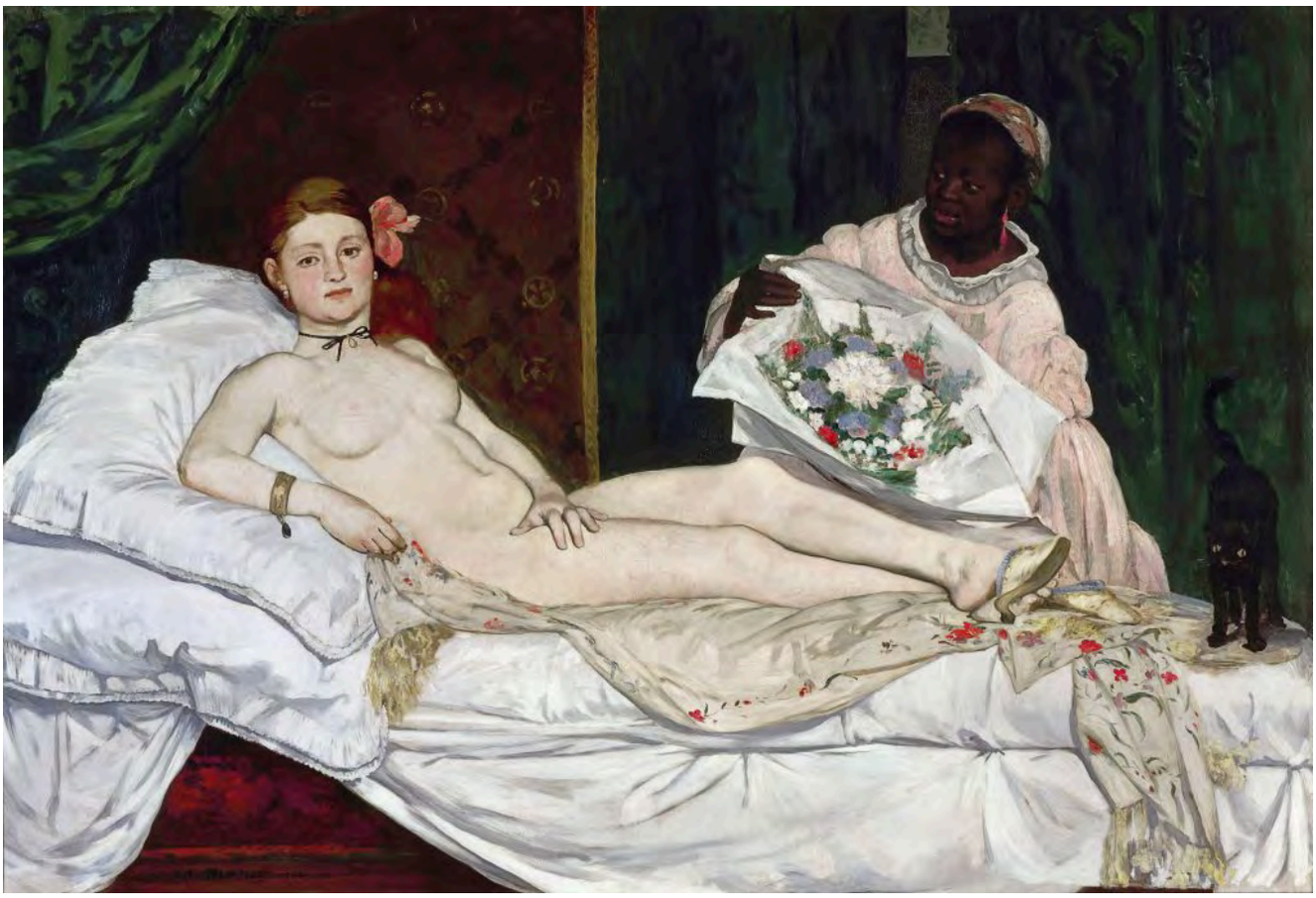


Édouard Manet, *Jesus Mocked by the Soldiers* , ca. 1864 -65. Oil on canvas. 190.8 x 148.3 cm. Art Institute of Chicago, Chicago. View Source

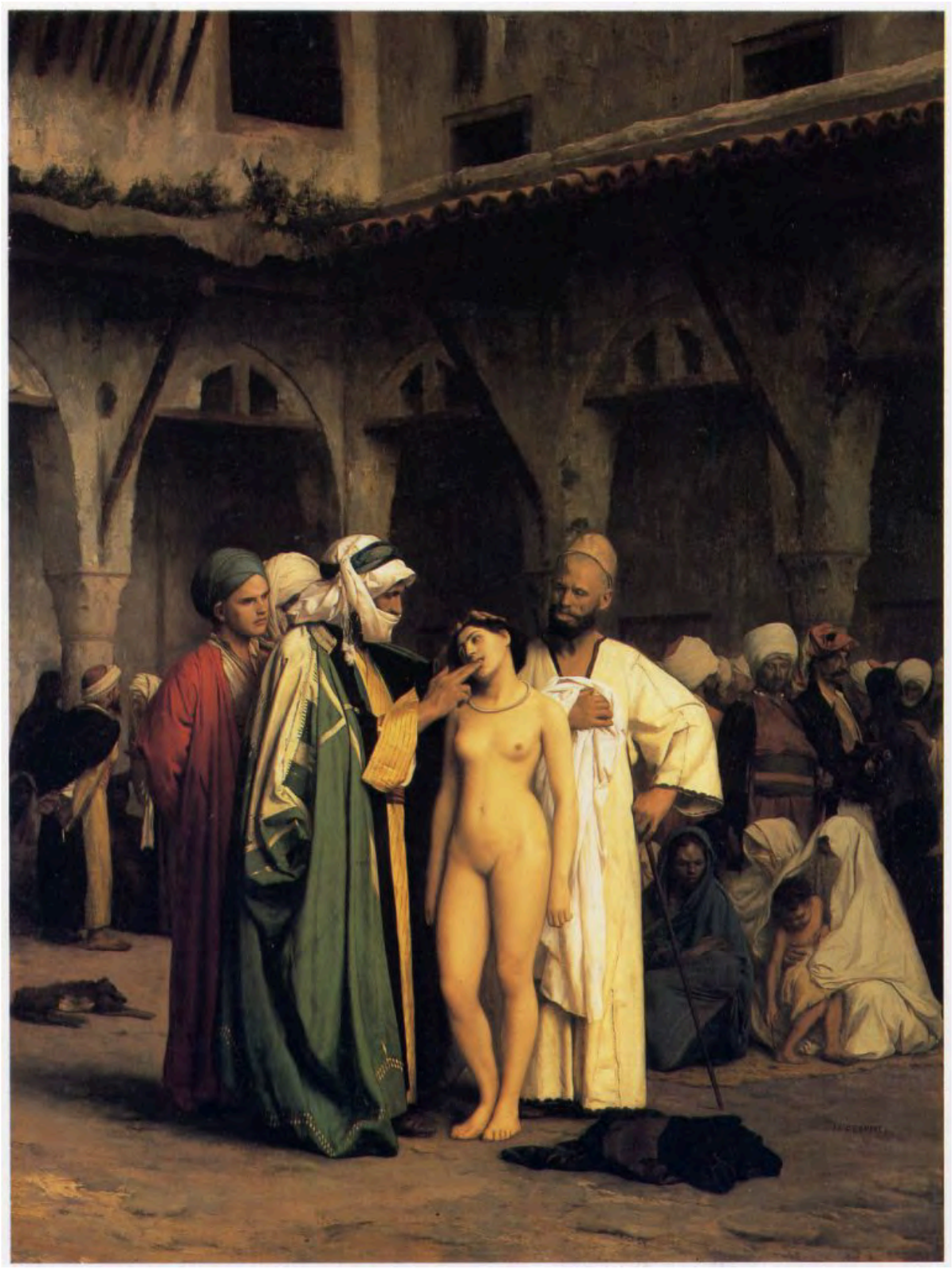
In 1865 Manet offended Parisian sensibilities once again with two monumental new paintings. *Jesus Mocked by the Soldiers* is a modernized interpretation of Christ's last hours before his crucifixion. It offers a crude rendition of a sacred subject normally idealized and aggrandized in art. There is a possibility that Manet was inspired by the recently published biography *Vie de Jésus* (Life of Jesus) (1863), a controversial biography by Joseph-Ernest Renan which emphasized the humanity of Christ. Here, Manet portrays Jesus as a helpless human being at the mercy of the mercenaries who taunt him. His unpolished technique furthers the sense of the here and now and accentuates the representation of an unidealized Christ. By straying from the Gospel narrative by portraying the soldiers as ambivalent actors, Manet further modernizes the scene and sabotages the expected narrative.

2.4
| *Olympia* in Context

Manet's second contribution to the exhibition that year, *Olympia*, stunned the Salon and set off a furor for its impropriety and its flagrant attack on conventional representations of the female nude. The public perceived the painting as shockingly decadent, not least of which for its marked sexuality.



Édouard Manet, *Olympia*, 1863. Oil on canvas. 130 x 190 cm. Musée d'Orsay, Paris. View Source



Jean-Léon Gérôme, *The Slave Market*, 1866. Oil on canvas. 84.8 x 63.5 cm. Clark Art Institute, Williamstown. View Source.

Manet's *Olympia* may be seen as a subversion of a genre of Classicist Orientalism that favoured harems and odalisques and the fictionalized imagery of slave sex markets. Gerome's *Slave Market*, painted around the same time as *Olympia,* is an example of this genre. The scene portrays prospective buyers examining an enslaved woman. Her eyes are shut, and she is depicted as passive and powerless. The image contrasts with Manet's courtesan, who unabashedly articulates her autonomy and power as she gazes out at her clients/viewers. Her stare implicates the spectator extending the inference of the representation of her sexualized body.

As in Gerome's work, however, the ideological opposition of blacks and whites formally articulated in the dynamics of the painted passages of light and dark intimates a fundamental aspect of the oppressed status

of blacks in Western society: the relationship between black people and white people as articulated in the domestic role of the black maid. The black woman is cast as a caretaker, freeing the courtesan for her work, her status clearly beneath that of her mistress.

The dialectic of Manet's black and white symbolism also points to the colonial enterprise of the Second Empire. She is West Indian (as identified by her headdress) and has come to Paris for work, pressed into the service of a high-class prostitute. The servant represents status, an asset to 'Olympia,' but also a sign of the taint of imperialism. The juxtaposition of the courtesan and the exoticized black servant points to a world-embracing political system.

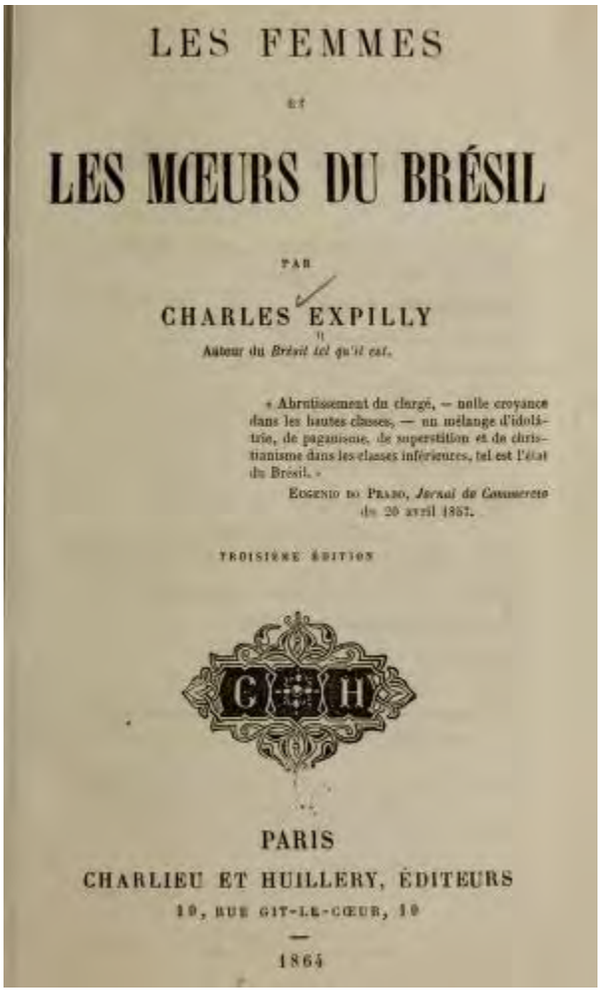


The black maid, detail of Édouard Manet, *Olympia*, 1863. Oil on canvas. 130 x 190 cm. Musée d'Orsay, Paris. View Source

Darcy Grimaldo Grigsby writes in "Still Thinking about Olympia's Maid" (*Art Bulletin* 97, no. 4 (2015): 430–51):

> Manet's *Olympia* painted in 1863 and exhibited at the Salon of 1865, focuses on the modern, post-Revolutionary condition of white and black bodies, but it redefines them as female. Here, I turn back to this most famous nineteenth-century French painting in order to think further about the relationship between French workers and freed slaves in a picture that cites but modernizes the conventional iconography of the white female nude and a darker, some- times older, sometimes partly clothed subordinate attendant, whether in early modern paintings such as Titian's *Venus d'Urbino* of 1538 or nineteenth-century Orientalist pictures.
>
> Manet's painting has often been discussed as the picture of one woman, the white woman who gives the painting its name. Cat, Negress, shawl, slippers: these are Olympia's accessories....Whatever the origins of the model herself, the figure in Manet's picture brought the colonies to the metropole.

She heightened viewers' awareness of racial difference and the colonial history of slavery, including art historical precedents, not only Orientalist paintings but also the many pictures of light-skinned Caribbean women accompanied by dark slaves).



LES FEMMES

ET

LES MŒURS DU BRÉSIL

PAR

CHARLES EXPILLY

Auteur du *Brésil tel qu'il est.*

« Abrutissement du clergé, — nulle croyance dans les hautes classes, — un mélange d'idolâtrie, de paganisme, de superstition et de christianisme dans les classes inférieures, tel est l'état du Brésil. »

EUGENIO DO PRADO, *Journal de Commerce* du 20 avril 1857.

TROISIÈME ÉDITION

PARIS

CHARLIEU ET HUILLERY, ÉDITEURS

10, RUE GIT-LE-CŒUR, 10

1864

Charles Expilly, *Les femmes et les moeurs du Brésil* (Paris: Charlieu et Huillery, 1863). View Source

French images of slave societies in the Caribbean and Americas often juxtaposed supine white Creole women and their standing, some- times half-naked, black slaves, as can be seen in the title page illustration to Charles Expilly's *Les femmes et les moeurs du Brésil (The Women and Customs of Brazil)* published in Paris the same year that Manet painted his picture.

In fact, the black model is Laure. Manet's notebooks reveal that she lived at 11, Rue de Vintimille, a short walk from the artist's studio in the 9th Arrondissement of Paris. Since the abolition of slavery in France in 1848, there was a growing black working class and many had settled in Manet's neighbourhood. In his notebooks, Manet refers to Laure as a "very beautiful black woman."

Manet shows her in contemporary French costume, in contrast to the exoticised harem attire common for black servants in salon paintings of the era. He also gives her almost equal pictorial space to Olympia. Manet's decision to paint Laure fully clothed is what Denise Murrell terms "a fraught modernisation of the typical portrayal of black maids in places of sex work… He is showing her as a free, wage-earning woman in modern Paris," but it "shows the limits of freedom in a society which is still essentially racist and sexist, those limits of freedom for both these women."



Édouard Manet, *Children in the Tuileries Gardens*, 1861-2. Oil on canvas. 37.8 cm x 46 cm. Museum of Art, Rhode Island School of Design, Providence. View Source

Laure appears in three paintings by Manet; as the servant in *Olympia*, as a nanny in *Children in the Tuileries Gardens* and in a portrait painted around the same time as *Olympia*.



Édouard Manet, *Portrait of Laure*, 1862. Oil on canvas. 61 x 50 cm. Pinacoteca Giovanni e Marella Agnelli, Turin.
View Source

Titled initially *La Négresse,* "an art historical device that marginalized, actually obliterated the individual identities of women," the painting has since been renamed *Portrait of Laure* due to Murrell's research findings. It was initially thought to be a preparatory study for the servant in *Olympia.* Murrell argues that "the specific formal qualities of the painting suggest that he is rendering her as an individual...There is the sense of an expression, she's not just a generic type." (Denise M. Murrell, "Seeing Laure: Race and Modernity from Manet's Olympia to Matisse, Bearden and Beyond," Ph.D. diss., Columbia University, 2014)

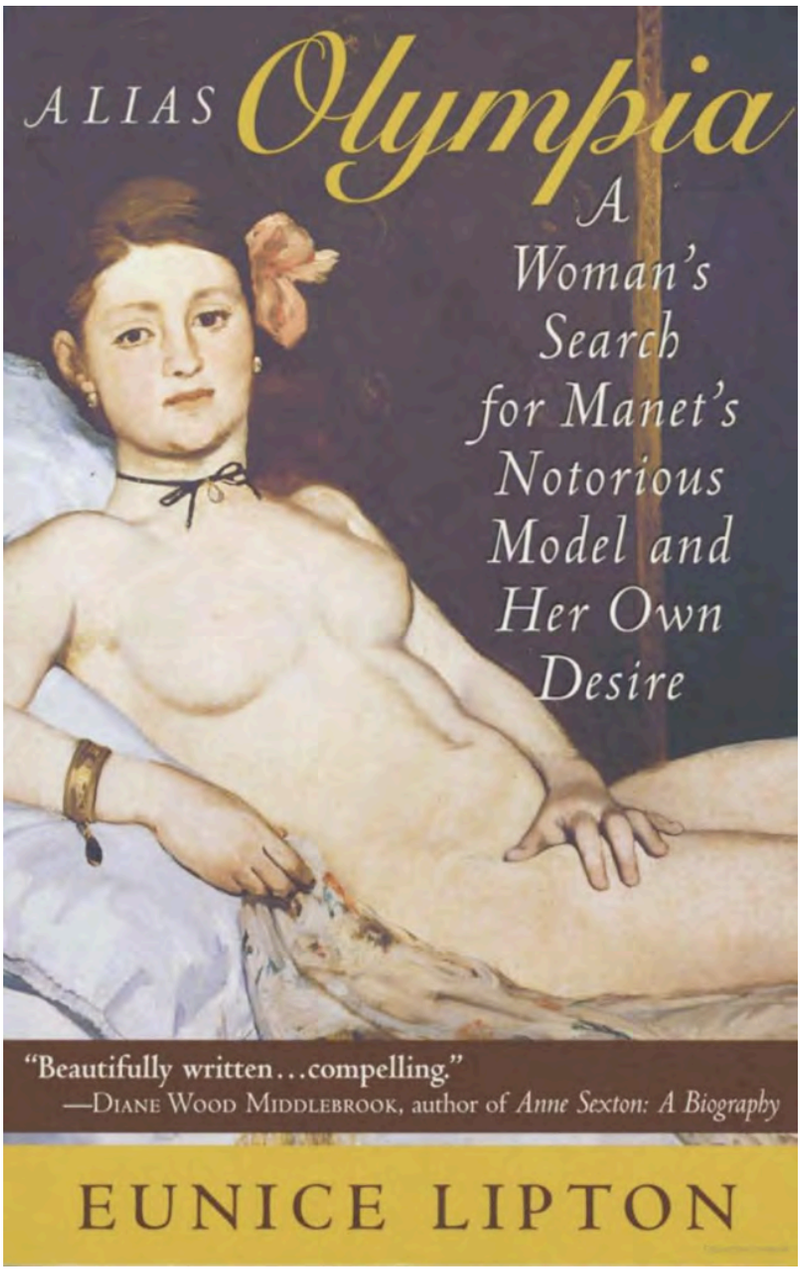


The black cat, detail of Édouard Manet, *Olympia*, 1863. Oil on canvas. 130 x 190 cm. Musée d'Orsay, Paris. View Source

As for the black cat in *Olympia,* John F. Moffitt, in "Provocative Felinity in Manet's Olympia" (*Source: Notes in the History of Art* 14, no. 1 (1994): 21–31), explores the meaning of the black cat. Rather than a lap dog, a typical symbol of marital fidelity, Manet "perversely substitutes an upright, aroused, and spitting black cat."

The popular press often mentioned the offending black cat. Emile Zola, the well-known French novelist, journalist, and playwright, put it: 'I also saw the Olympia again, the model of which has the serious fault of resembling many [fallen] women of your acquaintance.... There is also a cat there, one that has greatly diverted the public. It is true that this cat is very comical; isn't it though? and, to have put such a cat into that painting, why, that painter [Manet] must have been insane. Imagine that! a cat—and a black cat at that!'

"Why," Moffitt asks, is the black cat associated with a woman "known for her promiscuous sexuality. As it turns out in this case, the solution is exclusively linguistic." To a Frenchman—now as well as in 1865—the basis of the salacious formula is/was embarrassingly obvious: according to a standard *Dictionnaire de l 'argot moderne* (as published in 1980): 'CHAT. Sexe de la femme.' ... in 1865, as today, the meaning of any aroused black cat was/ is guaranteed (at least in France) to be universally perceived as being *obscène*.... According to a 1615 French translation of Piero Valeriano's *Hieroglyphica* of 1556 (originally in Latin), since the mid-sixteenth century, the female cat has been read as a traditional *enseigne* of "female lasciviousness."



Eunice Lipton, *Alias Olympia: A Woman's Search for Manet's Notorious Model and Her Own Desire* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1992). View Source

The art historian Eunice Lipton has written about Manet's *Olympia* in terms of its powerful representation of the female experience. Studying the work one day in 1970, she described how she "could not shake the feeling that there was an event unfolding in *Olympia* and that the naked woman was staring quite alarmingly out of the picture." … I could not make her recede behind the abstract forms I knew…This was a woman who could say yes, or she could say no." "the model surveyed the viewer, resisting centuries of admonition to ingratiate herself…Locked behind her gaze were thoughts, an ego manoeuvring…And that is why in the spring of 1865 (they) shook with rage in front *of Olympia*. She was unmanageable; they knew she had to be contained….These men only meant to persuade her, a single unwieldy woman, to comply. But the plot they hatched and the map their worries charted took them way off the road of Art Appreciation and Art History and deep into twentieth-century sexual struggle. Everything was done to silence her."

Contemporaries of Manet understood this aspect of the sitter and the subject and were harsh in their criticism of the painting. When it was first shown at the Salon in 1865, critics condemned it as scandalous and described the sitter as vicious and strange, a "woman of the night; a sort of female gorilla, a grotesque…" Authorities took the unprecedented step of cordoning off the painting. Manet's distress was such that he considered destroying the picture, despite its embodiment of Baudelaire's advocacy for the "gait, glance, and gesture" of modern life.



Édouard Manet, *Mademoiselle V... in the Costume of an Espada*, 1862. Oil on canvas. 165.1 x 127.6 cm. Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York. View Source

The red-headed sitter with the unflinching gaze was a painter's model by the name of Victorine Meurent, who posed for Manet nine times between 1862 and 1874, beginning with his first *succès de scandale*, *Dejeuner sur l'herbe*. That same year Manet posed Victorine as an Espada, a male matador.

The work is unusual in the power it assigns the female subject, albeit via her costumed portrayal as a man. Her blunt stare, and the iconic stillness of her pose arrest the viewers' gaze as they halt the unfolding drama of the imaged bullring.



Édouard Manet, *Portrait of Victorine Meurent*, 1862. Oil on canvas. 42.9 x 43.7 cm. Museum of Fine Arts, Boston. View Source

In her lifetime, her critics were many, their comments generally dismissive and often harsh.

1867, Emile Zola:

“Here in Olympia in the flesh is a girl whom the artist put on canvas in her youthful, slightly tarnished nakedness…He has introduced us to Olympia…whom we have met in the streets…”

1902, Theodore Duret:

“She was a young girl whom Manet met by chance in the middle of a crowd in a room at the Palais de Justice.”

1921, Tabarant:

“After having attempted without much success, to give music lessons, Victorine tried to paint. She asked for advice…from Etienne Leroy, an obscure painter…In 1876 she sent them her own portrait and then some historic or anecdotal paintings. Wretched little daubs.” Tabarant described her as a wreck by the age of 40, reduced to selling her drawings to her “companions of the night,” and that she had fallen into drunkenness and depravity and then outright disappeared.

Lipton’s contemporary view differs significantly: “I never saw her that way. Was I missing the point…I don’t think so? Manet had made her an interesting, compassionate, and even talented artist who does not ask, or need

anything from the world of men… ” A feminist art historian, Lipton set out to reconstruct Meurent’s experience, in her image.



Victorine Meurent, *Self-Portrait*, 1876. Oil on canvas. 35 x 27 cm. Museum of Fine Arts, Boston. View Source

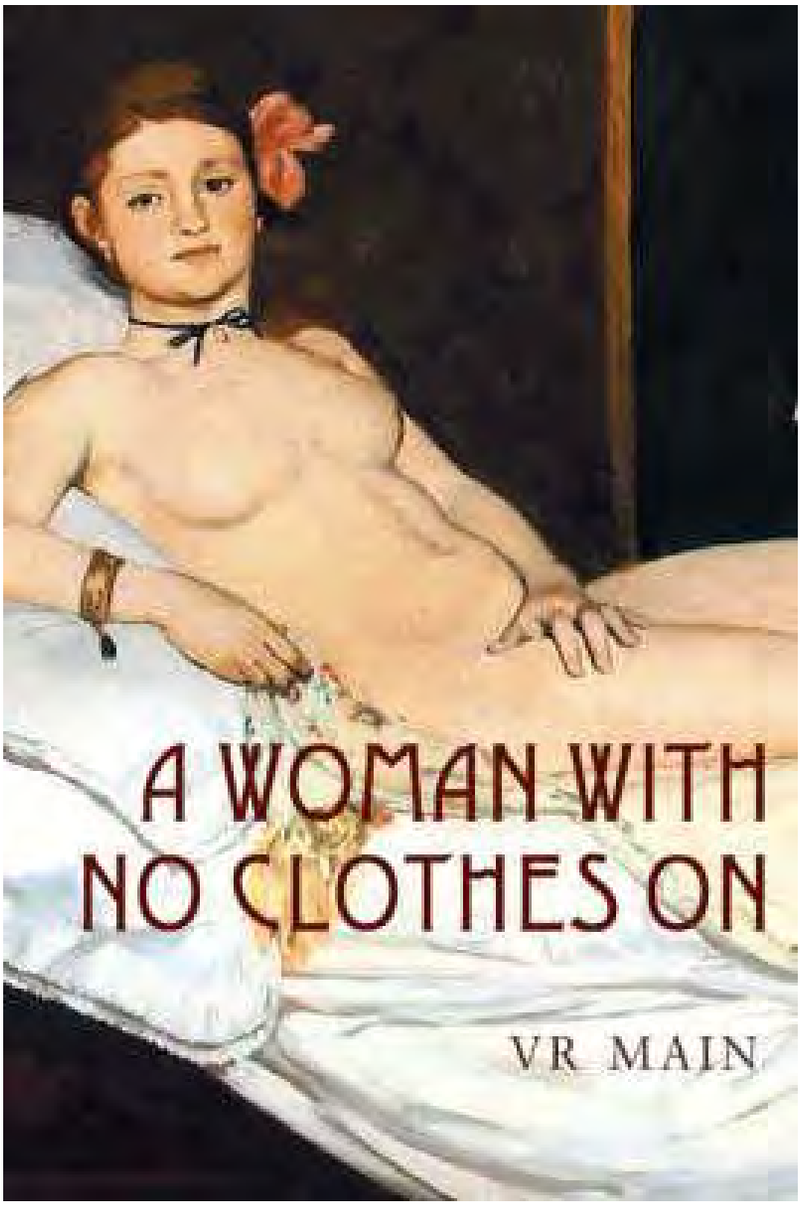
Meurent was an aspiring artist as well as a professional artist’s model. While the information uncovered to date is scant, her biography is quite different from that described by Tabarant. Meurent’s family was working-class, and she began modelling for Manet in 1862, possibly through a meeting at the studio of Thomas Couture, his former teacher. She is believed to have travelled to America in the early 1870s, perhaps engaged by an art dealer to accompany some paintings. However, she was back in Paris in 1875, attending evening classes at the Académie Julian, where she was instructed by the painter Etienne Leroy. Her self-portrait was shown at the Salon in 1876, the same year that Manet’s work was rejected.



Victorine Meurent, *Palm Sunday*, ca. 1880. Oil on canvas. Municipal Museum of Art and History, Colombes. View Source

Her paintings were then shown again in 1879, 1885 and 1904. In 1903 she was elected a member of the Société des artistes français.

As for her relationship with Manet, Lipton argues that it was unlikely that she was his *grisette* – a young woman in a casual relationship with an artist.



V.R. Main, *A Woman With No Clothes On* (London: Delancey, 2008). View Source

The quest for Victorine Meurent continued after Lipton. “Picture the predicament,” writes V.R. Main in his novel *A Woman With No Clothes On* (Delancey, 2008):

> …she is 18, working-class, poor, with a secret ambition to become an artist. He is 30, rich, aristocratic, and a painter. The year is 1862; the setting, his studio in Paris. She is modelling for him, and, as they talk, their ideas merge. Two of the paintings he produces with her will become among the most famous in the world. But the majority of his biographers will ignore her influence. They will say that she was a prostitute and an alcoholic who died young. And, with that damning description, her contribution will be erased from art history.



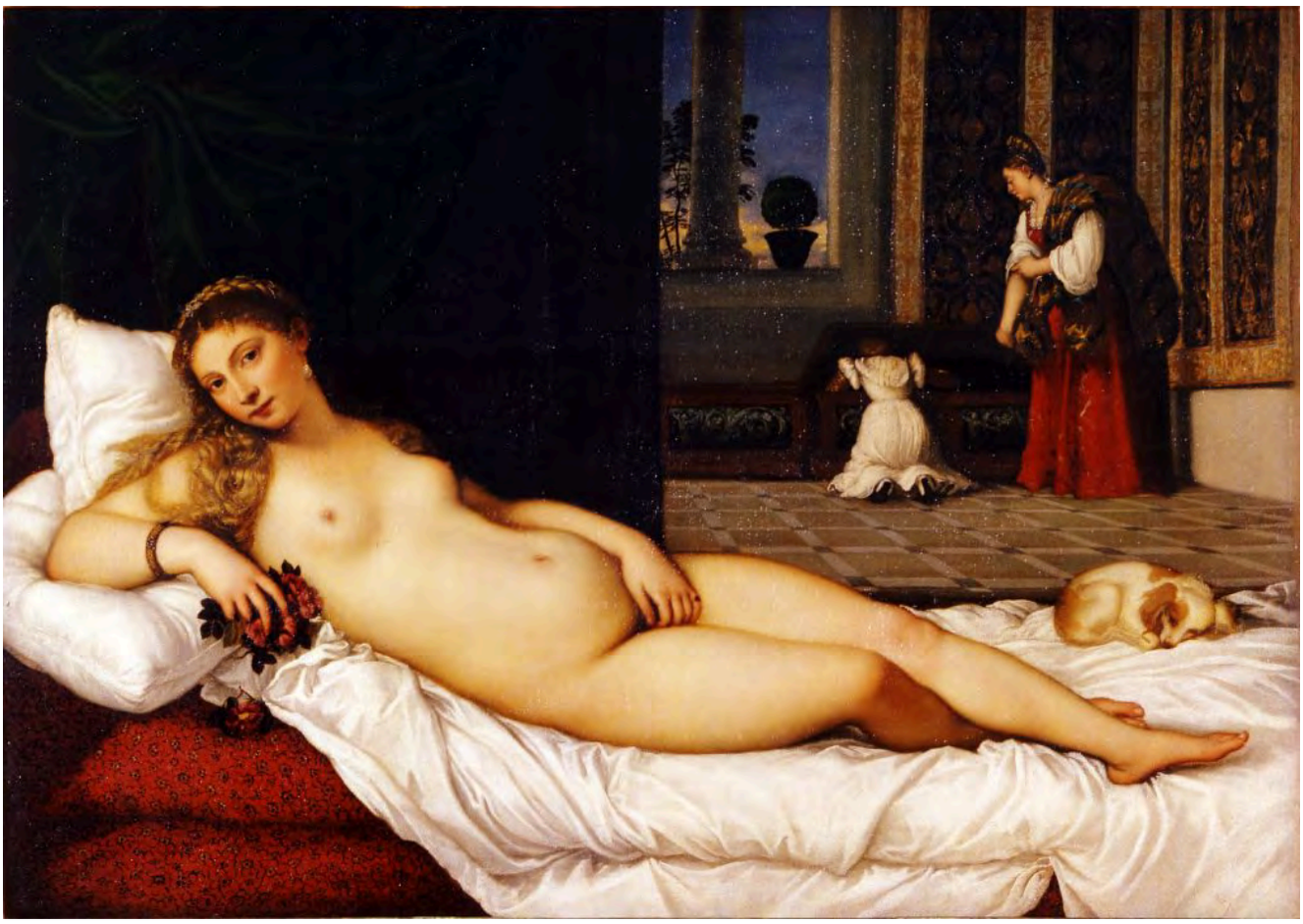
Victorine Meurent, ca. 1862. From an album of photographic portraits belonging to Édouard Manet. View Source



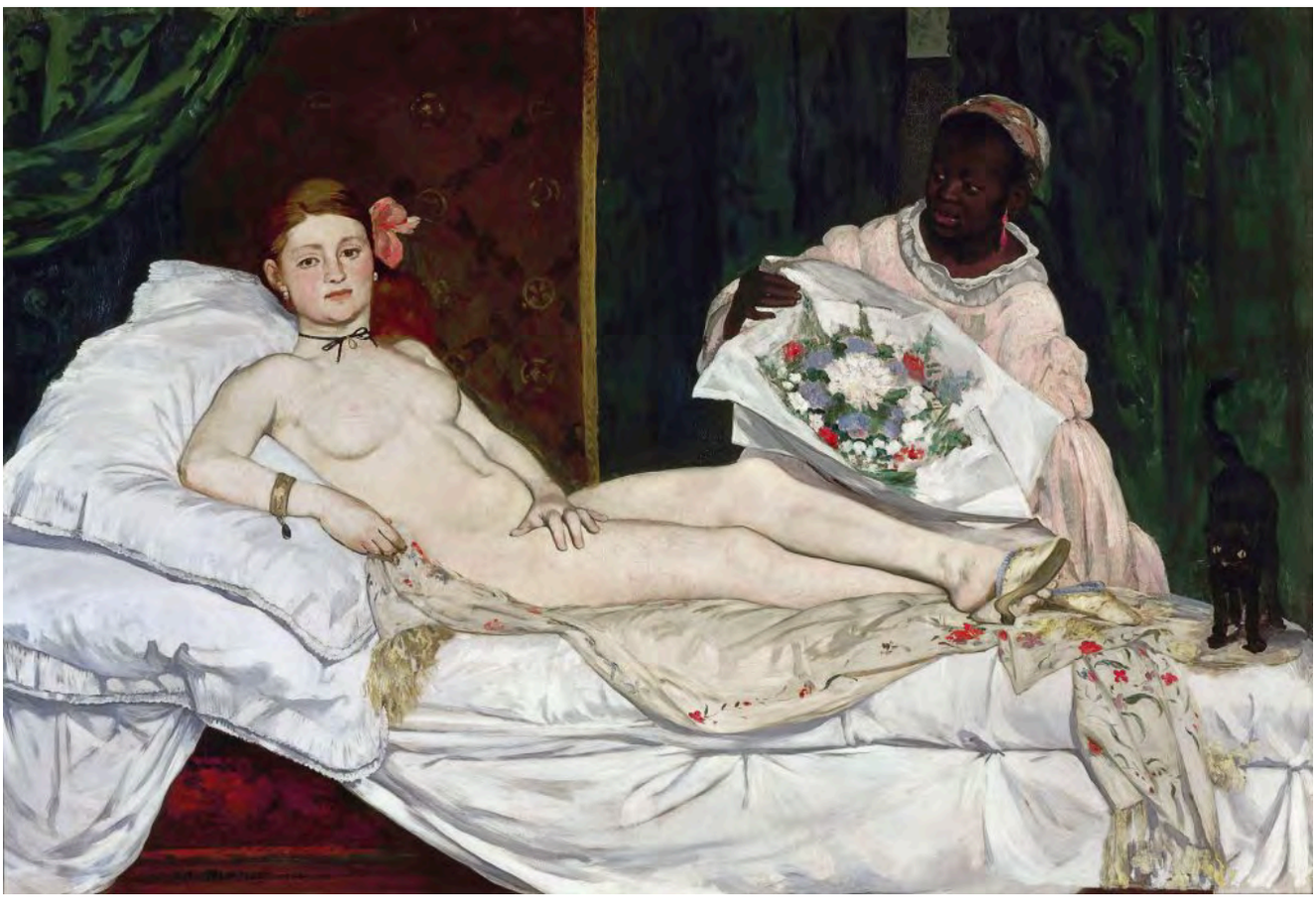
Victorine Meurent, ca. 1865. From an album of photographic portraits belonging to Édouard Manet. View Source

The question remains: why was Meurent so dismissed by the painter's biographers? After all, Manet's inner circle seems to have recognised her importance. The artist's close friend Antonin Proust noted in his memoirs that Meurent was Manet's favourite model. Jacques-Emile Blanche, who also knew the painter, was moved to ask, 'How often does a chance meeting between a painter and a model decisively influence the personality of his works?'

Certainly, Meurent's willingness to pose naked made her a notorious figure to the general public, undermining her hopes of being taken seriously. As discussed earlier female nudes were highly appreciated in the 19th century as long as they remained anonymous representations of goddesses or mythical figures.



Titian, *Venus of Urbino (also known as Reclining Venus)*, 1538. Oil on canvas. 119.2 × 165.5 cm. Uffizi, Florence. View Source

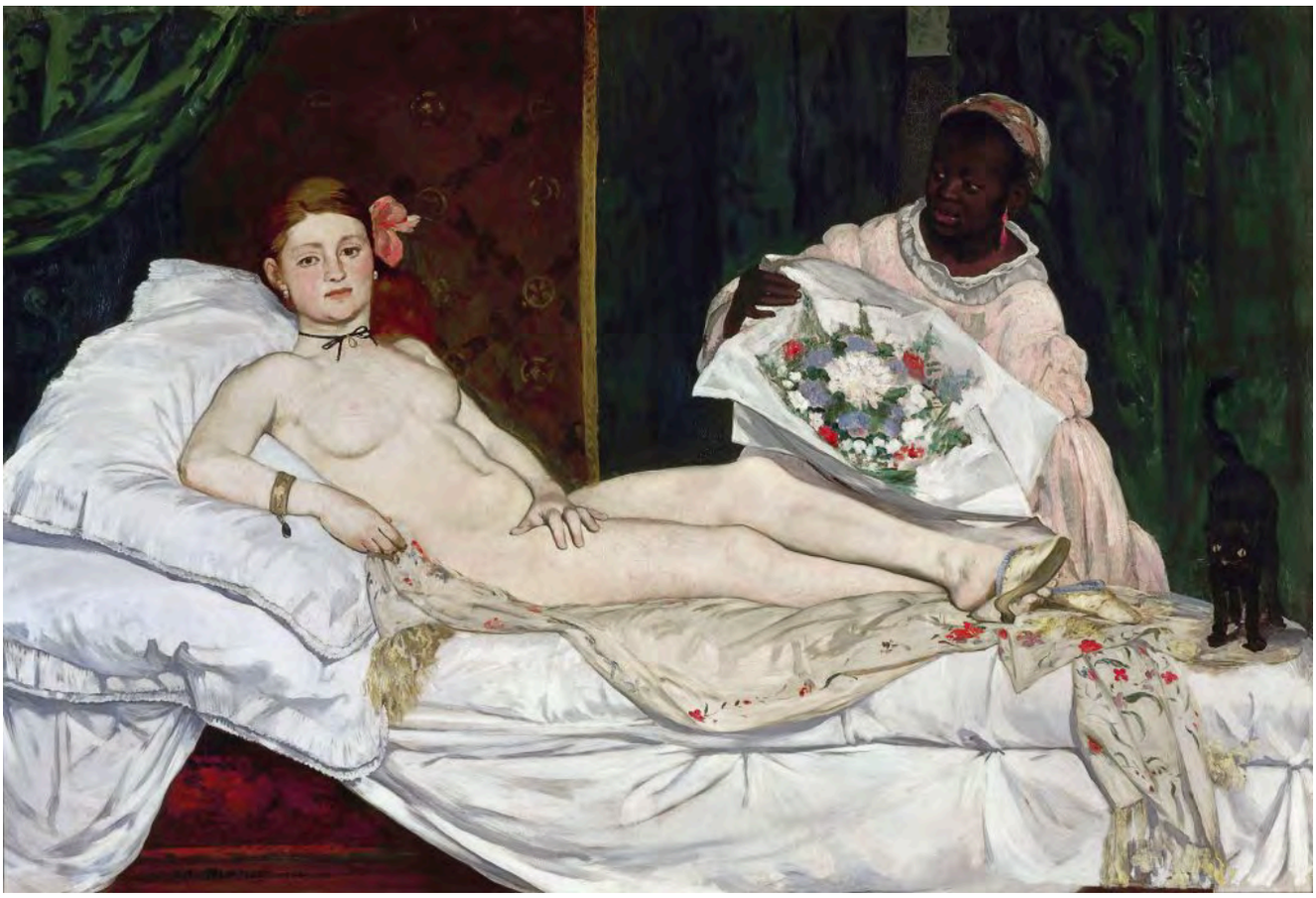


Édouard Manet, *Olympia*, 1863. Oil on canvas. 130 x 190 cm. Musée d'Orsay, Paris. View Source

The controversy surrounding Manet's *Olympia* was augmented by the fact that the painting was modelled on Titian's *Venus of Urbino* and intended as a provocative counterpart. *Olympia* is *Venus*'s antithesis in style and content, displaying a much closer affinity to Goya's *Naked Maja*.



Francisco de Goya, *The Naked Maja*, ca. 1795-1800. Oil on canvas. 98x 191 cm. Museo del Prado, Madrid. View Source



Édouard Manet, *Olympia*, 1863. Oil on canvas. 130 x 190 cm. Musée d'Orsay, Paris. View Source

Manet's friend Baudelaire had seen copies of Goya's two *Majas* at a dealer's gallery in 1859. Writing to the French photographer Nadar, he described them as pictures of "the Duchess of Alba … in one the Duchess wears Spanish dress, in the other, she is naked in the same pose flat on her back."



Édouard Manet, *Young Woman Reclining in Spanish Costume*, ca. 1862-3. Oil on canvas. 94.7 cm x 113.7 cm. Yale University Art Gallery, New Haven. View Source



Francisco de Goya, *The Clothed Maja*, ca.1800-1807. Oil on canvas. 95 cm x 190 cm. Museo del Prado, Madrid. View Source

Manet saw the two photographs. He painted and dedicated to Nadar a work entitled *Young Woman in a Spanish Costume* that has similarities to *Clothed Maja.*

Manet's attraction to all things Spanish had many sources. Apart from the Galerie Espagnole at the Louvre, French collectors and museums assembled substantial holdings of works by Spanish masters as the nineteenth century unfolded, artists such as Velázquez and Goya who made a significant impact on modernist painting and aesthetic discourse. By the 1860s, the French taste for Spanish painting was perceptible at every Paris Salon. Manet finally visited Spain in 1865 and came to appreciate, and emulate Spanish painting of the Golden Age, an interest furthered by his access to reproductions of important works and spurred on by his friend Zacharie Astruc, a painter, poet, sculptor, and art critic, and a true Hispanophile.

While Salon-goers lined up to stare and scrutinize, they were unwilling, and likely unable, to confront the real issues inscribed in *Olympia*. An aggrieved Manet sought solace from Baudelaire in a letter in May 1865: "I wish you were here, my dear Baudelaire. The insults pour down like hailstones. It has never been quite this bad...I wish you were here to tell me what you think of my pictures. Your judgement is good, and the racket is quite annoying and it's plain someone is wrong."

Baudelaire, who had received his fair share of critical knocks, had little patience for his Manet's distress, responding "People are making fun of you. The jokes are quite annoying. No one is doing you justice. And so on and so forth. Do you really believe you're the first man who has ever been in such a position? Do you have more genius than Chateaubriand or Wagner? People mocked them. And it didn't kill them." (May 11, 1865)



Gustave Courbet, *Woman with a Parrot*, 1866. Oil on canvas. 129.5 x 195.6 cm. Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York. View Source

On the heels of Manet's scandalous *Olympia*, Courbet showed his equally provocative *Woman with a Parrot* the following year. The painting was censured by academics for its overt physicality and erotic symbolism but garnered praise from younger artists eager to thwart convention. That said, the idealization of the nude female body and her averted gaze rendered Courbet's *Woman with a Parrot* less threatening to viewers than *Olympia*.



Alexandre Cabanel, *The Birth of Venus*, 1863. Oil on canvas. 130 x 225 cm. Musée d'Orsay, Paris. View Source

In addition, *Woman with Parrot* resembles the idealized conventional nudes of the era, such as *The Birth of Venus* by Alexandre Cabanel, which created a sensation at the Salon of 1863. For instance, the backward tip of the head and the complete self-absorption. But Cabanel's Venus is an idealized image of a mythological subject; Courbet's is a modern woman. Cabanel adheres to traditional modelling techniques and perfected soft brushwork that renders the work palatable. In contrast, Courbet's *Woman with a Parrot* is overtly sexual, standing apart (for different reasons) from Manet's *Olympia* or Cabanel's *Birth of Venus* in its depiction of a slightly dangerous but implicitly compliant female.



Honoré Daumier, "Partons madame... ces nudités sont révoltantes... (à part) je reviendrai tout seul!" May 5, 1866. Lithograph. *Le Charivari*. National Gallery of Art, Washington. View Source

While Courbet reached a high point in his popularity in 1866, the year was also disappointing. Rumours that he would receive the Legion of Honour Medal did not materialize, and a promised purchase reneged. Émilien de Nieuverkerke who was responsible for the organisation of the Paris Salon had visited Courbet's studio in 1865

and agreed to buy *Woman with a Parrot*. The exchange of letters surrounding the event record the animosity at play. It became a turning point for Courbet, who was *persona non grata* from then on.

2.5
| The International Exposition of 1867

At the time of the International Exposition of 1867, a regulation was initiated that altered the jury composition. The members were reduced from 52 to 36 members, two-thirds of whom were elected by recognized artists among the exhibitors; the administration appointed the remaining jurors. This was a move to ensure that conservatism would prevail. Artists like Cabanel and Gerome headed the list of artists. The appointees from the administration included a roster of amateurs and museum curators, as well as the influential but conservative art critics Charles Blanc, Paul de Saint-Victor and Theophile Gautier.



Eugène Cicéri, and Philippe Benoist, *Official bird's-eye view of Exposition Universelle*, 1867. Hand-colored lithograph. Library of Congress, Washington. View Source

This conservativism in French artistic policy was related to a concern with the nation's international reputation. In 1866 the politician Marie Édouard Vaillant stated: "Representatives of the French school, remember that the entire art world has its eyes fixed on the works of this school and try to add jewels to its glorious crown."

Because of the economics of the exposition, its audience and international clientele, artists felt a keen need to participate. At the same time, the administrators sought to present a small select showing of what they deemed the best artists of the nation. Artists such as Édouard Manet, Gustave Courbet, Alfred Sisley, Frédéric Bazille, Camille Pissarro, Claude Monet, Paul Cézanne, and Pierre-Auguste Renoir were rejected even after several petitions of appeal.



Photograph of the building called Exposition Courbet on the front, built Place de l'Alma, during the International Exhibition, Paris, 1867. View Source

The most vigorous and visible protest was that of Courbet, who built his own pavilion close to the exhibition, as he had done in 1855 when he exhibited *The Painter's Studio*. The jury in 1855 accepted eleven of Courbet's works for the *Exposition Universelle* in Paris, but *The Painter's Studio* was not among them. Undeterred, Courbet, with the help of Alfred Bruyas, opened his exhibition (The Pavilion of Realism) near the official exposition.

Courbet's intention in 1867 was more grandiose. He intended to erect a permanent exhibition space that would provide an ongoing installation of his work. He wrote to Bruyas in 1867: "I am about to begin building, near the spot I used in 55. This time I will set up a definite atelier for the rest of my life and will send almost nothing to the exhibitions of the Government that has always treated me so badly."

Courbet began his construction of his "personal Louvre" with a display of over a hundred of his paintings borrowed from museums and private collectors. Monet wrote in late May: "Courbet's exhibition opens in eight days...Imagine if you will, that he has invited all the artists of Paris for the opening; he has sent three thousand invitations and at the same time, for each artist he has enclosed his catalogue."

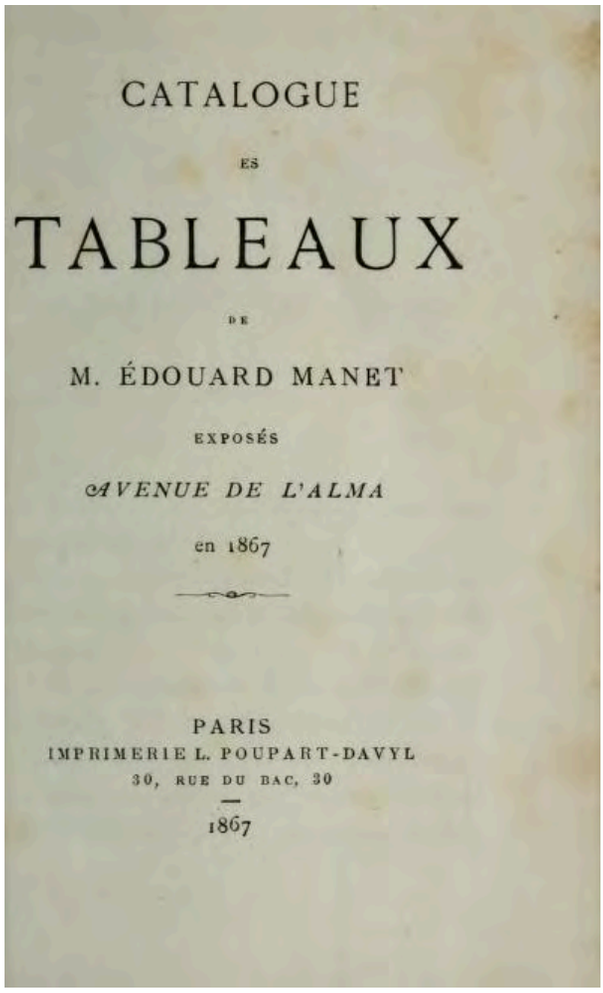


André Gill, "*Courbet, Peint par lui-même – et par Gill*," La Lune, 9 June, 1867. Universitätsbibliothek Heidelberg, Heidelberg. View Source



Léonce Petit, "G. Courbet, par L. Petit," *Le Hanneton*, June 13, 1867. View Source

While Courbet was mocked for his increased ambition and an extravagant sense of self in caricatures of the late 1860s, which depicted him as overweight and excessive in his habits, his exhibition of 1867 was well staged and took on a quasi-official character. Hippolyte Babbou described Courbet's gallery as "an immense hall of ...vast proportions" which came close to being a "second exposition universelle."



CATALOGUE

DES

TABLEAUX

DE

M. ÉDOUARD MANET

EXPOSÉS

AVENUE DE L'ALMA

en 1867

PARIS

IMPRIMERIE L. POUPART-DAVYL

30, RUE DU BAC, 30

1867

Catalogue des Tableaux de M. Édouard Manet: exposés Avenue de l'Alma en 1867 (Paris: Imprimerie L. Poupart-Davyl, 1867). View Source

Like Courbet, Manet was undaunted by his rejection from the *Exposition Universelle*, determined to seize the opportunity offered by a world event to make his works known to a larger public. He was convinced that in doing so, he would gain the acceptance and appreciation he believed he merited. He borrowed 18,000 *francs* from his inheritance to construct a temporary wooden pavilion across the street from one of the entrances to the International Exposition, near the Pont de d'Alma, to hold an independent exhibition. It opened in May 1867, accompanied by a catalogue that spelled out the artist's position. It was titled "Reasons for Holding a Private Exhibition" and stated:

> The artist does not say to-day. 'Come and see faultless work but come and see sincere work'. The sincerity gives the work a character of protest, albeit the painter merely thought of rendering his impression. Manet has never wished to protest. It is rather against him who did not expect it that people have protested because there is a traditional system of teaching form, technique, and appearances in painting, and because those who have been brought up according to such principles do not acknowledge any other. From this they derive their naive intolerance.



Édouard Manet, *View of the 1867 Exposition Universelle*, 1867. Oil on canvas. 108 x 196 cm. National Museum of Art, Architecture and Design, Oslo. View Source

Manet's exhibition pavilion was located on the right bank of the Seine, at the height of the Trocadéro. This vantage point afforded him a panoramic view of the Champ de Mars and the grounds of the Exposition. His unfinished painting is presented as a *mise-en-scène*, less a record of the World Fair than a pastiche of the event within the context of the modern metropolis. The compressed, layered foreground is an amalgam of scales and perspectives, a stage for the disparate groups dispersed across its shallow ground. Among the figures is young Leon Koella Leenhoff, Manet's stepson, who is walking his dog, a trio of uniformed military men, a bourgeois couple (he with binoculars, she with a parasol), a group of female friends, a lady on horseback, and a gardener, the most prominent figure, diligently tending the grounds. In its diversity of age and class status, the painting presents a microcosm of Parisian society at a particular moment. The lack of spatial coherence: the old Paris blending with new architecture, and the middle-ground collapsing on itself, underscores the image's narrative ambiguity and suggests the artist's subtext.

According to Patricia Mainardi in *Art and Politics of the Second Empire: the Universal Expositions of 1855 and 1867* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1987), 128), "in setting up his own exhibition and in painting his *View of the Exposition Universelle*, Manet sought to identify himself with the leading themes of the enterprise, optimism, universality and progress. While appearing to go along with the political views of the time, Manet's *View of the Exposition Universelle* critiques not only the French government, but the fine arts display at the 1867 Exposition."

2.6
| The Political Manet: The Execution of Emperor Maximilian

Manet's lifelong commitment to the Republic is well known. He disdained the Empire and its decorations, refusing the Legion of Honour in 1868, and dismissing the award as a "dirty gewgaw suitable for children and regime toadies."



Édouard Manet, *The Execution of Emperor Maximilian of Mexico,* 1868. Oil on canvas. 252 x 305 cm. Kunsthalle Mannheim, Mannheim. View Source

Philip Nord has argued the question of whether Manet was a radical republican in *Manet and Radical Politics* (*Journal of Interdisciplinary History* 19, no. 3 (Winter 1989): 447–480):

> Manet's republicanism is not in question, but was he, in fact a radical? Three kinds of evidence will be adduced to make the case. The artist was bound by ties of family and sociability to the radical republican camp. He produced a body of work resonant with themes congenial to radicals. And he placed himself in the forefront of a campaign to democratize the salon, a politicized campaign which paralleled in rhetoric and even in personnel contemporaneous efforts to found a democratic Republic."
>
> Manet frequented republican circles early on, fraternizing with party bigwigs at salons and cafes, Tortoni's on the boulevard des Italiens and the radical Cafe Frontin. His social meeting places with fellow painters at the Cafe Guerbois in the 1860s and the Cafe de la Nouvelle-Athene in the 1870s included radically inclined art critics, of whom Emile Zola, Philippe Burty and Theodore Duret were the most ardent.

Nord asks, "Does such a pattern of sociability suggest Manet was also a radical? Manet's oeuvre itself argues for such a conclusion. Over a twenty-year career, the artist exhibited a remarkable and persistent penchant for politically charged subjects and themes. The point will not be disputed in the case of Manet's treatment of the execution of Emperor Maximilian of Mexico."



Édouard Manet, *The Execution of the Emperor Maximilian*, 1867. Oil on canvas. 195.9 x 259.7 cm. Museum of Fine Arts, Boston. View Source

The execution of the emperor Maximilian in Mexico occurred on June 19, 1867, during the Universal Exposition in Paris, and Manet's *exposition particulière* on Place d'Alma. When word reached the capital on July 1, Manet reportedly abandoned the work underway on his *Vue de l'exposition* to paint this political event. Shortly after that he started the first of five versions of *The Execution of Emperor Maximilian*, a project that would occupy him until censors informed him that should he try to submit *The Execution* to the Salon of 1869, it would be rejected and that they would not allow his lithograph of the same subject to be printed.

Manet's painting represents the moments before the execution of the Archduke Ferdinand Maximilian Joseph of Austria, the emperor of Mexico. Three years earlier, to establish an economic and political foothold in North America, Napoleon III of France had placed Maximilian on the throne of Mexico and supported him militarily. The United States refused to recognize Maximilian's rule and supported Benito Juárez, the republican president. After the American Civil War, the United States pressured France to remove her troops, warning that their presence on North American soil violated the Monroe Doctrine. Napoleon III complied, and by mid-March 1867, French forces had departed Mexico. Maximilian, however, refused to remove himself to safety and was captured in Querétaro in May. The following month, with his Mexican generals Tomás Mejía and Miguel Miramón, he was executed by firing squad. News of Maximilian's death reached Paris ten days later, and immediately the French court went into mourning. Still, their expressions of grief could not mask that Napoleon III had aided Maximilian's assumption of power in Mexico and then abandoned him to hostile forces. The Mexico debacle rapidly came to be seen, inside and outside of France, as one of Napoleon III's worst political blunders and a critical factor in the demise of his government.

To the majority of Mexicans, the death of Maximilian was a victory which had ended a long period of civil war. But in France, it was regarded as a national humiliation and a blow to the prestige of the French emperor. The harrowing accounts of the execution and Maximilian's courage in the face of a firing squad extended the narrative of victimization and betrayal, casting Napoleon's policies as ambitious and deceitful.

By early 1869 Manet had completed a series of four paintings and one lithograph of the subject. His emphasis on the grandeur of the figures in the paintings reinforces the idea that his subject was conceived as a Salon-style major history painting. The significant compositional changes between versions (the altered position of the three victims and the two officers, the soldiers' uniforms as well as the setting of the event) were, to some extent, due to the gradual disclosure of new facts about the execution that were published in French and Belgian papers.



Édouard Manet, *The Execution of the Emperor Maximilian*, 1868. Lithograph. 34 x 43.8 cm. Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York. View Source



Édouard Manet, *The Execution of Maximilian of Mexico*, 1867. Oil on canvas. 48 x 58 cm. Carlsberg Glyptotek, Copenhagen. View Source



François Aubert, *Emperor Maximilian's Firing Squad*, 1867. Albumen silver print. 11.4 x 14.2 cm. Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York. View Source

In the second version, the placement of Maximilian's sombrero evokes the idea of a halo and, by extension, invokes a subtle suggestion of martyrdom. The grouping of the victims may also echo the image of Christ between thieves and calls to mind the French government's false propaganda about Maximilian's initial reception in Mexico as "a messiah awaited by the population." But one of the more controversial aspects of the painting in this and subsequent versions is the presence of French troops in the firing squad, rather than soldiers of the Mexican Republic, as clearly seen in a photograph by François Aubert titled *Emperor Maximilian's Firing Squad*.



Édouard Manet, *The Execution of the Emperor Maximilian*, 1868. Lithograph on chine collé. 34 x 43.8 cm. Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York. View Source

In January 1869, Manet fell into conflict with French censors when he attempted to publish the lithograph. By law, all printed images had to be cleared by the government, and permission to publish was denied. The printer Alfred Lemercier refused to release the stone and demanded permission to have the image rubbed out. The incident soon became public when Zola came out strongly on Manet's behalf:

1. Eduard Manet has painted the tragic episode that ended our intervention in Mexico, the *Death of Maximilian*. It seems that this lamentable event has still not at all acquired the status of history because Manet was informed officially that this painting excellent in all other respects had every chance of not been admitted to the next Salon if he insisted on sending it. This is extraordinary and even more so is the fact that M. Eduard Manet had executed on a lithographic stone a sketch of the painted and when he delivered it to the printer Lemercier, an order was immediately given to prohibit the sale of this composition, even though it carried not title. (see: Juliet Wilson-Bareau, ed., "Appendix II: Documents Relating to the 'Maximilian Affair," in Françoise Cachin, Charles S. Moffett, and Michel Melot, *Manet 1832-1883* (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1983), 531-32)



Francisco de Goya, *The Third of May*, 1814. Oil on canvas. 266 x 345 cm. Museo del Prado, Madrid. View Source

Manet's *Execution* paintings were probably inspired by Goya's *The Third of May*, 1808. The works followed his trip to Spain in the autumn of 1865 after seeing Goya's paintings on display at the Prado. Manet would also have known Charles Yriarte's monograph published in 1867, where the image was reproduced.

Many art historians have written about Manet's *Execution* paintings. Kristine Ibsen in "Spectacle and Spectator in Édouard Manet's *Execution of Maximilian*." *Oxford Art Journal* 29, no. 2 (2006): 213, 215–226) offers a new perspective, arguing that the image connects with Manet's biography:

> Manet began his first version of the *Execution* during a period of extraordinary personal doubt. The unrelenting hostility to his work by both state authorities and art critics had led to a series of severe bouts of depression that sometimes incapacitated the artist completely, and the private exhibition that he had mounted at great expense a few months before had been ignored by the public. ...the basic structure of the composition, with Maximilian in the centre and Mejía being shot, remains consistent throughout the series, and the prominence given to the firing squad, with a single executioner to the right, was present from the start.
>
> As an artist whose access to the public was severely circumscribed by both informal and formal modes of state censorship, Manet would also have had a special investment in this negotiation of expression. As precarious as it is to conflate the personal with the political, it is difficult to approach the *Execution* series without taking into consideration the artist's passionate involvement with a project he continued to develop for nearly two years, despite being informed that it would be rejected by the Salon, sight unseen. Thus, independently of the actual censorship of the *Execution* series, which would wait nearly forty years before public exhibition in France, Manet's ongoing struggle with the repressive mechanisms of the Empire led to a project that is as much as aesthetic as political, and, in the end, personal as well.

Although it is fair to say that Manet was a man of bourgeois sensibilities, he was more than a mere provocateur. A committed Republican (and anti-Bonapartist), his politics leaned, if not toward revolution, clearly toward the radical left, and subversive political themes appear in several of his works.

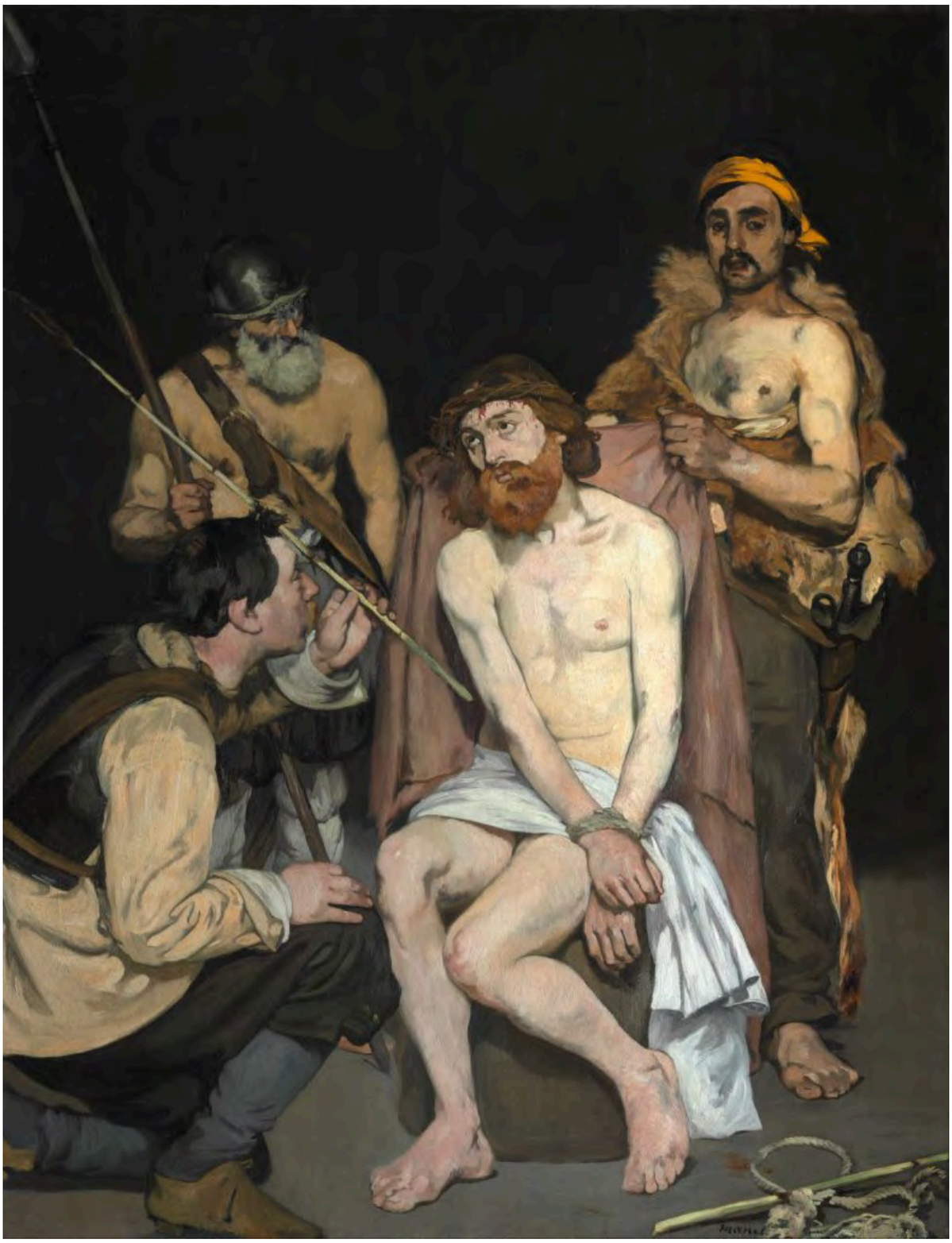


Jean-Louis-Ernest Meissonier, *The Barricade, Rue de la Mortellerie*, June 1848, also known as Remembrance of Civil War, ca. 1850. Oil on canvas. 29 cm x 22 cm. Louvre Museum, Paris. View Source

As a nineteen-year-old art student, Manet had witnessed the barbarity of Louis Napoleon's 1851 *coup d'etat* first-hand and was even briefly imprisoned. There is no need to exaggerate Manet's stay in prison nor be surprised that his father, a prominent judge, was able to secure his prompt release. Suffice it to say that he was on the streets during the fighting and could not have failed to be affected when, a few days later, Thomas Couture took his young art students to Montmartre Cemetery to view the hundreds of bodies awaiting identification by family members.



Édouard Manet, *The Dead Christ with Angels*, 1864. Oil on canvas. 179.4 x 149.9 cm. Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York. View Source



Édouard Manet, *Jesus Mocked by the Soldiers*, ca. 1864-65. Oil on canvas. 190.8 x 148.3 cm. Art Institute of Chicago, Chicago. View Source

Zola refers to the rejection of Manet's paintings by the salon as 'veritable murder – an official assassination'. This, and other statements by Zola to this effect, has led to speculation that Manet is insinuating himself as the target of the squad in the Execution. On some level this is certainly plausible, especially when considered alongside Manet's personalised renderings of the *Passion and Crucifixion in The Dead Christ and the Angels* (1864) and *Jesus Mocked by the Soldiers* (1865).



Édouard Manet, *The Execution of Emperor Maximilian of Mexico*, 1868. Oil on canvas. 252 x 305 cm. Kunsthalle Mannheim, Mannheim. View Source

Manet's insistence upon positioning the archduke between *Mejía* and Miramon (ignoring news reports to the contrary) and the crosses visible above the wall further seem to support this reading.

2.7
| Émile Zola, Japonisme and the Influence of the Orient

Émile Zola, a novelist and playwright and a significant figure in the political liberalization of France, was a champion of Manet's work before they met. Zola's first laudatory review of Manet appeared in the 1866 *La Revue du XXe siècle*. The following year he wrote a more detailed appreciation, later published by Dentu as a pseudo-publicity pamphlet for Manet's private exhibition on the Place de l'Alma. It was entitled *Une nouvelle manière en peinture. M. Édouard Manet* (*Edouard Manet, a Biographical and Critical Study*) and was met with the usual critical derision save from Champfleury and Sainte-Beuve.



Édouard Manet, *Portrait of Emile Zola*, 1868. Oil on canvas. 146.5 x 114 cm. Musée d'Orsay, Paris. View Source

As a gesture of gratitude, Manet painted Zola's portrait. The sittings occurred in February 1868 in Manet's studio on the rue Guyot. The atelier was staged to reflect Zola's personality and profession. He is depicted as a serious, cultured young man (twenty-seven at the time) seated at a desk covered with literary materials and utensils: an inkwell and quill, books, brochures and pamphlets. Among the seemingly haphazard clutter on the table, the bright blue brochure *Une nouvelle manière en peinture. M. Édouard Manet, Revue du xixe siècle* occupies pride of place.

To underscore Zola's art connoisseurship, Manet included a hanging display of timely visual reproductions behind the novelist's desk. Among them is a black and white print of *Olympia*, a painting within a painting which visualizes the direct link between author and painter. Above Olympia a print hangs of

Velazquez's *Bacchus* to tell of the interest of both men in Spanish art. There is also a nineteenth-century Japanese print entitled *The Wrestler* by Utagawa Kunaki II, and behind Zola is a seventeenth-century Japanese screen in the manner of Ogata Korin. The presence of Japanese art in Manet's portrait of Zola indicates the contemporary impact of the Far East on the Parisian avant-garde. This influence revolutionized artists' conceptions of perspective and colour.

While ostensibly a portrait of Zola, the work is filled with details that refer to Manet himself and suggest recent controversies between the stale academicians at the Salon and the new directions being taken by progressive artists such as himself.



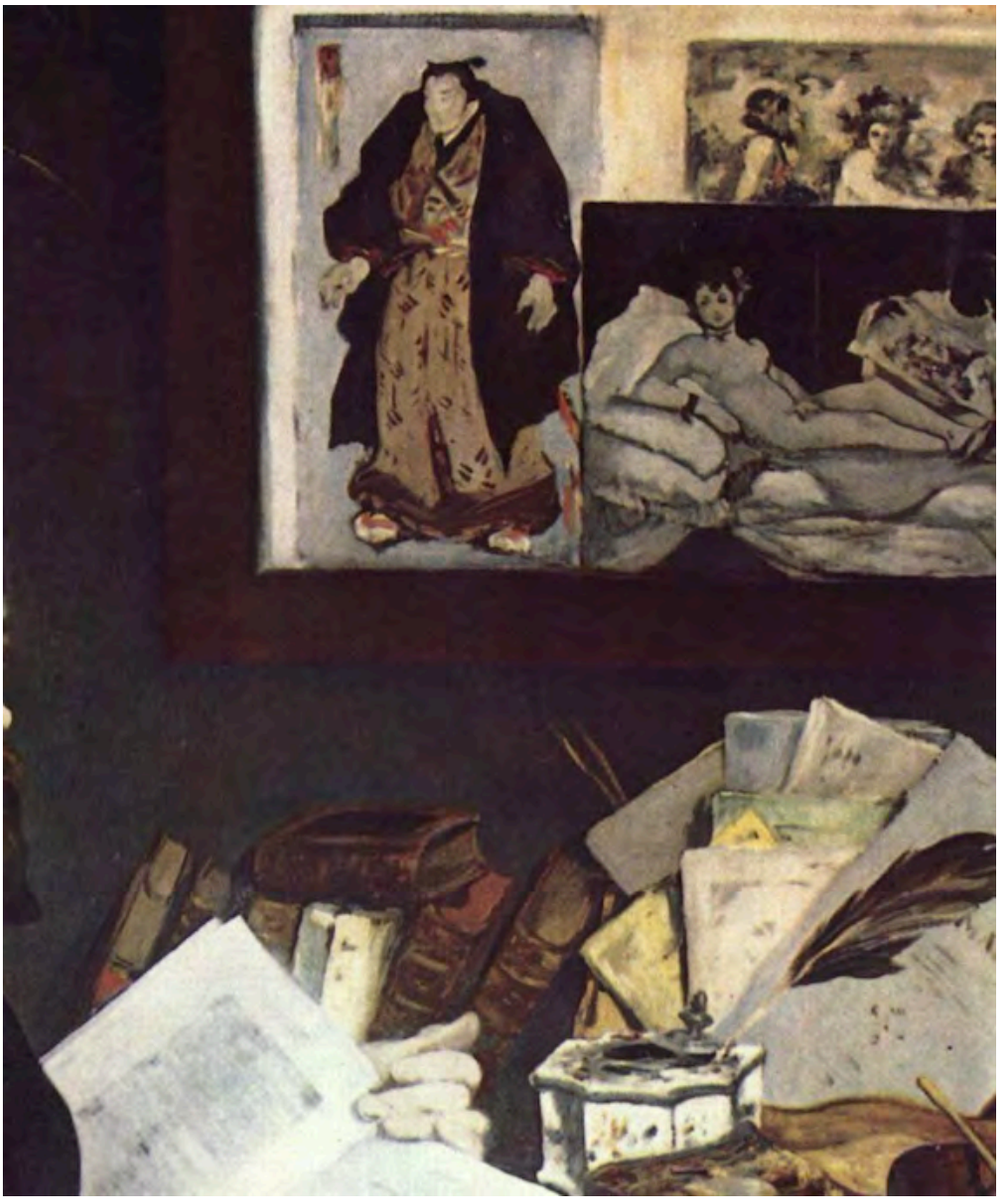
Detail of Édouard Manet, *Portrait of Emile Zola*, 1868. Oil on canvas. 146.5 x 114 cm. Musée d'Orsay, Paris. View Source

As Theodore Reff has noted in "Manet's Portrait of Zola" (*Burlington Magazine*, 117 no. 862 (January 1975): 39):

The importance of objects surrounding Zola, attributes supposedly informing one about Zola, encourages the belief that they are expressions of Manet's interests as an artist rather than Zola's. The artist Odilon Redon observed in his Salon review (*La Gironde*, 9 June 1868), "It is rather a still life, so to speak, than the expression of a human being." Zola himself was not entirely delighted with his portrait, which Manet presented to him; Charles-Marie-Georges Huysmans, the French novelist and art critic, noticed that he had relegated the painting to an antechamber of his home.



Utagawa Kuniaki, *Sumô Wrestler Ônaruto Nadaemon of Awa Province (Ashû Ônaruto Nadaemon)*, 1860. Woodblock print, ink and colour on paper. 37.5 x 25.6 cm. Museum of Fine Arts, Boston. View Source



Detail of Édouard Manet, *Portrait of Emile Zola*, 1868. Oil on canvas. 146.5 x 114 cm. Musée d'Orsay, Paris. View Source

Japanese printmaking was the first non-Western art to impact European artists. Japanese ports reopened to trade with the West in 1853, leading to a tidal wave of importations into France. Parisians saw their first formal exhibition of Japanese arts and crafts in 1867. As a part of the Meiji government's cultural exchange policy, a large display of traditional Japanese arts was held at the *Exposition Universelle*. It elicited widespread critical attention and praise. Parisian artists in Manet's forward-thinking social orbit rapidly reacted to the new techniques and stylistic approaches; many began by collecting Japanese paintings and woodblocks.

Within less than a year, Manet was introducing Japanese stylistic elements into his works, as evidenced in the flat, cropped composition, bright colours, and unusual perspective of *Portrait of Zola*.



« Types nationaux à l'Exposition universelle. – Japon. – Intérieur de la maison du gouverneur de Satzouma. (D'après le dessin de M. Montani) ». *Le Monde Illustré*, September 28, 1867. View Source



"Exposition universelle. – Section orientale. -Vue Générale de l'exposition japonais dans le parc.", *Le Monde Illustré*, 1867. Oil on canvas. View Source

The influence of prints on Manet's art, as evidenced in the portrait of Zola, has been elucidated by Anne Higonnet in "Manet and the Multiple" (*Grey Room*, no. 48 (2012): 102–16):

The history of art Manet began to cite in the 1860s was a history of art constituted not only by the original objects of that history but by the reproductions that translated those original objects into equally but differently visual form. What was foundationally modern about Manet in the 1860s was precisely that his citations were not only of what was original about the history of art but also about how the history of art had been profoundly transformed by reproductions of original art objects. Manet spent little time looking at the actual works of art he was supposedly so deeply affected by. He made one short trip to Spain in 1865 and another equally rapid trip to Flanders in 1872, whereas he spent most of the rest of his life absorbing the visual world of Paris. Paris was the capital of nineteenth-century reproduction as well as of museums, a world teeming with copies, prints, and photographs of all kinds.

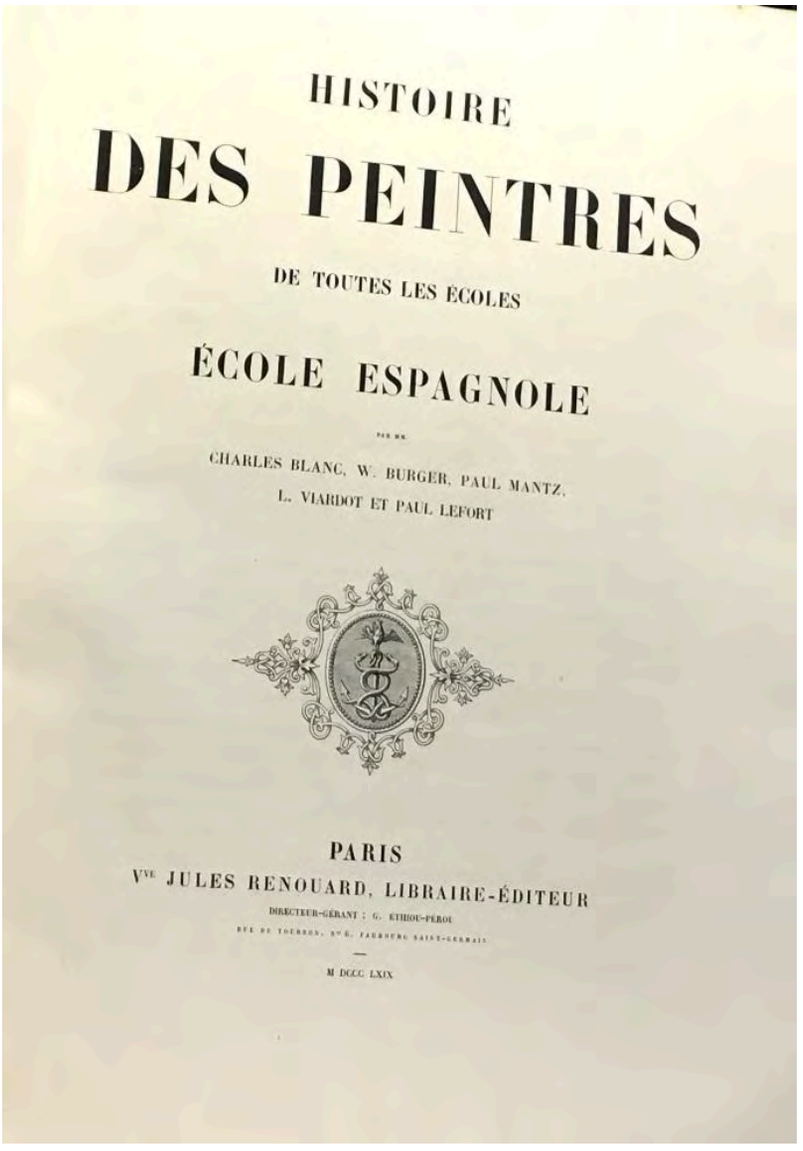


Les ateliers Goupil & Cie d'Asnières, typogravure print from *L'Illustration*, April 12, 1873. View Source

Manet and his generation grew up with mass-reproduced images of the art of the past through the rapid advance of the semi-print, semi-photographic techniques that both overlapped and replaced one another and innovations in lithography and engraving. By the late 1860s, the Woodbury-type process, carbon intaglio, and photogravure were gaining popularity. Prints, however, remained the dominant mode of reproduction during Manet's career, especially when they linked together text and image.



Gazette des Beaux-Arts. French monthly art magazine founded in 1859 by Édouard Houssaye. Year 1, Vol. III, July 1, 1859. View Source



HISTOIRE

DES PEINTRES

DE TOUTES LES ÉCOLES

ÉCOLE ESPAGNOLE

PAR MM.

CHARLES BLANC, W. BURGER, PAUL MANTZ,
L. VIARDOT ET PAUL LEFORT

PARIS

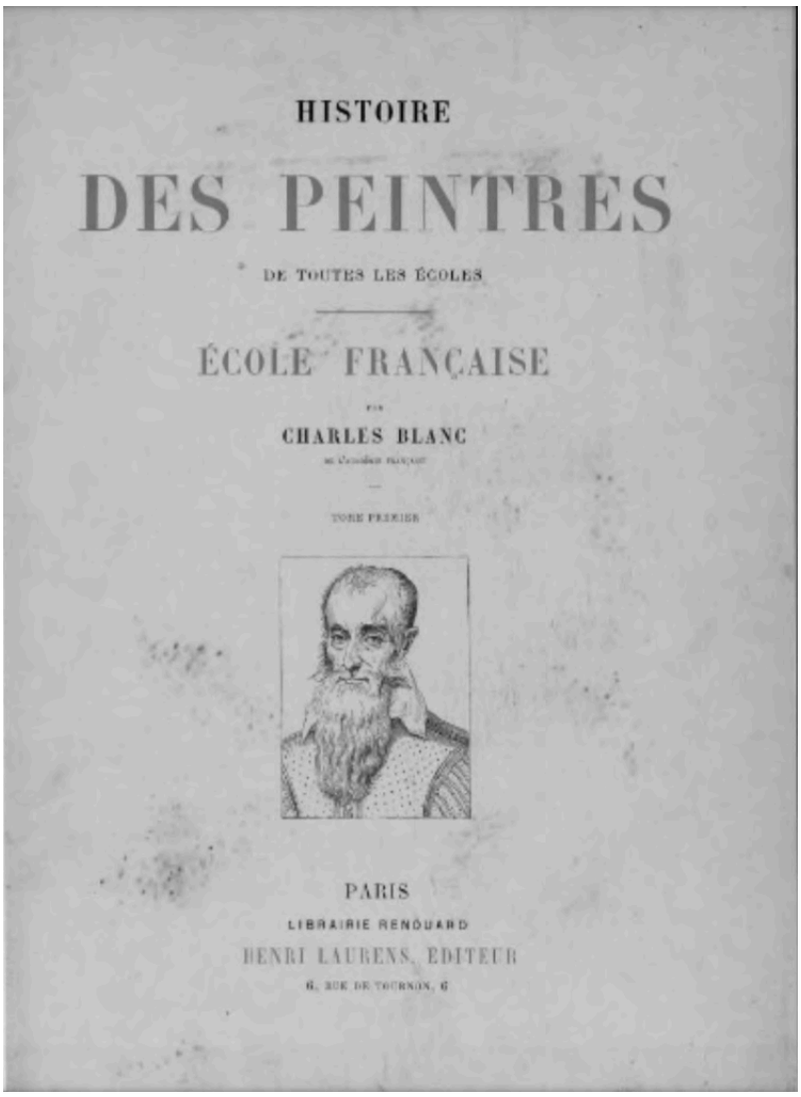
Vve JULES RENOUARD, LIBRAIRE-ÉDITEUR

DIRECTEUR-GÉRANT : G. ÉTHIOU-PÉROU

RUE DE TOURNON, N° 6, FAUBOURG SAINT-GERMAIN

M DCCC LXIX

Charles Blanc et al., *Histoire des Peintres de Toutes les Écoles: École Espagnole* (Paris: Librairie Renouard, 1865). View Source



Charles Blanc, *Histoire des Peintres de Toutes les Écoles: École Française* (Paris: Librairie Renouard, 1862). View Source

The *Gazette des beaux-arts*, the first French history periodical, announced a dual visual and textual history of art in its first issue in 1859 and went on to systematically publish prints after the masterpieces of the past, illustrating articles that organized art by artist, by national school, and according to chronology. Eventually, the contents of the magazine were gathered and published as a series of individual books under the heading *Histoire des peintres*.



Edgar Degas, *The Collector of Prints*, 1866. Oil on canvas. 53 x 40 cm. Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.
View Source

Higonnet continues:

> Manet's *Portrait of Zola* was the product of this culture of visual reproduction. Like Edgar Degas, Manet had perceived a crucial shift in image technologies and his representation of Zola reprises a painting made by Edgar Degas in 1866 titled *The Collector of Prints (L'amateur d'estampes*). In both paintings, a male figure in black attire is seated in an interior filled with images within images organized in the upper right of the canvas, with a sliver of space devoted to elements that refer to art. Both figures hold printed matter in their hands. In Degas's painting, the analogue to Manet's Japanese screen is a cabinet containing a horse statuette—could it be a Japanese or Chinese statuette? In advance of Manet,

Degas brought together the latest fashionable images of the East with the latest fashionable images of the West. Printed Japanese papers or fabric swatches are juxtaposed with photographs, among them *carte de visite* photographs, identifiable by their characteristic upright rectangular format and white borders. Degas contrasts new image technologies with old, the mass-reproduced pictures seen at the top, contrast with the traditional prints of flowers in the folio held by the collector. Manet, for his part, had raised the stakes by invoking Old Master paintings in the representation of the human figure.

...

During the decade before *The Collector of Prints* and the portrait of Zola, photography was reaching a new technical ability to reproduce other types of two-dimensional works of art. A spate of essays by eminent critics, such as Charles Blanc, published in prestigious periodicals, such as the *Gazette des beaux-arts*, debated this historic turn in terms of the relationship between painting, engraving, lithography, and photography. The issue was partly about an exponential increase in the potential audience for art. Less obvious, but more pertinent to artists such as Degas or Manet, who were imagining paintings like *The Collector of Prints* or the portrait of Zola, is that the issue was also about how well, and how differently, old and new image technologies could reproduce paintings.

2.8
| Édouard Manet's Entourage

An examination of a series of atelier paintings by the artists in Manet's circle, the group that Michael Fried dubbed the generation of 1863, makes an excellent introduction to the topos of the studio atelier as a means of presenting the artists' collective and individual identities to the public.



Frédéric Bazille, *Bazille's Studio*, 1870. Oil on canvas. 98 x 128 cm. Musée d'Orsay, Paris. View Source

Bazille's Studio is a case in point. Bazille was from a wine-growing family in Montpellier. His father was an elected Senator who chose to sit with Jules Ferry's *Gauche républicaine*, and his family hoped he would make a career as a doctor and sent him to medical school in Paris in 1862. But he also enrolled as a student in the studio of the painter Charles Gleyre, where he came into contact with Alfred Sisley, Claude Monet and Auguste Renoir.

Bazille's depiction of his studio at 9 rue de la Condamine, which he shared with Renoir from January 1868 to May 1870, is a scene that evokes the studio as a place of friendship and work. As he said in a letter home, "I have amused myself hitherto by painting the interior of my studio with my friends. Manet is painting me." In work, Manet, Monet, and Bazille are looking at one of Bazille's paintings. To the left, engaged in a separate conversation, are Renoir and Zola. Edmond Maître, an amateur musician and art collector, plays the piano in the right corner. On the wall are Bazille's paintings, the *Fisherman with a Net* (1869-70) and *The Toilette* (1869), rejected by the Paris Salon, and Renoir's *Landscape with Two People*, which had been shown at the 1866 Salon, indicators of the process of making, and showing art.



Henri Fantin-Latour, *A Studio at Les Batignolles*, 1870. Oil on canvas. 204 cm × 273 cm. Musée d'Orsay, Paris. View Source

Compared to *Bazille's Studio*, Fantin-Latour's *A Studio at Les Batignolles* offers a formal view of a studio gathering of fellow artists. Batignolles was in the 17th arrondissement of Paris, where Édouard Manet and many of his circle lived and worked. Here, Fantin-Latour pays homage to his friend Manet whose centrality suggests his status as the leader of the informal group.

Manet is positioned at his easel as he paints the portrait of the artist and art critic Zacharie Astruc. The artists surrounding them include the German painter Otto Schölderer and, next to him, wearing a hat, Auguste Renoir. Further to the right, in the background, are the novelist Zola and the writer Edmond Maître, who were both art critics as well. Almost hidden in the corner is Claude Monet. Bazille, wearing tartan trousers, stands behind Manet's chair.



Édouard Manet, *At the Café*, 1869. Transfer lithograph. 26.3 x 33.4 cm. National Gallery of Art, Washington. View Source

The social dimension of the painters' network continued less formally in the evenings. Needing a replacement for the interaction of the academy studios, they turned to the emerging cafe culture in Paris. They would meet up at the Cafe Guerbois, located centrally on the rue des Batignolles on Sunday nights and Thursday evenings, where conversations often became heated. These get-togethers played an essential role in the formative discussions around modern art, progressing from the obstacles imposed by the conservative Académie des Beaux-Arts to more engrossing exchanges on the way forward for new art forms.

The young Batignolles artists who orbited around Manet in the sixties would become the informal group known as the Impressionists a decade later. The group included Camille Pissarro, Edgar Degas, Jean-Théodore Fantin-Latour, and Alfred Sisley. They were often joined by the patron and critic Maître, Zola and the photographer Nadar.

Manet's *At the Café* captures the collegial atmosphere of the meeting place. Experimenting with transfer lithography, the artist used specially treated paper to create the original image, which was then transferred onto the surface of a prepared lithographic stone to be printed. The print suggests the quick, sketchy lines of a drawing as if the image had been produced on the spot, quickly and spontaneously.

2.9
| The Paris Commune, 1871

The execution of Maximilian dealt an irreparable blow to French power and prestige. In the summer of 1870, the fear of a Hohenzollern succession to the throne of Spain precipitated a crisis, and France declared war on Prussia on July 19. In August, the Prussian army advanced into Alsace and Lorraine, defeating the French and occupying the territories.



"Bombardement de Paris.–Habitants réfugiés dans leurs caves." *L'Illustration, Journal Universel*, February 4, 1871. View Source

France's crushing defeat in the 1870-71 Franco-Prussian War, the capture of Napoleon and the siege of Paris by the Prussian army in September 1870 triggered the Paris insurrection. 1.7 million Parisians spent 135 days under siege, troops battled in the streets, and civilians took refuge in basements or makeshift shelters inside city monuments. The general populace was increasingly starved of life's necessities. By January 1871, Paris surrendered in defeat. The same month, the French government signed the Armistice of Versailles with Otto von Bismarck, the Prussian leader and soon-to-be chancellor of a united Germany, who agreed to withdraw the troops from the French capital.

When France's Third Republic was established in September 1870, it became clear that its parliament would comprise a conservative majority, sowing widespread fear of another monarchical form of government. Parisians felt obligated to rally for liberty, encouraged by activists of various credos, utopian socialists, and working-class leaders.

The Paris Commune began as an insurrection on March 18, 1871, when the largely left-wing, radical National Guard refused to accept the authority of the French government, seizing the power of the capital for two months during which it established policies that tended toward a progressive, secular system of social democracy.



Édouard Manet, *The Barricade*, 1871. Lithograph. 46 × 33.2 cm. Art Institute of Chicago, Chicago. View Source

This print by Manet is set during the street fighting of the Paris Commune. The troops mirror the firing squad in his *Execution of Maximilian*. Here, instead of Emperor Maximilian of Mexico, Manet depicts insurgent Parisian Communards executed by the French army.

During the Commune, fighting in the barricades was far more vicious and intense than the country had previously experienced. During the Commune's final days, the notorious *la semaine sanglante* ("The Bloody Week") an estimated 25,000 to 30,000 people were killed. Communards, innocent victims, and many more were arrested, and any man wearing a National Guard uniform was shot. One of the most brutal events was the lining

up and killing of Communards against a wall in Pere Lachaise cemetery. By the time the fighting ended on May 28, corpses had filled the streets, and some forty thousand people had been arrested. Damage to properties was vast, and scarred, charred buildings again disfigured the city.

The sight of the brilliant metropolis in ruins was experienced as a defeat in itself. “A silence of death reigned over these ruins,” wrote Theophile Gautier in 1871 “…no clutter of vehicles, no shouts of children, not even the song of a bird…An incredible sadness invaded our souls.”

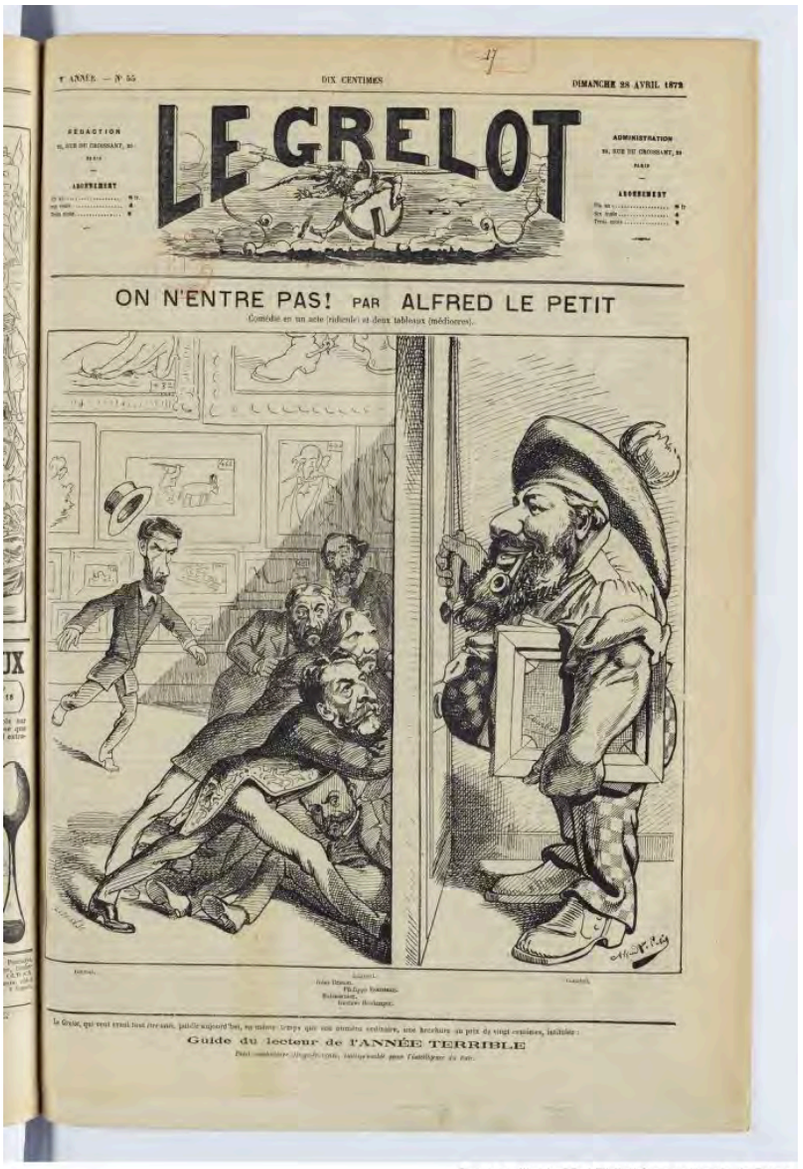
The response to the Franco-Prussian War and the Commune varied among modernist artists. Claude Monet, who had married Camille Doncieux in June and settled in London after the war broke out, was seemingly removed from the turmoil. Paul Cezanne remained in the south of France during the war. In the summer of 1870, the only artists directly involved were Auguste Renoir, who was drafted in August but was soon immobilized with dysentery, and the 28-year-old Frederic Bazille, who enlisted in the French military at the outset of the war and died in combat in November 1870. While Camille Pissarro was compelled to defend the new republic despite his Danish citizenship, the death of his infant daughter left him devastated. Berthe Morisot remained on the outskirts of Paris during the months of the siege and lived “a terrible nightmare” of fear and anxiety; the effects of the war were so severe that her health remained fragile for the rest of her life. After the Empire’s fall, Degas and Manet joined the military, enlisting in the National Guard.

Courbet, a self-declared pacifist, devoted himself to the protection of the national art collection as Paris prepared for a Prussian invasion, helping to establish the *Commission artistique pour la sauvegarde des musées nationaux*, the body responsible for the protection of cultural patrimony at the Louvre. He was elected its president in 1871. The position suited him ideally, as he explained in a letter to his father, “The Parisian artists as well as minister Jules Simon have just done me the honour of designating me president of the arts in the capital. This pleases me because I did not know how to serve my country in this emergency, having no inclination to bear arms.” In his inaugural address, he stated:

The artists of Paris who support the principles of the Communal Republic form themselves into a federation. This association of the creative minds of the city will be based on the following ideas: The free development of art without government protection or special privileges. Equal rights for all member of the Federation… The realm of the arts will be controlled by the artists who will have the following duties: To conserve the heritage of the party: To facilitate the creation and exhibition of contemporary works; To stimulate future creation through art education. (Federation of Artists of the Paris Commune 1871: Manifesto of the Paris Commune’s Federation of Artists, https://www.marxists.org/history/france/paris-commune/documents/artists.htm)

On April 7, Courbet recommended the abolition of the Ecole des Beaux-Arts and the Academy and a complete revision of Salon regulations. Three days later, he was authorized by the Commune Council to convene a general assembly of artists and begin implementing a reform program. On April 27, he officially became part of the Commune’s government.

In a public statement, Courbet proposed that the Vendome Column be unbolted and that the sections be moved to the Hotel de la Monnaie. He phrased his arguments in aesthetic and political terms contending that “the column had no artistic merit” and epitomized “ideas of war and conquest” that were repellent to a republican action.” Courbet played on the country’s fears about the imminent siege, suggesting that when the Prussian army entered Paris, it would destroy the monument. After the Commune fell, Courbet was arrested as a participant, although he was convicted of the minor charge of “complicity in destroying the monument.” Zola stated, “If one weighed the scales of justice the crime of Courbet one would find there an ounce of anger against M. de Nieuwerkerke, an ounce of political lunacy, fifty kilograms of artistic infatuation and fifty kilograms of vanity.” Courbet was sentenced to six months in prison and a fine of 500 francs, a lenient sentence in comparison to that of the 16 Communards tried with him who were seriously penalized: one was deported from France, seven were sentenced to maximum security penal colonies, and two were condemned to death.



Alfred le Petit, *"On n'entre pas! Par Alfred le Petit: Comédie en un acte (ridicule) et deux tableaux (médiocres), Le Grelot*, April 28, 1872. View Source

Courbet was thereafter no longer included in the Salon, his paintings refused on political grounds.

2.10

| Impressionism and its Contexts

This was the context within which the First Impressionist Exhibition was held in 1874. In many circles, the arts were called upon to play an active role in recovery. When the *Gazette des Beaux-Arts* resumed publication in 1871, its editor wrote, "Today, called by our common duty to revive France's fortune, we will devote more attention to...the role of art...in the nation's economy, politics and education...We will continue to back the cause of beauty so closely aligned with the causes of truth and good. And we will struggle for the triumph of those teaching which will help the arts rebuild the economic, intellectual and moral grandeur of France."

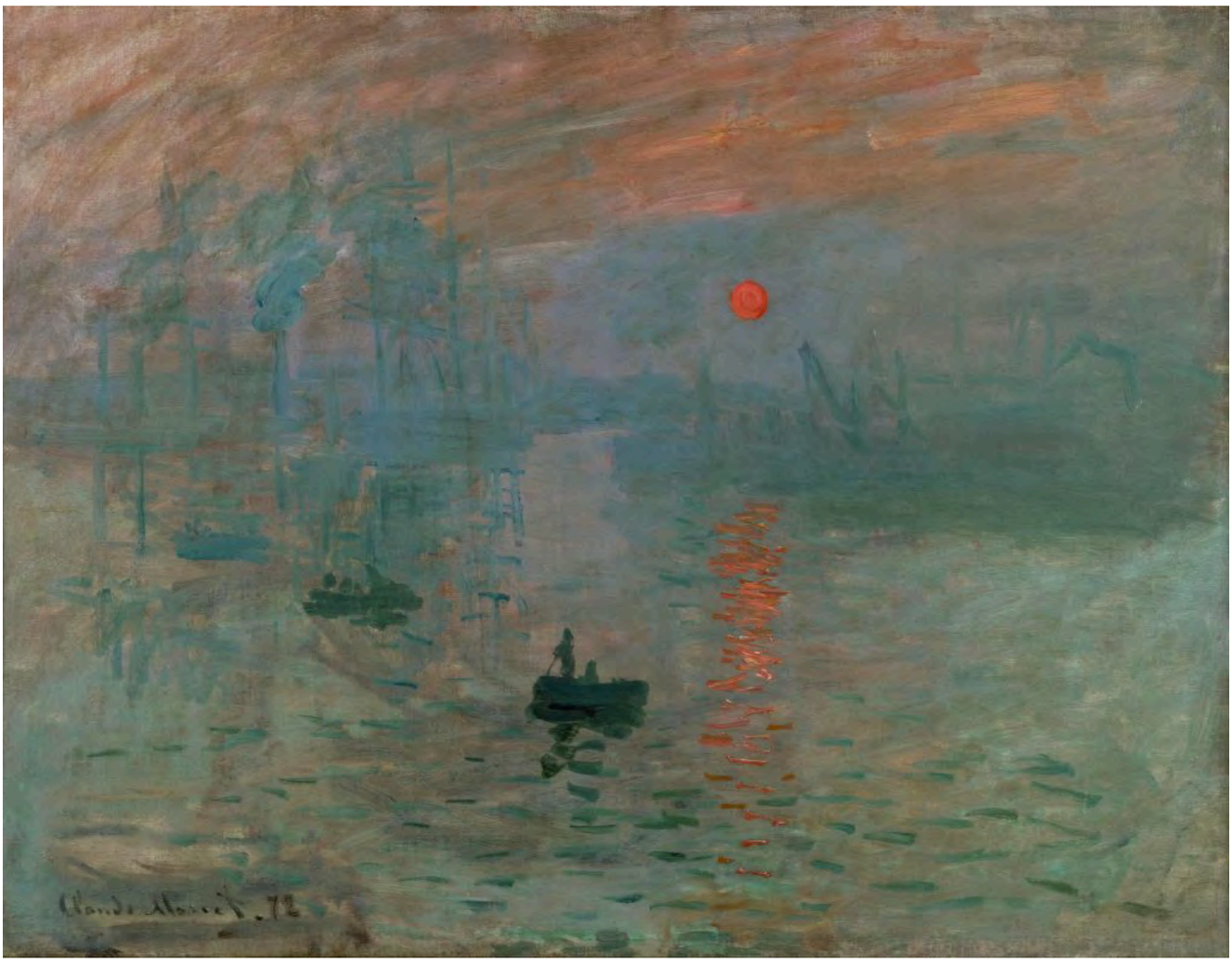


Nadar, Atelier Nadar 35 Boulevard des Capucines, 1860. View Source

The exhibition opened on April 15, 1874 in Nadar's photography studio. The artists called themselves the Société Anonyme des Artistes, Peintres, Sculpteurs, Graveurs. Even though Manet was the recognized leader of the avant-garde and a constant presence and inspirational force, he did not participate in this or any of the Impressionists' eight exhibitions.

The visitors saw a strikingly eclectic collection of traditional and new works, paintings, prints, pastels, watercolours, sculptures in marble, terracotta and plaster and even copies after other paintings. In its diversity, the show was not unlike a Salon-hung exhibition. However, it was distinctive in its inclusion of more than fifty

entries by the core group of seven *Anonymes*. While the show featured landscapes and portraiture primarily, one-quarter of the 200 works were images of contemporary life.



Claude Monet, *Impression, Sunrise*, 1872. Oil on canvas. 48 x 63 cm. Musée Marmottan Monet, Paris. View Source

Impressionism as a name is usually attributed to a disparaging critic who seized on the title of Claude Monet's *Impression, Sunrise*.

Impression, Sunrise was painted from a hotel window at Le Havre in 1872. It was one of the nine works Monet showed in 1874. Of all those displayed there, this is probably the most famous picture, not because of any crucial status within Monet's oeuvre, but rather for the criticism it attracted from the reviewers, which gave rise to the movement's name. On 25 April, ten days after the exhibition had opened, an article appeared in the satirical journal *Le Charivari* in which the critic Louis Leroy described a fictitious conversation between two visitors. While looking at this work, one of them, a landscape painter, exclaimed: "Impressionism, I knew it; after all I'm impressed so it must be an impression...What freedom! What ease of workmanship! Wallpaper in its embryonic state is more finished than this seascape!' The article was entitled "The Exhibition of the Impressionists," and the label stuck after that.

The exhibition generated considerable press coverage, and while many critiques were favourable, others were scathing in their contempt. Good or bad, the reception indicated that the new work was being recognized.

Here are some examples of the writings:



Paul Cézanne, *The Hanged Man's House*, Auvers-sur-Oise, ca. 1873. Oil on canvas. 55.5 x 66.3 cm. Musée d'Orsay. View Source

> An over-exclusive love of yellow has compromised Cezanne's future up to now. Nevertheless because the jury is the jury it has been wrong. (Jean Prouvaire)



Edgar Degas, *At the Races in the Countryside*, ca. 1872. Oil on canvas. 36.5 x 55.9 cm. Museum of Fine Arts, Boston. View Source

> Degas is strange and sometimes as far as being bizarre. Horses, ballerinas, and laundresses-these are his favourite subjects, and of all the things that surround him, they seem to preoccupy him exclusively. But what precision there is to his drawing and what pleasure accord in his colours! (Jules-Antoine Castagnary)



Claude Monet, *Boulevard des Capucines*, 1873. Oil on canvas. 80.3 x 60.3 cm. The Nelson-Atkins Museum of Art, Kansas City. View Source

At a distance one hails a masterpiece in this stream of life, this trembling of shadow and light, sparkling with ever darker shadows and brighter lights. But come closer, and all vanishes. There remains only an indecipherable chaos of palette scrapings. Obviously, this is not the last word in art, nor even of his art. It is necessary to go on and to transform the sketch into a finished work. But what a bugle call for those who listen carefully, how it resounds far into the future! (Ernest Chesneau)



Berthe Morisot, *The Cradle*, 1873. Oil on canvas. 56 x 46 cm. Musée d'Orsay, Paris. View Source

Nothing is more tender than the young mother-admittedly badly dressed-who leans over the cradle where a rosy child falls asleep, its visible through the pale cloud of muslin. (Jean Prouvaire)



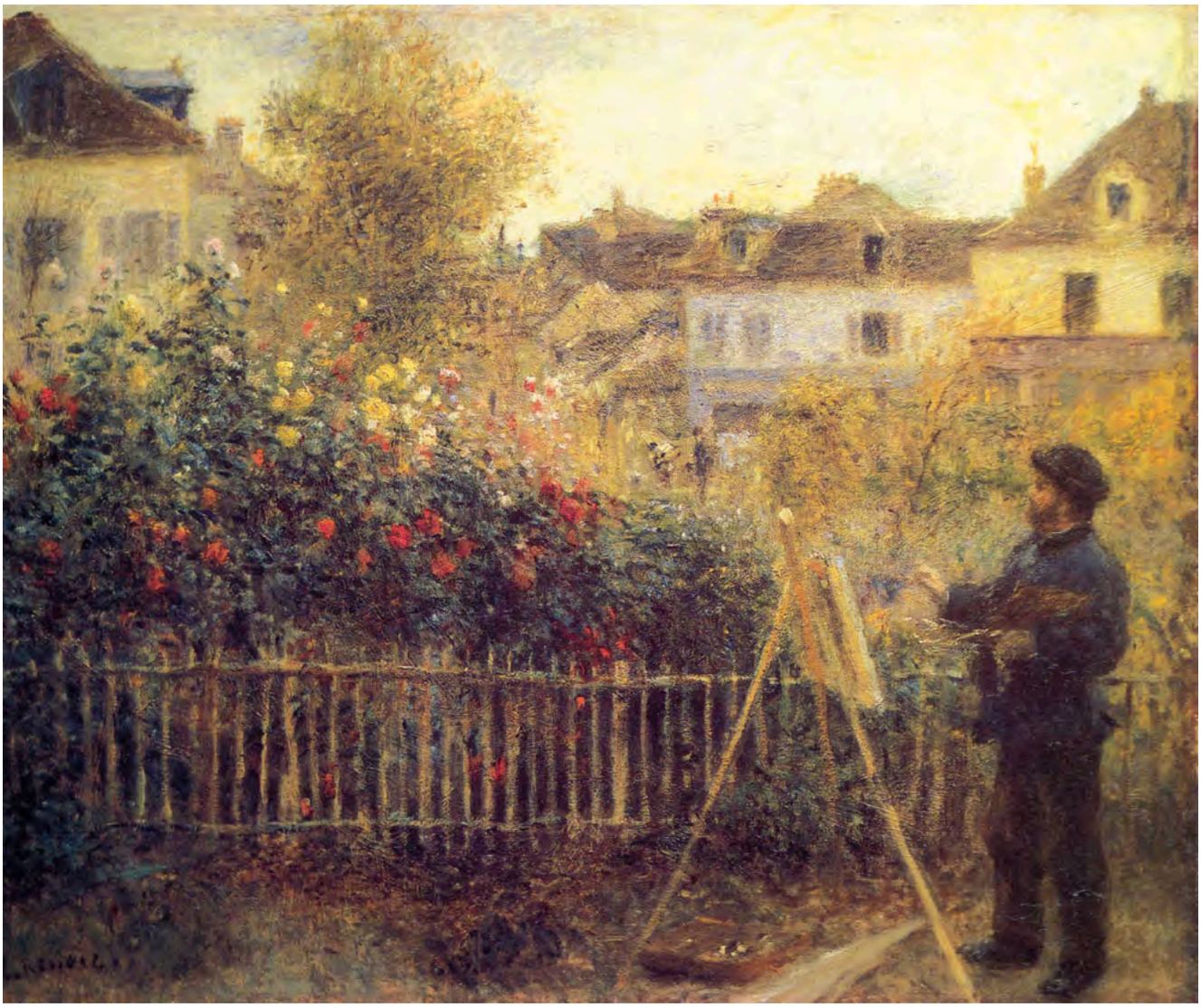
Camille Pissarro, *The Cabbage Field, Pontoise*, 1873. Oil on canvas. 60 x 80 cm. Carmen Thyssen Collection. View Source

> He has a deplorable predilection for market gardens and does not hesitate to paint cabbage or any other domestic vegetable. But these errors of logic or vulgarities of taste do not alter his beautiful qualities of execution. (Jules Antoine Castagnary)



Pierre-Auguste Renoir, *The Dancer*, 1874. Oil on canvas. 142.5 x 94.5 cm. National Gallery of Art, Washington.
View Source

> The figure should not be systematically treated in this loose way. Despite this reservation, the overall tone is attractive; the heads recall both English painting and Goya and the fabrics are only thinly painted and have no depth or projection. It is an attractive approximation, but at the most, it is a mere promise. Nature finds deeper expression than in such imperceptible appearances. There is something worse than taking reality for a shadow and that is taking the shadow for reality. Despite these criticisms, one would search our official school in vain for a head whose distinction, quality and reality of tone matched those of the *Danseuse*. (Armand Silvestre)



Pierre-Auguste Renoir, *Claude Monet Painting in his Garden at Argenteuil*, 1873. Oil on canvas. 46 x 60 cm. Wadsworth Atheneum Museum of Art, Hartford. View Source

Renoir's painting *Claude Monet Painting in his Garden* perfectly illustrates Mallarmé's description of Impressionists as artists who "find their subjects … in their own gardens." His light-filled depiction shows the artist at home in his garden, painting a thicket of red and yellow roses.

Impressionist artists like Monet went into nature — landscapes, urban parks, and domestic gardens — for visual inspiration. However, their private gardens speak to a space of personal nurture and the cultivation of aesthetic ideas, as much as they are about the experience of *plein-air* painting and sourcing the natural world as a subject. Like the balcony overlooking the boulevard or the iron grill fencing the railroad, the seclusion offered by being in one's own garden after the shattering events of the Commune implied an escape into a new relationship with society and others.

In December of 1871, Monet rented a house with a garden for his family in the Paris suburb of Argenteuil, where they lived until the autumn of 1874. France was recuperating from the two sieges, while the first Impressionist

exhibition was in the making. During this period, Monet sought a calm, apolitical private sanctuary to pursue his art and ambitions.

For Manet and the Impressionists, their subject matter derived from the places, events and personalities that defined a particular and circumscribed milieu. Their canvases symbolize the evolution of a democratic society inhabited by a vast cast of characters of diverse religious beliefs and from disparate social strata. This was a novel world, secular and republican, which artists sought to present to the world.

Part of the legacy of the Commune was an increased separation between radical art and radical politics. This marks a critical moment in art history, a moment of bifurcation whose influence continues into the twentieth-first century.

Chapter Three

FEMALE LABOUR & Prostitution in Paris



Georges Seurat, *Models (Poseuses)*, 1886. Oil on canvas. 200 x 249.9 cm. Barnes Foundation, Philadelphia. View Source

CONTENTS

Introduction

3.1

Framing the Female Figure: Debauchery and Decorum in 19th-Century Art

3.2

Avant-Garde Painters and the Subject of Prostitution

3.3

Fashion and the Courtesan

3.4

Anonymity, Identity and the Parisian Prostitute

3.5

Female Spectacle: Photography, Theatre and the French Courtesan

3.6

The Brothel as Modern Subject

3.7

Deviance, Race and the Other

3.8

Degas's Bathers

3.9

The Travails and Tragedies of the Ordinary Prostitute

3.9

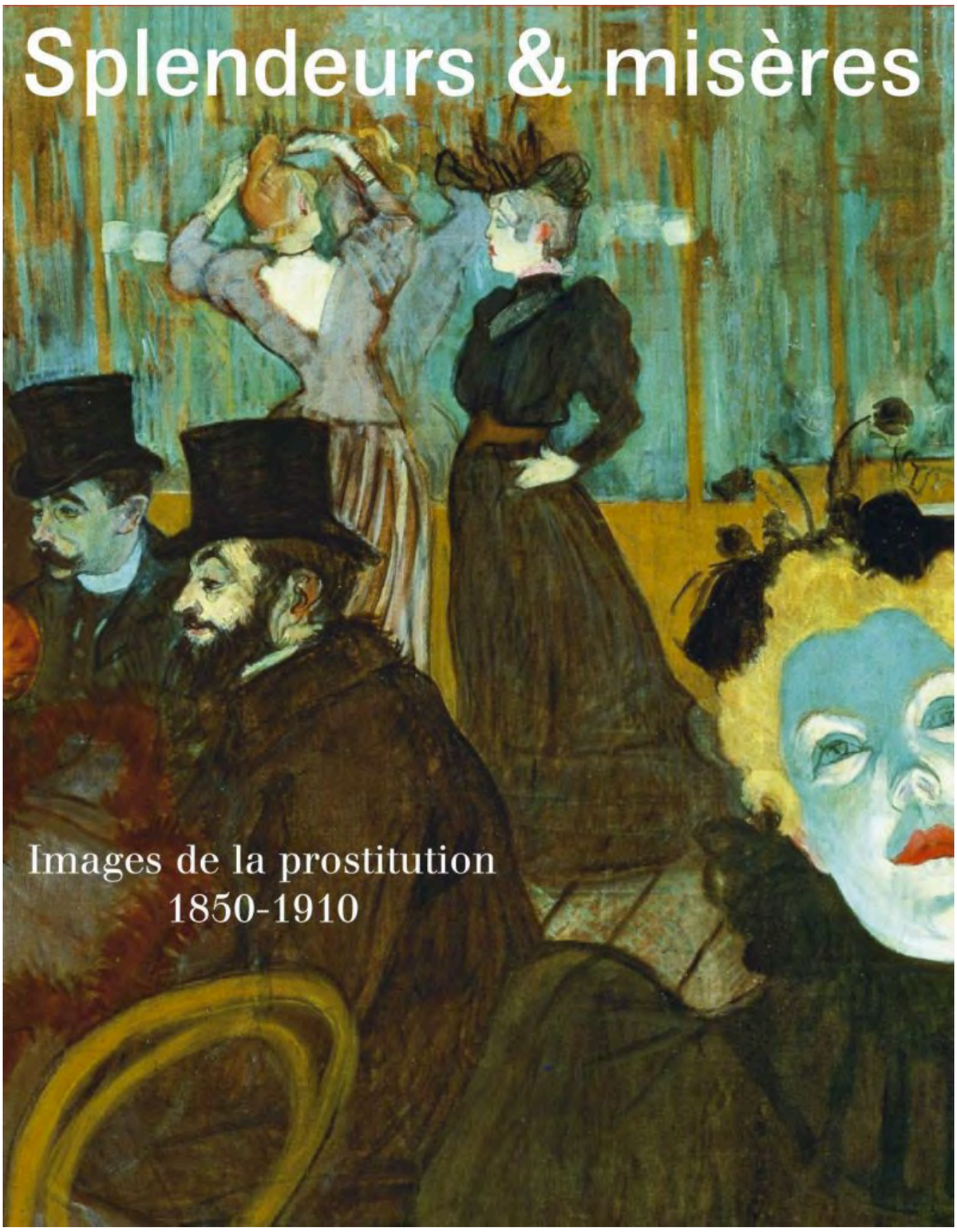
Covert Prostitution: Shopgirls and *Serveuses*

3.10

The Paris Opéra: "The Brothel of France"

INTRODUCTION

The painters of modernity were driven to find their subjects in the everyday world that surrounded them, exploring sites ranging from bourgeois leisure spaces to the brothels and bars of the city. Central to their artistic endeavor was the commitment to observe and depict their world without conventional filters. Given this approach, it is not surprising that female prostitutes, who were becoming increasingly visible in the social landscape of Paris during that period, featured prominently as subjects in their works. The avant-garde artists of the time sought to capture the raw and unfiltered aspects of contemporary urban life, and the presence of prostitutes became a poignant and often controversial element in their portrayals.



Splendeurs et misères: Images de la prostitution, 1850-1910, exhibition poster, September 22, 2015-January 17, 2016. Orsay Museum, Paris. View Source

The period of France's Second Empire witnessed significant shifts in employment patterns due to the expansion of industrialization. Larger enterprises privileged skilled male workers with families, providing them with certain advantages. In contrast, young single women often faced lower wages than their male counterparts in the workforce. Female workers who had recently arrived in Paris were frequently compelled to take on multiple jobs to make ends meet and many resorted to prostitution as a means of supplementing their income. The economic and social dynamics of the time underscored the challenges faced by different segments of the workforce, particularly women.

In the rebuilt Paris, spaces of bourgeois entertainment and social exchange created new opportunities for prostitutes, who quickly became a visible part of the everyday fabric of the city. They conducted business

in cafés, concert halls, theatres, and brasseries, eventually becoming associated with the very idea of urban modernity.

Avant-garde representations of women in nineteenth-century French art and literature rapidly reflected this new social reality, and artists who were ambitious to express their era elevated courtesans to *bonafide* subjects in their works.

Richard Thomson Watson Gordon, curator *of Splendor and Misery: Images of Prostitution 1850-1910* (Musée d'Orsay, 2015-2016), explains:

> Every major [male] artist at the time tackled the subject of prostitution in one way or another...It was a subject that interested them. Why? The obvious answer is that they were men, but another reason was that prostitution was linked to the idea of modernity. People had moved to the city, which was in itself a new concept, where the moral strictures of the village had disappeared. The city was fluid, and this excited the artists.





Top: The Hindi Room. Bottom: The Grotto Entrance. Nicole Canet, Au Bonheur du Jour, Gallery. View Source

In late nineteenth-century Paris, there were various types of female prostitutes with distinct working conditions. Some operated within licensed brothels, known as *maisons de tolérance*, which were legalized in 1804 and subject to police regulation. Women working in these establishments were registered in the brothel-keeper's ledger, assigned a specific number, and subjected to medical monitoring. In the early stages, *maisons de tolérance* ranged from sailors' dives (*bouges à matelots*) to opulent brothels (*maisons de haute tolérance*). However, the coexistence of registered and unregistered prostitutes, including those working in shops, bars, and on the streets, contributed to a decline in the number of licensed brothels. Only the most exclusive establishments, such as Le Chabanais, continued to cater to a wealthy clientele.

Prostitutes ranged from *filles en carte* (registered prostitutes), *filles insoumises,* unregistered girls soliciting in public places, *verseuses,* women working as waitresses in *brasseries à femmes*, and courtesans, the kept mistresses of the wealthy elite. Although prostitution was considered morally wrong, it was tolerated as a societal necessity.

This chapter will explore the evolving depictions of the female prostitute by avant-garde artists, including Courbet, Manet, Degas, Cézanne, Toulouse-Lautrec, Tissot, and Seurat. It will analyze their diverse thematic and stylistic approaches, considering how the approach to the subject changed over time. The examination will provide contextual analysis from both a historical and art historical perspective, shedding light on the broader social, cultural, and artistic dynamics that influenced the representation of the female prostitute in the works of these influential avant-garde figures.

3.1
| Framing the Female Figure: Debauchery and Decorum in 19th-Century Art

Gustave Courbet's *Young Ladies Beside the Seine* portrays two young women lounging on the grass by the river. The foreground features a brunette who seems to be waking from a nap, wearing white clothing reminiscent of undergarments. She looks out at the viewer with a drowsy expression. In the background, a fashionably dressed blonde gazes into the distance, her head resting on her gloved left hand. This painting, with its overtly sexual undertones, was perceived as a challenge to contemporary sensibilities, prompting strong criticism and condemnation.

Champfleury, in particular, expressed his disapproval, suggesting that Courbet had lost his way as an artist: "As to the Young Women, horrible! Horrible! Certainly, Courbet knows nothing about women. You'll think me embittered. I've always told you that since Burial our friend has gone astray. He has kept his finger too much on the pulse of public opinion" (Jack Lindsay, Gustave Courbet: His Life and Art, London: Harper and Row, 1973, 151). Champfleury's critique reflects the controversy surrounding Courbet's departure from conventional artistic norms and his willingness to confront societal taboos in his work.



Gustave Courbet (1819-1877). *"Les demoiselles du bord de la Seine (été)"* . Huile sur toile, 1857. Musée des Beaux-Arts de la Ville de Paris, Petit Palais. View Source

The dark-haired girl's state of undress, the absence of a male subject, and the sexually provocative composition suggest a lesbian encounter. At the time, the term 'lesbian' was not specific to homosexuality. Females were

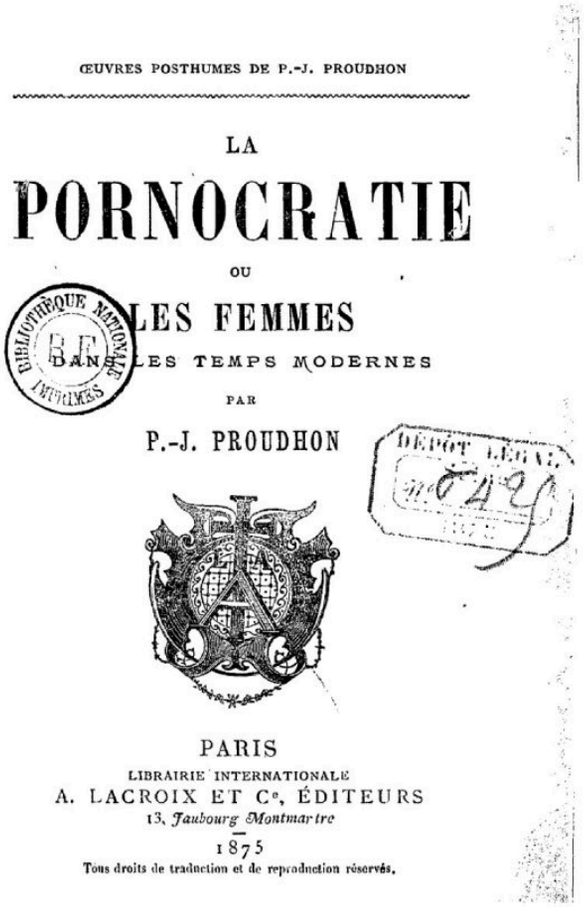
called lesbian, *tribade, gougnotte, lorette, sapphienne, petites soeurs, les deux amies,* or *la fleur du mal* if they rejected socially inscribed roles of wives and mothers. Women who chose political or intellectual pursuits or participated in revolutionary social activities were considered lesbians. It was commonly believed that prostitutes were inclined to lesbianism.

The young women here, therefore, were easily read as lesbians and prostitutes. The drowsy closeness of the women lying side by side, the excessive display of garish garments and the enormous bouquet were the overt signs of lesbian eroticism, which shocked the public when the painting was first exhibited.

Linda Nochlin in "Courbet's Real Allegory: Rereading the *Painter's Studio*" (in *Representing Women* (New York: Thames and Hudson, 1999), 138) notes the symbolic intent of the shawl in Courbet's *The Young Ladies Beside the Seine*:

> Courbet's representation of the white-clad fallen woman in the foreground of *The Young Ladies on the Banks of the Seine*...lends itself quite nicely to a pejorative reading within the codes defining nineteenth-century female decorum. Is it a mere coincidence that the gorgeously painted cashmere shawl in the foreground re-echoes the position and function – veiling yet calling attention to the sexual part of the body.

The shawl, Nochlin explains, signifies the immorality of the prostitute.



ŒUVRES POSTHUMES DE P.-J. PROUDHON

LA

PORNOCRATIE

OU

LES FEMMES

DANS LES TEMPS MODERNES

PAR

P.-J. PROUDHON

BIBLIOTHÈQUE NATIONALE R.F. IMPRIMÉS

DÉPOT LÉGAL

PARIS

LIBRAIRIE INTERNATIONALE

A. LACROIX ET Cᵉ, ÉDITEURS

13, *faubourg Montmartre*

1875

Tous droits de traduction et de reproduction réservés.

Source gallica.bnf.fr / Bibliothèque nationale de France

Pierre-Joseph Proudhon, *La Pornocratie ou Les Femmes dans les temps modernes (Pornocracy or Women in Modern Times)* (Paris: Librairie international A. Lacroix et Cie, Éditeurs, 1875). View Source

In 19th-century French society, a woman's role was predominantly confined to that of a wife and mother, a concept championed by thinkers like the social philosopher Pierre-Joseph Proudhon. The prevailing societal norm valorized the idea that a woman's primary purpose was to serve her husband and care for her children. Those women who did not conform to this prescribed role, choosing not to dedicate their lives to their husbands and children, were often stigmatized and categorized as prostitutes. This binary classification reflected deeply entrenched gender norms and reinforced the societal expectations placed on women during that era.

The diametric framing of the female figure as either virtuous or debauched was standard in writings of the era. Proudhon's *Pornocracy or Women in Modern Times* (1875) extolled the virtues of the good woman, always a married female, but also claimed marriage as essential to the construct of social order. In essence, domestic virtue was equated with social goodness. Proudhon alleged that marriage supported moral behaviour and was the "*mise-en-scène* of social stability." He argued that women who did not participate in the traditional marriage contract were morally bankrupt contributors to a debased society he termed a "pornocracy." He believed immorality and corruption would follow if women were granted political involvement and social standing.

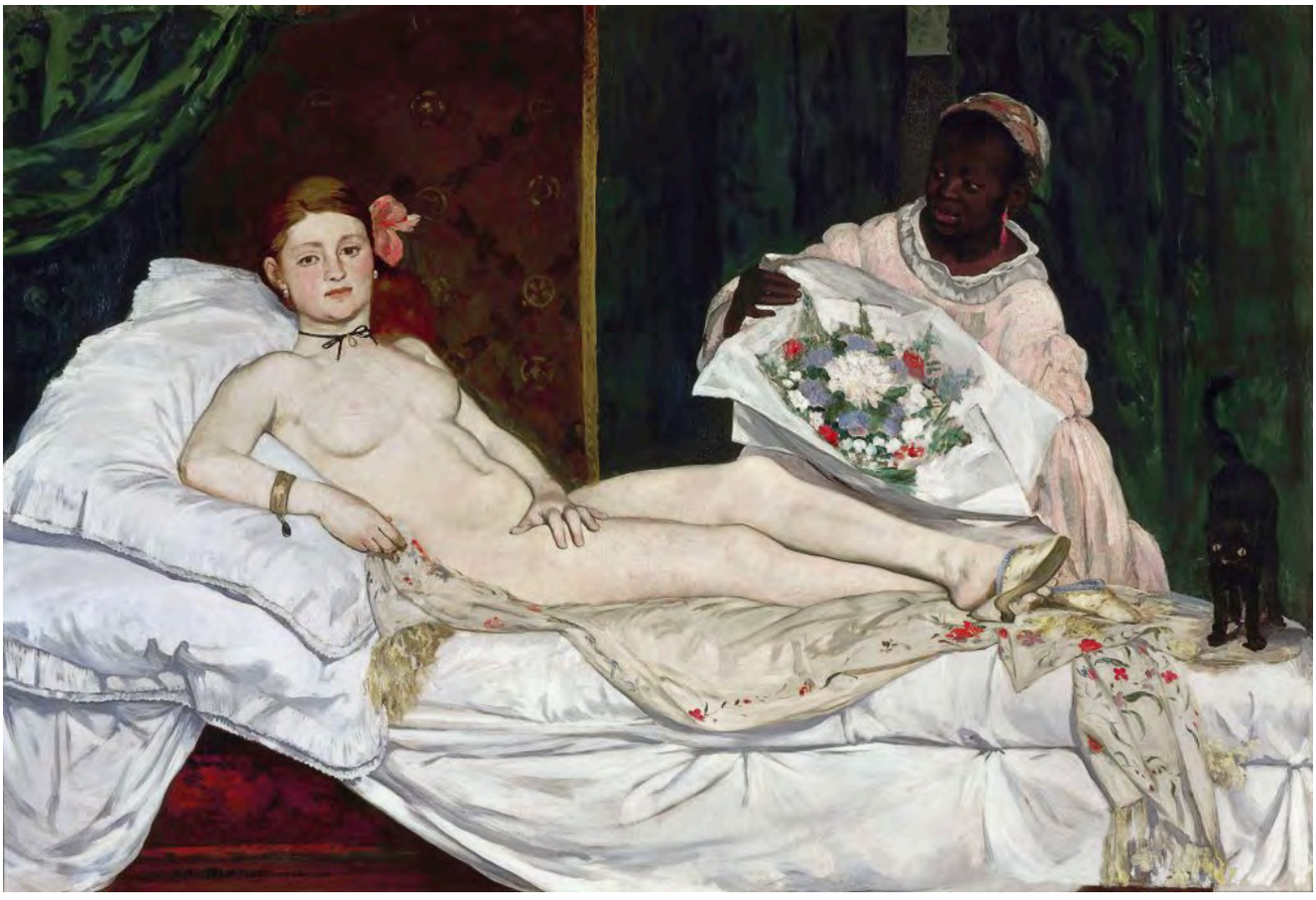


Alfred Stevens, *Family Scene or Domestic Happiness or All the Joys,* ca. 1880. Oil on canvas. 67.5 x 53.5 cm. Orsay Museum, Paris. View Source

The separation of the male and female spheres — the woman caring for her children, the husband busy at work — is visually described in Alfred Stevens' *Family Scene* or *Domestic Happiness* or *All the Joys*. The nurturing mother poses serenely, her head tilted lovingly towards the young child she holds on her lap. A flower in her hand symbolizes the purity and beauty of their natural bond. In the background, her husband is at his desk, surrounded by books, his back to the viewer. He is detached from the domestic scene, absorbed in his serious work.

3.2
| Avant-Garde Painters and the Subject of Prostitution

The allure of prostitution as a subject became widespread among avant-garde painters of modern life in the 1870s and 1880s, starting with Manet's iconic work, "Olympia." The prostitute, in the eyes of these artists, embodied the two antithetical qualities of modernity. On one hand, she represented the transient, ephemeral, and unstable aspects of contemporary life. On the other hand, she was seen as a fixed commodity, highlighting the commodification and objectification of women within the societal framework of the time. This dual nature of the prostitute as a subject served as a powerful metaphor for the complexities and contradictions inherent in the evolving modern urban landscape.



Édouard Manet, *Olympia,* 1863. Oil on canvas. 130 x 190 cm. Orsay Museum, Paris. View Source



Paul Cezanne, *The Eternal Feminine,* ca. 1877. Oil on canvas. 43.2 x 53 cm. Getty Center, Los Angeles. View Source

The phenomenon of the sexual marketplace, while intriguing, undoubtedly generated anxiety within the male population. This unease is hinted at in Paul Cézanne's series of paintings created between 1870 and 1877, which, in part, served as a homage to Edouard Manet's "Olympia" from 1863.

In Cézanne's depiction, the nude figure is faceless and anonymous, positioned enthroned beneath a canopy. Surrounding her are a diverse crowd of men, including a painter, a bishop, and musicians, all seemingly paying homage to the female figure. This image is intended as a parody, mocking the veneration of sexualized womanhood and critiquing its societal consequences. Cézanne's work reflects a commentary on the complexities and anxieties surrounding the portrayal and commodification of women in the evolving sexual landscape of the time.

Hollis Clayson explains in *Prostitution in the French Art of the Impressionist Era* (Yale University Press, 1991, 44):

> Although Cezanne's quirky series seems to be an unusually transparent record of some of the doubts, worries, and fantasies of a bourgeois living through the changes in the sexual economy in the big city, it also introduces one of the trademarks of the avant-garde project as it took shape during this period: the effort to contain and order the anxieties provoked by the modern sexualized woman in general and by the contemporary prostitute in particular... Cezanne seems to have found the theme of the luxury prostitute (the woman of *The Eternal Feminine* fits that definition well) appropriate to his increasing pessimism (or even cynicism) about finding "real" eroticism in its old fantastic forms in the modern world.



Paul Cezanne, *A Modern Olympia,* ca. 1873-74. Oil on canvas. 46 x 55.5 cm. Orsay Museum, Paris. View Source

A Modern Olympia was shown in the first Impressionist exhibition in the spring of 1874. "Critics found it to be a deeply disturbed and disturbing painting," writes Clayson (17, 19).

> The champion of naturalism, Jules Castagnary, for example, found that the picture was spoiled by fantasy and romanticism, both utterly personal in origin and therefore anathema to Castagnary: "From idealization to idealization, they will end up with a degree of romanticism that knows no stopping, where nature is nothing but a pretext for dreams, and where the imagination becomes unable to formulate anything other than personal, subjective fantasies, without trace of general reason, because they are without control and without the possibility of verification in reality." Emile Cardon did not like Cezanne's painting either, because he worried that the public might wrongly take the product of a disturbed artist as a seriously intentioned work: "One wonders if there is in this an immoral mystification of the public, or the result of mental alienation that one can do nothing but deplore."

The critics supposed that Cezanne disclosed his own uneasiness with nudity and prostitutes. Eventually, his considerable discomfort with the imagery led him to set the subject aside.



Jules Lefebvre, *Odalisque,* 1874. Oil on canvas. 40.3 x 79 cm. Art Institute of Chicago, Chicago. View Source

Academic nudes differed significantly from the treatment of the subject matter by artists of the avant-garde. Jules Lefebvre's *Odalisque* provides a typical example of conventional nudes of the late 1870s. The painting is at once seductive and chaste. A perfectly painted nude in this context was, according to T.J. Clark, "a picture for men to look at, in which Woman is constructed as an object of somebody else's desire." (*The Painting of Modern Life: Paris in the Art of Manet and his Followers, Princeton University Press, 1999, 131)*

>Lefebvre's title and the painted setting, which is replete with rich textiles, succulent fruits, and exotic objects, suggest that she is an enslaved woman or a concubine in a Turkish harem. This imagined place would have been in a separate part of a Muslim household reserved for a man's wives, concubines, and female servants. The work appealed to the sexual and oriental fantasies of male visitors to the Salon. The model's perfect body, and the seductive beauty of the scene, were meant to stimulate male passion while also providing painterly visual pleasure.

The scene presented is a harem, not a brothel, an exotic yet safe place of male privilege. A European invention, the harem was about the possession of prized objects. Placed in an oriental out-of-the-ordinary setting, the nude is at a remove, on display, passive and available, both to the unseen client and, by extension, the viewer.

3.3
| Fashion and the Courtesan

A distinct contrast in treatment and tone exists between the depictions of odalisques by artists like Lefebvre and the portrayal of prostitution as addressed by Manet and his circle. Notably, in Manet's works, such as "Nana," there is a departure from the traditional rendering of undressed or veiled women.

In "Nana," for instance, the titular subject is not undressed, and she directly engages the viewer's gaze. Clad in a white chemise, a blue corset, silk stockings, and high-heeled shoes, Nana looks calmly at the observer. Meanwhile, a top-hatted man sits off to the side on a burgundy velvet settee. Despite his presence, the seated man is partially hidden and relegated to a secondary role in the narrative. This departure from the conventional representation of odalisques reflects Manet's and his contemporaries' distinct approach to the portrayal of women and themes related to contemporary urban life.



Édouard Manet, *Nana,* 1877. Oil on canvas. 154 x 115 cm. Hamburger Kunsthalle, Hamburg. View Source

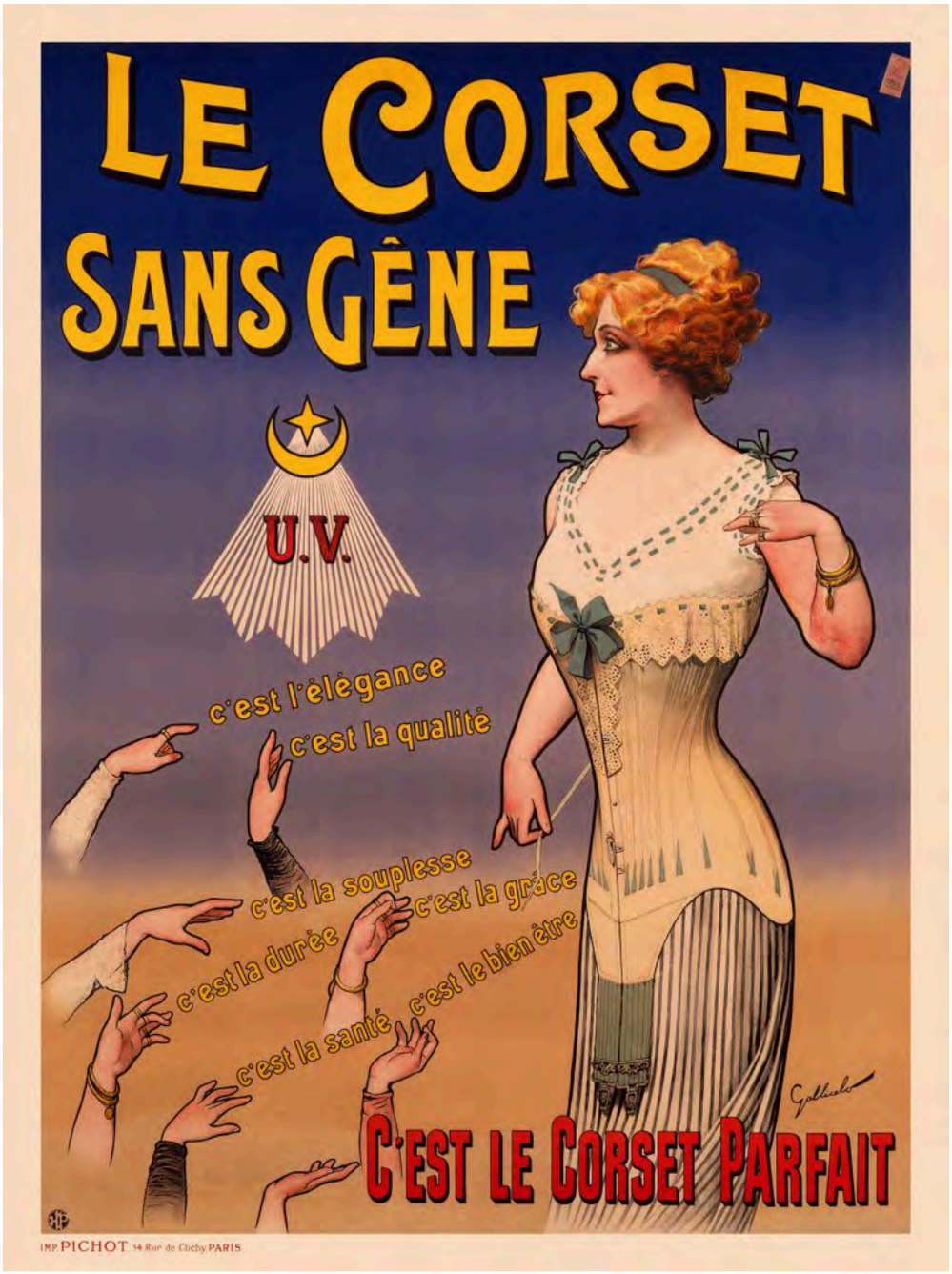
Manet paid meticulous attention to the expression of the young woman in "Nana." She gazes towards the spectator with a certain insouciance, embodying a blend of flirtatiousness and flippancy. Nana is fully aware of her desirability, and her beauty commands attention and assessment. Her demeanor suggests a self-awareness as she engages the viewer while seamlessly continuing her self-adornment.

The theatrical positioning of Nana's hands emphasizes her skilled application of makeup: her right hand delicately holds a powder puff, while the left, with pinky extended, clasps her lipstick. This pose accentuates her affectedness and artifice. Nana's plump, curvaceous body and the sway of her back convey an air of immodest ease. The bird depicted on the wall, resembling Nana's posture, holds significance. It is a crane, known as "grue"

in French, a slang term for a prostitute. This detail adds a layer of symbolism, connecting Nana to the world of prostitution through visual metaphor.

Manet's Nana visually recalls Baudelaire's writings in "The Painter and Modern Life" (1863). Jeanne Willette explores Baudelaire's concept of modernity and artificiality in "Baudelaire and 'The Painter of Modern Life' " (arthistoryunstuffed, Aug 27, 2010):

> For Modernism, fashion is the leading indicator of the "ephemeral, the fugitive, the contingent," for nothing is more changeable than fashion. Fashion stands for the new consumerism, showcased in the arcades, where commodities were protected in passages of iron and glass." The woman becomes the carrier of artificiality. There is a slippage in Baudelaire's writings from "women" to "prostitutes," as if, for the poet there is no divide. It is known that his only relationship was with a prostitute, but that kind of connection was not uncommon, in an age where marriage was often a financial alliance. Baudelaire seemed to have no interest in the so-called respectable woman, who reflected her husband's position and the values of the bourgeois society. The prostitute is a free and liberated woman, from the poet's perspective and thus wears modernity as cosmetics and fashion, proclaiming the artificial. Indeed, the poet compares the application of makeup to the creation of a work of art: "Maquillage has no need to hide itself or to shrink from being suspected. On the contrary, let it display itself, at least if it does so with frankness and honesty."



Gallicelo, "Le corset sans gêne, c'est le Corset Parfait," ca. 1910. Lithograph. Bibliothèque Forney, Paris. View Source

Manet's *Nana* wears a satin blue corset, finely detailed in lace. Women of the era generally wore plain and neutral fabric corsets that were inexpensive. The elaborate, colourful corset eroticized by courtesans soon became the new fashion for the belles of French society, ranging from concubines to upper-class wives.

The fashions of famous courtesans were reproduced by designers and marketed to the bourgeois consumer. In this way, the sexualized garment trends of the courtesan were appropriated by respectable females. "Underneath layers of 'respectable' clothing, upper-class women had been infected by courtesan trends through their most intimate means of dress, their underwear." (Holly G. L. Geary-Jones, "An Infectious Vessel: The Nineteenth-Century Prostitute Undressed," Master's thesis, University of Chester, 2017)

In all respects, Nana is symbolic of the female as a modern commodity; she is 'for sale.' The patiently waiting, formally dressed male client, by extension, stands for the buyer. While he is partially hidden, in all respects behind her, the equally anonymous viewer at whom Nana gazes is a customer as well.

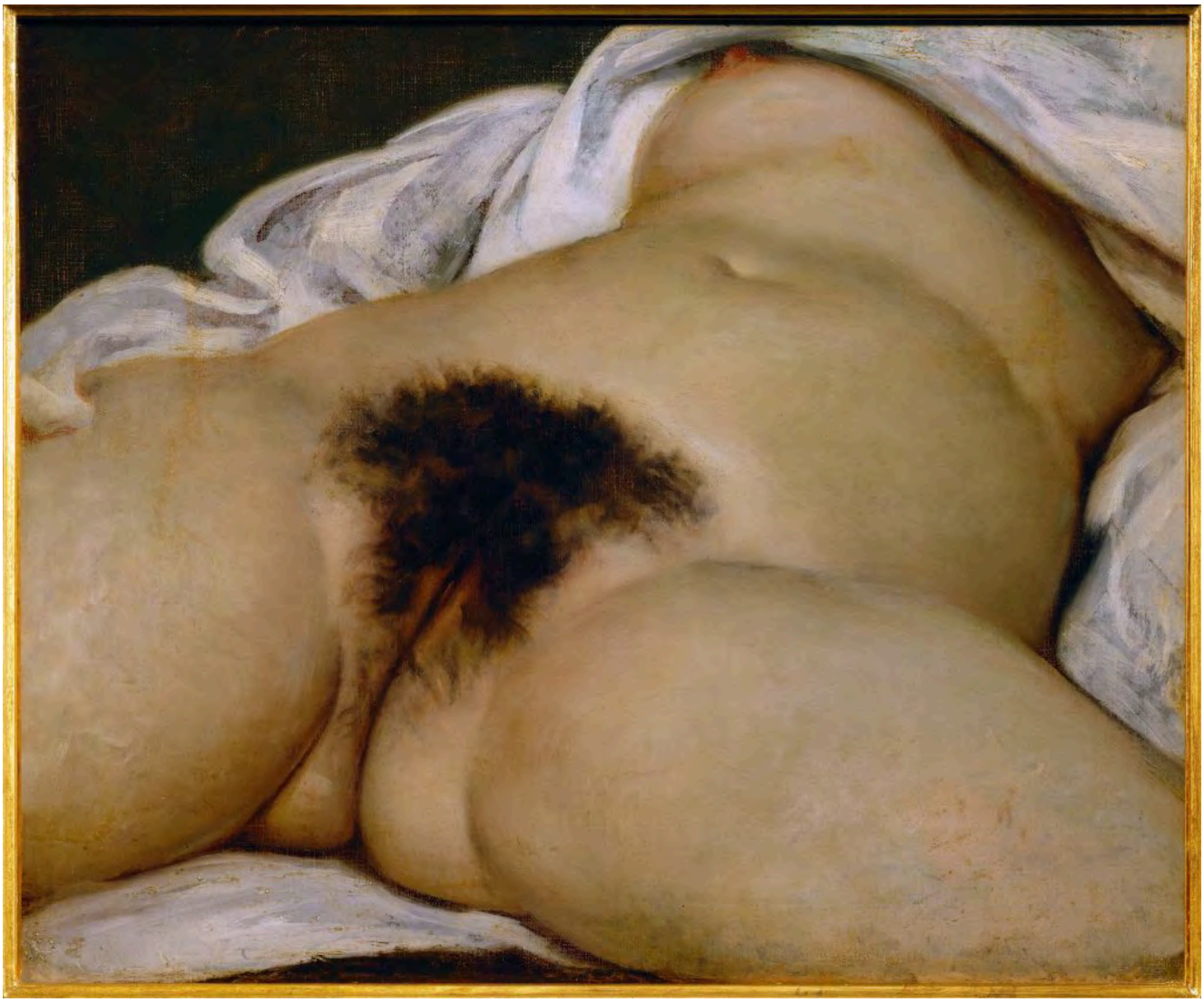
"Nana" was a popular pseudonym in France for female prostitutes in the second half of the 19th century. The painting may reference Emile Zola's *Nana*, a courtesan in his novel *L'Assommoir* (1877). Zola was interested

in exploring deviant female sexuality, male sexual desire and extreme male discomfort. In the book, Nana is a pretty, poor, uneducated "*jeune femme du peuple*" (lower-class young girl). She is sensual to an unusual degree, and her early environment and alcoholism taint her. In time she becomes a monstrous courtesan.

Manet's *Nana* was deemed indecent and was not accepted by the Salon of 1877. After its display in Giroux's grand boulevard window in 1877, it was never shown again during Manet's lifetime. In the few reviews of the painting that appeared in the press, commentators seized on Nana's costume. *Le Tintamarre* published *"Nana,"* a four-stanza poem dedicated to Manet and signed "Un impressioniste." Generally banal and moralizing, the poem describes it as Zola's Nana, the second stanza reads: "More than nude, in her chemise, the fille shows off/ Her feminine charms and the flesh that tempts./ There she is./ She has donned her satin corset and is getting dressed/ Calmly, near a man, who has come there to see her." (Clayson, *Painted Love*, 76)

3.4
| Anonymity, Identity and the Parisian Prostitute

While the identity of the courtesan in Manet's *Nana* remains unknown, the woman who posed for Courbet's controversial *The Origin of the World* was identified in 2018. Before that, the painting was simply an anonymous portrayal of a female subject, more specifically, an image of the sex organ of the female, the site of male desire.



Gustave Courbet, *The Origin of the World,* 1866. Oil on canvas. 46 x 55 cm. Orsay Museum, Paris. View Source

In 1880, the politician Léon Gambetta told the author Ludovic Halévy about encountering Courbet and seeing *The Origin of the World* at the home of the notorious art collector and Turkish ambassador to St. Petersburg, Khalil Bey (also known as Halil Şerif Pasha). Bey had commissioned the painting for his erotica collection. Gambetta described the painting as "a nude woman, without feet and without a head. After dinner, there we were, looking…admiring…We finally ran out of enthusiastic comments…This lasted for ten minutes. Courbet never had enough of it."

Another reference to the work came from French writer and photographer Maxime du Camp in his four-column denunciation of the Paris Commune, *Les convulsions du Camp* (1889), an article originally published in *Revue des deux mondes*. He wrote:

> To please a Moslem who paid for his whims in gold…Courbet…painted a portrait of a woman which is difficult to describe. In the dressing room of this foreign personage, one sees a small picture hidden under a green veil. When one draws aside the veil one remains stupefied to perceive a woman, life-size, seen from the front, moved and convulsed, remarkably executed, reproduced con amore, as the Italians say, providing the last word in realism. But by some inconceivable forgetfulness of the artist who copied the model from nature, had neglected to represent the feet, the legs, the thighs, the stomach, the hips the chest, the hands, the arms, the shoulders, the neck and the head.



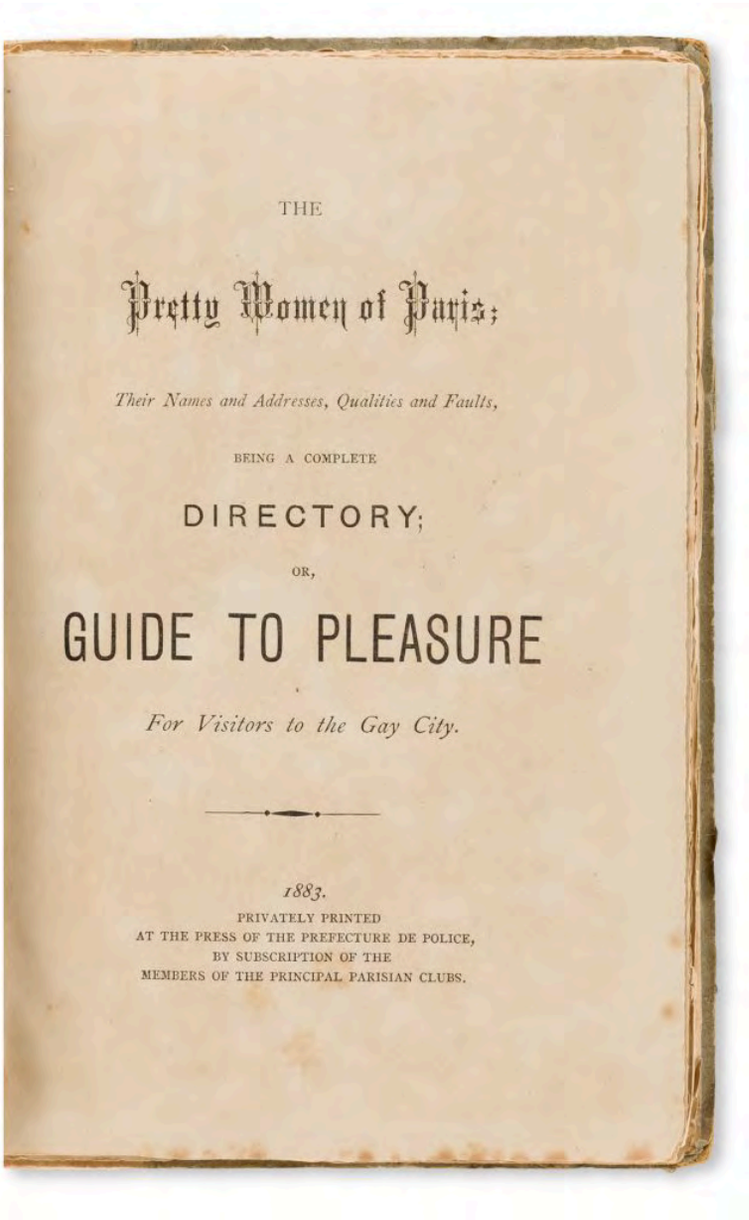
André Adolphe-Eugène Disdéri, Constance Quéniaux, n.d. Photograph. BnF/Département des estampes et de la photographie. View Source

In 2018 the French literary scholar Claude Schopp explained his accidental discovery that the model was the Opéra ballet dancer Constance Quéniaux. He read a letter dated June 1871 from Alexandre Dumas *fils* — the son of *The Three Musketeers* author — to George Sand, a French novelist and journalist, at the Bibliothèque Nationale de France (BNF, National Library of France). The erroneous transcription into English caught his attention. It read, "One does not paint the most delicate and the most sonorous interview of Miss Queniault [*sic]* of the Opera." Upon closer inspection, Schopp realized that the word "interview" was actually "interior."



Paul Émile Pesme, Constance Quéniaux, 1861. View Source

When the dancer/prostitute /courtesan, Quéniaux retired at age 34, she won Khalil Bey's affection. Schopp surmised that the sitter's identity was concealed when Quéniaux ascended to Paris's elite social circles. With the fortune she accumulated as a courtesan Quéniaux was well-off in later life. A dedicated philanthropist, she supported the Orphelinat des Arts, an institution for orphaned and abandoned children of artists.


THE

Pretty Women of Paris;

Their Names and Addresses, Qualities and Faults,

BEING A COMPLETE

DIRECTORY;

OR,

GUIDE TO PLEASURE

For Visitors to the Gay City.

1883.

PRIVATELY PRINTED
AT THE PRESS OF THE PREFECTURE DE POLICE,
BY SUBSCRIPTION OF THE
MEMBERS OF THE PRINCIPAL PARISIAN CLUBS.

The Pretty Women of Paris: Their Names and Addresses, Qualities and Faults; Being a Complete Directory; Or Guide to Pleasure for Visitors to the Gay City (Privately printed at the Press of the Prefecture de Police, by subscription of the members of the top Parisian clubs, 1883). View Source

Written anonymously, probably by a wealthy British gentleman living in Paris, the purpose of *The Pretty Women of Paris* was to assist English men in locating prostitutes in the city. Only 169 copies of the 200-page "guide" were printed "for private distribution." They included the names, addresses and photographs of the women; the following are a few examples:



Charles Reutlinger, *Portrait of Latour Amélie,* ca. 1860-90. Photograph on albumen paper. 9 x 5.4 cm. Musée Histoire de Paris Carnavalet, Paris.
View Source

Amélie Latour (pictured in 1870) was listed as living at 32 Avenue De L'Opera. She was praised as "one of the queens of Parisian prostitution when Napoleon the Third was on the throne." Her "aristocratic fingers cling to the sceptre of mankind with a grip that tightens more than ever…"



Nadar, *Portrait of Henriette de Barras (actress at the Théâtre de la Renaissance)*, ca. 1870-1890. Albumen silver print on cardboard. Musée Histoire de Paris Carnavalet, Paris. View Source

Henriette de Barras (pictured in 1880) was “one of the daintiest little creatures in Paris, with a wasp-like waist that she contrives to make smaller still with tight lacing; a plump figure; small regular features and a most candid, innocent manner of speaking.”

Photographic portraits such as these allowed the *demimondaines* to show off expensive jewellery and opulent outfits and become trendsetters in matters of fashion.

Some of these women became top-class courtesans, occupying a tenuous position between high-class prostitute and mistress. Mainly from low-income families, *les grandes cocottes* became the lovers of wealthy financiers, politicians, and princes. A few, like Quéniaux, amassed vast personal fortunes.

3.5
| Female Spectacle:
Photography, Theatre, and the French Courtesan

The birth of photography in 1839 heralded a new era in the depiction of the body and contributed to the rise of sexual consumerism. The daguerreotype process and the printing of images on albumen paper created highly defined photographs that perfectly reproduced skin’s texture and transparency and the nuances of gestures and facial expressions. These images were sold illicitly to male clients to stimulate sexual excitement.



Léopold Reutlinger, *La Belle Otéro,* from an album of photographs, ca. 1875-1917. Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris.
View Source



François-Rupert Carabin, *Groupe de quatre femmes nues, assises,* ca. 1895-1910. Aristotype. 12 x 17 cm. Orsay Museum, Paris. View Source

In photographs that were discretely purchased by male buyers and in works of art produced by painters and exhibited at Salons, conventional codes of decency related to the nude female genre were subverted by sensual expressions, suggestive poses, and unconventional dress.



Georges Clairin, *Portrait of Sarah Bernhardt,* 1876. Oil on canvas. 275 x 227 cm. Musée des Beaux-Arts de la ville de Paris, Paris. View Source

Whereas the female image had previously been defined by prescriptive sexual stereotyping, femininity could now be reimagined by women such as Sarah Bernhardt, whose *role as an actress allowed her to flaunt traditional female dress and modes of behaviour. Bernhardt personally* managed her self-image, collaborating with painters, sculptors, photographers and poster designers, who were charged with depicting her many personas.

Susan A. Glenn writes in *Female Spectacle: The Theatrical Roots of Modern Feminism* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2000, 10): "Bernhardt symbolized the radical new possibilities that theatre presented for elaborating new forms of female identity." Bernhardt was independent and strong-willed. She refused to conform to social norms. A feminist decades before that term became popular, she was a transitional figure who often played the binaries.

Georges Clairin's portrait of Bernhardt was well received at the 1876 Salon exhibition. In his review of the exhibition, Théodore Véron stated: "The portrait of Madame Sarah Bernhardt is clearly one of the most fascinating works of the Salon for the originality of its composition and its splendid colors." (Théodore Véron, *Le salon de 1876: mémorial de l'art et des artistes de mon temps*, 1876)

Bernhardt, at home in her Oriental apartment, looks seductively at the viewer, her alluringly curvaceous body emphasized by a long robe of shimmering white satin. She rests on a luxurious divan of pink satin (designed for use as a couch or bed) as she leans on a large cushion of gold satin. By her side, complementing her shapely form, is a yellow hound with long legs resting on a fur rug. A large Venetian mirror, purple velvet curtains and a tropical plan contribute to the exotica of the portrait.

Below is a brief review of Bernhardt's professional life as an actress and artist; and her personal life as a courtesan.

Professional:

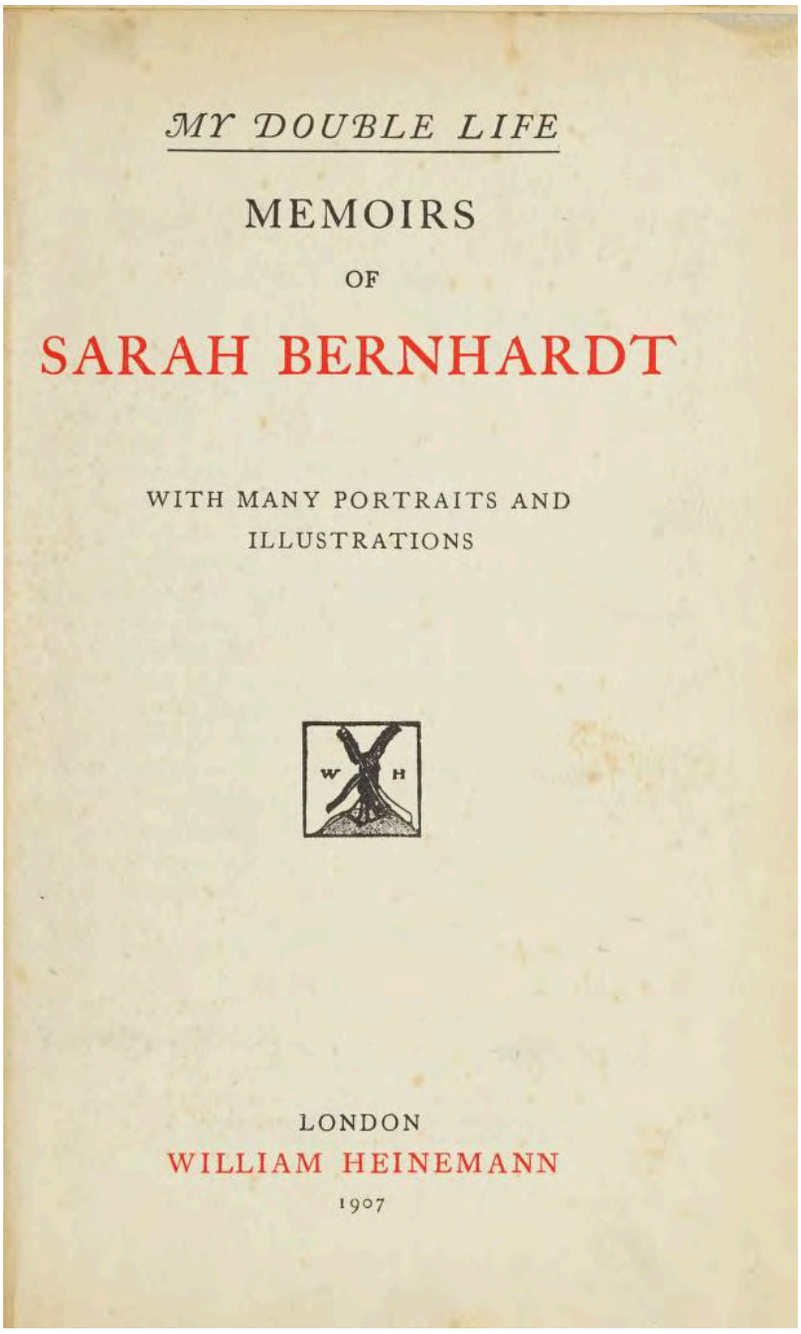
Sarah Bernhardt was the first international stage star. A versatile actress with an expressive voice and poetic gestures, she was lauded for performances as Phaedra in Racine's *Phaedra* (1874), Victor Hugo's Doña Maria *in Ruy Blas* (1872) and Doña Sol in *Hernani* (1877). Bernhardt founded the Théâtre Sarah Bernhardt in 1899 and bought a series of French theatres in the 1880s and 90s, producing modern experimental plays while also touring Europe, the United States, Latin America, and Canada.

Bernhardt wrote, painted, and sculpted, exhibiting her work at the Paris Salon between 1874 and 1886. Exhibitions of the artist's sculpture were also held in London, New York, and Philadelphia. Bernhardt participated in the World's Columbian Exposition in Chicago in 1893 and at the Exposition Universelle in Paris in 1900. She excelled at sculptural modelling and shaping; most of her sculptures are portrait busts, though she also made smaller *objets de vertu* (objects of virtue). In addition, she painted, designed dresses, and supervised the sets and costumes for her productions.

Personal:

Sarah Bernhardt was born on October 23, 1844; her mother, Judith-Julie Bernhardt, was Jewish of Dutch origin. When Sarah was born, Judith was 23 years old and one of the beautiful young courtesans working in Paris. Sarah's father was unknown, although it is likely that he was the Duke of Morny, a half-brother of Emperor Napoleon III. In 1853, at 9, she was admitted to the Colegio Grandchamp, where she was baptized, had her first communion, and performed her first theatrical performance. The mystical atmosphere of the school made her consider becoming a nun. After leaving Grandchamp at 15, her mother tried to introduce her to the courtesan world, but Sarah, influenced by her convent upbringing, flatly refused. Instead, through the influence of Morny, she enrolled in the Conservatoire de Musique et Déclamation, where she studied until 1862.

>After leaving the Conservatoire, she began her career with the prestigious Comédie-Française. In 1864, she met Charles-Joseph Lamoral, Prince de Ligne, one of her great loves, and became pregnant with her son Maurice but did not marry. For a brief time, she followed in her mother's footsteps as a courtesan of the imperial court until she could financially support herself and her child as an actress.



Sarah Bernhardt, *My Double Life: Memoirs of Sarah Bernhardt, With many portraits and illustrations* (London: Willian Heinemann, 1907).
View Source

Bernhardt's autobiography *My Double Life: Memoirs of Sarah Bernhardt* chronicles her strategic celebrity. First published sixteen years before her death, it begins with childhood reminiscences of her mother in 1844 and concludes with her tour of North America in 1880, while providing glimpses into her private life.

See these two examples of text and image:

keeping back my sighs, I tried to consider my wretched situation; but sleep, the great restorer, came to the rescue, and I was very soon slumbering peacefully. When I woke I could not collect my thoughts at first. I wondered what time it was, and looked at my watch. It was just ten, and I had been asleep since three o'clock in the afternoon. I listened for a few minutes, but everything was silent in the house. On a table near my bed was a small tray on which were a cup of chocolate and a cake. A sheet of writing paper was placed upright against the cup. I trembled as I took it up, for I never received any letters. With great difficulty, by my night-light, I managed to read the following words, written by Madame Guérard: "When you had gone to sleep the Duc de Morny sent word to your mother that Camille Doucet had just assured him that you were to be engaged at the Comédie Française. Do not worry any more, therefore, my dear child, but have faith in the future.—Your *petit Dame*."

I pinched myself to make sure that I was really awake. I got up and rushed to the window. I looked out, and the sky was black. Yes, it was black to every one else, but starry to me. The stars were shining, and I looked for my own special one, and chose the largest and brightest.

I went back towards my bed and amused myself with jumping on to it, holding my feet together. Each time I missed I laughed like a lunatic. I then drank my chocolate, and nearly choked myself devouring my cake.

Standing up on my bolster, I then made a long speech to the Virgin Mary at the head of my bed. I adored the Virgin Mary, and I explained to her my reasons for not being able to take the veil, in spite of my vocation. I tried to charm and persuade her, and I kissed her very gently on her foot, which was crushing the serpent. Then in the darkness I tried to find my mother's portrait. I could scarcely see this, but I threw kisses to it. I then took up again the letter from *mon petit Dame*, and went to sleep with it clasped in my hand. I do not remember what my dreams were.

The next day every one was very kind to me. My godfather, who arrived early, nodded his head in a contented way.

"She must have some fresh air," he said. "I will treat you to a landau."

Sarah Bernhardt, *My Double Life: Memoirs of Sarah Bernhardt; With many portraits and illustrations* (London: Willian Heinemann, 1907), 90-91. View Source



SARAH BERNHARDT ON LEAVING
THE CONSERVATOIRE

XXXI

A TOUR IN DENMARK—ROYAL FAMILIES—THE "TWENTY-EIGHT DAYS" OF SARAH BERNHARDT

After this first test of my freedom I felt more sure of life than before. Although I was very weak of constitution, the possibility of doing as I wanted without hindrance and without control calmed my nervous system, and my health, which had been weakened by perpetual irritations and by excessive work, was improved. I reposed on the laurels which I had gathered myself, and I slept better. Sleeping better, I commenced to eat better. And great was the astonishment of my little court when they saw their idol come back from London round and rosy.

I remained several days in Paris; then I set out for Brussels, where I was to play *Adrienne Lecouvreur* and *Froufrou*.

The Belgian public—by which I mean the Brussels public—is the one most like our own. In Belgium I never feel that I am in a strange country. Our language is the language of the country; the horses and carriages are always in perfect taste; the fashionable women resemble our own fashionable women; *cocottes* abound; the hotels are as good as in Paris; the cab-horses are as poor; the newspapers are as spiteful. Brussels is gossiping Paris in miniature.

I played for the first time at the Théâtre de la Monnaie, and I felt uncomfortable in that immense and frigid house. But the benevolent enthusiasm of the public soon warmed me, and I shall never forget the four performances I gave there.

Then I set out for Copenhagen, where I was to give five performances at the Theatre Royal.

Our arrival, which doubtless was anxiously expected, really frightened me. More than two thousand persons who were assembled in the station when the train came in gave a hurrah



SARAH BERNHARDT
IN TRAVELLING COSTUME (1880)

Sarah Bernhardt, *My Double Life: Memoirs of Sarah Bernhardt; With many portraits and illustrations* (London: Willian Heinemann, 1907), 342.
View Source



Melandri, *Sarah Bernhard,* 1879. Woodburytype. 11.7 x 7.9 cm. National Portrait Gallery, London. The photograph was published in The Theatre, a journal established by the actor-manager Sir Henry Irving and sold to the theatre critic Clement Scott in 1879. Originally issued monthly, it was later bound into six-19 monthly volumes. The volumes mainly consisted of text, with some plates mounted with Woodburytype or carbon print photographs, often depicting famous actors and actresses of the day in costume for their dramatic roles. View Source

In *My Double Life,* Bernhardt described wearing her sculptor's outfit as follows:

> My aunt Betsy had come from Holland, her native country, in order to spend a few days in Paris. She was staying with my mother. I invited her to lunch in my new unfinished habitation. Five of my painter friends were working, some in one room, some in another, and everywhere lofty scaffoldings were erected. In order to be able to climb the ladders more easily I was wearing my sculptor's costume. My aunt, seeing me thus arrayed, was horribly shocked, and told me so. But I was preparing yet another surprise for her. She thought these young workers were ordinary house-painters, and considered I was too familiar with them.... When the song was finished I went into my bedroom and made myself into a *belle dame* for lunch. My aunt had followed me. "But, my dear," said she, "you are mad to think I am going to eat with all these workmen. Certainly in all Paris there is no one but yourself who would do such a thing." "No, no, Aunt; it is all right."
>
> And I dragged her off, when I was dressed, to the dining-room, which was the most habitable room of the house. Five young men solemnly bowed to my aunt, who did not recognise them at first, for they had changed their working clothes and looked like five nice young society swells... Suddenly in the middle of lunch my aunt cried out, "But these are the workmen!" The five young men rose and bowed low. Then my poor aunt understood her mistake and excused herself in every possible manner, so confused was she.

3.6
| The Brothel as Modern Subject

Brothels became a laboratory for artists looking for modern subjects and new approaches to render the female nude.



Edgar Degas, *The Client,* 1879. Monotype on paper. 21.5 x 15.9 cm (plate). Musée Picasso, Paris. View Source

Edgar Degas produced more than fifty small monotype prints of brothel interiors in the late 1870s. These deluxe brothels were decorated with stuffed sofas and chairs, chandeliers, and mirrors in carved frames.The artist's aims were twofold: to create formally experimental and innovative prints and to record a provocative contemporary practice. His images are direct, daringly shorthand, and dispassionate.

The Client candidly illustrates the selection process that occurs at a brothel. Clayson (*Painted Love*, 39) describes the customer as a "fragmentary" figure:

> He wears a hat and he smokes, underscoring his already considerable physical distance from and social disregard for the pair of naked prostitutes. The thickset woman at the center, shoulders stiff and arms pulled into her side, looks done up like a package of flesh, ready to be taken. As usual, Degas varies the scene by contrasting the positions and actions of adjacent figures. The near woman rests a bent arm jauntily on her upper thigh and flexes her legs; the tilt of her head and the set of her mouth appear conversational, yet there is not a trace of coquetry. The two women carry out this stage of their unrelentingly physical work without recourse to elegant maneuvers or to any of the bodily conventions of romantic intimacy.



Edgar Degas, *In the Salon,* ca. 1879-80 or 1876-77. Monotype. Musée Picasso, Paris. Reproduced from Hollis Clayson, Painted Love, 40. View Source

In the Salon is a more complex composition of nine prostitutes, sprawled all over the room, and the mistress of the house. The male client is edged to the side, half visible and top-hatted. He and the madame compositionally bracket the half-dressed female workers. They stand stiffly, fully dressed, in contrast to the seeming state of abandon of the *filles*. Clayson:

> In spite of the transgressiveness of the way their bodies are figured, the women of the monotypes do not appear rude in their disregard of the etiquette of intimacy — both prostitutional and bourgeois, venal

and romantic — or particularly bad-mannered in their occasional self-absorption. The point is that their childlike, *bete,* good-natured otherness does not conflict with the obligations and circumstances of their work as Degas has defined it in the monotypes. Their particular, tenacious physicality seems intended to embed them in a world of the sheerly material, where the subjective self has been suspended, cancelled, or long since overridden. Degas's prostitutes lead an existence in which the self and the body have become the same and the women's sexuality has been lost to the world of exchange. (Clayson, *Painted Love*, 59)



Edgar Degas, *The Fireside,* ca. 1876-77. Monotype in black ink on paper. 42.5 x 58.6 cm. Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York. View Source

Degas's brothel prints have been interpreted variously over time. Charles Bernheimer investigates his medium and technique in "Degas's Brothels: Voyeurism and Ideology" (*Representations* 20 (Autumn 1987): 158-186). Bernheimer argues that Degas's brothel monotypes "destabilize the male viewer's gaze and confront him with the ideological assumptions underlying his voyeuristic position." He disagrees with writers who suggest Degas's voyeurism was misogynist because of his humiliation of the women he observes. The images are not destabilizing because they objectify women but because they speak of a capitalist ideology that defines and confines a woman's value. "Degas exposes the material effects of this repression. As against the misogynist identification of woman with her inherent mutilation, the horror that must be disregarded, he sets a sympathetic identification of woman with her social and historical commodification."



Edgar Degas, *Woman Reading,* ca. 1885. Monotype in black ink on paper. 38 × 27.7 cm. National Gallery of Art, Washington. View Source

Bernheimer recognizes that in Degas's monotypes, "the medium is most certainly a good part of message …" A technique with both painterly and drawing qualities, the monotype can be created by markings on a plate covered with thick, greasy printer's ink which is then wiped off (the so-called "dark-field" manner) or through the direct application of printer's ink on a clean plate (the "light-field" manner). Once the design is completed, it is transferred to dampened paper and run through a rolling press. It is an imprecise process with unpredictable outcomes, but its physical immediacy and sensuous tactility rendered it attractive to Degas.

He achieved his desired effects using rags, brushes, stiff bristles, sponges, pins, and direct applications. The prints are smudged, his forms scribbly, giving the impression of a rapid sketch. The laying out of broad tonal areas without reliance on lines, the basis of dark field monotypes, allowed Degas to explore the formal problems of a black-and-white composition. The act of wiping ink from the plate was a process that enabled him to experiment with imagery without using a pencil or paintbrush. In these prints, Degas's aesthetic practice differed from the other Impressionists who expressed the effects of light in the language of colour.



Guy de Maupassant, *La Maison Tellier: Illustrations d'Edgar Degas* (Paris: Éditions Ambroise Vollard, 1934). View Source



Pierre Louys, *Mimes des courtisanes: Illustrations d'Edgar Degas* (Paris: Éditions Ambroise Vollard, 1935). View Source

It is interesting to note that Degas's monotypes were never exhibited during his lifetime. While he may have shown them privately, there are no accounts of them being on public display until 1934, when the art dealer Ambroise Vollard reproduced a selection in his 1934 edition of Guy de Maupassant's *La Maison Tellier* and his 1935 edition of *Mimes de courtisanes* by Pierre Louys.



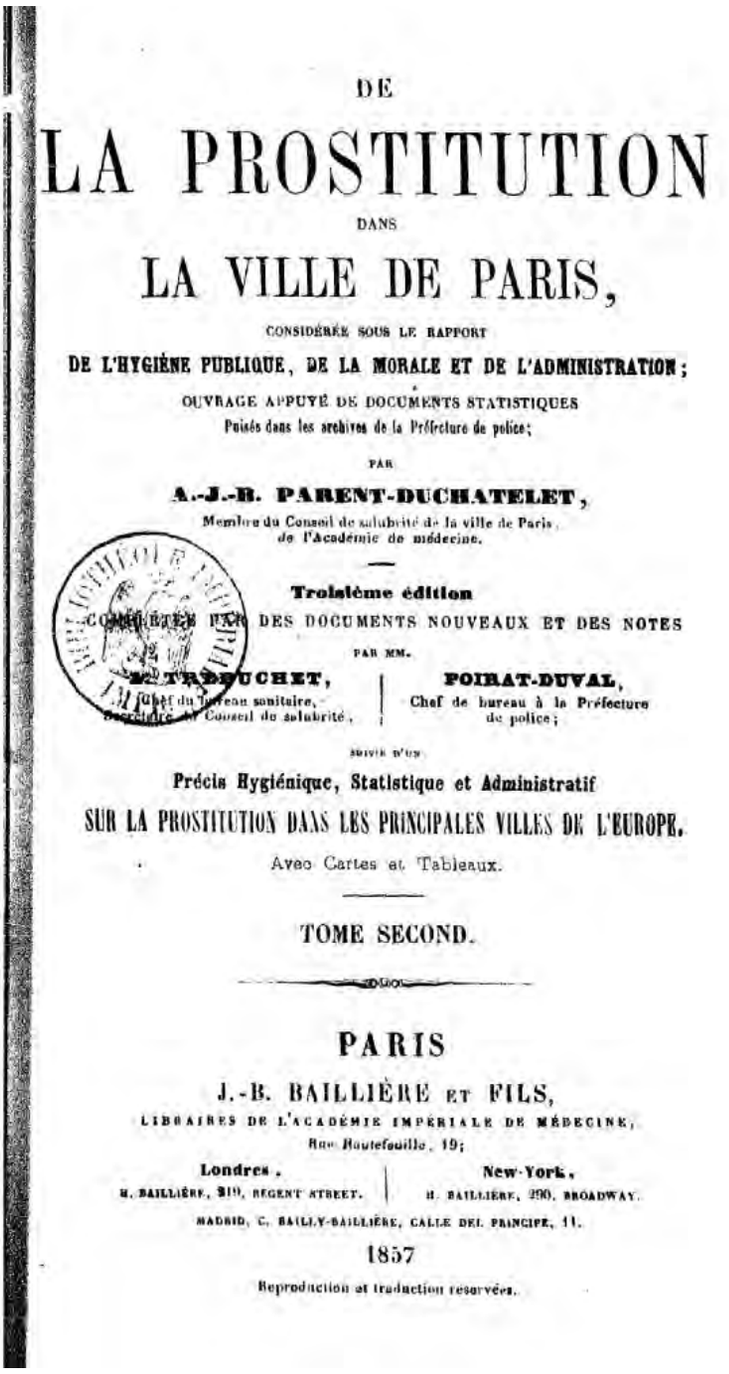
Edgar Degas, *Waiting,* 1879. Monotype in black and brown ink on pale grey veline paper. 21 x 16 cm. Musée du Louvre, Paris. View Source

The women in these scenes display themselves without artifice or pretence but as they are, slouching, slumped bodies, their faces marked by expressions of weariness, fatigue or boredom.

Clayson argues that Degas constructed female bodies that broke with the canons of decorous nudity institutionalized by Salon paintings. This departure from convention involved rendering a different type of nakedness: bloated bodies, sagging breasts and tired faces, which contrasted drastically with the smooth perfection and flawlessness of academic figures. Beyond appearances, it was also a matter of connotation. Degas' monotypes portrayed a female physicality that rejected the erotic codification of the Salon nude and showed the stark reality of an unrefined sexual market instead. The coarse faces of the sex workers were stereotypical, in many cases simian-like or bearing similarity to the physiognomic facial codes assigned to criminals.

3.7
| Deviance, Racism and the Other

Through the 1870s and 1880s, the prostitute was increasingly seen as a deviant figure, a catalyst for society's fears and obsessions.



DE

LA PROSTITUTION

DANS

LA VILLE DE PARIS,

CONSIDÉRÉE SOUS LE RAPPORT

DE L'HYGIÈNE PUBLIQUE, DE LA MORALE ET DE L'ADMINISTRATION;

OUVRAGE APPUYÉ DE DOCUMENTS STATISTIQUES

Puisés dans les archives de la Préfecture de police;

PAR

A.-J.-B. PARENT-DUCHATELET,

Membre du Conseil de salubrité de la ville de Paris,
de l'Académie de médecine.

Troisième édition

COMPLÉTÉE PAR DES DOCUMENTS NOUVEAUX ET DES NOTES

PAR MM.

E. TRÉBUCHET,
Chef du bureau sanitaire,
Secrétaire du Conseil de salubrité,

POIRAT-DUVAL,
Chef de bureau à la Préfecture
de police;

SUIVIE D'UN

Précis Hygiénique, Statistique et Administratif

SUR LA PROSTITUTION DANS LES PRINCIPALES VILLES DE L'EUROPE.

Avec Cartes et Tableaux.

TOME SECOND.

PARIS

J.-B. BAILLIÈRE ET FILS,

LIBRAIRES DE L'ACADÉMIE IMPÉRIALE DE MÉDECINE,

Rue Hautefeuille, 19;

Londres,
H. BAILLIÈRE, 219, REGENT STREET.

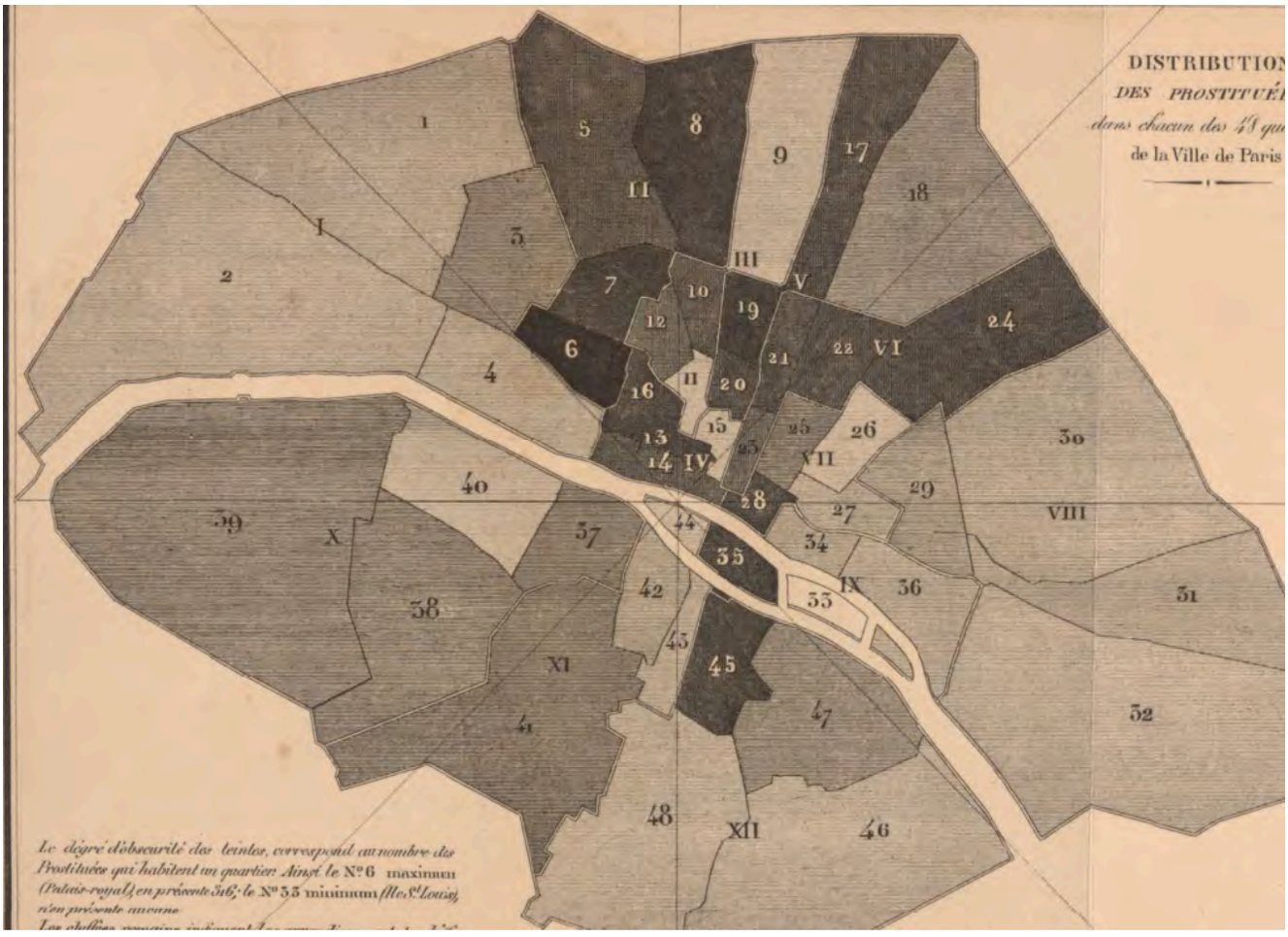
New-York,
H. BAILLIÈRE, 290, BROADWAY.

MADRID, C. BAILLY-BAILLIÈRE, CALLE DEL PRINCIPE, 11.

1857

Reproduction et traduction réservées.

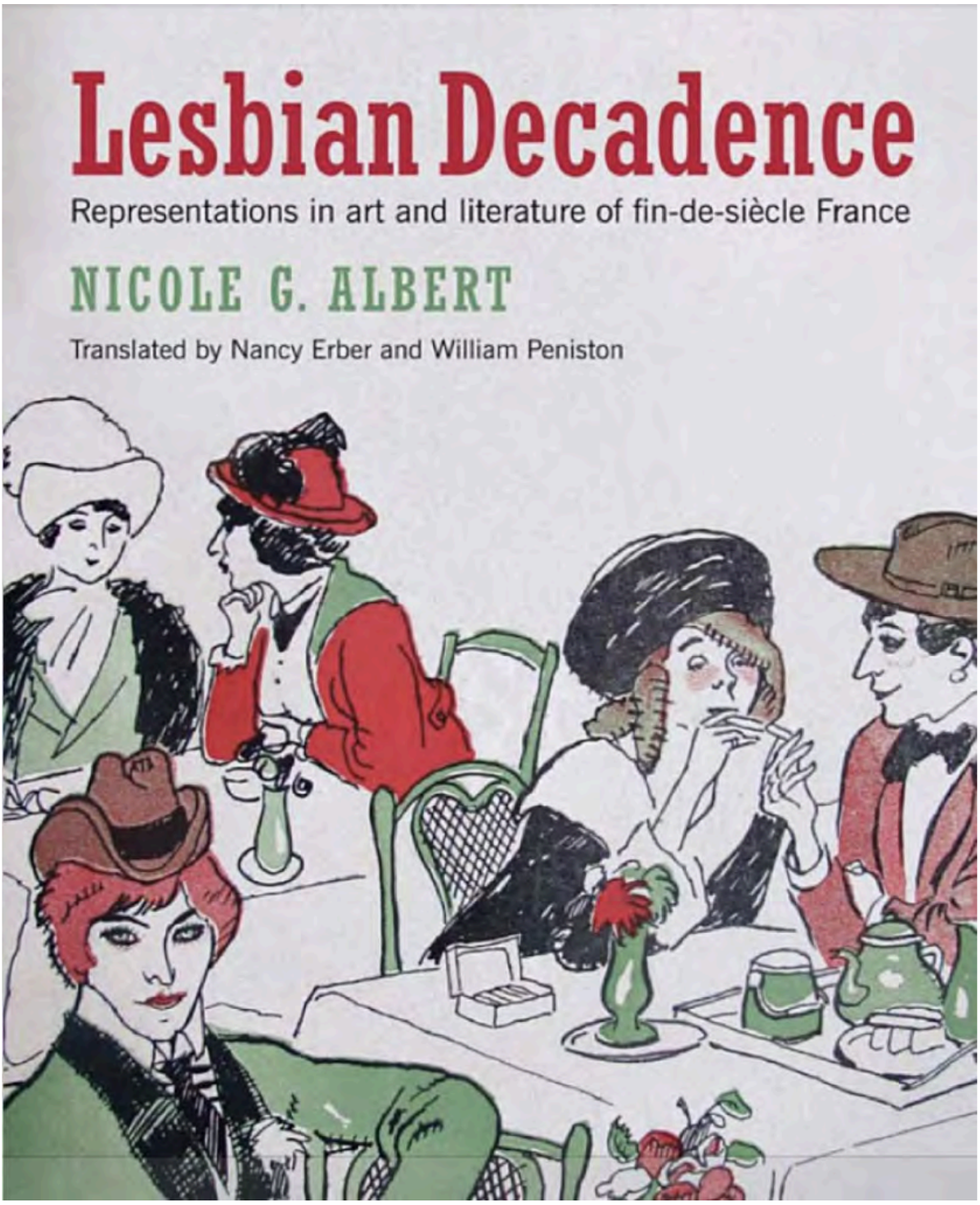
Alexandre Jean-Baptiste Parent du Châtelet (Parent-Duchâtelet), *De la Prostitution dans la ville de Paris, considérée sous le rapport de l'hygiène publique, de la morale et de l'administration; Ouvrage appuyé de documents statistiques, puisés dans les archives de la Préfecture de police* (Paris: J.-B. Baillière et Fils. 1836). View Source



Alexandre Jean-Baptiste Parent du Châtelet (Parent-Duchâtelet), *Distribution des prostituées dans chacun des 48 quartiers de la Ville de Paris,* 1836. View Source

In the 1830s, Alexandre Jean-Baptiste Parent-Duchâtelet a French physician and one of the most eminent hygienists of the nineteenth century who had been working on decomposing corpses, directed his attention to prostitution, which he saw as another site of biological decomposition and morbid decay. Parent-Duchâtelet attempted a comprehensive classification of registered prostitutes in Paris to explain their deviant characteristics. His findings determined that prostitutes were immature, unstable, disorderly, plump, crude in language and behaviour, and sensually excessive, leading him to conclude that they were highly susceptible to lesbianism.

Lesbianism was immoral, frequently reiterated as such in the records of physicians like Parent-Duchâtelet, and in police investigations, as well as in the literary works of Balzac, Zola, Maupassant and Baudelaire, where lesbianism symbolized evil, moral or social decay, and was a harbinger of pain and death.



Nicole G. Albert, *Lesbian Decadence: Representations in Art and Literature of Fin-de-Siècle France, trans. Nancy Erber and William Peniston* (New York: Harrington Park Press, 2016). View Source

Nicole G. Albert in *Lesbian Decadence* explains that it was Napoleon's implementation of civil and criminal codes that prevented lesbianism and consensual same-sex activity from being defined as criminal behaviour in France. Still, lesbians, who were not visible in art and literature until the late nineteenth century, were considered a sign of social malaise and moral vice.



Charles Baudelaire, *Les fleurs du mal* (Paris: Charles Meunier, 1900). Illustration, Carlos Schwabe. View Source

Baudelaire's volume of French poetry *Les Fleurs du mal* (*The Flowers of Evil*, first published in 1857) contained six poems with lesbian content. Deemed immoral, the French court censored the poems which remained unpublished until 1949. Still, in the second half of the nineteenth-century straight French men wrote about lesbians and depicted them in art, often to titillate other straight French men. At the same time, doctors and pioneering psychologists who read Alexandre Parent du Châtelet's *De la Prostitution dans la ville de Paris* and

publications from elsewhere began the task of categorizing lesbians more precisely and even medicalizing them in an attempt to "cure" them.



Pauline Tarnowsky, "*Anomalies of the Face and the Ear in Prostitutes," in Étude anthropométrique sur les prostituées et les voleuses* (Paris: E. Lecrosnier et Bébé, 1889). View Source

In 1889, Pauline Tarnowsky, a female Russian physician expanded upon this common viewpoint in *Étude anthropométrique sur les prostituées et les voleuses* (*Anthropological Study of Prostitutes and Female Thieves*). This was a significant work of nineteenth-century anthropology, pathology and public health, which became central to discussions on the nature of the prostitute. Tarnowsky analyzed the physiognomy of the Russian prostitutes under observation, including their excessive weight, skull size, hair, ears and eyes, as well as their family background and signs of degeneracy. The finding of facial abnormalities, including asymmetries of the face and nose, overdevelopment of the parietal region of the skull, and the so-called Darwin's ear, were seen as indicators of the primitivism of a prostitute's physiognomy, flaws that only a scientist could see. Their "strong jaws and cheek-bones and their masculine aspect…hidden by adipose tissue emerge, salient angles stand out, and the faces grow virile, uglier than a man's." For Tarnowsky and others, the appearance of the prostitute and her sexual identity were preestablished in her heredity, with physiognomy and genitalia changing over time, the latter becoming more diseased as the prostitute aged.



Gustave Courbet, *The Sleepers,* 1866. Oil on canvas. 158 x 224 cm. Musée des Beaux-Arts de la ville de Paris, Paris. View Source

In contrast, Courbet's *The Sleepers* does not connote this negative stereotype. First acquired by a relative of Napoleon, the painting was found to be "unsuitable"("*peu convenable*") by the man's wife and returned, only to be purchased for a second time by Khalil Bey, the Turkish collector who had commissioned Courbet's *The Origin of the World*.

The work has been described as Courbet's personal fantasy, a product of male imagination. The subject's appeal was partly the absence of male figures whose presence would curb a lesbian reading and the enjoyment of the (male) observer/viewer/voyeur. Male voyeurism, the practice of gaining sexual pleasure from watching others when they are naked or engaged in sexual activity, was stimulated as well by the Orientalist harem subjects of Jean-Léon Gérôme,



Jean-Léon Gérôme, *Pool in a Harem*, 1876. Oil on canvas, 73.5 x 62 cm. Hermitage Museum, St. Petersburg. View Source



Édouard Debat-Ponsan, *The Massage*, 1883. Oil on canvas. 127 x 210 cm. Musée des Augustins, Toulouse. View Source



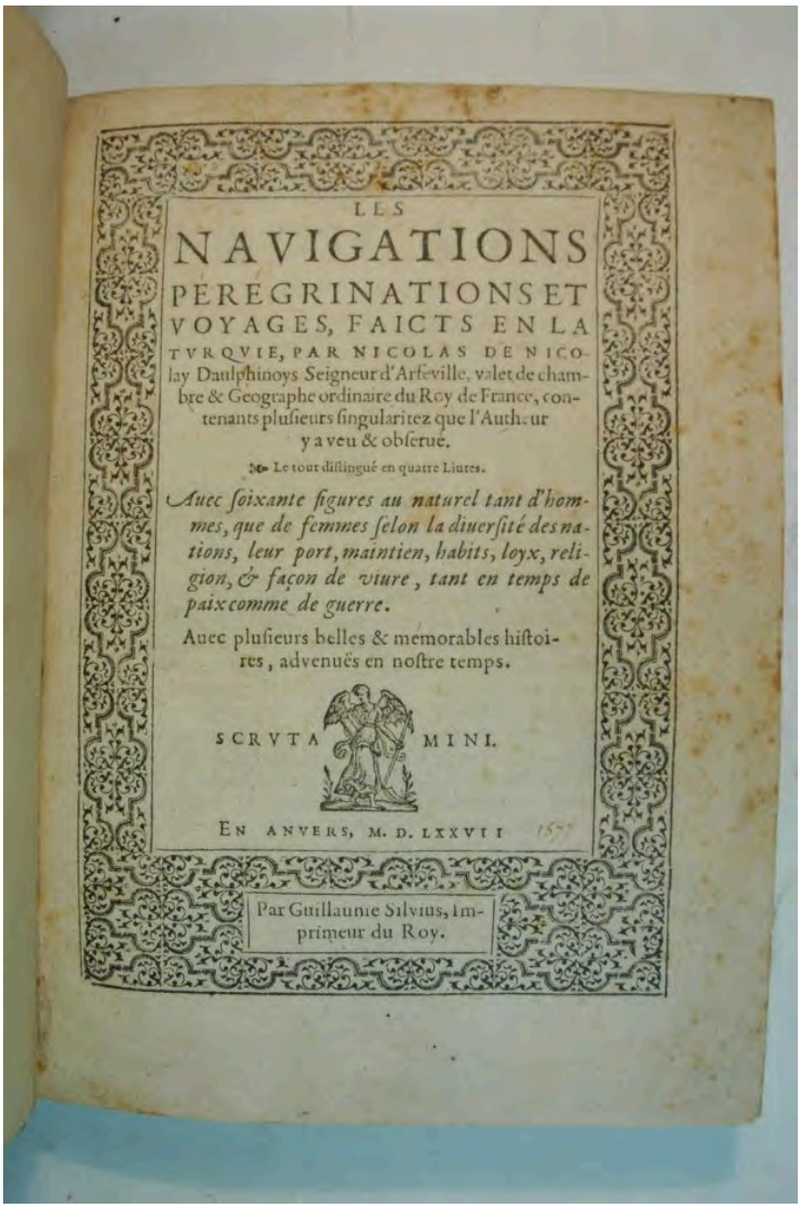
Jean-Auguste-Dominique Ingres, *The Turkish Bath,* 1862. Oil on canvas. 108 x 110 cm. Louvre Museum, Paris. View Source

and Jean-Auguste-Dominique Ingres, to name a few, which were popular throughout the nineteenth century.

In Ingres's *Turkish Bath,* the effect of a "keyhole" view may have influenced his decision to cut his square canvas into a circle, allowing the voyeur the illusion of a more discrete violation of privacy. Anna Secor writes in "Orientalism, Gender and Class in Lady Mary Wortley Montagu's Turkish Embassy Letters: to persons of distinction, men of letters and c'" (*Cultural Geographies* (formerly *Ecumene*) 6, no. 4 (1999): 375-398):

> From the feminization and sexualization of the Orient in Western accounts arose a fascination with the sexual female spaces of the women's baths and the harem. In the Western imagination, it became the Oriental woman herself sensual, muted and subjugated – who apotheosized all that was understood to be Oriental. George Sandys, who began his travels in the Ottoman empire in 1610 and whose work Montagu cites in her letters, viewed the hammams, or public baths, as the site of homoeroticism between women: "Much unnatural and filthy lust is said to be committed daily in the remote closets of these darksome Bannias," he writes, "yea, women with women; a thing incredible, if former times had not given thereunto both detection and punishment." Similarly, Baudier wrote that lesbianism was so widespread that "whenever a Turk wishes to marry a Turkish woman, he begins by finding out whether she is in the thrall of some other women."

The published letters that Lady Mary Wortley Montagu wrote in 1717, when she accompanied her husband on his ambassadorial mission to the Ottoman court, negated the idea that this feminine space was in any way improper. Lady Montagu emphasized "the modesty and good breeding of the women she encounters there, portraying the bath as a communal space where the markings of rank are stripped off and where women are able to consort."



LES
NAVIGATIONS
PEREGRINATIONS ET
VOYAGES, FAICTS EN LA
TVRQVIE, PAR NICOLAS DE NICO-
lay Daulphinoys Seigneur d'Arfeville, valet de cham-
bre & Geographe ordinaire du Roy de France, con-
tenants plusieurs singularitez que l'Auteur
y a veu & obserué.
Le tout distingué en quatre Liures.
Auec soixante figures au naturel tant d'hom-
mes, que de femmes selon la diuersité des na-
tions, leur port, maintien, habits, loyx, reli-
gion, & façon de viure, tant en temps de
paix comme de guerre.
Auec plusieurs belles & memorables histoi-
res, advenuës en nostre temps.
SCRVTA MINI.
EN ANVERS, M. D. LXXVII
Par Guillaume Silvius, Im-
primeur du Roy.

Nicolas de Nicolay, *Les navigations, peregrinations et voyages, faicts en la Turquie* (Antwerp: Guillaume Silvius, 1577). View Source

Ingres had read Lady Montagu's letters. The atmosphere of *The Turkish Bath*, however, bears little resemblance to her record. Instead, he based the image on his reading of L*es navigations, peregrinations et voyages, faicts en la Turquie* by the sixteenth-century French traveller Nicolas de Nicolay. This text associated the women's baths with homoerotic pleasure:

> Amongst the women of Levant, there is very amity proceeding only through the frequentation & resort to the bathes: yea & sometimes become so fervently in love the one of the other as if were with men, in such sort that perceiving some maiden or woman of excellent beauty they will not cease until they have found means to bath with them, & to handle & grope them everywhere at their pleasure, so full they are of luxuriousness and feminine wantonness: Even as in times past were the Tribades, of the number whereof was Sapho the Lesbian. (Nicolay 1585: 60; see Efterpi Mitsi, "The Turkish Bath in Women's Travel Writing Private Rituals and Public Selves," in Gómez Reus, Teresa and Aránzazu Usandizaga, eds., *Inside*

Out: Women Negotiating, Subverting, Appropriating Public and Private Space. Amsterdam and New York: Rodopi, 2008, 47-63).

Ingres felt comfortable representing the Orient as a deviant paradise full of naked or semi-naked female bodies because harem scenes and the presence of lesbian love could successfully conjure the erotic ideal of forbidden pleasure. This connection between lesbianism and an imagined Orient, what Ruth Bernard Yeazell called *Harems of the Mind* (Yale University Press, 2013) persisted throughout the nineteenth century.



Edgar Degas, *Two Women (Scene from a Brothel),* ca. 1877-79. Monotype on paper. 24.9 x 28.9 cm. Museum of Fine Arts, Boston. View Source

For Degas, lesbianism was the outward manifestation of deviance and primitivism. *Two Women (Scene from a Brothel*) makes this allusion through the emphasis on curves and buttocks, reflecting the pictorial conceptualizations of deviance in France at the time. The protruding buttock of the black woman seen here is visually echoed by a murky blackness that envelops her body, creating an association with what was deemed primitive, subhuman and hypersexual.



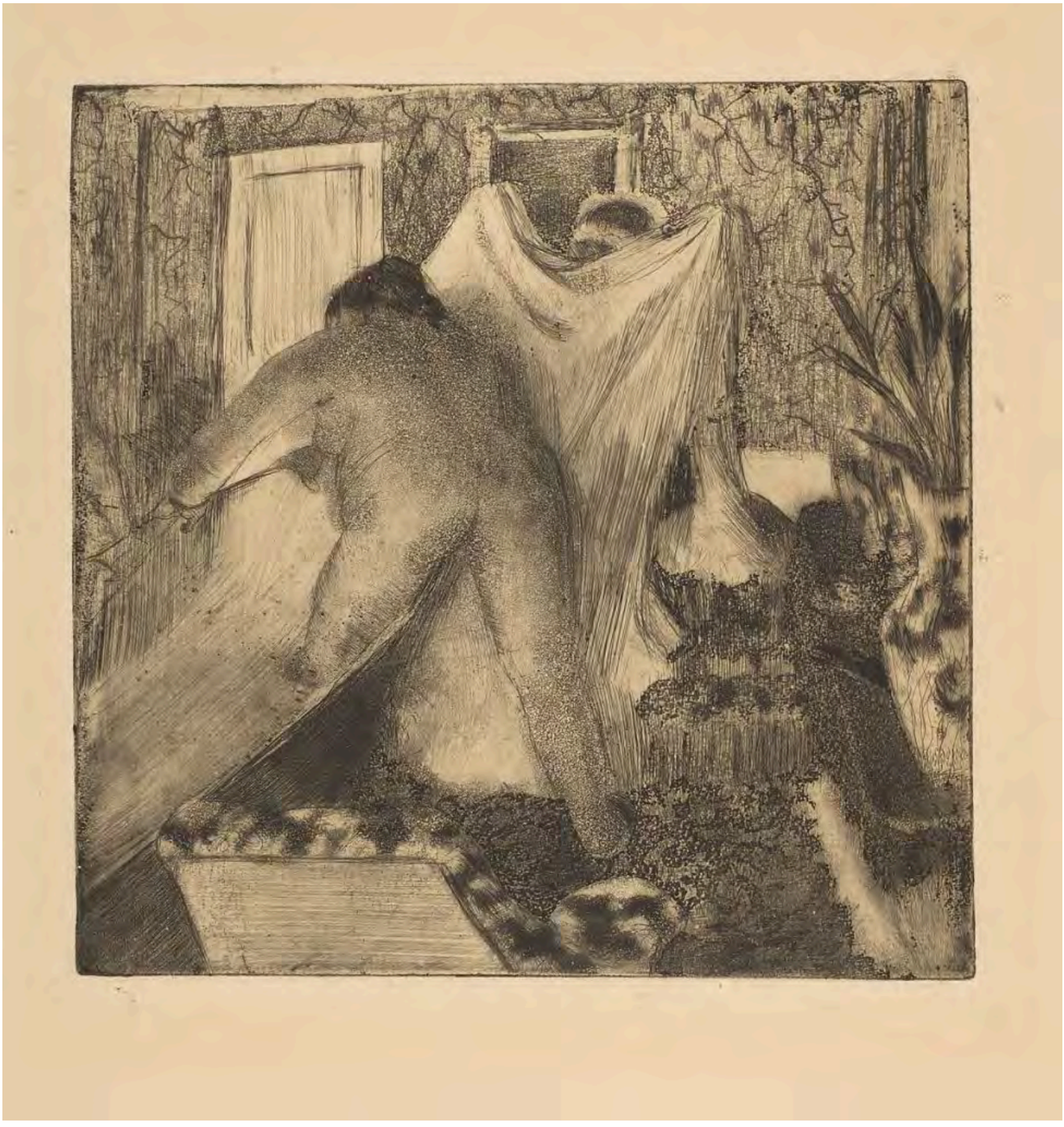
Charles Williams, *Love and Beauty–Sartjee the Hottentot Venus,* 1822. Coloured etching on paper. 28.8 x 21.8 cm. British Museum, London. View Source

An interest in the physiognomy of the black female, from skin colour to body shape, first surfaced in London in 1810 through the vulgar public parading of a woman called Saartje (Sarah) Baartman, a South African from a southwestern region of Africa. She was displayed to European audiences to show the anomaly of her buttocks: her steatopygia, a characteristic of protruding buttocks, that early travellers to Africa had discovered. To the audiences who came to see her, she was no more or less than a collection of sexual parts.

In France, her body was analyzed by so-called scientists for sub-human, animalistic traits. Her buttocks and genitalia were thought to be evidence of her sexual and intellectual primitivism, comparable to an orangutan. Destitute and penniless, Sarah turned to prostitution in Paris and died in 1815 at the age of twenty-six.

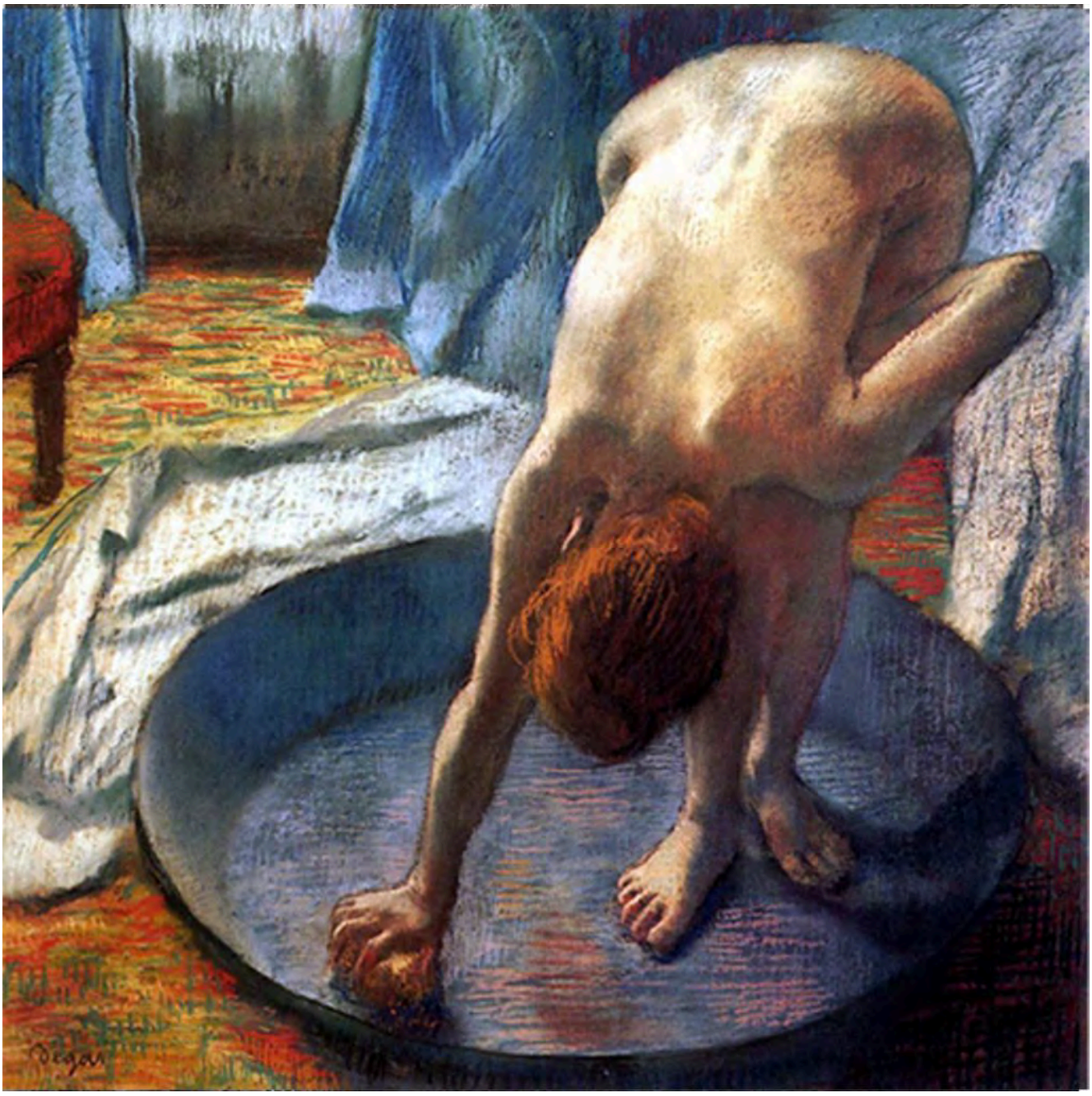
3.8
| Degas's Bathers

In the 1870s, when nudes depicted as bathers first appeared in Degas's monotypes, the images were uncompromisingly descriptive, the figures clambering in and out of carefully detailed bathtubs, dressing or undressing in gaudy bedrooms, or vying for the attention of top-hatted men. The figures were often physically exaggerated, comical, mundane, or grotesque.



Edgar Degas, *Leaving the Bath,* ca. 1879-80. Drypoint and aquatint on wove paper. 12.7 x 12.8 cm. Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York. View Source

As an image, bathing was connected to the cleansing rituals of prostitutes and therefore to prostitution. Even though bathing was not a common occurrence in mid-nineteenth century France (French scientists and doctors did not advise taking more than monthly baths), prostitutes were required to do so. Therefore, images of bathtubs were not regarded as a reflection of everyday life, but were emblematic of the lived experience of prostitutes.



Edgar Degas, *Woman in a Tub,* 1886. Pastel on paper. 69.9 x 69.9 cm. Hill-Stead Museum, Farmington. View Source

Degas' pastels of women's bathing rituals became more fluid and less graphic over time. Increasingly, the women were portrayed as self-absorbed, and an interiority permeated the images that impacted the viewing experience.



Edgar Degas, *Women in a Tub,* ca. 1883. Pastel on paper. 70 x 70 cm. Tate, London. View Source

Women in a Tub exemplifies this shift in pictorial nuance. It forms part of a series of pastels of women at their toilette from the mid-1880s, works that were included in the eighth and last exhibition of Impressionist works held in Paris in 1886. While art historians have written admiringly about these images, art critics at the time were offended by the models' relaxed, ungainly and unattractive nakedness.

Charles-Marie-Georges Huysmans, novelist and art critic, wrote scathingly that "Degas brought to his study of nudes a careful cruelty, a patient hate…He must have wished to take revenge to hurl the most flagrant insult at his century by demolishing its most constantly shrined idol, woman whom he debases by showing her in her tub in the humiliating positions of her intimate ablutions…He gives to her a special accent of scorn and hate."

Another art critic Félix Fénéon agreed, stating "…crouching gourd-like women fill the bathtubs…One with her chin on her breast is scratching the nape of her neck; another, her arm struck to her back and twisted a half circle is rubbing her behind with a dripping sponge…Hair falling down over her shoulders, breasts over her hips, belly over her thighs, limbs over their joints, all of this makes this ugly woman-seen from above lying on her bed with her hands pressed to her hams-look like a series of rather swollen cylinders joined together."

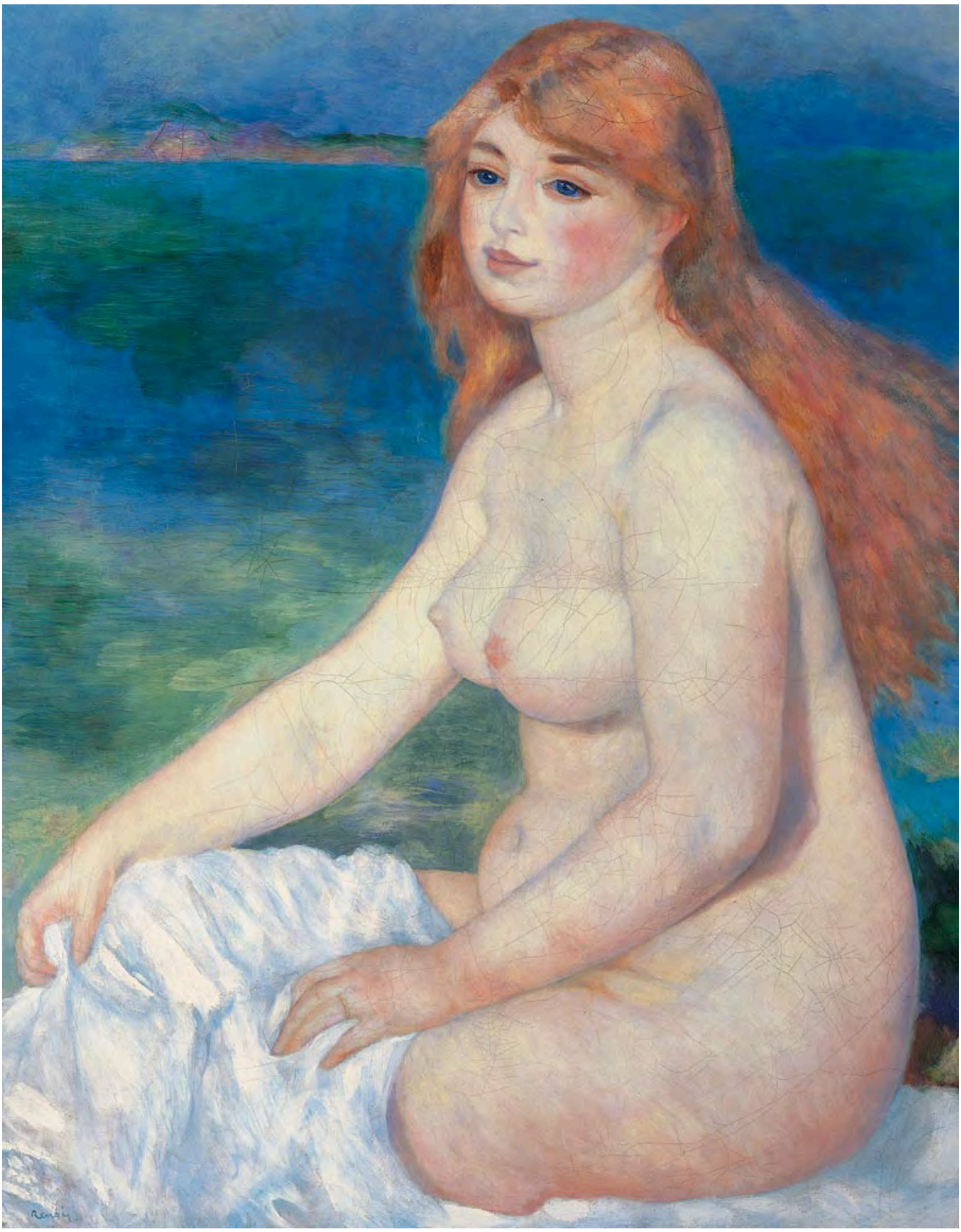
The aggressive tone taken to criticize the intimate subject matter is not surprising. Terminology such as “ugly,” “hateful,” “humiliating,” and “cruel” shows how shocking the imagery would have been. The critics may have also reacted to the changing iconography of women’s sexuality and class. A consequence of modernity was the confounding of stereotypical identities and the muddled application and reading, of codes of conduct.



Edgar Degas, *Woman Bathing in a Shallow Tub,* 1885. Charcoal and pastel on light green wove paper. 81.3 x 56.2 cm. Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York. View Source

Another of Degas' suite of pastels, *Woman Bathing in a Shallow Tub,* makes no allusions to brothels, customers, or the symbolic paraphernalia of prostitutes' dress, stockings, ribbons and so forth. The viewer is left to invent a narrative. Without contextual props, the figures could be ordinary women, wives, or mothers, not clandestine subjects.

There is a sense of enclosure in Degas's images which is heightened here by the tilting of the floor towards the picture plane and the figure's centred body which looms large in the composition. The female is focused completely on the activity of bathing, just as all of Degas's late nudes are absorbed in rituals of self-grooming — brushing or combing their hair, stepping in or out of a tub, or stretching their limbs as they reach for a sponge or towel. The absence of eye contact reinforces the discreet nature of the scene. They are believable in their normal movement, which is eloquently captured by Degas's energetic application of pastels.

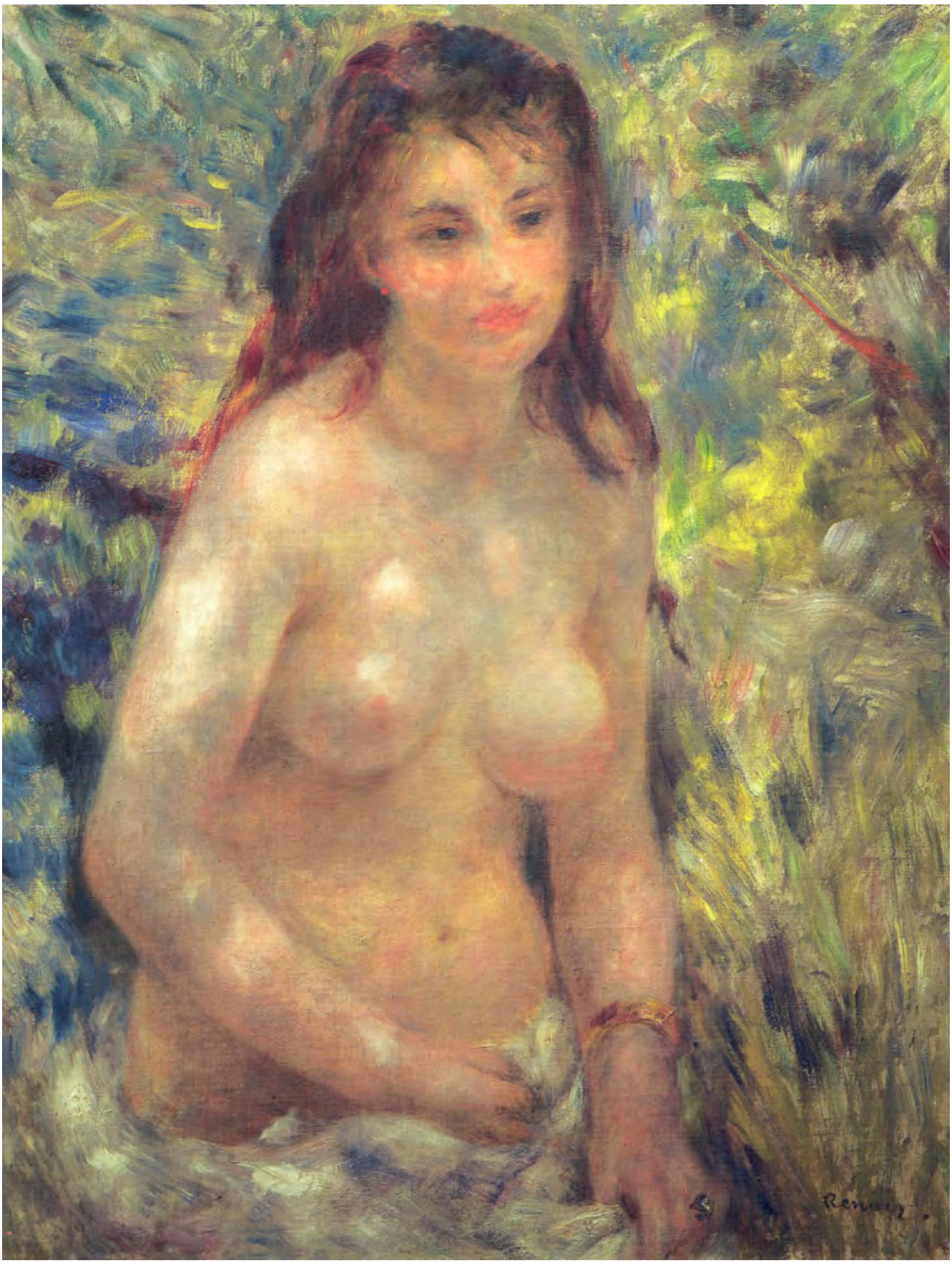


Pierre-Auguste Renoir, *Blonde Bather,* 1882. Oil on canvas. 90 x 63 cm. Pinacoteca Giovanni e Marella Agnelli, Turin. View Source

Pierre-Auguste Renoir's paintings of nudes stand in stark contrast to the interiority of Degas's images. By the mid-1880s, Renoir had ceased to depict images of everyday life, preferring to paint monumental and idealized female forms, of which *Blonde Bather* is an example. The painting was created during Renoir's trip to Italy in 1881. The model is believed to have been Aline Charigot, whom he later married. Aline had begun to pose for Renoir in 1880 and had accompanied him on part of this Italian trip.

John House writes about *Blonde Bather* in *Nineteenth-century European Paintings at the Sterling and Francine* (*Clark Art Institute*, 2012, 672):

> The form that the figure assumed was a direct result of Renoir's artistic experiences on his Italian trip. In conversation with Jacques-Émile Blanche, Renoir pinpointed Raphael's frescoes in the Villa Farnesina in Rome as the paintings that had the most significant impact on him: "Raphael broke with the schools of his time, dedicated himself to the antique, to grandeur and eternal beauty." He wrote from Naples in November 1881 about the "simplicity and grandeur" that he found in Raphael's frescoes and enlarged on this in a letter to Madame Charpentier early in 1882, shortly after his return to France, explaining what he had learned from Raphael: "Raphael who did not work out of doors had still studied sunlight, for his frescoes are full of it. So, by studying out of doors I have ended up by seeing only the broad harmonies without any longer preoccupying myself with the small details that dim the sunlight rather than illuminating it." In addition, he expressed his admiration for the "simplicity" that he found in the wall paintings from Pompeii and Herculaneum that he saw in the Naples Archaeological Museum.



Pierre-Auguste Renoir, *Study Torso Sunlight Effect,* ca. 1876. Oil on canvas. 64 x 80 cm. Orsay Museum, Paris. View Source

Renoir's depictions of nude female subjects, such as *Study Torso Sunlight Effect,* resemble the popularized 19th-century genre that cast women as extensions of the natural world, meant to behold, caress, and consume. The naked female body was not just a metaphoric incarnation of Beauty, Truth, and Purity, but an element of nature, the rendering of her flesh in paint expressing an organic will to form.



Edgar Degas, *After the Bath, Woman Drying Herself,* ca. 1890-95. Pastel on wove paper mounted on millboard. 103.5 x 98.5 cm. National Gallery, London. View Source

Degas's bathers, in contrast to Renoir's nudes, crouch and hide themselves, their breasts and thighs hidden in shadows, their backs towards the viewer. His images are uncompromising in their focus on challenging poses. His facility with portraying such poses was the result of dedicated studies, a process of repeated observation which allowed the final product to retain the look of "naive and spontaneous movement." Despite Degas's transgression of visual codes, his representations are truthful renditions of the natural world, "even suffering and ridicule were an antidote to the unbearable confections of salon nudes." (Heather Dawkins, *The Nude in French Art and Culture, 1870-1910*. London: Cambridge University Press, 2002).



Edgar Degas, *Woman Combing Her Hair,* ca. 1887-90. Pastel on paper on cardboard. 87 x 57 cm. Orsay Museum, Paris. View Source

Kathryn Brown, in the Introduction of *Perspectives on Degas* (Ashgate, 2016), examines some of the key critical literature that has contributed to diverse re-interpretations of Degas's brothel and bather images:

> The charge of voyeurism that attached to Degas's bather images assumed a prominent place in critical literature about the artist until well into the twentieth century. In 1889 Huysmans famously discussed the 'attentive cruelty', 'spite', and 'patient hatred' that, in his view, characterized Degas's supposedly 'truthful' renderings of female intimacy. For Daniel Halévy, the depictions of nudes found in Degas's studio after his death ('*cette oeuvre cachée*') amounted to a 'defamation' of the female body that –although devoid of misogyny – awakened simultaneous horror and admiration in the viewer. Even attempts by Rivière and Ambroise Vollard to 'defend' Degas against a charge of disliking women pitted examples of the artist's courtesy in social relationships against allegations of pictorial 'cruelty' towards his female subjects, thereby mixing the personal and the fictional.

In a ground-breaking article published in the *Art Bulletin* in 1977, Norma Broude challenged the absorption of such views into twentieth-century scholarly interpretations of Degas. She proposed a rereading of his works that dispensed with a 'preconception of misogynistic motivation', pointing out the circularity of the evidence for this charge and showing how such an approach biased interpretations of the pictorial content of the works themselves.

From the 1970s onwards, the critical re-evaluation of Degas's female nudes and brothel images continued to gain impetus. In her elaboration of female agency in Degas's bather and brothel images, Eunice Lipton focused on the idea that many of these works depict women experiencing 'intense physical pleasure'; she interpreted the charge of misogyny as a 'displacement onto Degas of his male audience's rage towards the depicted women and – by extension – towards changing contemporary definitions of women, sexuality, and class.'

While Carol Armstrong identified intricate structural features of the bather scenes that trouble the very possibility of a prurient gaze, contributors to the essay collection edited by Richard Kendall and Griselda Pollock (*Dealing With Degas: Representations of Women and the Politics of Vision*, Universe,1992) investigated multiple approaches to Degas's portrayal of women. These included ways in which his works addressed broader social issues ranging from nineteenth-century scientific discourses, social power structures, and models of the family to the reinterpretation of such topoi from the perspective of feminist art history in the twentieth century.

3.9
| Henri de Toulouse-Lautrec: The Travails and Tragedies of the Ordinary Prostitute

Toulouse-Lautrec's focus on brothels as subject matter offers an approach that is different from Degas's images of prostitution. Lautrec's interest was in capturing the individuality of the women's faces. He portrayed them as ordinary people going about their daily activities. Lautrec's perspective was shaped by the fact that between 1892 and 1894 he rented a room in an upscale brothel. His sympathetic regard for the women working in that establishment was a result of this insider status.



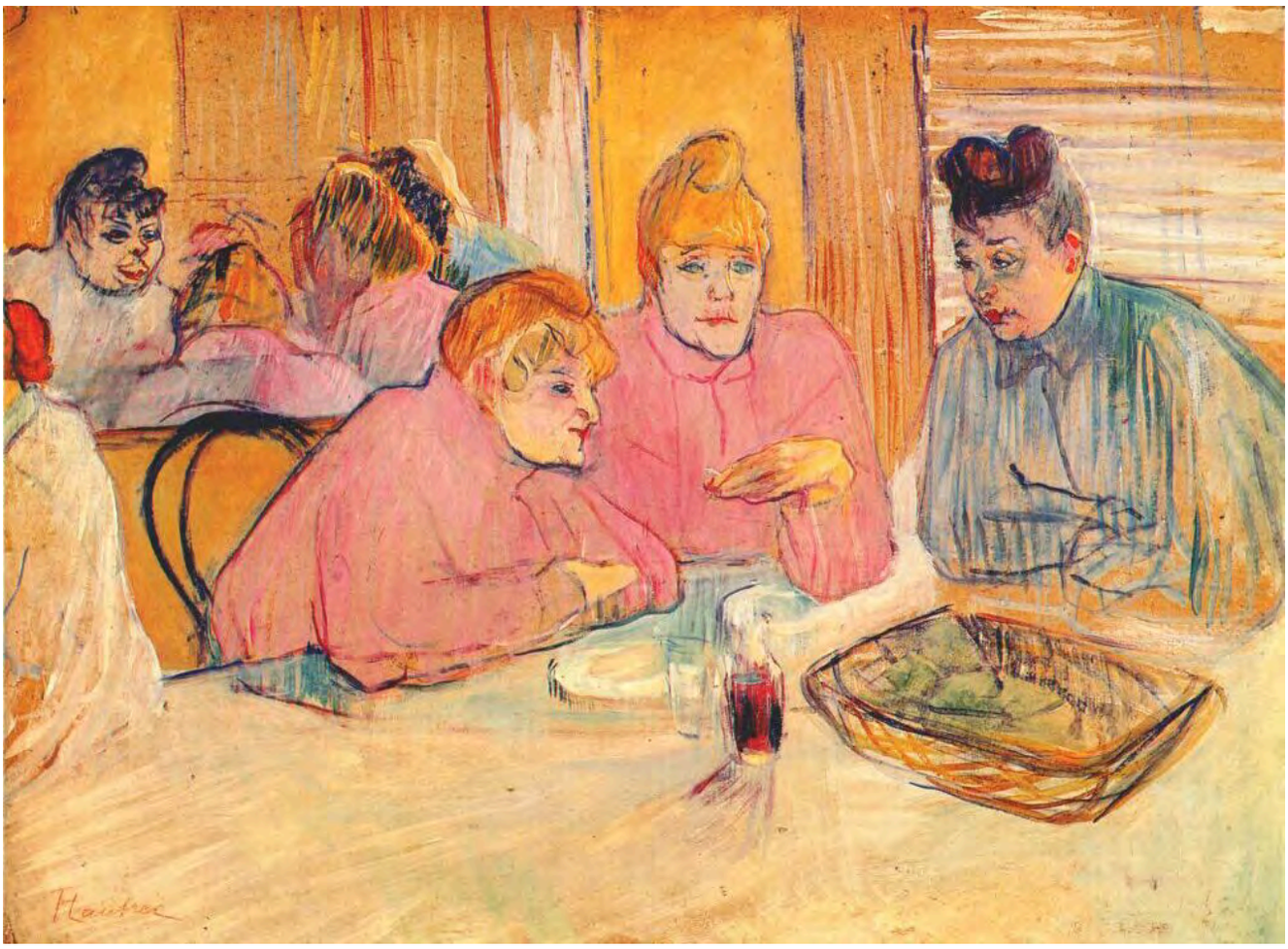
Henri de Toulouse-Lautrec, *At the Salon of the Rue des Moulins,* 1894. Oil on cardboard. 111.5 x 132.5 cm. Musée Toulouse-Lautrec, Albi. View Source

In the early 1890s Lautrec produced roughly forty sketches, prints and paintings depicting the everyday lives of prostitutes, including the striking oil *Rue des Moulins*.



Maurice Guibert, *Toulouse-Lautrec in his workshop with a nude model*, 1895. View Source

Lautrec's pictures have often been discussed as reflections of a mundane, melancholy life, summed up as the artistic innovations of an aristocrat and disabled man suffering from syphilis, alcoholism and a congenital illness called pycnodysostosis, a disease characterized by skeletal malformations.



Henri de Toulouse-Lautrec, *The Ladies in the Brothel Dining-Room*, 1893. Oil on paperboard. 60.2 x 80.7 cm. Museum of Fine Arts, Budapest. View Source

Mary Hunter in "The Waiting Time of Prostitution: Gynaecology and Temporality in Henri de Toulouse-Lautrec's 'Rue des Moulins,'" 1894 (*Art History* 1 (2019): 68-93), counters these interpretations with an approach that considers the painter's imagination and engagement with artistic precedents. But unlike the brothel scenes in Edgar Degas's monotypes from the 1870s, clients are rarely present in Lautrec's works, and women are seldom shown soliciting men. Rather, prostitutes are portrayed as lethargic and bored, unproductive and unalluring. While a handful of the *maison close* pictures portray more tantalizing and intimate lesbian moments, the majority highlight the banality of brothel life; the waiting around.



Henri de Toulouse-Lautrec, *The Two Girlfriends,* 1894. Oil on cardboard. 48 x 35 cm. Musée Toulouse-Lautrec, Albi. View Source



Henri de Toulouse-Lautrec, *The Bed,* 1893. Oil on cardboard. 54 x 70.5 cm. Orsay Museum, Paris. View Source

Lautrec's depiction of lesbians does not denigrate or fetishize female sexual intimacy. Instead, the artist sought to capture the tender moments in the lives of lesbian women which he conveyed truthfully and with compassion .



Kitagawa Utamaro I, *The Hour of the Ox (1 A.M. – 3 A.M.),* ca. 1794. Ink and colour on paper. 37.1 x 24.4 cm. Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York. View Source

Lautrec's pictorial depictions of the waiting-around moments of brothel-workers recall aspects of 18th century Japanese prints of sex workers that illustrated their lived realities.



Kitagawa Utamaro I, *The Hour of the Horse,* ca. 1794. Ink and colour on paper. 38.1 x 25.5 cm. Museum of Fine Arts, Boston. View Source

Lautrec, like others of his era, was inspired by Japanese ukiyo-e erotic (shunga) prints by Kitagawa Utamaro, especially the 1794 publication entitled “Twelve Hours in Yoshiwara” containing images of courtesans in the Yoshiwara pleasure district as observed over the course of twelve hours.



Kitagawa Utamaro I, *Courtesan with CHILD ATTENDANT* ca. 1789-1806. Ink, colour, gold and mica on silk. 85.4 x 33.5 cm (image). Museum of Fine Arts, Boston. View Source

The practice of selling daughters into prostitution was widely accepted in Japan. During the Edo period, the Yoshiwara district was the only place where prostitution was sanctioned. Young girls from impoverished families were sold into brothels at seven or eight, where they remained for at least a decade. The first three or four years were spent learning household chores and tending to their "sister" courtesans. During their stay, they learned etiquette, art and other skills, such as the composition of manipulative love letters and seductive conversation to attract clientele.



Henri de Toulouse-Lautrec, *At the Salon of the Rue des Moulins,* 1894. Oil on cardboard. 111.5 x 132.5 cm. Musée Toulouse-Lautrec, Albi. View Source

The formal elements of Utamaro's prints that Lautrec attempted to assimilate were according to Hunter "the low viewpoints, outlined forms, large figures in the foreground that expand beyond the picture plane, and the erotic potential of sheer material draped over bodies while revealing limbs and flesh." But unlike Utamaro's courtesans who adorn themselves or otherwise prepare themselves for wealthy male clients, Lautrec's sex workers simply wait.



Henri de Toulouse-Lautrec, *Rue des Moulins* , 1894. Oil on cardboard on wood. 83.5 x 61.4 cm. National Gallery of Art, Washington. View Source

As mentioned, sex workers officially registered in Paris were required to undergo routine medical inspections by the *dispensaire de salubrité*. As Mike McKiernan has emphasized in "Henri de Toulouse-Lautrec. *Medical Examination*, *Rue des Moulins* (*1894*)" (*Occupational Medicine* 59 (2009): 366–368), the compulsory medical examination of brothel workers took root in France in 1810 as a tool to protect the bourgeoisie from the ravages of venereal disease. The prostitutes themselves did not benefit as their clients were never examined.

Once registered with the *police des moeurs*, prostitutes were either inspected by visiting physicians every eight days if they worked in the high-end *maisons closes*, or if they were streetwalkers, they were made to go to a neighbourhood dispensary every eleven to fourteen days. The procedures consisted of a vaginal examination using a speculum, and an inspection of a woman's skin, hands, face, back and orifices.

>Lautrec's *Rue des Moulins, 1894,* captures the ordeal of two women workers at the *maisons closes* as they stand in line in lifted chemises and black knee-length stockings for their turn to be examined.

Hunter:

> Rendered in thin layers of oil paint on cardboard, the work shows an older blonde woman looking down blankly, her pink chemise bundled in her arms; her hunched shoulders, tired expression and sagging chin and buttocks show how time spent waiting is felt and endured. In contrast, a red-headed woman with a firm rump glares out at the viewer through the corner of her blue-hooded eye. Her scrunched-up face encrusted with built-up pink, blood orange and violet pigment, and her unnaturally bright coral-coloured ear and scalp, hint at a syphilitic state. Lautrec's depiction of syphilis – the most widespread disease and cause of death amongst prostitutes – recalls nineteenth-century French dermatologist Henri Feulard's description of syphilitic skin as 'a motley mixture of colours' consisting of 'purplish spots' and 'plaques of a bright red colour, but lacking in definition of outlines.' The prostitute's sickly surface attracted medical and artistic gazes, and was recorded for diagnostic and aesthetic purposes. *Rue des Moulins* portrays a transient site – simultaneously brothel and medical waiting room – where the women's bodies hover between the body-as-self and the worker's and patient's body-as-object. The instability of the scene is emphasized by the depiction of a threshold space: the central window, framed with heavy curtains, and the small light that shines through the flimsy netting, point to the outside world, while the flattened perspective and fiery red tones of the carpet, curtains and body hair present the brothel as a sensuous, enveloping interior bordering on the claustrophobic. Next to the window, the *madame* of the brothel's solid, kimono-like garb contributes to this sense of enclosure, while her turned back suggests her interaction with the outside world – particularly with the clients, physicians and police who visited regularly. Private and public spheres collapse in this work as the intimate medical lives of *filles publiques* are put on display.



Source gallica.bnf.fr / Bibliothèque nationale de France

"Syphilide pigmentaire", from M. A. Hardy and A. de Montméja, *Clinique photographique de l'hôpital Saint-Louis* (Paris: Chamerot et Lauwereyns, 1868), n.p. View Source



Reproduced from G. Tilles, "Le musée de l'hôpital Saint-Louis, The Museum of the Hôpital Saint-Louis," *Annales de Dermatologie et de Vénéréologie 145,* no. 4 (September 2018). View Source

The uneven colouration of the prostitutes' bodies in Lautrec's image, recalls the tonal washes of early medical photo-lithographs depicting syphilis-infected patients and wax models from the Hôpital Saint-Louis, which the artist had visited with his cousin. As photographs could only be reproduced in black and white, pastel washes, white paint and spots of red were added to sepia photographs to show the stages of venereal disease to physicians and students. In Paris, syphilitic patients were often photographed upon admission to the hospital in order to record and track their illnesses over time.

In Alfred Hardy and A. de Montméja's 1868 medical atlas *Clinique photographique de l'hôpital Saint-Louis*, syphilitic women exhibit poses and expressions that resemble those found in Lautrec's paintings. The photographic headshots in the atlas seem to mimic mug-shots, thus visually documenting syphilitic women as infected, deviant and criminal. They also suggest the disease's association with perversions and sexual anomalies in nineteenth-century medicine.

Lautrec carefully articulated the prostitutes' profiles in *Rue des Moulins*, particularly the depictions of their ears, shown as large, misshapen and brightly coloured in pink and coral tones. Ears, like other orifices, indicate infection and the medical collection at the Hôpital Saint-Louis was filled with wax models of mutilated and discoloured syphilitic ears and diseased tongues, limbs and genitalia.



Cherry Chapman, "Two Very Unusual Medical Museums in Paris," *A Psychotherapist in Paris*. View Source

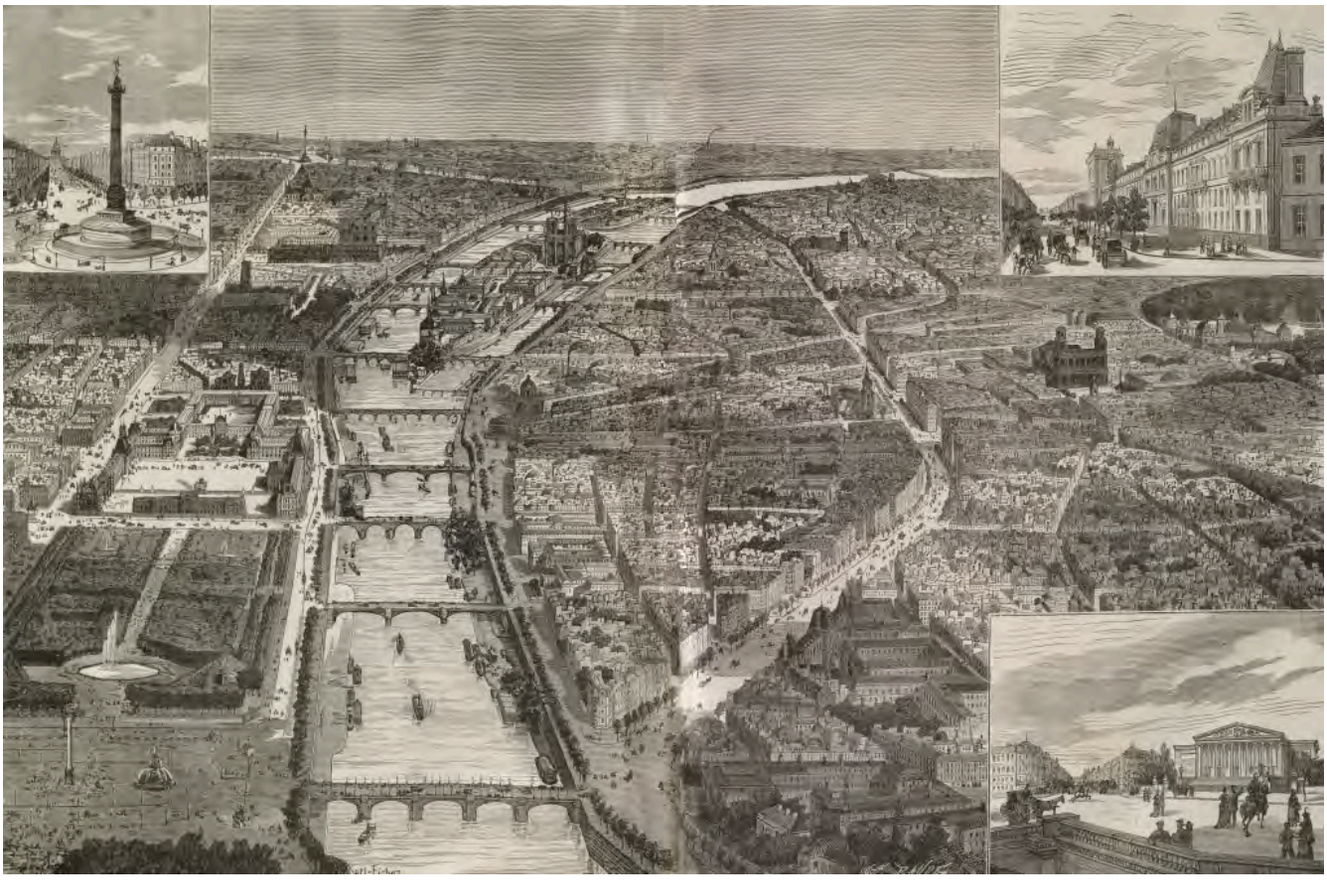
In 1866, Alphonse Devergie created a permanent exhibition of teaching images of skin diseases at the Hôpital Saint-Louis. In 1891 the initiative was made concrete by the inauguration of a building housing a museum, a medical library and rooms for outpatients. Enriched by the works of dermatologists, *moulageurs* — mainly Jules Baretta — painters and photographers, the museum became renowned worldwide for owning the most extensive wax *moulages* collection in the world.

Cherry Chapman describes the ravages of syphilis and how the wax models represented the stages of the disease in "A Psychotherapist in Paris: Two Very Unusual Medical Museums in Paris." (https://www.cherrychapman.com/2014/09/22/two-very-unusual-medical-museums-in-paris/)

> Each wax moulding was moulded from real patients, both adult and pediatric, who displayed skin lesions, tumors, facial and limb disfigurements, caused by the multitudes of skin afflictions. There are representations of the various stages of different diseases, from beginning to end stage. The vast majority of them were made by Jules Baretta, starting in 1867, whose artistry is breathtaking in realism. After moulding the wax to patients, he would then take notes to the exact colours noted and he faithfully reproduced exactly how they looked by painting.

Without a doubt, the most repulsive and hideous of disfigurements were caused by syphilis, seen above. Mainly caught and spread by sexual contact, or congenitally, there were recurring outbreaks starting around 1495.

3.10
| Covert Prostitution: Shopgirls and *Serveuses*



View of Paris in 1878, during the World Fair, 1878. Engraving. 31.8 x 50 cm. Brown University Library, Providence. View Source



Charles Marville, *Rue du Jardinet (du passage Hautefeuille),* ca. 1853-70. Photographic print mounted on cardboard: albumen silver. 33.9 x 27.8 cm. State Library of Victoria, Melbourne. View Source

During the late 19th century Paris underwent major social changes. Under the direction of the Prefect of the Seine, Baron Haussmann, the old city buildings had been torn down and replaced by broad thoroughfares that facilitated the movement of merchandise and people. Hausmann's public works, completed by 1870, transformed Paris into a modern city with wide boulevards, parks and squares. For example, the Rue du Jardinet on the Left Bank was demolished by Haussmann to make room for the Boulevard Saint Germain.



Pierre-Auguste Renoir, *Pont-Neuf,* 1872. Oil on canvas. 74 x 93 cm. National Gallery of Art, Washington. View Source

Renoir's *Pont Neuf, Paris* captures the bright, open liveliness of the new Paris, a city of crowds and consumers. By 1877, the Bon Marché, a popular department store, employed over 3,500 staff and served 16,000 clients daily. People frequented the Paris Salons in masses; in 1884, for example, attendance was recorded at 200,000 visitors over the course of 55 days.

Nancy Forgione explains the cultural impact in "Everyday Life in Motion: The Art of Walking in Late-Nineteenth-Century Paris" (*Art Bulletin* 87, no. 4 (2005): 664–87):

> As Paris underwent its transition to modernity, the impact of Haussmann's changes had to be absorbed by the body as well as the eye and mind. Ingrained corporeal impulses to follow accustomed pathways had to give way to new habits and patterns of movement. To depict walking was to thematize motion. To step forth into the streets of the city was to submit oneself, willingly or unwillingly, to the urgent tempo of a distinctly urban version of lived experience. As a motif in painting, the walk offered one way of expressing the quality of that immersion.

Renoir's *Pont Neuf, Paris* offers a panoramic view of midday pursuits in the busy urban centre. The city is sun-drenched, the pedestrians moving about beneath the artist's vantage point are an eclectic group. No single incident focuses the viewer's attention; rather, the painting offers an overall perception of the daily rhythms of a modern city in motion.

Forgione continues:

> It is worth noting that a physical act of walking contributed to the making of the picture: the painter sent his brother Edmond out into the space being depicted, to stroll about and engage the passersby in conversation on the pretense of asking directions or the time, in order to slow their progress so that

> Renoir could sketch them more fully. Although that strategy is not apparent in the finished painting except in the fact that his brother, identifiable by his straw hat and walking stick, appears twice in the scene, such vicarious bodily activation of the visual field, in addition to its practical aim, indicates Renoir's conception of it as a place articulated by discursive human movement.

Renoir's painting, however, represents a privileged layer of Parisian life. Unseen is the gritty reality of industrial life and the underprivileged populace that kept it running. The urban slums of Paris were plagued by poverty at the time, a situation worsened by the flooding in of rural peasants in search of employment.

In the second half of the nineteenth century, most French women in the labour force were young, single and underprivileged. These lower-class women were stigmatized for working outside the home, regardless of their occupations. The French ideal of family life projected a clear separation between household responsibilities and the husband's employment. By extension, the woman's role in life was to nurture her family, literally and figuratively. The separation of spheres of activity for men and women was understood in moral, psychological and practical terms.



Pierre Petit, *Portrait of Julie-Victoire Daubié,* 1861. Bibliothèque Marguerite Durand, Paris. View Source

Female poverty was an enormous and ignored social issue in France. The journalist, Julie-Victoire Daubié, France's first woman baccalaureate in 1861, set out to attack the socio-economic system that privileged men at

women's expense, working through her writings to promote equality between men and women in education and in the labour force.

In her book *Les Femmes pauvres au XIX siècle,* first published in 1866, Daubié discussed the causes of female poverty, citing three significant categories: lack of proper schooling, lack of career options, and outdated laws pertaining to the institution of marriage.

> ...the inadequacy of wages and the natural burden of childcare give us twice as many female beggars as male, but the women are not given as much public assistance as the men. Less numerous in hospitals, there are barely a quarter as many women as men in hospices where admittance is gained only after several years of waiting and with influential recommendations... Vagrancy, theft, vice and crime become the only means of subsistence of a large number of women and there is nothing surprising about the fact that since 1830 the number of incarcerated female mendicants has more than tripled. Over one twenty-year period, 132,000 women, among whom were a large number of sixteen-year-old girls, were also jailed for rural and forest vagrancy.

Daubié emphasized the harsh working conditions female labourers faced, a factor that led many to prostitution and strenuously criticized a system structured to "protect" privileged, decent women at the expense of the poor, whose livelihood depended on prostitution.

She went so far as to send a petition to the French Senate in June 1869, urging for the abolition of regulated prostitution and the right of women to bring paternity suits against the men who had abandoned them. Unsurprisingly the petition was dismissed.

Following the suppression of the Commune in 1871, concerns about the continuing expansion of covert prostitution flared up. Municipal systems of regulation were losing the ability to control the profession.
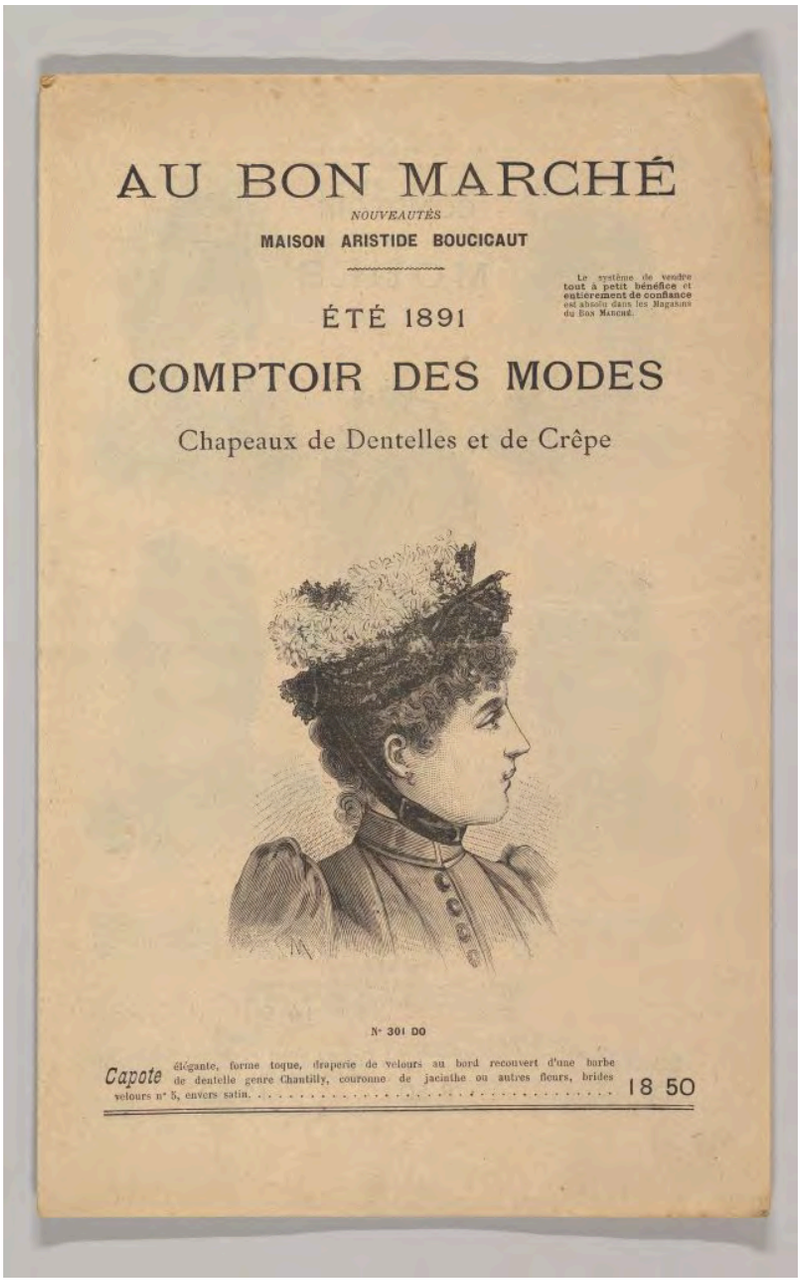
Almost half of the French female population was in the workforce by the end of the 19th century. While only 25 percent of them had worked outside the home in 1866, by 1896, that figure had doubled. Daughters sent out to work to supplement their family's income often faced severe financial problems, particularly if they were obliged to work, and live, away from home. Inadequate wages and unstable conditions in the garment industry, and in domestic service led many women to engage in prostitution. Of the unregistered prostitutes arrested by the police, 39 percent reported being domestic servants, and 30 percent were sewists.

To avant-garde artists, milliners and millinery shops were an attractive subject, offering a backstory based on a significant aspect of modern life (prostitution), recognizable physical appearances and protocols, and an urban workplace. The milliner became the ideal trope of modernity, an icon of the commodified lower-class woman: a working female who made and sold objects of adornment for a living, who is also on sale herself.



"PARIS. – Les magasins de nouveautés. – LE BON MARCHÉ. – Intérieur. – (Dessin de MM. Clerget et Vierge.)" *Le Monde Illustré,* March 30, 1872. View Source

Millinery was an important industry, employing about 1,000 milliners in Paris. Le Bon Marché, founded in 1838 and nearly completely reconstructed by Aristide Boucicaut in 1852, was the first modern department store and supplied Parisian women with all manner of hats essential to fashionable female attire. By the 1880s, half the employees at Le Bon Marché were women, the unmarried ones living in dormitories on the upper floors of the store.



Au Bon Marché: Comptoir des Modes, Chapeaux de Dentelles et de Crêpe, Été 1891, 1891. Wood engraving. 24.3 x 15.6 cm. Metropolitan Museum, New York. View Source

Women's *chapeaux* were a fashion statement and an indicator of status and wealth. High-end millinery shops abounded with stock which varied in price and quality. The celebrity of up-market milliners and the expense of the hats masked the workers' low wages, particularly the *appreteuse* (finisher) and the *petite garnisseuse* (junior trimmer), who often worked 12-hour days in their ateliers. The night shift, or *veillée* when women would work from dusk to dawn, was a contentious issue in the garment industry, unregulated until the early 1890s.



James Tissot, *The Shop Girl,* ca. 1883-85. Oil on canvas. 146.1 x 101.6 cm. Art Gallery of Ontario, Toronto. View Source

James Tissot's *The Shop Girl* depicts the interior of a millinery shop on a busy street. The door is open, and hats and accessories are seen strewn over the display tables. A young, nicely-dressed shopgirl is arranging boxes on a shelf, her stretching figure causing the bodice of her dress to cling to her frame. A middle-aged man peers in through the window. The display of goods is clearly not his interest. Although her face is unseen, the shop girl

appears to engage with the man's gaze. Tissot utilizes the cutoff composition to capture the fleeting interaction, a technique meant to show a snapshot of a modern-day scene.

When Tissot's *The Young Lady of the Shop* was first shown in 1886 at the Arthur Tooth Gallery in London, the painting was described in the exhibition catalogue as follows:

> It is on the boulevard; as one can see, full of life and movement is passing out of doors and our young lady with her engaging smile is holding open the door till her customer takes the pile of purchases from her and passes to the carriage. She knows her business and has learned the first lesson of all, that her duty is to be polite, winning and pleasant. Whether she meant what she says, so much of what her looks express is not the question; enough if she has a smile and an appropriate answer for everybody. (Henri Zernet, James Jacques Joseph Tissot, entry 39, in Elizabeth Pusey, "James Tissot's and Emile Zola's Shopgirl: The Working Girl as La Parisienne" (Master's thesis, Brigham Young University, 2016)

The last line implies that the shopgirl is knowing and manipulative. The surreptitious meaning is that she gets on well with the female clientele and is available to male "shoppers" as well.
Pusey:

> On the shop floor, a pink ribbon can be seen haphazardly forming the shape of a heart. Tissot's placement of the heart on the floor incites notions of a debased, perhaps degraded, love or desire....Placement of the heart and the overtly sexual gaze from the male consumer implies that like the ribbons, the shop girl is a commodity which can be illicitly purchased. The very creation and trade of clothing was viewed as morally infectious towards 'respectable' women, due to frequent associations of prostitution with seamstresses and shop girls. In particular, shop girls were being viewed as purchasable commodities.



Pierre-Auguste Renoir, *At the Milliner's,* 1878. Oil on canvas. 33 x 25 cm. Harvard Art Museums, Cambridge.
View Source

There is a marked difference between Tissot's treatment of this sexualized subject and Renoir's *At the Millinery Shop*. Clayson (*Painted Love*, 126) provides an analysis:

> … the narrative of Renoir's painting is ambiguous and inconclusive, and the conventional identifying signs of a *magasin-pretexte* have been all but siphoned away. This combination of fluidity and imprecision is markedly different from Tissot's vivid, precise, and frozen image..... It seems that Renoir was attracted to and eventually chose the motif of the millinery shop because he found social qualities in

it that met his criteria for a suitably interesting subject; the appeal of female sexuality in an ambiguous, secret, and somewhat conspiratorial form, set within a public but intimate marketplace for women's clothing.

Renoir obviously found this combination of features appealingly modern — as did Tissot. This strong appeal probably accounts for Renoir's choice of the subject, but the way he painted it reveals his rejection of Tissot's style of grabbing hold of and organizing the motif into something lucid, clear, and un-equivocal. Renoir's wispy paint strokes and vibrant color interactions show him to have faced the subject — or his idea of the subject — intent on the primacy of painting, concentrating on the abstract artistic issues of translating the interaction of light and color into oil paint, of enriching black with gray, violet, and crimson, of building a composition to contain the things seen, but without forcing them into a pat and falsely legible hierarchy. It seems that Renoir's attraction to the popular masculine eroticization of the hat shop helped to shape this picture.

That the dubious reputation of the millinery shop endowed it with a sexually tantalizing aura of ambiguity and contingency made such a place an appealing subject for a modern painting, and those equalities were carried over into the formal means of the picture. One can see Renoir converting social ambiguity into formal ambiguity. Tissot's more definite interpretation of the motif corresponds, in turn, to his more precise way of depicting it.



Edgar Degas, *The Little Milliners,* 1882. Pastel on wove paper wrapped onto original cardboard mount. 48.9 x 71.76 cm. Nelson-Atkins Museum of Art, Kansas City. View Source

Degas's *The Little Milliners* provides a further comparison. In this pastel, Degas focuses on two shopgirls; there are no customers in sight. The young women are bathed in warm tones, and the artist has used a familiar pattern of overlap and fragmentation to persuade us of the documentary accuracy of his observation. The

woman on the right is not fully visible, cut off by the edge of the picture. She appears older, her features less delicate, and her observation of the other suggests she is a supervisor.

The play of relationships is purposely ambiguous; there are no erotic overtones. The possibility of a sexualized reading stems from the lore of the milliner-prostitute, the common knowledge that such shops were often sites of commercialized sex.



Edgar Degas, *At the Milliner's,* 1881. Pastel on wove paper mounted on canvas. 69.2 x 69.2 cm. Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York. View Source



Edgar Degas, *At the Milliner,* ca. 1882-85. Oil on canvas. 61.6 x 73.7 cm. Virginia Museum of Fine Arts, Richmond. View Source



Edgar Degas, *The Milliner,* ca. 1882. Pastel and charcoal on warm gray wove paper. 47.6 x 62.2 cm. Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York. View Source



Edgar Degas, *At the Milliner's,* 1883. Pastel on paper. 75.5 x 85.5 cm. Thyssen-Bornemisza Museum, Madrid. View Source



Edgar Degas, *The Milliners,* ca. 1898. Oil on canvas. 75.2 x 81.9 cm. Saint Louis Art Museum, Saint Louis. View Source

Degas produced twenty-seven images of millinery subjects.



Edgar Degas, *At the Milliner's,* 1882. Pastel on paper. 67 × 52 cm. Orsay Museum. View Source

Degas's millinery images engage with women's labour within the context of covert prostitution and its relationship to fashion, commodity, and consumption. Simon Kelly in "'Plume Mania' Degas, Feathers, and the Global Millinery Trade (*A Companion to Impressionism*, edited by André Dombrowski (WILEY Blackwell, 2021), 425-435) provides a new perspective on Degas's engagement with an iconography of plumage. *At the Milliner's*, he writes, is "a work that is among his most innovative treatments of a millinery subject and that has been viewed as emblematic of a new Parisian culture of commodity fetishism." In his critical analysis of the work, Kelly considers the formal and technical qualities of Degas's image, the conditions that involved the exploitation of labourers in Paris and internationally, and the killing of millions of birds to supply the plumes for the millinery trade.

It is known that Degas painted hats in all styles and trimmings, but he was particularly drawn to ostrich plumes. In *At the Milliners,* the human forms are abstracted, disappearing into the overall background scheme. The artist has tilted his perspective to focus on six hats decorated in lush ostrich plumes. The hats are made of felt and straw, the colours of the plumes magnificently striking. Almost a still-life, the image is rare within the overall body of Degas's work. The shop was likely on the Rue de la Paix, the centre for the millinery trade in Paris and a street that Degas regularly frequented.

Kelly:

> At top, he shows a wide-brimmed black felt-hat, sitting on a turned-wood stand, and trimmed with a pink plume…Degas emphasized the softness and fullness of the plume that may have been "doubled," a common practice at the time with two feathers sewn together to increase their overall density and richness. He also emphasizes the movement of the plume whose arching form seems to quiver in the air in contrast to the vertical, statuesque form of the woman in front of the mirror.



G. Gonin, "Chapeau Jolie Miss, en feutre flamand bleu marine. Les bords sont retroussés et de belles plumes amazone garnissent tout le chapeau. – Modèle de Mme Hélène (31, rue Caumartin)," *La Modiste universelle,* January 1, 1882. View Source

Degas's hats reflected the most up-to-the-minute designs, as evidenced in the similar plumed felt hat appearing in the January 1882 issue of the leading hat-fashion magazine, *La Modiste universelle*.



Edgar Degas, *At the Milliner's,* 1882. Pastel on paper.
67 × 52 cm. Orsay Museum. View Source

The flamboyant colours and materials of the plumed hats lent themselves to interpretation through the medium of pastel, which was applied in consecutive sweeps to capture the characteristics and movement of the feathers. Kelly explains "The intense colors of pastels – essentially pure pigment – also made them ideal for representing the bright tones of dyed plumes. Both pastels and plumes were colored with the same newly invented synthetic aniline dyes."



Topical.

A SOUTH AFRICAN OSTRICH FARM.

Ostrich farming is one of South Africa's main industries, the production of a normal year being valued at three million sterling. An ostrich requires a desert climate and an abundance of nutritious food to produce the best feathers, and some very fine breeding birds have been sold for £1,000 a pair.

Topical Press Agency, "A South African ostrich farm," ca. 1900. Photogravure. View Source

Kelly:

> The commodity of the plumed hat – as represented in *At the Milliner's* – was the result of a complex and problematic system of international labor… The first stage here was the time-intensive farming of ostriches… In South Africa, indentured Indian laborers (known derogatively as "coolies") worked on these ostrich farms for British owners. They were poorly paid and on a labor contract, generally of five years, after which time they returned to India.



Ostrich feathers for sale at the Cutler Street Warehouses in London, 1896, Antiqua Print Gallery. View Source

>After the harvest, the unprocessed plumage, known as plumage brut, was sent to London, the world center for this commodity. The market on the banks of the Thames divided plumes into as many as 60 grades or qualities. Plumage then came to Paris, often dirty and still blood-spattered, and underwent an extensive processing before ending up on the hat of a wealthy Parisian woman. Sometimes, plumes also arrived in the French capital from the ports of Marseille or Livorno, having traversed the Mediterranean from North Africa. Paris was the international center for the processing of plumage with 354 plumassiers there in 1882, employing around 7,000–8,000.

Plume preparation was difficult and unhealthy work, and involved a complex 10-stage process including cleaning, the removal of fat and grease, bleaching, drying, dressing, trimming, curling, and dyeing.

...



Edgar Degas, *At the Milliner's,* 1882. Pastel on paper. 67 × 52 cm. Orsay Museum. View Source

While Degas's work is exquisitely rendered, its subject speaking to the delicate sensibilities of the bourgeoisie, in imaging this commodity, he was implicated, whether aware or not, with a crude, international system of consumer exchange.



Édouard Manet, *Waitress Serving Beer,* 1879. Oil on canvas. 77.5 cm x 65 cm. Musée d'Orsay, Paris. View Source

Another Parisian site of social exchange in the late nineteenth century was the relatively new drinking establishment known as the *brasserie* à *femmes*. The principal novelty at the beer hall was the untraditional use of women as "garcons," or waiters. Unmarried females were hired to boost sales of alcohol through flirtation and sometimes sexual enticement, gaining them the reputation of being tramps. Essentially, owners of these new brasseries were merchandising sex in tandem with alcohol in highly organized fronts for clandestine prostitution. Unlike the somewhat ambiguous forms of clandestine prostitution elsewhere, there was greater certainty that the *brasserie* à *femmes* was an organized outlet of unregulated prostitution.



Édouard Manet, *A Bar at the Folies-Bergère,* 1882. Oil on canvas. 96 x 130 cm. Courtauld Gallery, London. View Source

Manet's *A Bar at the Folies-Bergère* was exhibited in the Salon of 1882, the year before he died. It is widely regarded as an iconic image of the ambiguous face of prostitution in 19th-century modern art. Clayson (*Painted Love*, 151) writes:

> That the picture actively addresses the possible double profession of the barmaid — serving and prostitution — was clear to observers in 1882. Critics were, of course, drawing upon their personal knowledge of social life at the *Folies-Bergère* nightclub, but their assumption that Manet's painting posed explicit questions about the server's morality was encouraged and sustained by the famous conundrum of the double woman. The frontal barmaid stands upright and appears cool, detached, and aloof, whereas the reflected woman leans forward slightly and acts subservient to the adjacent, looming male customer. The plot of the commercial transaction at the bar is eroticized by being provided with two possible outcomes. In one, "she does"; in the other, "she doesn't."

The incongruity of all pictorial relationships, the play between what is real and what is not, and the lack of a particularized narrative are what renders the image avant-garde writes T.J. Clark in *The Painting of Modern Life: Paris in the Art of Manet and His Followers* (New York,1984, 240). Clark has described it thus:

> A young woman standing at the counter of a bar in front of her the various decanters and bottles awaiting the customer; behind her a mirror in which the room is reflected, and in the foreground the figure of a habitué who is seen chatting with the same woman viewed from the back; that is the subject, which we shall take as it is offered without discussion. But what strikes us first of all is that this famous mirror, indispensable to an understanding of all these reflections ….We shall refrain from answering this question; but let us simply note this fact, that all of the picture takes place in a mirror and there is no mirror…

This work is compositionally disorienting and ambiguous in terms of content. The mid-1870s firmly established the double identity of the café-concert as a permanent fair for prostitutes. Manet's depiction of the scene and his pictorial motifs are at once convincing and a conundrum. First, the painting speaks of surfaces: the gold foil, the girl's make-up, and the shine of the oranges reminding us that what we are looking at is nothing more than a surface upon which paint is placed to create an illusion. Manet's use of abbreviated lines and patches similarly draws attention to the artifice of painting, just as they suggest the ruse of the scene.

Ruth E. Iskin, in "Selling, Seduction, and Soliciting the Eye: Manet's Bar at the Folies-Bergère" (*Art Bulletin* 77, no. 1 (1995): 25–44), argues that the image is not necessarily about prostitution. *A Bar at the Folies-Bergère* is analyzed "in light of historically specific discourses of mass consumption, the changing roles of women, and the development of the modern crowd public."

> While the woman, the man, and even the mirror itself have been given center stage in interpretations of *A Bar at the Folies-Bergère* for good reason, the prominent display of goods in front and the packed crowd of spectators in the back have barely been addressed. No doubt, they were considered peripheral to the main scenario. But if this were the case, why is the display on the counter so provocatively positioned to beckon us as if from the threshold of the painting? And why is the radically miniaturized dense crowd in the far back taking up such a large portion of the canvas? The goods on the counter and the crowd are the primary clues for my interpretation.



The bottles, fruits and roses, detail of Édouard Manet, *A Bar at the Folies-Bergère,* 1882. Oil on canvas. 96 x 130 cm. Courtauld Gallery, London. View Source

The decorative items on the bar at the *Folies* include fruit in a pedestal bowl and roses in a vase, conjuring up images of a domestic environment. But Manet's bar suggests a "still life" of modern commodities. The objects are prominently displayed, confronting the spectator in their proximity as would goods in a small city shop. The *marchande* behind the bar/counter is ready to serve. This image echoes the frequent depictions in magazines of counters filled with products with salesmen or saleswomen standing behind them and one or more consumers in front. In fact, contemporary critics referred to the woman at the bar as la *marchande,* the salesgirl, or the saleswoman. The salesgirl at this time was regarded as part of the petite bourgeoisie, as described in a passage by Zola: "Nearly all the saleswomen by their daily contact with the rich customers assumed certain graces and finished by forming a vague nameless class, something between a work-girl and a middle-class lady."

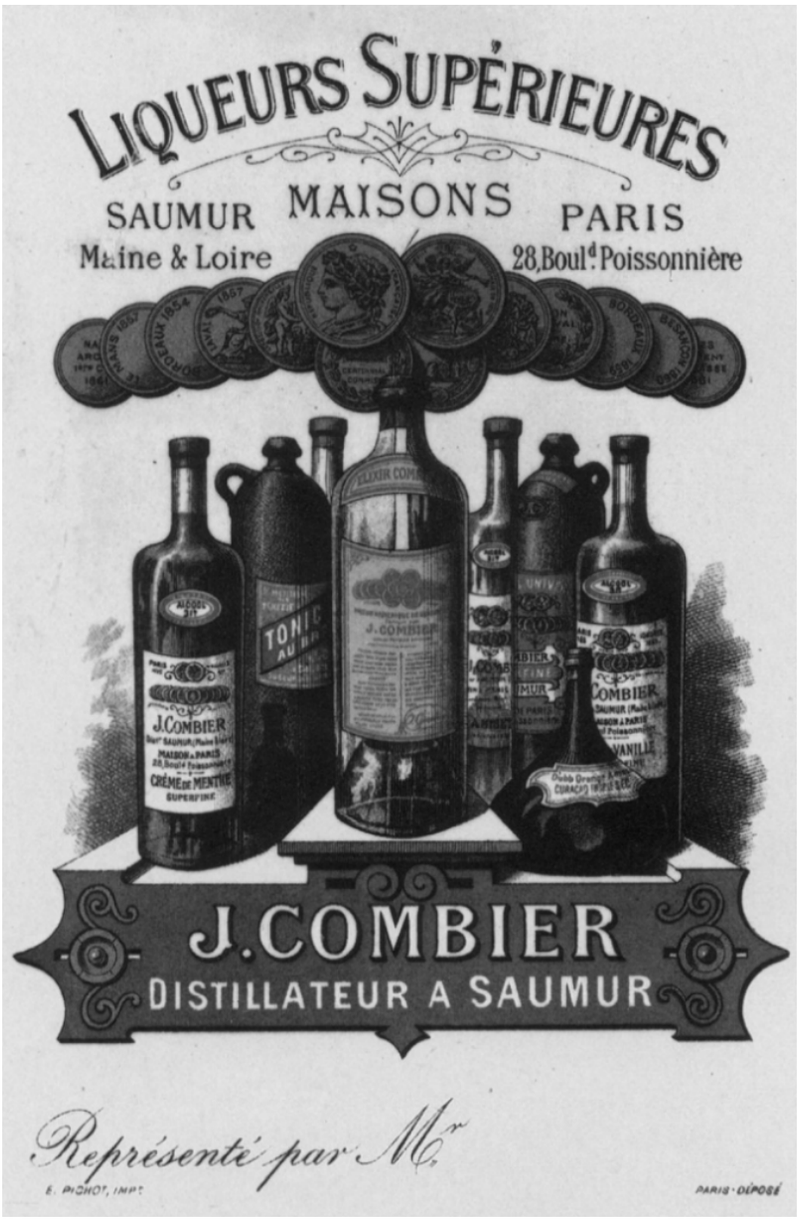
The dress the *serveuse* wears is very much of the type a department salesgirl would wear. We can only assume the establishment mandated the dress to increase sales through subliminal association. Indeed, seduction and

selling were at the heart of the painting. The glitter of reflected lights creates an association with shop windows that attracted passers-by through the display of mirrors. Well-lit display windows also featured high art for sale in Paris. As Theophile Gautier described: "The rue Lafitte is a permanent Salon, an exhibition of painting that lasts the whole year round. Five of the six shops show pictures in their windows. They are regularly changed and illuminated at night."

The crowd in the background is sketchy and abstracted, evocative of the urban masses that had become common at entertainment venues such as the *Folies-Bergère*, in department stores, and even at art Salons.

The phenomenon of the masses in Paris would become a social problem in the 1890s. In his influential book: *Psychologies des foules*, published in 1895, Gustave LeBon proposed that modern crowds threatened the family spirit of preindustrial urban life. "While all our ancient beliefs are tottering and disappearing, while the old pillars of society are collapsing one by one, the power of crowds is the only force which is threatened by nothing and whose prestige will only be magnified. The age we are about to enter will truly be the era of crowds."

Iskin concludes that *A Bar at the Folies-Bergère* is not about prostitution but the participation of women in the public sphere:



Liqueurs Supérieures, 1879. Poster. Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris. Reproduced from Ruth E. Iskin, "Selling, Seduction, and Soliciting the Eye: Manet's 'Bar at the Folies-Bergère'," *The Art Bulletin 77* , no. 1 (March 1995), 32. View Source

The *marchande* as well as the female spectators on the balcony of *A Bar at the Folies-Bergère* are both exemplary of the fact that women increasingly participated in the public sphere: women of the lower classes were wage-earning workers outside the home; women of the bourgeoisie, the petite bourgeoisie and, to an extent, the working class shopped in department stores and consumed a variety of entertainments.

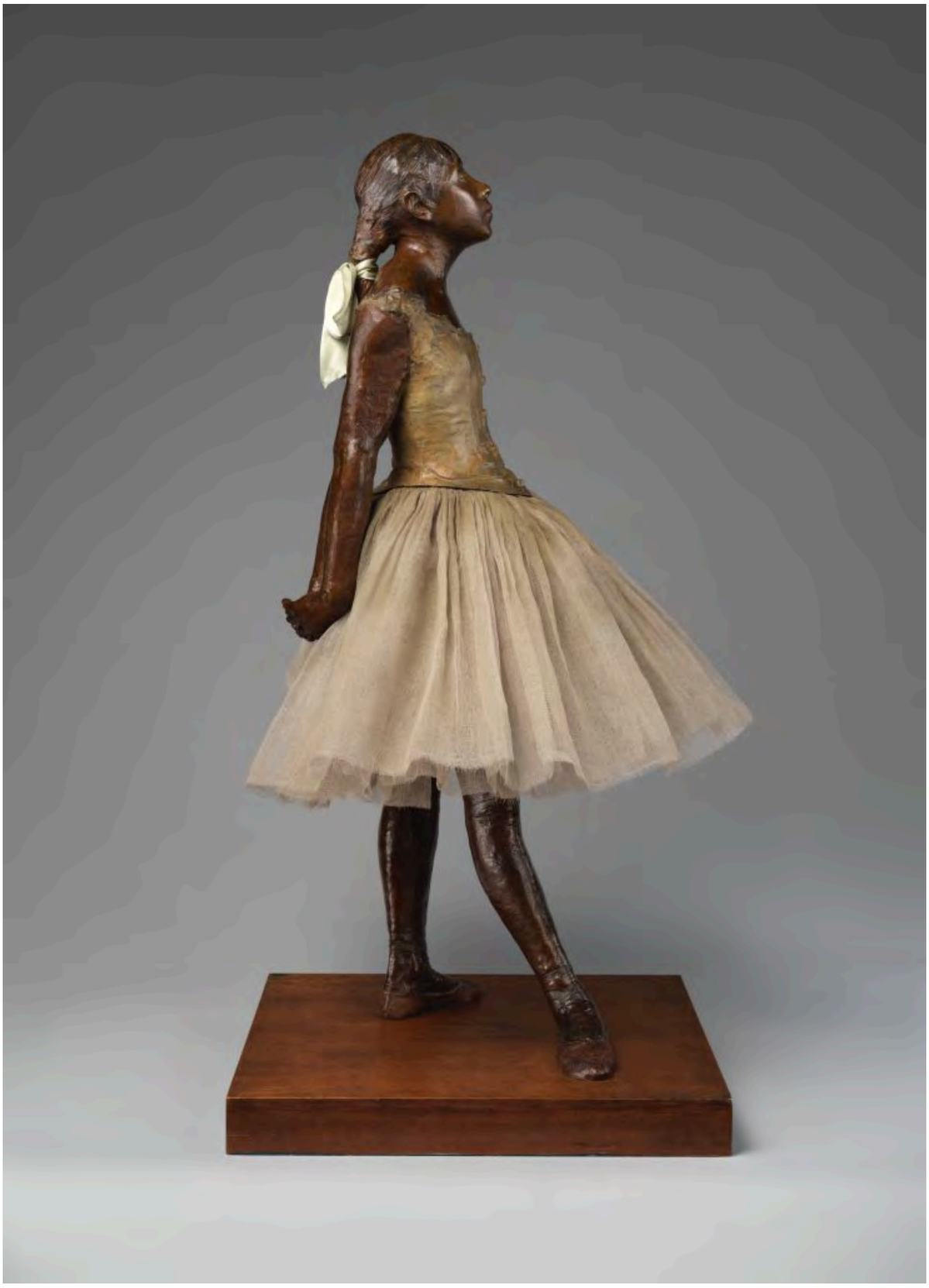


Emile Lévy, "Folies-Bergère," 1874. Lithograph. 64 x 45 cm. Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris. View Source

By 1882, the Folies-Bergère was clearly targeting female customers ...Times had indeed changed by 1893, when Theodore Child accepted as a matter of fact that men and women of different classes attended establishments such as the Folies-Bergère: the cafe concert has become the chief distraction of the Parisians both of the lower and the middle classes. . . . the music halls are always crowded. The shopkeepers of the neighborhood, their wives, and their daughters, their cook-maids and their clerks, the working-men, the washer-women, the girls who toil all day in manufactories, all patronize the cafés-concerts steadily night after night.

3.11
| The Paris Opéra: “The Brothel of France”

Ultimately, it was within the world of ballet that late 19th-century sexual exploitation abounded. Prostitution was not uncommon for the ballerinas who worked in Paris, and the Opéra house itself became known as the “Brothel of France.”



Edgar Degas, *Little Dancer Aged Fourteen,* 1878–81. Pigmented beeswax, clay, metal armature, rope, paintbrushes, human hair, silk and linen ribbon, cotton faille bodice, cotton and silk tutu, linen slippers, on wooden base. Overall without base: 39 x 13 6/8 x 13 7/8 in. (98.9 x 34.7 x 35.2 cm); weight: 49 lb. (22.226 kg). National Gallery of Art, Washington. View Source

"The ballet is...what the bar-room is to many a large hotel," wrote *Scribner's Magazine* in 1892, "the chief paying factor, the one from which the surplus profits come." Wealthy men subscribed to the opera not just for the performance of ballerinas but as sponsors who expected sexual favours in return for their financial support of the dancers.

Degas created *The Little Dancer, Aged Fourteen* using wax which was highly unusual at the time, wax being

primarily used as part of the process of making a sculpture and not as its final material. The work was constructed of pigmented beeswax, clay and a metal armature and dressed in genuine clothing and slippers, giving it an uncanny realism that was largely decried.

In "The Politics of Gender and the Revival of Ballet in Early Twentieth Century France" (*Source: Journal of Social History*, 45, no. 4 (Summer 2012): 960- 989), Ilyana Karthas describes the sculpture and its derision by numerous critics and viewers.

> The statuette caused a furor, generating polemics and divisions among critics. Two- thirds life size and adorned with a horse hair wig, a green satin ribbon, a tattered mid-thigh tulle and gauze tutu, a silk bodice, and pink ballet slippers, it outraged many spectators' sense of propriety...it was violently criticized for its excessive realism and for the expression of "bestial boldness" of the ballet girl who was said more to resemble a "girl-monkey" than a sylph. Rendering her body toughened by exercises with tired eyes, chin up, and shoulders back, spectators found her "repulsive", "frightening ... a flower of precocious depravity." One critic remarked, "wishing to present us with a statuette of a dancer, [Degas] has chosen amongst the most odiously ugly; he makes it the standard of horror and bestiality . . . Yes, certainly, at the very bottom of the barrel of the dance school, there are some poor girls who look like this monster . . . but what good are they in terms of statuary? Put them in a museum of zoology, of anthropology, of physiology, all right: but in a museum of art, really!" In fact, the "realness" of the piece even incited anthropological and anatomical treatises to make reference to the statuette, frequently comparing the statuette to monkeys and rats. Joris-Karl Huysmans, a more sympathetic critic, recollected that at the exhibition "...one hear[d] fathers cry: "God forbid my daughter should become a dancer."

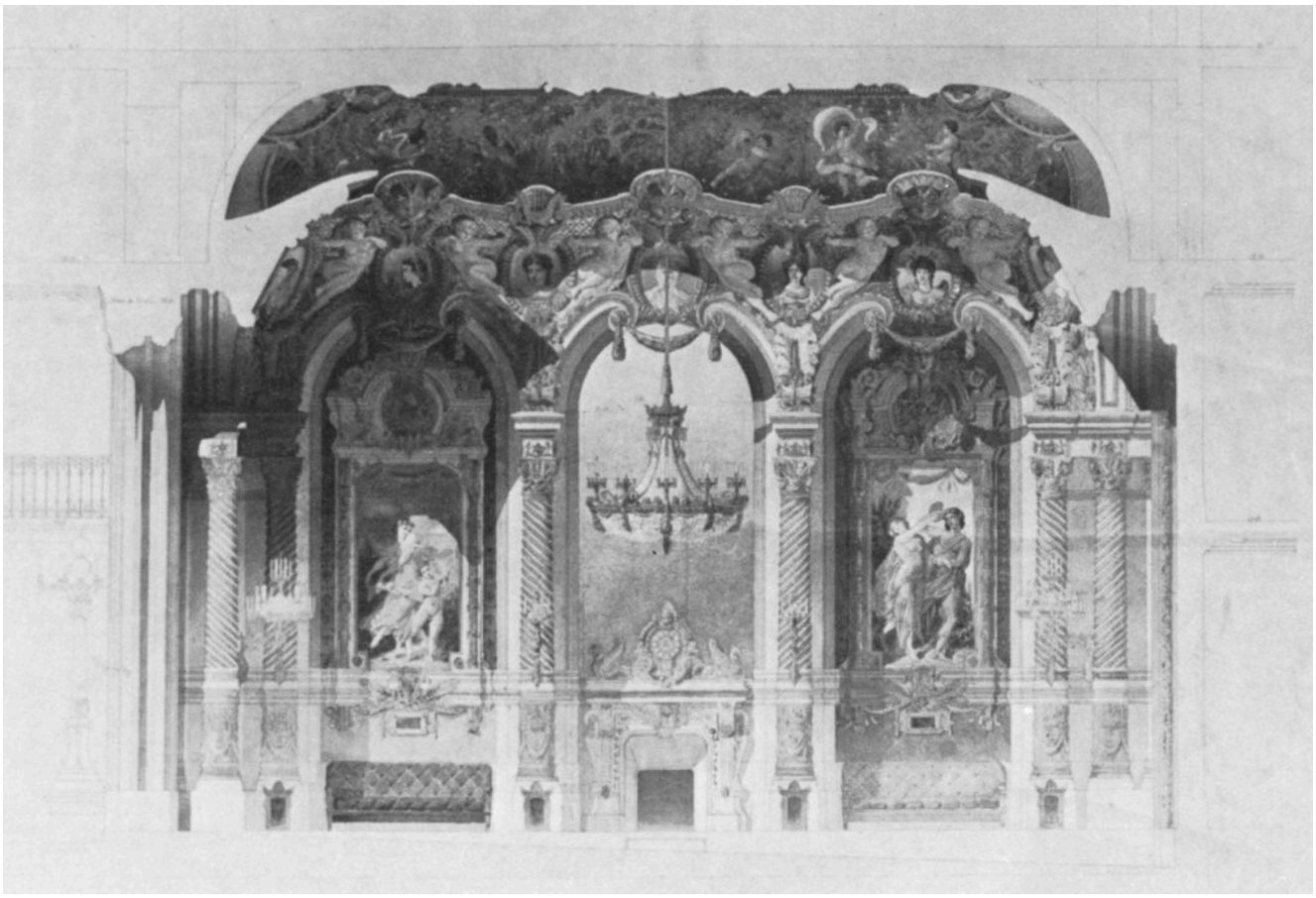
Among 19th-century observers, opinions about *The Little Dancer* were influenced by the sordidness of sexual harassment that was baked into ballet. The young girl referred to as a "monster" was one of three sisters, all training to become ballerinas and all sketched by Degas. Born to working-class Belgian parents in France, the adolescent girl, Marie van Goethem, lived near the painter's studio and attended classes at the Paris Opéra's ballet school.



Source gallica.bnf.fr / Bibliothèque nationale de France

Henri Christiani, *Petits Rats: Polka* published by Durand (Paris: Durand et Fils, 1907). Illustrations by Clérice Frères. View Source

Marie did well in her assessments and was promoted from the ranks of “petits-rats” or “flowers of the gutter” to the *corps de ballet* at fifteen. Only two years later, her frequent absences from class ended her career. It is to be surmised that Madame van Goethem, a widow working as a laundress with little money to live, had been prostituting Marie as she had done another daughter.



Charles Garnier, Elevation sketch of the 'Foyer de Danse' (located behind the stage house at the first loge level) in the Paris Opera's Palais Garnier, ca. 1863. View Source

The girls became accessible to subscribers known as the *abonnés*. These wealthy male patrons of the Opera were allowed to frequent the dance studios during rehearsals and be backstage during performances, interacting with the dancers as they pleased. For dancers, the sponsorship of an *abonné* provided benefits in terms of financial security and obtaining plum roles, despite patrons' entitlement and expectations.
The *abonnés* were so powerful that they gained a place of their own within the Opera's architectural space. When Charles Garnier designed his iconic opera house in the 1860s, he included a special separate entrance for them and a lavish room called the *foyer de la danse,* which was located behind the stage. There, ballerinas could warm up and practice while patrons socialized with them.

Ballerinas usually started as children from low-income families, hoping for better circumstances. Of the positions open to working women and children of the time, dancing was among the highest paying. It was also a very competitive field. By the time a child reached her early teens, she could earn an annual wage of 1,500 francs if she possessed an aptitude for ballet. But as a profession, it required laborious effort and immense amounts of time spent in practice studios and rehearsal halls. One can only imagine the added strain engendered by the presence of the *abonnés*



Edgar Degas, *The Star,* ca. 1876-78. Pastel on monotype. 58.4 x 42 cm. Orsay Museum, Paris. View Source

Degas depicted the ballet authentically, as he saw it: a profession that drew in talented, working-class girls, and which doubled as a brothel.

L'Étoile (*The Star*) by Degas, writes Lisa Simone Martin in "Subversion of the Gaze: Degas and the Social Implications of his Dancers" (Master's thesis, University of Missouri, 2011), is an expression of this anxiety and the discomfort the dancers faced with the constant presence of the *abonnés*.

> *L'Étoile,* depicts a performance on the stage of the Opéra. The central figure is a ballet dancer placed in the lower right corner of the painting. She is in full costume, consisting of a cream-colored leotard and tutu and adorned with bright flowers on her low-cut bodice and headdress. She is posed on one leg, graceful and theatrical. The lower picture plane is filled with the floorboards of the stage. We can

also see a common characteristic of Degas' dance works in this painting— the sloping floor. It is often debated whether this is a compositional technique that he's using or an acknowledgment of the angled or "raked" opera stage that allowed the audience to better see the action on stage.

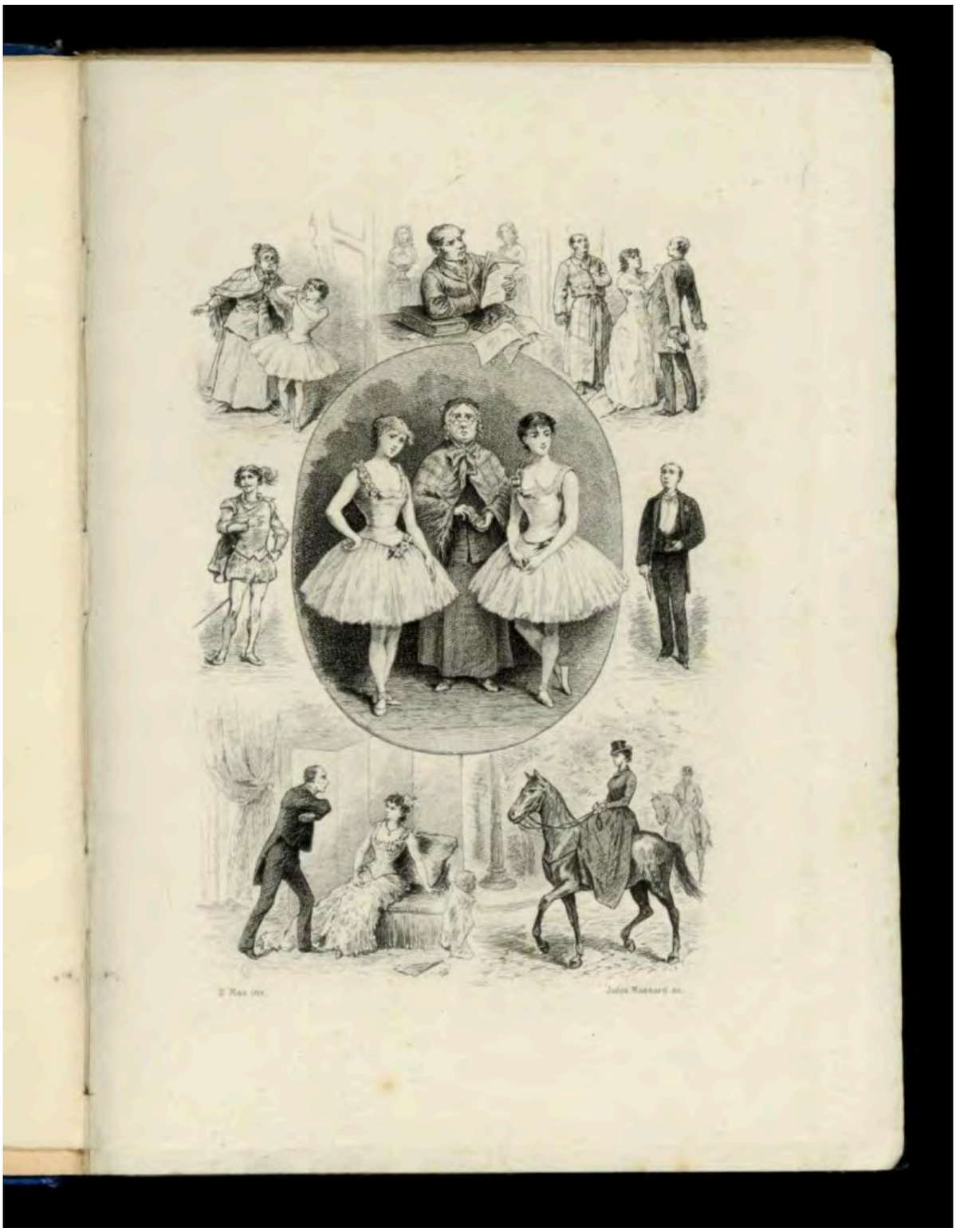
Occupying the upper half of the painting, we see the vibrant props of the opera, brushes of color representing foliage and sky. Mixed in with the stage set we see the legs of three dancers waiting in the wings to make their entrance— the various contortions of their legs and feet suggesting that they are practicing their steps as they wait. In the wings immediately to the left of the dancer, we see three-quarters of a well-dressed man intently watching the dancer. The man's face has been rendered with just a flat plane of pale color, lending a menacing aura to the observer.

This scene that Degas shows us is a clever mix of the public and private. While the eyes of the audience would have been intently focused on the dancer on the stage, the action taking place in the wings would not have been visible to them. Degas revels at exposing this artifice.



Jean Béraud, *The Wings at the Opéra,* 1889. Oil on panel. 38 x 54 cm. Musée Carnavalet, Paris. View Source

Degas's *The Star* contrasts with Jean Béraud's depiction of the *abonnés* openly propositioning the dancers in his *The Wings at the Opéra.* Unlike Degas, Béraud mingled with the high society circle that he portrayed. His style stands somewhere between the academic art of the Salon and Impressionist techniques seen in his use of light and the fluidity of his paint application.



Ludovic Halevy, *La famille Cardinal* (Paris: Calmann Lévy, 1883). Illustrations, Louis-Jules Massard. View Source

Contemporaneous writings about the subject of ballet dancers provide more insights, for example, Ludovic Halèvy's novel *La famille Cardinal* (Paris: Calmann Lévy, 1883). In it, the sisters Pauline and Virginie are unwitting pawns in the opportunistic chess game played by their horrible stage mother, Madame Cardinal, who shamelessly proffered her daughters up to wealthy gentlemen at the *foyer de la danse*.



Rita Sangalli. Photograph. Paris-Théâtre 59 (July 1874). View Source

In some cases, *foyer* affairs did end in marriage, as occurred for the ballet *étoile* Rita Sangalli who married her protector, the baron Marc de Saint-Pierre after she retired.



Edgar Degas, *Dancers Backstage,* ca. 1876-83. Oil on canvas. 24.2 x 18.8 cm. National Gallery of Art, Washington. View Source

Martin discusses Degas's painting *Dancers Backstage* in light of interactions between ballet dancers and an *abonné*:

> Here, we see an interaction between a dancer and an *abonné* on the night of a performance. The two central figures fill the bottom left corner of the painting. Slightly off-center, the ballet dancer stands dressed in an ornate pink costume with a full tutu embellished with flowers.
>
> Her facial features are obscured and delineated only by her heavy stage make-up. The dancer's eyes are cast downward and her arms are crossed protectively over her midsection. Behind her stands an abonné,

dressed in evening attire and top hat. The rest of the painting is filled with the lush green scenery of the stage set and a small section of the stage that holds a similarly dressed ballerina with her back to the viewer.

Martin quotes Annette Dixon, curator of the exhibition *The Dancer: Degas, Forain, Toulouse-Lautrec,* at the Portland Art Museum and co-author of the exhibition catalogue (2008), who describes the work as follows:

> *Dancers Backstage* is a sketchy oil in which Degas addresses the interaction between the dancer and the abonné…There is an intriguing psychological tension between the two figures. Although the man's face is in shadow, we can clearly tell that the dancer is the object of his attention. Her downward look and crossed forearms reveal that she has noticed her admirer; she may be feigning lack of interest.

Dixon concludes that the dancer's body language points to her disinterest but is, in fact a ploy meant to entice his greater desire. For Martin, however, an equally plausible explanation is that "this scene highlights the vulnerability of ballet dancers to unwanted advances from the powerful subscribers and the dancers' inability to change the situation."



Edgar Degas, *Waiting*, 1882. Pastel on paper. 48.2 x 61 cm. Norton Simon Museum at the J. Paul Getty Museum, Pasadena. View Source



Edgar Degas, *The Dance Class,* 1874. Oil on canvas. 83.2 x 76.8 cm. Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York. View Source

While an analysis of Degas's depiction of ballet as a working-class profession is central to our understanding of the darker context of the *metier*, it was not Degas's intention. Rather, his interest was in observing the movements of ballet dancers while experimenting with different media and techniques. The ballet provided Degas with a world of images compatible with his eye for beauty and his desire for realism.



Edgar Degas, *The Rehearsal,* 1873. Oil on canvas. 45.8 cm x 61 cm. Fogg Art Museum, Cambridge, Massachusetts. View Source

Degas's series of classroom and rehearsal scenes begun in the early 1870s focused on the dancers' daily routines. Jill DeVonyar and Richard Kendall in *Degas and the Dance* (New York: Harry N. Abrams, 2002) have shown that Degas's drawings and paintings demonstrate his considerable effort to learn ballet techniques and movements. For example, four of the ballet dancers are practicing the *battements à la seconde* in *The Rehearsal*. A close-up view of the painting reveals the reference lines Degas has used to ensure the correct position of the dancer's body.



Edgar Degas, *Two Dancers Entering the Stage,* ca.1877-78. Pastel over monotype in black ink on white modern laid paper. 38.1 x 35 cm. Harvard University Art Museums, Cambridge. View Source

Shelley Fletcher and Pia Desantis provide an analysis of his *Two Dancers Entering the Stage* in "Degas: The Search for His Technique Continues" (*Burlington Magazine* 131, no. 1033 (1989): 256–65):

> *Two Dancers Entering the Stage* was completed during the middle of the 1870s, a fecund and transitional period in Degas's oeuvre when he was moving away from the conservative style and traditional techniques of his early career. The work was executed over a monotype. Wetted pastel was applied over the monotype. In the final layers of colour … Degas applied the pastel …perhaps combining wetted pastel and tempera over what initially was a dry pastel drawing over monotype. He may have simply moistened the pastel drawing stick in some before drawing with it. In others he possibly crushed the pastel, dispersed it in an aqueous medium, and applied it with a brush.



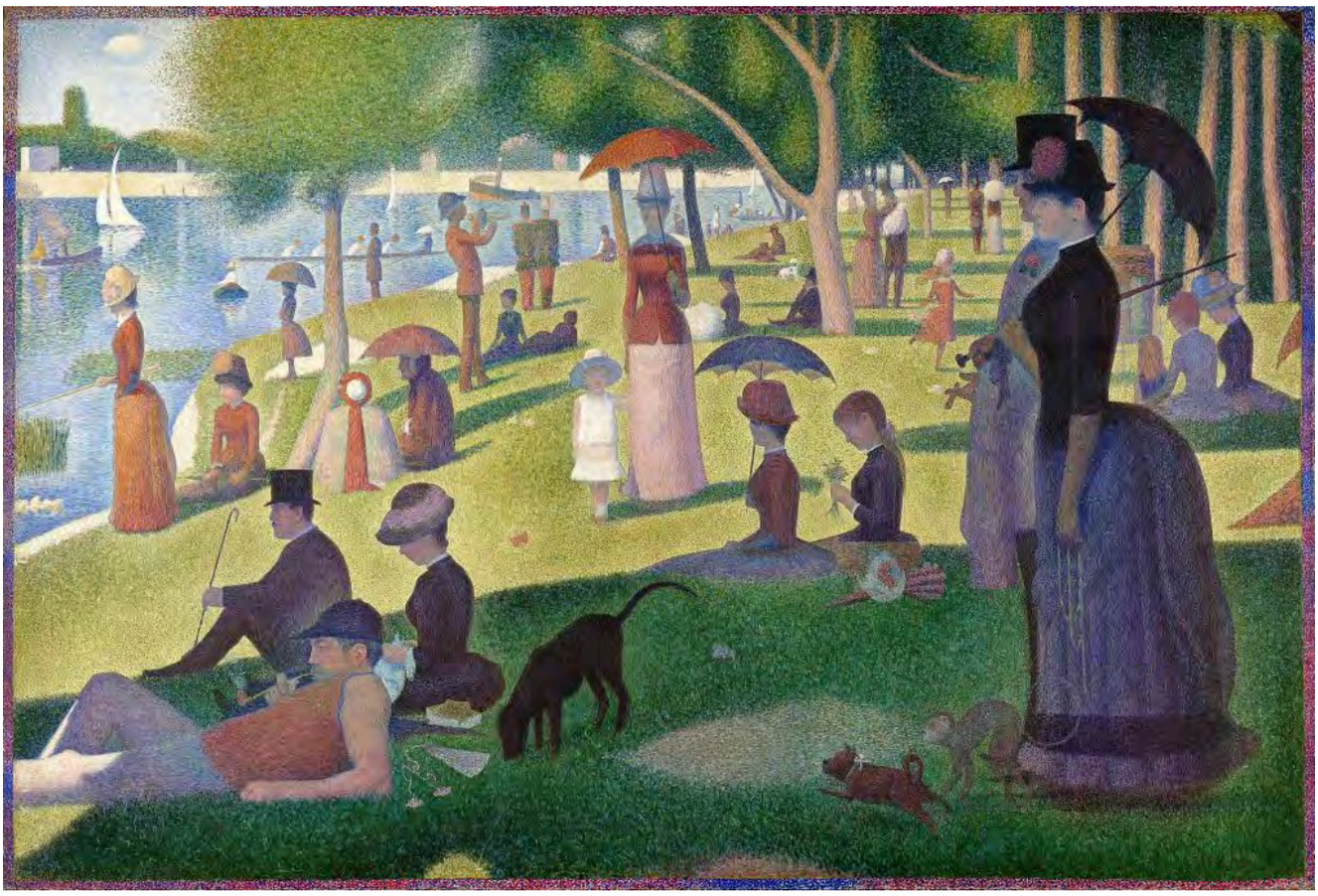
Edgar Degas, *Dancers, Pink and* ca. 1890. Oil on canvas. 82.2 x 75.6 cm. Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York. View Source

The Metropolitan Museum online entry also describes Degas's technique for the oil painting *Dancers, Pink and Green*:

> The heavily impastoed surface suggests that Degas worked directly and extensively on this picture, building up passages of oil paint with brushes and his fingers. By mixing his colors with white to make them opaque, and by applying his pigments thickly and in several layers, he approximated the pastel technique that he had perfected in the 1880s.

3.12
| Georges Seurat's *Poseuses,* and Pictorial Politics

Beyond the world of entertainment establishments, prostitution was rampant also in mundane spaces of leisure, such as the island of La Grande Jatte on the Seine, where the elite gathered on Sundays.



Georges Seurat, *A Sunday Afternoon on the Island of La Grande Jatte,* ca. 1884-86. Oil on canvas. 207.5 x 308.1 cm. Art Institute of Chicago, Chicago. View Source

The casual atmosphere of "the island of love," as it was sometimes referred to, allowed prostitutes to easily mingle among potential male customers, a fact that would have been commonly known by artists such as Georges Seurat when he painted *A Sunday Afternoon on the Island of La Grande Jatte* in 1884-86.



Georges Seurat, *A Woman Fishing*, 1884. Conté crayon. 30.8 x 23.8 cm. Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York. View Source

A figure seen on the left of *La Grande Jatte* solidifies this understanding of the *Île de la Grande Jatte* in the mind of the viewer. Along the bank of the river, a woman fishes. In the popular culture of the nineteenth century, it was common to remark that prostitutes "fished" for lovers.

La Grande Jatte is an enormous painting of the green landscape at the river's edge. It is a scene of calm and leisure beneath a sunny sky. Individuals, couples, and groups spread out over the park expanse, dogs and a monkey among them, and boats floating on the water in the distance. Yet the work was immediately critiqued for its lack of convincing realism, particularly regarding the figures.



Georges Seurat, *Models,* ca. 1886-88. Oil on canvas. 200 x 249.9 cm. Barnes Foundation, Philadelphia. View Source

In response, Seurat presented another painting, the *Poseuses*, which shows a single model in three different poses beside a replica of *Sunday Afternoon*. On the most obvious level, he was implying that the naked model in the *Poseuses* was the same model pictured in contemporary dress in *La Grande Jatte*, only undressed for her work in the studio. He presented her as a worker who, like himself, was a wage earner, underscoring the contrast between reality and her imaged representation in an artificial landscape painting meant for public consumption.

Linda Nochlin in "Body Politics: Seurat's *Poseuses*" (*Art in America* 82 no. 3 (March 1994): 70-7, 121, 123) suggests that this work was a progressive "unseductive" image of the working woman. Nochlin explains that while, at first glance, the *Poseuses* seem to be a traditional trope of the nude model in the studio, it was a slyly subversive work.



Raphael, *The Three Graces,* 1504. Oil on panel.17 x 17 cm. Condé Museum, Chantilly. View Source



Antonio Canova, *The Three Graces* , ca. 1814 – 17. Carved marble. 173 x 97.2 x 75 cm. Victoria and Albert Museum, London.
View Source

The models are demystified; their only nod to the past is Seurat's iconographic appropriation of the front, side and back views of *The Three Graces*, a common theme in art history. The motif derives from ancient Greek literature, the three daughters of Zeus. Each of them bestows a gift on humanity: (from left to right) Euphrosyne (mirth), Aglaia (elegance) and Thalia (youth and beauty).

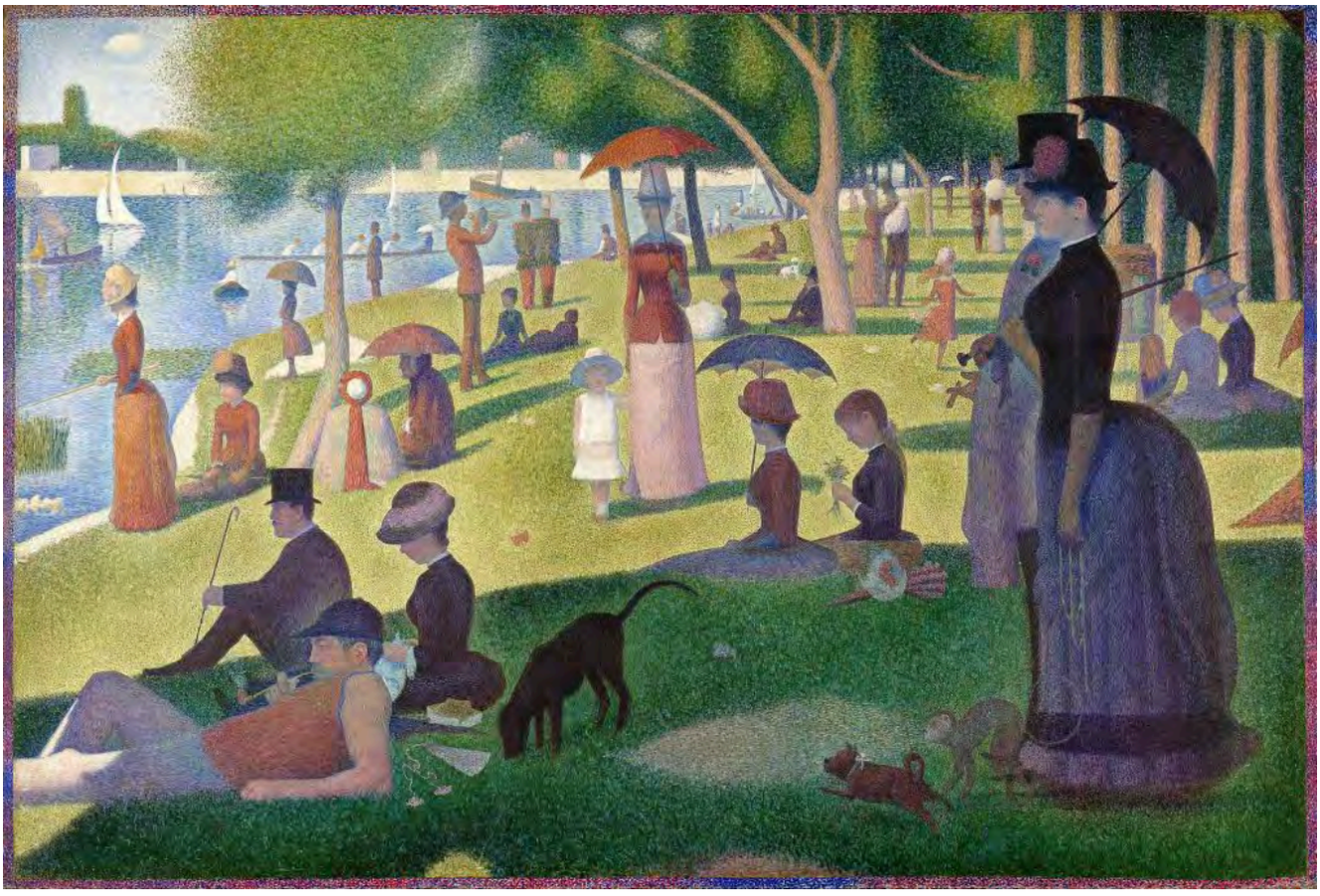


Georges Seurat, *Models* , ca. 1886-88. Oil on canvas. 200 x 249.9 cm. Barnes Foundation, Philadelphia. View Source

Veronica Caitlin Nowlin, in "The Models' Mortality: A Study of Seurat's *Les Poseuses*" (Master's thesis, Temple University 2014), adds another dimension to the interpretation of this work. In chapter one of "*Les Poseuses* as a Modernization of the Other," Nowlin explores the ethnicity of one of the models:

> It was a widely held belief that posing nude before an artist ... was an inherent advertisement of sexual availability and that the profession as a whole led to complete moral deterioration. Race also played a role in popular culture's perception of these women as, more often than not, they were also immigrants or identified as different from the typical French individual due to their ethnicity and/or skin color.
>
> It is important to understand the perception of Jews as a modern Other in nineteenth-century France as the central figure in *Les Poseuses* has often been identified as a *modèle juive*. Gustave Kahn, who was a friend of the artist and an owner of the painting after his death, was a Jew himself and became quite taken with the central model in *Les Poseuses*. Her frontality means that she is the only one of Seurat's three figures whose ethnicity can be addressed in any real capacity. When *Les Poseuses* was first exhibited in 1888, Kahn wrote that the woman possessed a "tête Juive," meaning a Jewish head, "beneath a coiffure of black hair."

Having established a connection between *La Grande Jatte* and *Les Poseuses* that acknowledges the women's status as working-class, it is time to consider their social status and public perception in nineteenth-century France. Models were widely discriminated against in Seurat's lifetime and were often suspected of being sexually promiscuous.



Georges Seurat, *A Sunday Afternoon on the Island of La Grande Jatte*, ca. 1884 – 86. Oil on canvas. 207.5 x 308.1 cm. Art Institute of Chicago, Chicago. View Source

Hollis Clayson notes the crucial yet overlooked gender aspect of *Grande Jatte* (S. Hollis Clayson, "The Family and the Father: The *Grand Jatte* and its Absences," *Readings in Nineteenth-Century Art*, edited by Janis Tomlinson (Upper Saddle River: Prentice Hall, 1996), 222 -223.
Clayson writes:

> The large couple profiled at the right of the painting furnishes the most explicit deviation from the prescribed mode of family behavior. From the painting's first showing in 1886, the female figure with the large bustle and the monkey has been identified as a loose woman (*cocotte*). She and her dandified man may be a husband and father spending the day with a woman who flaunts her disregard for society's maternal script. The right half of the picture, with its troupe of women flanking the foreground couple, seems to have been structured to emphasize the *cocotte*'s defiance of bourgeois ethics. The constraints upon the close-knit group of women and children sitting on the grass at the right are further reinforced by the dandy's cane, which hems in and sharply delimits their space. And the general fragility of family-based social relations seems to be expressed in the way that the clusters of women doing their best to oversee children while enjoying the park appear overwhelmed by the size, placement, volume, and darker tonality of the foreground couple.
>
> The woman with the monkey is the moral opposite of the mother. As such she poses problems for men, as well as for women and children. She all but obscures her companion, and, placed as she is directly in the path of the little girl in red running across the grass, she becomes an ominous obstacle to 'innocence.' Because the composition seems to emphasize the vulnerability of unaccompanied women and children, and because the picture's population of leisure-seekers does not conform to normative patterns, we might ask just what Seurat had in mind concerning the Sundays of his day.
>
> Certainly Seurat's painting of the Sunday rituals of relaxation among the lower middle classes went against the grain of the practices of his own [bourgeois] family. The image also opposes the moralists' campaign for correct leisure, because it resists presenting the family as a bounded universe that guarantees society's coherence and stability. At the same time, the fracturing of the family and the

> coexistence with strangers visible in the picture are not shown as emotional or psychological gains for these Parisians. Their release from family ties has won them freedom, but at a cost: it is freedom without relaxation, without apparent fun, without meaningful connections to one another.

Linda Nochlin provides another interpretation in "Seurat's Grande Jatte: An Anti-Utopian Allegory" (*Art Institute of Chicago Museum Studies* 14, no. 2 (1989): 133–242):

> In Seurat's painting, there is almost no interaction between the figures, no sense of them as articulate, unique, and full human presences. The Western tradition of representation has been undermined, if not nullified, here by a dominant language that is resolutely anti-expressive, rejecting the notion of a hidden inner meaning to be externalized by the artist. Rather, in these machine-turned profiles, defined by regularized dots, we may discover coded references to modern science, to modern industry with its mass production, to the department store with its cheap and multiple copies, to the mass press with its endless pictorial reproductions. In short there is here a critical sense of modernity embodied in sardonic, decorative invention and in the emphatic, even over-emphatic, contemporaneity of costumes and accoutrements.

Seurat's *Grand Jatte* is significant not only for its subject but also for its painting mode. The artist approached paint application in a revolutionary new way. The strict application of tiny dots of colour on a surface relied on the viewer's perceptive abilities to translate the spots into fuller ranges of colours and tones.

William Innes Homer considers Seurat's use of colour in *La Grande Jatte* (*Seurat and the Science of Painting* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1964), 150):

> It should be noted that earth colors and black were eliminated from Seurat's palette in favor of hues derived only from the solar spectrum. In taking this step he followed the dicta of modern physics concerning the composition of light. [Ogden] Rood, as well as [Michel] Chevreul and [Charles] Blanc, had summarized Newton's experiments showing that white light, when passed through a prism, was subdivided into all of the colors of the visible spectrum, which, of course, did not include earth colors or black. Considering the Neo-Impressionists' aim of recreating nature's brightness through the optimal mixture of hues, it is logical to expect them to eliminate any elements that might interfere with the purity and intensity of their colors.

It is important to reiterate that artists of the avant-garde, such as Manet, Degas, Toulouse-Lautrec and Seurat, whose works engaged with the subject of female labour and prostitution were primarily looking at the phenomenon through a particular lens. The theme was significant in its symbolism of a Paris transformed by the shifting winds of social change. Neither the highly polished art of the academy nor the photographic qualities of realism suited their purpose. Instead, their paintings, pastels, and monotypes attempted to capture the innovatory events of an ever-changing metropolis and the vastly altered experiences of everyday life, and to do so in an equally revolutionary artistic style.



View Source

Prostitution as an avant-garde theme became much less prevalent in the 1890s and 1900s because of the decline in prostitution in Paris. Clayson in the chapter of *Painted Love* entitled "Painting in the Traffic of Women" writes:

> But as the prostitute became a mainstay, if not a cliché, of avant-garde focus in the 1890s and early 1900s, the social problem posed by prostitutes in Paris was withering away because of a decline in their number. The disappearance of the problem was principally the result of social and economic changes that followed the first phases of industrialization: an increased demand for female labor, a general lowering of the age of marriage (there were more marriages and fewer consensual unions), a rise in standards of living, and changing family strategies (improved contraception helped limit the number of children). These changes in French private life partially explain why late nineteenth-century and early twentieth-century images of the prostitute are almost invariably interior scenes. No longer conceived as a social or public issue, the theme became associated instead with privatized experience and libertine fantasy.

Chapter Four

BERTHE MORISOT, MARY CASSATT & The Affluent Woman's World



Berthe Morisot, *The Psyche Mirror*, 1876. Oil on canvas. 65 x 54 cm. Thyssen-Bornemisza Museum, Madrid. View Source

CONTENTS

Introduction

BERTHE MORISOT

4.1

Public Debut

4.2

Fashionable Subjects

4.3

Sisterhood

4.4

Familiar Subjects

4.5

The Space Between

4.6

Painting *en plein air*

4.7

Les Liseuses

4.8

Visualizing Motherhood

4.9

Looking Female

MARY CASSATT

4.10

An American in Paris

4.11

Modern Attitudes

4.12

Femininity and the Gaze

4..13

Reimagining Motherhood

4.14

New Perspectives

4.15

Picturing Children

4.16

The Language of Prints

4.17

The “Modern Woman”

4.18

The Suffrage Exhibition

INTRODUCTION

Women artists entered the professional sphere of artistic activity during the latter half of the 19th century, despite facing social barriers that limited their access to formal art education and hindered the meaningful recognition of their achievements. Factors such as class, economic considerations, and societal expectations, which confined women to domestic roles, significantly shaped the opportunities available to female artists.

Berthe Morisot and Mary Cassatt played pivotal roles in the professionalization of women artists, overcoming societal challenges to contribute significantly to the French Impressionist movement. As key members of the avant-garde, they faced obstacles shared by many artists of their time, especially women, in their pursuit of artistic careers. The influence of Morisot and Cassatt on the development of modernist ideals and their lasting legacies in artistic innovation are considerable and cannot be understated.

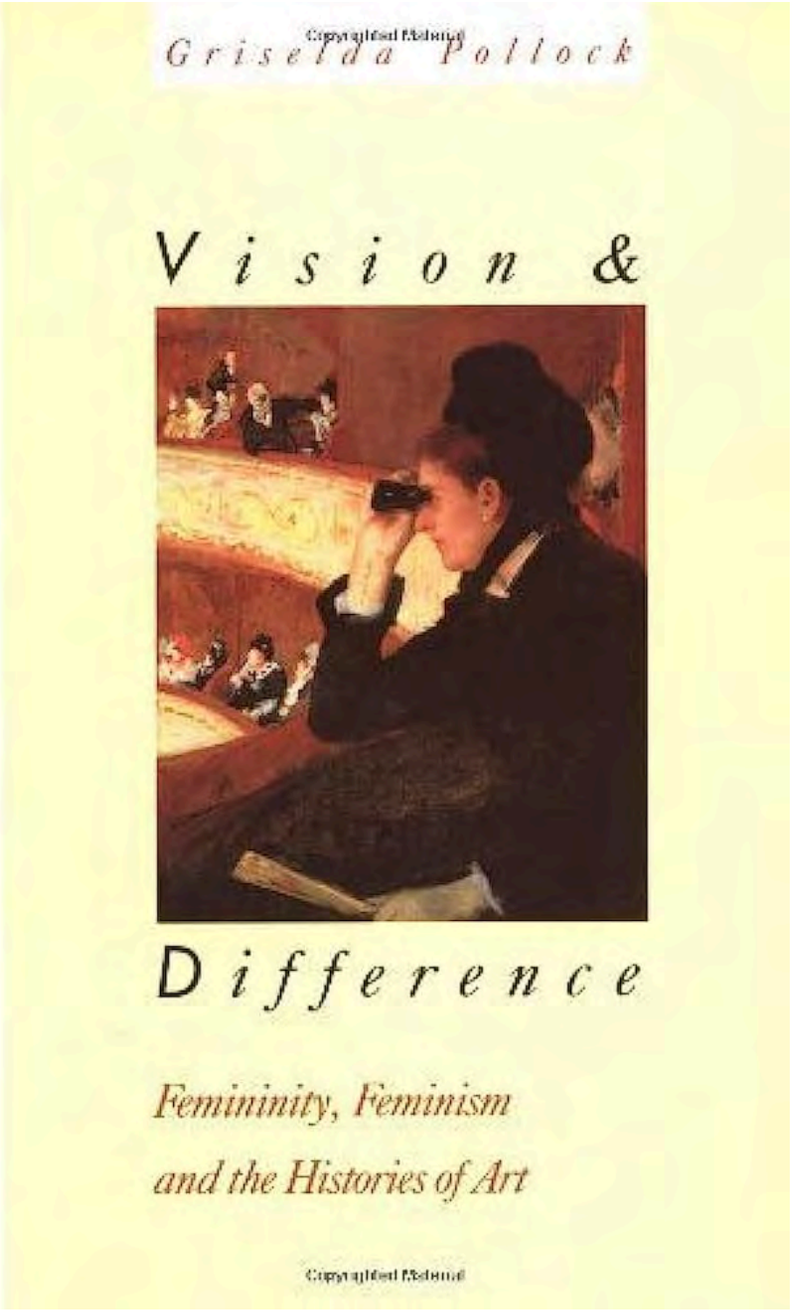


Berthe Morisot, *Self-Portrait* , 1885. Oil on canvas. 50 x 61 cm. Musée Marmottan Monet, Paris. View Source



Mary Cassatt, *Self-Portrait,* ca. 1880. Gouache and watercolour over graphite on paper. 32.7 x 24.6 cm. National Portrait Gallery, Washington. View Source

Women artists' lived experiences contrasted significantly with men's, who freely engaged with the public sphere of commerce and social exchange. The dichotomy of gendered spaces not only impacted women's social mobility, but also influenced what and how they painted.



Griselda Pollock, *Vision and Difference: Femininity, Feminism and the Histories of Art* (London and New York: Routledge, 1988). View Source

As Griselda Pollock has asserted in "Modernity and the Spaces of Femininity" (*Vision and Difference: Femininity, Feminism and the Histories of Art,* 50-51), it is only through a consideration of the historical asymmetry between the social and economic realities of men and women in late nineteenth century Paris, that the relationship between sexuality, modernity and modernism can be understood. "This difference—the product of the social structuration of sexual difference and not any imaginary biological distinction—determined both what and how men and women painted." Pollock further asserts that it is through the matrix of space that the socially contrived orders of sexual difference may ideally be analyzed. She writes, "Space can be grasped in several dimensions. The first refers us to spaces as locations. What spaces are represented in the paintings made by Berthe Morisot and Mary Cassatt? And what are not? The majority of these have to be recognized as examples of private areas or domestic space."



Berthe Morisot, *The Harbor at Lorient,* 1869. Oil on canvas. 43 x 72 cm. National Gallery of Art, Washington. View Source



Mary Cassatt, *Woman with a Pearl Necklace in a Loge*, 1879. Oil on canvas. 81.3 x 59.7 cm. Philadelphia Museum of Art, Philadelphia. View Source

Morisot and Cassatt painted mainly domestic interiors, but their images of public places and recreational venues such as the theatre, the park promenade, and the boating party, may be equally regarded as private spaces of the bourgeoisie. The radically evolving urban world of cafés, bars, and brothels, which provided their male counterparts with more modern subjects, remained off-limits. Yet despite their more narrow repertoire of subjects, Morisot and Cassatt fully exploited the domestic imagery available to them, creating complex works that often reflected their struggle with the shifting identities experienced by women as female artists entering the public, professional realm.

BERTHE MORISOT

4.1
| Public Debut

Berthe Morisot was born in Bourges to an upper-middle-class family. Her father, Edmé Tiburce Morisot, was a court official and her mother, Marie-Joséphine-Cornélie Thomas, was the great-niece of the Rococo painter Jean-Honoré Fragonard. In 1852, the family moved to Paris, to the area of Passy where Morisot would spend most of her life. As bourgeois young girls, it was *de rigeur* that Berthe and her sisters would receive artistic instruction. Visual art study became a significant part of Morisot's upbringing, beginning with private lessons with Geoffroy-Alphonse Chocarne and then Joseph Guichard, who recognized Berthe and her elder sister Edma's talents and suggested they look to professional careers—which was unheard of for women at the time. Guichard was instrumental in Berthe's introduction to the Parisian art scene, and by 1864 she had made her public entry into the prestigious Paris Salon, becoming a regular contributor to the annual exhibitions for over a decade.



Berthe Morisot, ca. 1841 – 1895. View Source

Apart from their private instruction, Berthe and Edma were registered at the Louvre as copyists as early as 1857, participating in the form of art study that allowed professional copyists, established artists, amateurs, and students an opportunity to learn by emulating old master paintings. This practice was invaluable to aspiring female artists who were excluded from academic instruction until 1897, unlike their male counterparts, including the free classes offered by the state-sponsored École des Beaux-Arts. Working at the Louvre also benefitted young women socially, offering rare public interaction with peers of the opposite sex, albeit under the strict watch of the ever-present chaperone.



Édouard Manet, *The Balcony,* ca. 1868 – 69. Oil on canvas. 170 x 124.5 cm. Musée d'Orsay, Paris. View Source

It was at the Louvre in 1867 that Morisot and Edouard Manet were introduced to one another by the painter Henri Fantin-Latour. Even though Manet was a married man, they went on to develop an intense personal and professional relationship, Morisot soon replacing Victorine Meurent as Manet's primary muse. She boldly accepted his invitation to pose for *The Balcony* in 1868 and was the model for over a dozen works over the next six years.



Édouard Manet, *Berthe Morisot with a Bouquet of Violets* , 1872. Oil on canvas. 50 x 40 cm. Musée d'Orsay , Paris. View Source



Édouard Manet, *Repose*, 1871. Oil on canvas. 150.2 x 114 cm. Rhode Island School of Design Museum, Providence. View Source

The suggestion that Manet and Morisot's long-lasting friendship bordered on love is supported by Manet's intimate portraits of her and the letters she wrote about him. But it is a doubtful possibility, given the sheltered reality of bourgeois young ladies of the day.

In his discerning portraits of Morisot, Manet captured her conflicted persona. Drawn to her intellect and appearance, his images of her suggest an empathic awareness of the personal and professional struggles she likely experienced. However his comment to a mutual friend, Henri Fantin-Latour, in 1868, the year they met, was slighting: "I agree with you, the demoiselles Morisot are charming. It's too bad they're not men.

Nonetheless, they might as women serve the cause of painting by each marrying an academician and sowing strife in the camp of those old fellows."

By the time Morisot befriended Manet, she had already exhibited her work at several annual exhibitions held by the Paris Salon, debuting with two pieces at only 23. She continued to exhibit at subsequent Salons until the mid-70s when she became involved with the young counter-culture artists orbiting Manet, who would later be known as the Impressionists. Morisot was the only female founding member of the group, sharing in the early controversy they attracted for their stylistically unorthodox paintings. She was there with them at the first Salon des Refusés, the subversive show of avant-garde works when *Le Figaro*'s Albert Wolff referred to them as "five or six lunatics of which one is a woman... whose feminine grace is maintained amid the outpourings of a delirious mind." These same artists constituted the core membership of the early movement, Edgar Degas, Claude Monet, Camille Pissarro, Pierre-Auguste Renoir, Alfred Sisley, and Berthe Morisot.

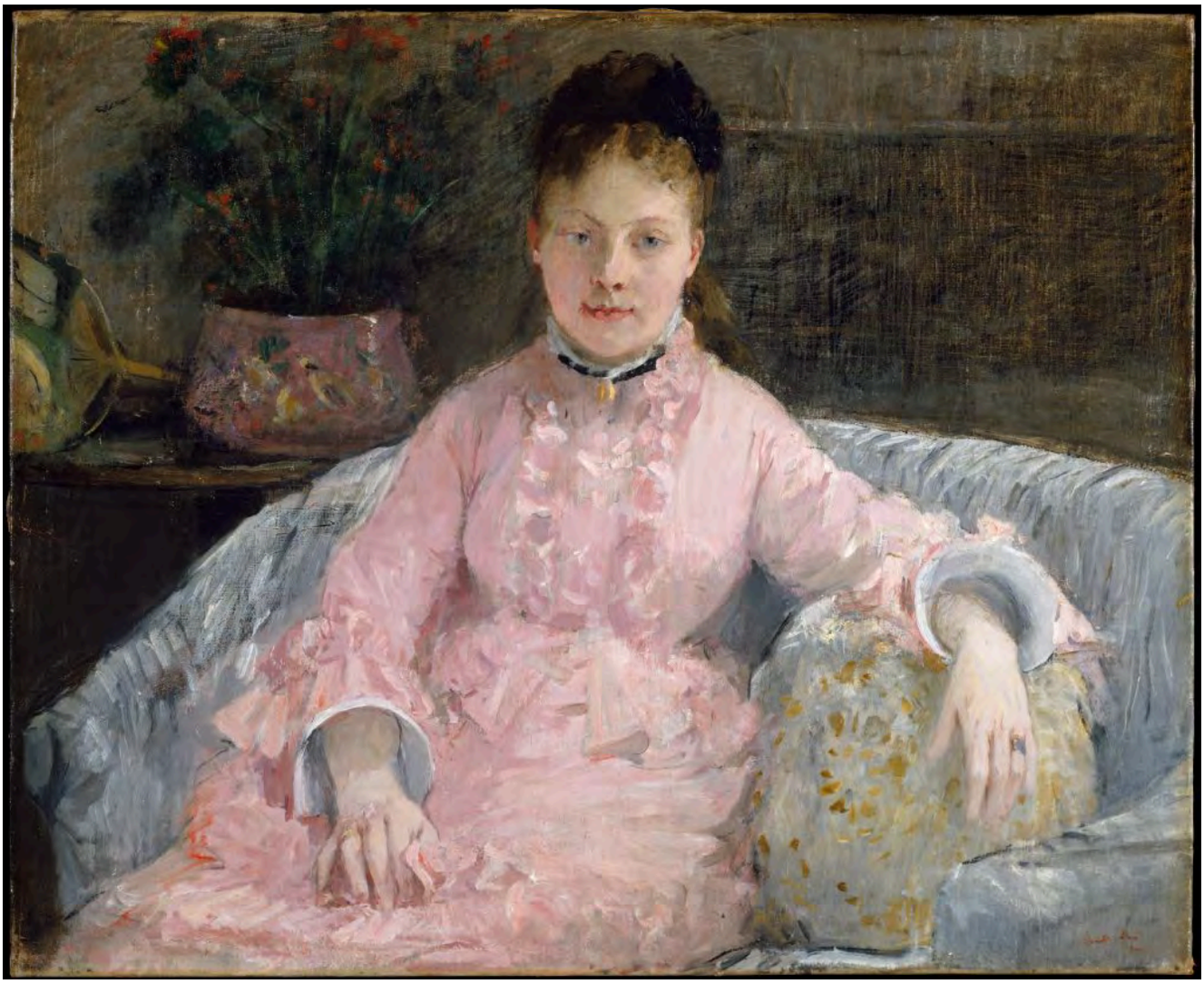
As a movement, Impressionism situated itself in opposition to the rigid academic dictates of style and content. Artists associated with the group, including Cassatt, and Caillebotte slightly later, shared an interest in the ephemeral, impermanent depiction of modern life. Their conception of modernity included a belief in an artist's free agency. They did not seek the sanction of institutions or the state and offered opportunities to those traditionally marginalized by them, namely women.

4.2
| Fashionable Subjects

Berthe Morisot's choice of subject matter aligned with the Impressionist emphasis on portraying everyday life. She drew inspiration from the world she knew, the world of women, providing a unique perspective on modernity. While some critics initially viewed her images as superficial and thematically innocuous, a "mere expression of her gender," they are now recognized as valuable representations of a new urban bourgeois lifestyle. Morisot's works are considered radical in style, standing alongside those of her male peers within the Impressionist movement. Their intentionally sketch-like execution and their unfinished appearance render them modern, "they address the temporality of representation itself in a careful capture of the world that attempts to 'fix something of the passing moment.'" (Berthe Morisot: Woman Impressionist, October 21, 2018 – January 14, 2019, exhibition, https://www.barnesfoundation.org/whats-on/morisot)



Berthe Morisot, *Two Sisters* , 1869. Oil on canvas. 52.1 x 81.3 cm. National Gallery of Art. View Source



Berthe Morisot. *The Pink Dress (Albertie – Marguerite Carré, later Madame Ferdinand – Henri Himmes),* ca. 1870. Oil on canvas. 54.6 x 67.3 cm. Metropolitan Museum of Art. View Source



Berthe Morisot, *The Butterfly Hunt*, 1874. Oil on canvas. 46 cm x 56 cm. Musée d'Orsay. View Source

In Berthe Morisot's works, fashionable attire serves as a significant element reflecting the social function of women during that time. Clothing played a crucial role in shaping women's identity and defining femininity, as well as indicating their social status. Morisot's depictions of contemporary women's lives include a keen attention to the details of fashionable dress, capturing the styles and trends of the period. Through her art, Morisot not only portrayed scenes of everyday life but also contributed to the visual documentation of evolving fashion and its impact on women's experiences in the late 19th century.

Morisot's modishness drew her to the latest designs from the Paris fashion houses and the increasing number of printed fashion magazines available to everyone. From the 1830s through the 1890s, magazines targeting a female audience included black and white engravings on almost every page. Expensive editions included two to three full-page hand-coloured plates. In France, *La Mode illustré* enjoyed a circulation of 40,000 in 1866 and 100,000 in 1890. Every virtue had its dress, every affection its token, each body its type of corset. In addition, the fashionable magazine models were set in familiar domestic spaces, evoking rituals of the home and underscoring the notion that female identity was a social construct.



"Toilettes de Mme Bréant – Castet, 6, rue Gluck," *La Mode illustrée*, no. 3 (1882). View Source

Morisot was inspired by the fashion plates of journals such as *La Mode illustrée*, their up-to-the-minute dress designs, the models' poses, the well-staged settings and sometimes even their compositional arrangements.



La famille: Voyages, Romans, Modes, Musique, Beaux-Arts, Actualités, etc., 1890. Bibliothèque nationale, Paris. View Source



"Costume Parisien: Coiffure ornée d'une f lèche et d'un peigne renversé," *Journal des dames et des modes* (Year 11 , November 6, 1 807): 69 View Source

The French journals *La Famille* and *Journal des dames et des modes* were intended for upper-status female readers. Their illustrations were meant to affirm women's lives by showing them pictures of 'themselves,' their actual lives, and their aspirations. They informed on fashion, sewing, embroidery and household management and published snippets of cultural news and social gossip. They also contained do-it-yourself guides for the artistically accomplished *femmes au foyer* helping them hone their skills within the seclusion of their home.

Tamar Garb argues in "*L'art féminin*: The Formation of a Critical Category in Late Nineteenth-century France" (*Art History* 12 (March 1989): 39-65), "... despite its avowed hostility to political feminism, for *La Famille* at least the figure of the woman artist did not remain, exclusively, the caricature of the fashion illustration. As the reproduction of women's work on its covers testifies, there was a serious level on which the professional woman artist could be accommodated."



"Les modes de la saison," *Journal Illustré de la Famille,* no. 22 (1880). View Source

Fashion magazines provided illustrators with ample work opportunities, and the genre developed a distinctive style.



Héloïse Colin, and Adele – Anais Toudouze, *Portraits d'Héloïse et Anaïs Colin, par Elles – Mêmes,* 1836. Oil on canvas. 59 x 46 cm. Musée Histoire de Paris Carnavalet, Paris. View Source

Jules David, Comte Calix, and the Colin sisters, Adele-Anaïs Colin Toudouze and Héloïse Suzanne Colin, also known as Héloïse Leloir, for decades dominated fashion illustration and inspired painters.



Héloïse Leloir, *Illustration for a French Fashion Magazine,* ca. 1862. Watercolour. 28.2 x 22.5 cm. Metropolitan Museum of Art , New York. View Source



Adèle – Anaïs Toudouze, “Toilettes de Mme Breant – Castel, 28, r. Nve, des Pts. Champs,” *La Mode illustrée*, no. 51, 1869. Hand-coloured lithograph . 37.8 x 26.9 cm. Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York. View Source

4.3
| Sisterhood

Impressionist paintings of women by women provide a critical lens through which to examine the motivations of Morisot, Cassatt and others. The portrayal of of the 'intimate moments' shared by sisters, mothers, aunts, and friends in these artworks allows us to go beyond the surface representation of women and explore the painter's female gaze. For female artists like Morisot, these intimate scenes became a means of interrogating their self-identity. Through their art, they could navigate the complex interplay between their public and private selves, offering viewers a glimpse into the nuanced aspects of women's lives during that era.



Edma Morisot, *Berthe Morisot,* ca. 1865. Oil on canvas. 100 x 71 cm. Private collection. View Source

Morisot's sense of self was deeply entwined in her relationship with her sister Edma. They were constant companions until Edma's marriage in 1869. An ethic of care and responsibility characterized their bond, which is discernible in Berthe's portraits of Edma over the decades. Through their supportive relationship, Berthe struggled to establish an art career while her sister sought and found contentment in marriage.

Edma to Berthe, March 15, 1869:

“I am often with you, my dear Berthe. In my thoughts I follow you about your studio, and I wish that I could escape were it only for a quarter of an hour to breathe that air in which we lived for many long years.”

Berthe to Edma:

“This painting, this that you mourn for, is the cause of many griefs and many troubles. You know it as well as I do. Come now, the lot you have chosen is not the worst one. You have a serious attachment and a man’s heart devoted to you. Do not revile your fate. Remember that it is sad to be alone; despite anything that might be said or done, a woman has an immense need of affection.”

Edma’s mourning of her art practice was not without cause. Her artistic promise was equal to that of Berthe. They both studied and practiced art, and when Berthe’s portrait was painted, they were poised to exhibit at the annual Paris Salon for a second time.

The painting of Berthe shows competence and sensitivity, capturing the likeness and seriousness of the young artist at work. She is shown at her easel, her palette and brushes in hand. The painting is dark, but light strategically illuminates Morisot’s face and right hand, which holds a brush and painting materials. Her focused attention on her work displays her commitment and predicts the making of a professional artist.

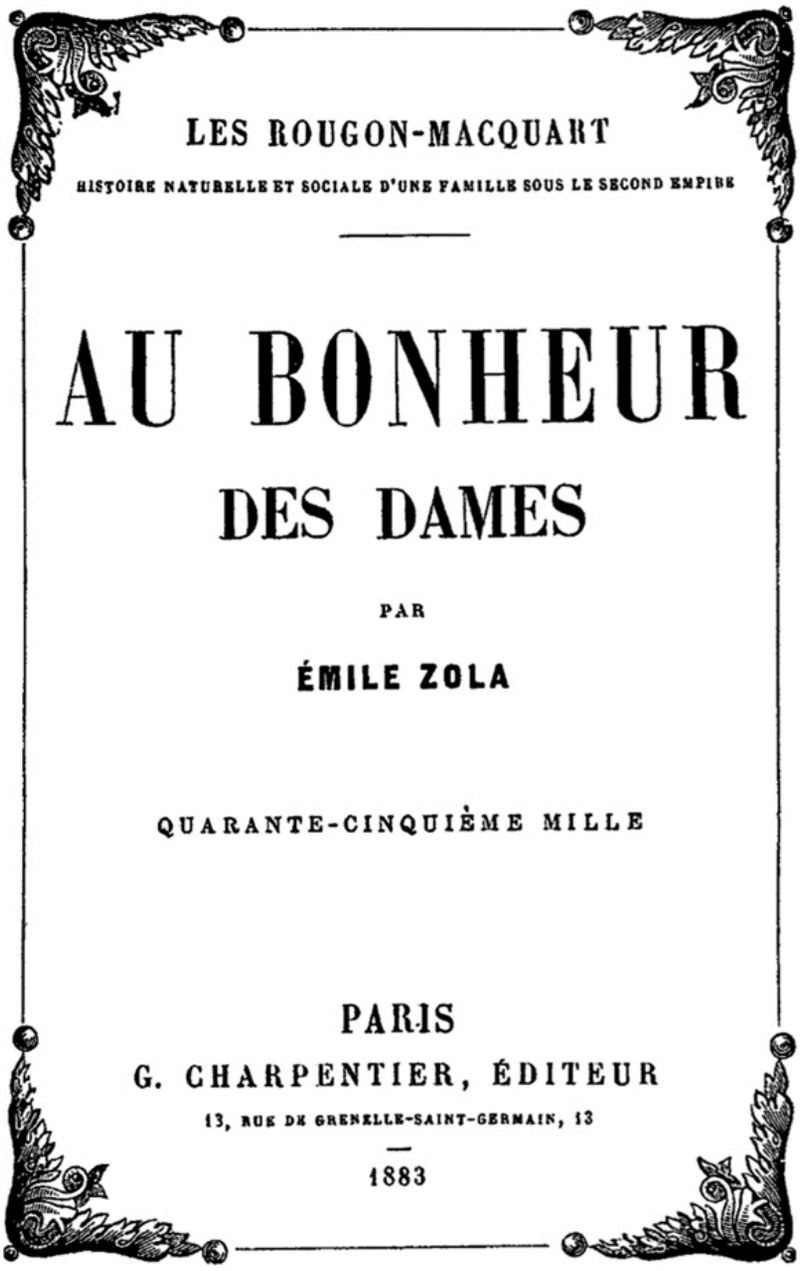
4.4
| Familiar Subjects

Berthe Morisot’s depictions of intimate female spaces within her Impressionist paintings not only capture the relationships and activities of women but also provide insights into the material culture and objects that defined these spaces. The choice of objects, such as porcelain vases, cups, silver tea sets, stuffed sofas, window draperies, and ornate planters, reflects the femininity associated with these domestic settings.

The careful attention to the women’s garments, adorned with lace, flowers, and fans, further reinforces the gendered nature of these scenes. Through these details, Morisot not only portrayed the people but also the elements that contributed to the construction of a distinctly feminine environment. The inclusion of such objects and accessories adds layers of meaning to her paintings, offering viewers a visual vocabulary to understand the gendered aspects of late 19th-century domestic life



Berthe Morisot, *Portrait of the Artist's Mother and Sister*, ca. 1869 – 70. Oil on canvas. 81.8 x 101 cm. National Gallery of Art, Washington. View Source



Émile Zola, *Au bonheur des dames* (Paris: G. Charpentier, 1883). View Source

rien savoir, pour l'employer ainsi auprès du baron, en affectant de le considérer simplement comme un vieil ami à elle. Mais il lui tenait toujours la main, il l'appelait sa bonne Henriette, et elle sentit son cœur se fondre. Silencieusement, elle tendit les lèvres, les appuya sur les siennes ; puis, à voix basse :

– Chut ! on m'attend... Entre derrière moi.

Des voix légères venaient du grand salon, assourdies par les tentures. Elle poussa la porte, dont elle laissa les deux battants ouverts, et elle remit l'éventail à une des quatre dames, qui étaient assises au milieu de la pièce.

– Tenez ! le voilà, dit-elle. Je ne savais plus, jamais ma femme de chambre ne l'aurait trouvé.

Et, se tournant, elle ajouta de son air gai :

– Entrez donc, monsieur Mouret, passez par le petit salon. Ce sera moins solennel.

Mouret salua ces dames, qu'il connaissait. Le salon, avec son meuble Louis XVI de brocatelle à bouquets, ses bronzes dorés, ses grandes plantes vertes, avait une intimité tendre de femme,

127

View Source

The symbolic associations of women's spaces with ornament, luxury, and intimate enclosure were firmly established in the 19th-century bourgeois imaginary. It was an equation employed in literary as well as visual narratives. Zola's description of an interior in *Au Bonheur des Dames* illustrates this: « Le salon, avec son meuble Louis XVI de brocatelle à bouquets, ses bronzes dorés, ses grandes plantes vertes, avait une intimité tendre de femme ... » (The salon with its flowered brocade Louis XVI furniture, its gilded bronzes and its big green plants had a woman's intimacy...).



Berthe Morisot, *Portrait of the Artist's Mother and Sister*, ca. 1869 – 70. Oil on canvas. 81.8 x 101 cm. National Gallery of Art, Washington. View Source

The personal experiences and challenges that Berthe Morisot faced as a woman at home undoubtedly influenced her artistic vision and added layers of depth to her paintings. The choice to portray Edma during her confinement might symbolize a period of isolation and introspection, emphasizing the transformative impact of pregnancy on her identity, in particular her identity as a promising artist. As Mary Hunter has argued, *Portrait of the Artist's Mother and Sister* may be understood as Morisot's record of this shift in her sister's identity. She writes in "Expert Hands, Infectious Touch: Painting and Pregnancy in Morisot's *The Mother and Sister of the Artist* (*A Companion to Impressionism*, André Dombrowski, ed., WILEY Blackwell, 2021, 287-303):

> Given this historical context, *The Mother and Sister of the Artist* can be read as Morisot documenting Edma's death as an artist and imminent birth as a mother. Her fingers fiddle with a cushion – they do

not paint, draw, weave, or sew, all of which were socially suitable pastimes for bourgeois women. The juxtaposition of idle hands with the woven pillow – an object associated with delicate manual skill – makes this idleness more pronounced. Furthermore, her swollen and purplish left-hand contrasts with her white wrist, a symbol of how the physical symptoms of pregnancy – the swelling of hands and joints – could impair the dexterity required for painting... here Edma is shown as a biological vessel, partaking in the labour of waiting out pregnancy while the fetus grows to full term. As noted in August Debay's 1862 guide *Hygiene et physiologie du mariage*, "The functions and demands of maternity begin at conception: as soon as a woman is certain of her pregnancy, she must no longer live for herself; every instant of her pregnancy must be dedicated to the fruit that she bears."

...

While Morisot did not overtly show Edma's expectant belly, she pointed to signs of pregnancy in numerous ways: her sister's loose maternity dress; her confinement in her parents' well-appointed apartment in Passy; Edma's inaction; her propped-up foot and swollen hands; and the curves of the plush sofa that echo a pregnant woman's rounded body and whose floral pattern symbolizes the fecundity of female bodies in bloom. Furthermore, the wooden table, with its distended leg and protruding curving top, creates a surrogate pregnant form, its links to fertility and femininity emphasized by the violet flowers in full bloom placed on the tabletop. Edma is shown following medical recommendations that were noted in numerous pregnancy guides for bourgeois women: she is not wearing a corset; she is sedentary; she is living in a clean home; and she is not exerting herself.



(Detail) Berthe Morisot, PORTRAIT OF THE ARTIST'S MOTHER AND SISTER, ca. 1869 – 70. Oil on canvas. 81.8 x 101 cm. National Gallery of Art, Washington.

Morisot's painting of the pregnancy experience was meant for a female audience. It was a bold choice of subject for the public Salon, and she was anxious about its presentation to the jury. She sought the advice of Manet, who was visiting the family on the final day of submissions. She would later describe the interaction to Edma,

> "...he came at about one o'clock; he found it very good, except for the lower part of the dress. He took the brushes and put in a few accents that looked very well; mother was in ecstasies. That is where his misfortunes began. Once started nothing could stop him from the skirt he went to the bust, from the bust to the head, from the head to the background. He cracked a thousand jokes, laughed like a madman, handed me the palette, took it back; finally, by five o'clock in the afternoon we had made the prettiest caricature that was ever seen. The carter was waiting to take it away (to the Salon jury)...My only hope is that I shall be rejected. My mother thinks this episode is funny. I find it agonizing."

Manet's brushstrokes are evident in the somewhat heavier touch around Mme Morisot's eyes, the minimalistic treatment of her fingers, and the broadly painted expanse of her black dress in thick impasto. Morisot came away from the patronizing experience determined to actively differentiate her work from Manet's from then on. She expressed this openly in a letter to Edma in August 1871, "I am doing Yves with Bichette. I am having great difficulty with them. The work is losing all its freshness. Moreover as a composition it resembles a Manet. I realise this and am annoyed."



Berthe Morisot, *Portrait of Madame Edma Pontillon,* 1871 . P ast el sur papier. 80.1 × 65.8 cm. Musée d'Orsay , Paris. View Source

When Morisot painted Edma's second pregnancy, she captured a more mature and settled woman. Dressed in black, gazing directly at the viewer, she no longer appears reticent or regretful but conveys an attitude of composure. Mary Hunter writes:

> Her intense gaze differs from her placated eyes in the earlier portrait, and her expansive dress fills the composition, creating a sense of severity through the solid black mass that is at odds with the frivolity of the decorative interior. Higonnet has argued that Morisot portrayed Edma in black in order to compete with Manet: she was demonstrating her ability to depict black fabric with the same skill as Manet did when he over-painted her work in 1869. The seriousness of Edma's black dress is enhanced by the gravity of her expression. Her fixed eyes and tight mouth contradict the cultural stereotypes of a peaceful and joyful maternity, and hint at the contemporary moment in which the work was produced: the portrait

was made in the aftermath of the Franco-Prussian War, after the loss of many French lives, and shows Edma pregnant with her second child.

By painting an assertively modern female subject, unapologetically pregnant, and whose bold look, crossed arms, and knitting at her side suggest that her work has been interrupted, Morisot transformed the nineteenth-century stereotype of a passive and naive pregnant woman into one of a serious, educated, and skilled haute-bourgeois mother. This work is also about expertise –maternal but also artistic and medical – and the seriousness and skill required.

4.5
| The Space Between

When Morisot expressed her frustration with a work resembling “a Manet,” she was likely referring to *Woman and Child on a Balcony*, completed in 1872. The female model in the painting is thought to be either Edma Pontillon or Morisot’s eldest sister, Yves Gobillard. The young girl is Yves’ daughter, Paule Gobillard, nicknamed Bichette.



Berthe Morisot, *Woman and Child on a Balcony*, 1872. Oil on canvas. 61 x 50 cm. Ittleson Foundation, New York.
View Source

Balcony exemplifies Morisot's tactical use of pictorial space. She was drawn to in-between spaces such as verandas and balconies that were rife with pictorial potential and allowed her to explore the demarcations between private and public spheres of lived experience.

In this painting, the railing that bisects the picture is a compelling formal motif, which also serves as a metaphor for a fractured reality. As a conceptual device, it demarcates the boundaries between public and private spaces, between the areas of masculinity and femininity, the places women could access and those they could not. As Pollock has asserted, "Playing with spatial structures was one of the defining features of early modernist painting in Paris, be it Manet's witty and calculated play upon flatness or Degas's use of acute angles of vision, varying viewpoints and cryptic framing devices...[A]lthough there are examples of their using similar tactics, I would like to suggest that spatial devices in the work of Morisot and Cassatt work to a

wholly different effect." (Griselda Pollock, "Modernity and the Spaces of Femininity," in *Vision and Difference: Femininity, Feminism and the Histories of Art,* 62)

Here the woman and Bichette stand in the foreground at an oblique angle to the view and the viewer, obstructing the sweeping scene of Paris beyond the railing. More significantly, they are separated from the city by the balcony's railing. It is interesting to observe that while the woman's gaze is directed downward, ignoring the expansive view of the city, the young girl is looking out toward it. The compressed space and the subjects' nearness to the surface of the canvas imply the painter's proximity and further the sense of spatial enclosure.



Édouard Manet, *The Railway*, 1873. Oil on canvas. 93.3 x 111.5 cm. National Gallery of Art, Washington. View Source

Interestingly, while Manet's *The Railway*, also known as *Gare Saint- Lazare*, seems to have borrowed several motifs from Morisot's image, the paintings are distinctly different. His composition is articulated as a series of strong spatial and pictorial contrasts. Like Bichette, the little girl faces away from the viewer taking in the scene beyond. But the young woman does not look at her; she faces forward, directly at us. The model was Victorine Meurent, an artist and frequent model for Édouard Manet, who posed for several of his iconic paintings, including *Olympia* and *Luncheon on the Grass*. It was the last time Manet would paint her.

4.6
| Painting *en plein air*

While urban interiors and domestic scenes dominated Morisot's images, Morisot's ability to capture the play of light, her innovative use of colour, and her skillful brushwork are notable aspects of her artistic style. Painting Parisian women outdoors in various settings such as urban landscapes, parks, and gardens, allowed Morisot to explore different atmospheres and moods, showcasing her versatility as an Impressionist painter including the immediacy of her brushwork, and her experimentation with the concept of the finished and unfinished.



Berthe Morisot, *Reading,* 1873. Oil on fabric. 46 x 71.8 cm. Cleveland Museum of Art, Cleveland. View Source

The freshness of her approach is seen in *Reading*, where Edma is pictured seated in an open meadow, wearing a white day dress embroidered with tiny flowers that echo the blooms dotted across the landscape. The sense of atmosphere, the loose brushwork, and the brilliant verdant setting demonstrate Morisot's facility with the *plein-air* vocabulary of Impressionism.



Camille Corot, *Forest of Fontainebleau,* 1834. Oil on canvas. 175.6 x 242.6 cm. National Gallery of Art, Washington. View Source

Morisot's introduction to *plein-air* painting was through her studies with Camille Corot, the leading artist of the Barbizon school. Corot anticipated the Impressionists, influencing many of them, but his pleinairism was more traditional, his palette more restrained, and his brushstrokes often controlled and careful.



Pierre-Henri de Valenciennes (French, 1750 – 1819), *Study of Clouds over the Roman Campagna,* c. 1782/1785, oil on paper on cardboard, Given in honor of Gaillard F. Ravenel II by his friends View Source

Pierre-Henri de Valenciennes is said to be the first to expound on the benefits of plein-air painting.

Philip Conisbee writes in *French Paintings of the Fifteenth through the Eighteenth Century*, The Collections of the National Gallery of Art Systematic Catalogue (Washington, D.C., 2009): 409-410):

> Through both his artistic practice and his theoretical writing Valenciennes holds a position of considerable importance in the history of landscape painting of the late eighteenth and the nineteenth centuries. In 1800 he published the influential treatise on landscape painting, *Elémens de perspective practique, à l'usage des artistes, suivis de Réflexions et conseils à un élève sur la peinture, et particulièrement sur le genre du paysage* … Much of this book is devoted to the detailed study of perspective. But Valenciennes was perhaps more influential for his advocacy of an almost systematic program of study by painting oil sketches from nature out-of-doors, which he believed was a better way for the young artist to understand nature's myriad appearances and to train the hand and eye in capturing them in paint. This theory was based on Valenciennes' own experience of painting oil studies in the open air during his last Italian sojourn between 1782 and 1785.



Berthe Morisot, *In a Park,* ca. 1874. Pastel on brown paper on cardboard. 71 x 89 cm. Petit Palais, Paris. View Source

Corot's importance to Morisot's aesthetic development should not be underestimated. Christina Klotz Kales writes in "The Myths of Identity: Correcting the Legacy of Berthe Morisot" (PhD, Drew University, 2020):

> Time spent with Corot left an indelible mark on Berthe's vision as artist... He stressed the importance of understanding values in color with a gradation from lightest tint to darkest shade. He advised the girls to paint early in the day or late afternoon when refracted light would diffuse line and shape. They should paint, he advised, "when light is tempered, when useless detail disappears" (qtd. in Shennan 25). Corot became the source for her vision of light and pale palette, a remarkable shift from the darker Venetians she copied at the Louvre. "Nature" he said, "is the best counselor" (qtd. in Rouart 21). "It was Corot," her family later remarked, "who taught her to bathe in air her landscapes, her figures, her still lifes" (qtd. in Shennan 46). It was Camille Corot, of whom an early critic said (his) "half-finished manner has at least the merit of producing a harmonious ensemble and an impression. Instead of analyzing a feature, one feels an impression" (Rewald, 331). Corot was the unacknowledged early father of Impressionism and his student Berthe Morisot would become one of its greatest practitioners.



Berthe Morisot, *Summer-day* , 1879. Oil on canvas. 45.7 x 75.2 cm. National Gallery, London. View Source

Summer's Day is an equally compelling example of Morisot's interest in the effects of natural light and chromatic relationships. It was painted at the Bois de Boulogne, a public park in the 16th arrondissement in Paris, close to Morisot's home and studio. Two fashionably dressed women are seated in a rowboat which floats in a shimmering lake of colour. The dabs of green and blue, and the hovering dashes of white, suggest the movement and flow of water beneath a bright sky. The colour palette for *Summer's Day* was up-to-the-minute for its day. Tubes of paint were becoming available in the mid-nineteenth century, their portability allowing artists the freedom to paint out of doors. They also offered a range of unique pigments, seen here in the cerulean blue of one woman's coat and the cadmium yellow of the ladies' hats.

4.7
| Les Liseuses

Morisot was interested in more than just stylistic effects or in portraying snapshots of leisure life in her outdoor paintings. Her works demonstrate a knowing observation of the dimensionality of feminine experience in her era. Returning to the figure of Edma in *Reading*, one is struck by the painter's empathic appreciation of the sitter, and Morisot's respectful admiration of her literary sister. Edma is portrayed as an engaged reader, a modern woman of ideas, and an individual apart from her role as a wife and mother.



Berthe Morisot, *Reading*, 1873. Oil on fabric. 46 x 71.8 cm. Cleveland Museum of Art, Cleveland. View Source



Kathryn Brown, *Women Readers in French Painting,* 1870 – 1890: A Space for the Imagination (Farnham: Ashgate, 2012). View Source

Kathryn Brown, in *Women Readers in French Painting 1870-1890: A Space for the Imagination* (Surrey: Ashgate, 2012), explains that female literacy, on the rise in Paris, was often a subject of discussion in literary works between the 1830s and 1860s. This interest inspired images of the *liseuse* in the visual arts, which brought to the fore concepts about female independence, education, and biology, fuelling the debate on women's participation in cultural and political discussions beyond the domestic sphere.

In her introduction, Brown notes that depicting women reading ". . . was an effective way of communicating information about a woman's intellect, social standing, personal relationships and private morality. These images of women reading, however, do not necessarily reflect the reality of rising literacy rates, but rather express . . . how women readers were constructed in the social imagination."

Brown's central argument is that images of *liseuses* evoked entirely contradictory interpretations. Reading could be seen as a distraction from a woman's role as wife and mother or as a liberating act, one of the few available spaces for contemplation and the intellectual engagement of bourgeois women.



Antoine Wiertz, *La liseuse de romans (The Reader of Novels),* 1853. Oil on canvas. 125 x 157 cm. Wiertz Museum, Brussels. View Source

The ironies and contradictions encoded in images of female readers coincided with contemporaneous debates about educational reform for women. For some, reading signified corruption; for others, it evoked maternal and therefore civic duty.

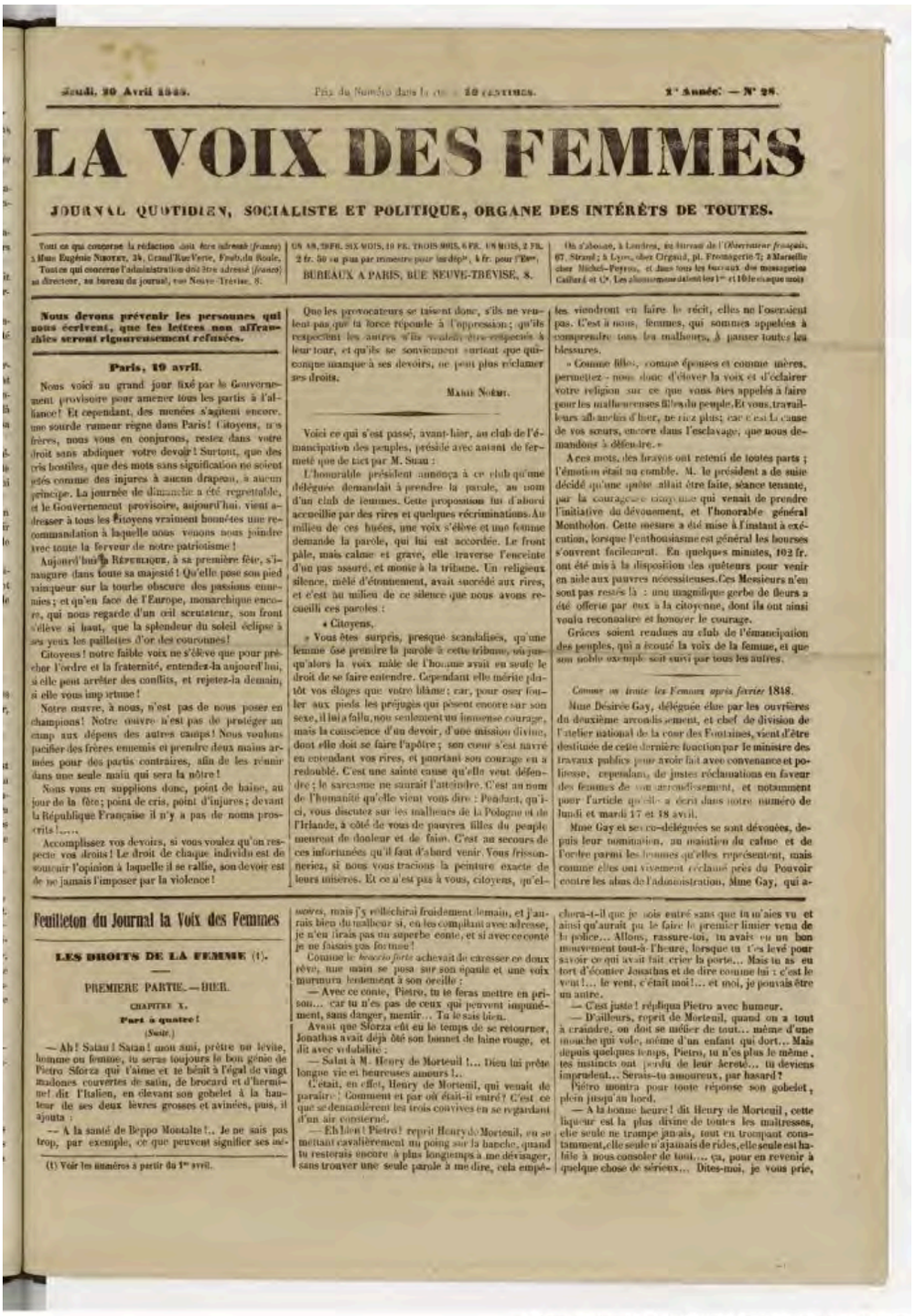
The Belgian painter Antoine Wiertz, fell into the first camp, choosing to degrade the idea of women readers as indecent and slothful. His *La liseuse de romans* is a sexualized interpretation of the subject showing an undressed female figure extended on a bed seemingly enthralled by the novel she reads, and deriving obvious sexual pleasure from it. The viewer, observing her from a privileged vantage point at the foot of her bed, is positioned to watch an auto-erotic frenzy of her twisting torso through the mirror. A Satanic figure appears at the edge of the bed that appears to be supplying her with books and more books.

Wiertz's *La liseuse* suggests the menace of "bad novels" as fictionalized in Flaubert's *Madame Bovary* (1857). "Emma wanted to know what the words felicity, passion, and ecstasy meant exactly in life; those words which had appeared to her so beautiful in books." But in the end the knowledge she gained and the lovers she took led to her ruin.



Janis Bergman-Carton, *The Woman of Ideas in French Art*, 1830 – 1848 (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1995). View Source

Janis Bergman-Carton explains in *The Woman of Ideas in French Art, 1830-1848,* that the woman of ideas found her public during the rapid growth of the popular press between 1830 and 1848.



Jeudi, 20 Avril 1848. Prix du Numéro dans la ville : 10 CENTIMES. 1re Année. — N° 28.

LA VOIX DES FEMMES

JOURNAL QUOTIDIEN, SOCIALISTE ET POLITIQUE, ORGANE DES INTÉRÊTS DE TOUTES.

Tout ce qui concerne la rédaction doit être adressé (franco) à Mme Eugénie Niboyet, 24, Grand'Rue Verte, Faub. du Roule.
Tout ce qui concerne l'administration doit être adressé (franco) au directeur, au bureau du journal, rue Neuve-Trévise, 8.

UN AN, 20FR. SIX MOIS, 10 FR. TROIS MOIS, 6 FR. UN MOIS, 2 FR. 2 fr. 50 en plus par trimestre pour la Belgique, 4 fr. pour l'Étranger.
BUREAUX A PARIS, RUE NEUVE-TRÉVISE, 8.

On s'abonne, à Londres, au bureau de l'*Observateur français*, 67, Strand; à Lyon, chez Orgeas, pl. Fromagerie 7; à Marseille chez Michel-Peyron, et dans tous les bureaux des messageries Caillard et Cie. Les abonnements datent du 1er et 16 de chaque mois

Nous devons prévenir les personnes qui nous écrivent, que les lettres non affranchies seront rigoureusement refusées.

Paris, 19 avril.

Nous voici au grand jour fixé par le Gouvernement provisoire pour amener tous les partis à l'alliance! Et cependant, des menées s'agitent encore, une sourde rumeur règne dans Paris! Citoyens, nos frères, nous vous en conjurons, restez dans votre droit sans abdiquer votre devoir! Surtout, que des cris hostiles, que des mots sans signification ne soient jetés comme des injures à aucun drapeau, à aucun principe. La journée de dimanche a été regrettable, et le Gouvernement provisoire, aujourd'hui, vient adresser à tous les Citoyens vraiment honnêtes une recommandation à laquelle nous venons nous joindre avec toute la ferveur de notre patriotisme!

Aujourd'hui la République, à sa première fête, s'inaugure dans toute sa majesté! Qu'elle pose son pied vainqueur sur la tourbe obscure des passions ennemies; et qu'en face de l'Europe, monarchique encore, qui nous regarde d'un œil scrutateur, son front s'élève si haut, que la splendeur du soleil éclipse à ses yeux les paillettes d'or des couronnes!

Citoyens! notre faible voix ne s'élève que pour prêcher l'ordre et la fraternité, entendez-la aujourd'hui, si elle peut arrêter des conflits, et rejetez-la demain, si elle vous importune!

Notre œuvre, à nous, n'est pas de nous poser en champions! Notre œuvre n'est pas de protéger un camp aux dépens des autres camps! Nous voulons pacifier des frères ennemis et prendre deux mains armées pour des partis contraires, afin de les réunir dans une seule main qui sera la nôtre!

Nous vous en supplions donc, point de haine, au jour de la fête; point de cris, point d'injures; devant la République Française il n'y a pas de noms proscrits!....

Accomplissez vos devoirs, si vous voulez qu'on respecte vos droits! Le droit de chaque individu est de soutenir l'opinion à laquelle il se rallie, son devoir est de ne jamais l'imposer par la violence!

Que les provocateurs se taisent donc, s'ils ne veulent pas que la force réponde à l'oppression; qu'ils respectent les autres s'ils veulent être respectés à leur tour, et qu'ils se souviennent surtout que quiconque manque à ses devoirs, ne peut plus réclamer ses droits.

Marie Noémi.

Voici ce qui s'est passé, avant-hier, au club de l'émancipation des peuples, présidé avec autant de fermeté que de tact par M. Suau :

L'honorable président annonça à ce club qu'une déléguée demandait à prendre la parole, au nom d'un club de femmes. Cette proposition fut d'abord accueillie par des rires et quelques récriminations. Au milieu de ces huées, une voix s'élève et une femme demande la parole, qui lui est accordée. Le front pâle, mais calme et grave, elle traverse l'enceinte d'un pas assuré, et monte à la tribune. Un religieux silence, mêlé d'étonnement, avait succédé aux rires, et c'est au milieu de ce silence que nous avons recueilli ces paroles :

« Citoyens,

» Vous êtes surpris, presque scandalisés, qu'une femme ose prendre la parole à cette tribune, où jusqu'alors la voix mâle de l'homme avait eu seule le droit de se faire entendre. Cependant elle mérite plutôt vos éloges que votre blâme; car, pour oser fouler aux pieds les préjugés qui pèsent encore sur son sexe, il lui a fallu, nous seulement un immense courage, mais la conscience d'un devoir, d'une mission divine, dont elle doit se faire l'apôtre; son cœur s'est navré en entendant vos rires, et pourtant son courage en a redoublé. C'est une sainte cause qu'elle veut défendre; le sarcasme ne saurait l'atteindre. C'est au nom de l'humanité qu'elle vient vous dire : Pendant, qu'ici, vous discutez sur les malheurs de la Pologne et de l'Irlande, à côté de vous de pauvres filles du peuple meurent de douleur et de faim. C'est au secours de ces infortunées qu'il faut d'abord venir. Vous frissonneriez, si nous vous tracions la peinture exacte de leurs misères. Et ce n'est pas à vous, citoyens, qu'elles viendront en faire le récit, elles ne l'oseraient pas. C'est à nous, femmes, qui sommes appelées à comprendre toutes les malheurs, à panser toutes les blessures.

» Comme filles, comme épouses et comme mères, permettez-nous donc d'élever la voix et d'éclairer votre religion sur ce que vous êtes appelés à faire pour les malheureuses fille du peuple. Et vous, travailleurs, allez-vous d'hui, ne rirez plus; car c'est la cause de vos sœurs, encore dans l'esclavage, que nous demandons à défendre. »

A ces mots, des bravos ont retenti de toutes parts; l'émotion était au comble. M. le président a de suite décidé qu'une quête allait être faite, séance tenante, par la courageuse citoyenne qui venait de prendre l'initiative du dévouement, et l'honorable général Montholon. Cette mesure a été mise à l'instant à exécution, lorsque l'enthousiasme est général les bourses s'ouvrent facilement. En quelques minutes, 102 fr. ont été mis à la disposition des quêteurs pour venir en aide aux pauvres nécessiteuses. Ces Messieurs n'en sont pas restés là : une magnifique gerbe de fleurs a été offerte par eux à la citoyenne, dont ils ont ainsi voulu reconnaître et honorer le courage.

Grâces soient rendues au club de l'émancipation des peuples, qui a écouté la voix de la femme, et que son noble exemple soit suivi par tous les autres.

Comme on traite les Femmes après février 1848.

Mme Désirée Gay, déléguée élue par les ouvrières du deuxième arrondissement, et chef de division de l'atelier national de la cour des Fontaines, vient d'être destituée de cette dernière fonction par le ministre des travaux publics pour avoir fait avec convenance et politesse, cependant, de justes réclamations en faveur des femmes de son arrondissement, et notamment pour l'article qu'elle a écrit dans notre numéro de lundi et mardi 17 et 18 avril.

Mme Gay et ses co-déléguées se sont dévouées, depuis leur nomination, au maintien du calme et de l'ordre parmi les femmes qu'elles représentent, mais comme elles ont vivement réclamé près du Pouvoir contre les abus de l'administration, Mme Gay, qui a-

Feuilleton du Journal la Voix des Femmes

LES DROITS DE LA FEMME (1).

PREMIÈRE PARTIE. — HIER.

CHAPITRE I.

Part à quatre!

(Suite.)

— Ah! Satan! Satan! mon ami, prêtre ne levite, homme ou femme, tu seras toujours le bon génie de Pietro Sforza qui l'aime et le bénit à l'égal de vingt madones couvertes de satin, de brocard et d'hermine! dit l'Italien, en élevant son gobelet à la hauteur de ses deux lèvres grosses et avinées, puis, il ajouta :

— A la santé de Beppo Montalte!.. Je ne sais pas trop, par exemple, ce que peuvent signifier ces mots, mais j'y réfléchirai froidement demain, et j'aurais bien du malheur si, en les complétant avec adresse, je n'en tirais pas un superbe conte, et si avec ce conte je ne faisais pas fortune!

Comme le *bracio forte* achevait de caresser ce doux rêve, une main se posa sur son épaule et une voix murmura lentement à son oreille :

— Avec ce conte, Pietro, tu le feras mettre en prison... car tu n'es pas de ceux qui peuvent impunément, sans danger, mentir... Tu le sais bien.

Avant que Sforza eût eu le temps de se retourner, Jonathas avait déjà ôté son bonnet de laine rouge, et dit avec volubilité :

— Salut à M. Henry de Morteuil!... Dieu lui prête longue vie et heureuses amours!..

C'était, en effet, Henry de Morteuil, qui venait de paraître! Comment et par où était-il entré? C'est ce que se demandèrent les trois convives en se regardant d'un air consterné.

— Eh bien! Pietro! reprit Henry de Morteuil, en se mettant cavalièrement un poing sur la hanche, quand tu resterais encore à plus longtemps à me dévisager, sans trouver une seule parole à me dire, cela empêchera-t-il que je sois entré sans que tu m'aies vu et ainsi qu'aurait pu le faire le premier larbin venu de la police... Allons, rassure-toi, tu avais eu un bon mouvement tout-à-l'heure, lorsque tu t'es levé pour savoir ce qui avait fait crier la porte... Mais tu as eu tort d'écouter Jonathas et de dire comme lui : c'est le vent!... le vent, c'était moi!... et moi, je pouvais être un autre.

— C'est juste! répliqua Pietro avec humeur.

— D'ailleurs, reprit de Morteuil, quand on a tout à craindre, on doit se méfier de tout... même d'une mouche qui vole, même d'un enfant qui dort... Mais depuis quelques temps, Pietro, tu n'es plus le même, tes instincts ont perdu de leur acreté... tu deviens imprudent... Serais-tu amoureux, par hasard?

Pietro montra pour toute réponse son gobelet, plein jusqu'au bord.

— A la bonne heure! dit Henry de Morteuil, cette liqueur est la plus divine de toutes les maîtresses, elle seule ne trompe jamais, tout en trompant constamment, elle seule n'a jamais de rides, elle seule est habile à nous consoler de tout.... ça, pour en revenir à quelque chose de sérieux... Dites-moi, je vous prie,

(1) Voir les numéros à partir du 1er avril.

Source gallica.bnf.fr / Bibliothèque nationale de France

La Voix des Femmes, April 20, 1848. View Source

1er NUMÉRO.*

—

On souscrit, rue du Caire, n. 17, à l'entresol.



PRIX : 15 C.

Chaque exemplaire.

—

Pour les renseignemens tous les jours de midi à 4 heures.

LA

FEMME LIBRE.

APOSTOLAT DES FEMMES.

APPEL AUX FEMMES.

Lorsque tous les peuples s'agitent au nom de *Liberté*, et que le prolétaire réclame son affranchissement, nous, femmes, resterons-nous passives devant ce grand mouvement d'émancipation sociale qui s'opère sous nos yeux.

Notre sort est-il tellement heureux, que nous n'ayons rien aussi à réclamer? La femme, jusqu'à présent, a été exploitée, tyrannisée. Cette tyrannie, cette exploitation, doit cesser. Nous naissons libres comme l'homme, et la moitié du genre humain ne peut être, sans injustice, asservie à l'autre.

Comprenons donc nos droits; comprenons notre puissance; nous avons la puissance attractive, pouvoir des charmes, arme irrésistible, sachons l'employer.

* Le second numéro paraîtra le 25 août.

La Femme Libre, August 1832, 1 st edition. View Source

Bergman-Carton summarizes the creation of literary avenues for women authors in *La Femme libre, Le Journal des femmes, Gazette des femmes*, and *La Voix des femmes*, among others. She explains that the period between 1830 and 1848 was when female literary and political activity flourished. She then considers the caricatures in the popular press that portrayed these women as deviant and dangerous.



Honoré Daumier, "Moeurs conjugales no 6," *Le Charivari* , June 30 , 1839. View Source

Between 1837 and 1849, Honoré Daumier produced several series of lithographs of women intellectuals. He was no advocate of female equality, scorning professional women and activists unmercifully in his prints. His caricatures savagely attacked middle-class, "bohemian" women who dared demand the right to vote, divorce or lead creative professional lives. The societal caricature of feminism generally centred on the abnormality of women who fought for equal rights. Daumier regarded and portrayed the female intellectual as a woman without physical appeal.



Honoré Daumier, *Voilà une femme qui a l'heure solennelle...* , 1848. Lithograph. National Gallery of Art, Washington. View Source

In 1948, Daumier produced his *Les Divorceuses* (women for the right of divorce), a series of six prints which appeared in the *Charivari*, an anti-feminist publication, from August to October 1848.



Honoré Daumier, *Citoyennes on fait courir le bruit...* , 1848. Lithograph. 35.88 x 27.31 cm. Los Angeles County Museum of Art, Los Angeles. View Source

In this image, the composition is divided in two by a sloping diagonal banister, one area predominantly black, the other white. The female orator figure's outstretched arm moves into the darker space, creating a powerful juxtaposition against the judge's bell, which disappears into the background. The violent gesturing of the orator, her wild hair and her shouting mouth signify an outburst. The crowd of women on-side raise arms and voices in solidarity. Daumier was alluding to the harmful notion that women scream, create disorder and sow confusion, and the series suggests the furor of feminism at large.



Grandville (Jean Ignace Isidore Gerard). M. P. – J. Stahl et al., *La vie publique et privée des animaux: Vignettes par Grandville* (Paris: J. Hetzel et Paulin, Éditeurs, 1842). Engraving Andrew Best & Leloir. View Source

Other artists also caricatured women intellectuals. The image by the caricaturist Jean Ignace Isidore Gerard (who published under the pseudonym Grandville) illustrating P.J. Stahl's *Story of the Hare* shows a *femme-auteur* majestically perched on a thickly cushioned sofa, looking up from her writing to gather her thoughts. With a pen in one hand and cigarette in the other, she contemplates her next words. The emasculating potential of her endeavour is signified by a dagger that hangs loosely from her belt and points towards her genital area.

4.8
| Visualizing Motherhood

Berthe Morisot's *The Cradle* was the first image of motherhood that she painted, marking the start of her interest in a subject to which she would return frequently throughout her career. It shows Edma gazing over her sleeping daughter, Blanche.



Berthe Morisot, *The Cradle* , 1872. Oil on canvas. 56 x 46 cm. Musée d'Orsay , Paris. View Source

Edma's gaze and her bent left arm echo her baby's sleeping pose. They are connected through a painterly diagonal formation. The cradle's filmy netting acts as a screen, enhancing the loving bond between mother and daughter. The soft blues, grays and warm golden tones of the image create a sense of calm and comfort. This is a highly intimate scene, unlike the objectified and idealized scenes of similar subjects by many of her male contemporaries. It suggests the psychoanalytic mother-child relation of being in a world of their own and the role and reality of motherhood. Edma expresses love and joy but also the fatigue that is part of the experience of motherhood.



William Bouguereau, *Young Mother Gazing at her Child* , 1871. Oil on canvas. 142.2 x 102.9 cm. Metropolitan Museum of Art , New York. View Source

Morisot's images of motherhood stand apart from the idealized mother and child images by, for example, William Bouguereau, whose *Young Mother Gazing at her Child* is described by the Metropolitan Museum of Art as follows "This doting mother in picturesque dress and her angelic offspring are two of many such figures that Bouguereau painted with an eye to the international market."



William Bouguereau, *Breton Brother and Sister* , 1871. Oil on canvas. 129.2 x 89.2 cm. Metropolitan Museum of Art , New York. View Source

" ... the scene is highly similar in subject and composition to *Breton Brother and Sister*, also dated 1871 (hanging nearby), and both works were bought by New York collectors—a testament to the popularity that the artist's scenes of 'princesses dressed up as milkmaids' enjoyed in America."

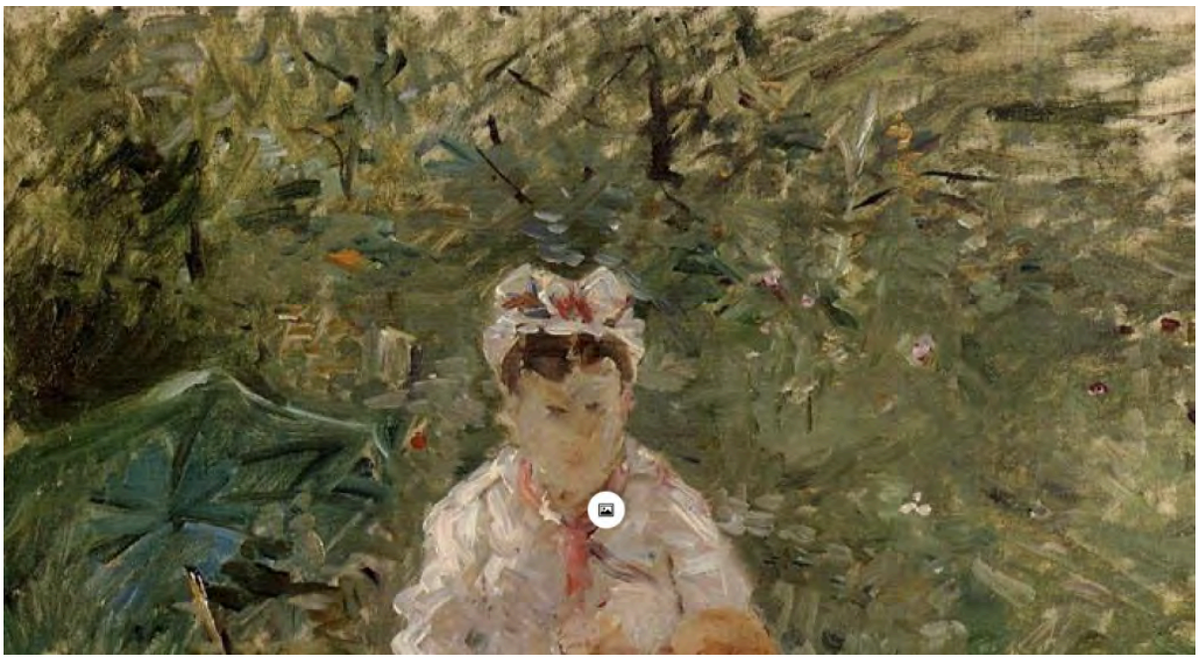
The entry for *Breton Brother and Sister* reads:

Based on sketches Bouguereau made while summering in Brittany in the late 1860s, this picture was completed in the artist's studio in 1871. His young models, posed in traditional Breton costumes, epitomize the ideal of virtuous and attractive peasants living a simple life in close contact with nature. American collectors quickly snapped up this type of scene, earning Bouguereau fame and fortune.



Berthe Morisot, *The Wet Nurse Feeding Julie Manet,* 1880. Oil on canvas. 50 x 61 cm. Private collection. View Source

Morisot painted Edma from the time of her sister's wedding in 1869 until she herself married Eugene Manet (brother of Edouard Manet) and gave birth to their daughter, Julie.



Detail of Berthe Morisot, *The Wet Nurse Feeding Julie Manet* , 1880. Oil on canvas. 50 x 61 cm. Private collection. View Source

In *The Wet Nurse,* early babyhood is represented in all its fullness, although Julie is not nursed by Morisot but by a *seconde mère,* a wet nurse, as was common among the upper classes.



Edgar Degas, *At the Races in the Countryside*, ca. 1872. Oil on canvas. 36.5 x 55.9 cm. Museum of Fine Arts, Boston. View Source

For example, Degas's *At the Races in the Countryside* (1869) depicts the trio of husband, wife and wet nurse. In the driver's seat of the carriage, Paul Valpinçon, a friend of Degas, turns to look at his wife, holding a parasol, and his son Henri, asleep in the lap of a wet nurse whose breast is still exposed.

Linda Nochlin writes in “Morisot’s *The Wet Nurse*” (*Expanding Discourse: Feminism and Art History*, Norma Broude, and Garrard, Mary D., eds. Westview Press, 1992, 231-245) that the painting represents motherhood in the most obvious of ways, but the mother in the scene is a *seconde mère* or wet nurse. She is a worker, earning her wages as a member of a flourishing industry. Furthermore, she is being gazed upon not by a man (husband, artist, viewer) but by a woman, an artist who is also the baby’s natural mother. The work is unusual and bold, in its subject of a woman painting another, nursing her child.



Wet nurses in a public park , reproduced from Linda Nochlin, “Morisot’s *Wet Nurse* : The Construction of Work and Leisure in Impressionist Painting,” in *Women, Art and Power, and Other Essays* (London: Routledge, 1988), 236. View Source

Wet nursing, Nochlin explains, was a large-scale industry in 18th and 19th century France. Urban families whose wives worked outside the home, such as shopkeepers, or artisans, usually sent their infants to the country to be nursed. Because sanitation violations were excessive and financial arrangements so random, the government was forced to step in and regulate the industry in 1874.



A nourrice from Morvan in Paris View Source

While the upper classes also participated in this widespread custom, they did not need to rely on state-sanctioned individuals; they could hire live-in nurses to look after their baby's needs. These nurses frequently came from Morvan, a country region considered prime wet-nurse territory. Few, if any women of the upper classes would have dreamed of breastfeeding their children, and only a limited number of working-class women had the opportunity to do so.

Nochlin explains that the problems around this industry were made to link to women's neglect of their duties. The *Grand dictionary universel du XLXe siecle*, in an article on mortality cited from the work of M. Husson, outlines the tragedies in Paris:

> … an average of 53,921 children born, of which 33,872 remain in Paris with families; 2,031 are placed in nurse's care by municipal government; 3,018 are placed in foundling hospices and 9,000 are placed by private bureaus. Of the 33, 872 infants who remain in Paris with their families 8,250 die in their first year, 24.36 of 1000; the mortality of infants placed by the municipal government is 29.80 out of 100; as for the mortality of the infants placed by the small bureaus much greater…

The article ends on an accusatory note targeting females: "The best thing to do, or at least attempt, would be to persuade, even force, if need be, those mothers who are physically able to do so to nourish their children themselves…The whole problem stems from the rebellion of women against breast feeling. A means must be found of recalling them to their duty."

Apart from its bold, modern subject, *The Wet Nurse* displays a freedom of brushwork that is quintessentially impressionistic, so fluid that it resembles a watercolour painting. The boundaries between the figure and

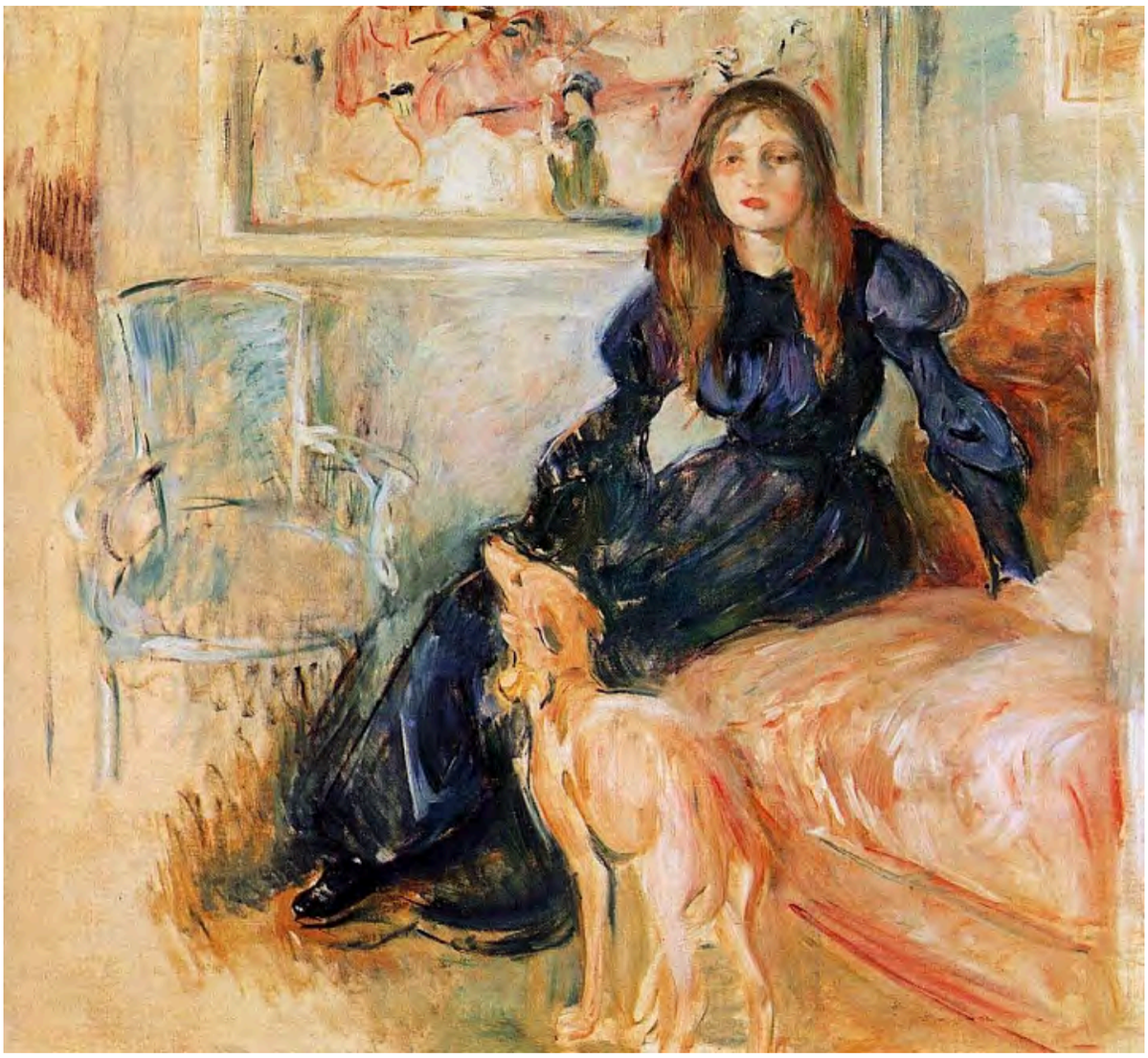
landscape setting are blurred in a vaporous atmosphere, a way of painting that became emblematic of Morisot's fusion of a figure and the natural world.



Berthe Morisot, *Eugène Manet and his Daughter at Bougival*, 1881. Oil on canvas. 73 x 92 cm. Musée Marmottan Monet Museum, Paris. View Source

Morisot's painterly freshness and the facility of her execution is seen again in *Eugène Manet and his Daughter at Bougival,* a scene set in the garden of a rented house in Bougival where the family spent their summers between 1881 and 1884. Morisot's images of Julie she painted there, are the most radical reformulations of childhood imagery of the time. In this image, Julie takes on the role of the narrative agent. In contrast, her father takes on that of a subsidiary figure, an inversion of the relationship, pictured or otherwise, of parent and child. Absent as well, are the pretty, formulaic features that mimic dolls' faces, replaced by a uniqueness of expression commonly unseen in paintings of children.

An easy naturalism characterizes *Eugène Manet and his Daughter at Bougival*. It is evinced in the lyricism of the scene and the ephemeral qualities of colour and form. The emphasis is on regular activity rather than striking a pose. Julie is not prettily playing with a doll but involved in a real game with her father. Morisot had the unqualified support of her husband, Eugène Manet, to pursue her artistic career, and one senses the supportive relationship in the easy gentleness of the work.



Berthe Morisot, *Julie and her Greyhound Laerte* , 1893. Oil on canvas. 80 x 73 cm. Musée Marmottan Monet, Paris. View Source

In 1893, in a painting entitled *Julie and her Greyhound Laerte,* made shortly after her husband's death, an empty chair appears as evanescent. At first it reads as an omission, becoming almost nothingness, but its presence is so compelling that one interprets it as emblematic of Eugène's absent presence within the space.



Berthe Morisot, *Portrait of Berthe Morisot and her Daughter*, 1885. Oil on canvas. Private collection. View Source

In a self-portrait with her daughter from 1885, Morisot fully looked at herself as a painter, a person, and a mother. She did so by constructing an image that visually triangulates the relationship between mother and daughter, independent selfhood, and the activity of painting. In contrast to the usually banal images of women as mothers, Morisot's self-image strategically allowed her to celebrate maternity while also laying claim to her professional and personal identities.

4.9
| Looking Female

Morisot appropriated the mythological figure of Psyche, a goddess of outstanding beauty, as a topos to represent her daughter's awakening sexuality. In *The Psyche Mirror,* the adolescent Julie is picturing standing before a mirror. While the work may have had voyeuristic potential, the young woman's self-contemplation dissuades such a reading. The painting's intimacy, palpable privacy, and the figure's proximity to the viewer all posit a different interpretation. We are witnessing a woman looking at another woman who looks at herself. *Psyche* expresses the concept of self-looking and the act of mirroring: the mirroring of self, the mirroring of the gaze.



Berthe Morisot, *The Psyche Mirror* , 1876. Oil on canvas. 65 x 54 cm. Thyssen – Bornemisza Museum, Spain. View Source

Morisot produced a series of toilette paintings engaging with the concept of gazing, looking and being looked upon.



Berthe Morisot, *Young Woman Powdering her Face*, 1877. Oil on canvas. 39 x 46 cm. Musée d'Orsay , Paris.
View Source

Her images of ladies at their toilettes contain reflective surfaces such as mirrors, glass windows and pictures that offer glimpses of multiple perspectives. Just as *Psyche* stood before a chevalier mirror, the figure in *Young Woman Powdering her Face* sits before her vanity mirror, looking at her reflection. At the same time, behind her a wall of glass-framed pictures offers refracted images of the overall scene. Multiple references to looking encourage contemplation on how women are seen and how they see themselves. The notion of looking and seeing also speaks to the act of painting, a process that offers sensual pleasure and the desire for public approbation. The woman painting her face and the woman painting her both suggest Baudelaire's: "She must paint herself to be adored."



Berthe Morisot, *The Artist's Daughter, Julie, with her Nanny*, ca. 1884. Oil on canvas. 57.1 x 71.1 cm. Minneapolis Institute of Art, Minneapolis. View Source

Claire Moran writes in "Minor Intimacies and the Art of Berthe Morisot: Impressionism, Female Friendship and Spectatorship" (*Journal of the Society of Dix-Neuviémistes* 25 (2021):137-157): "Middle-class women, like Morisot were 'urged to create sanctuaries for their children within their homes and to take a new, involved interest in all aspects of their upbringing and education' (Todd 1995, 101). Morisot would also develop this theme in the series of images of her daughter Julie, which constitute "her most extensive pictorial project' (Higonnet 1992, 212)... Morisot's works were not destined for public display and 'home was where she wanted her work to remain" (Higonnet 1992, 81). Her pictures were intended to be shared but with select audiences, friends and family members and occasionally trusted collectors."



Berthe Morisot, *Julie Playing a Violin* , 1893. Oil on canvas. 65 x 54 cm. Private collection. View Source

In family homes, Morisot's pictures were hung where they fit, up to the ceiling, or along staircases, in a dense mosaic alongside other family pictures: pictures by Morisot's sister, daughter, nieces, husband, brother-in-law, son-in-law, father-in-law, pictures made by friends and given as gifts, [...] In a private world they hang among images unified less by style or period than by family meaning: images of a grandmother, testimonials to a mother's relationship with her daughter, tributes from one friend to another, carriers of family history. (Higonnet, 1992, 83).

Morisot painted about 150 images of her daughter in the sixteen years following Julie's birth in 1878 until her death in 1895. Morisot caught influenza while tending to Julie's infection and succumbed to the disease within days. A year after her death Julie, Morisot's mother and her Impressionist friends organized a memorial exhibition. Over four hundred oil paintings, pastels and drawings, many previously unseen, were put on view.

Degas, Renoir and Monet assisted in the hanging of the exhibition and the catalogue was written by the poet and critic Stephane Mallarmé. Mallarmé described the artist's charm and elegance, the evening salon gatherings, her painting practice and her role as a loving mother. He spoke of Morisot's relationship with Edouard Manet, and acknowledged the character of her later portraits of women, and her outdoor scenes reminiscent of the light and elegant touch of eighteenth-century artists. In the end, however, Mallarmé was unable to acknowledge the uniqueness of her contribution to art because she was female, despite the fact that his concluding remarks positioned her as a recognized Impressionist artist.

Over the last decades, Morisot's significant contribution to art history has been fully recognized, her struggles and successes spurring numerous scholarly investigations and exhibitions. As Christina Klotz Kales summarizes in "The Myths of Identity: Correcting the Legacy of Berthe Morisot" (PhD diss., Drew University, 2020, 25):

> Her achievement would rely on three strong pillars. These factors underscore the uniqueness of Morisot's choice of an unlikely profession for a woman of her social class as well as an understanding of how she came to develop and pursue this choice. First, she initially enjoyed the full emotional and financial support of her family, both necessary to develop the independence necessary to express herself artistically. Second, she benefitted from a grounding technical education as an artist that would have been the envy of many of her male peers. Finally, she lived her entire life in Passy, a Parisian suburb dominated by the great natural expanse of the Bois des Boulogne. The park became both her source of inspiration and a reserve of quiet and calm. She would paint here throughout her life always reveling in her deep connection to nature and capturing the effect of transient light on canvas.

Morisot was a radical artist in her lifetime. If she could not access parts of Paris open to her male colleagues, she focused on the world that she knew, but she did so with innovation and daring, producing pictures that broke with the stale academic dictates of the day and engaged the emerging visual vocabularies of the avant-garde.

MARY CASSATT

4.10
| An American in Paris

Mary Cassatt was the only American female artist associated with the French avant-garde. She was born in Pittsburgh on May 22, 1844, to a prominent and cultured family. The Cassatts were believers in the educational importance of travel, which they did as a family in her girlhood. Cassatt enrolled in the Pennsylvania Academy of Fine Arts at sixteen, against her father's wishes. The patronizing male environment was a disappointment. She set her sights on Europe again in defiance of her father, who claimed he would rather see her "dead than living abroad as a bohemian." When she left for Paris in 1866, she did so chaperoned by her mother and family friends.



Mary Cassatt, *Portrait of the Artist*, 1878. Watercolour and gouache on wove paper, laid down to buff – coloured wood – pulp paper. 60 x 41.1 cm. Metropolitan Museum of Art , New York. View Source

The young Cassatt spent her days traveling across Europe, studying the works of the Old Masters and independently establishing her unique style. Back in Paris, barred from attending the École des Beaux-Arts, Cassatt studied in private with Jean-Léon Gérôme and registered as a copyist at the Louvre. She befriended French painters such as Charles Joshua Chaplin and took instruction from Thomas Couture. But, like other upper-class women, she could not go about independently in Paris.



Marie Bashkirtseff, *In the Studio*, 1881. Oil on canvas. 188 x 154 cm. Dnipropetrovsk Museum of Fine Arts, Dnipro, Ukraine. View Source

In her journal, the Russian artist Marie Bashkirtseff who was studying in the French capital at the time, described the frustrations felt by a generation of practicing female artists and her awareness of the freedoms she was denied.

> What I long for is the freedom of going about alone, of coming and going, of sitting in the seats of the Tuileries, and especially in Luxembourg, of stopping and looking at the artists' shops, of entering churches and museums, of walking about old streets at night; that's what I long for; and that's the freedom without which one cannot become a real artist. Do you imagine that I get much good from what I see, chaperoned as I am, and when in order to go to the Louvre, I must wait for my carriage, my lady companion, my family." Marie Bashkirtseff, *Marie Bashkirtseff. The Journal of a Young Artist: 1860-1884* (London: Virago Press, 1985).



Mary Cassatt, *The Mandolin Player* , ca 1868 . Oil on canvas. 91.4 x 73.7 cm. Private collection. View Source

The Paris Salon accepted Cassatt's *The Mandolin Player* in 1868, no small achievement for a young American female artist, and it set her on her path. When the Franco-Prussian war broke out, she was forced to return to Pennsylvania temporarily but returned to Paris to settle in 1872. She aligned herself with the circle of Parisian avant-garde artists, and, at Degas's invitation, began exhibiting with the Impressionists in 1879. Cassatt's painting style and subject matter altered dramatically through her association with Impressionism. She abandoned costumed genre painting in favour of ordinary subjects painted in fresh colours and loose brushstrokes.



Paul Durand – Ruel in his gallery in 1910. Photograph by Dornac. View Source

In 1886 she was included in the first major Impressionist art exhibition in the United States, held at the Durand-Ruel Galleries in New York.

Paul Durand-Ruel purchased over 400 Cassatts, 1,000 Monets, 1,500 Renoirs, 800 Pissarros, 400 Sisleys, and about 200 Manets. He actively promoted an international interest in Impressionist artists through his art galleries and exhibitions in London, Berlin, Brussels, and New York.

The Mandolin Player is a dark genre piece which is strikingly different from her later paintings characterized by highly keyed colours and artificial spaces. But despite its naive quality and conventional style, this early work suggests the beginnings of an individualistic approach. Griselda Pollock observed that the painting "is not a straightforward genre painting for it is not a scene of peasant music-making, and the viewer is required to engage with two demands whose tension produces the painting's allure. The uncluttered directness of the figure's presentation draws the eyes toward the paint itself, the broadly blocked paint of the white chemise as the light falls upon it, the carefully modulated muted reds of the sash that provides the only local colour, and the finely brushed, shaded face from which expressive eyes emerge to arrest the viewer's appraisal of painterly finesse." (Pollock, *Mary Cassatt: Painter of Modern Women* (New York: Thames and Hudson, 1998), 83-84)

4.11
| Modern Attitudes

Cassatt's images of women reflected the genteel daily activities that were common to the privileged class. Her lush paintings and prints offered a rare feminine perspective within the male-dominated representations

of everyday life. Her subject matter drew criticism, which she was aware of and conflicted about. But her professional ambitions did not prevent her from exploring the spaces of feminine leisure, which she did while engaging with new stylistic vocabularies that rendered them more relevant.



Mary Cassatt, *Afternoon Tea Party*, 1891. Drypoint and aquatint in colour on wove paper. 34.6 x 26.4 cm (image). Brooklyn Museum, New York.
View Source

The sociability of her bourgeois world— the rituals around tea, the art of organizing domestic ceremonies—centred upon the "creation of atmospheres" as Dorothy Richardson in *Revolving Lights Pilgrimage* the seventh 'chapter-volume' of *Pilgrimage*, a series of semi-autobiographical novels published between 1915 and 1967 asserted:

> Women are emancipated ... Through their pre-eminence in an art. The art of making atmospheres. It's as big an art as any other. Most women can exercise it, for reasons, by fits and starts. The best women work at it the whole of the time. Not one man in a million is aware of it. It's like air within air. It may be deadly. Cramping and awful, or simply destructive, so that no life is possible within it. So is the bad art of men. At its best it is absolutely life-giving. And not soft. Very hard and stern and austere in its beauty. And like mountain air. And you can't get behind it, or in any way divide it up. Just as with 'Art.' Men live in it and from it all their lives without knowing ... the thing I mean goes through everything. A woman's way of 'being' can be discovered in the way she pours out tea. (London: Virago Press, 1979, 3, 257)



Mary Cassatt, *Lady at the Tea Table*, ca. 1883 – 85. Oil on canvas. 73.7 x 61 cm. Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York. View Source

Beyond social aspects, the women Cassatt painted, especially her mature female subjects, often exuded a sense of composure and authority. Mrs. Riddle, in *Lady at a Tea Table,* is a portrait of a wealthy American, Cassatt's mother's first cousin, presiding at tea, a gilded blue-and-white Canton porcelain service set in front of her. She appears monumental, autonomous, indifferent to both painter and viewer.

Cassatt articulates the scene in an impressionistic, sketch-like style, yet it reads as complete and self-contained. She demonstrates an appreciation for the serious artistry of creating 'occasions' by depicting the lady at the tea table with character; she is neither seen as frivolous nor superficial. The placement of the sitter's upper body in relation to the pictured frames behind her solidifies her bearing and her placement within the scene. It also

calls attention to the formal dynamics at play, the relationships between the rectangles within the painting and the rectangular shape of the canvas. Cassatt sees, and appreciates, that her sitter's interests —manipulating the tea things, arranging her clothing and decor, and overseeing a meticulously run, aesthetically pleasing household—contained analogies to her own process and commitment to painting, the constant honing and imaginative decision-making required to succeed.

Cassatt observed the power inherent in such a role and expressed it. Mrs. Riddle exudes authority; she is formidable, and modern.



Edgar Degas, *Mary Cassatt*, ca. 1880 – 84. Oil on canvas. 73.3 x 60 cm.
National Portrait Gallery, Washington. View Source

It was not a coincidence, writes Anne Higonnet in her in-depth analysis of *Lady at a Tea Table* "A Painting by Mary Cassatt and Its Challenge to the Social Rules of Art" (*A Companion to Impressionism*, André Dombrowski, ed. (John Wiley & Sons, 2021), 219-233), that:

> The offending portrait painted by Cassatt had a lot in common with the portrait Degas painted of Cassatt around the same time. His portrait paid tribute to the same modern, professional, ambiguously gendered qualities with which she had invested *Lady at the Tea Table*. He shows Cassatt offering images to the world outside the painting, which identify her with modernity, because they are photographs, identifiable by their format as carte-de-visite photographs. Degas here makes another of Impressionism's puns between masculine and feminine meanings by representing the way Cassatt holds the photographs as if they might be either a hand of cards or a fan.

Cassatt disliked this portrait of her by Degas, which helps us understand why Riddle and her daughters refused Riddle's portrait, as well as why Cassatt claimed she was mortified by it. "I felt that I never wanted to see it again. I did it so carefully and you may be sure it was like her – but – no one cared for it." Perhaps Cassatt herself thought she had gone too far. The unconventional role that Cassatt had asserted as the author of *Lady at the*

Tea Table looked repugnant when she saw it ascribed to her as the subject of a portrait. Cassatt treated both portraits in the same way. She kept them, but hid them, so no one could see them.



Mary Cassatt, *Reading "Le Figaro"* , 1878. Oil on canvas. 104 x 83.7 cm. Private collection. View Source

Lady at the Tea Table was completed in 1885, seven years after Cassatt painted *Reading Le Figaro*, a portrait of her mother, Katherine Kelso reading with great concentration. *Le Figaro* was a serious, politically and literarily oriented publication, and Cassatt ensures that its title is prominent in the composition. This portrait is not of the maternal body but rather the maternal mind. It is a topical view, a loving but dispassionate representation of a mother not as a nurturer but as a wise woman.

The work is effective due to the power of Cassatt's stylistic acumen. The palette is sober and reduced, predominantly comprising blacks, whites and grays, the colours of the printed word itself. Her mother's black-framed pince-nez, an instrument of vision, sits prominently beneath her black hair, and both reiterate the black print of the paper. Cassatt acknowledges that sight is the sense most closely aligned with thought and that intellect is associated with masculine power, and she visually challenges these assumptions here.



Mary Cassatt, *Mrs. Robert S. Cassatt, the Artist's Mother*, ca. 1889. 96.5 x 68.6 cm. Fine Arts Museums of 46 San Francisco. View Source

Mrs. Robert S. Cassatt was painted a decade later when Cassatt's mother was elderly and ill, but the portrait still conveys a powerful presence. One is led to the mother's intelligent face by the visual elements around it. Her figure is recognized as solid by its arrangement and the traditional thinker pose she assumes.

4.12
| Femininity and the Gaze

In the Loge expresses Cassatt's interest in the complex subject of the gendered gaze. The black-clad young woman sits assertively in her loge at the opera. Her figure looms large in the composition, conveying personal energy as she directs her opera glasses across the picture plane. She is focused on a spot that is not the stage and is also not visually accessible to the viewer. From within the painting, another figure fixes his gaze upon her, looking outward, mirroring the spectator, while we look inward at them both. Within this juxtaposition of viewing, it is the woman who is actively looking and who is prioritized.



Mary Cassatt, *In the Loge*, 1878. Oil on canvas. 81.3 x 66 cm. Museum of Fine Arts, Boston. View Source

Despite the social setting, a public venue where women were exposed and expected to be observed, this woman does not read as vulnerable. Her sombre dress, directed gaze, and eyes masked by her opera glasses all foil her objectification. The fact that she is actively 'elsewhere' renders her safe from voyeurism and the flaneur. This male figure flocked to social spaces of spectatorship where fashionable young socialites were on ready display.



Pierre – Auguste Renoir, *A Box at the Theater (At the Concert)*, 1880. Oil on canvas. 99.4 x 80.7 cm. Clark Art Institute, Williamstown. View Source

When Charles Baudelaire wrote "The Painter of Modern Life," published in *Le Figaro* in 1863, the figure of the flaneur resonated with artists. "To be away from home and yet feel oneself everywhere at home; to see the world and yet remain hidden from the world-such are a few of the slightest pleasures of those independent passionate impartial natures which the tongue can but clumsily define. The spectator is a prince and everywhere rejoices in his incognito. The lover of life makes the whole world his family."

The flaneur was, by social circumstance, always male, existing as he did in the public realm. He moved about incognito, with the freedom to look, to watch. Women were positioned as the objects of the flaneur's gaze.

Baudelaire wrote:

> Woman is for the artist in general...far more than just the female of man. Rather she is divinity, a star...a glittering conglomeration of all the graces of nature, condensed into a single being; an object of keenest admiration and curiosity that the picture of life can offer to its contemplator. She is an idol, stupid perhaps but dazzling and bewitching...Everything that adorns woman that serves to show off her beauty is part of herself... No doubt woman is sometimes a light, a glance, an invitation to happiness, sometimes she is just a word.

Renoir's painting of young ladies at the opera, *A Box at the Theater (At the Concert),* approaches the female subject entirely as decor. It is among several works that explore spectators at theatres or concerts—the subject is all about seeing and being seen. Even though specific individuals sat for the painting, Renoir rendered the figures anonymous before completion, underscoring their role as pretty, pliable objects.



Mary Cassatt, *The Loge*, 1882. Oil on canvas. 79.8 x 63.8 cm. National Gallery of Art, Washington. View Source

In contrast, the two young women in Cassatt's *The Loge* appear posed, their postures stiff and constrained. One woman carefully grasps a pretty bouquet while the other shelters behind a large fan. They convey a mix of shyness and discomfort, uneasy on public display, being shown off, as it were.

While settings such as the opera were mostly spaces of practiced social ritual where femininity was part of the spectacle, they could also, for some women, serve as sites of intellectual and creative production.

4.13
| Reimagining Motherhood

Although Cassatt herself was childless, her images of mothers, children, and mothers with their children are considered among her finest works.



Mary Cassatt, *Mother and Child*, 1890. Oil on canvas. 90 x 64.5 cm. Wichita Art Museum, Wichita. View Source



Mary Cassatt, *Mother about to Wash her Sleepy Child*, 1880. Oil on canvas. 99.1 x 63.5 cm. Los Angeles County Museum of Art, Los Angeles. View Source



Raphael, *Madonna and Child with the Book*, 1503. Oil on panel. 55.2 x 40 cm. Norton Simon Museum, Pasadena. View Source

Cassatt sought to represent the “natural mother,” the timeless madonna of the Renaissance made contemporary. A secular madonna, but accessible.



Vincent Van Gogh, *Mother Roulin with her Baby*, 1888. Oil on canvas. 73.5 x 92 cm. Philadelphia Museum of Art, Philadelphia. View Source



William-Adolphe Bouguereau, *Rest*, 1879. Oil on fabric. 164.5 x 117.8 cm. Cleveland Museum of Art, Cleveland.
View Source

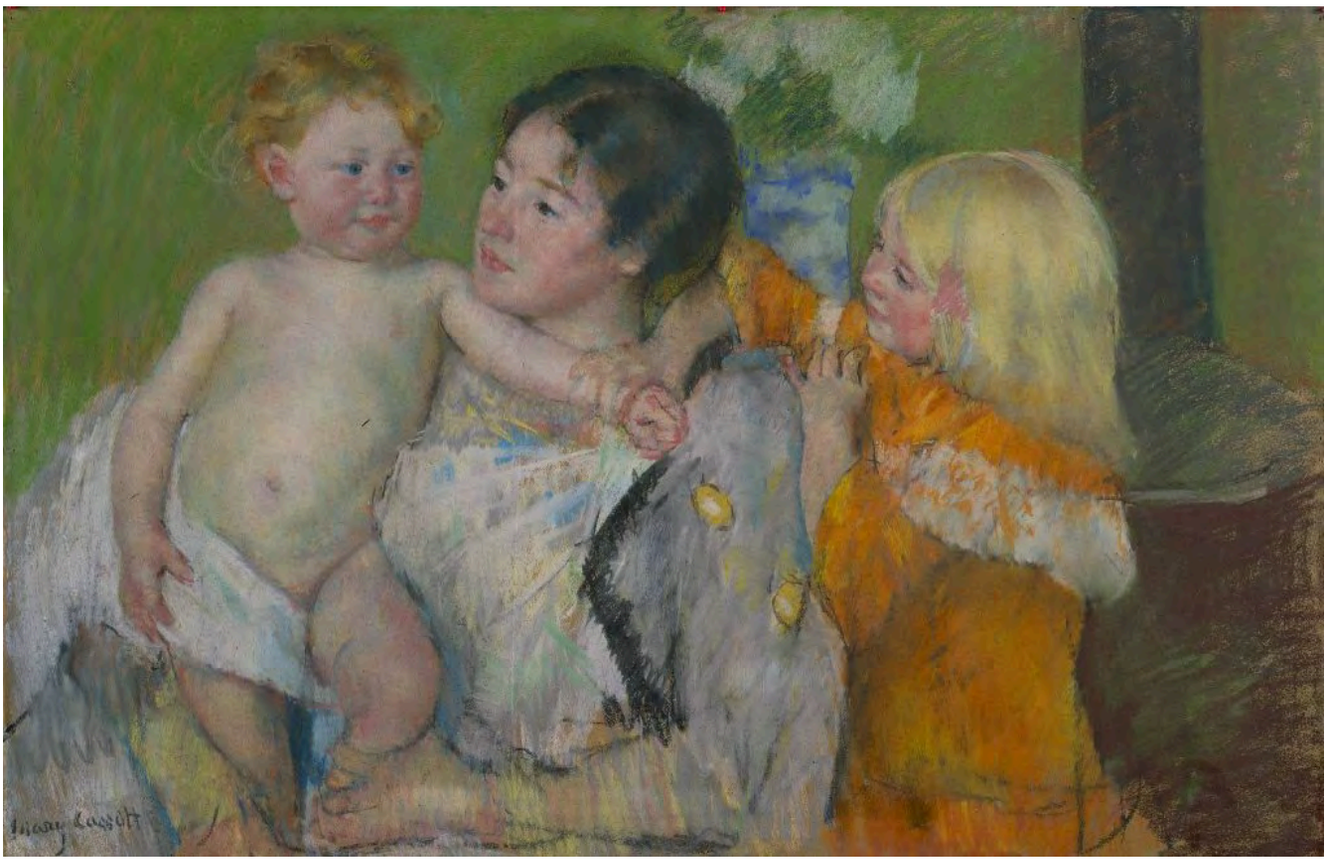
There is no universal way of representing motherhood. Historical, social, and political conditions and stylistic conventions influence an artist's interpretation of the mother image. Within the same era, images of mothers and children can vary dramatically.

Here is the Metropolitan Museum of Art's description of Van Gogh's *Mother Roulin with her Baby*:

> This vigorously painted portrait of Augustine Roulin and her infant daughter, Marcelle, is one of Van Gogh's many evocative renderings of the Roulin family, undertaken some six months after the artist relocated from Paris to Arles. Van Gogh painted the entire family of the local postman Joseph Roulin. Here, the chubbycheeked infant is the focus of the enterprise. Her heightened expression in thickly painted brushwork suggests that the baby may have posed for van Gogh, swaddled in her mother's embrace. Augustine Roulin, by contrast, is an abbreviated presence.

compared with the Cleveland Museum of Art's description of William Bouguereau's *Rest*:

> One of the most celebrated academic painters of his time, Bouguereau underscores the moral virtues of the Italian peasants in this painting by depicting the dome of St. Peter's in the distance. The idealized figures and their triangular grouping recall the Holy Family paintings by Renaissance master Raphael 400 years earlier.



Mary Cassatt, *After the Bath*, ca. 1901. Oil on canvas. 66 x 100 cm. Cleveland Museum of Art, Cleveland. View Source

Cassatt's *After the Bath* speaks openly of the fleshy delights of motherhood. Even when Cassatt confronted the more conventional aspects of motherhood, the daily rituals of bathing and clothing, she eschewed the sentimental to portray mothers and babies that reflected the actuality of women in her entourage and among the bourgeoisie.



Mary Cassatt, *Reine Lefebvre Holding a Nude Baby (Mother and Child)*, ca. 1902-03. Oil on canvas. 68.1 x 57.3 cm. Worcester Art Museum, Worcester. View Source

Norma Broude asks in "Mary Cassatt: Modern Woman or the Cult of True Womanhood?" (*Woman's Art Journal* 21, no.1 (Autumn 2000 – Winter 2001): 36-43):

> Why the repeated images of mothers and children from an artist who was not a mother and who in her own life was reported to have taken note of children only insofar as they could serve her as models? To answer this complicated question, we must get beyond the usual cant that has been promoted since the 19th century, the myth that these happy mothers and beautiful children are natural expressions of Cassatt's femininity and therefore more truthful as images of the mother-child bond than any previously painted. And we must consider instead the specific social and market contexts that framed Cassatt's choices and the reception of her work.
>
> On one level, in the surprisingly seductive and even Michelangelesque babies sometimes portrayed by Cassatt in their mothers' arms, for example, we may be seeing, in a guarded and limited form, this artist's

only respectable access to the unclad figure and to the high art tradition of the nude. But in more far-reaching terms, I would reiterate that Cassatt was a self-conscious and skillful player in a game of professionalism and identity still constructed to exclude women. And in light of what we know about the network of discourses-philosophical, moral, medical, and aesthetic-that defined the female creative subject, the woman artist in the 19th century, Cassatt's choices are really not surprising. In that context, we may readily see how the subject of mothers and children-at first apparently resisted, then later embraced by this artist-would have provided for Cassatt one of the few, narrow gaps of possibility within which she, as an ambitious woman artist of the upper classes, could fully grasp and define for herself a socially acceptable professional status and identity. And the success of her strategy-as strategy I believe it was-is easily measured by the sudden outpouring of articles and in particular by the proliferation of reproductions of Cassatt's works that began to appear in popular journals both in France and the United States from the turn of the century onward. These included such diverse publications as *Scribner's Magazine* (1896), *Brush and Pencil* (1900), *L'art decoratif* (1902), *Les modes* (1904*), La Revue de l'art ancien et moderne* (1908), *Harper's Bazaar* (1911), *Les Arts* (1912), *Arts and Decoration* (1915), *Town and Country* (1916), and many others. If Cassatt's presumably natural and spontaneous images of mothers embraced by children who hang affectionately upon their necks remind us not only of Renaissance madonnas but also of the happy mothers of 18th-century bourgeois art, that, too, is not accidental.



Joshua Reynolds, *Lady Cockburn and her Three Eldest Sons*, ca. 1773 – 75. Oil on canvas. 141 x 113 cm. National Gallery, London. View Source



Élisabeth Louise Vigée Le Brun, *Self-Portrait with her Daughter, Julie*, 1786. Oil on panel. 105 x 84 cm. Musée du Louvre, Paris. View Source

The oeuvres of many late-18th-century painters, from Sir Joshua Reynolds to Elisabeth Vigée-Lebrun, graphically portray the joys and rewards of family life and particularly of motherhood, often depicting physical intimacy between mother and child or showing us the adoration of a secular infant. And as we now know, such images were part of a wider, late-18th-century program of moral edification and reform that encouraged women to assume and indeed to wallow in the joys of maternal responsibility, at a time when such behavior had not, in fact, been the cultural norm. A century later, during the 1880s and 1890s, when Cassatt began to devote herself so successfully to the production of similar images, it may have been, in large measure, because a similar kind of social problem existed in France, and visual representation was once again being called upon to play an important, propagandistic role in helping to redefine and reshape the social order. Cassatt's images of happy and fulfilled mothers, surrounded by children who are the personifications of goodness and innocence, these pictures that deify motherhood and its joys, were painted in an era of great, even hysterical public concern over declining birthrates in France.

...

In this time of change, as middle-class women were gradually gaining legal access to education and even, after 1884, divorce, debates over the *femme nouvelle* suddenly flooded the Parisian press; and the "new woman's" desire for independence and education over traditional values of marriage and family was not only seen as a threat to the structure of the family but was also being publicly blamed for the

declining birthrate. Images proliferated during this period, in the popular press and magazines as well as in high art, equating motherhood with patriotism and promoting women's traditional role in the home as the anchor of bourgeois domesticity. The good of family and country was thus used as a persuasive argument in efforts to control and limit women's access to higher education and the public sphere.



Daughters of Charity with orphan girls in a park. View Source

France's political upheavals of the early nineteenth century had visibly changed Parisian demographics. Social transitions, including the influx of rural migrants seeking work in the newly industrialized city, coincided with extreme poverty and unemployment. A standard solution to the problem of unwanted pregnancies for poor working-class women was legally abandoning their children to state-run hospices.



Couturier, "Les filles – mères," *L'Assiette au Beurre* , no. 89 (December 1902). View Source

In 1902, the magazine *L'Assiette au Beurre* published a disturbing cover that accompanied its story on unwed mothers. The horrors of infanticide and infant abandonment, despite the development of social welfare programs designed to prevent it, were an ongoing class issue.



Alfred Stevens, *The Hunters of Vincennes or, What is Called Vagrancy*, 1854. Oil on canvas. 130 x 195 cm. Musée d' Orsay, Paris. View Source

In addition, a concern with the social order in nineteenth-century France led to the tabling of laws during the Second Republic, which deliberately ostracized the homeless, separating them from the rest of society. Brussels-born Alfred Stevens illustrated the activities of the "chasseurs à pied" as they escorted a homeless family, a mother and her two children to prison in *The Hunters of Vincennes,* which was exhibited in the 1855 Exposition Universelle under the title "*Ce qu'on appelle le vagabondage*." Working in a social realist style, Stevens rendered the scene in stark terms capturing the overall sense of alienation. The winter's gloom, the monochromatic dark wall against the white snow, the lack of horizon and the two posters, one advertising land for sale, the other an invitation to a ball, evoke the contrasting realities of life in Paris at mid-century.

Stevens approached the theme of poverty as a political problem. The law at the time stated that people with no profession, no residence or no means of subsistence should be imprisoned for three to six months. Without a husband to support her, the wretched mother walks obediently with the police officers. The painting reflects the artist's sympathy for the mother's destitution and questions the unfair imprisonment that will not help this desperate family. While the artist depicted the idea of compassion (represented by the wealthy woman attempting to intervene with the soldiers and the lame worker with a downcast expression), he condemns the reality of State repression. In no uncertain terms, *The Hunters of Vincennes* criticizes the persecution by government of the weakest in Society.

Emperor Napoleon II, shocked that French soldiers were depicted performing such a base task, demanded, unsuccessfully, that the work be removed from the exhibition. Instead, Stevens was awarded a second-class medal.

4.14
| New Perspectives

The Child's Bath and other similar works by Cassatt recall Degas's women bathers, particularly in the bold form, tilted perspective, and the subdued, psychological remove they convey. The flat, shallow surface, which compels

our eye up and across the canvas rather than into it, is equally common to both. However, the use of multiple patterns and sophisticated colours in the formal construction is particularly Cassatt's, a design aesthetic that she daringly and dynamically articulates.



Mary Cassatt, *The Child's Bath*, 1893 . Oil on canvas. 100.3 x 66.1 cm. Art Institute of Chicago. View Source

One sees it here in the play of the wallpaper pattern against the background bureau, the dissimilarity of the juxtaposed rugs, and the mauve, olive, and white stripes of the dress that are upturned and repeated in the patterning of the fingers, all of which are set into play by the exaggerated scale of the pitcher in the foreground leading the eye up and onto the pictorial surface.



Edgar Degas, *Woman in a Tub*, ca. 1883. Pastel on paper. 70 x 70 cm. Tate Gallery, London. View Source



Kitagawa Utamaro I , *Mother and Child*, ca. 1797 . Wood block print, ink and colour on paper . 37 x 25 cm. Museum of Fine Arts, Boston. View Source



Mary Cassatt, *The Bath*, ca. 1890-91. Drypoint, soft-ground etching and aquatint, printed in colour from two plates. 29.5 x 24.8 c m. National Museum of Women in the Arts, Washington. View Source



Kitagawa Utamaro I, *A Mother Bathing her Son,* ca. 1753 – 1806. Colour woodblock print, oban, tate-e, nishiki-e, mica. 37.8 x 25.7 cm. Nelson-Atkins Museum of Art, Kansas City. View Source



Mary Cassatt, *The Bath*, ca. 1890-91. Drypoint, soft-ground etching and aquatint, printed in colour from two plates. 29.5 x 24.8 c m. National Museum of Women in the Arts, Washington. View Source

Like many European artists of her era, Mary Cassatt collected Japanese prints. The flat colours and patterning, the fluidity of her lines, and the simplification of the volumes attest to the fact that she was looking at and stimulated by Japanese artists, particularly Kitagawa Utamaro's mother and child woodcuts.

Japanese artists such as Utamaro were superbly adept at mediating and transforming scenes of intimate life, which Western art tended to sentimentalize into works of formal rigour and emotional subtlety. This strategy attracted Cassatt and is evident in many of her prints.

4.15
| Picturing Children

Cassatt's ability to depict children fully absorbed in their worlds is evident in works such as *Little Girl in a Blue Armchair*. These paintings convey the child's experience from an emotionally truthful perspective. The intense, fresh palette she employs in these images augments the spirit of her subjects, from a squirming baby to the young girl sprawled out in a big blue armchair.



Mary Cassatt, *Little Girl in a Blue Armchair*, 1878. Oil on canvas. 89.5 x 129.8 cm. National Gallery of Art, Washington. View Source

The little girl is pictured not so much resting as occupying a space between doing and not doing. Her pretty dress and the lush furnishings indicate her bourgeois status, but she displays neither the attitude nor the proprieties of her class; she is just herself, a girl on her own with her dog. As a model, her appeal to Cassatt was precisely due to the absence of any social mannerisms. She captures the irritation of the dressed-up girl, who is fatigued and fidgety at once. The billowing dress is rumpled; the stiff pose is now casual, and her red lips are turned down in disdain for sitting for her portrait. It is also possible to read a certain amount of pubescent sexuality in her sprawling pose.



Pierre-Auguste Renoir, *A Girl with a Watering Can*, 1876. Oil on canvas. 100 x 73 cm. National Gallery of Art, Washington. View Source

The young girls' restive attitude is in marked contrast to the conventional and angelic manner of Renoir's children. Cassatt presents an independent identity for girlhood by actively dismantling the traditional representations of model little girls found, for example, in Renoir's work.



Emile Jumeau (manufacturer), Poupée Bébé Jumeau, ca. 1850-1915. Musée des Arts Décoratifs, Paris. View Source

In Renoir's *A Girl with a Watering Can*, the child looks like a doll, her body blending in with the decorative patterning of the canvas. Her face is intricately detailed, sharing the wide-open eyes, fluffy golden hair, extra

red lips, pale skin, and lightly rouged cheeks that were common to dolls at the time. The child's stiff stance and delicate dress are similarly doll-like, conveying an impression of limited movement and objectified display.

Rather than running, playing, laughing, or crying, the little girl poses; her watering can is a static prop like the private garden around her. Her gaze is blank, her prettiness idealized as if she is part of an advertisement. She is commodified, a product of bourgeois culture, signifying wealth and the domestic family.

In many ways, Renoir's images are an extension of the doll market itself, they mirror the dolls, and in making them real, they themselves appear mechanized.

During the 18th century, dolls were hand-crafted figures made of wood or stuffed leather, their features painted to resemble a generic adult woman. The bisque porcelain doll was an invention of Pierre Francois Jumeau in the 1840s. By the 1870s, France's pre-eminent doll-making firm had increased production from 10,000 in 1879 to 300,000 in 1889.

Because most doll owners were girls, most of the mass-produced dolls were female and looked bourgeois, with delicate bisque or porcelain faces, eyes of glass, and intricately fashioned mohair or human hair wigs. The famous doll industry was propagating the ideal of female perfection. At the same time, images of children proliferated, indicating increased respect for the importance of child development as part of the new and bourgeois domestic ideal.



Pierre-Auguste Renoir, *Madame Georges Charpentier and her Children* , 1878. Oil on canvas. 153 x 190 cm. Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York. View Source

The children in Renoir's *Mme Charpentier and her Children* look like commodities on a store shelf, the shiniest of many luxury 'items' pictured, including fashionable clothes, rugs, tableware, a Japanese screen, and even

a large dog. Every 'object' evokes the wealth and refined taste of Mme Charpentier, a prominent organizer of Salons whose husband Georges published avant-garde literature. The children, like expensive dolls, carry an aura of special value. Their elegance, the sensuality of their surroundings, and their easy naturalness are signs of their mother's elitist status. She and the painting as a whole signify the importance of Monsieur Charpentier *in absentia*.

A curious gendered component is evident in the three-year-old Paul seated beside his mother. He is dressed identically to his six-year-old sister Georgette and looks female. While boys were commonly dressed like girls until age five, Renoir's nearly complete cross-dressing of Paul exceeds mere costume. He has given the boy's body, face, and hair the same attributes as Jumeau's female dolls.

Children were depicted as generically pretty. Based on a commodified doll model, Paul's feminine appearance was the standard form of bourgeois childhood identity.



Mary Cassatt, *Little Girl in a Blue Armchair*, 1878. Oil on canvas. 89.5 x 129.8 cm. National Gallery of Art, Washington. View Source

Not only can Cassatt's *Little Girl in a Blue Armchair* be analyzed in comparison with Renoir, but it is also regarded as direct evidence of the strong ties of friendship between Cassatt and Degas. The two artists admired and supported one another and remained friends for forty years until Degas's death. Degas acquired Cassatt's work, and she promoted him to art collectors in the United States.

Kimberly Jones explains in "Mary Cassatt's *Little Girl in a Blue Armchair*: Unraveling an Impressionist Puzzle" (*Archives of American Art Journal* 53 no. 1/2 (Spring 2015): 116-121):

> Perhaps the single most important piece of evidence of that relationship is found in a letter written by Cassatt around 1903 to the dealer Ambroise Vollard. In this letter, which is in the Smithsonian Institution's Archives of American Art, she recounts the history of her painting *Little Girl in a Blue Armchair*, one of a dozen works she presented in 1879 at the fourth Impressionist exhibition: "Dear Sir, I wanted to come back to your place yesterday to talk to you about the portrait of the little girl in the blue armchair. I did it in 78 or 79- it was the portrait of a child of friends of M. Degas- I had done the child in the armchair, and

he found it to be good and advised me on the background, he even worked on the background-/ sent it to the American section of the Gr[and], Exposition 79 but it was refused. Since M. Degas had thought it good, I was furious, especially because he had worked on it – at the time it seemed new, and the jury consisted of three people, of which one was a pharmacist!" This extraordinary letter provides invaluable insight into the dynamic between the two artists at this critical juncture in their careers. Cassatt's trust in Degas and her appreciation for his judgment are immediately apparent, while the evident warmth with which she recalled the incident even decades later underscores the genuine fondness and mutual respect that existed between the two. The implications of Degas's participation in this painting are tantalizing and have led to much speculation upon the exact nature of his purported involvement. Recent technical analysis carried out by the department of painting conservation at the National Gallery of Art not only corroborates Cassatt's account, but has helped to identify the precise location and extent of Degas's intervention. His contribution- the introduction of a sloping wall as a means to heighten the sense of space- is relatively minor. The difference in his handling of paint is so discreet that it would easily have escaped notice were it not for the testimony of Cassatt's letter. There can no longer be any doubt that *Little Girl in a Blue Armchair* marks the true beginning of the vibrant artistic exchange between the two Impressionist masters.



Mary Cassatt, *A Woman and a Girl Driving*, 1881. Oil on canvas. 89.8 x 130.6 cm. Philadelphia Museum of Art, Philadelphia. View Source

In *A Woman and a Girl Driving*, Cassatt has set her figures in an open outdoor space. Her sister Lydia confidently drives a carriage while the family groom rides at the rear. Beside Lydia is Degas's niece Odile Fevre who is portrayed as a pretty porcelain doll. Her frozen posture echoes Renoir's doll-like kids, but in this case, it attaches to the little girl's palpable apprehension.

A sense of containment here contradicts the freedom associated with being outdoors. The three figures form a cramped pyramid, pushed up against the picture plane, and the composition feels unnatural.

The two females seem to be on display, conscious of it and uncomfortable. This discomfort is especially discernable in the costumed artifice of the little girl. Steadying herself on the carriage rail to maintain her

composure, she appears to mirror Lydia, suggesting that she is already sharing the adult's sensitivity to being actively observed.



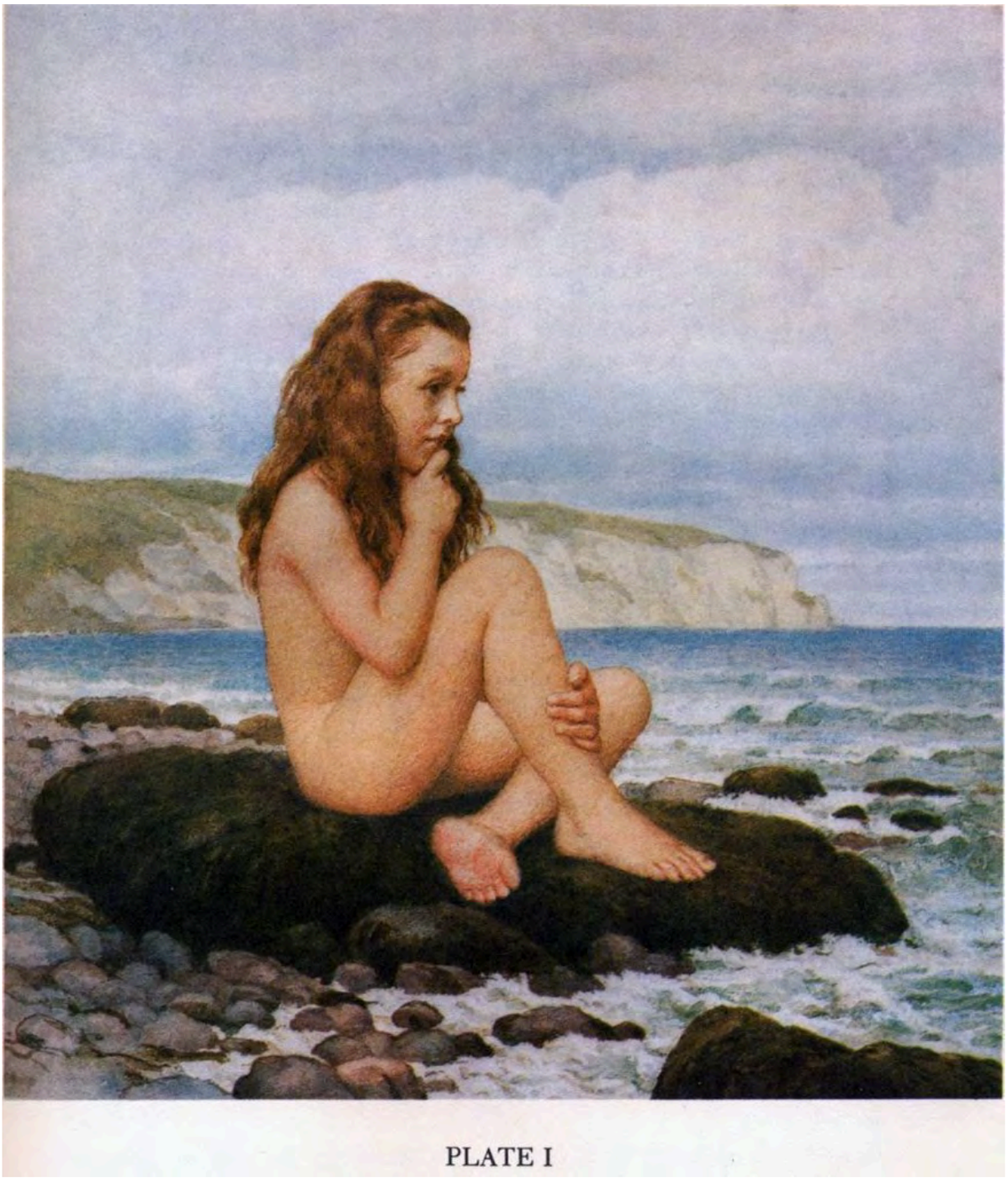
Mary Cassatt, *Baby Reaching for an Apple* , 1893. Oil on canvas. 99.1 x 64.8 cm. Virginia Museum of Fine Arts, Richmond. View Source

It has rarely been noticed how many of Cassatt's children, babies mostly, are stark naked and sexually differentiated.



Mary Cassatt, *Mother and Child*, ca. 1905. Oil on canvas. 92 .1 x 73.7 cm. National Gallery of Art, Washington.
View Source

This may be partially due to the much-seen pictorial precedent of the semi-naked Christ child during the Renaissance. But the discussion may also have been avoided considering contemporary psychoanalytic theory and the potential of revealing disturbing undertones and overtones or aspects of the artist's sexuality. During the nineteenth century, there was deep ambiguity about the naked child.



Lewis Carroll, *Beatrice Hatch, 30 July 1873*, 1873. Photograph, coloured by Anne Lydia Bond on Carroll's instructions. View Source

Lindsay Smith writes in "`Take back your mink': Lewis Carroll, Child Masquerade and the Age of Consent" (*Art History* 16, no. 3 (September 1993): 369-85) that during the 19th century, the naked bodies of children were envisioned as simultaneously pure and desirable as exemplified in the seductively nude or nearly nude photographs of little girls by Reverend Charles Dodgson better known as Lewis Carroll.

Carroll was an English logician, mathematician, photographer, and novelist, primarily known for *Alice's Adventures in Wonderland* (1865) and its sequel, *Through the Looking-Glass* (1871). Although it may be tempting to view Carroll's nude girls as examples of Freudian displacement, repression, and sublimation, this may not have been the case at all. Desire takes many different forms depending on time and context.



Sally Mann, *Virginia at 3*, 1988. Gelatin silver print. 20.3 x 25.4 cm. View Source

Anna Higonnet, in her book *Pictures of Innocence: The History and Crisis of Ideal Childhood* (New York: Thames and Hudson, 1998), traces the history of the images of childhood innocence from the eighteenth century to the late twentieth century. She asks why the photographs of contemporary artist Sally Mann's own children are considered more than equivocal, indeed offensive, while Cassatt's works were acceptable a century earlier. Cassatt's child models sat for her in full undress, the same way Mann's daughter posed for her photo. It is worth considering whether we now live in an age of almost unparalleled repressiveness and prudery where a child's body is concerned.

4.16
| The Language of Prints

Cassatt visited an exhibition of Ukiyo-e prints at the École des Beaux-Arts in Paris in the Spring of 1890 and was smitten. Over the next two years she would create a set of ten coloured etchings that display her appropriation of the superb technical and formal innovations she was introduced to during her visits.



Mary Cassatt, *Mother's Kiss*, ca. 1890-91. Colour drypoint and aquatint on laid paper. 43.3 x 22.7 cm. National Gallery of Art, Washington. View Source



Mary Cassatt, *Maternal Caress*, ca. 1890-91. Colour aquatint with drypoint from three plates on ivory laid paper. 43.2 x 30.1 cm. Art Institute of Chicago. View Source

The series encapsulates events in the daily lives of refined, upper-class women: moments spent playing with their babies, private moments bathing, dressing, letter-writing, and social events. They provide a sensitive glimpse into an intimate, cosseted world, daringly filtered through Japanese prints' stylized and elliptical language.



Mary Cassatt, *The Coiffure*, 1890-91. Drypoint and aquatint, printed in colour from three plates. 43.5 x 29.5 cm. Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York. View Source



Mary Cassatt, *The Fitting*, ca. 1890 – 91. Drypoint and aquatint on off – white textured laid paper. 43.8 x 30.5 cm. Brooklyn Museum, New York. View Source



Kitagawa Utamaro, *Yosooi of the Matsubaya, from the series Selections from Six Houses in Yoshiwara (Seiro rokkasen) (Mat subaya Yosooi)*, ca. 1801 – 02. Colour woodblock print, oban. 37.6 x 24.5 cm. Art Institute of Chicago. View Source



Mary Cassatt, *The Letter*, ca. 1890-91. Colour aquatint with drypoint, from three plates, on off – white laid paper. 43.7 x 29.7 cm. Art Institute of Chicago. View Source

Cassatt interpreted the Ukiyo-e idiom in modern Western terms, a (female) language system replete with its own tropes and inventions. She could subdue the charged narrative implications of the events portrayed by activating a formal vocabulary that demanded greater attention. Cassatt transformed intimate spaces and

their stories into eloquent modernist images through her minimalist approach to form and sophisticated patterning.

Deborah J. Johnson in “Cassatt’s Color Prints of 1890: The Unique Evolution of a Palette” (*Notes in the History of Art* (Spring 1990): 31-39) reveals that Cassatt’s new colour palette was based on faded Japanese prints:

> Mary Cassatt’s ten-sheet series of color prints produced in 1890-1891 have long been regarded as an important marker in the history of color printmaking in the West. In their reliance on a system of multiplate etching and aquatint colored *à la poupée*, these works fundamentally revived a process used in the earliest European experiments in color printing at the end of the eighteenth century. However, their lack of direct precedence in Cassatt’s own time, their fully mature technical quality, and their exclusive reliance on printerly means to achieve color locate them at the start of the modern color-print movement in the West. Cassatt described her procedure in a letter to the New York print dealer and collector, Samuel P. Avery: “My method is very simple. I drew an outline in drypoint and transferred this to two other plates, making in all, three plates, never more for each proof. Then I put on aquatint wherever the color was to be printed; the color was painted on the plate as it was to appear in the proof.



Mary Cassatt, *The Bath*, ca. 1890 – 91. Drypoint, soft – ground etching and aquatint, printed in colour from two plates. 29.5 x 24.8 cm. National Museum of Women in the Arts, Washington. View Source

Mary Cassatt, *The Bath*, ca. 1890-91. Drypoint, soft-ground etching and aquatint, printed in colour from two plates. 29.5 x 24.8 cm. National Museum of Women in the Arts, Washington.

> Much of the beauty of the set—and importance to the history of printmaking—is based largely upon the presentation of color and surface: granular and subtly modulated patches of blue, mauve, and green, best described as faded or dusty in tone, are played against dramatic blocks of black and white. This is a new kind of palette in Cassatt's oeuvre, unprecedented in either her graphic or painted work to date.

Despite the importance of the late eighteenth-century Japanese print to the set as a whole, its possible relation to ukiyo-e color schemes has not been fully considered. Breeskin specifically characterizes Cassatt's palette as evolving "from Miss Cassatt's own . . . rather than that used in most Japanese prints." In fact, Cassatt's palette is not derived from a clean, fresh impression of any color woodblock type in the history of the Japanese print; her specific tones and their interrelationships were inspired by late eighteenth-century prints that had experienced fading and discoloration in a characteristic pattern. It is this special palette that is so striking in the 1891 set. Along with her experiments with specialized inking and wiping— also restricted to these works—we can begin to understand on a profounder level their characterization as "*essais d'imitation de l'estampe japonaise*."



Katsukawa Shunei
Sawamura Sôjûrô III (1790s)
(Very good colors)



Katsukawa Shunei
Sawamura Sôjûrô III (1790s)
(Faded colors)

John Fiorillo, "Color Changes (Fading in *Ukiyo – e*)," Viewing Japanese Prints. View Source

Color prints in poor-quality impressions dominated the flood of Japanese art to the West in the mid-nineteenth century.

Apparently, this level of work could also be found at a major exhibition of Japanese prints held at the Ecole des Beaux-Arts from April 25 to May 22, 1890, which particularly captured Cassatt's interest. Cassatt had visited the exhibition at least twice—once with Degas and once with Morisot—before beginning the color-print series in the summer of 1890.



Mary Cassatt, *The Letter*, ca. 1890-91. Colour aquatint with drypoint, from three plates, on off – white laid paper. 43.7 x 29.7 cm. Art Institute of Chicago. View Source

If it is this faded palette to which Cassatt's color prints are compared, the resemblance is clear. The basic restriction to a three-part color scheme throughout is prominent and betrays the Japanese inspiration straightaway. So, too, does the bold and dramatic use of black and white as strong units of color within the composition: it is safe to say that Cassatt was unprecedented in her understanding of the positive

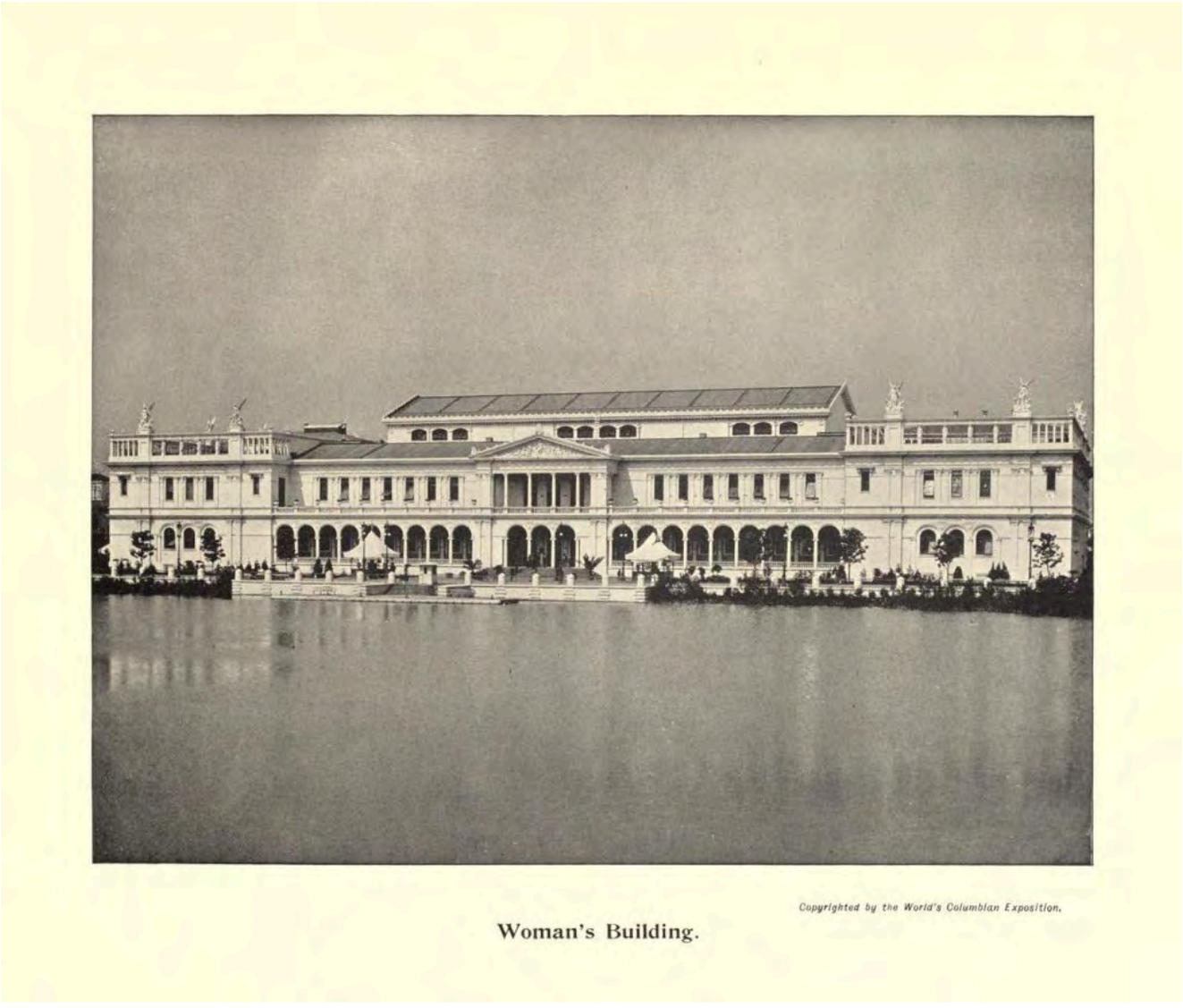
use of the white paper as shape in the late eighteenth-century Japanese print and in her own daring application of this lesson to her color prints.

...

This is a critical point not only in the service of historical reconstruction, but in the discussion of the question of influence as a whole. It emphasizes a methodology in which the citation of sources must be based as much as possible upon the specific objects available to the artist and his or her understanding of them. The series met with little success at its exhibition, Pissarro noting "great indifference on the part of the visitors and even much opposition." Nor did it fare better in its subsequent exhibition at Durand-Ruel in New York in 1895, when Cassatt wrote that she was "still very much disappointed that compatriots have so little liking for ... my work." She apparently never exhausted the small edition of twenty-five impressions in her lifetime and continued to sell sets for approximately the same price—slightly over $200—as that asked in 1891. Perhaps in response to this, Cassatt turned to a harsher, more monotonic palette in subsequent color prints. This paralleled the aesthetic of the brashly colored, late nineteenth-century Japanese print that continued to dominate French popular taste to World War I and that, in turn, met with greater approval from her compatriots.

4.17
| Modern Woman

In 1893 Cassatt was invited to participate in Chicago's World's Columbian Exposition and Fair, which aimed to promote significant achievements in industry, art, and science since Columbus' arrival in America. Cassatt was asked to paint a 58 x 12-foot mural for the north tympanum over the entrance to the Gallery of Honor situated in the Women's Building. It was to be an allegorical painting showcasing the advancement of women throughout history.



Woman's Building, 1893. World Columbian Exposition of 1893 in Chicago. Reproduced from James W. Shepp and Daniel B. Shepp, World's Fair Photographed (Chicago: Globe Bible, 1893), 279. View Source



Mary Cassatt , *Modern Woman* , 1893. Decoration for the Woman's Building at the World Columbian Exposition of 1893 in Chicago. View Source



Coloured engraving after Mary Cassatt, *Modern Woman* , 1893, published in William Walton, *World's Columbian Exposition, Art and Architecture, Volume 1* (Philadelphia: George Barrie & Son, 1893), opp. p . xxxvi.
View Source



Mary Fairchild MacMonnies, *Primitive Woman*, 1893. Decoration for the Woman's Building at the World Columbian Exposition of 1893 in Chicago. View Source

Set across from Cassatt's work was a complementary mural on *Primitive Woman* by Mary Fairchild MacMonnies, another American living in Paris. Both murals survived to the 20th century, but their traces disappeared shortly after the First World War.



Mary Cassatt, *Modern Woman* , 1893. Decoration for the Woman's Building at the World Columbian Exposition of 1893 in Chicago. View Source

Cassatt's mural was divided into three parts through the insertion of prominent decorative borders.



Mary Cassatt, *Modern Woman*, 1893. Taken from a photo in *Harper's New Monthly Magazine* (May 1893), inset with a contemporary colour detail printed by George Barrie. View Source

The allegorical triptych alluded to the Bible as well as art history. The central panel, *Young Women Plucking the Fruits of Knowledge or Science,* was inserted between the panel of *Young Girls Pursuing Fame* and *Arts, Music, Dancing* which featured young women engaged in the arts. We know from a sketch that the mural was brilliantly coloured, which was unusual for projects such as this at the time.

John Hutton writes in "Picking Fruit: Mary Cassatt's 'Modern Woman' and the Woman's Building of 1893" (*Feminist Studies* 20, no. 2 (1994): 319–48):

> Cassatt appropriated a common myth and turned it upside down to affirm the possibility of a new beginning for women, in which Eve's act becomes a process in which adult women reach for the fruits of knowledge, passing those fruits down to their young daughters and even to their infant children.
>
> ...
>
> Skills usually treated merely as colorful depictions of an essential "femininity" were transformed by Cassatt into serious endeavors, requiring concentration and practice, from sewing to driving a cab or playing a banjo. In *Modern Woman*, this theme is repeated: the twelve figures of the center panel are divided into four groups of three; in each, an older woman assists a teenager and a young girl in picking the fruit of knowledge, passing it to the infants of the painted border. The issue is thus the acquisition of knowledge itself and its transmission from woman to child.
>
> ...
>
> Rather than an insertion of woman as skilled producer into a conventional iconography, Cassatt's work embodied an assertion of the propriety of an active role for women in society. In rejecting the muted quality of the surrounding murals with her bright colors and bold forms, Cassatt, by an extension her critics found natural (if deplorable), rejected assumptions about the passive, "decorative" qualities ascribed to women as well. Above all, the work rejected an entire corpus of myths and attendant images from which the surrounding works were derived-focusing instead on overturning an account used to deny women the right to speak and act... Eve's act in picking the forbidden fruit becomes an essential component of the evolution of humanity toward a new Eden, an alternative, more egalitarian social order.



James Tissot, *The Bunch of Lilacs*, ca. 1875. Oil on canvas. View Source

Cassatt chose to portray women who seemed familiar in terms of status and type, which could be construed as objectionable. She appropriated the allegory to meet her terms as a cultivated, modern, *fin de siecle* woman. Her images did not resort to frivolities seen in contemporary works by, for example, James Tissot. She designed the dresses to be neither constrictive nor sexy, not overtly fashionable but modern.



Coloured engraving after Mary Cassatt, *Modern Woman* , 1893, published in William Walton, *World's Columbian Exposition, Art and Architecture, Volume 1* (Philadelphia: George Barrie & Son, 1893), opp. p . xxxvi.
View Source

The mural is one of a few ambitious monumental paintings of its time not weighed down by deadening morality. Its message was direct, as evidenced in the centre panel, which instructs women, in so many words, to go ahead and pick the fruit.

In refusing to make her allegory grim and in her inventive formal vocabulary, Cassatt participated in one of the significant vanguard projects of the era. But *Modern Woman* was not a critical success. For one thing, the absence of male figures caused a critic to comment that the painting "seems too trivial and below the dignity of a great occasion." Her all-female composition had been an issue even while the work was in progress. In

a letter to her friend Mrs. Palmer, Cassatt deplored how an American friend asked her huffily, " 'Then this is woman apart from her relation to man?' I told him it was. Men may be depicted in all their vigor on the walls of the other buildings ..." but "to us the sweetness of childhood, the charm of womanhood, if I have not conveyed some sense of that charm, in one word, if I have not been absolutely feminine, then I have failed." (Nancy Mowll Mathews, ed., *Cassatt and Her Circle: Collected Letters* (New York, Abbeville Press, 1984).

Norma Broude in "Mary Cassatt: Modern Woman or the Cult of True Womanhood?" (*Woman's Art Journal* 21, no.1 (Autumn, 2000 – Winter, 2001): 36-43), explores the undercurrents of Cassatt's letter to Palmer. She explains that while her retort reflected her modernist attitude, her attempt to soften it illustrates the continued influence of 19th-century attitudes regarding women and Cassatt's predicament, even as a relatively emancipated and successful woman artist.

> ... These statements deserve sustained attention because they present some revealing contradictions. Despite Cassatt's own resistance to patriarchal norms of proper femininity—her mother described her as a woman who wanted to achieve fame and money through her own accomplishments—and in spite of the recognition that she enjoyed in Europe, she here cloaks and masks those unseemly ambitions in conventionally gendered language. She walks a fine line, one that respectable women of her class apparently still had to negotiate even at the end of the century. In her mural, Cassatt gave expression to the modern woman's desire for autonomy and access to the public sphere, a desire based on modern doctrines of rationality, progress, and ambitious individualism. But her words betray signs of a conventional, almost essentialist belief in "women's qualities," a femininity of sweetness and charm, an acceptance of the gender stereotypes that the mural seems to defy. What we see here, I propose, is an important and widespread pattern of resistance on the one hand and simultaneous complicity on the other, a pattern typical of many Euro-American women artists and intellectuals who achieved fairly notable positions during the 19th century. Like Cassatt, these women desired autonomy, success, and fame, but they had also absorbed the patriarchal values of their bourgeois, Victorian era. And in a century of dynamic and discomforting social change, their own ambivalence may have been the necessary price, or even the necessary condition, for their extraordinary achievements.



Pierre Puvis de Chavannes, *Inter Artes et Naturam (Between Art and Nature)* , ca. 1890 – 95. Oil on canvas. 40.3 x 113.7 cm. Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York. View Source

Cassatt's appropriation of the allegorical theme of art and nature was familiar. In his *Inter Artes et Naturam*, the muralist Puvis de Chavannes imagined an Arcadian scene where both men and women exist in harmony with nature, engaged in the study and enjoyment of the arts. But men were absent in Cassatt's mural, and she did not convey an idealized classical theme but presented instead a contemporary view, one where modern young women and girls could be believable in their tasks.

Despite the differences, Cassatt learned a new technique of mural painting from Puvis de Chavannes. Marouflage was a process by which canvas murals could be permanently affixed to walls allowing artists

to produce murals within their private studios and install them in their permanent sites later. Mary Cassatt acquired a studio specifically fit ted to accommodate large-scale murals to complete her *Modern Woman*.

Regina Megan Palm, in "Women Muralists, Modern Woman and Feminine Spaces: Constructing Gender at the 1893 Chicago World's Columbian Exposition" *(Journal of Design History* 23 no 2 (2010): 123-143) explains further:

> Women artists of the 1893 Chicago World's Columbian Exposition were able to enter the field of public mural painting because of the gendered associations of the buildings and rooms in which they were asked to exhibit. Thus, the inception of a Woman's Building and the construction of rooms in state buildings specifically for the use of women is significant to our understanding of the Fair and women artists, and women in general, at the end of the nineteenth century. These Exposition spaces were similar to home-based studios and women's art institutions, as each of them was understood and codified as feminine.
>
> ...
>
> Woman's Building provided women artists with the opportunity to prove that they were mentally and physically capable of a feat that had, until then, been considered virtually impossible and largely inappropriate for a woman. It was because of the construction of the Woman's Building that so many women were able to undertake mural commissions, although mural projects were often undertaken by men, since the Woman's Building was designed by and for women, it was to be decorated solely by women artists.



Office of Board of Lady Managers , portraits of 10 women, 1896. World's Columbian Exposition Collection. Field Museum Library, Chicago. View Source

The Women's Exhibit was diverse in its displays. While presentations focused on the traditional roles held by women in society, specific exhibitions also highlighted women's entry into fields previously understood as masculine. The building had shows on embroidery and lace making and a 'Model Kitchen,' for example, but also included an 'Inventions Room,' sculptural works and large mural paintings. This inevitably caused internal ideological conflict between the building's management, which was divided between the Women's Auxiliary, which sought to follow a domestic ideology, and the Queen Isabella Society, known as the Isabellas, a faction of the National American Woman Suffrage Association.



Madeleine Lemaire, *Art and Handicraft in the Woman's Building*, 1893. Lithographic poster for the Chicago International Fair. View Source



William Henry Jackson, Interior of the Woman's Building, 1893. Large photographic print. Field Museum Library, Chicago. View Source

4.18 | The Suffrage Exhibition

Cassatt was a staunch advocate of the suffrage movement. She encouraged her friend, the art collector, philanthropist and feminist Louisine Havemeyer, to support the cause of women's rights, particularly the right for women to vote.



Mary Cassatt, *Louisine Havemeyer*, 1896. Pastel on wove paper, mounted on canvas. 72.1 x 58.4 cm. Shelburne Museum, Shelburne. View Source

Together "Cassatt and Havemeyer were a formidable pair," writes Nikki Georgopulos in "Mary Cassatt's Suffragist Symbolism" (https://www.nga.gov/blog/cassatt-suffragist-symbolism.html, August 26, 2020). In addition to her fundraising efforts, Havemeyer wrote passionately about the fight for voting rights and was arrested for her participation in protest actions. Indeed, Havemeyer attributed her dedication to women's rights to Cassatt's influence, recalling a letter she received from the artist in 1914: "Work for suffrage," the painter implored her friend. "If the world is to be saved, it will be the women who save it."

During their friendship, Cassatt created a portrait of the fashionable Havemeyer in a white evening gown. She portrayed her as regal and unpretentious, an expression of her admiration and respect. Following her husband's death in 1907, and with Cassatt's involvement, Havemeyer became active in the organized suffrage movement. Among the projects organized to benefit the cause were two exhibitions featuring multiple works by Cassatt.

Ruth Iskin explores the formal qualities of Cassatt's portrait of Havemeyer in "The Degas and Cassatt 1915 Exhibition in Support of Women's Suffrage" (in *Monographic Exhibitions and the History of Art,"* edited by Maia Gahtan and Donatella Pegazzano (Routledge, 2018), 26-37):

> Despite their long years of friendship Cassatt elected not to represent an intimate viewpoint of a 'private' Louisine. Rather, she made a formal portrait that emphasized Havemeyer's power. Sitting erect, the pensive forty-one-year-old Mrs. Havemeyer is depicted without a trace of a smile and no attempt to ingratiate herself. Her voluminous fashionable evening dress with puffed sleeves lends her a grand presence. She fills the space of the picture, leaving no room for a domestic interior to contain her. Holding a closed fan, which looks more like a baton, in a decisive manner, she firmly presses it against the fabric of her dress. The gesture expresses her determination and agency. Her hands holding the fan are devoid of the kind of elegant femininity so common in the representation of young feminine hands holding fans in countless Impressionist paintings (Cassatt's included). The portrait evokes an

authoritative presence befitting a major, confident collector. It opposes gender conventions of portraits of upper-class bourgeois women as fashionable society ladies, making this a rare case of depicting a woman as a powerful persona.



Mary Cassatt, *Mother and Child,* ca. 1905. Oil on canvas. 92.1 x 73.7 cm. National Gallery of Art, Washington. View Source

Cassatt's *Mother and Child* was among the works included in the 1915 Knoedler Gallery exhibition organized by Havemeyer to raise money for the suffrage campaign. Georgopulos writes:

> As I was researching this painting for my doctoral dissertation, I became captivated by the sunflower, a radiant focal point in Cassatt's composition. While scholars before me had dismissed it as merely a pretty decoration, my research revealed that it bore a powerful political message.

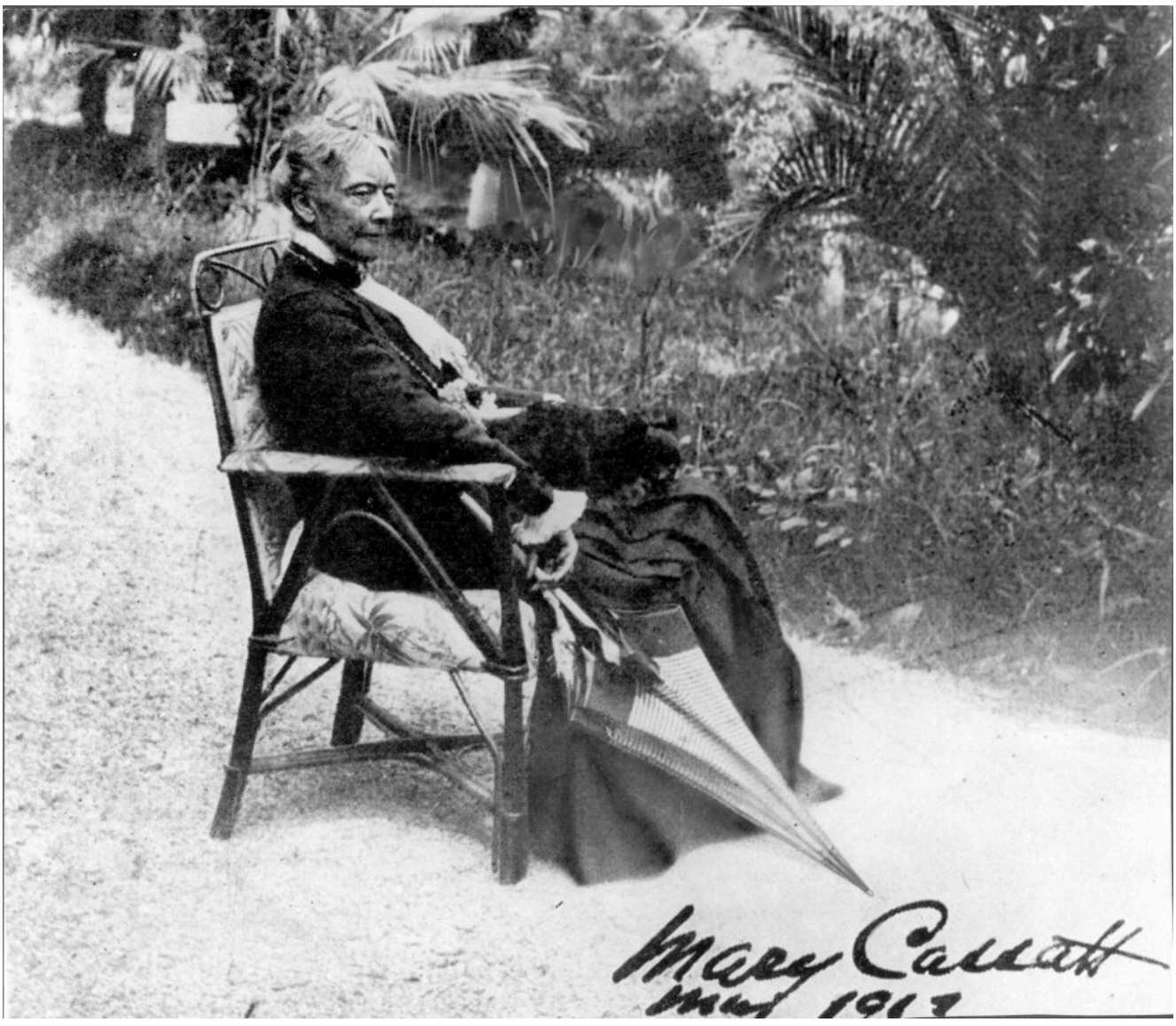


We Want to Vote for President in 1904, ca. 1904. Button. Museum of the City of New York. View Source

The sunflower had been the official symbol of the National American Woman Suffrage Association since 1896. By the time Cassatt painted *Woman with a Sunflower* around 1905, sunflowers had appeared on all kinds of official and promotional suffrage materials, such as a button emblazoned with the phrase 'We want to vote for president in 1904,' now in the collection of the Museum of the City of New York.

...

That Cassatt would so prominently display a symbol of the suffrage movement in her painting comes as no surprise. A fierce advocate for women's rights, she was unafraid of using her work to advance the cause.



Durand-Ruel, *Cassatt seated in a chair with an umbrella*, 1913. Frick Collection, New York. View Source

Diagnosed with diabetes, rheumatism, neuralgia, and cataracts in 1911, Cassatt was forced to stop painting in 1914 when she became almost blind. This did not prevent her from collaborating with Louisine Havemeyer. They organized the *Suffrage Loan Exhibition of Old Masters and Works by Edward Degas and Mary Cassatt,* held at the Knoedler Gallery in New York from April 6-24 of 1915. An essential goal of theirs was to provide a feminist message through the exhibition, and the presentation of Degas and Cassatt together became a statement for gender equality. The message was also underscored in the exhibition's design, where each artist's works were installed on different walls in the same gallery, allowing for an appreciation of each within the context of their production first and only secondarily in comparison to one another.

Havemeyer used the proceeds from entry fees and catalogue sales to establish the Woman Suffrage Campaign Fund. Following the close of the successful exhibition, Cassatt wrote to Havemeyer, "My dear, I am so very glad about the exhibition . . . you deserve all the credit. . . . The time has finally come to show that women can do something."

Iskin:

> … the exhibit at the Knoedler Gallery in New York, 6-24 April 1915, featured the art of Cassatt and Degas in the large central space of the gallery along with paintings by Old Masters, shown in two smaller adjacent spaces (among them Holbein, Rembrandt, and Rubens).
> …

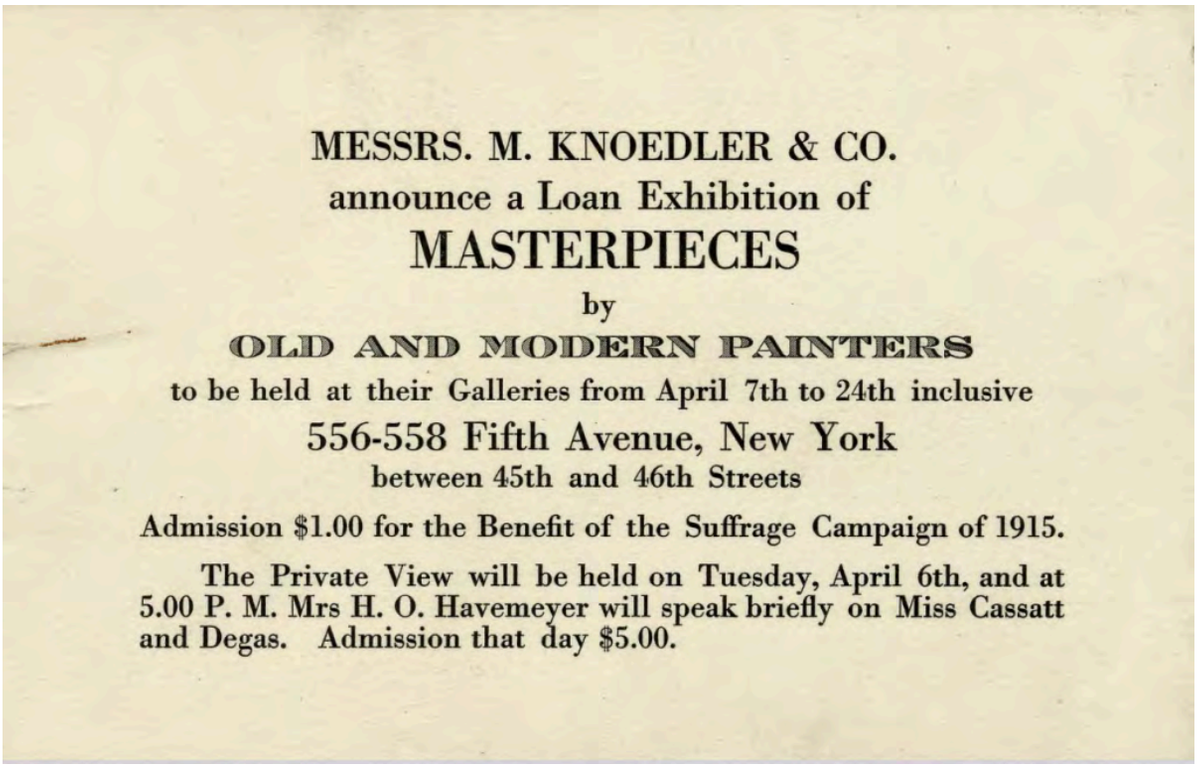
Referring to the scope and uniqueness of this endeavour, Mrs. Havemeyer noted in a lecture she gave on the opening day that the exhibition so "fully and completely revealed to the American public" the work of Cassatt and Degas, and noted, "I doubt if such a collection as you now see here could be made even in France, where they have always lived and worked." The exhibition included, in addition to eighteen Old Master paintings, a total of at least fifty-six works by Degas and Cassatt, of which twenty-seven were by Degas and twenty-nine by Cassatt... The fact that Cassatt and Degas actually exhibited about the same number of works is consistent with what is argued in what follows—that the exhibition presented Degas and Cassatt as equals and that this was an important part of its feminist message.

...

Havemeyer made two strategic decisions about the exhibition: placing Degas and Cassatt on an equal footing and representing them (and more generally "the moderns") as equal to the Old Masters. The latter must be understood in the context of her long-term collecting and dialogues with Cassatt on the relationship between the Old Masters and the moderns... Both her collection and the exhibition implied that the moderns occupied a legitimate place in an art canon that extended over centuries. She also agreed with Cassatt that "to be a great painter you must be classic as well as modern." For Havemeyer and Cassatt, the moderns did not perform a radical break with the art that preceded them but rather were rooted in tradition as well as in modernity... Although the history of art later on valued Courbet, Manet, and the Impressionists for their rupture with tradition, at an earlier phase of the reception of Impressionism, Cassatt and Mrs. Havemeyer strategically championed the moderns as a continuation of Old Masters.

...

Although their artistic status was different, there were matters in which Degas and Cassatt were equal. Mrs. Havemeyer stressed that in her memoirs and in her lecture at the Knoedler Gallery. She clarified that contrary to conventional assumptions, it was "not true" that Cassatt was Degas's pupil. Cassatt herself had believed the exhibition would show that she was by no means a follower of Degas in the sense of copying him. Moreover, Havemeyer was determined to dispute a related prevailing assumption. As I have discussed elsewhere, the claim that it was only Cassatt who benefited from Degas's advice but not vice versa has so often been repeated that it may be surprising to discover that it was false. Mrs. Havemeyer made clear that during their long years of friendship Degas and Cassatt benefitted from "mutual criticism." Furthermore, she stated authoritatively, based on knowing both artists well: "She [Cassatt] could do without him [Degas], while he needed her honest criticism and her generous admiration."



MESSRS. M. KNOEDLER & CO.
announce a Loan Exhibition of
MASTERPIECES
by
OLD AND MODERN PAINTERS
to be held at their Galleries from April 7th to 24th inclusive
556-558 Fifth Avenue, New York
between 45th and 46th Streets
Admission $1.00 for the Benefit of the Suffrage Campaign of 1915.
The Private View will be held on Tuesday, April 6th, and at 5.00 P. M. Mrs H. O. Havemeyer will speak briefly on Miss Cassatt and Degas. Admission that day $5.00.

Photograph of the Suffrage Loan Exhibition at Knoedler Gallery, 1915. View Source



Académie Julian, Paris, group of art students , ca. 1885. Photographic print. Library of Congress, Washington. View Source

Despite the socio-political constraints of the later 19th century, this period was pivotal to the professionalization of women artists. Berthe Morisot and Mary Cassatt were pioneering figures in this regard, challenging the status quo and paving the way for future generations of female art practitioners.

The *Union des femmes peintres et sculpteurs* was formed in 1881. The professional woman artist was no longer regarded as incompatible with family life, provided traditions were honoured, protected, and promoted. In a speech to members of the Union, which was reprinted in the *Journal des femmes artistes* on 13 June 1891, the sculptor and educator Mme Leon Betraux (Hélène Bertaux) wrote:

> You see mesdames, our domain does not have restrictions. Let us be great artists, we would still remain within our roles in a manner perfectly in accord with the laws which nature, society and the family impose on us. The cult of art leaves us within our sphere; it is men who make the laws and when necessary, fight wars to defend them; public life belongs to them; it is our rightful places, let us enrol all our living strength our beautiful passions in the divine cult of art. We will find there bread, sometimes fortune, and according to our destinies, joys and consolations. Woman will gain from it and the whole of society with her.

The objective of the Union was to educate and support female artists and to exhibit their works in the annual Salon des Femmes. In 1896, 296 artists participated in the exhibition.

Chapter Five

THE MODERN PORTRAIT in Photography and Impressionist Painting



Julia Margaret Cameron, *Portrait of Julia Stephen born Julia Jackson, mother of Virginia Woolf,* April 1867. Albumen silver print from wet collodion negative. 27.6 x 22.0 cm. Art Institute of Chicago, Harriott A. Fox Endowment, 1968.227. View Source

CONTENTS

Introduction

5.1

The Invention of Photography

5.2

Early Photographic Portraiture

5.3

Portrait Photography, Art, and Aesthetics

5.4

Félix Nadar: Beyond the Documentary Portrait

5.5

Julia Margaret Cameron: Art Photography and Pictorialism

5.6

Modern Impressionist Portrait Paintings and the Impact of Photographic Techniques

5.7

Edgar Degas and the Influence of Photography

5.8

Impressionist Portraits of Colleagues and Friends

5.9

Frédéric Bazille

5.10

Auguste-Pierre Renoir and the Group Portrait

5.11

Renoir's Images of Children

INTRODUCTION

The invention of photography significantly impacted avant-garde painters who were interested in representing contemporary life. The immediacy and objectivity of the medium attracted Impressionists whose interest was in capturing the ever-changing, everyday experiences of the modern world. The advent of photography radically altered how visual art was both conceived and perceived.



Edgar Degas, *Place de la Concorde,* 1875. Oil on canvas. 78.4 x 46.2 cm. Hermitage Museum, Saint Petersburg. View Source

Freed from the burden of mimetic representation, artists shifted their attention to the portrayal of the fleeting and fragmentary events of life. Painters slowly began to appropriate the techno-formal aspects of the still photograph—the shaping power of light, the use of altered perspective, an interest in cropped spaces, and the exploration of increased spatial ambiguities that echoed the moving continuum of lived experience—to paint their images of a world in flux. Initially, paintings that strayed too far from objective representation were deemed unfinished, but in time their arbitrariness became accepted as an aspect of modern art.

The relationship between photography and painting was reciprocal. The photographic portrait did not remain static but evolved as well, moving from a mechanistic recording of likeness with the one-of-a-kind invention of the daguerreotype to the popular multiples of the carte-de-visite to more sophisticated and nuanced studio photography and finally to pictorialism, which engaged with broader art forms as art photography and secured its legitimate place as fine art.

This chapter will consider Impressionist portraiture within its historical context and its relationship to the parallel evolution of photographic images. The work of artists associated with the French avant-garde, such as Degas, Bazille, and Renoir, will be considered in terms of the innovations they implemented within the context of the portrait genre and how their ambitions for painting people in a modern world advanced the conceptualization and creation of late nineteenth-century portraiture.
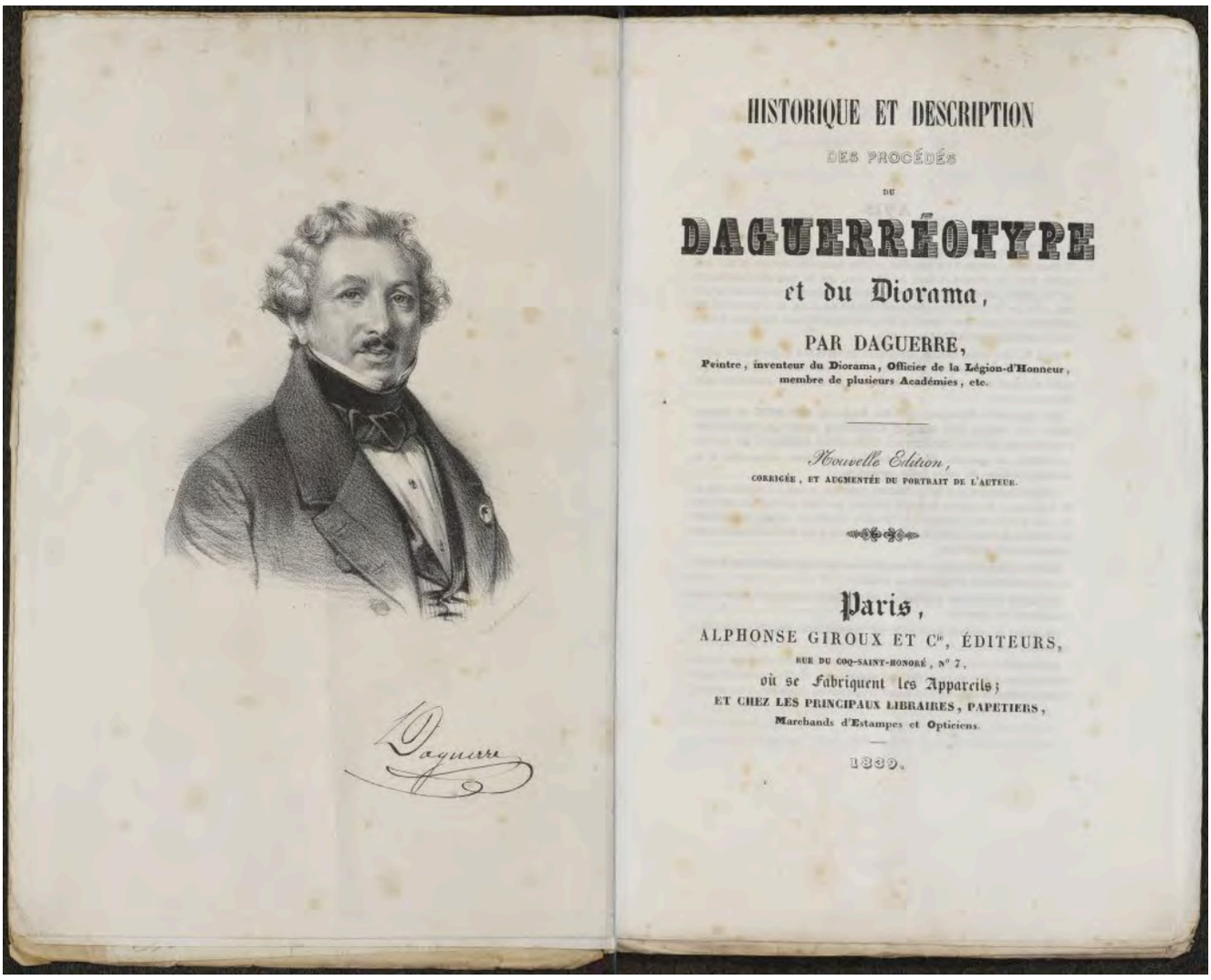
5.1
| The Invention of Photography

In 1837, Louis Daguerre, a painter, printmaker and proprietor of the Parisian Diorama, invented the daguerreotype camera. It was the first commercially available method of mechanical image reproduction. Each daguerreotype was a finely detailed and permanent unique image recorded on a silvered copper plate. The process involved treating the silver-plated sheets with iodine to make them light sensitive, then developing them in a camera with mercury vapour.



Jean-Baptiste Sabatier Blot,*Portrait of Louis Daguerre*, 1844. Daguerrotype. 9.1 x 6.9 cm. George Eastman Museum, Rochester. View Source

The invention of photography in the early nineteenth century revolutionized the nature and possibilities of visual representation.



Louis Daguerre, *Historique et description des procédés de daguerréotype et du diorama* (Paris: Alphonse Giroux et cie., 1839). View Source



Le Daguerréotype, The Daguerre-Giroux camera. View Source



Portrait of a Daguerreotypist Displaying Daguerreotypes and Cases, 1845. Hand-coloured Daguerreotype. Getty Center, Los Angeles. View Source

Daguerre introduced his product to the French Académie des Sciences in January 1839, and to the public in late summer of that year. He followed up by patenting his product, demonstrating the process at the Conservatoire des Arts et Métiers, and publishing an informational handbook. He also actively promoted his invention in Berlin, New York, and London.

Daguerreotypes initially required long exposure lengths due to the low light sensitivity of the plates. By 1841, better plates combined with Joseph Petzval's development of a new lens in Vienna (the Petzel lens) shortened exposure times sufficiently to open the door to large-scale portrait photography.

Before the invention of photography, a painted portrait was an unaffordable luxury for the average person. Even in its infancy as a relatively precious commodity, the daguerreotype made a photo portrait accessible and highly desirable. As the technology improved, so did the cost, boosting popularity and demand. In 1849 alone, approximately 100,000 photographic portrait pictures were recorded in Paris, adversely affecting miniature portraitists and negatively impacting larger portrait commissions.

Daguerreotypes were positive, inverted images that could not be produced as multiples. Images could, however, be reproduced through "redaguerreotyping" the original plate. As a technique, it required a subject to sit still for a light-dependent period of time, anywhere from three to thirty minutes.



Staff at William Henry Fox Talbot's commercial calotype establishment in Reading, Berkshire, 1846. Metropolitan Museum of Art. View Source

The innovations made by Fox Talbot, who invented the negative-positive photographic process, and the physicist Louis Fizeau, who developed Gilding, a gold-toned image, made it possible to produce photographs more resistant to deterioration and cheaper to make.

5.2
| Early Photographic Portraiture

From its early beginnings, photography presented as a double-edged medium, both a scientific device and a means of aesthetic expression. The first generation of portrait photographers struggled with this duality even as they experimented with new techniques, debating whether photography should appropriate the aesthetic concerns and characteristics of portrait painting, the expressive significance of poses and background props, and issues of composition, lighting and how to render tone and texture monochromatically.



André-Adolphe-Eugène Disdéri, *Prince Lobkowitz,* 1858. Albumen silver print from glass negative. 20 x 23.2 cm. Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York. View Source



André-Adolphe-Eugène Disdéri, *Demi-Monde II 57,* from an album of photographs, ca. 1858-68. Albumen silver print from glass negative. Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York. View Source

Malcolm Daniel provides an overview of photographers' challenges in "The Industrialization of French Photography after 1860" (Heilbrunn Timeline of Art History. New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, October 2004. (http://www.metmuseum.org/toah/hd/infp/hd_infp.htm)

> The decade of the 1850s was a "golden age" in the art of photography. Artists of great vision and skill took up a fully mature medium, tackled ambitious subjects, and lavished care in producing large, richly toned, and colorful prints for a select group of fellow artists or wealthy patrons. By the 1860s, times were changing, and the medium became increasingly industrialized. Instead of mixing chemicals according to personal recipes and hand coating their papers, photographers could buy commercially prepared albumen papers and other supplies. Increasingly, the marketplace pressured photographers to produce a greater quantity of cheaper prints for a less discerning audience. In marketing to a middle class, aesthetic factors such as careful composition, optimal lighting conditions, and exquisite printing became less important than the recognizable rendering of a familiar sight or famous person.

With the industrialization of the photographic medium in the 1860s, pressure turned to production. In 1854, A.A-E. Disdéri had discovered how to produce multiple exposures on a single glass-plate negative which he printed and divided into separate pictures measuring nine-by-six centimetres. The negative could be printed a dozen times cheaply, and just like that, the carte-de-visite *(*calling card*)* was born.

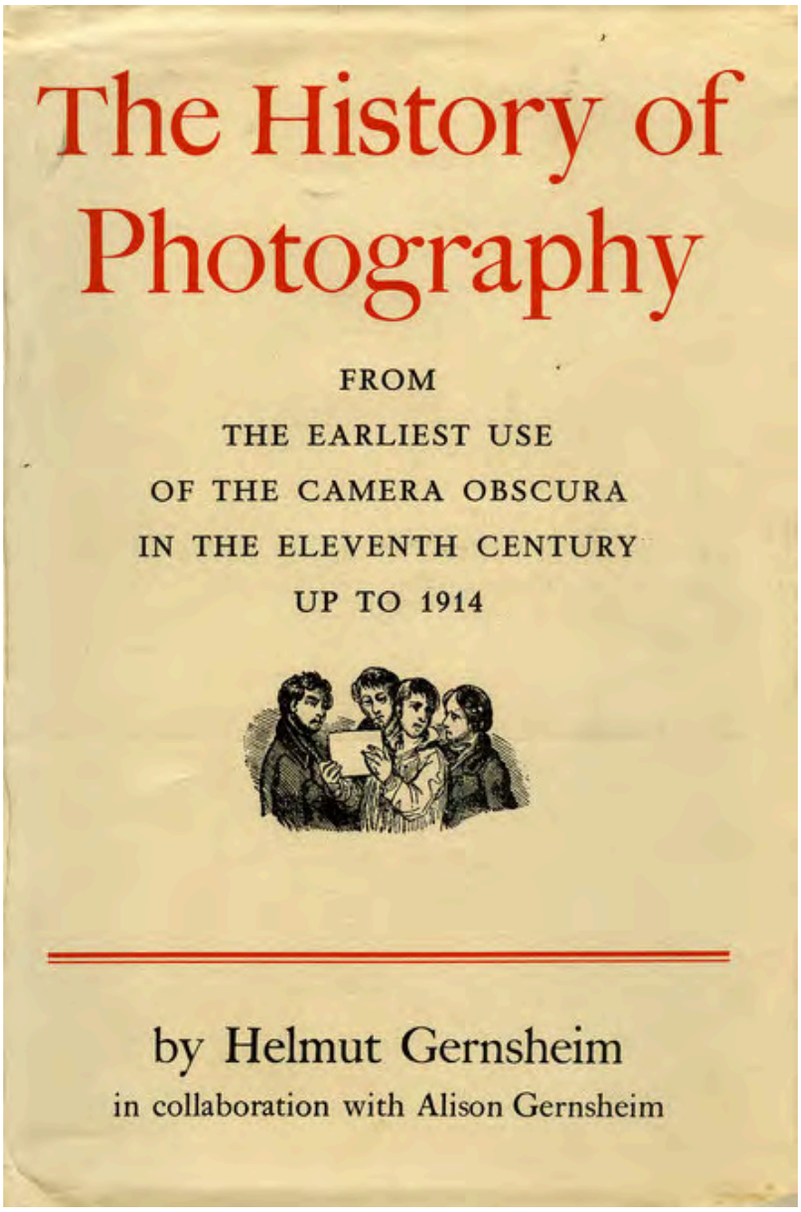


Scovill Manufacturing Co.,*Wet-plate camera with nine Darlot no. 2 lenses*, ca. 1860. Possibly designed by Samuel Peck. View Source

Cartes-de-visite (abbreviated CdV) were postcard-size portraits made by a new multiple-lens camera with consecutively releasable shutters. The camera furnished six or eight exposures on a single plate. These multiple images became extremely popular; they were pasted on mounts and distributed to friends and business associates as visiting cards. The CdV craze necessitated hiring teams of new employees (1855 records indicate Disdéri's business hired as many as 77 assistants), and sales volumes soared.



Charles Wilson Peale, *Mrs. Charles Willson Peale (Rachel Brewer) and Baby Eleanor,* 1790. Watercolour on ivory. 6.5 x 5.2 cm. Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York. View Source



Helmut Gernsheim, and Alison Gernsheim, *The History of Photography: From the Earliest Use of the Camera Obscura in the Eleventh Century Up to 1914* (London: Oxford University Press, 1955). View Source

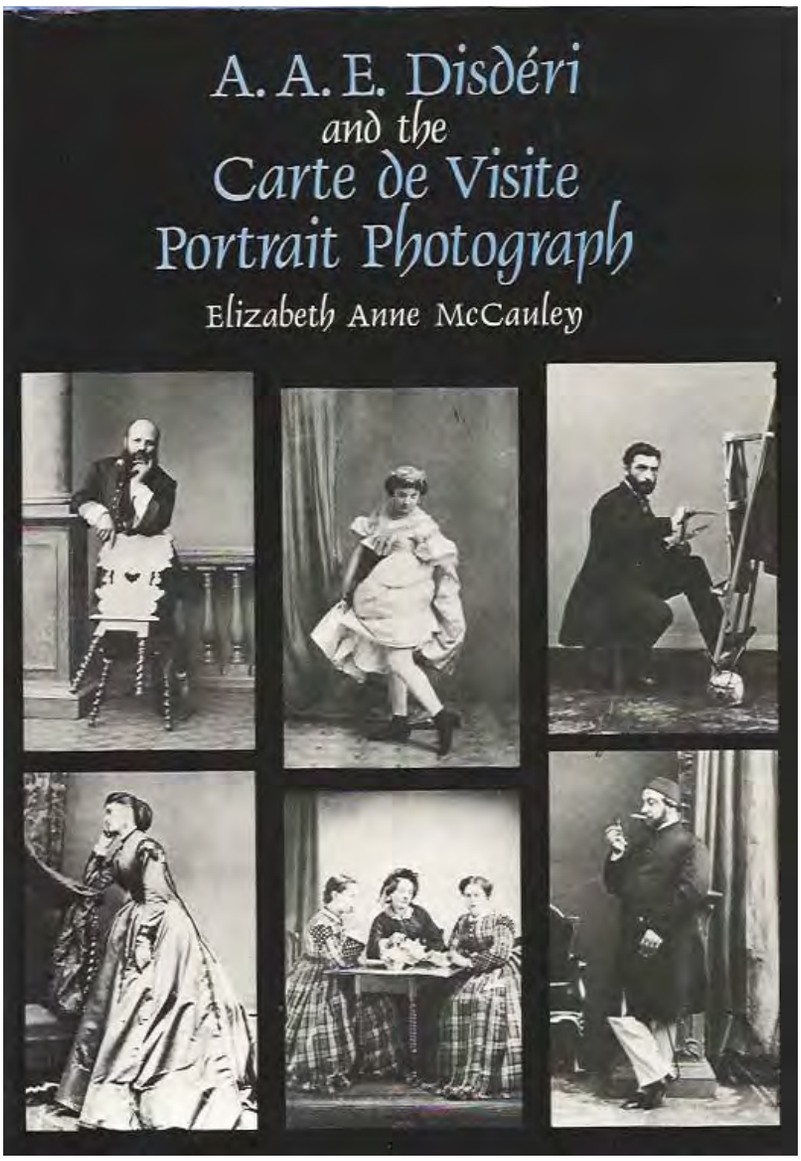
Early photography precipitated the downfall of miniature painting and presented portrait painters with serious competition. "In the summer of 1861," according to Helmut and Alison Gernsheim in *The History of Photography from the Earliest Use of the Camera Obscura in the Eleventh Century up to 1914* (London: Oxford University Press, 1955), "33,000 people made their living from the production of photographs and photographic materials in Paris alone."



André-Adolphe-Eugène Disdéri, *Emperor Napoléon III and his family,* ca. 1858. Albumen silver print. 10.1 x 5.7 cm. View Source

As Max Kozloff describes in "Nadar and the Republic of the Mind" (*Artforum* 15 no. 1 (September 1976): 28-39), Disdéri was appointed the first official court photographer:

> The royals had found a novel way of coining their images and of putting to use a new technology whose economic success originated in the cachet of their patronage... At the same time, it became clear that an intimate form of social exchange and personal talisman had had a public impetus and played a propaganda role. Ruling families could mime the domestic virtues in cheap, easily distributed images. Bourgeois could have themselves portrayed by means of an aristocratic emblem.

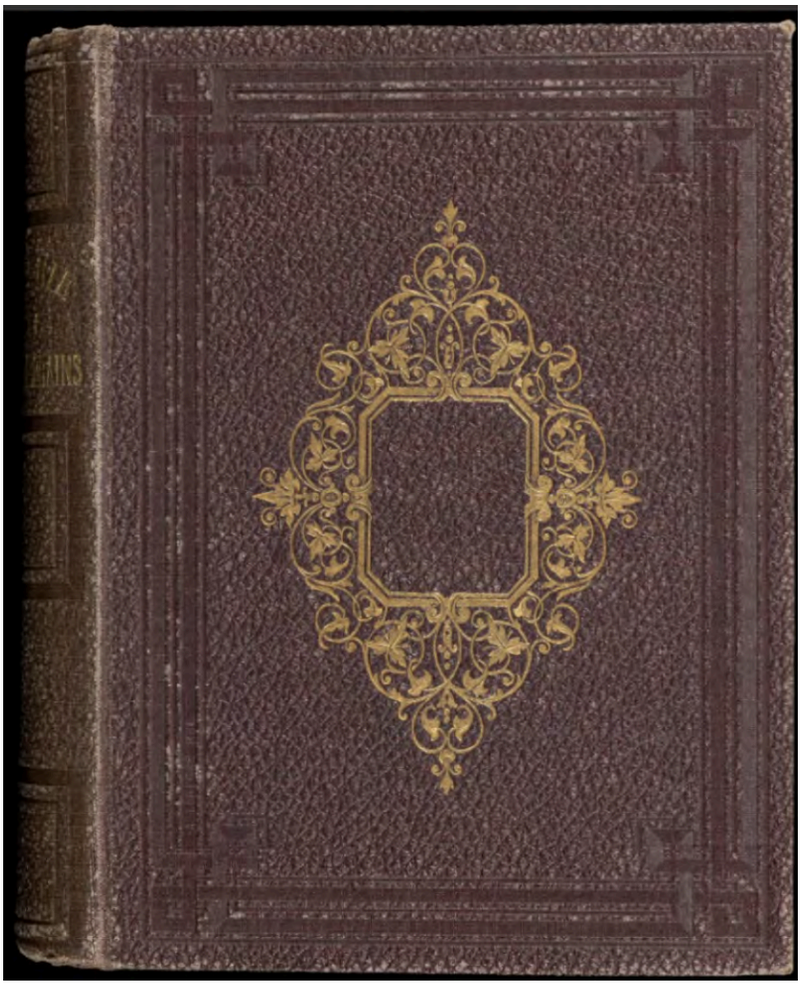


Elizabeth Anne McCauley, *A. A. E. Disdéri and the Carte de Visite Portrait Photograph* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1985). View Source

CdV's were available to everyone, from the wealthy elite to the *filles de joie* of the Second Empire's demimonde. They anticipated the democratization of photography with the medium's second wave of technological innovation with the American George Eastman's Kodak camera in the 1880s.

Elizabeth Anne McCauley, in *A. A. E. Disdéri and the Carte de Visite Portrait Photograph* (Yale University Press, 1985), in her analysis of several technical manuals published by Disdéri, describes the criteria he recommended for creating an aesthetic portrait. He advised putting subjects at ease and paying attention to the personality behind the features. "One must be able to deduce who the subject is," he wrote, "to deduce spontaneously his character, his intimate life, his habits; the photographer must do more than *photographe,* he must *biographe.*"

In discussing the origins of the CdV's mass appeal, McCauley suggests that it occurred after the aristocracy's first portraits were made, catching on with the general public, who then imitated upper-class dress and demeanour.



Dolligen, and André-Adolphe-Eugène Disdéri, *Galerie des contemporains, vol. 1* (Paris, 1862). J. Paul Getty Museum, Los Angeles.
View Source



Mayer & Pierson, [Carte-de-Visite Album of Prominent Personages], ca. 1860-70. Albumen silver prints. Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York. View Source

As the infatuation with photographs increased, elegant albums were introduced as picture-keepers. This was a fashion that McCauley calls the "elevation of the photographic album to the status of an icon."
McCauley emphasizes the correlation between the carte-de-visite and the period's "insidious transformation of the individual into a malleable commodity." The demand for calling cards was an "early step toward the simplification of complex personalities into immediately graspable and choreographed performers whose faces rather than actions win elections and whose makeup rather than morals gains public approbation."

The consensus outside the ranks of professional photographers was that photography was not a *bonafide* art form. In his *"The Salon of 1859: The Modern Public and Photography,"* Charles Baudelaire decried the rise of the photographic industry and its assumed similarity to art:

> During this lamentable period a new industry arose which contributed not a little to confirm stupidity in its faith and to ruin whatever might remain of the divine in the French mind....The idolatrous mob demanded an ideal worthy of itself and appropriate to its nature- that is perfecting understood....Thus an industry that could give us a result identical to Nature would be the absolute of art. A revengeful God has given ear to the prayers of the multitude. Daguerre was his Messiah. And now the faithful says to himself: Since Photography gives us every guarantee of exactitude that we could desire (they really believe that, the mad fools!), then Photography and Art are the same thing.

Despite widespread criticism, photographers increasingly asserted their claim to artistic status, not least of which as a bid to increase their social standing.

The overwhelming popularity and restrictions of early portrait images led to standardized studio poses and the inclusion of steadying, sometimes overly theatrical, props.



Honoré Daumier, "Croquis Parisiens: 'Pose de l'homme de la nature', 'Pose de l'homme civilisé'," *Le Charivari,* March 31, 1853. Lithograph. Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris. View Source

Daumier's *Croquis Parisiens* mocked the most typical poses of sitters: the basic frontal rigid orientation of figures looking directly at the camera as if hypnotized, and the artistic photographs characterized by mannered posturing. Daumier labelled them the "pose of the natural man" and the "pose of the civilized man."

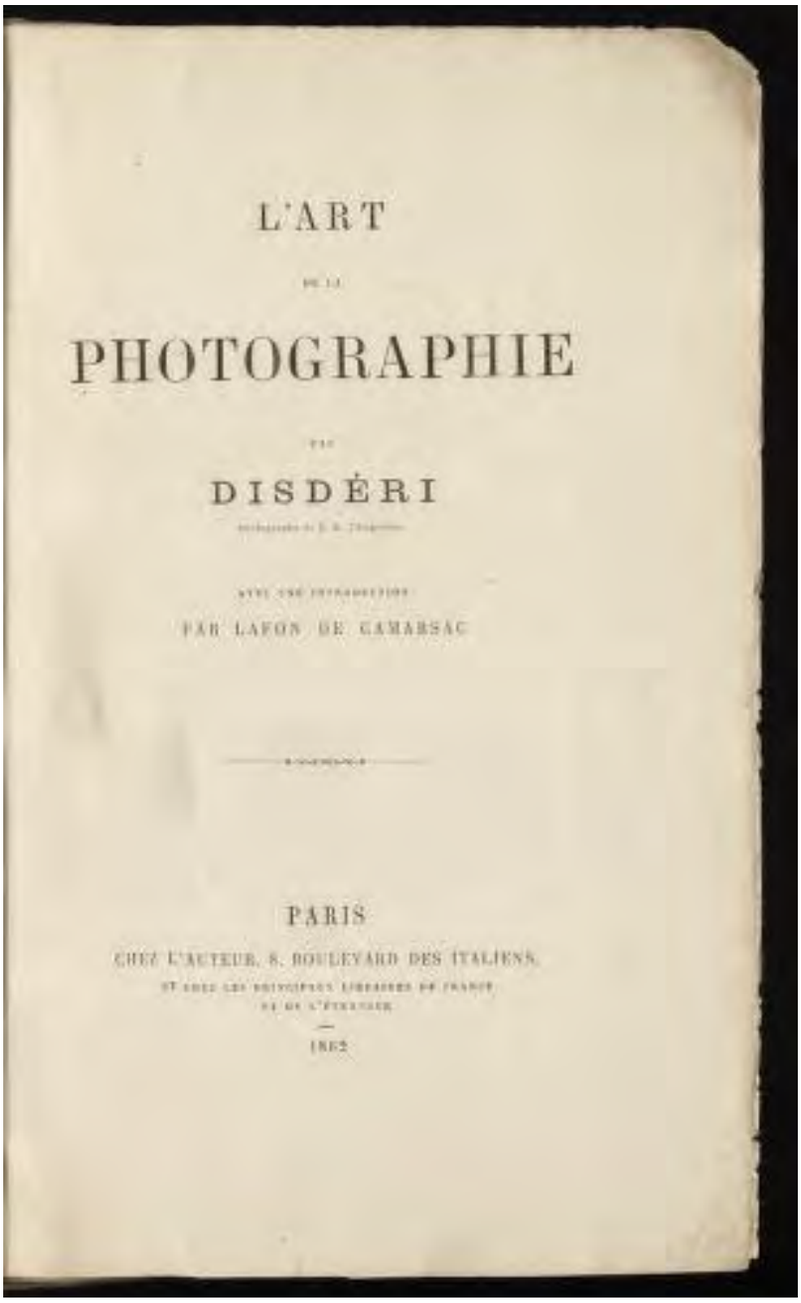


André-Adolphe-Eugène Disdéri, *Fiocre Nemea,* ca. 1862-65. Albumen silver print. J. Paul Getty Museum, Los Angeles. View Source



André-Adolphe-Eugène Disdéri, *Soeurs Marchisio,* 1862. Albumen silver print. 8.4 x 5.2 cm. From Dollingen, and André-Adolphe-Eugène Disdéri, Galerie des contemporains, vol. 2 (Paris, 1862). J. Paul Getty Museum, Los Angeles. View Source

Disdéri's background in theatrical acting allowed him to pose his subjects more convincingly. His portrait photographs of actors and dancers considerably increased his reputation as an artist.

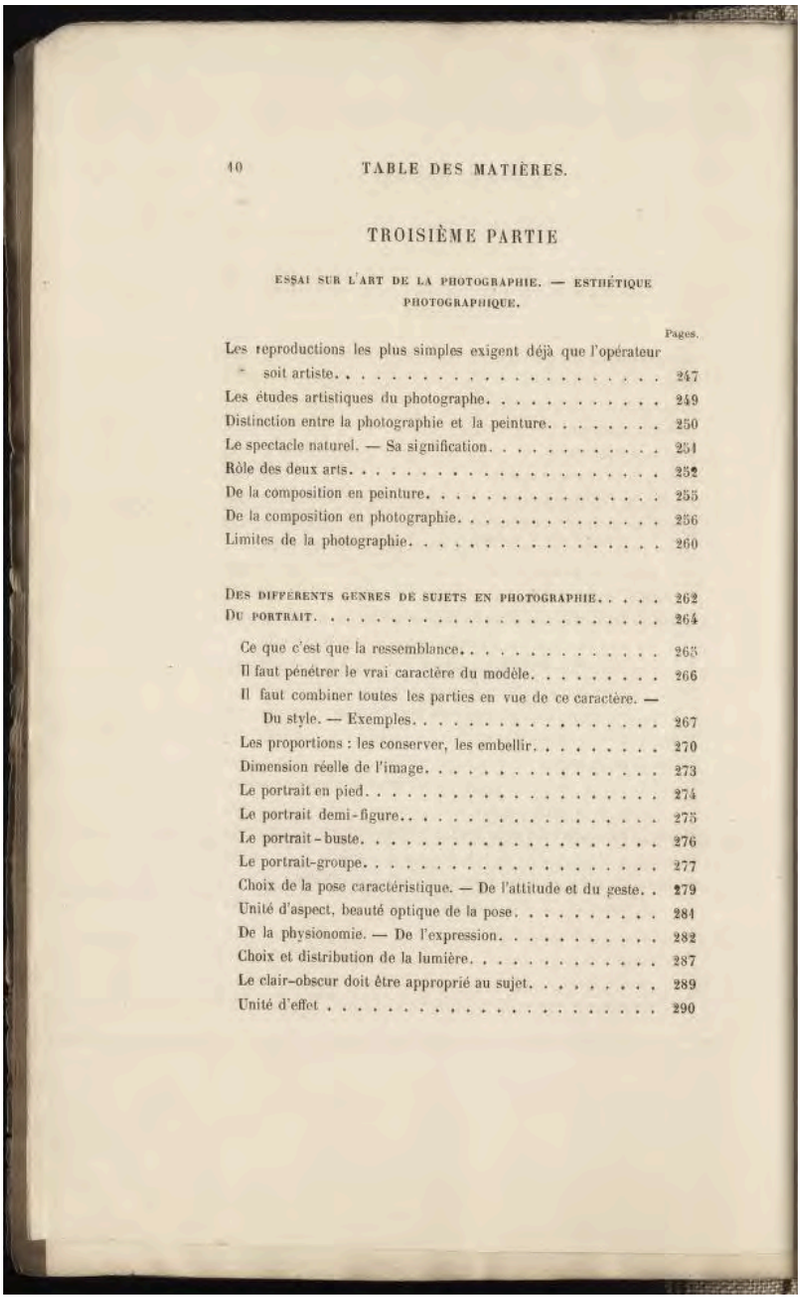


André-Adolphe-Eugène Disdéri, *L'art de la photographie* (Paris: Chez l'auteur, 1862). View Source

Disdéri's treatise *L'Art de la photographie*, published in 1862, offered a wealth of advice on posing the subject. Rather than introducing new declarations about the medium, Disdéri wanted to show that photographic portraiture, like the well-accepted academic portraits shown at the Salon, strove for compositional integrity.



André-Adolphe-Eugène Disdéri, *Self-portrait,* ca. 1860-65. Albumen silver print mounted on cardboard. 9,5 x 6 cm. Musée d'Orsay, Paris. View Source



40 TABLE DES MATIÈRES.

TROISIÈME PARTIE

ESSAI SUR L'ART DE LA PHOTOGRAPHIE. — ESTHÉTIQUE PHOTOGRAPHIQUE.

Pages.

Les reproductions les plus simples exigent déjà que l'opérateur soit artiste. 247
Les études artistiques du photographe. 249
Distinction entre la photographie et la peinture. 250
Le spectacle naturel. — Sa signification. 251
Rôle des deux arts. 252
De la composition en peinture. 255
De la composition en photographie. 256
Limites de la photographie. 260

DES DIFFÉRENTS GENRES DE SUJETS EN PHOTOGRAPHIE. 262
DU PORTRAIT. 264

Ce que c'est que la ressemblance. 265
Il faut pénétrer le vrai caractère du modèle. 266
Il faut combiner toutes les parties en vue de ce caractère. — Du style. — Exemples. 267
Les proportions : les conserver, les embellir. 270
Dimension réelle de l'image. 273
Le portrait en pied. 274
Le portrait demi-figure. 275
Le portrait-buste. 276
Le portrait-groupe. 277
Choix de la pose caractéristique. — De l'attitude et du geste. . 279
Unité d'aspect, beauté optique de la pose. 281
De la physionomie. — De l'expression. 282
Choix et distribution de la lumière. 287
Le clair-obscur doit être approprié au sujet. 289
Unité d'effet 290

Andre-Adolphe-Eugeène Disderi, *L'art de la photographie,* Paris : Chez l'auteur, 8, Boulevard des Italiens, et chez les principaux libraires de France et de l'etranger, 1862. View Source

Disdéri insisted that his carte-de-visite photographs respect the formal specifications of the portrait genre, particularly the portrait artist's ability to capture "a single dominant interest" and the well-defined character or expression of the sitter. He recognized that

> a portrait ought to convey a sense of duration rather than the impression of a fragmented moment...It is appropriate to remember that one is trying to reproduce not a scene, but a portrait, and one must not abandon the search for intimate and profound resemblance in order to chase after some aspect that might present itself but that is not a fundamental part of the subject...What needs to be found is the characteristic pose, that which expresses not this or that moment but all moments, the complete individual. (English translation from the chapter titled "The Photograph Pose" in Dianne W. Pitman *Bazille: Purity, Pose and Painting in the 1860s* (Pennsylvania University Press, 1998), 108-9).

5.3
| Portrait Photography, Art, and Aesthetics

Gustave Le Gray was a central figure in French photography of the 1850s. Malcolm Daniel elaborates on the artist's contributions to the field of photography in "Gustave Le Gray (1820–1884)." (Heilbrunn Timeline of Art History. New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2000–. http://www.metmuseum.org/toah/hd/gray/hd_gray.htm (October 2004)

> Born the only child of a haberdasher in 1820 in the outskirts of Paris, Le Gray studied painting in the studio of Paul Delaroche, and made his first daguerreotypes by at least 1847. His real contributions—artistically and technically—however, came in the realm of paper photography, in which he first experimented in 1848. The first of his four treatises, published in 1850, boldly, and correctly, asserted that "the entire future of photography is on paper." In that volume, Le Gray outlined a variation of William Henry Fox Talbot's process calling for the paper negatives to be waxed prior to sensitization, thereby yielding a crisper image.



Gustave Le Gray, *Self-portrait*, ca. 1850-55. Albumen silver print mounted on cardboard on salted paper from a collodion glass negative. 20.5 x 16.4 cm. Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris. View Source



Gustave Le Gray, *Eugenie, Empress of the French,* 1856. Albumen silver print from a collodion glass negative. 23.4 x 18.3 cm (image). Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York. View Source

By the time Le Gray was assigned a *Mission Héliographique* by the French government in 1851, he had already established his reputation with portraits,



Gustave Le Gray, *Forest of Fontainebleau,* 1855. Albumen silver print. 32 x 41 cm. National Museum, Warsaw. View Source

views of Fontainebleau Forest,



Gustave Le Gray, [View of the Seine, Paris], 1857. Albumen silver print from glass negative. 38.5 x 50.9 cm. Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York. View Source

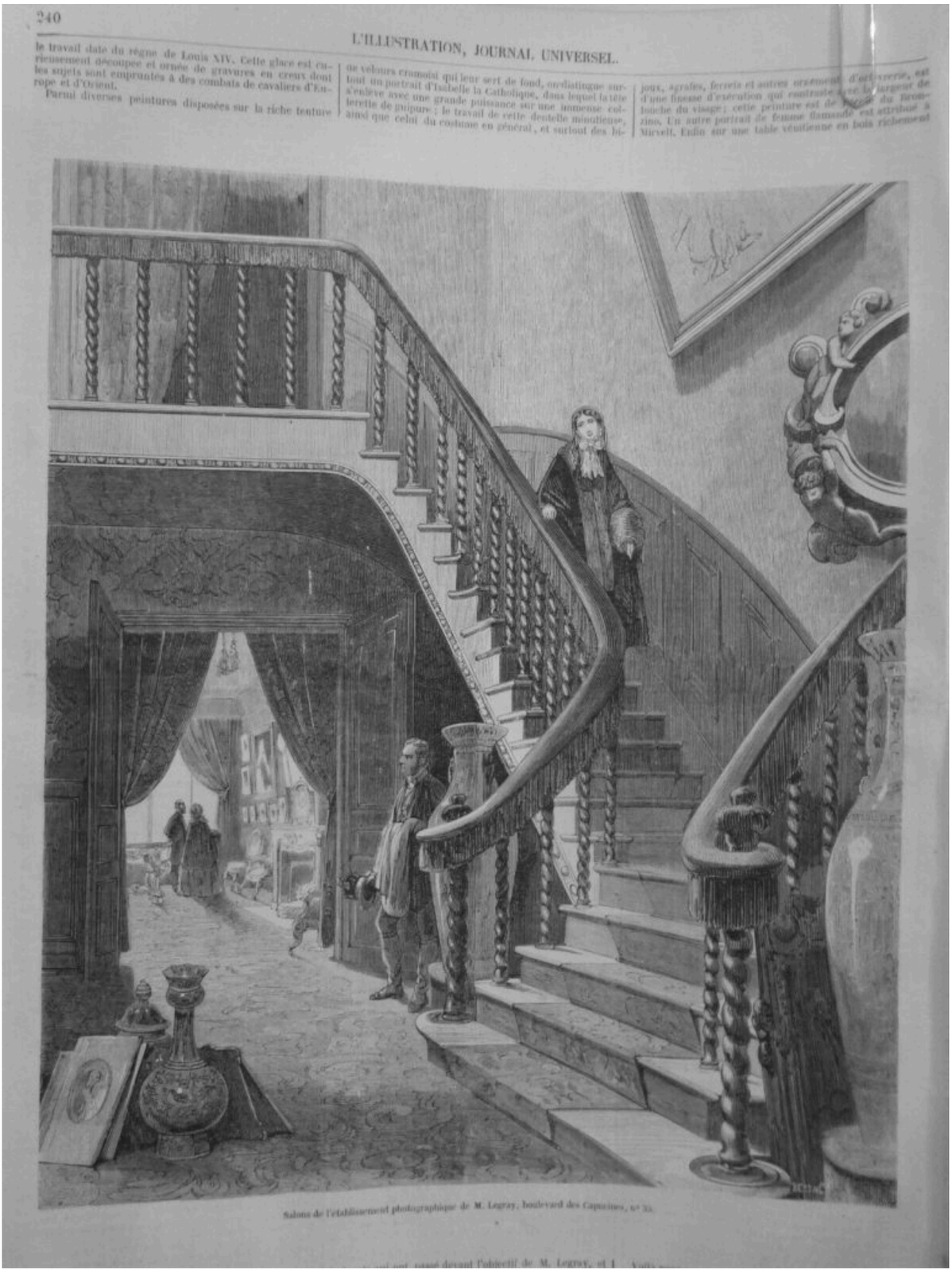
and Paris scenes.



Gustave Le Gray, *The Ramparts of Carcassonne,* 1851. Salted paper print from waxed paper negative. 223.5 x 33.2 cm. Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York. View Source

Le Gray's mission took him to the southwest of France, beginning with the châteaux of the Loire Valley, continuing with churches on the pilgrimage route to Santiago de Compostela and eventually to the medieval city of Carcassonne just prior to "restoration" of its thirteenth-century fortifications by Viollet-le-Duc.

In the 1852 edition of his treatise, Le Gray wrote: "It is my deepest wish that photography, instead of falling within the domain of industry, of commerce, will be included among the arts. That is its sole, true place, and it is in that direction that I shall always endeavor to guide it. It is up to the men devoted to its advancement to set this idea firmly in their minds." To that end, he established a studio, gave instruction in photography (fifty of Le Gray's students are known, including major figures such as Charles Nègre, Henri Le Secq, Émile Pécarrère, Olympe Aguado, Nadar, Adrien Tournachon, and Maxime Du Camp), and provided printing services for negatives by other photographers.



"Salons de l'établissement photographique de M. LeGray, boulevard des Capucines, no. 35," *L'illustration, Journal Universel,* April 12, 1856. Wood engraving. View Source

Opening of Gustave Le Gray's Studio, 35 Blvd des Capucines, Paris, 1856. *L'Illustration*, *Journal Universel,* 27, no 685 (April 12, 1856): 240

> Flush with success and armed with 100,000 francs capital from the marquis de Briges, he established "Gustave Le Gray et Cie" in the fall of 1855 and opened a lavishly furnished portrait studio at 35 boulevard des Capucines (a site that would later become the studio of Nadar and the location of the first Impressionist exhibition). *L'Illustration*, in April 1856, described the opulence intended to match the tastes and aspirations of Le Gray's clientele: "From the center of the foyer, whose walls are lined with

> Cordoba leather … rises a double staircase with spiral balusters, draped with red velvet and fringe, leading to the glassed-in studio and a chemistry laboratory. In the salon, lighted by a large bay window overlooking the boulevard, is a carved oak armoire in the Louis XIII style … Opposite over the mantelpiece, is a Louis-XIV-style mirror … [and] various paintings arranged on the rich crimson velvet hanging that serves as backdrop … Lastly on a Venetian table of richly carved and gilded wood, in mingled confusion with Flemish plates of embossed copper and Chinese vases, are highly successful test proofs of the eminent personages who have passed before M. Le Gray's lens…However, the principal merit of the establishment is the incomparable skill of the artist…Despite a steady stream of wealthy clients, the construction and lavish furnishing of his studio ran up huge debts…On February 1, 1860, Gustave Le Gray et Cie was dissolved.

5.4
| Felix Nadar:
Beyond the Documentary Portrait

Before taking up photography in 1854, Nadar worked as a novelist, journalist, editor, and caricaturist for the Parisian press. The year he took up photography, he self-published his first lithograph entitled the *Panthéon Nadar,* a set of two large lithographs that comprised caricatures of prominent Parisians. He first created photographic portraits of the persons he went on to caricature.

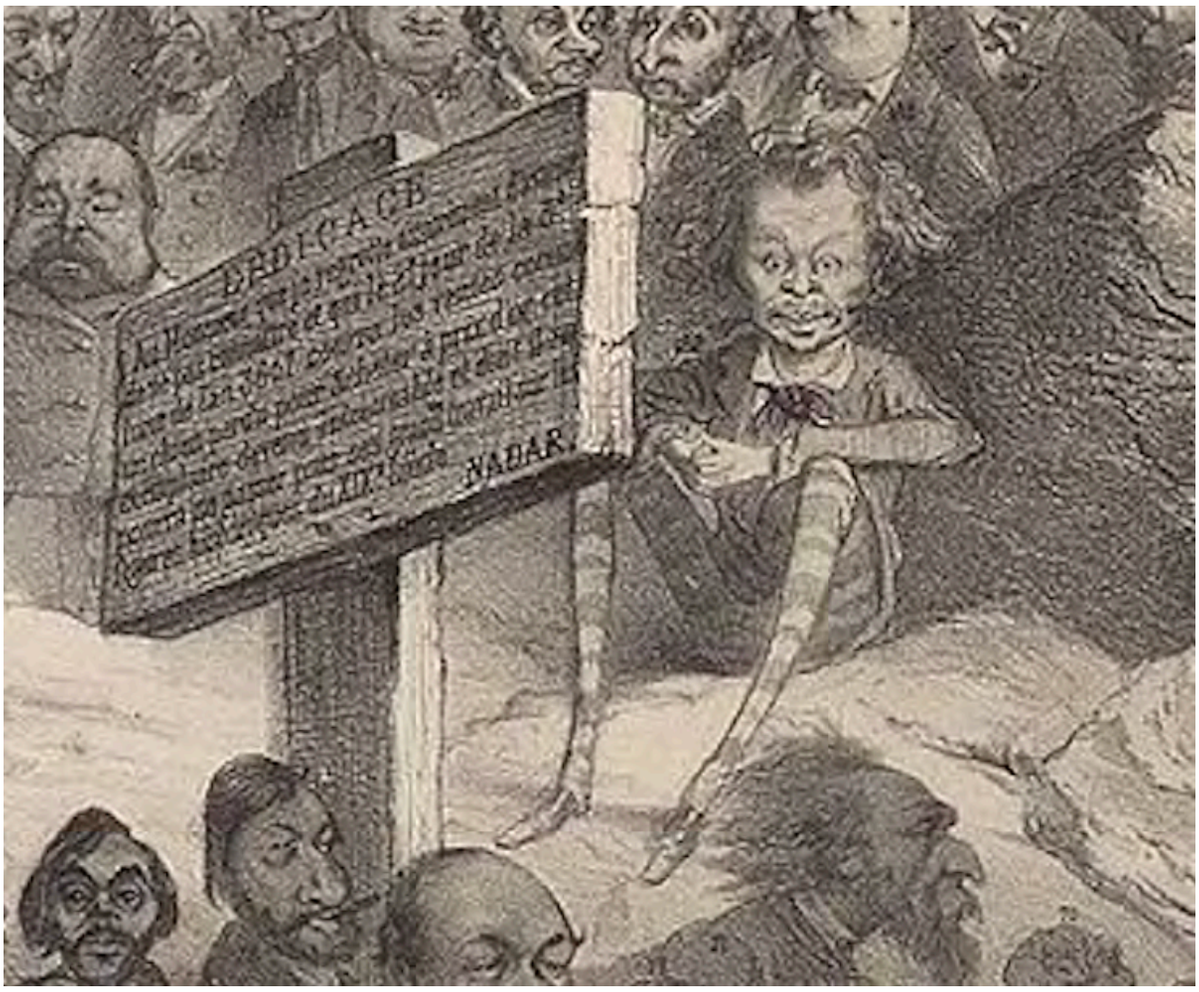


Félix Nadar, *Nadar* [demonstration photograph], ca. 1890-1910. Albumen silver print from glass negative. 14.5 x 10.5 cm. Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris. View Source

Nadar (Gaspard-Félix Tournachon), the flamboyant French portrait photographer caricaturist, writer, and aerial photographer, was Gustave Le Gray's student. The name Nadar derives from his political caricature-related moniker, *tourne a dard* which means "biting sting."



Nadar, *Panthéon Nadar,* 1854. Lithograph. 81.9 x 114.9 cm. Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York. View Source



Detail of Nadar, *Panthéon Nadar,* 1854. Lithograph. 81.9 x 114.9 cm. Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York. View Source

Nadar included himself among the two hundred prominent Parisians, each carefully articulated with identifying characteristics and idiosyncrasies. These lithographs reflect the elements that remained consistently important to Nadar: first, the carefully observed likenesses that captured his subjects' qualities and accomplishments and second, the celebrity status bestowed on his work and himself, by virtue of the individuals represented.

Jullian Lerner has devoted considerable attention to Nadar's self-portraits as "performative specimens" deployed for social purposes. He writes in *Experimental Self-Portraits in Early French Photography* (Routledge, 2021): "Nadar seems to have understood his likeness and his life story as signatures too—distinctive flourishes that could be amplified and redrawn to produce an identifiable pattern. He made an astounding number of self-portraits. There were literary and graphic self-portraits in the comic press, on party invitations, and in works of art criticism. Each charged portrait underscored the same peculiar Nadarian traits."



Nadar, *Nadar, Les Binettes contemporaines,* ca. 1854. Wood engraving.
Bibliothèque nationale de France. View Source

The traits he made sure he captured in his self-image included his spindly appearance, messy red hair that was as unruly as his opinions, and his lively eyes.



Nadar, Atelier Nadar, 35 Boulevard des Capucines, 1860. View Source

By 1858, three years after opening his first studio Nadar was one of Europe's most celebrated portrait photographers. In 1860 he moved to lavish new studios on the Boulevard des Capucines.



Nadar, *Interior of the studio at 35 Boulevard des Capucines*, ca. 1861. Albumen silver print from a collodion glass plate negative. 23.7 x 16.8 cm. Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris. View Source



Nadar, *View of the interior of the studio at 35 Boulevard des Capucines, with Nadar's Pantheon,* ca. 1861. Albumen silver print from a collodion glass plate negative. Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris. View Source

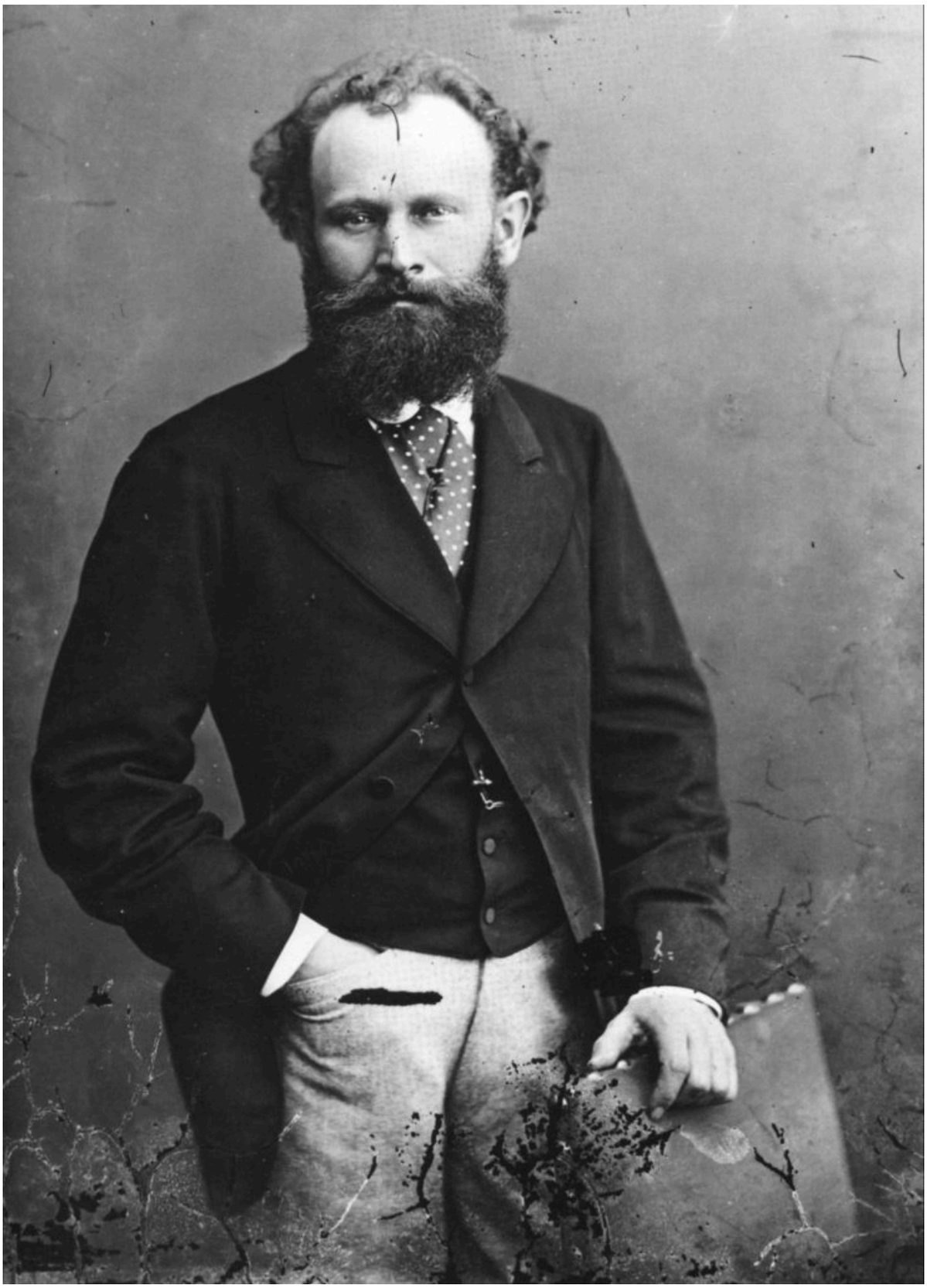
His atelier attracted the elite society of the boulevard, the intelligentsia of Paris, and the leading bohemian lights of the era, including artists, actors, and writers.

There was not just one, but several Nadars. Along with Félix, his brother Adrien and son Paul also abandoned their last name and adopted the pseudonym that Félix had come up with. And yet, there is just one Nadar, more precisely a brand, a collective singular that refers not only to a family, but also to a firm that employed a great many collaborators. In the 19th century, Nadar was a brand with a powerful cultural aura. ("The Nadars: A Photographic Legend" http://expositions.bnf.fr/les-nadar/en/the-art-of-the-portrait.html)



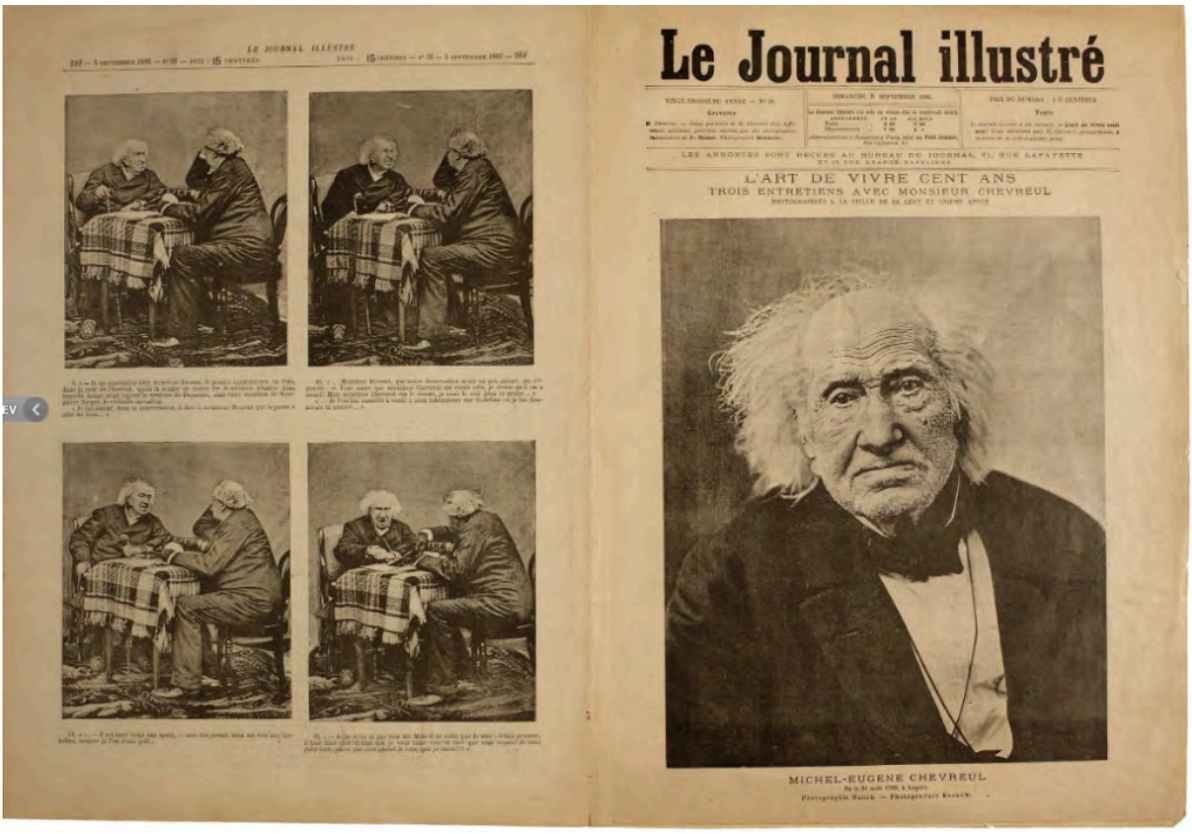
Nadar, *Gustave Doré's Portrait,* ca. 1883. Woodburytype. 23 x 18.9 cm. British Library, London. View Source

In contrast to his rivals, Nadar equated his work with art rather than industry or science, his portraits aspiring to aesthetic significance and commercial success. He added value to his photographic images by exploring the psychological dimension of his sitters, aiming to reveal their personalities, not just produce attractive photos. His subjects were directly and naturally posed, in contrast to his contemporaries' stiff formality and prop use.



Nadar, *Édouard Manet,* ca. 1867-70. View Source

The space of trusting exchange Nadar developed with his clients enhanced the descriptive potential of his portraits. Max Kozloff writes in "Nadar and the Republic of the Mind" (*Artforum* 15 no. 1 (September 1976): 28-39): "With the latitude now permitted, or that welled up amiably in the 'contract' between photographer and sitter, facial mobility came into its own."



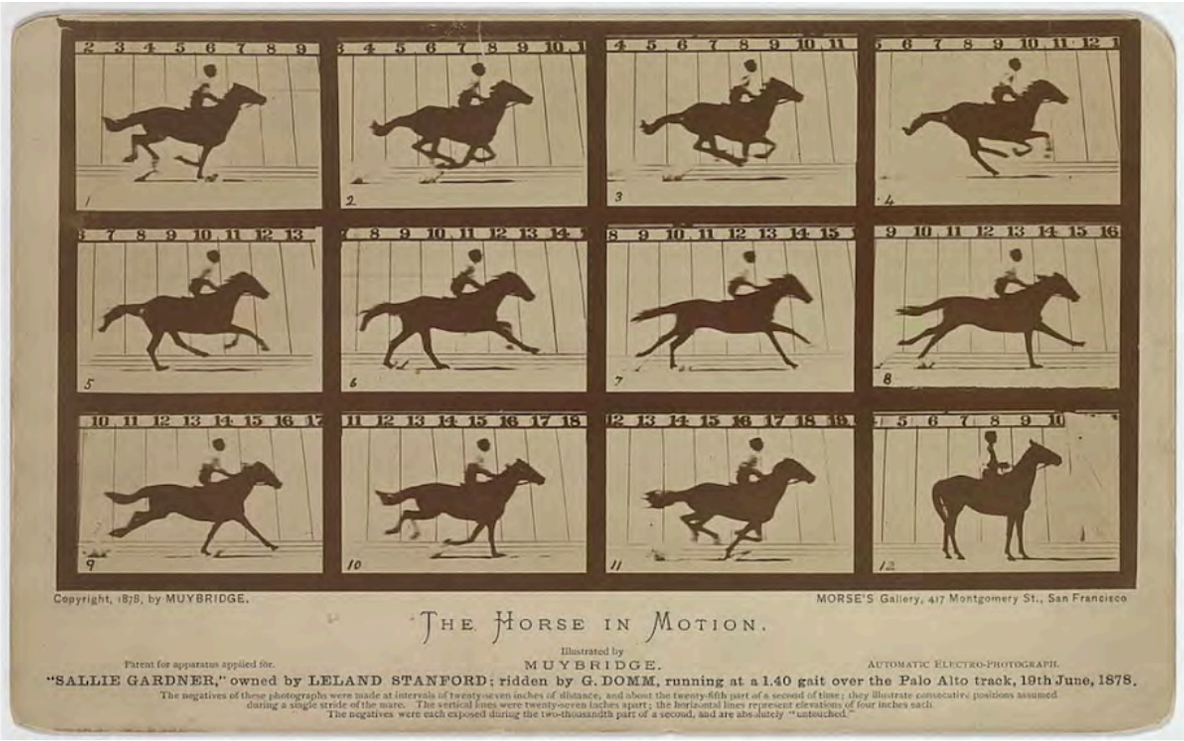
Paul Nadar, [Photographs of his father Félix Nadar with Michel-Eugène Chevreul, taken on August 18, 1886], *Le Journal Illustré,*September 5, 1886. View Source

Kozloff continues,

> For proof, one has only to look at the first published interview in the history of photography, in *Le Journal Illustré*, August 1886, for which Paul Nadar took innumerable shots of his father conversing with Chevreul, the famous chemist and color theoretician. Not only was this technically advanced, made possible through a fast shutter (1/133 of a second), but it epitomized the ongoing candor that suffuses Nadar's portraits.



Étienne-Jules Marey, *Chronophotographie du saut en longueur,* ca. 1882-83. Matte albumen print. 7.4 x 18.5 cm. View Source



Eadweard Muybridge, *The Horse in Motion. "Sallie Gardner," owned by Leland Stanford; running at a 1:40 gait over the Palo Alto track, 19th June 1878,* ca. 1878. Photographic print on card, albumen silver print. Library of Congress, Washington. View Source

Perhaps even further, he might have wanted to demonstrate how to overcome the fragmentary aspect of the still photograph by multiplying stills through a short time span. In this he could be said to have hinted, in portraiture, at what Marey, whom he admired, and Muybridge, whose work he surely knew, were accomplishing in the representation of human and animal movement.



Nadar, *Sarah Bernhardt,* ca. 1864 (negative), and ca. 1924 (print). Gelatin silver print. 21.1 x 16.2 cm. Getty Center, Los Angeles. View Source

During the 19th century, photographers' clientele could help them achieve recognition and fame. Nadar cultivated his reputation as a celebrity photographer, and his growing notoriety reciprocally gave prestige to those able to commission a portrait by him.

Jullian Lerner explains Nadar's unique approach in *Experimental Self-Portraits in Early French Photography* (London: Routledge, 2021). Nadar's portraiture "... was rarified and spiritual, the resemblance intimate and earnest, and the framing austere. Reducing the noise of backdrops, furnishings, and fashionable attire that cluttered the full-figure poses of rival studios, Nadar zoomed in on his sitters' faces. And because his premium full-plate prints (25 × 19 cm) were "life-size, they staged an intense tête-à-tête between the sitter and the viewer."

Nadar eschewed the montage format because it disrupted the intimacy he sought, his "quest for photographic purity and a truth of the face." His austere approach to portraiture complimented his famous sitters' intellectual, bohemian, and anti-materialist disposition. These friends were his preferred clientele early on, privy to discounted prices for prints while allowing him to keep the negatives for future dissemination. Lerner continues:

Thus Nadar accumulated a photographic "image bank" of Contemporary Figures that he could exploit in a number of ways. He sold portraits to publishers, for use as the basis of illustrations in journals and books (reproduced for print publication in wood engraving). After 1861, he also sold celebrity portraits to anonymous buyers off the street, in the commercially optimized form of cartes de visite. At first reluctant to embrace this small, cheap, mass-producible format invented by his rival Andre-Adolphe-Eugène Disdéri, Nadar eventually decided to cash in on the public's mania for celebrity cartes, which all manner of citizens avidly collected and arranged in albums alongside portraits of relatives and friends.

Nadar, the businessman, astutely cultivated a niche market and carefully catered to it. He rejected Napoleon's Republicanism to appeal to Bohemian independence and opposition. As such, he was an outlier. Others who aspired to succeed believed that achieving recognition required casting a wide net and adherence to academic criteria. For mainstream photographers, as Lerner explains, "pinning their hopes on a marginal avant-garde whose own status was far from secure would be imprudent."



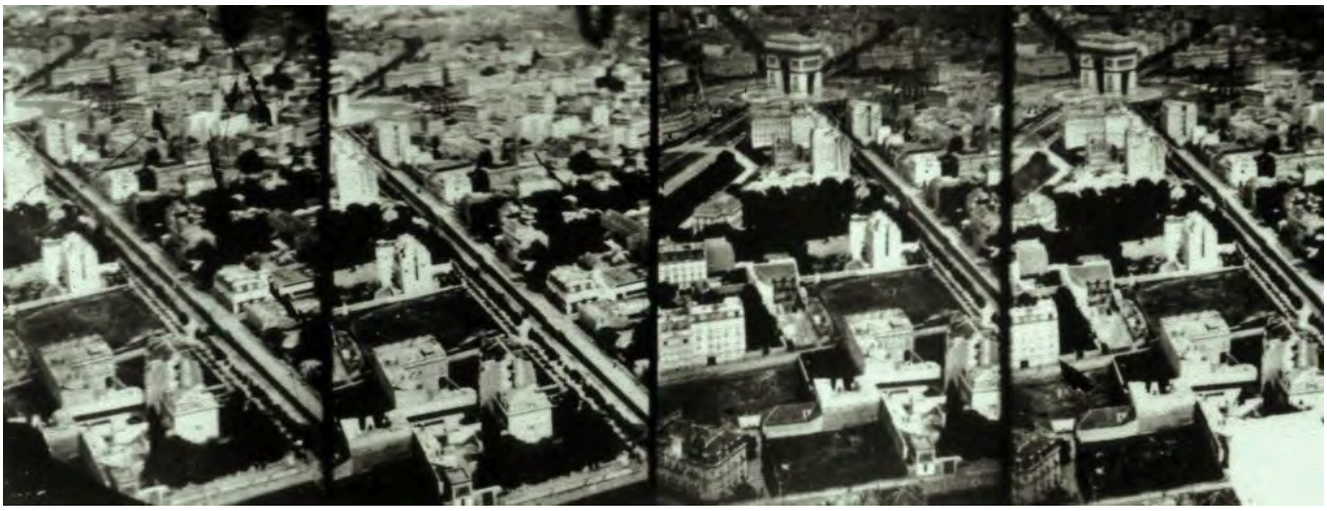
Paul Nadar, *View of the terrace of the studio on Rue d'Anjou, on the Rue des Mathurins,* ca. 1910. Silver print from a silver gelatin glass negative. 12.5 x 16 cm. Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris. View Source

When the studio on Boulevard des Capucines declared bankruptcy due to over-expenditures, the Nadar firm moved to a more affordable site on Rue d'Anjou. They gave up studios that boasted a rooftop terrace, a ground floor with a garden, a glass-roofed atrium, and enormous windows on the upper floors. Still, the Rue d'Anjou studio had huge windows on the upper floors. Before the advent of artificial light and more sensitive processes, natural light was indispensable for taking and developing photographs. "...natural light was

indispensable for taking and developing photographs... The photographers could create a range of variations and effects thanks to filtering blinds, and with reflectors and screens."(http://expositions.bnf.fr/les-nadar/en/the-art-of-the-portrait.html#the-studios)



Nadar, *Nadar in a Balloon*, ca. 1860-70. Photographic print. 10.3 x 6.5 cm. State Library of New South Wales, Sydney. View Source



Nadar, *Aerial view of Paris, Arc de Triomphe,* 1868. Brown University Library, Providence. View Source

Nadar was a personality that thrived on adventure. His interests extended well beyond photography, as Philip McCouat writes in "Photography, Ballooning, Invention and the Impressionists." (https://www.artinsociety.com/the-adventures-of-nadar-photography-ballooning-invention–the-Impressionists.html):

Photography, while absorbing, was by no means Nadar's only interest. Along with several of his friends, including Jules Verne and Victor Hugo, he was fascinated by the idea of human flight. Accordingly, during the 1850s, Nadar enthusiastically began hot-air ballooning.

Ballooning offered an escape from the cares of the world. He described the sensation of ascending as a "free, calm, levitating into the silent immensity of welcoming and beneficent space," which presented "an admirable spectacle.... an immense carpet without borders... what purity of lines, what extraordinary clarity of sight... with the exquisite impression of a marvellous, ravishing cleanliness!"

For Nadar, the sublime views obtained from an aerial balloon floating above the city were a compelling "invitation to the lens." They spurred his



Édouard Manet, *View of the 1867 Exposition Universelle,* 1867. Oil on canvas. 196 x 108 cm. National Museum of Art, Architecture and Design, Oslo. View Source

Manet's *View of the 1867 Exposition Universelle* would not have been as complete a view of modern Paris without the inclusion of Nadar hovering over the city in an air balloon, as seen at the top right of the composition.

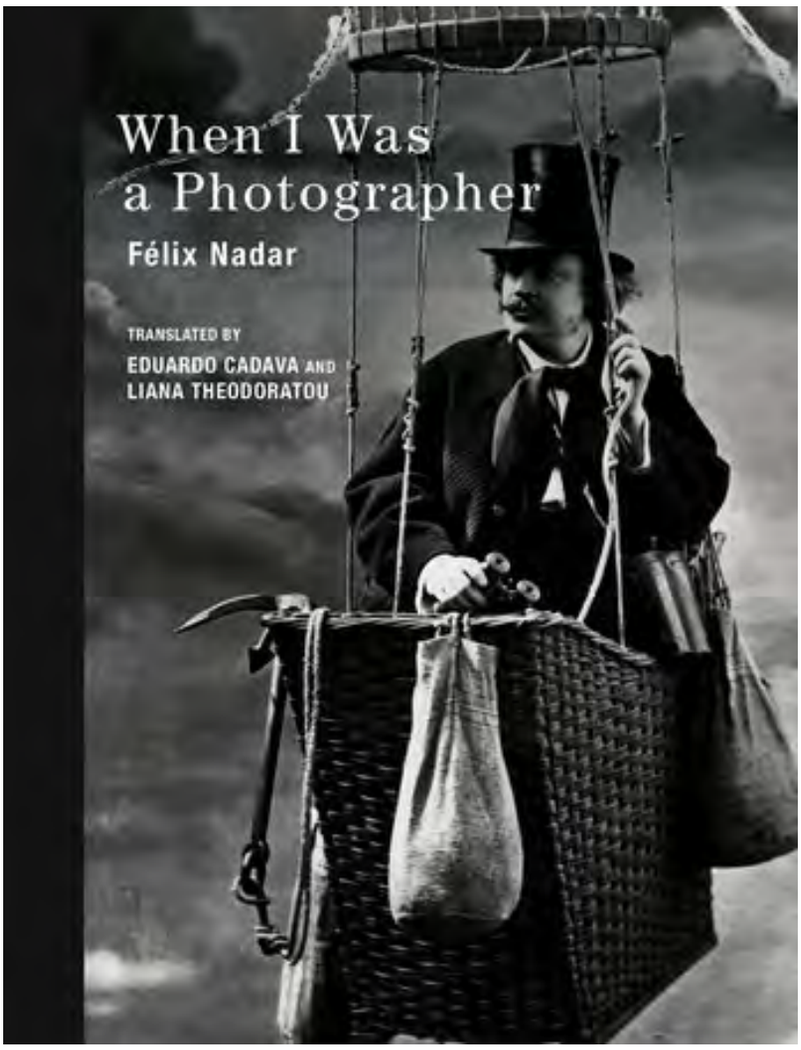


Nadar, *Catacombs of Paris*, 1861. View Source

McCouat continues:

> Not content with photographing from the air, Nadar had also begun on a novel project to photograph *underground*, using only electric light. This would pose some considerable challenges. Photography had

always been associated with light, its very name means “a drawing of light,” and here was Nadar saying that he could take photographs without any natural light at all.



Félix Nadar, *When I Was a Photographer*, trans. Eduardo Cadava, and Liana Theoduratou (Cambridge: MIT Press, 2015; first published: Paris: Flammarion, 1899). View Source

In 1900, towards the end of his life, Nadar published *Quand j’étais photographe*, translated into English and published by MIT Press in 2015. The book offers a collection of anecdotal vignettes, numerous portraits and character sketches, and meditations on his photographic history.

Nadar’s explorations into the bust-length portrait remained his primary source of livelihood. Along with the full-length carte-de-visite developed by Disdéri, these two modes of portrait photography dominated the field from around 1855 until 1870.

Their differences may seem minute, but they are significant. The commercial carte was inexpensive and readily available. The bust-length portrait, considered of greater aesthetic value, was the province of the elite. The carte’s attention to pose, clothing, accessories and setting reflected a sitter’s status, whereas faces and personalities could not be easily discerned. Nadar’s three-quarter view, on the other hand, with its focus on facial expression and attention to aesthetic conventions, could render more unique portrayals.

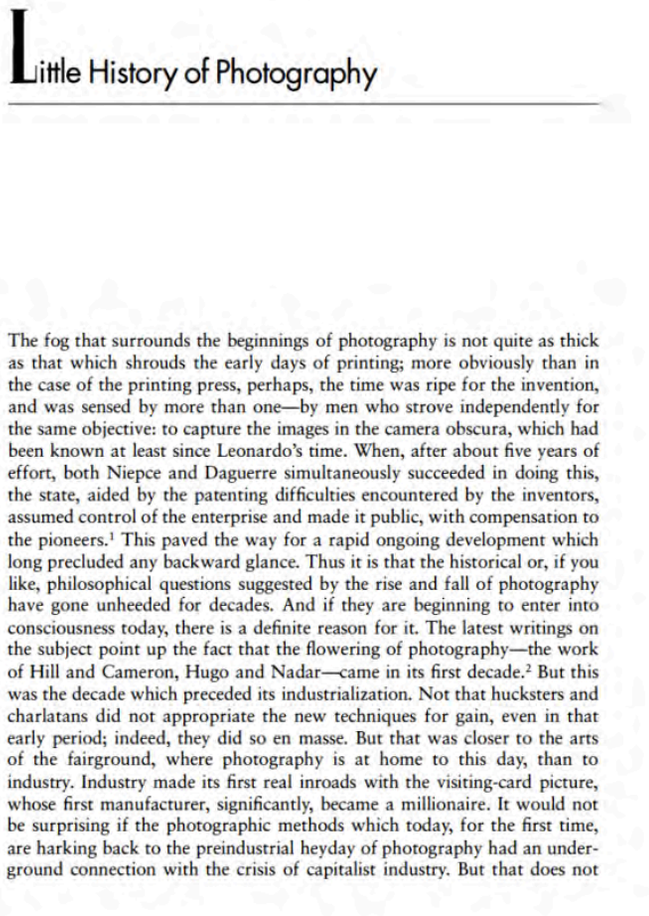
Walter Benjamin

SELECTED WRITINGS
VOLUME 2, PART 2
1931–1934

Translated by Rodney Livingstone
and Others

Edited by Michael W. Jennings,
Howard Eiland, and Gary Smith

THE BELKNAP PRESS OF HARVARD UNIVERSITY PRESS
Cambridge, Massachusetts, and London, England



Little History of Photography

The fog that surrounds the beginnings of photography is not quite as thick as that which shrouds the early days of printing; more obviously than in the case of the printing press, perhaps, the time was ripe for the invention, and was sensed by more than one—by men who strove independently for the same objective: to capture the images in the camera obscura, which had been known at least since Leonardo's time. When, after about five years of effort, both Niepce and Daguerre simultaneously succeeded in doing this, the state, aided by the patenting difficulties encountered by the inventors, assumed control of the enterprise and made it public, with compensation to the pioneers.[1] This paved the way for a rapid ongoing development which long precluded any backward glance. Thus it is that the historical or, if you like, philosophical questions suggested by the rise and fall of photography have gone unheeded for decades. And if they are beginning to enter into consciousness today, there is a definite reason for it. The latest writings on the subject point up the fact that the flowering of photography—the work of Hill and Cameron, Hugo and Nadar—came in its first decade.[2] But this was the decade which preceded its industrialization. Not that hucksters and charlatans did not appropriate the new techniques for gain, even in that early period; indeed, they did so en masse. But that was closer to the arts of the fairground, where photography is at home to this day, than to industry. Industry made its first real inroads with the visiting-card picture, whose first manufacturer, significantly, became a millionaire. It would not be surprising if the photographic methods which today, for the first time, are harking back to the preindustrial heyday of photography had an underground connection with the crisis of capitalist industry. But that does not

Walter Benjamin, Selected Writings, Volume 2: 1927-1934, ed. Michael W. Jennings, Howard Eiland, and Gary Smith (Cambridge: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1999). View Source

Walter Benjamin writes:

> These images were taken in rooms where every customer came to the photographer as a technician of the newest school. The photographer, however, came to every customer as a member of a rising class and enclosed him in an aura which extended even to the folds of his coat or the turn of his bow tie. For that aura is not simply the product of a primitive camera. At that early stage, object and technique corresponded to each other as decisively as they diverged from one another in the immediately subsequent period of decline. Soon, improved optics commanded instruments which completely conquered darkness and distinguished appearances as sharply as a mirror.



Nadar, M. Zola, *écrivain,* ca. 1893-94. Albumen silver print. 31.5 x 18.5 cm. Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris. View Source

However, Benjamin overlooked the evolvement of portrait photographic experimentation in Paris.

The photographer Paul Cardon, known as Dornac, specialized in photographic portraits of famous men in their homes or at work. Active from the late 1880s, his images were published in *Nos contemporains chez eux.* His innovative process relied on the fact that dry plates could be prepared in advance and developed long after exposure, eliminating the need for a portable darkroom.

Elizabeth Emery, in "'Dornac's at Home' Photographs, Relics of French History" (*Proceedings of the Western Society for French History* 36 (2008): 209–224), writes about Dornac's 'at home' photographs and their implications for the *fin-de-siècle* cult of celebrity:

> As the camera began to chronicle the private life of public figures and as editors published these images in the flourishing periodical industry, viewers became aware of the milieu surrounding famous figures. No longer mysterious and untouchable, *grands hommes* ("great men," though well-known women were also occasionally included under this rubric) began to be treated like scientific specimens on display in their native "habitats." Photography was thus partly responsible for facilitating a shift from interest in *grands hommes* as revered national heroes, worthy of public monuments, to more intimate and obsessive celebrity cults housed in private rooms, apartments, and museums.
>
> ...
>
> Gaston Tissandier, renowned pioneer of hot air balloons, editor of the journal, the author of books about photography, and himself a figure in the *Nos Contemporains* series, paired the photographs with accompanying texts in which he qualified Dornac's goals as eminently 'scientific.'
>
> The influence of Dornac's endeavour spilled over into the commercial studios of photographers such as Félix Nadar, Pierre Petit, and Étienne Carjat. They appropriated his ideas by creating staged settings that recreated domestic backgrounds. This is visible, for example, in *Zola* by Nadar, where one can see the canvas roll of the backdrop visible on the floor. The table is equally a prop, reappearing elsewhere in Nadar's works, such as in the portrait of Edmond de Goncourt.



Source gallica.bnf.fr / Bibliothèque nationale de France

Dornac, *Émile Zola,* ca. 1887-1917. From the album of photos *Nos contemporains chez eux.* Albumen or aristotype photograph from gelatin silver bromide negative. Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris. View Source

In contrast, the authenticity of Dornac's photographs remained constant. He captured minute details that were, according to Tissandier, "witnesses of their thoughts and works…" He believed that Dornac's use of photography, his emphasis on what was there as opposed to what was imagined, made "the most precious auxiliary of the exact sciences…"

Emery:

> The early nineteenth-century ideal of a 'monument in stone,' an authorized image of the 'great man' erected in a public space to commemorate his cultural importance, thus gave way, as we have seen, to much more fragmented and complex images, often disseminated by photographs, by which the public sought to understand famous figures more fully… Dornac's 'at home' photographs went a step further, creating the illusion of even greater intimacy by providing access to the environment in which *grands hommes* lived and worked. By shifting emphasis from physical appearance to milieu, his series allowed viewers to vest the objects surrounding his famous subjects with near-magical powers: as 'relics,' they seemed to retain some of the spirit of those who had touched them.

Such evolutionary advances in photography as a medium of visual communication and expression testify to its permeating influence in society within short decades of its birth. As Malcolm Daniel has asserted, "The medium's most profound and lasting expressions, however, were no longer the work of its leading professionals, but rather of those who consciously set themselves apart from the accepted rules of commercial practice and took photography into new arenas of technique, subject, and expression."

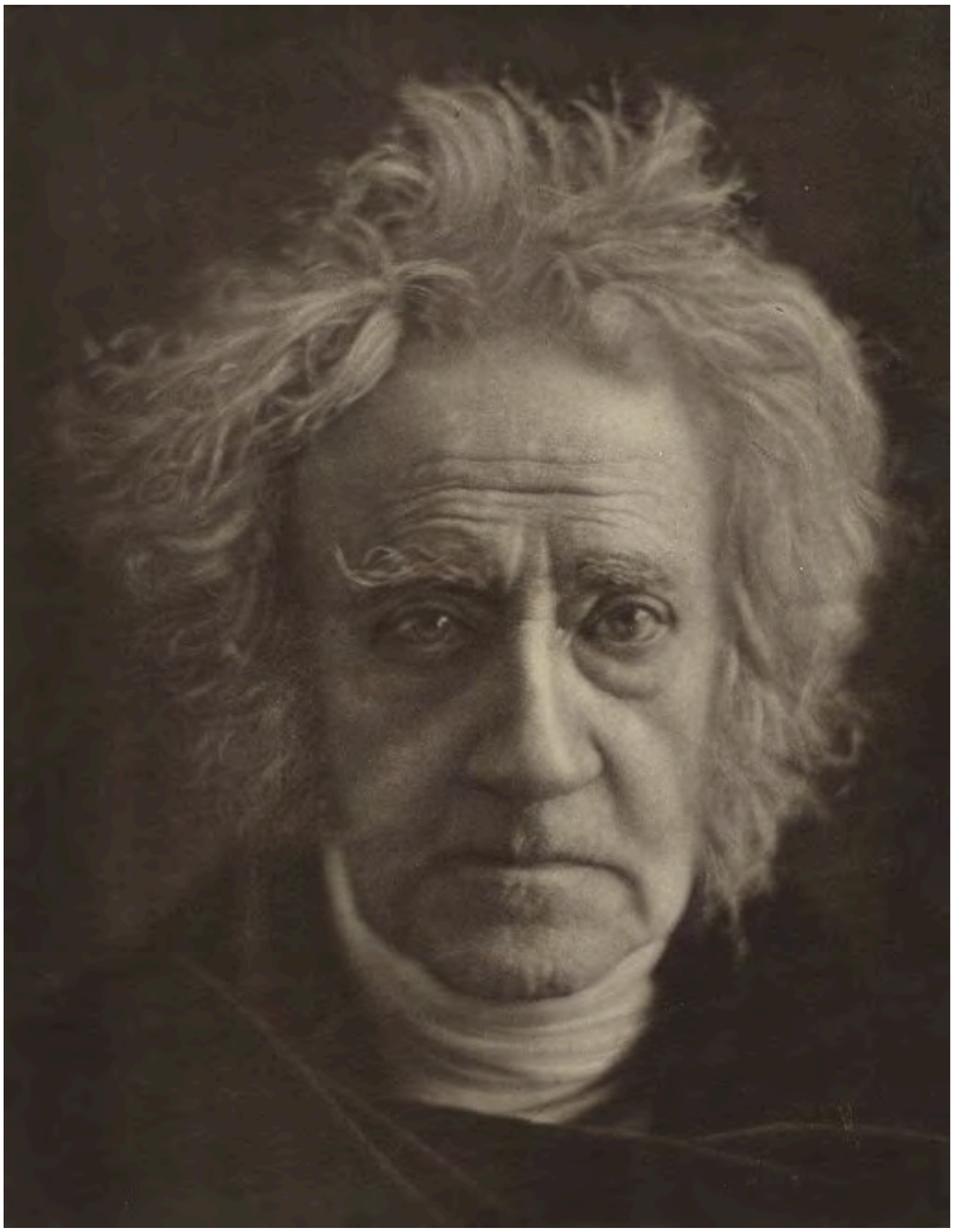
5.5
| Julia Margaret Cameron: Art Photography and Pictorialism

The British artist Julia Margaret Cameron was among the early photographers who did take the medium into what Daniel describes as "new arenas of technique, subject, and expression."Perhaps one of the most painterly portraitist photographers of the nineteenth century, Cameron's pursuit of the artistic potential of photography challenged the medium's status as the most accurate replicator of reality. This dimension of photographic portraiture most closely reflected the concerns of a younger generation of artists more interested in evoking truthful images through atmosphere and ambiguity. In her cultivation of ambiguity and manipulation of the photographic process, she was an important pioneer of Pictorialism and the idea of photography as a contemporary art form.



George Frederic Watts, *Julia Margaret Cameron,* ca. 1850-1852. Oil on canvas. 61 cm x 50.8 cm. View Source

Cameron may have entered the field as an amateur female photographer, but she approached her work professionally. She deliberately marketed and exhibited her photographs but made clear that her interests were not in pursuing commercial portrait photography. Cameron considered herself an artist and described her aspirations "to ennoble photography and to secure it for the character and uses of high art" to her mentor, the scientist Sir John Herschel.



Julia Margaret Cameron, *Sir John F. W. Herschel,* 1867. Carbon print. 34 × 26.5 cm. Museum of Modern Art, MOMA Object number: 832.1965. View Source

Cameron's stylistic manipulations are in evidence in this portrait of Herschel, a scientist and experimental photographer. The MOMA entry for the work describes it as follows:

> No commercial portrait photographer of the period would have portrayed Herschel as Cameron did here, devoid of classical columns, weighty tomes, scientific attributes, and academic poses—the standard vehicles for conveying the high stature and classical learning that one's sitter possessed (or pretended to possess)... she had him wash and tousle his hair to catch the light, draped him in black, brought her camera close to his face, and photographed him emerging from the darkness like a vision of an Old Testament prophet.

Cameron employed wet collodion on glass negatives and albumen prints to apply the aesthetic principles of painting to portrait photographs. She was among the first to combine close cropping with softly focused imagery, moving her work beyond objective representation. Determined to capture the essence and character of her subjects, Cameron engaged the ethereal and dreamlike impressions created by the combination of diffused focus, manipulated lighting, veiling shadows, and expressive posture.

Julia Margaret Cameron was 48 years old in 1863 when she received her first camera as a birthday present from her daughter and son-in-law. The gift, meant to be a fun distraction, inspired the career of one of the finest Victorian-era portrait photographers.

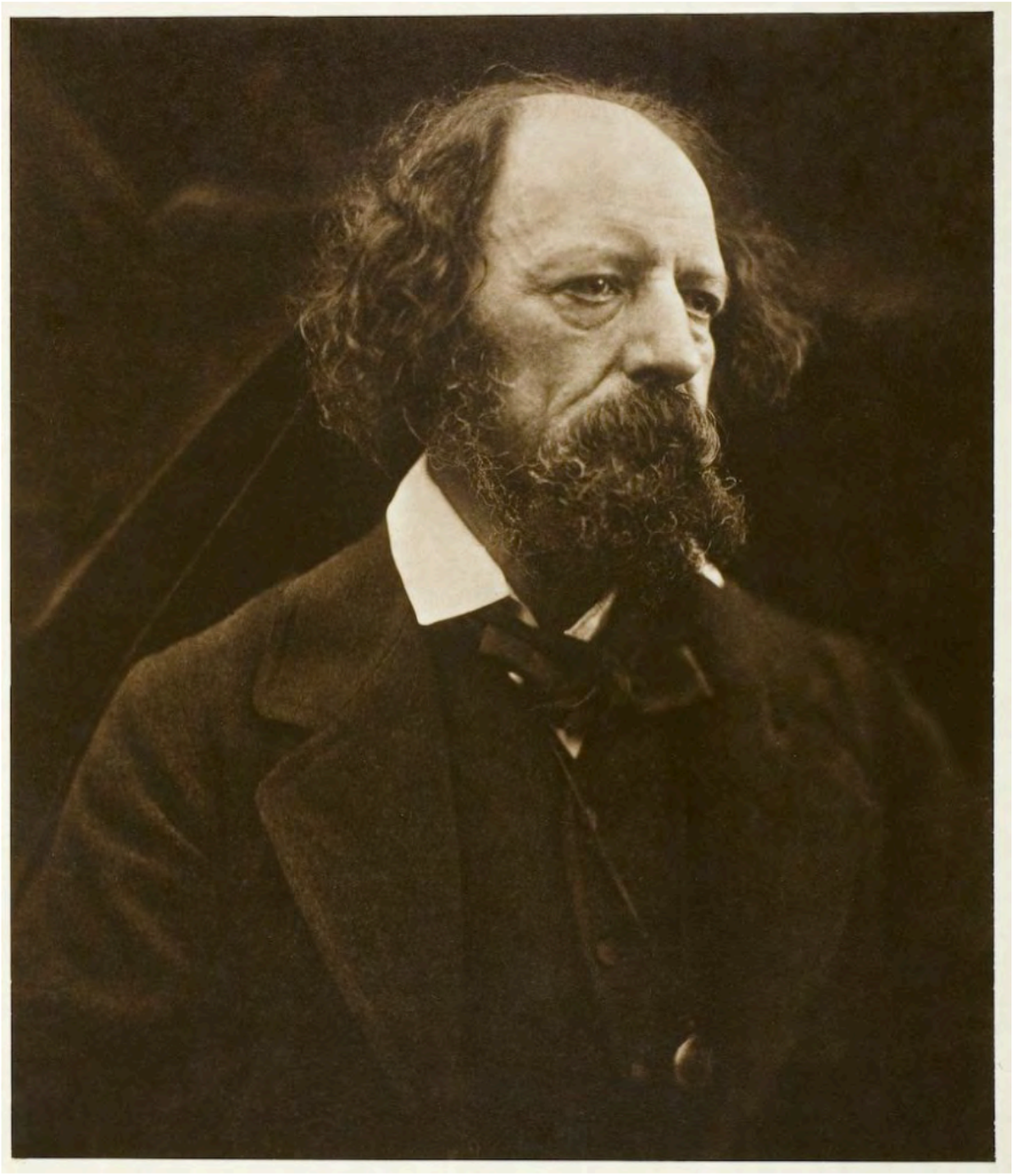


Julia Margaret Cameron. *Annie Wilhelmina Philpot.* Albumen print. 188 x 145 mm. National Museum of Photography, Film & Television, Bradford. January 29, 1864. View Source

Liz Jobey describes the portrait of Annie Philpot, which Cameron called her "first success," in *First Light*, her review of the exhibition *Julia Margaret Cameron: 19th-Century Photographer of Genius* held at the National Portrait Gallery in London in 2003.

(https://www.theguardian.com/artanddesign/2003/jan/18/photography.artsfeatures):

> At 1pm on January 29, 1864, a little girl with cherubic features and scraggy, shoulder-length hair was buttoned into her winter coat, waiting patiently for her photograph to be taken. In front of her, a short, stocky, middle-aged woman fitted another glass plate into the back of her huge camera and begged the child to keep still. She was probably counting, too; it could take up to five minutes for the image to be fully exposed. If the girl was bored, she didn't show it. Her face, turned in half-profile to catch the light, was composed but alive, its curves heightened by the contrast between shadow and light. It was a happy result – we know, because the photographer wrote to the girl's father later that day: "My first perfect success in the complete Photograph owing greatly to the docility & sweetness of my best and fairest little sitter. This Photograph was taken by me at 1pm Friday Jan 29th Printed Toned – fixed and framed all by me & given as it now is by 8pm this same day Jan 29th 1864. Julia Margaret Cameron."



Julia Margaret Cameron, *Alfred Lord Tennyson,* 1869 (printed 1875). Image/paper: 27.8 × 25.7 cm; Mount: 36.9 × 31.2 cm. Art Institute of Chicago, reference 1949.879. View Source

Cameron, of British descent but born in Calcutta, was a well-read, cultured woman with connections to literary, artistic, and scientific figures.Like Nadar, Cameron set out to capture the elite world of celebrities she frequented. She did so because she had ease of access to her subjects and strategically, knowing that portraits of Britain's stars were more likely to attract sales and future clients. Cameron's portraits, included the celebrated poet Alfred Lord Tennyson (a friend and neighbour at Freshwater),



Julia Margaret Cameron, *Photographic study "Pomona" (Alice Liddell as a young woman),* 1872. The Yorck Project". 5000 Meisterwerke der Photographie des 19. Jahrhunderts. View Source

and Alice Liddell (who was also a photographic subject for Lewis Carroll as a child and inspired the 1865 children's classic novel *Alice's Adventures in Wonderland*),



Julia Margaret Cameron, *Portrait of Julia Stephen born Julia Jackson, mother of Virginia Woolf,* April 1867. Albumen silver print from wet collodion negative. 27.6 x 22.0 cm. Art Institute of Chicago, Harriott A. Fox Endowment, 1968.227. View Source

as well as her niece Julia Stephen, the mother of the author Virginia Woolf.

Cameron defied photography's early conventions, "using dramatic lighting and forgoing sharp focus in favour of conscientiously artistic effects that appealed to viewers familiar with Rembrandt's chiaroscuro and the traditions of Romanticism." The photographic press severely criticized her for her bold disregard for sharp detail and seamless printing that ensured the "correct" replication of reality, to which she replied, "What is focus and who has the right to say what focus is the legitimate focus?" (Nineteenth Century Photography, https://arthistoryteachingresources.org/lessons/nineteenth-century-photography/)



Edward Steichen, *Rodin—The Thinker*, 1905. Gum bichromate print. 39.6 x 48.3cm. Metropolitan Museum of Art. View Source



Alfred Steiglitz, *"Miss S.R"*, 1904. Camera Work, No 12 1905. View Source

Her approach and aesthetic sensibilities would influence the future of the international Pictorialist movement, which insisted on personal expression and the recognition of the medium as fine art and was popularized by slightly later practitioners such as Edward Steichen and Alfred Stieglitz.

As Mina Markovic, in an introductory text on the artist for the National Gallery of Canada (https://www.gallery.ca/photo-blog/focus-on-the-collection-julia-margaret-cameron-1815-1879), concludes: "Following her death in 1879, Cameron's influence on early art photography persisted.... Cameron is one of the few 19th-century women photographers consistently recognized for her contributions to the photo-historical canon."

5.6
| Modern Impressionist Portrait Paintings and The Impact of Photographic Techniques

The prevalence of portrait photography during the latter 19th century influenced the practice and formal qualities of painted portraiture. Photography was now considered the gold standard in optical realism, which freed painters from the burden of realistic replication and inspired new compositional strategies and experimental pictorial techniques. In addition, the use of photographs as references was a labour-saving practice. It reduced the time and tedium of constant studio sittings and provided visual information no longer available to the artist after a studio visit.



Gustave Courbet, *Proudhon and His Children,* 1865. Oil on canvas. 186.5 x 236 cm. Musée des Beaux-Arts de la ville de Paris. View Source



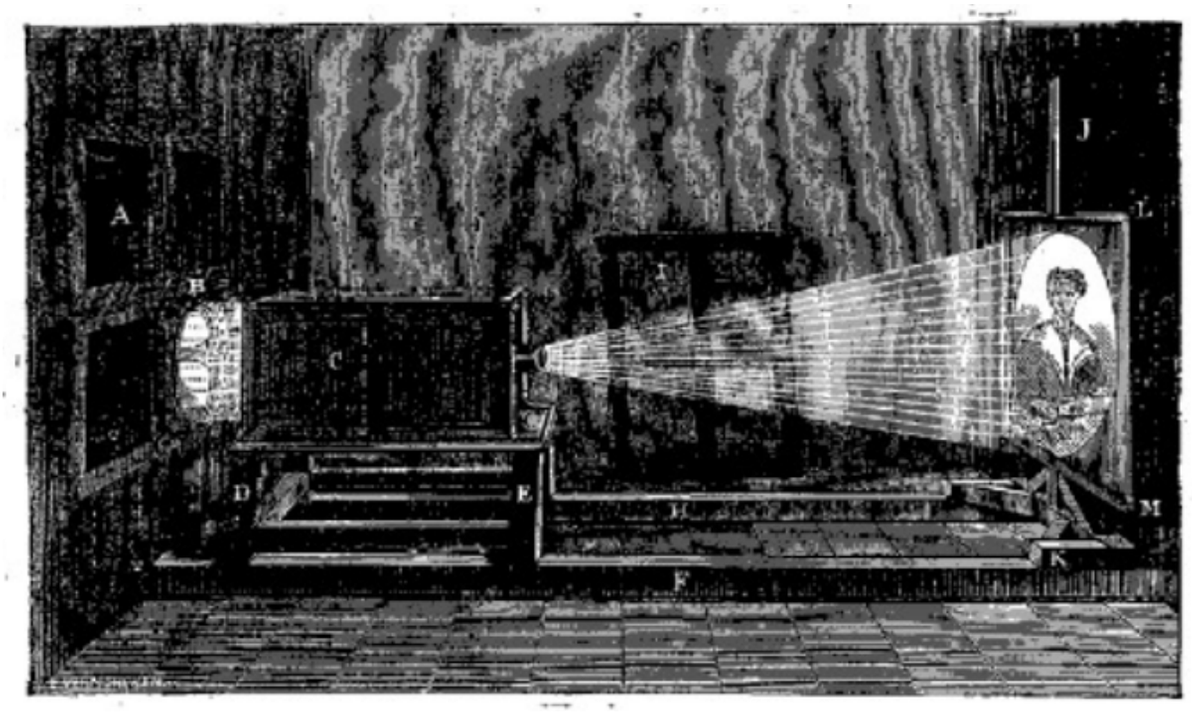
Nadar, *Pierre-Joseph Proudhon,* ca. 1860. View Source

Courbet's *Proudhon and His Children,* for example, painted posthumously from a photograph, does not lack in likeness or characterization for its source; rather it is enhanced by details captured as a visual record of a past moment in time



Franz von Lenbach, *Portrait of Richard Wagner,* ca. 1878. Oil on panel. 71.5 x 55.5 cm. Alte Nationalgalerie, Berlin. View Source

The German artist Franz von Lenbach advocated for the use of photographs as a basis for portraiture and was among the earliest painters to do so. His first portrait commissions date after 1881, when he was awarded a third-class medal for one of his portraits at the Grande Exposition in Paris.



Louis Figuier, "Fig. 79 – Effet de l'appareil de M. Monckhoven pour l'agrandissement des épreuves photographiques," in *Les Merveilles de la science ou description Populaire des inventions modernes ou description Populaire des inventions modernes,* vol. 3 (Paris: Livrairie Furne, Jouvet et cie, 1869), 123. View Source

Lenbach utilized a method invented by the Belgian photochemist and professional photographer Désiré van Monckhoven that projected a photographic image onto a canvas as an under-sketch, a technique called photo-sciagraphy. In 1863 van Monckhoven registered a patent for an optical apparatus that enlarged imagery by projection, for which he received a bronze medal at the Exposition Universelle of 1867. Soon after, he began manufacturing a device that could be built into a darkroom wall.

Lenbach's process involved taking several photographs of a sitter in different poses, which he then enlarged on a canvas, outlined in paint, and added tone and colour. By the second time a sitter arrived, their portrait was nearly complete.

Carola Muysers explains Lenbach's procedure in "Physiology and Photography: The Evolution of Franz von Lenbach's Portraiture" (*Nineteenth-Century Art Worldwide* 1, no. 2 (Autumn 2002), http://www.19thc-artworldwide.org/autumn02/256-physiology-and-photography-the-evolution-of-franz-von-lenbachs-portraiture):

> By the early 1880s the portraitist regularly hired professional photographers such as Friedrich Wendling, Adolf Baumann, and Karl Hahn to photograph his sitters, an effort made easier by the dry plates that had recently come on the market, and by the box camera.
>
> Lenbach himself described his new method: "Once I have drawn the figure from life (and I always do that first) and I have had the movement photographed, it becomes a matter of fleshing it out with the help of photography and the imagination." What distinguished Lenbach's method was not the production of portraits with the aid of sketches and photographs but his use of photographs of movement and his decision to "flesh out" these photographs rather than slavishly copy them.

The following example illustrates Lenbach's standard procedure. About 1895 the artist was commissioned to paint a portrait of the Egyptologist Georg Ebers. Ebers came to Lenbach's studio in the company of his son Hermann, who left an account of what occurred there. The artist began by replacing Ebers's uninspiring coat with a dark, fur-trimmed cape and the slouch hat of a scholar. Under the pretext of getting to "know the model by heart," he first engaged the sitter in conversation, in the course of which Hermann heard clicking sounds behind some black curtains. It turned out that Karl Hahn was snapping photographs of the subject whenever Lenbach gave him a discreet hand signal.



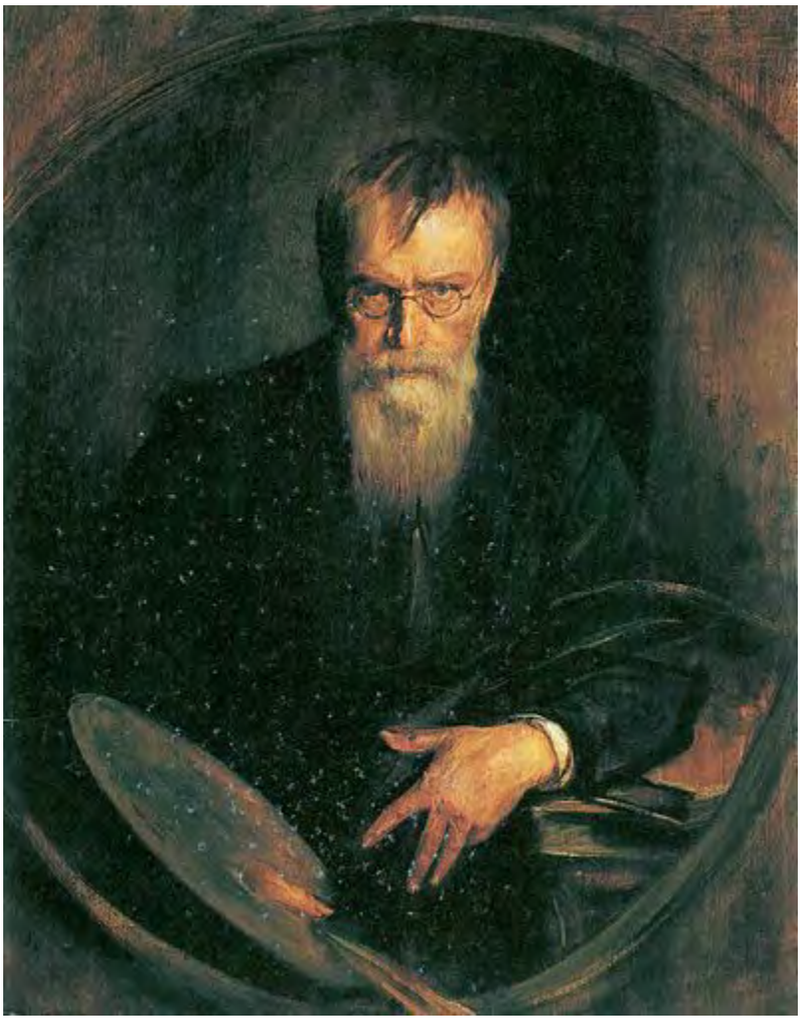
Karl Hahn, *Four Portrait Studies of Georg Ebers,* ca. 1895. Photographs. Lenbacharchiv Neven-Dumont, Cologne. View Source

Four of the twenty photographs Hahn took during that session survive. All show Ebers before a white background and the differences between his poses are slight, yet the psychological effects are astonishingly varied. In one shot, Ebers tilts his head forward menacingly, his eyes hidden by the brim of the hat. A second shows him standing straight and looking up to the left with a fixed, hostile gaze. In the third, he looks directly at the viewer, and a slight twist of the head and body lends a sense of energetic movement to the whole. The fourth photograph captures a glowering Ebers holding the hat in his hand.

The Ebers series shows that Lenbach had two major concerns. One was that the sitter not be conscious of being photographed. The other was that the sitter respond naturally, rather than fall into an stereotypical yet uncharacteristic pose.

How did Lenbach "flesh out" his portraits? In other words, how did he move from the photographs of movement to the finished portrait? The artist would paste a series of snapshots on a piece of cardboard. (At first he used single shots, later contact prints.) Seeing these movements in sequence gave him a sense of the range of

the sitter's expressions and helped Lenbach select the most characteristic one for the portrait. Once the best parts of several photographs had been selected, the artist copied them onto his canvas. Beginning with such traditional aids as square grids, Lenbach proceeded to tracings and finally to *photopeinture*. In this last method he would enlarge and print a negative on a specially prepared canvas, placing washes on the barely visible positive that was ultimately covered with lights and shades. The painting was never an exact copy of a single photograph, however, as the artist often incorporated elements from several photographs and drawings.



Franz von Lenbach, *Self-portrait,* ca. 1902-03. Oil on paperboard. 99 x 87.5 cm. Lenbachhaus, Munich. View Source

Lenbach used this technique to paint his self-image throughout his career. In this last one, executed a year before his death, he depicts himself standing face forward as he leans onto a console to his left. His direct gaze is penetrating, entirely focused on the viewer.

5.7
| Edgar Degas and the Influence of Photography

Impressionist artists painted portraits at a time when traditional portraiture, initially exclusive to the wealthy and powerful, had expanded to include the bourgeoisie. The democratization of the portrait, and the ensuing barrage of photographic images, spurred painters to innovate and reinvest portraiture with new value.

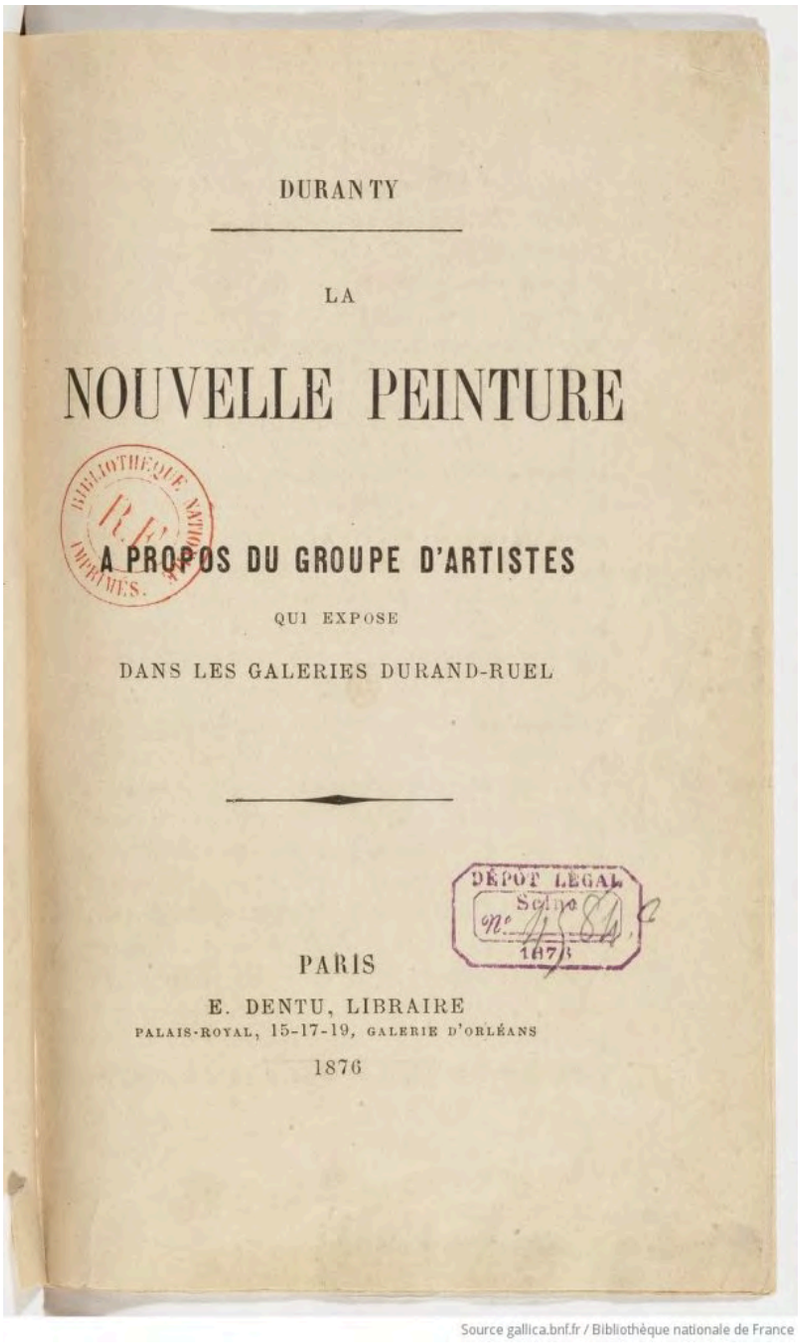


Edgar Degas, *Edmond Duranty,* 1879. Gouache and pastel on canvas. 100 x 100 cm. Burrell Collection, Glasgow.
View Source

As Linda Nochlin reminds us in *Making It Modern: Essays on the Art of the Now* (New York: Thames and Hudson, 2022),

> In a way, photography forced a certain innovativeness on ambitious artists. Today we cannot easily envision a world without the mass production and consumption of images – specifically, images of ourselves, our families, and our friends in the form of the snapshot, the wedding picture, or the class photograph – any more than we can envision a world without the mass production of clothing or other consumer products. The easy availability of images is so much a part of our experience that we cannot even imagine a situation in which a portrait might be a once-in-lifetime experience rather than an ongoing, multiple record of personal appearance and situation. The Impressionists lived in and reacted to a world in which the richness of individual and communal memory itself was being replaced by a plethora of cheap visual imagery.

Unlike photographers, Impressionist painters rarely took on commissions for portraits. Rather, they painted self-portraits, single and group portraits of friends and family, and pictures of colleagues and patrons. These portraits paid attention to the fragmented or absent context without losing sight of the individuality of the sitter. Contrary to Disdéri's advice to photographers to select a pose that somehow represented the sitter's typical attitude and expression, Impressionist portraits preferred postures and gestures that conveyed a spontaneous moment in time.



Edmond Duranty, *La Nouvelle peinture: À propos du groupe d'artistes qui expose dans les galleries Durand-Ruel* (Paris: E. Dentu, 1876). View Source

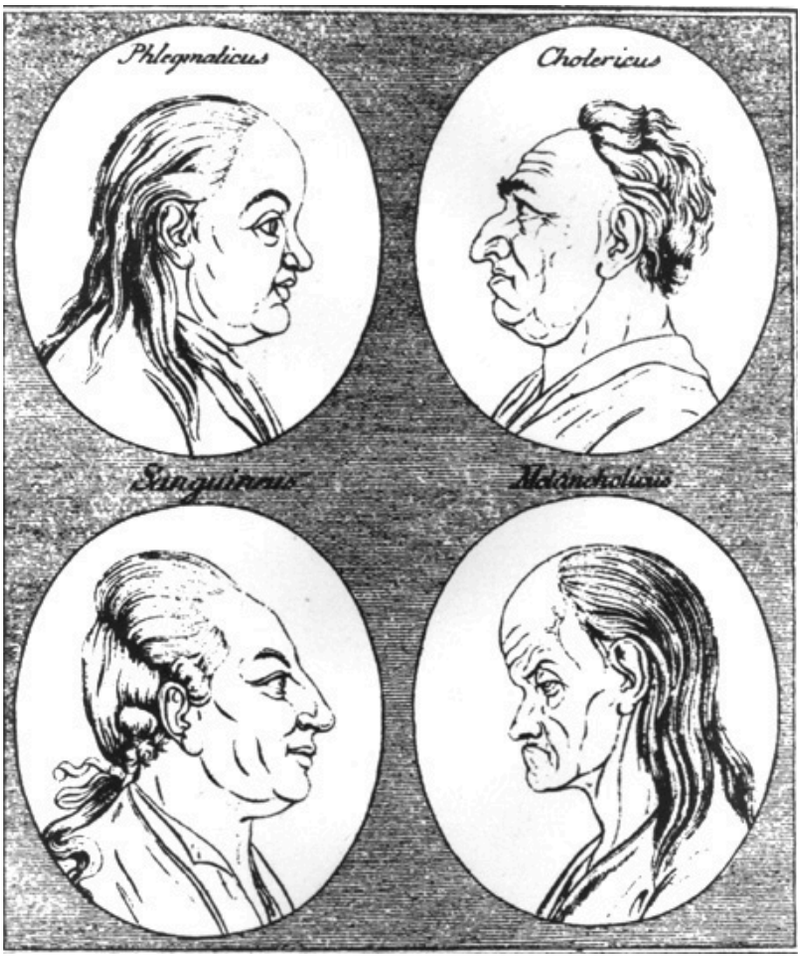
Duranty's *La Nouvelle peinture (The New Painting)* of 1876, written on the occasion of the second Impressionist exhibition, echoed Degas's outlook. He called for the study of "the relationship of a man to his home, or the particular influence of his profession on him as reflected in the gestures he makes" and "the scrutiny of the aspects of the environment in which he evolves and develops."

> Farewell to the human body treated like a vase with a decorative, swinging curve; farewell to the uniform monotony of the frame working ... what we need is the particular note of the modern individual, in his clothing, in the midst of his social habits, at home or in the street .... By means of a back, we want a temperament, an age, a social condition to be revealed; through a pair of hands, we should be able to express a magistrate or a tradesman; by a gesture, a whole series of feelings.

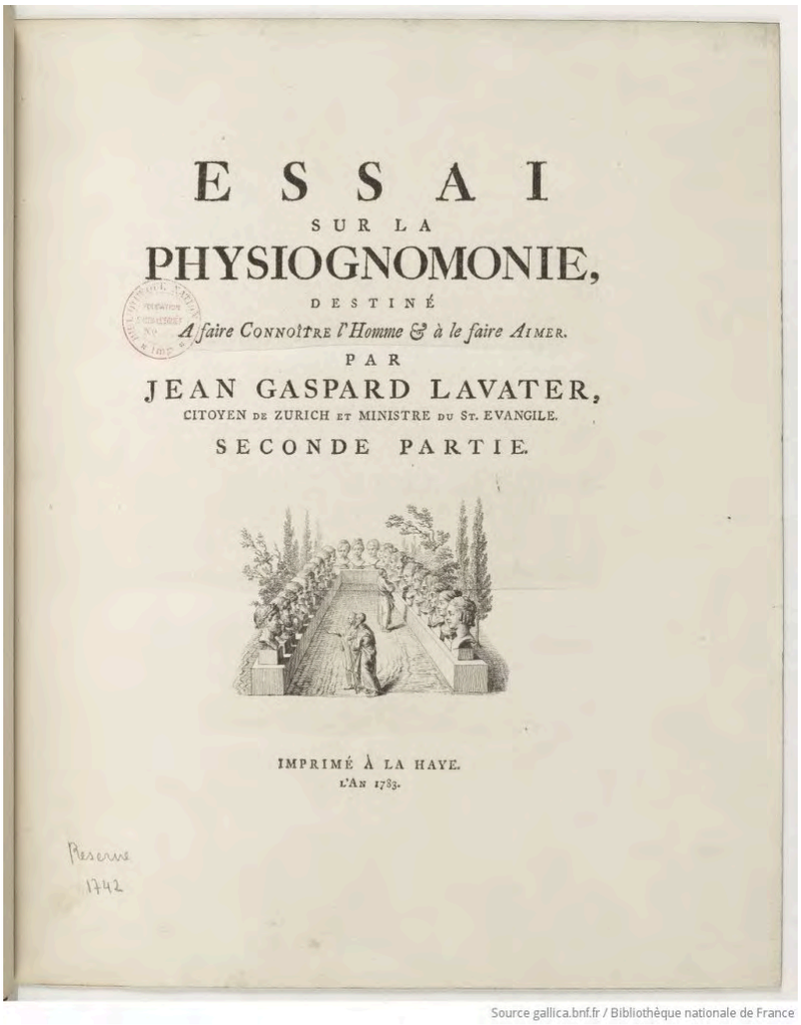
Duranty argued that reality was perceived in flux and from varying perspectives. Unlike a camera, set up to capture a fixed view, a person's view of a subject could alternate, it is "... sometimes very high, sometimes very low, missing the ceiling, getting at objects from their undersides, unexpectedly cutting off the furniture ... He is not always seen as a whole: sometimes he appears cut off at mid-leg, half-length, or longitudinally. At other

times, the eye takes him in from close-up, at full height, and throws all the rest of a crowd in the street or groups gathered in a public place back into the small scale of the distance."

Duranty attempted to construct a vocabulary of "modern observation" based on analyzing physical, social, and racial characteristics. Degas himself wrote in his notebook: "Make of expressive heads (academic style) a study of modern feeling-it is Lavater, but a more relativistic Lavater so to speak, with symbols of today rather than the past."



Johann Kaspar Lavater, "Phlegmatic," "Choleric," "Sanguine," and "Melancholic," in *Physiognomische Fragmente zur Beförderung der Menschenkenntnis und Menschenliebe* (Leipzig: Weidmanns Erben und Reich, 1778). View Source



E S S A I

SUR LA

PHYSIOGNOMONIE,

DESTINÉ

A faire Connoître l'Homme & à le faire Aimer.

PAR

JEAN GASPARD LAVATER,

CITOYEN DE ZURICH ET MINISTRE DU ST. EVANGILE.

SECONDE PARTIE.

IMPRIMÉ À LA HAYE.

L'AN 1783.

Reserve

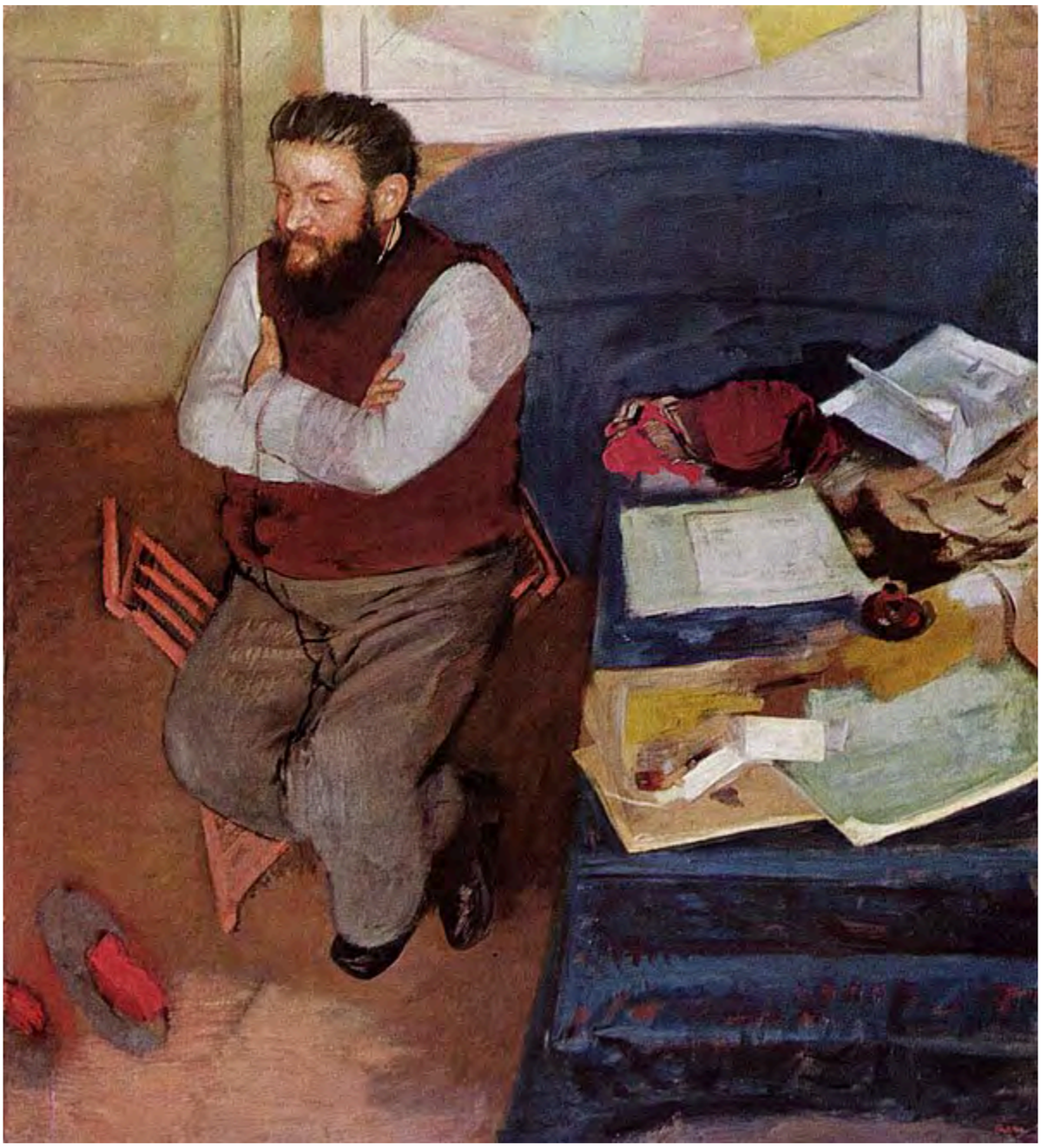
1742

Source gallica.bnf.fr / Bibliothèque nationale de France

Jean Gaspard Lavater [Johann Kaspar Lavater], *Essai sur la physiognomonie, destiné à faire connaître l'Homme & à le faire aimer,* trans. Antoine-Bernard Caillard, and Marie-Élisabeth de La Fite, vol. 2 (La Have, 1783). View Source

Johann Kaspar Lavater was a Swiss poet, writer, philosopher, physiognomist and theologian well-known in England, Germany, and France for his so-called scientific book, *Fragmente zur Beförderung der Menschenkenntnis und Menschenliebe,* which was originally published between 1775 and 1778. He believed that physiognomy related to specific character traits in people. He illustrated this theory through a series of profile portraits to demonstrate how moral character could be discerned through an analysis of "lines of countenance."

Both Duranty and Degas had devised a response to theories of expression and character, including Lavater's analysis of human countenance and how it expressed emotion. Degas's musings on physiognomy explain the importance of his portraits of the person's gestures, physiognomy, and individualized emotions.



Edgar Degas, *Diego Martelli,* 1879. Oil on canvas. 110.4 x 99.8 cm. National Galleries of Scotland, Edinburgh.
View Source

Degas rejected Lavater's formulaic attempt at the assessment of moral character. His approach was more nuanced, a quest for truth in portraiture that rose above typological representation.

He looked for subtle but incisive deviances within physiognomic and social typologies, insisting that modern individualism was located within these aberrations. The result is exemplified in two portraits of novelists and critics; Edmond Duranty, a firm supporter of Realism and Impressionism in France, and Diego Martelli, one of the earliest advocates of Impressionism in Italy.

Degas's portraits of Martelli and Duranty each portray a modern intellectual *in situ,* conveying their uniqueness through the keen manipulation of stylistic devices and attention to particularized elements within their overall settings.

The use of arbitrary vantage points and cropping images, was a direct influence of photography, allowing Degas to freeze frame a particularly interesting viewpoint which would otherwise be passed over. In *Diego Martelli*, the figure is portrayed from an elevated perspective. This vantage point, unusual in real life but appearing completely natural here, was calculated to emphasize Martelli's squat stature and rounded contours. The pose and perspective, evoke a sense of comfortable informality. He is a typical "endomorph," as defined by William

Sheldon, correlating physiological and psychological characteristics in *Atlas of Men: A Guide for Somatotyping the Adult Male at All Ages* (1954). Sheldon, an American psychologist and physician, believed that the psychological makeup of humans had biological foundations. He classified people according to body types or somatotypes. The endomorph, he maintained, had a "viscerotonic" personality – composed, amiable and comfortable – which directly correlated with a rounded and soft body.

How Degas portrays Martelli suggests the man's contemplative, unconfrontational nature. His arms are folded across his chest and supported by his ample belly, and his plump legs, crossed and tucked under his body, strain against the cloth of his trousers. His weight is emphasized by the artist's over-view and the spindly appearance of the folding stool he sits on. Papers and paraphernalia lie haphazardly on the table in the foreground while a pair of red-lined carpet slippers flop by his feet. The sofa's rounded back echoes the rounded contour of the image on the wall and the outlines of Martelli's plump body.



Edgar Degas, *Edmond Duranty,* 1879. Gouache and pastel on canvas. 100 x 100 cm. Burrell Collection, Glasgow.
View Source

Degas's portrait of Edmond Duranty is almost entirely comprised of books. They are laid out horizontally on crowded bookshelves and piled up in diagonals on the desk in the foreground. Duranty himself sits pensively in the centre of it all, his hand pressed against his eyelid in a gesture of pure concentration. The portrait is neither painstakingly descriptive nor idealizing, but it captures the author authentically in his own environment at a particular moment in time.

Duranty is observed from an elevated vantage point, which furthers the sense of his fusion with his surroundings. There is a dynamic quality to the delineation of the pictorial elements, which is echoed in the dry, elegant energy of the pastel and gouache mediums.

While both portraits date from the same period and both men share the same profession, they do not conform to a specific genre. On the contrary, their uniqueness and difference are given visual priority.



Edgar Degas, *Victoria Dubourg,* ca. 1868-69. Oil on canvas. 81.3 x 64.8 cm. Toledo Museum of Art, Toledo. View Source

Degas's portraits of female figures fall within the large number of works he produced of women, over half of his oeuvre, although substantially fewer single portraits exist than group portraits.

Between 1853 and 1873, Degas's focus was predominantly on portraiture. His portrait of Victoria Dubourg, a contemporary still-life painter who would later wed Henri Fantin-Latour exemplifies his early interest in capturing his subjects in their circumstances by paying attention to background settings.

Here, Degas does not explicitly refer to Dubourg as a painter by placing her in a studio setting. But she is shown leaning forward, entering the viewers' space and holding their gaze. Centrally positioned, she conveys assertiveness, alertness, and intelligence. Her hands are a central focal point of the composition, communicating her craft and artistic competence. The mantelpiece to her left holds flowers in a vase, the spray of green stems mirroring the green ribbon around her neck. The flower arrangement hints at the art practice of Dubourg, as does the empty chair, which may suggest the absent presence of her fiancé and painting collaborator, Fantin-Latour.

Isabella Holland, curatorial assistant of European paintings at the Fine Arts Museums of San Francisco, provides the following brief introduction to this little-known woman artist (https://legionofhonor.famsf.org/blog/Victoria-Dubourg-and-the-Louvre):

> Dubourg trained privately in the studio of artist Fanny Chéron and established her independent practice in Paris by the early 1860s. Archival records place Dubourg at the Louvre in 1866, when she received an 800 franc commission from the Ministry of Fine Arts to execute a replica of Pietro da Cortona's 17th-century painting *Virgin and Child with Saint Martina*. This assignment coincided with an extensive arts initiative undertaken during the reign of Napoleon III to expand and reorganize the Louvre's collection. As part of the state's oversight, the institution's holdings were copied and sent to churches and administrative offices throughout the country. Dubourg later fulfilled a similar request to copy Titian's *Pilgrims of Emmaus*, no doubt granting her some financial independence to study and copy artworks in the Louvre's collection for her own personal development.



ART-STUDENTS AND COPYISTS IN THE LOUVRE GALLERY, PARIS.—DRAWN BY WINSLOW HOMER.—[SEE PAGE 25.]

Winslow Homer, "Art-Students and Copyists in the Louvre Gallery, Paris," *Harper's Weekly XII,* January 11, 1868. Woodcut engraving. Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York. View Source

For female artists who were barred from attending the École des Beaux-Arts until 1897, studying at the Louvre provided access to the art world and opportunities to form connections with other artists. Dubourg met Fantin-Latour, while they copied Correggio's *The Mystic Marriage of Saint Catherine of Alexandria* at the Louvre in 1869. Both artists socialized with a circle of progressive artists who frequented the museum, including Édouard Manet, a guest at their wedding in 1875, Berthe Morisot, and Edgar Degas.



Victoria Dubourg, Fantin Latour, *Still Life with Pink and White Stock,* unknown date. Oil on canvas. 55.9 x 47 cm. Fine Arts Museums of San Francisco.

An example of the pair's interest in Chardin may be found in Victoria Dubourg, Fantin-Latour, *Still Life with Pink and White Stock*, in which a simple, frothy arrangement of garden flowers seems to float out from a sombre background.

As collaborators, Dubourg and Fantin-Latour produced some of the most important flower painters of the later part of the 19th century, despite having a well-documented interest in religious painting from the Italian Renaissance.



Jean-Baptiste-Siméon Chardin, *A Vase of Flowers*, 1750. Oil on canvas. 452 x 371 mm. Scottish National Gallery.
View Source

The artists' attraction to still-life painting, particularly works by the 18th-century still-life painter Jean Baptiste Siméon Chardin, paralleled the genre's resurgence throughout the 1850s and 1860s.



Victoria Dubourg, *Flowers*, unknown date. Oil on canvas. 427 mm x 478 mm. National Museum of Western Art, Tokyo. View Source



Henri Fantin-Latour, *Summer Flowers,* 1880. Oil on canvas. 50.8 x 61.9 cm. Metropolitan Museum of Art. View Source

Dubourg and Fantin-Latour shared studio space at 8 Rue des Beaux-Arts in Paris. Their interest in floral still-life was facilitated by their access to fresh blooms to paint from an inherited family estate in Buré, Normandy. Dubourg and Fantin-Latour developed a similar style from working side by side, and a comprehensive understanding of Dubourg's practice remains unrealized; her biography has been limited to the events around her marital relationship. Holland writes, "Dubourg signed the prodigious number of pictures she displayed at the annual Paris Salon and other international art exhibitions with her maiden name, perhaps in an effort to hold on to a discrete artistic identity."



Edgar Degas, *Mary Cassatt at the Louvre: The Etruscan Gallery,* ca. 1879-80. Softground etching, drypoint, aquatint, and etching, retouched with red chalk on ivory Japanese paper. 26.9 x 23.2 cm (image). Art Institute of Chicago. View Source

Degas's images of his friend and fellow artist Mary Cassatt are strikingly different from his representation of Dubourg. In *Mary Cassatt at the Louvre: The Etruscan Gallery*, a pictorial informality initially masks the wealth of information contained within the work. Degas's understanding of body language inspires a work that communicates the female artist's mood even though her back is turned to the viewer.

Degas sought to call attention to Cassatt as a practicing artist out and about in the world, and to capture her critical eye. While her face is not visible, Degas achieves his objective through the subtle juts and angles of her stance as she examines the artworks on view at the Louvre. Her posture is distinctly different from that of her sister Lydia who is seated as she half-heartedly glances at the display of artifacts.

In 2014, a Degas/Cassatt exhibition at the National Gallery of Art in Washington included a number of Degas's works depicting Mary Cassatt at the Louvre. It was accompanied by the following online text (https://www.nga.gov/content/dam/ngaweb/exhibitions/pdfs/2014/degas-cassatt-brochure.pdf):

> Cassatt once remarked that she posed for Degas "only once in a while when he finds the movement difficult and the model cannot seem to get his idea." Yet the theme of Cassatt strolling through the Louvre clearly fascinated him, resulting in a rich body of work produced in a range of media over a number of years.



Edgar Degas, *Mary Cassatt at the Louvre: The Etruscan Gallery,* ca. 1879-80. Softground etching, drypoint, aquatint, and etching. 26.8 x 23.2 cm (image). Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York. View Source



Edgar Degas, *Mary Cassatt at the Louvre,* ca. 1880. Pastel. 71.4 x 54 cm. Private collection. View Source



Edgar Degas, *Mary Cassatt at the Louvre: The Paintings Gallery,* 1885. Pastel, over etching, aquatint, drypoint, and crayon électrique on tan wove paper. 30.5 x 12.7 cm (image). Art Institute of Chicago. View Source

Encompassing two prints, at least five drawings, a half-dozen pastels, and two paintings, the series marks one of Degas's most intense and sustained meditations upon a single motif.

Degas's choice of the Louvre as the setting for this group of works spoke to the two friends' mutual appreciation for art and its tradition. In the series, he depicted Cassatt as an elegantly dressed museum goer, wholly absorbed in her study of art. Nearby, a seated companion (usually identified as Cassatt's sister Lydia) looks up from her guidebook. Cassatt, with her back turned fully to the viewer, balances against an umbrella in a pose that highlights the curve of her body and underscores her air of assurance. Although the precise relationship between the various works is not entirely certain, Degas most likely began with drawings and pastels of individual figures that served as references for the series as a whole.



Edgar Degas, *Madame Camus,* ca. 1869-70. Oil on canvas. 72.7 x 92.1 cm. National Gallery of Art, Washington. View Source

Degas's portraits of Cassatt visiting the Louvre speak to the experience of an artist's appreciation of fine art. With his portrait of Madame Camus, Degas extends the thematic allusion to a musician's pleasure in music.

Madame Camus was the wife of Degas's physician and a highly regarded pianist. In this portrait, she is shown dressed in a gown of rich red, holding a large fan and gazing intently into the distance. Her engaged attention is aural, however, not visual. Degas's synaesthetic suggestion of a sensuous, enveloping musical experience is rendered through the play of formal elements: the atmospheric treatment of the space, the deep palette, and the rhythmic articulation of forms and contours.

Degas used the technique of chiaroscuro, balancing the strong contrast of light and shade to create his dramatic effect. More importantly, he achieves this impression while also capturing the very essence of Mme Camus.

When *Madame Camus* was exhibited in the Salon of 1870, it was praised by Théodore Duret, the journalist, author and art critic, whose *Critique d'Avant Garde* (Paris, 1885), written in support of the Impressionists, was among his best-known works. He described the painting in the *Electeur Libre* (2 June 1870) as a "picture that

escapes from the well-trodden ways...the lady in the picture...is a credible, a real, very alive, very feminine, very Parisian."

Years later, in her recollections, Jeanne Raunay, a French mezzo-soprano opera singer, described Mme Camus as a beautiful young woman, her "eyes charged with languour and wit, which she barely opened, letting their fire gently pass through half-closed eyelids, and her complexion and hair were dream-like" ("Degas, souvenirs anecdotiques," *La Revue de France*, March 15, 1931: 213-321, and April 11931: 619-32).



Edgar Degas, *Madame Camus with a Fan,* ca. 1870. Charcoal and pencil on paper. 29 x 43 cm. Private collection. View Source

Comparing the preliminary drawing *Madame Camus with a Fan* with the completed painting reveals how Degas transformed the picture in charcoal and pencil into a fully realized composition that effectively describes the character and mood of his subject.



Edgar Degas, *Madame Camus at the Piano,* 1869. Oil on canvas. 139 x 94 cm. Foundation E.G. Bührle Collection, Zurich. View Source

Degas painted another portrait of Mme Camus during the same period. This time the piano, the instrument she excelled at, is an integral part of the composition, symbolizing her active engagement with music and her identity as a performer.

Much has been made of how differently male and female sitters were represented in Impressionist portraiture. And while differences do exist, they are reflective of the markedly different lived realities of males and females. Social customs governed behaviour and appearance, and it is unsurprising to see such strictures represented in paintings. Impressionist portraiture, however, frequently challenged gender-based stereotypes in subtle ways.



Edgar Degas, *Degas's Father Listening to Lorenzo Pagans Playing the Guitar,* ca. 1869-72. Oil on canvas. Museum of Fine Arts, Boston. View Source

If passively listening to music, for example, was stereotypically a female experience, then portraying a man doing so was a means by which to sabotage this ascribed meaning.

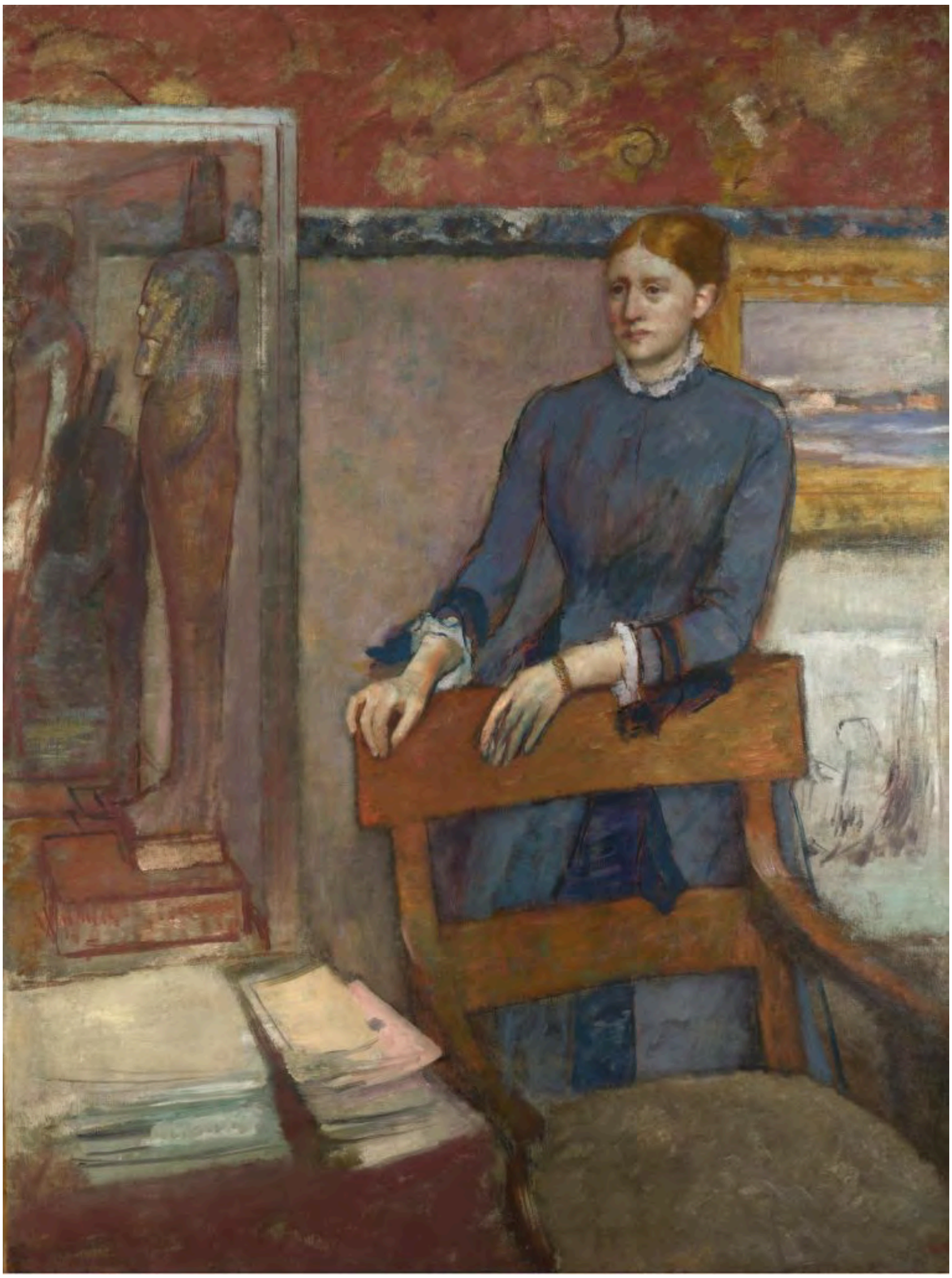
Degas engaged with this trope on several occasions. For example, he portrayed his father listening to the singer Pagans more than once.



Edgar Degas, *Edouard Manet and his Wife,* ca. 1865-69. Oil on canvas. 65 x 71 cm. Kitakyūshū Municipal Museum of Art, Kitakyūshū. View Source

The painting *Edouard Manet and his Wife* also reflects his interest in the theme. It is a double portrait of Manet and Suzanne which shows the artist reclining on a sofa, intently listening to his wife playing the piano. Besides his suited figure, there is little attempt at conveying his social and artistic status or his reputation as a dandy. The pose is unflattering; Manet is sprawled out in a way that emphasizes his stockiness, a foot drawn up beneath his body. While he is leaning back, there is a deliberate sense of connection between the two figures whose garments extend one into the other. However, we cannot discern much more about Mme Manet as the entire front portion of her body was cut away by Manet, who felt that Degas had distorted his wife's features.

Degas reclaimed the work to restore Suzanne's likeness but never did. He kept the vandalized painting on his wall, as is visible in a photo of his apartment taken around 1895, now in the Bibliotheque Nationale de Paris.



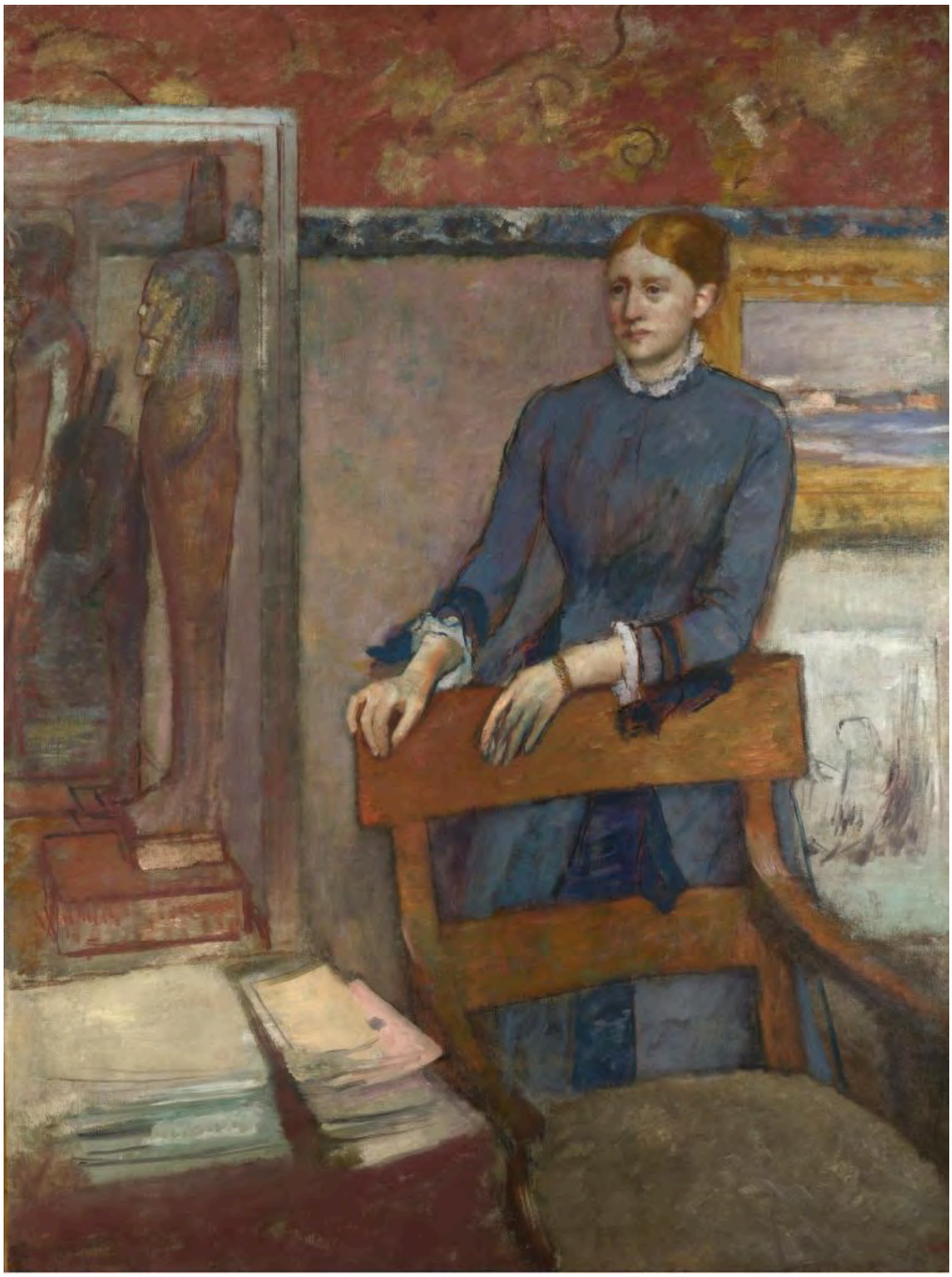
Edgar Degas, *Hélène Rouart in her Father's Study,* ca. 1886. Oil on canvas. 162.5 x 121 cm. National Gallery, London. View Source

Degas's ability to employ formal dynamics to convey individuality, or alter an individual's perception, is clearly at work in *Hélène Rouart in her Father's Study*. The young woman, ill at ease in her surroundings, appears physically and emotionally trapped in her father's study. She is hemmed in by paintings on one side and sculptures on the other, an empty chair pressing against her front. She is literally and figuratively out of her element, her industrialist father being the actual subject *in absentia*.



Edgar Degas, *Henri Rouart in front of his Factory,* ca. 1875. Oil on canvas. 65.4 x 50.4 cm. Carnegie Museum of Art, Pittsburgh. View Source

Hélène's father was an engineer, industrialist, amateur painter and friend of Degas. In his portrait *Henri Rouart in front of his Factory,* Degas utilizes the affectation of the *portrait d'apparat*—a device of incorporating symbolic objects in portraiture—to underscore Rouart's status as a wealthy industrialist. He is solemn and regal as he stands in front of one of his factories. He is dressed smartly and wears a top hat. The heavily smoking smokestacks and the railroad lines zooming into the canvas and converging just behind his head infer the connection between his intellectual acumen and his success.



Edgar Degas, *Hélène Rouart in her Father's Study,* ca. 1886. Oil on canvas. 162.5 x 121 cm. National Gallery, London. View Source

Was Hélène an unhappy daughter, burdened by her successful father and possibly relegated to the role of office secretary and clerk, attending to the considerable paperwork of her father's enterprises?

Jonathan Jones, the British art critic for *The Guardian* (June 24, 2000, https://www.theguardian.com/culture/2000/jun/24/art), sees her this way:

> *Hélène* is a strange portrait. It is supposed to be of Hélène Rouart, but she is utterly overwhelmed by signs of her father. She stands in his study surrounded by his art collection, posing behind his chair, which is colossal compared with her, as if behind a restraining fence. She is diminished by the imagined

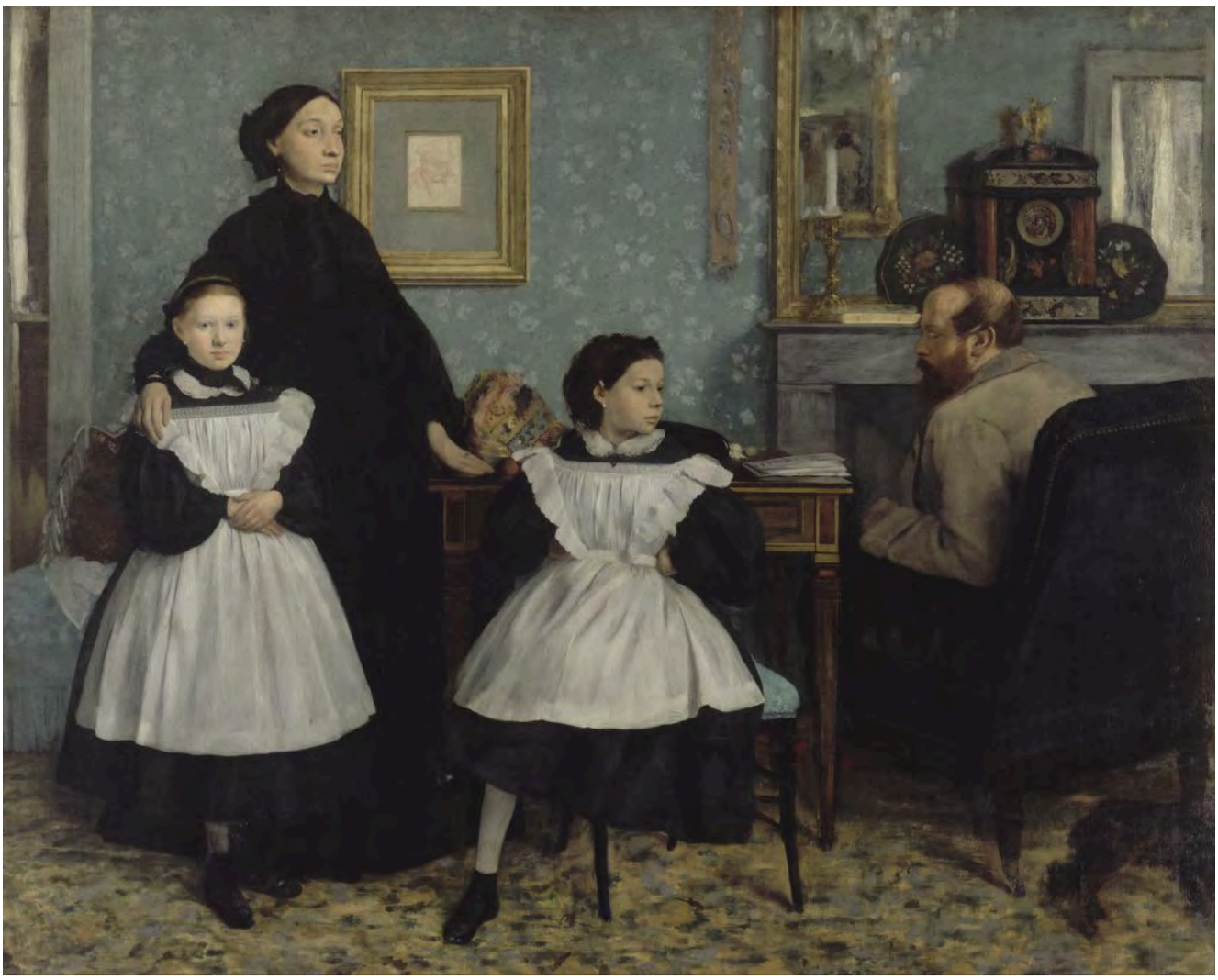
presence of her father, who might be just outside the room – though actually he was travelling in Venice when this was painted.

Hélène has a pasty complexion, her hair is flattened, her dress encases her. She lists like a passenger on a swaying deck. This is the ailing, unhappy daughter of a 19th-century patriarch, so subjugated to the fetishised, massive presence of her father – images of his taste, his wealth – that she seems half-dead. To her left is a landscape of Naples by Corot, and lower down a drawing by Millet, and she is juxtaposed with them as another of her father's treasures. To her right is the glass case containing her father's collection of Egyptian funerary artefacts. She too is mummified and entombed in this room. Degas makes Hélène show the ringless fingers of her left hand. The only man in her life, this painting says in a brutal way, is her father.

...

What a fall to earth is in this painting. Hélène Rouart, the well-behaved daughter of the bourgeoisie, is repressed, dulled in a way that Degas's proletarian performers are not. She's painted to make her as lifeless as possible: her hands drape weakly over the chair back, her face is passionless. This is middle-class depression, the crisis of the 19th-century individual that Freud would later diagnose. But it would not be true to say there's no desire in this painting. It is unbelievably luxurious: Degas kept repainting and retouching it over many years, making the reds ever richer, the texture more opulent. The sexuality that is absent from Hélène's demeanour becomes the glint of silver on the mummies' vitrine, the luxury of a Chinese silk hanging. The painting is suspenseful: possibilities, unacknowledged desires, circulate in its tense space, between the painter, the young woman and her father.

Hélène Rouart married and left home soon after posing for Degas. As for Degas, he died 30 years later with this canvas still in his studio.



Edgar Degas, *The Bellelli Family,* ca. 1858-69. Oil on canvas. 202 x 249.5 cm. Musée d'Orsay, Paris. View Source

Degas was always sensitive to family dynamics, relationships that shape individuals and the contributing factors that inform those relationships. *The Bellelli Family* is an early work begun during a stay in Italy. It shows his paternal aunt Laure, her husband, Gennaro Bellelli, and their two daughters, Giovanna and Guilia. At first glance, it appears to be a conventional, finely painted and well-composed family portrait.

Jean S. Boggs describes the interior setting in "Edgar Degas and the Bellellis" (*Art Bulletin* 37, no. 2 (June 1955): 127-136):

> Here is a dignified middle-class family, virtuously in mourning [in I864 the baron Bellelli died] painted in its drawing room. A dog, a newspaper, a basket of mending and a bassinet further testify to respectability. Even the scale of painting, so large that the figures are approximately life-size is somehow reassuring. We are ready to be enchanted with the ingredients of the setting, lovingly to absorb the candles, the clock, the books on the mantelpiece; the painting, open door and chandelier, reflected in the mirror; and the soft blue wallpaper, the bell-pull and the chalk portrait of Degas's father on the wall; prosaic details out of which the painter created the atmosphere of a bourgeois living room. The light also carries us dreamily back to the past. It is dappled by the flowered wallpaper, the spotted rug and the broken reflections of the mirror. Most of it comes from one source: the open door we can see in the mirror. Where it does not penetrate, on the upper part of the wall, in the left hand corner of the room under the furniture, there are dusky shadows, which make it more positive still. However, it always remains the quiet light of a dimly lit room, a room seemingly remembered from our nineteenth-century past.

That being said, the monumental *Portrait de famille,* as it was called when it was first exhibited at the Salon of 1867, is a depiction of a family drama. The painting highlights the mother's stature: she stands straight and dignified, while the father is seated inward-facing on the other side of the room.

Mother and daughters are in dark clothing, alluding to the recent death of the Baroness's father. On the wall hangs a small portrait of him by Degas (a nod to the aristocratic tradition of portraiture), underscoring his presence in the scene and reinforcing the heavy atmosphere.

Degas was undoubtedly aware of the strains between Gennaro Bellelli and his wife and the tensions at play while painting the family portrait. However, his ambition was to create a significant painting which captures, in the words of the French painter, art critic and museum curator Paul Jamot "his taste for domestic drama, a tendency to discover hidden bitterness in the relationships between individuals.... even when they seem to be presented merely as figures in a portrait." (Paul *Jamot, Degas (XIX Siecle)* (Geneva: Editions d'Art Albert Skira, 1947)

That he successfully portrayed the disequilibrium through pictorial means without compromising a superficial reading of a family scene is laudable. In fact, the insertion of signs of dissension and instability rendered the portrait more interesting.

In pictorial terms, the tensions are not confined to the postures of the father and mother, one slouched in a seat, the other standing overly erect, but also by the figure that both separates and connects them, the awkwardly posed Giulia pictured between them. In addition, the small dog seen moving out of the picture plane on the right creates further fragmentation. With a wave of its fluffy tail and a kind of cheeky *je m'en foutisme* (I don't-give-a-damn attitude) that is entirely at odds with the seriousness of the painting, the dog works to undermine the solemn balance and traditional formality of Degas's monumental and tensely harmonized family-group structure.

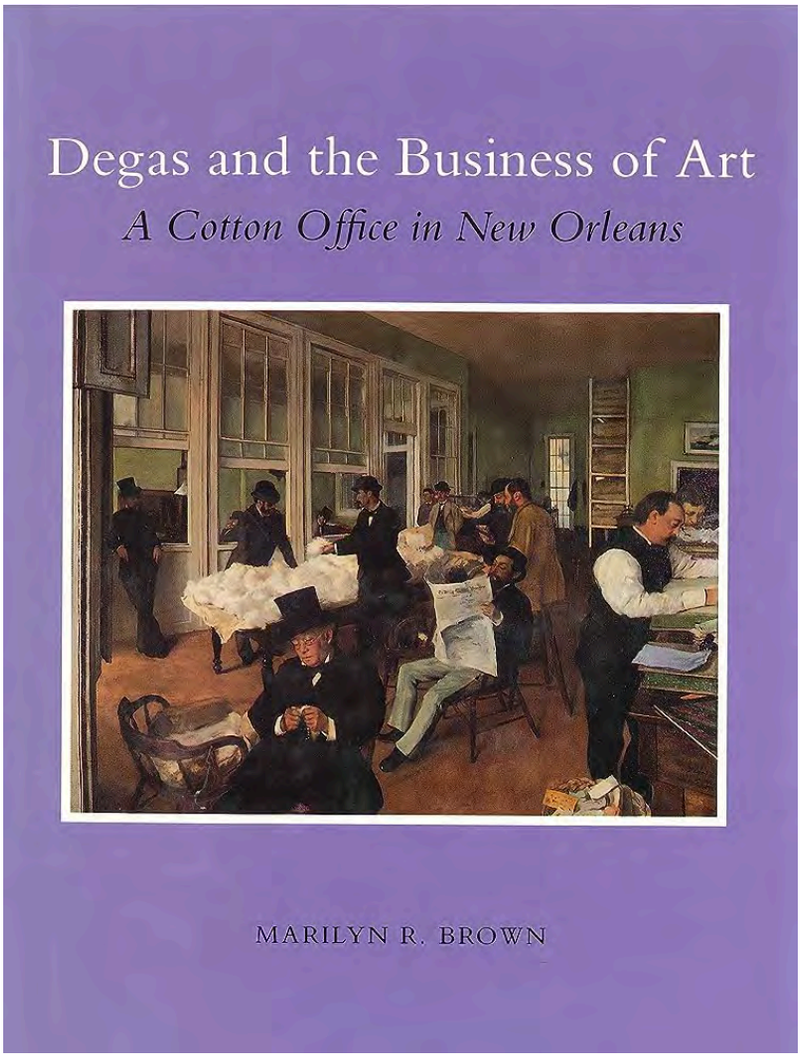
Thus, Degas offers a *contra* version of a conventional bourgeois domestic scene, as much about the contradictions inherent in the idea of a bourgeois family in the middle of the 19th century as it was a family portrait.



Edgar Degas, *A Cotton Office in New Orleans,* 1873. Oil on canvas. 74 x 92 cm. Musée des Beaux-Arts de Pau. View Source

In October 1872, Degas travelled to New Orleans, where he stayed for five months with his late mother's brother Michel Musson and the extended Musson family at 2306 Esplanade Avenue. The artist's younger brothers, René and Achille, were by then settled in the United States, running a wine importation business financed by the Parisian Degas family bank. From the second-floor front gallery of the house on Esplanade, Degas painted *A Cotton Office in New Orleans*, an image of the office of Musson's factorage firm at what is now 407 Carondelet Street. *A Cotton Office in New Orleans* stands as both a family portrait and a portrait of the new universe of American commerce.

In the foreground, Degas portrays top-hatted broker Michel Musson carefully examining a fibre sample between his thumb and forefinger. Degas's brother René is seated reading the *Daily Picayune,* and his cousin Achille looks over at the accountants as he lounges against a window. Prominently posed at the front is the cashier John Livaudais standing over a large register. Degas has captured the characteristic disposition of each of the men in the office in myriad small details while effectively conveying the atmosphere of places of business such as the cotton office.



Marylin R. Brown, *Degas and the Business of Art: A Cotton Office in New Orleans* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1994). View Source

Degas's *A Cotton Office in New Orleans* (Pennsylvania State University Press, 1994) by Marilyn R. Brown is an important portrayal of nineteenth-century capitalism that explores the artist's complicated relationship to the art business.

Jerah Johnson's book review, "Degas and the Business of Art: A Cotton Office in New Orleans by Marilyn R. Brown" considers Brown's historical description of the painting (*Louisiana History: The Journal of the Louisiana Historical Association* 36, no. 3 (Summer 1995): 345-347):

Degas himself noted that his painting was "Louisiana art" not "Parisian art" and that it was "a picture of the local vintage, if there ever was one." The languor of the cotton office Degas depicted — of the fourteen figures in the painting, only half are, in Degas's own words, even "more or less busy"— suggests the oppressive heat and slow pace of life in New Orleans. Some critics have argued, Brown reports, that the general inactivity in the office also implies a contrast to the hustle and bustle of the New Orleans Cotton Exchange, which had been established around the corner on Gravier Street only two years before and which was rapidly putting old-fashioned factors such as Mussonout of business. Musson's firm, in fact, went bankrupt while Degas was painting the picture.

Degas designed the *Cotton Office* with a particular buyer in mind, an English textile magnate and art collector in Manchester. But Degas's agent could not negotiate the Manchester sale, so Degas put the *Cotton Office* in the second Impressionist exhibition in Paris in 1876. The piece got a mixed critical reception that, on balance, represented a qualified success, particularly with politically right-wing critics, who liked both the bourgeois subject and the traditional surface finish of the picture, so unlike the finish of Degas's more 'modern' works. But no one offered to buy it. Needing money badly and desperate to

sell his cotton, as he now called the piece, Degas had his dealer send it to Pau for exhibition in 1877-78. Pau was an old textile manufacturing center in remote southwestern France, a sort of minor Manchester, but with some important differences. It had a museum that was closely associated with a local Society of the Friends of Art, the membership of which included the town's political, banking, and manufacturing elite. The Society was one of the most active, successful, and progressive of France's many provincial friends-of-art associations, all of which had developed connections with Paris dealers and agents. And Pau had also become a winter resort for large numbers of rich Americans.

...

It was the ideal market for Degas's cotton, and the Pau museum bought his piece when the 1878 exhibit closed. It was not only the first of Degas's paintings purchased by a museum, but the first painting by any member of the Impressionist group purchased by a museum. Thus the sale marked turning points in both Degas's career and in the Impressionist movement as a whole. And it exemplified, as well as anything could, the new business of art.



Edgar Degas, *Place de la Concorde,* 1875. Oil on canvas. 78.4 x 46.2 cm. Hermitage Museum, Saint Petersburg. View Source

Two years later, Degas decided to embark on another atypical family portrait set within a remarkably strikingly unusual perspectival space. In *Place de la Concorde,* Vicomte Ludovic-Napoleon Lepic, aristocrat, artist, museum curator and *père de famille,* is depicted in the extreme foreground as he strolls across the Place de la Concorde, top hat set at a jaunty angle, cigar thrust between his lips and a furled umbrella tucked beneath his arm. He is accompanied by his two young, fashionably dressed daughters, Eylau and Janine, and their well-bred borzoi, Albrecht.

Place is virtually unpopulated otherwise, with just a few small figures in the background and a marginally placed figure at the left. This is Degas's friend Ludovic Halévy, well-dressed and carrying a walking stick. His role as a bystander, rather than a subject, is further stressed in how he is pictured turning to take in the group.

The family easily dominates the picture plane's expanse, alluding to Lepic's equally prominent and privileged position in the heart of urban Paris. The space is near empty, alluding to the influence of photographic aesthetics in the vastness of the negative space, the cropping of the composition and the overall random quality of the event.

Nancy Forgione in "Everyday Life in Motion: The Art of Walking in Late-Nineteenth-Century Paris" (*Art Bulletin* 87, no. 4 (December 2005): 664-687) connects photographs of people walking in Paris with Degas's painting of the Lepic family:

> Interest in the analysis of physical movement grew rapidly during the nineteenth century, encouraged and aided by the new medium of photography. Though, initially, lengthy exposure times meant that moving objects were precisely what photography left out, within a few short years the documentation of movement became one of its most impressive accomplishments.



Hippolyte Jouvin, *Le Pont-Neuf, vu du quai des Grands Augustins,* ca. 1860-70. Photographic print on stereo card, albumen. 8,6 x 17,2 cm. Library of Congress, Washington. View Source

> For example, in this stereograph photograph two nearly identical photographs or photomechanical prints are paired to produce the illusion of a single three-dimensional image.



Richard, Lenticular or "Brewster" stereoscope, ca. 1910-30. Wood, metal and glass. 11 x 13 x 16 cm. Museo nazionale della scienza della tecnologia Leonardo da Vinci, Milan. View Source

The photographic image was usually viewed through a stereoscope, such as the "Brewster" pictured above.

Pedestrian street scenes such as Hippolyte Jouvin's *The Pont Neuf Paris* were influential during the 1860s and 70s because they were the best way to analyze actions such as walking or running. This new visible record of knowledge informed how paintings were made and how people appeared to move in space. Looking at *Place de la Concorde,* for example, we comprehend that the central figures in the square have just stopped walking. We know this even though the image is cut off, and their lower bodies are not visible. Forgione describes the painting in this way:

> The Lepic family members pause rather unceremoniously in their progression across the Place de la Concorde. Though the bottom edge of the canvas cuts off our view of their legs, we assume they have stopped walking because the current orientations of their bodies would propel them in very different directions if they were still in motion. The nearly deserted square behind them contrasts with the impression that traffic fills the space before them that is, the space in front of the picture plane—for, as no other motivation for stopping can be discerned, it may be presumed that they stand on a traffic island awaiting an opportunity to cross the street. For a family group, they display a curious disjointedness. Just as the orientations of their bodies and their gazes radiate out at disparate angles, so, too, their minds seem to be idling in different directions, largely inattentive to each other and to the onlooker at the left, a partially visible man whose presence balances the human weight and the vertical rhythm of the composition. The family's relation to their surroundings, like their relation to one another, implies not connection but disengagement, in part because of the broad stretch of open space that separates them from the backdrop of buildings and trees. Moreover, their radical proximity to the picture surface suggests that they are not in the depicted space so much as they are testing its frontal membrane, as if, when the traffic clears, they will resume walking and exit the pictorial space....
>
> The three figures, arrayed in a shallow plane, do not interact or intersect, except where the father's umbrella visually stabs the hat of the girl at the right. It is difficult to tell whether their preoccupation has an inward or outward focus, or no focus at all. The viewer, like the onlooker at the left, encounters this fragmented family dynamic as would a passerby, randomly observing such a group on a city sidewalk, yet the proximity of the figures to the surface permits no impression of physical access into the pictorial space. *Place de la Concorde* is rare among paintings of the period that feature walking in Paris in that, owing to its air of disconnection, it incorporates a feeling often described as alienation. ....However, considering that Degas also infused a number of his paintings of indoor scenes with a similar atmosphere of anomie, perhaps it is not the geographic location so much as the psychic territory his figures inhabit that primarily governs the mood. The dense but enigmatic psychology of the individuals

and the lack of cohesiveness among them emphasize the distance that separates rather than the closeness that binds human relationships.

Adding to the vague unease of *Place de la Concorde* is the impression that the figures pass through but do not quite belong in their space, as if they withhold themselves from their environment as well as from one another.

Carol Armstrong also connects Degas's paintings to photographs in "Reflections on the Mirror: Painting, Photography, and the Self-Portraits of Edgar Degas" (*Representations* no. 22 (Spring, 1988): 108-141). Her emphasis is on the fragmentation of the body:

> A critic, writer, and friend of Degas's, Edmond Duranty, author of one of the best 1870s accounts of Degas's oeuvre, speaks to the notion of the aspect and links it to the concept of the fragment, characterizing both as fundamental to Degas's work: If one takes a person in a room or in turn in the street, he is not always at an equal distance from two parallel objects, in a straight line.... He is not always in the center of the canvas, in the center of the setting. . . He is not always shown complete, since sometimes he appears cut at mid-leg, mid-body, sliced longitudinally.... The detailed description of all of these cuts would be infinite. Bodily fragments, "coupes d'aspect". Duranty ties the fragmentation of the body to a particular mode of seeing-the moving point of view and the taking in of the world as a series of partial aspects. Indeed, the two are simultaneous and synonymous: the body is cut at the same time as the world is submitted to the photographic crop-to view in this way is to slice the world into pieces, to dis member bodies as well as spaces. And indeed, this is the most noticeable characteristic of Degas's oeuvre-today, when we debate about the relationship between photography and his painting, and during the artist's lifetime, when critics, Duranty and others, repeatedly singled out Degas's use of fragmentation as the signature of his work. Unexpected points of view, the human body never seen as a whole or as a unity, a way of framing that is to crop and cut into and never to close off, and seriality: these are notions that still capture better than any others Degas's paintings and pastels of horses, dancers, and bathers-even now they describe no other painter's pictures as well as they describe Degas's. (We do not even need, as Duranty evidently did not need, to refer to particular pictures in order to recognize their aptness.) In Degas's work fragmentation is fundamental, and the artist's simple piece of advice to himself about seeing from above and below belongs to a whole partializing way of seeing the body. It also suggests the medium of photography.

Portrait artist Jacques-Emile Blanche's tribute to Degas soon after his death anticipates Armstrong's analysis. Blanche wrote: "His system of composition was new: Perhaps he will one day be reproached with having anticipated the cinema and the snapshot and of having above all between 1870 and 1885 come close to the genre picture. The instantaneous photograph, with its unexpected cutting-off, shocking differences in scale, has become so familiar to us that the easel-paintings of that period no longer astonish us...no one before Degas ever thought of doing this, no one since has put such 'gravity'...into the kind of composition." (Scharf, *Art and Photography*, 184)



Edgar Degas, *Place de la Concorde,* 1875. Oil on canvas. 78.4 x 46.2 cm. Hermitage Museum, Saint Petersburg. View Source

Linda Nochlin, in "Impressionist Portraits and the Construction of Modern Identity" (initially published in *Renoir's Portraits: Impressions of an Age* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1997), 53-75), writes that *Place de la Concorde* compels an examination of the complexities and ambiguities it offers as a portrait-image. For example, the image moves beyond the traditional genre of portraiture in that it operates not only as a representation of Vicomte Lepic and his children but also as a social portrait meant to capture a specific class in Paris at a particular moment in history.



Gustave Boulanger, *Battle in Place de la Concorde in Paris, during the last days of the Commune,* 1871. Oil on canvas. 64.5 x 80 cm. Musée Carnavalet, Paris. View Source

There are discreet references to the recent loss of Alsace to the Germans after the Franco-Prussian War, for instance, in the vaguely adumbrated statue of Strasbourg in the Tuileries decked out with mourning banners.



James Pradier, *The Statue of Strasbourg,* 1838. Place de la Concorde, Paris. View Source



Pierre-Antoine Demachy, *An Execution, Place de la Révolution,* ca. 1793. Oil on paper mounted on canvas. 53.5 x 68.5 cm. Musée Carnavalet, Paris. View Source

Place de la Concorde is an important historical location in France's political and symbolic life. The square was named Concorde in 1830 to commemorate the French people's reconciliation following the Terror's excesses and the political upheavals at the end of the 18th and beginning of the 19th centuries.



Edgar Degas, *Place de la Concorde,* 1875. Oil on canvas. 78.4 x 46.2 cm. Hermitage Museum, Saint Petersburg. View Source

While Degas's *Place de la Concorde* closely resembles an established genre of group portraiture (despite its lack of a narrative thread connecting the characters), the work instils in the viewer an expectation of additional meaning, which it does not provide. This contradiction compels a reconsideration of its reading as a traditional portrait.

Among the questions it raises is the importance, or unimportance, of the subject's identity. Lepic was, among other things, a prolific and technically skilled printmaker, an exhibitor in the first and second Impressionist exhibitions who shared an interest along with Degas in the so-called science of physiognomy and evolutionary theory, which furthered analogies between animals and humans and argued the idea of a God-given soul. How does this information insert itself into the work, and how does it impact visual meaning, if at all?

Place de la Concorde is a remarkable portrait, offering itself up to a wide variety of interpretive strategies. But the question remains, is it a portrait at all? Differing considerably from the conventional single portrait, it is hardly a family portrait in the usual sense of the term, even though the central subject was a friend of Degas, who likely participated in making the portrait.



Hilaire-Germain-Edgar Degas, *Jules Taschereau, Edgar Degas and Jacques-Émile Blanche,* 1895. Gelatin silver print from glass negative, enlargement. 22.9 x 24.8 cm. Clark Institute, Williamstown. View Source

Despite the visual evidence, no direct link connects Degas's paintings to photographs, although contemporaneous testimonials tell of his embrace of the medium.

However, Degas did describe his use of photographs to Ernest Rouart and their mutual friend Paul Valéry. Rouart later recounted a visit to Degas's studio, where he was shown a monochromatic canvas in pastel made after a photograph, and the artist's claim that he was among the first artists to "see what photography could teach the painter-and what the painter must be careful not to learn from it." (Scharf, *Art and Photography*, 184)

Degas commonly photographed friends and family in the evenings, after dinner. He would arrange oil lamps and pose his dinner guests as models. "He went back and forth … running from one end of the room to the other with an expression of infinite happiness," wrote Daniel Halévy, the son of Degas's close friends Ludovic and Louise Halévy, describing one such evening.



Edgar Degas, [Portrait of Ludovic Halévy], 1895. Gelatin silver print. 8.1 x 7.8 cm. J. Paul Getty Museum, Los Angeles. View Source

Degas lived near Halévy and dined with his family on Thursday evenings. “We have made him not just an intimate friend but a member of our family, his own being scattered all over the world,” wrote Daniel Halévy. This easy bond is apparent in Degas’s photograph of Halévy relaxing in his home.

In “Positive/Negative: A Note on Degas’s Photographs” (*October* (Summer 1978): 89-100), Douglas Crimp quotes the full text from Daniel Halévy:

> In a passage from a journal kept in his youth, Daniel Halévy relates the events of “a charming dinner party” given on December 29, 1895. Among the guests was Edgar Degas (a regular at the Halévy household until their break over the Dreyfus affair) together with various members of the family, including Jules Taschereau and his daughter Henriette, Madame Niaudet and her daughter Mathilde. After dinner Degas went to get his camera, at which point, Halévy tells us, “the pleasure part of the evening was over,” and “the duty part of the evening began,” while everyone submitted to “Degas’s fierce will, his artist’s ferocity.” During this period in the mid-’90s inviting Degas to dinner meant, it seems, “two hours of military obedience.”

This is Halévy's description of the posing session that evening:

> He [Degas] seated Uncle Jules, Mathilde, and Henriette on the little sofa in front of the piano. He went back and forth in front of them running from one side of the room to the other with an expression of infinite happiness. He moved lamps, changed the reflectors, tried to light the legs by putting a lamp on the floor-to light Uncle Jules's legs, those famous legs, the slenderest, most supple legs in Paris which Degas always mentions ecstatically.
>
> 'Taschereau,' he said, 'hold onto that leg with your right arm, and pull it in there. Then look at that young person beside you. More affectionately-still more-come-come! You can smile so nicely when you want to. And you, Mademoiselle Henriette, bend your head-more-still more. Really bend it. Rest it on your neighbor's shoulder." And when she didn't follow his orders to suit him, he caught her by the nape of the neck and posed her as he wished. He seized hold of Mathilde and turned her face towards her uncle. Then he stepped back and exclaimed happily, 'That does it.'"

These photographs were taken within a specific timeframe in 1895. By then Degas was in his 50s and he had trouble reading and painting. Progressively, his paintings and prints became increasingly more abstract as his eyesight worsened.

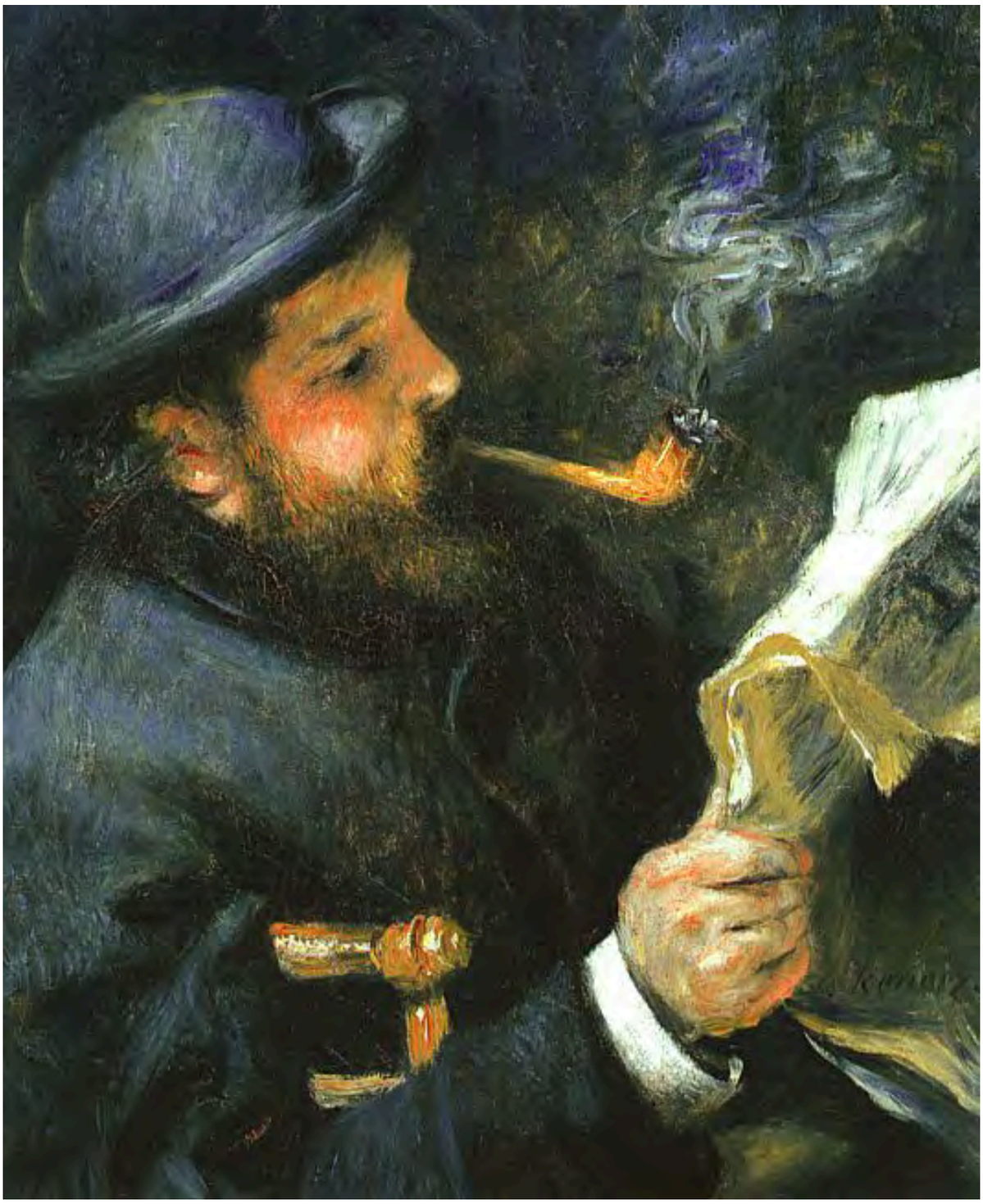
5.8
| Impressionist Portraits of Colleagues and Friends

Nochlin writes in "Impressionist Portraits and the Construction of Modern Identity" that "Impressionist portraits should not on the whole be considered as portraits in the traditional sense, but rather should be seen as part of a broader attempt to reconfigure human identity by means of representation innovation, at times working within, at times transforming, and at times subverting this time-honored and seemingly unproblematic, indeed self-explanatory, pictorial genre." An analysis of a number of portraits by Bazille, Renoir, and Monet serves to substantiate this view.



Frédéric Bazille, *Portrait of Pierre-Auguste Renoir,* 1867. Oil on canvas. 61.2 x 50 cm. Musée d'Orsay, Paris. View Source

When the young Renoir chose to be portrayed by Bazille with his feet propped up on a chair, and his head turned distractedly in thought, all allusions to formality, or the artful conventions of portrait posing, were radically dismissed.



Pierre-Auguste Renoir, *Claude Monet Reading,* 1872. Oil on canvas. 61 x 50 cm. Musée Marmottan Monet, Paris.
View Source

The traditional aspects of portrait painting are equally negated in a close-up image of Claude Monet reading a newspaper by Renoir. The shaggy beard, the smoking pipe, and the rumpled pages of the paper all repudiate the artifice of conventional portraiture, emphasizing an introspective dimension that echoes the self-absorbed activity of reading.

Renoir's approach in this portrait is consistent with common contemporary portrayals of artists and writers, which present the sitter in a neutral or unspecified setting, relying on expressive, casual "poses" as the signifiers of personality and character.



Édouard Manet, *Repose,* 1871. Oil on canvas. 150.2 x 114 cm. Rhode Island School of Design Museum, Providence. View Source

These include Manet's *Repose*, a portrait of Berthe Morisot,



Edgar Degas, *Mary Cassatt,* ca. 1880-84. Oil on canvas. 73.3 x 60 cm. National Portrait Gallery, Washington.
View Source

Degas's *Portrait of Mary Cassatt*,



Mary Cassatt, *Self-Portrait,* ca. 1878. Gouache on paper. 60 x 41.1 cm. Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.
View Source

and Cassatt's 1878 *Self-Portrait*.

Margaret Fitzgerald Farr, in "Impressionist Portraiture: A Study in Context and Meaning" (PhD diss., University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, 1992), compares these portraits:

> The poses in each of these portraits is different, but all are casual: seated, with legs drawn up; seated, almost reclining, with one leg tucked underneath; leaning forward; and leaning on a piece of furniture. Although each of these portraits depicts an artist, none, strictly speaking, represents their sitter as an artist. They neither emphasize the head as the source of the powers of invention nor include professional attributes. In each, the backgrounds are vague or minimized, enhancing the figure. But what is most striking about these poses is their absolute repudiation of artful, or even polite, pose.

For the Impressionist portraitist of the 1860s and 1870s, the question was not merely that of liberating portraiture from strict mimesis but also of overturning the conventions of the portrait pose. The strictures governing the portrait pose were historically connected to decorum and status. Furthermore, the portrait tradition, which assumed identity as dignified and morally upright, was pictorially translated into extreme posture alignment.

The casual poses the artists adopted for one another in works such as Renoir's *Claude Monet Reading* or Degas's *Mary Cassatt* were a means of asserting their youth, rebellious ideas, or friendship. Backgrounds were empty, abstracted or minimized to fix attention on the person. These portraits shunned the social etiquette of proper posture by repudiating the artful and poised image.



Jean-Auguste-Dominique Ingres, *Madame Moitessier,* 1856. Oil on canvas. 120 x 92.1 cm. National Gallery, London. View Source

This represented a startling departure from the decorousness of traditional portraiture, which sought to elevate the haute bourgeoisie through controlled representational codes.

For example, an idealized neoclassical portrait of Madame Moitessier by Jean-Auguste-Dominique Ingres depicts the well-to-do lady dressed in fashionable era garments. The opulent flower-patterned dress she wears, the sparking diamonds, amethysts, garnets and opals on her neck and arms, the satin couch on which she sits and the Chinese jar behind her show off her wealth as the wife of the wealthy banker and lace merchant Sigisbert Moitessier.

The bourgeoisie, like Moitessier, had come to dominate politics and culture after the fall of the Ancien Regime, gaining power through commercial and industrial initiatives. The rise of the bourgeoisie was echoed by their rising demand for family portraits, which had been unavailable to them as lavish reflections of their social status before the 19th century.

Impressionist artists were well-familiar with the society portrait, from pose to props, as an expression of wealth and power, and with some exceptions (Renoir, for example), chose to paint friends and relatives instead of accepting portrait commissions. They focused on everyday events and activities, whether in domestic interiors, public spaces, or set out of doors, and approached their subjects in a non-idealizing way to establish a new form of portraiture.

5.9
| Frédéric Bazille

In "Impressionist Portraiture," Farr compares two self-portraits by Bazille that "illustrate the changes wrought in the latter part of the decade as the Impressionists relied increasingly on the sincere and unmediated depiction of their visual sensations."



Frédéric Bazille, *Self-portrait,* ca.1865-66. Oil on canvas. 108.9 x 71.1 cm. Art Institute of Chicago. View Source

Farr writes:

> Bazille's self-portrait of 1865 presents the artist as painter, indeed as active in his own self-depiction since he holds a palette and brushes and turns toward the picture plane as towards a mirror. The way the artist holds the brush *towards* the surface confirms this active role. Bazille leaves the background undefined, but delineates his own clothing to the extent that we may describe him as bourgeois gentleman painter. He modulates light and shadow to convey three-dimensional form, seen particularly in his head and left arm. The brushstrokes and color are mostly uniform and muted throughout, with the warmest colors applied to the flesh tones of the head and hands. The artist's palette acts as the notable exception to this schema, with saturated red, yellow, and green, and white liberally applied to much of the palette's surface. Thus, the color and brushstrokes represented as being on the palette appear markedly different from the other areas of the painting with respect to their coloristic and tactile properties.
>
> Just as the brushes and palette are accessories denoting the artist's profession, the represented pictorial difference between the painted palette and the remainder of the canvas connotes the painting process. Bazille depicts two stages through which the artist transforms paint on canvas (represented here by the paint on the depicted palette, already one step removed from simply paint on canvas) into the mimetic illusion of a figure placed against a muted background. However, the manual means by which this transformation is effected is hidden (although its maker is illusionistically present); the viewer is expected to make the imaginative leap from touches of color to finished form, but willingly does so since Bazille's clues all operate within the mimetic realm governed by contoured shapes and modeled forms.



Frédéric Bazille, *Self-portrait at Saint-Sauveur,* 1864. Oil on wood. 40.5 x 31.5 cm. Musée Fabre, Montpellier. View Source

No such clarity or implied progression orders Bazille's *Self-Portrait at Saint-Sauveur* dating three years later. The artist presents himself in profile, an unusual pose in this genre, and one which precludes the viewer's engagement or identification with the subject.

Furthermore, the painter obscures his own features through a *contre-jour* effect produced by the brightness of the landscape situated behind the figure … Unlike the spatial effect created in the earlier self-portrait by placing the half-length figure at some distance from the picture plane, here the bust-length figure fills the foreground space, again precluding the entry of the spectator. The left arm, modeled with light and shadow in the earlier painting to convey the figure's three-dimensionality, appears in the later portrait as a series of visible, directional strokes that remain assertively on the planar surface of the canvas rather than suggesting the turning of forms in space.

The ambiguity of the viewer's position and the subject's expression is enhanced by positioning the artist against a landscape background. Is this a real landscape with Bazille sitting before a window, or is it a painted landscape? The *contre-jour* lighting effect would seem to indicate the former, although a light horizontal stroke adjacent to his shoulder perhaps delineates a frame. The brushstrokes within the figure are set down one next to another without transition just as the figure is situated against its ground.

Competition between figure and ground arises from the lighter tones of the landscape drawing the viewer's eye back, and from the visual connection made between Bazille's hair and the background foliage which result from the tactile fusion between the two.

Consequently, in this 1868 painting Bazille abrogates the implied narrative of the earlier self-portrait by valorizing touch over other pictorial devices. Touch suggests forms, or at least their tactility, their movement; it also unifies the surface of the canvas. In short, this later self-portrait materializes the very manual processes implied, but not depicted, in the earlier work—the placement of marks on the canvas, the movement of the artist's hand, the sometimes awkward fashioning of forms (as in the right shoulder).

While it may be argued that the differences between these two works have to do with their relative states of completion, I contend that the terrain Bazille charted in the second work came to be pursued by many of the Impressionists in their portraits (and possibly would have been continued by Bazille himself, were it not for his death during the Franco-Prussian War).

This terrain is marked by a predominant emphasis upon the means and processes of representation, and most significantly for the portrait genre, by an emphasis on self-expression at the expense of depiction. Instead of implying a narrative of artistic practice that takes place outside of the painting, as Bazille's early self-portrait demonstrates, many Impressionist portraits exhibit that mediating, heretofore presumed but unrepresented stage of execution. The earlier work posits the artist as transforming raw materials along a predictable course towards the end of illusionism, the later one as exploiting these materials toward no preconceived end. The earlier painting suggests timelessness (meaning that the caught moment extends into infinite time), whereas the later image connotes process and therefore "real" time.

Bazille's paintings demonstrate how Impressionist self-portraits were embedded within the history of self-portraiture, reflecting genre precedents while instilling new imagery, poses, and composition to communicate their identities.



Frédéric Bazille, *The Family Reunion,* 1868. Oil on canvas. 152 x 230 cm. Musée d'Orsay, Paris. View Source

A comparison of two group portraits by Bazille further reveals an extended meditation on the nature of the genre and how, as a portraitist, Bazille was determined to negotiate a very different terrain from that of his predecessors.

Réunion de famille, also called *Portraits de famille* (*Family Reunion* also called *Family Portraits*), shows Bazille's extended family gathered at the family's country estate at Méric, near Montpellier, a few days before or after the wedding of his brother Frédéric.

Bazille's relatives are seated on a terrace on a sunny day. A large tree hovers above them, its spreading foliage filtering the sunlight and creating shadows that inspire an exploration of the effects of light and shadow on the people's faces and clothing, the landscape and the sky. The family is posed rather stiffly, staring ahead as if into a camera lens. There is no interaction between the ten people or Bazille himself, who positions himself at the far left as if reluctant to include himself in the painting.

Dianne Pitman in *Bazille: Purity, Pose and Painting in the 1860s* (Pennsylvania State University Press, 1998) critiques the notion that Bazille's *Family Reunion* closely resembles André-Adolphe-Eugène Disdéri's carte-de-visite portraits.



André-Adolphe-Eugène Disdéri, [Family Portrait], ca. 1855-65. Albumen salted paper print? 33.2 x 24.4 cm. J. Paul Getty Museum, Los Angeles. View Source

Bazille's *Family Gathering*, I propose, can be seen as succeeding where Disdéri himself, limited by the photographic materials and practices of the time, was bound to fail. Bazille creates a group portrait, that, in Disdéri's terms, avoid both stiffness and dramatic pretense. He seems to accomplish this by the means Disdéri specified, by simultaneously allowing the sitters a sustained period of time in which to relax and be themselves, and providing some narrative structure, a mild unifying action that brings them together in a single moment.



Frans Hals, *Family Group in a Landscape,* ca. 1645-48. Oil on canvas. 202 x 285 cm. Museo Nacional Thyssen-Bornemisza, Madrid. View Source

Pitman emphasizes the similarity of Bazille's group portrait with precedents painted before the invention of photography, such as the group images portrayed by Frans Hals,



Philippe de Champaigne (attributed to), *Portrait of the family of Habert de Montmor,* ca. 1600-50. Oil on canvas. 213 x 193 cm. Château de Sully-sur-Loire, France. View Source

and Philippe de Champaigne, that served as prototypes for his contemporary Fantin-Latour.



Henri Fantin-Latour, *A Studio at Les Batignolles,* 1870. Oil on canvas. 204 cm × 273 cm. Musée d'Orsay, Paris. View Source

Fantin-Latour's *A Studio at Les Batignolles* depicts a group of Impressionist painters and others of the Batignolles Group, including Scholderer, Renoir, Astruc, Zola, Maitre, Bazille and Monet. They are gathered around Manet, who is seated at his easel painting a portrait of Astruc. It is a deliberate and solemn representation. In their demeanour and dress, the artists convey a sense of decorum meant to belie the negative bohemian characterization bestowed on them by their critics. Dressed in bourgeois attire, they claim respectability, despite having broken with the academic status quo. In this painting, Fantin-Latour sought to legitimize those artists discriminated against in official circles.

Fantin-Latour became prominent in the era of Impressionism and had personal and professional connections to the group, but he was not an Impressionist. He preferred to exhibit at the Salon rather than with the group. Three genres of painting marked his career: portraiture, still-life painting, and imaginative or mythological scenes. He received the most critical attention for his group portraits of renowned artists, writers, and musicians.



Frédéric Bazille, *Bazille's Studio,* 1870. Oil on canvas. 98 x 128 cm. Musée d'Orsay, Paris. View Source

In contrast to the rigid conventionality of Fantin-Latour's *A Studio at Les Batignolles,* Bazille's *The Studio in the Rue La Condamine* is unpretentious and informal. The painting depicts his atelier, which was typical of the Batignolles district in the 1870s: spacious and lit by bay windows facing north, maintaining constant light throughout the day. A sense of spontaneity permeates the scene. The figures are not posed, nor are the objects arranged in a contrived manner. Bazille, Manet and Astruc are gathered around his canvas, framed in readiness for the Salon. Zola and Monet are shown in conversation on the left, and Sisley, seen playing the piano, reinforces the notion of the studio as a social space.

The painting reads as a spontaneous snapshot. But it is a carefully constructed image meant to convey aesthetic, moral, and social values visually. Implied in the topos of the artist's studio is a subtext that claims special status for the artists and for art's distinctive role in society. In this way, images of artists' ateliers offered opportunities to show off the reality and mythology of art in the making and to underscore the notion of the studio as a locus of creativity. This was also where the fantasized identity of the artist was constructed and, as a social space, where ideas were conceived and exchanged.



Frédéric Bazille, *Bazille's Studio,* 1870. Oil on canvas. 98 x 128 cm. Musée d'Orsay, Paris. View Source

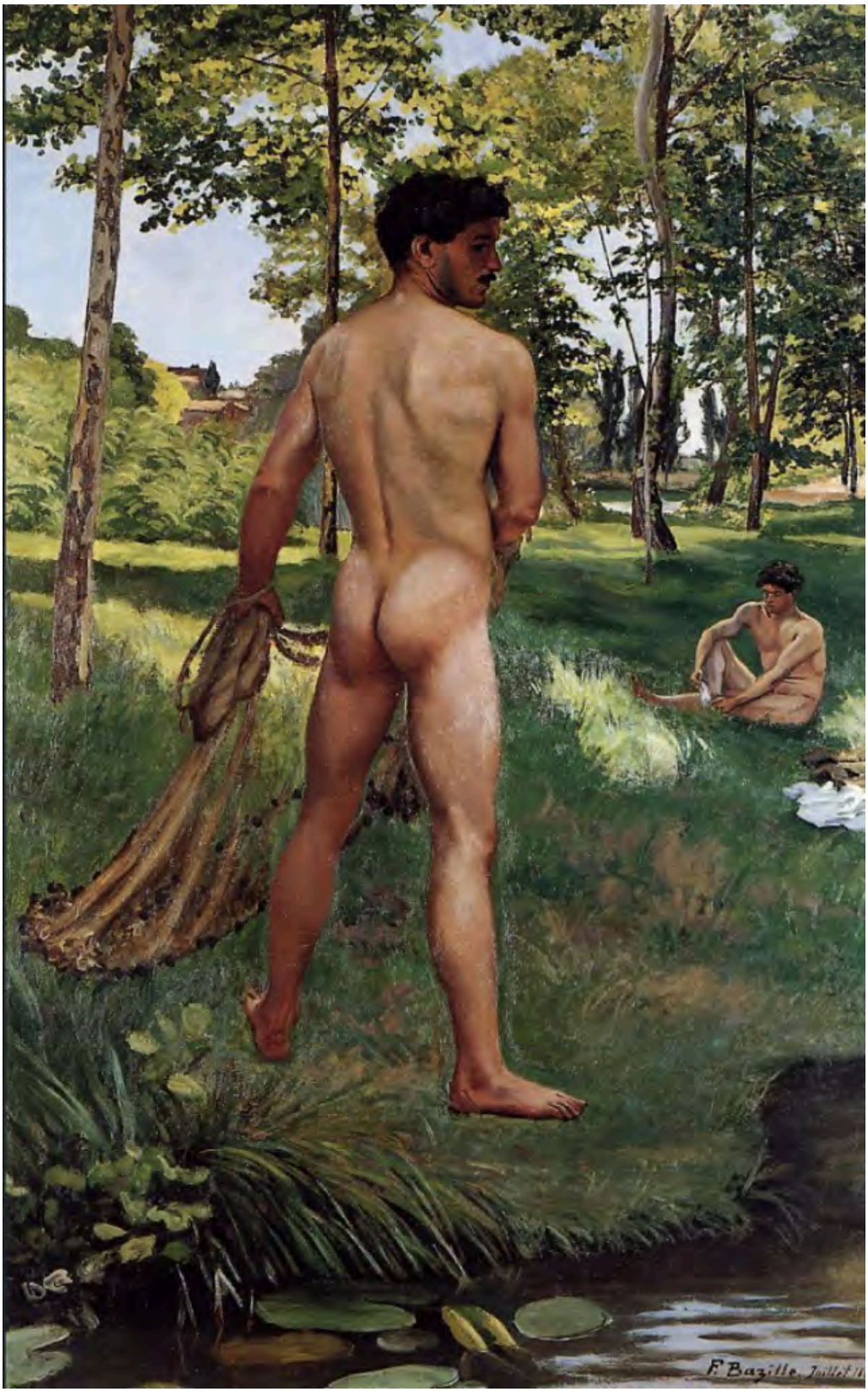
In "Realist Quandaries: Posing Professional and Proprietary Models in the 1860s" (*Art Bulletin* 89, no. 2 (June 2007): 239-26), Susan Waller considers Bazille's artist's studio as a "Realist atelier":

> During the period when Bazille, Renoir, Monet, and Manet were posing for Fantin-Latour, Bazille began his own painting of a Realist atelier, *Studio in the Rue de La Condamine*.... Its scale is smaller, consistent with the more informal grouping of the figures and with Bazille's more modest ambitions for the painting: he never planned to send it to the Salon, although he considered exhibiting it in Montpellier, not far from his family home in Méric. This shift from the studio as a working space to the studio as a social space has been seen as consistent with the Impressionists' preference for themes of bourgeois leisure. A close reading of Bazille's painting, though, reveals that it is simultaneously more programmatic and conflicted than this characterization indicates. The image is programmatic in that it serves as a manifesto of the younger generation's aesthetic concerns. The paintings by Bazille and Renoir that Bazille introduces prominently on the studio walls assert the group's commitment to abandoning the studio and the posed model for figures arranged casually in natural daylight.



Frédéric Bazille, *View of the Village,* 1868. Oil on canvas. 137.5 x 85 cm. Musée Fabre, Montpellier. View Source

The work on the easel set next to the window, which is the focus of Monet's, Manet's, and Bazille's attention, is Bazille's *View of the Village*. Of this work, which depicts a young girl in a pink dress seated under a tree on a hillside was also begun at Méric. Morisot said, when it was exhibited at the Salon of 1869: "There is much light and sun in it. He has tried to do what we have so often attempted, a figure in the outdoor light, and this time he has been successful."



Frédéric Bazille, *The Fisherman with a Net,* 1868. Oil on canvas. 134 x 83 cm. Fondation Rau pour le Tiers-Monde, Zurich. View Source

The paintings on the wall also signal the artists' distance from official institutions. Two of the most prominent works, Renoir's 1866 painting of two women and Bazille's fisherman, had been rejected from the Salon.

The composition also asserts the primacy of their innovative praxis. By representing Manet visiting his studio and admiring his plein air canvas, Bazille reverses the intergenerational dynamic of Fantin's painting: Manet takes the role of the visitor, whether patron or monarch, that is a traditional motif in atelier paintings. In fact, Manet seems to have genuinely appreciated Bazille's work, since he graciously painted Bazille's figure.

Bazille, arguably one of the most important exponents of the new painting style that inspired Impressionism, was killed in the Franco-Prussian War four years before the first Impressionist exhibition. He was twenty-eight years old when he joined a Zouave regiment in August 1870, a month after the outbreak of the War. He died on the battlefield on November 28.

5.10
| Pierre-Auguste Renoir and the Group Portrait



Édouard Manet, *The Monet Family in Their Garden at Argenteuil,* 1874. Oil on canvas. 61 x 99.7 cm. Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York. View Source

In July and August of 1874, Manet vacationed at his family's house in Gennevilliers, across the Seine from Monet at Argenteuil. The two artists often saw each other that summer, and Renoir occasionally visited.

Manet's portrait of the Monet family enjoying a lazy afternoon in the countryside portrays the artist tending to his garden while Camille and her son lounge on the grass nearby. The scene is unpretentious, filled with naturalistic elements, and spontaneously executed, typifying the Impressionist approach to portraiture. Allusions to family dynamics and country life are reiterated by including a rooster, a mother hen, and a chick in the left foreground.



Pierre-Auguste Renoir, *Madame Monet and Her Son,* 1874. Oil on canvas. 50.4 x 68 cm. National Gallery of Art, Washington. View Source

Renoir, who arrived as Manet was beginning to work, borrowed paint, brushes, and canvas, positioned himself next to Manet and proceeded to paint *Madame Monet and Her Son.* The simultaneously created paintings are distinctly different. While Manet's artwork offers a generalized view of the family enjoying a laidback summer's day, Renoir's telescopic focus on mother, child and hen offers a more personalized portrait.

Farr, in "Impressionist Portraiture," compares the two paintings:

> Unlike Manet's more unified, pyramidal grouping of the two and the repetition of curving shapes in all three figures that serves, despite the spatial separation, to unite them, Renoir's composition emphasizes the angularity of both figures, particularly Jean's awkward pose, so that the two appear more distinctly dissimilar … In Manet's painting, the informal poses make sense within the context of the family at leisure in their garden. On the other hand, by isolating the figures, Renoir calls attention to the pose as indicative of the sitter's state of mind, their boredom or lassitude.



Pierre-Auguste Renoir, *Luncheon of the Boating Party,* ca. 1880-81. Oil on canvas. 130.2 x 175.6 cm. The Phillips Collection, Washington. View Source

Renoir's interest in the particularities of individuals within a group portrait is perhaps more noticeable in the many images of social gatherings he painted. *Luncheon of the Boating Party,* which celebrates the simple pleasures of modern life, shows a large party of friends lunching on a boat. The mood is casual and convivial. The scene is a veritable who's who of Renoir's entourage. Each of them, including Ellen Andree, the actress and model, smartly dressed, salubrious and flirtatious, transmits an essential individuality, despite Renoir's facile, painterly rendering. The persona of the group as a whole is articulated through the mannerisms of each of the group, including Aline Charigot, Renoir's future wife, the wealthy and gifted painter Gustave Caillebotte, bare-armed, straw-hatted and full of masculine sex appeal in the right foreground, and the attractive Alphonse Fournaise Jr., son of the restaurant owner leaning back on the railing to the left dressed in the same casual bare-armed rower's outfit worn by Caillebotte.

It is a group portrait of friendship and the easy pleasures of food, wine, flirtation, and conversation.



Pierre-Auguste Renoir, *Dance at Le Moulin de la Galette,* 1876. Oil on canvas. 131 x 175 cm. Musée d'Orsay, Paris. View Source

Renoir's *Dance at Le Moulin de la Galette* may also be regarded as a group portrait, a snapshot of an everyday event in fashionable Montmartre where the Moulin de la Galette was located. Here, in the courtyard, society gathered to dance, drink, and dine.

The significance of the setting at Montmartre, a place associated with radical or anarchist political tendencies, has been analyzed by Nicolas Kenny in"Je Cherche Fortune: Identity, Counterculture, and Profit in Fin-de-siècle Montmartre" (*Urban History Review / Revue d'histoire urbaine* 32, no. 2 (Spring 2004): 21-32):



The Moulin de la Galette and Montmartre's Rural character, ca. 1900. Reproduced from "Je Cherche Fortune: Identity, Counterculture, and Profit in Fin-de-siècle Montmartre," *Urban History Review / Revue d'histoire urbaine 32,* no. 2 (Spring 2004):21–32. View Source

> Montmartre's location, until 1860, outside of the city's excise tax limits had already contributed to its festive reputation, and its cheap wine made it a favoured Sunday afternoon destination for many workers and petit bourgeois alike. In establishments like the Moulin de la Galette, made famous by painters like Renoir and Toulouse-Lautrec, workers and their families sought diversion from the stress of daily life while artists and writers discussed and elaborated upon the countercultural ideas that shaped both their sense of self and their challenge to hegemonic forms of artistic and literary expression. Fin-de-siècle consumers of popular entertainment became increasingly curious about what was happening far atop that mysterious hill, and amusement venues of all sorts — from the dingiest, most ephemeral cabarets to the still-successful Moulin Rouge.
>
> ...
>
> Thirty-five years earlier, a poet and art critic with whom Montmartre's bohemians were very familiar had urged that writers and artists open their eyes to the "spectacle de la vie élégante et des milliers d'existances flottantes qui circulent dans les souterrains d'une grande ville – criminels et filles entretenues." Charles Baudelaire's influential argument that being modern entailed finding beauty in an urban underworld of prostitutes and criminals helps relate Montmartre's countercultural personality to the artists' and poets' collective yet personal quest for self-understanding.

Renoir approached the multidimensional subject by opting for a larger-than-average canvas (over four-by-six feet) and separating the crowded scene into several vignettes that were unified through the formal elements of fluttering dappled light, bright colour and busy brushwork. In this way, the artist could create personal portrait impressions while capturing the overall sense of a festive urban gathering.



Georges Rivière, *Renoir et ses amis* (Paris: H. Floury, 1921). View Source

The portraits in *Dance at Le Moulin de la Galette* were identified by Georges Rivière in his memoir *Renoir et ses amis* (Paris: H. Floury, 1921). Rivière published a short-lived journal, *L'Impressionisme* in support of the movement, in which he praised Renoir for his unique ability to capture the spirit of Parisian life.



Pierre-Auguste Renoir, *Dance at Le Moulin de la Galette,* 1876. Oil on canvas. 131 x 175 cm. Musée d'Orsay, Paris. View Source

Estelle Samary is the young woman in the foreground wearing a blue and pink striped dress. She and her sister Jeanne visited Le Moulin on Sundays with their parents. Beside Estelle are fellow artists Pierre-Franc Lamy and Norbert Goeneutte and Rivière himself. Behind her, amongst the dancers, is another artist Henri Gervex, Eugène Pierre Lestringuez, a civil servant, and Paul Lhote, an official in the navy and journalist and in the middle distance is Cuban painter Don Pedro Vidal de Solares y Cardenass dancing with Renoir's model Margot (Marguerite Legrand) with whom Renoir had a brief romance. Margot was one of Renoir's favourite models from 1875 until she died tragically of typhoid fever in 1879, leaving him distraught and temporarily unable to paint.

According to Rivière, the painting was mainly executed on-site, although Renoir is known to have set up a studio in an abandoned cottage with a large garden near Le Moulin.

It is helpful to remember that while Impressionism was still a nascent art movement, artists such as Renoir, Monet, Degas, and Pissarro had already developed their unique styles and techniques.

Kelly Richman-Abdou describes Renoir's developing technique in My Modern Met (https://mymodernmet.com/renoir-bal-du-moulin-de-la-galette/)

> Renoir, for example, is known for his gauzy brushwork, vivid color palette, and interest in light—all of which he used to produce paintings of his favorite subject matter: people. This approach is evident in *Bal du moulin de la Galette*; dappled by sunlight, the figures are rendered in loose, luminous brushstrokes. Though many of the subjects are clad in black suits and dresses, a closer look reveals that even these darker hues are made up of a kaleidoscopic collection of colors. "I've been 40 years discovering that the queen of all colors was black," he famously explained.



Pierre-Auguste Renoir, *Dance at Le Moulin de la Galette,* 1876. Oil on canvas. 131 x 175 cm. Musée d'Orsay, Paris. View Source

Renoir's radical approach to the color black is even more evident in another version of *Bal du moulin de la Galette*. Rendered in a more sketch-like style, this smaller (30" by 44") painting features looser brushwork that enables viewers to more easily identify the different tones that compose seemingly black subject matter. While it is unclear which piece is the original and which is a copy, the paintings are identical in terms of their iconography, from the sunlit setting to the individual subjects.



Édouard Manet, *Masked Ball at the Opera,* 1873. Oil on canvas. 59 x 72.5 cm. National Gallery of Art, Washington. View Source

To understand Renoir's particular approach to the group portrait, we need only compare *Luncheon of the Boating Party* and *Dance at Le Moulin de la Galette* to Manet's *Masked Ball at the Opera House*.

This entry about the painting from the National Gallery of Art in Washington explains the fundamental contrast between the works (https://www.nga.gov/collection/art-object-page.61246.html):

> Manet came from a well–to–do family, and this painting provides a glimpse of the sophisticated Parisian world he loved... These elegant men and coquettish young women are attending a masked ball held each year during Lent. "Imagine," ran a description in the newspaper *Figaro*, "the opera house packed to the rafters, the boxes furnished out with all the pretty showgirls of Paris. . . ." Manet sketched the scene on site, but painted it over a period of months in his studio. He posed several of his friends—noted writers, artists, and musicians—and even included himself in the crowded scene. He is probably the bearded blond man at right who looks out toward the viewer. At his feet, a fallen dance card bears the painter's signature.

Renoir, unlike Manet, did not come from a wealthy family. His father, Léonard Renoir, was a modest tailor. At thirteen, he began to work as an apprentice at a porcelain factory. In 1858 when the porcelain factory turned to mechanical reproduction, Renoir earned a living by painting fans and hangings for overseas missionaries. Initially, Renoir took drawing lessons at an *ecole gratuite de dessin* (free drawing school). In the early 1860s, he attended Charles Gleyre's studio, where he met Bazille, Alfred Sisley and Claude Monet.

Renoir's relatively modest means led him to portrait commissions to make his living. His penchant for the genre attracted the attention of wealthy patrons with progressive artistic sensibilities.



Pierre-Auguste Renoir, *Madame Georges Charpentier and her Children*, 1878. Oil on canvas. 153 x 190 cm. Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York. View Source

One of his most ambitious society portraits, and a pivotal commission within the context of Renoir's career, was the portrait of Marguerite Charpentier and her children. It was commissioned by her husband, Georges Charpentier, a publisher who championed the writings of Émile Zola, Gustave Flaubert, and Guy de Maupassant. The couple supported Impressionist painters and collected their works. Renoir's affiliation with the Charpentiers opened the door to successive portrait commissions within their social circle and lucrative introductions to writers, art critics, collectors and patrons at Marguerite's elite evening salons.

When the work was exhibited at the Paris Salon, Madame Charpentier intervened to secure its prominent display. Renoir attained the status he sought as a result of his relationship with the distinguished sitter and the interest his work consequently elicited at the Salon.

Madame Charpentier and her Children is often regarded as a pivotal work in Renoir's *oeuvre,* not just because it brought recognition and connections but also for the embedded pictorial information it provides. It is a portrait painting that invites us into a world of cultural ideas and beliefs. It is also an important example of Renoir's adept application of texture and colour.

The family portrait is also a status painting with many luxury goods on display, including Mme Charpentier's fashionable attire and accessories, furnishings, the tableware. Each object evokes the wealth and refined taste of Mme Charpentier; even her children, like expensive dolls, carry an aura of special value. Their elegant ease, the sensuality of their surroundings, and their very naturalness are signs of their mother's elitist status. She and the painting as a whole signify the importance of Monsieur Charpentier *in absentia*.

Cheryl Kathleen Snay's analysis of the work in "Renoir and the Charpentiers: The Symbiotic Nature of the Artist/ Patron Relationship." (M.A. Thesis, Michigan State University, 1991) is as follows:

The edge of the sofa extends from Mme. Charpentier's right hand to Georgette's head, locking the figures into a tight composition analogous to their tight family structure. Movement is emphasized with the sharp diagonal from the lower left to upper right. The white bow of Georgette's dress, the angle of the peacock's tail, the wing of the crane behind Mme. Charpentier, the pattern of the rug all point to Mme. Charpentier who dominates the composition as she dominated her salon and her family's domestic life. The visual space is deep and keeps the viewer an ample distance from the family scene. The size of the canvas and the angle of the poses emphasize the portrait's formality and monumentality. Viewed from the stairway where the portrait is believed to have been positioned at the Salon, the elevation of the family to the status of an icon would have been all the more prominent.

The painting can easily be seen as representing French nineteenth-century bourgeois society in microcosm for the Charpentiers embraced liberal politics and revolutionary art, published authors of the naturalist and realist school while operating within a very strict social order that revered conservative politics and academic art. The sense of dignified ease and opulent wealth of the picture exists in the painting as a reflection of the conservative side, but Renoir paints it in a freely-brushed, coloristic style that does much to create a tension within the picture reflecting this dichotomy.

At Mme Charpentier's prompting, the portrait was well received by the critics. In Burty's review of the Salon, he commented that the portrait was "ruled by a feeling of modern harmony," and had the "bloom of an outsized pastel." Pastel was a medium used in the eighteenth century and associated with images of the aristocracy. Renoir's inclination to incorporate that style in his painting and Burty's recognition of it was no doubt appreciated by the Charpentiers who sought to make a visual link between themselves and the former aristocracy. Huysmans wrote in his review that Renoir had achieved "exquisite flesh tones," "ingenious sense of grouping," and that the painting was executed with skill and daring. Castagnary also reviewed the exhibition and found Renoir's figures slightly squat but the palette was extremely rich, and the execution free and spontaneous.

It is questionable whether the portrait actually merited all the praise it received, or if the reviewers were somewhat beholden to the sitter and did not want to risk her displeasure. Many were authors whose books Georges Charpentier published and who frequented the Charpentier salons. These may also have been critics who were favorably inclined to the cause of Impressionism anyway and saw Renoir's participation in the Salon as a way to institutionalize and gain acceptance for their own cause. Renoir's letters to the Charpentiers published by Michel Florisoone are replete with introductions and requests by Renoir of people who wanted to see the painting at the Charpentier house. The painting was already very popular by the time it was hung in the Salon.

Madame Charpentier and her Children is the most apparent manifestation of the symbiotic relationship between Renoir and Charpentier. Renoir benefitted financially as it was the highest paid commission he had received until that time ... The portrait served a purpose for the Charpentiers as well. It asserted a new image of republican nobility and reaffirmed the bourgeois values of family and wealth. The publishing business was never free from economic worries, yet the portraits give the impression of affluence and security.

By examining Renoir's work for the Charpentiers in all its various manifestations, the patron's role in the creative process is demystified. Renoir cannot be viewed as a parasite or a passive recipient of his patron's good will. Renoir was active in securing his own success and Charpentier's motives were not entirely altruistic.

Success for both the artist and the patron depended on a keen sense of the public's interests and needs and their own ability to compromise and adapt. In the new democratic society which emerged after 1870, this awareness of the public became crucial. Their relationship was cemented by the fact that they each lived by a similar philosophy. Both attempted to appeal to the public without offending it. They each sought to maintain a balance between the avant-garde and the conservative.



François Boucher, *Portrait of Madame de Pompadour*, 1756. Oil on canvas. 212 x 164. Alte Pinakothek, Munich. View Source



Jean Auguste Dominique Ingres, *Portrait of Marie-Françoise Rivière,* 1805. Oil on canvas. 116.5 x 81.5 cm. Musée du Louvre, Paris. View Source

Renoir's Mme Charpentier bears some resemblance to the opulent representations of Boucher's *Mme de Pompadour* and Ingres' *Portrait of Marie-Françoise Rivière*. Here, however, the portrayal is refreshingly modern.

5.11
| Renoir's Images of Children

Renoir continued to be a popular portrait painter throughout the 1870s and 80s. His commissions of patrons' children were plentiful and sustained him financially. He also frequently painted his own three children. This body of work provides insight into Renoir's working methods and the stylistic evolution of his portrait practice.



Pierre-Auguste Renoir, *On the Terrasse,* 1881. Oil on canvas. 100 x 80 cm. Art Institute of Chicago. View Source



Pierre-Auguste Renoir, *Marguerite-Thérèse (Margot) Berard,* 1879. Oil on canvas. 41 x 32.4 cm. Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York. View Source

Renoir met one of his most important patrons, the diplomat and banker Paul Berard, at Mme Charpentier's home in 1878. Berard commissioned a portrait of his daughter Marguerite-Thérèse (Margot), completed the following year. The artist often spent the summer at the Berards' country home in Wargemont, near Dieppe, on the Normandy coast, where he painted decorative pictures for the house and portraits of the young Berards. The Metropolitan Museum's collection description states that Renoir's depictions "ranged from formal commissions to more intimate works that reflect a genuine fondness for the four Berard children. According

to Margot's nephew, Renoir painted this spirited portrait to 'cheer her up' after a disagreeable lesson with her German tutor had brought her to tears."



Pierre-Auguste Renoir, *Sketches of Heads (The Berard Children),* 1881. Oil on canvas. 62.6 x 81.9 cm. Clark Art Institute, Williamstown. View Source

A painting of Berard's children in the collection of the Clark Institute exemplifies the freedom with which Renoir approached portraits of children, a spontaneity of execution that enhanced the natural individuality of each child. Unposed and painted at different times, the images are made to inhabit an ambiguous space. Some children appear more than once, adding to the sense of a fragmented reality, an informality that suggests the preliminary sketch. Despite the unusual format, Renoir considered *The Berard Children* a finished painting and exhibited it as such in 1881.



Pierre-Auguste Renoir, *The Daughters of Catulle Mendès, Huguette (1871-1904), Claudine (1876-1937), and Helyonne (1879-1955),* 1888. Oil on canvas. 161.9 x 129.9 cm. Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York. View Source

Renoir's approach to the depiction of children altered over time, influenced by his developing interest in the Parnassian movement, his trip to Italy from 1881 to 1882, and the birth of his children.

Parnassianism, a literary style of 19th-century French poetry, was influenced by the French poet, dramatist, novelist, journalist, and art and literary critic. novelist Théophile Gautier's doctrine of art for art's sake, the belief that art should be valued for its formal and aesthetic characteristics primarily. Renoir's contact with the Parnassian literary movement is supported by his painting *The Daughters of Catulle Mendès*, which was made

for his friend the poet Mendès, one of the protégés of Gautier whom Renoir had met at Mme Charpentier's salon.



Auguste Renoir, *Pink and Blue – The Cahen d'Anvers Girls,* 1881. Oil on canvas. 119 x 74 cm. Museo de Arte de São Paulo. View Source

By the late 1870s Renoir was becoming dissatisfied with his work as an Impressionist figure painter. He had abstained from exhibiting his canvases in the fourth Impressionist exhibition in 1878 and had come to regard the formlessness of Impressionism as inadequate in regard to his portraits in particular, works he was increasingly uncertain about.

According to Barbara Ehrlich White in "Renoir's Trip to Italy" (*Art Bulletin* 51 no. 4 (December 1969): 333-35), he wrote to the critic-collector Theodore Duret in March 1881 that "he didn't know whether the portrait *Mlles Cahen d'Anvers*, which he sent to the Salon of 1881, was good or bad. Early in 1882, he wrote his patron Mme Georges Charpentier complaining that in Paris 'on est oblige de se contenter de peu.' [We have to settle for little]. He hoped that as a result of his Italian experiments his future figures would be better."

By this time, Renoir had attained financial independence and decided to travel. His pilgrimage to Italy in 1881 led him towards more Classical ideas of draftsmanship, composition, modelling and a greater compositional unity.



Raphael, *Madonna of the Pinks,* ca. 1506-1507. Oil on yew wood. 27.9 x 22.4 cm. National Gallery, London. View Source



Raphael, *Psyche Brings a Vessel up to Venus,* ca. 1517-1518. Fresco. Villa Farnesina, Rome. View Source

In Rome, Raphael's paintings and frescoes at the Villa Farnesina significantly impacted Renoir, who wrote Durand-Ruel that: "I have seen the Raphaels. I



Pierre-Auguste Renoir, *Mother Nursing her Child,* 1885. Oil on canvas. 91 x 72 cm. Musée d'Orsay, Paris. View Source

Renoir's post-Italian portraits emphasize rigorous lines and structure yet still retain the chromatic vibrancy of his early works. The classical Impressionism which characterizes his later work is in full evidence in his images of children and his new-found interest in portraying mothers and nursemaids breastfeeding infants.

Alice Maggie Hazard, in "Renoir's Children" (*Apollo Magazine* 174, no. 589 (July/August 2011): 50-55), writes that Renoir's child portraits changed dramatically in his later works, particularly following the birth of his children. His paintings of Pierre, Jean and Claude reflect deep love and fatherly responsibility.

> Pierre's birth dramatically changed Renoir's life and inspired 'a true revolution' in the way he viewed his world. He constantly sketched the baby, focusing on the appearance of his flesh.

> This fascination continued with Jean's birth in 1894 and Claude's in 1901… In *Maternity or Child at the Breast* [*Mother Nursing her Child*] Renoir painted Aline breastfeeding Pierre outside in the garden, indicating the importance the artist placed on this natural method of feeding. … He held that bottle feeding would produce men who were anti-social, lacked any kind of gentle feelings and took drugs to calm their nerves. Moreover, Renoir liked to think of a baby gazing at the bright coloured bodice of a woman, and on cheerful objects such as flowers, as well as on a healthy mother's face.



Raphael, *Madonna della Seggiola,* ca. 1513-14. Oil on wood. 71 x 71 cm. Palazzo Pitti, Florence. View Source

Renoir's *Mother Nursing her Child* reflects the influence of Raphael's *Virgin and Child* paintings in its compositional balance and the centralized and focused positioning of the figures. His son Jean explained that "Raphael's paintings came to represent for him the image of motherhood: in Italy, he remembered, 'every woman nursing a child is a Virgin by Raphael.'" (*Renoir, My Father*, New York: Little Brown, 1952, 225)



Pierre-Auguste Renoir, *Claude Renoir,* ca. 1905. Oil on canvas. 46 x 55 cm. Musée de l'Orangerie, Paris. View Source

Renoir's approach to painting his children's likenesses reminds us of the profoundly personal complexities that inform portrait painting. As his son stated in his book, "Certain of Renoir's biographers have maintained that the reason he [Renoir] insisted on keeping my hair long was that he liked to paint it. That is quite true, but there was another which had equal weight. A thick head of hair affords considerable protection against falls... as well as the danger from the sun's rays."

Although Renoir had proven his proficiency in depicting children earlier in works such as *Madame Georges Charpentier and her Children*, the difference in his formal attitude after Pierre's birth is conspicuous. His depictions of children from then on suggest individuality and expressiveness, a significant transformation beyond their former role as accessories within constructed and status-driven formal portraits.

Modern portrait painting was influenced by the evolution of portrait photography. Both mediums were challenged and altered by each other aesthetically and ideologically, resulting in new forms of representation and a reshaping of the fundamental interactions between sitters, artists, and viewers.

By the end of the nineteenth century, portraits of people evolved from realistic representations to interpretive and symbolic renditions of character and inner life. The photographic picture became the most popular medium for capturing a likeness. At the same time, painters could now freely explore the expressive potential of visual art in the representation of the human subject.

The relationship between photography and painting became increasingly more complex than a simplistic notion of artistic influence can explain. Both media were grappling with problems related to the constructed, conventional image versus candid images, aesthetics versus media-specific concerns and dealing with the artist's and viewer's role in creating and interpreting images.

By the time portrait photographs became available to all population tiers, Impressionist painters had largely replaced high-status portrait subjects with people from their immediate entourage, using avant-garde techniques and processes to produce portraits that broke traditional rules of the genre. While for some late 19th-century art critics and academicians, the successful portrait was indelibly linked to likeness, this soon gave way to an expanded understanding of identity and its representation. At the same time, pictorial photographers challenged the medium's original mimetic concerns to develop a style that would culminate in modern photography's fine art status.

Chapter Six

CLAUDE MONET & The Impressionist Landscape



Claude Monet, *Poppy Field in a Hollow near Giverny,* 1885. Oil on canvas. 65.1 x 81.3 cm. Museum of Fine Arts, Boston. View Source

CONTENTS

Introduction

6.1

Beyond the Atelier

6.2

Controversial Style

6.3

Claude Monet, Eugène Boudin and Normandy

6.4

Argenteuil and the Advent of Impressionism

6.5

Impressionism: A Critical Concept

6.6

Landscape and the Legacy of Romanticism

6.7

Monet's Serial Subjects

6.8

Paint Tubes and Portable Easels: Monet's Modern Palette

6.9

Impressionism and Music

6.10

Landscape and the Female Form

6.11

The Garden at Giverny and the Influence of the Orient

6.12

The Water Landscapes

6.13

Water Lilies as Immersive Experience

INTRODUCTION

Impressionism gave artists the liberty to experiment. Freed from narrative content and pictorial restraints, Impressionists such as Claude Monet, August Renoir, Edgar Degas, Berthe Morisot, Alfred Sisley, and others established an art movement focused on the spontaneous and objective observation of the immediate world around them.

Their subjects were diverse, ranging from street scenes, café concerts, bourgeois interiors, waterscapes, cityscapes, and portraiture, but the informal group of nineteenth-century radical artists shared a common goal: to break from the strictures of French art academic institutions by adopting innovative approaches to art-making, and new ways by which to bring their work to public attention. They went out of their ateliers to find their subjects, looked to light, atmosphere, and colour to create their canvases, and organized independent exhibitions to show them.

Claude Monet was a central figure in the movement, devoting his life to pursuing the transformative potential of light outdoors. His revolutionary plein air paintings altered how landscape painting was approached, conveyed, and perceived. His technique of building images through colour patches dabbed side by side, or passages of sheer, light-filled washes, produced sensory optical compositions that radically departed from the established norm. Monet aimed to depict the seen world as experienced on the retina's surface rather than to describe an illusion of the known world of space, mass, and contextual detail.

This chapter will consider the evolutionary course of Monet's naturalistic approach and his unique contribution to the Impressionist movement. In the early stages of his career, Monet was influenced by Romanticist painters like Eugène Delacroix and Camille Corot. Delacroix's expressive use of color and Corot's sensitivity to nature left a lasting impression on Monet's artistic sensibilities. Additionally, Monet's association with the older artist Eugène Boudin, who was known for his seascapes and beach scenes, played a crucial role in shaping his early interest in capturing the effects of light on water. The influence of Japanese Ukiyo-e prints is also noteworthy, as Monet incorporated elements of their composition and use of colour into his own work. We will trace the development of his luminous, open-air paintings in works produced along the Channel coast in Normandy, at Argenteuil and on the banks of the Seine River, and his interest in recording perceptual processes in the serial works of Rouen and Giverny, culminating with his water landscapes, his *chef-d'oeuvre*, the *Water Lilies,* of which he once remarked: "One instant, one aspect of nature contains it all...."

6.1
| Beyond the Atelier

Claude Monet was twenty when he painted *A Corner in the Studio*, his only studio scene and an anomaly within the context of his celebrated plein air practice. Nonetheless, this intimate, unusual canvas contains elements that hint at the artist's developing stylistic concerns and his eventual embrace of the impressionist landscape.



Claude Monet, *A Corner of the Studio,* 1861. Oil on canvas. 180 x 130 cm. Musée d'Orsay, Paris. View Source

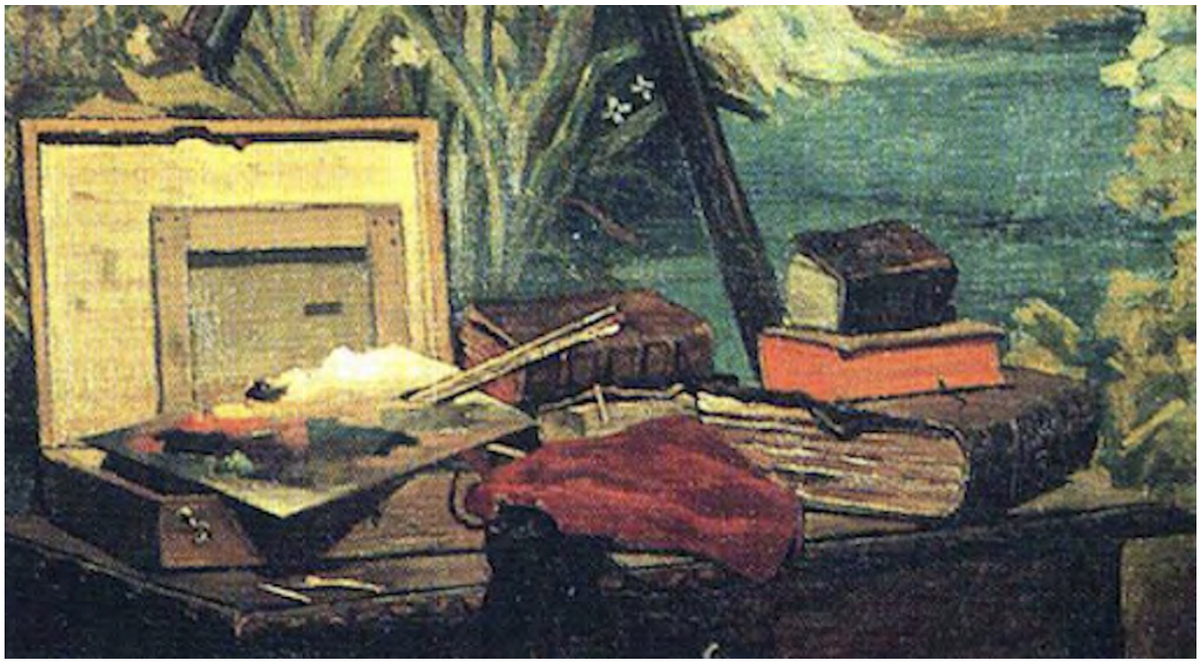
In contrast to the artist's later open air images, this interior scene is crowded and close. It is busily animated by a patterned oriental carpet and the large, landscape-like design elements of the florid wallpaper. The room is further filled by a table laden with books, brushes, a paintbox, and a palette loaded with colours poured straight from a tube. A red chéchia, a style of North African hat, lies casually on the table's edge, and a shotgun leans against it. An 1850s-style French landscape hangs on the wall beside antique weaponry. While Monet's awareness of orientalist vocabularies is discernible, the palette is his own, and the romanticism of the pictured landscape alludes to his early and abiding love of his native France.

Mary-Dailey Desmarais, in "Rethinking the Origins of Impressionism: The Case of Claude Monet and *A Corner of a Studio*" (*Companion to Impressionism*, André Dombrowski, and Dana Arnold, eds. Wiley Blackwell, 2021, 27-42) discusses the significance of this early painting and the unexpected insights it provides about Monet within the context of the origins of Impressionism. She writes,

> The unframed landscape on the wall has been identified as a painting by Charles-François Daubigny, which Monet claimed to have found "among the rubbish piled up in the corners" of his aunt Marie-Jeanne Lecadre's house in Le Havre, the seaside town where he spent his youth. Daubigny's landscape seems to acknowledge Monet's early admiration for, and debt to, Barbizon landscape painting.



Detail of Claude Monet, *A Corner of the Studio,* 1861. Oil on canvas. 180 x 130 cm. Musée d'Orsay, Paris. View Source



Detail of Claude Monet, *A Corner of the Studio,* 1861. Oil on canvas. 180 x 130 cm. Musée d'Orsay, Paris. View Source

Likewise, the paintbox on the desk is a portable one used to paint outdoors. In 1861, Monet had just purchased his first paintbox of this sort for his earliest plein air painting excursions in Le Havre with Eugène Boudin. What appears to be the back of a small canvas inside the box is one that would have been used for painting sketches *en plein air* on just such occasions. Meanwhile, the tapestried landscape on the wall suggests that Monet was already envisioning landscape as a room in unwitting anticipation of the studio he would cultivate outdoors in his garden in Giverny – and of his late water-lily paintings, which now span the walls of the Musée de l'Orangerie in Paris.

Corner of a Studio would thus seem to chart in advance the well-understood progression in Monet's practice from studio painting to the plein air sketch, from *ébauche* to *décoration*. But *Corner of a Studio* also contains the seeds of a Monet much more unexpected, complicating received wisdom about the origins of Impressionism. It is generally understood that Impressionism was the natural outgrowth of the Realists' objective to depict contemporary subject matter – in the words of Gustave Courbet, "real and existing things" – coupled with a preference for the spontaneity of painting on-the-spot, *or en plein air*, which developed primarily from the example of the Barbizon School. Impressionism, or so the story goes, privileged the seen over the felt, the outdoors over the interior, the moving over the still. *Corner of a Studio* can help us to see that Impressionism, at least for Monet, was a much less binary endeavor.



Detail of Claude Monet, *A Corner of the Studio,* 1861. Oil on canvas. 180 x 130 cm. Musée d'Orsay, Paris. View Source

Monet's inclusion of objects besides the tools of painting may indicate the importance he placed on historical and art historical influences. The books, weapons, and North African accoutrements make reference to the important Romanticist Eugène Delacroix, an idol of Monet's. According to Desmarais,



Édouard-Antoine Renard, *Atelier d'Eugène Delacroix,* 1852. Engraving. 20.5 x 23.7 cm. Brown University Library, Providence. View Source

> Monet also liked to recount how, together with Pierre-Auguste Renoir, he would spy on Delacroix while working from a neighboring studio on the rue de Furstemberg in the early 1860s. Given Monet's admiration for the older artist Delacroix, we might imagine the weapons embedded in the landscape in Monet's picture as a distant evocation of what critics described as the "battle" between Delacroix and his rival, Jean-Dominique Ingres, dueling it out for the forces of color and line, respectively. If this is so, then the spotlit colors on the palette and the absence of drawing tools on the table in *Corner of a Studio* seem to be clear signs that Monet came down on the side of color.



Eugène Delacroix, *Combat of the Giaour and the Pasha,* 1835. Oil on canvas. 95.5 x 82 cm. Musée des Beaux-Arts de la ville de Paris. View Source

Monet's early palette, as seen in *Corner of the Studio*, bears similarities to the deep, vibrant palette of Delacroix's battle paintings. The younger artist would have been familiar with Delacroix's distinctive tonal choices evidenced for example in *The Combat of the Giaour and the Pasha*, which he saw at Martinet's gallery in 1860.



Charles Lhuillier, *Portrait of Claude Monet in Uniform,* 1861. Oil on canvas. 37 x 24 cm. Musée Marmottan Monet, Paris. View Source

In addition to its Romanticist colour affinities, *Corner of a Studio* points to Monet's early references to orientalist motifs and subjects. As Desmarais has noted, the chéchia had become an orientalist fashion trend in Paris, popular with Delacroix and others of his generation. It becomes more relevant here, given that Monet had been drafted into the army on March 2nd, 1861, joining the ranks of the *Chasseurs d'Afrique*, a cavalry corps stationed in Algeria. Most of all, the work exemplifies the importance Monet placed on direct observation and his early debt to the orientalist imagination of romanticism.



Gustave Courbet, *The Artist's Studio, a Real Allegory Summing Up Seven Years of My Artistic and Moral Life,* 1854. Oil on canvas. 361 x 598 cm. Musée d'Orsay, Paris. View Source

In its intimations and references, *Corner of a Studio* warns against simplistic stylistic categorizations, a matter Gustave Courbet had addressed in his Realism Manifesto:

> … Titles have never given a true idea of things: if it were otherwise, the works would be unnecessary. … I have studied the art of the ancients and the art of the moderns, avoiding any preconceived system and without prejudice. I no longer wanted to imitate the one than to copy the other; nor, furthermore, was it my intention to attain the trivial goal of "art for art's sake." No! I simply wanted to draw forth, from a complete acquaintance with tradition, the reasoned and independent consciousness of my own individuality. To know in order to do, that was my idea.

As Desmarais summarizes, "In the small space of the studio corner, Monet condenses the larger lesson of Courbet's *Studio*: landscape painting need not only be one thing or the other, only fact or fantasy, the imagined or the real. *Corner of a Studio* works hard to sustain the possibility that these realms coexist in the context of landscape painting."



Claude Monet, *Luncheon on the Grass,* 1866. Oil on canvas. 130 x 181 cm. Pushkin Museum, Moscow. View Source

Monet's approach to the transient qualities of landscape was, therefore, not just stimulated by what was before him, but was also the product of imagination and his discerning perception.

In the spring of 1865, at twenty-five, Monet started his monumental canvas, *Luncheon on the Grass* (*Déjeuner sur l'herbe*). Measuring 4.65 x 6.40 m, it celebrated large-scale plein air painting nine years before Impressionism was an official movement. At the same time, it referenced history by portraying a site charged with the legacy of French landscape painting: the Forest of Fontainebleau.



Édouard Manet, *Luncheon on the Grass,* 1863. Oil on canvas. 208 x 264.5 cm. Musée d'Orsay, Paris. View Source

Monet intended to paint a modern subject in the grand format customarily reserved for history paintings, portraying a group of contemporaries picnicking outdoors. He also wanted to pay tribute to Édouard Manet, whose 1863 *Le Bain* (renamed *Le Déjeuner sur l'herbe* in 1867) stirred controversy when it was exhibited at the Salon des Refusés in 1863.



Claude Monet, *Luncheon on the Grass* (right section), ca. 1865-66. Oil on canvas. 248.9 x 218 cm. Musée d'Orsay, Paris. View Source

The picnic scene was intended to be three times larger than Manet's *Le Déjeuner sur l'herbe,* but Monet could not complete the project, abandoning it a year after its start. A few fragments are preserved at the Musée d'Orsay, and several studies survive, including one at the Pushkin Museum in Moscow, which, other than a few details, is the most faithful to the original painting imagined by Monet.



Claude Monet, *Luncheon on the Grass,* 1866. Oil on canvas. 130 x 181 cm. Pushkin Museum, Moscow. View Source

In the Moscow study, Monet's interest in the ephemeral quality of light outdoors is in full evidence. Minute dots of colour convey the dappled spread of light outdoors, the dazzle of the white tablecloth, and the scintillating leaves on the trees add to the alfresco feel. Monet's use of broad strokes and loose brushwork further the sense of the spontaneity of the everyday scene. The figures portrayed were Monet's friends, including the painters Bazille and Renoir, and Monet's mistress and later wife, Camille Doncieux. They seem immersed in the landscape, animated by dancing shadows and lights. The easy atmosphere among them echoes the naturalism of their surroundings.



Claude Monet, *Pavé de Chailly in the Fontainebleau Forest,* 1865. Oil on canvas. 97 x 130.5 cm. Ordrupgaard, Jægersborg Dyrehave. View Source

Monet's *Pavé de Chailly in the Fontainebleau Forest,* painted the previous year, is equally naturalistic. The woodland path draws the viewer in, while the billowy clouds and play of sun and shadows, leaves and grass engage our gaze. The empty landscape was likely a preliminary canvas for the larger *Le Déjeuner sur l'herbe*, providing a background study for placing the figures in the forest clearing beneath the right tree.

6.2
| Controversial Style

Gustave Courbet visited Monet's studio as the artist was struggling to complete his *Déjeuner sur l'herbe* for the 1866 Salon. Realizing the challenge of the task, Courbet suggested he paint another "quickly and well, in a single go," so he would have a work to submit to the jury. Monet's *Camille* [*Woman in the Green Dress*] was that painting. It is a life-size portrait of Camille-Léonie Doncieux, realistic in its use of dark vibrant colours and attention to detail.



Claude Monet, *Camille,* 1866. Oil on canvas. 231 x 151 cm. Kunsthalle Bremen. View Source

Camille-Léonie Doncieux was still in her teens when she began to pose for Monet, Pierre-Auguste Renoir and Édouard Manet. She became Monet's mistress and, later, his first wife. They married on June 28th, 1870, two

years after the birth of their first son. Camille was more than Monet's model mistress and wife; she was his lifelong muse who inspired his paintings, his gardens and his aesthetic direction.

An ode to elegance, Camille wears a striped emerald-green and black silk dress under a black fur-trimmed jacket. She has yellow leather gloves and a dark capote decorated with feathers as accessories. Her hair is in a bun tied with black ribbons at the nape of her neck. Long brownish-red curtains provide a rich backdrop to her refined and chic figure.

There is captivating movement in the composition itself, in the sweep of the dress, the play of the folds in the skirt, and the tilted position of the head. But a sense of interiority permeates the space; Camille's eyes are downcast, the lighting is diffused, and without an obvious source, it surrounds Camille, highlighting her face, hand and skirt.

Camille is thought to have been completed in four days. It was accepted and shown at the Paris Salon, gaining the relatively unknown Monet some positive attention, and some judgment.

The critic, Theophile Thoré, described the painting as "a large portrait of a standing woman seen from behind trailing a magnificent green silk dress, as dazzling as the fabrics painted by Veronese." But, his suggestion that the woman had been "gathering violets" implied that her elegant dress was intended to attract male admirers and that she was a woman of questionable morality.

The professional relationship between Monet and Camille Doncieux, his model and muse, is a principal theme of *Monet and his Muse: Camille Monet in the Artist's Life* (University of Chicago Press, 2010) by psychologist and art historian Mary Matthews Gedo. In her analysis, Gedo observes that the model's dynamic pose, as much as her fashionable ensemble, conveys the stylish elegance of the modern Parisienne. Emphasizing Camille's intuition and professional skills, Gedo contends that Monet's companion defined the role of the contemporary artist's model. Camille was not simply a traditional muse but actively contributed to Monet's development as a figure painter.



Claude Monet, *Madame Monet Wearing a Kimono,* 1875. Oil on canvas. 231.8 x 142.3 cm. Museum of Fine Arts,

Boston. View Source

Gedo compares *Camille* [*Woman in the Green Dress*] with *La Japonaise* (*Camille Monet in Japanese Costume*), shown in the Salon exhibition in 1876:

> Most certainly [Monet] did not intend – as Whistler presumably had – to create a convincing fusion of visual and stylistic elements of East and West, for the painting seems to parody both Western art and Japanese prints with equal freedom.



Hishikawa Moronobu, *Dancer,* ca. 1618-1694. Hanging scroll; colour on paper. 78.1 x 41.9 cm. Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York. View Source

> Monet, who owned numerous prints of courtesans . . . must have been well aware that woodblock artists characteristically represented courtesans . . . with rather impassive facial expressions far removed from the "come-hither" smile Camille wears in *La Japonaise*.



Detail of Claude Monet,*Madame Monet Wearing a Kimono,* 1875. Oil on canvas. 231.8 x 142.3 cm. Museum of Fine Arts, Boston. View Source

> Every aspect of the painting – from the exaggerated realism, to the fierce little fellow embroidered on the kimono's visible right-side panel, to the agitated movements of the uchiwa, to Camille's blond wig and simpering expression – suggests that the composition was created in a spirit of raillery … reminding us that Monet began his juvenile career as a caricaturist.

The intense controversy generated by *Madame Monet Wearing a Kimono* (*La Japonaise*) caused Monet to attempt to remove it from public access. Likely, it was Monet's parody of Eastern and Western artistic conventions: the Japanese fans and costume juxtaposed with Camille's blonde wig, which caused provocation, especially in tandem with a pose reminiscent of courtesans' seductive posturing found in the Japanese prints that Monet collected.



Installation in Gallery 2, “Monet’s Camille: Re-imagining the Full-Length Portrait”: Promenade dress, 1865–68. Alpaca and silk fringe. Manchester City Galleries, Manchester; Claude Monet, *The Woman in a Green Dress,* 1866. Oil on canvas. Kunsthalle, Bremen. View Source


Claude Monet
1866

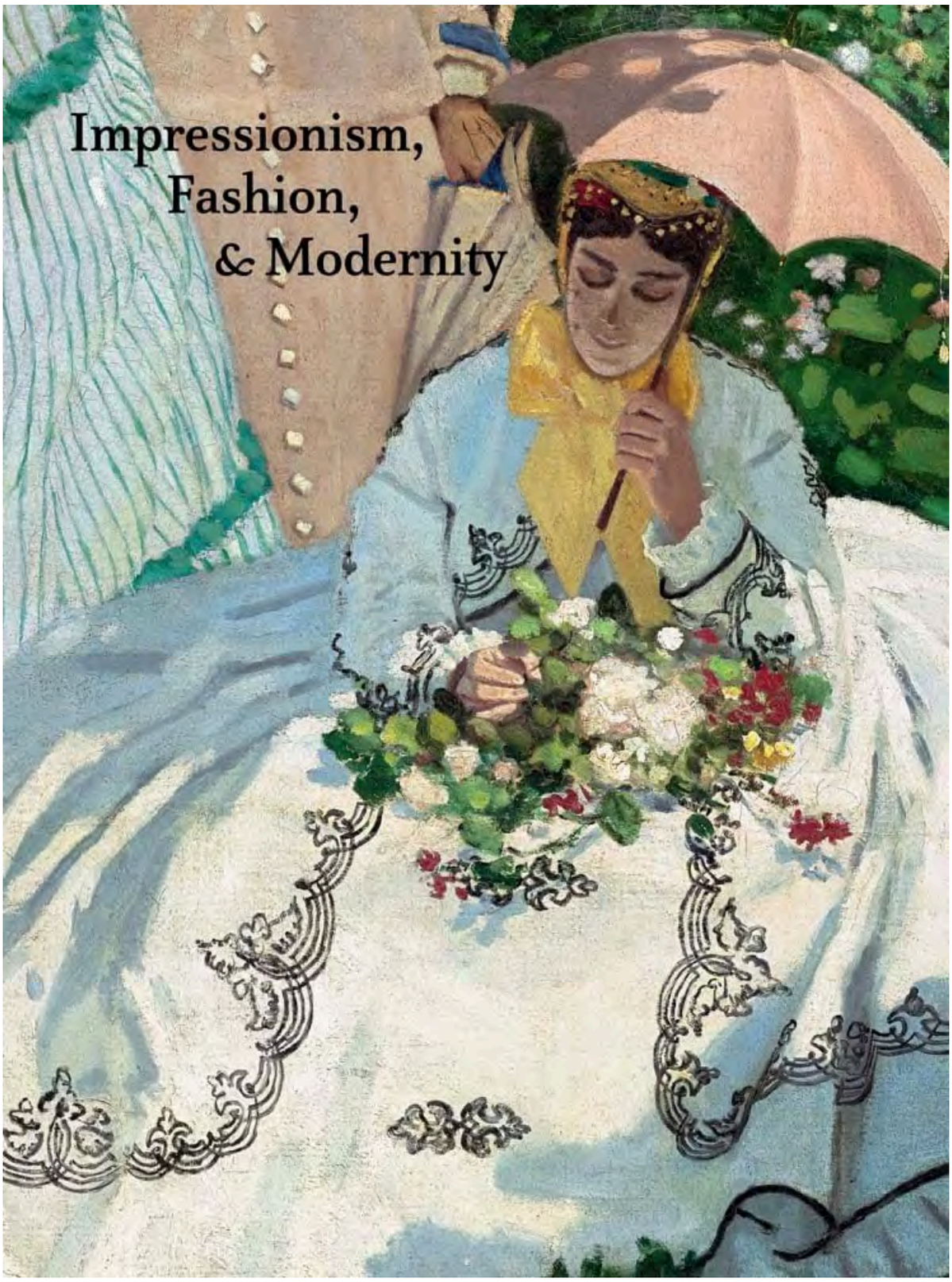
Claude Monet, *Camille,* 1866. Oil on canvas. 231 x 151 cm. Kunsthalle Bremen. View Source

Somewhat ironically, four years after the publication of Gedo's *Monet and his Muse* in 2014*, Camille* (*Woman in the Green Dress*) was presented as an impressionist fashion statement in the *exhibition Impressionism, Fashion, and Modernity*" one of the first shows to examine how the Impressionists used fashion to communicate notions of the 'modern.'

Gloria Groom curated the exhibition for the Art Institute of Chicago, the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York, and the Musée d'Orsay in Paris.

Janet Whitmore, in her exhibition review "Impressionism, Fashion, and Modernity" (in *Nineteenth-Century Art Worldwide* 13, no. 1 (Spring 2014), http://www.19thc-artworldwide.org/spring14/whitmore-reviews-impressionism-fashion-and-modernity) describes an installation at the Metropolitan Museum entitled "Monet's Camille: Reimagining the Full-Length Portrait":

> The floor was now carpeted and the wall color shifted to a deep red. Arsène Houssaye's statement in an 1869 edition of *L'Artiste* was stenciled on the introductory partition wall: "La Parisienne is not in fashion, she is fashion." [Arsène Houssaye, bought the painting for 800 francs]. This sentiment sums up the perspective that was explored throughout the exhibition. Why was Paris fashion such a key element in defining 'modern life', and how did this phenomena influence the art, the artists and the women who modeled the fashions for them at the time? ...No one was a more consistent model for the Impressionists than Camille Doncieux, Claude Monet's mistress and wife, who is shown not only in her husband's paintings, but in numerous works by Renoir and Manet. Certainly, her role as the model for *The Woman in a Green Dress* (1866, Kunsthalle, Bremen) shown at the Salon of 1866 brought her unwelcome notice as critics parsed the possible meanings of the green dress, including the presumed social status of the then obscure model.



Gloria Groom, ed., *Impressionism, Fashion, and Modernity* (Chicago: Art Institute of Chicago, 2012). View Source

Gloria Groom's exhibition catalogue, also titled *Impressionism, Fashion and Modernity* (Art Institute of Chicago, 2012) contains nine special sections that highlight specific paintings. The first of these is Groom's multi-faceted discussion of the *Woman in a Green Dress*, encompassing everything from the possible source of the original dress to the reasons why Monet chose to paint a full-length portrait, but then failed to provide a name for the model until the last minute. Groom's discussion of the fashion context of this dress is used to explain why critics considered this painting to be so unusual when it was shown at the Salon. The gown failed to provide sufficient visual cues about either the model or her position in society, thus creating an unresolvable ambiguity about Camille's social status. As Groom points out in her analysis of Joris-Karl Huysman's commentary on

Impressionist painting, “One wonders how Huysmans would have judged Monet’s Camille, neither trollop nor *grande* dame, whose true modernity resides in her dress—the fashion and the fit—and the multiple readings of the model it provided.”



Claude Monet, *Madame Louis Joachim Gaudibert*, 1868. Oil on canvas. 216.5 x 138.5 cm. Musée d'Orsay, Paris.
View Source

In contrast, on the opposite side of the partition wall from *Woman in a Green Dress* was Monet's portrait, *Madame Louis Joachim Gaudibert*. This was strictly a private commission, which the artist painted in a more conventional style, following the tradition of detailing the luxurious materials used in the gown and the domestic setting. In this case, there could be no doubt about Mme Gaudibert's social position or her fashionable elegance.

6.3
| Claude Monet, Eugène Boudin and Normandy

Monet traveled to Normandy to paint in the 1860s as he would throughout his career, continually inspired by the unique light and atmosphere of the northern coast. Camille and Claude honeymooned at Trouville-sur-Mer in 1870, a seaside resort town in Normandy on the English Channel developed by wealthy Parisians and foreign tourists. Camille would pose for him on several occasions during this pivotal summer in Monet's career, including *The Beach at Trouville*, a work that stimulated his forward direction as a painter of the everyday.



Claude Monet, *Camille on the Beach in Trouville,* 1870. Oil on canvas. 38.1 x 46.4 cm. Yale University Art Gallery, New Haven. View Source



Claude Monet, *The Beach at Trouville,* 1870. Oil on canvas. 38 x 46.5 cm. National Gallery, London. View Source

Susan D. Greenberg writes in "The Face of Impressionism in 1870: Claude Monet's *Camille on the Beach at Trouville*" (*Yale University Art Gallery Bulletin* (2001): 66-73):

> Camille turns to face Monet as she casually balances a parasol on her shoulder; Monet in turn paints an informal sketch of his wife relaxing at the beach. This aura of apparent casualness is in fact carefully constructed, and arises only after Monet has faced countless decisions and formidable challenges within the limited time span of one sitting: How could he convey the informality of his leisure subject in terms of form and style? How could he represent the transient sensory environment of the seashore surrounding him – the movement of wind, water, sun, and clouds – within the framed and static medium of painting?



Eugène Louis Boudin, *Beach Scene in Trouville,* ca.1870-74. Oil on canvas. Yale University Art Gallery, New Haven. View Source

> Boudin's work offered Monet a frame-work in which to expand, as Parisian art critics in the 1860s had acknowledged Boudin's views of the bourgeoisie along the shore as a novel, hybrid genre. Such lively everyday scenes offered a fresh alternative to traditional subjects of history and religion, and embodied the sort of modern-life subject encouraged by the art critic Charles Baudelaire in his 1863 essay "The Painter of Modern Life."
>
> Boudin considered the critical recognition of his "little studies of the fashionable beaches" in a letter to the dealer Pierre-Firmin Martin in 1868: "These gentlemen congratulated me for . . . daring to depict in painting the people and things of our times . . . The idea is catching on, and a number of young painters, led, I would say, by Monet, find that it is a genre greatly underrated up to now. The peasants have their painters, Millet, Jacque, Breton; and that is a good thing. These painters produce serious works, they are involved in God's creation, and they continue it by helping its manifestation in a fruitful way for mankind. Well and good: but, between you and me, the bourgeois, walking along the jetty towards the sunset, has just as much right to be caught on canvas."

Beach at Trouville exemplifies the beginnings of Monet's carefully formulated colour theory and technique. He first used an *imprimatura* to create a uniform tone across the canvas. He treated his ground with an underlayer of medium warm gray consisting of white mixed with traces of ivory black and chrome yellow. The luminous underpainting provided a subtle warm tone which enhanced his colour effects. In some areas, the canvas is left unpainted, the bare bits employed as descriptive elements, indicating parts of a dress, a puff of clouds, or a pictorial interlude.

Monet used his innovations in colour optics to augment the effects of his palette. He created chromatic contrasts, for example, placing reds next to greens, to intensify pigmentation and to allow each colour to reflect different tonalities in different areas. The lavender tone of the parasol in *The Beach at Trouville* is placed almost directly next to a yellow ochre flower in Camille's bonnet, creating a strategic juxtaposition of cool and warm tonalities.

Here we see the beginnings of Monet's use of unique touches of colour to capture the ways light changes the formal elements of a given scene. He organizes the composition in order to effectively explore the shifting

dimensions he is interested in depicting. The upper and lower portions of sky and sea are sparsely coloured and detailed, leaving the artist to concentrate on the ocean and Camille. As Greenberg describes,

> For her dress, he applies broad strokes and dabs of white and tan, with a touch of the pink from the sailboat beyond. He focuses on the more distinguishing areas of head and torso and only hints at her full skirt, which is not quite a skirt, but the barest grouping of outlines and markings. For the sea, Monet uses choppy marks of an elegant, classical green, which becomes a sunnier blue-green closer to the horizon. Expressive white strokes and dabs convey swirls of sea foam and splashing waves. Ingeniously, a line of simple dots are swimmers in the distance; Monet is pressed for time; he has to get it all in one sitting. The dots are like an ellipsis, and seem to say, "... you get the point." Thus, Monet is efficient and economical with his paint. His sense of measure is especially evident, however, in the use of gray priming laid over the canvas to inflect the applied paint. These contrasting gray areas emphasize and set off his touches of color. Gray seas appear cool in contrast to the surrounding greens shimmering in the sunlight; back on land, these tones appear warmer next to the tans and cool whites of Doncieux's dress. Monet is keenly aware of the effect created by these areas of absent paint. Such gaps also create meaning, as in the band of gray running between the ocean's white surf and the sand, an interlude explaining that water has not yet met land, and conveying in a broader sense the temporal aspect of the sea's back-and-forth motion.

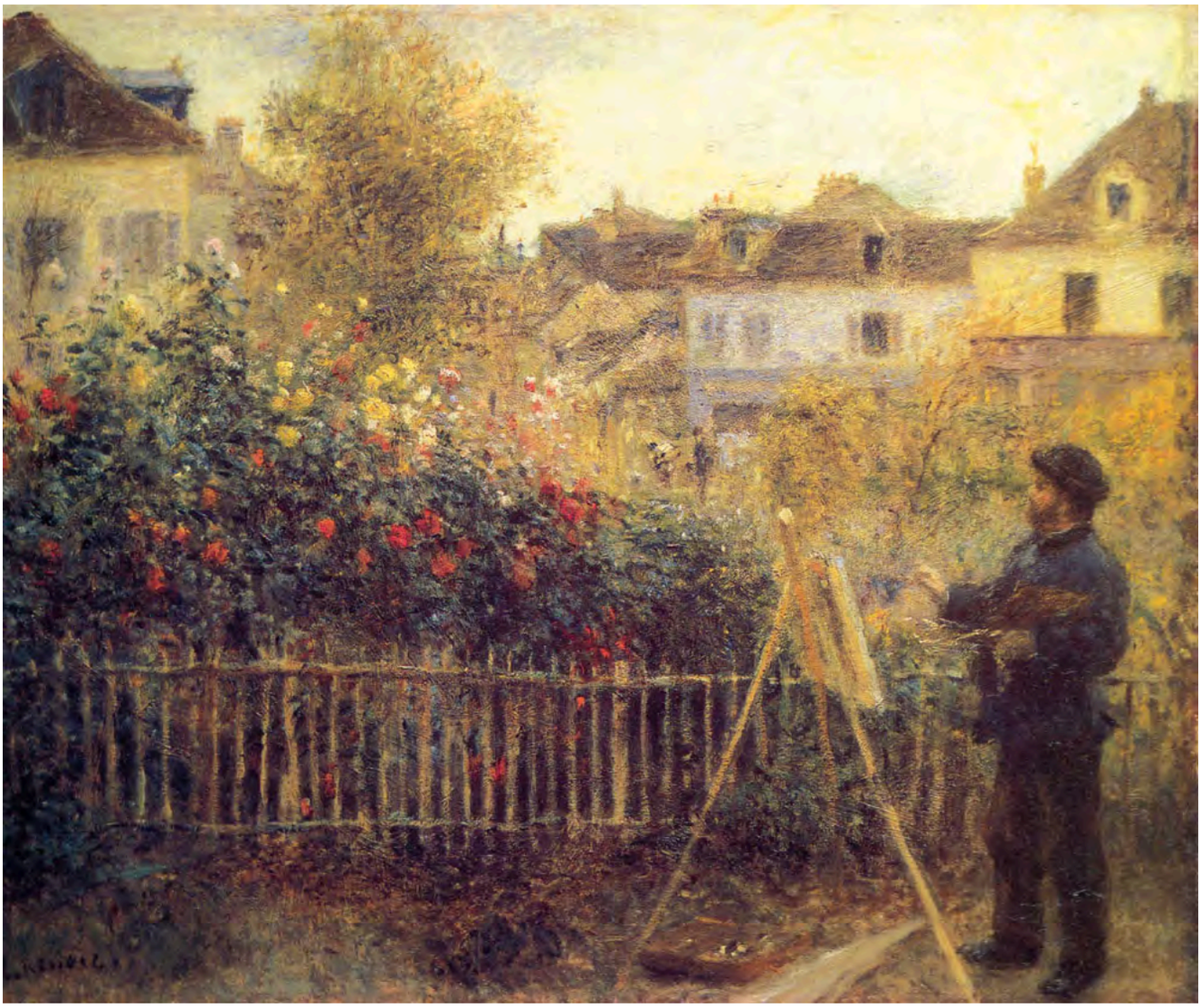
6.4
| Argenteuil and the Advent of Impressionism

Monet went to England and the Netherlands during the Franco-Prussian War (July 19, 1870 – May 10, 1871). When he returned, it was to a Paris destroyed by the war, a shock that influenced his decision to move to the suburb of Argenteuil.



Claude Monet, *The Highway Bridge Under Repair,* 1872. Oil on canvas. 54 x 73 cm. National Gallery of Canada, Ottawa. View Source

The Highway Bridge Under Repair was Monet's first painting of the bridges near Argenteuil destroyed during the conflict. The river is framed by scaffolding and beams, a reminder of ruination in the wake of the war, when the bridge was destroyed by retreating French troops. But the rafters and scaffolding here also stand as signs of reconstruction and as a testament to France's ambition to rebuild.



Pierre-Auguste Renoir, *Claude Monet Painting in His Garden at Argenteuil,* 1873. Oil on canvas. 46 x 60 cm. Wadsworth Atheneum Museum of Art, Hartford. View Source

From December of 1871 until the autumn of 1878, Monet and his family lived in a rented gardened house in Argenteuil, on the banks of the Seine, eleven kilometres to the northwest of Paris and a fifteen-minute train ride from the capital's Gare Saint-Lazare. With its scenic vistas unmarred by urban industrialization, Argenteuil was a source of inspiration for Monet, who painted prolifically while there: river views, bridges, streets, and gardens.

Monet's house became a meeting place for his fellow artists, Renoir and Sisley among them. Its topographical diversity appealed to their varied interests and offered opportunities to explore the outdoor effects of light and colour, the Impressionists' future hallmark. This period marks the beginnings of the Impressionist movement and the planning of the group's first exhibition in 1874.

On one of his many visits, Renoir painted *Claude Monet Painting in His Garden at Argenteuil*. It shows Monet at his portable easel before a hedge of multicoloured dahlias. The focus is on the sensory aspects of the scene, light, colour, and nature, yet despite the lack of descriptive detail, Monet is fully recognizable by his signature dark jacket and round hat.

The canvas evocates the friendship and professional rapport between Renoir and Monet in the early 1870s. Naturally drawn to subjects of people, Renoir's domestic landscape is a deliberate portrayal of Monet as an Impressionist artist, underscoring his devotion to the twin principles of working outdoors and painting his immediate surroundings.

Renoir's lively brushwork and the brilliance of his palette are scintillating. Despite the strict organization of the background: the stark, blue-roofed houses standing out against an opaque sky, Renoir focuses on the exuberant profusion of dahlia bushes barely contained by the palisade. The general oblique line suggesting the

top of the hedge leads one's eye to the painter's standing silhouette. Renoir's textured technique here, with the image constructed from a succession of rapid and nervous strokes typical of Impressionism and an essential stylistic characteristic of both painters, suggests that each moment, or each stroke, is a registration of a new observation of reality.

Thomas B. Cole, in *Monet Painting in His Garden at Argenteuil* (*JAMA* 305, no. 23 (2011): 2384), contrasts Renoir's painting with Monet's rendition of the same subject:

> On an overcast day in the outskirts of Paris, a painter stands at an easel by a rustic fence, facing a thicket of red, white, and yellow dahlias. … Overlooking the pyramidal mass of vegetation to his right are several substantial houses topped with double-sloped roofs and dormer windows in the Second Empire style. Monet is outfitted for an expedition into the countryside, with paint box, palette, brushes, parasol, and portable easel, but in fact he is only a few steps from his house—the cream-colored one with blue window shutters on the left… In *Monet Painting in His Garden*, Renoir has emphasized the features of a suburban neighborhood, with plenty of open space for informal gardens. From where the painter in the picture stands, he can see several houses.



Claude Monet, *The Artist's Garden in Argenteuil (A Corner of the Garden with Dahlias),* 1873. Oil on canvas. 61 x 82.5 cm. National Gallery of Art, Washington. View Source

By contrast, a painting made by Monet looking in the same direction excludes the neighboring houses, so that only his own is visible in a forest of dahlias. Monet's version looks less like a neighborhood than a country estate.



Claude Monet, *Springtime,* 1872. Oil on canvas. 50 x 65 cm. Walters Art Museum, Baltimore. View Source

The image of Camille in the Monets' garden was a much-loved and reoccurring subject of the artist's Argenteuil paintings. The motif also traces the evolution of Monet's technical approach. In the early 1870s, Monet's stylistic penchant for individuated brushstrokes, the *taches* of colour (as described by critics) was a notational shorthand for the sensation of seeing things outdoors. While Camille's face is carefully painted in *Springtime,* the foreground of the painting is brought to life through abstracted fragments of colour.



Claude Monet, *Gladioli,* ca. 1876. Oil on canvas. 82.5 x 55.8 cm. Detroit Institute of Art, Detroit. View Source

In *Gladioli*, painted five years later, Monet's stylistic developments are taken further. Once again Camille posed for the figure in the garden, but her face is now indistinctly painted without identifying features.

John House provides an in-depth analysis of "Monet's *Gladioli*" (*Bulletin of the Detroit Institute of Arts* 77, no.1/2 (2003): 8-17):

Here are some excerpts:

> Throughout *Gladioli*, the brushwork dematerializes the forms depicted. Small areas of the light beige primed canvas are visible in many parts of the painting; these heighten the luminosity of the lighter areas of the picture, especially the flowerbed. They also remind us that the forms are not modeled in a conventional sense to suggest solidity and three-dimensionality, but are merely evoked by the network of separate colored touches that animates the entire picture surface.



Detail of Claude Monet, *Gladioli,* ca. 1876. Oil on canvas. 82.5 x 55.8 cm. Detroit Institute of Art, Detroit. View Source

By the mid-70s, there is increased fragmentation, and incongruity *vis a vis* the object seen and the marks used to describe it. As House describes,

> The painter's vision, as presented to us by the painted marks, is now so subtle, so sensitive, that it can take objects apart and recreate them in colored touches. We are invited to reconstitute the natural subject by taking these touches together and viewing the picture as a whole.
>
> … viewed from up close, the brushmarks are never descriptive; only the bold verticals of the stems of gladioli stand out clearly from the complex and constantly varied textures all around them, and even the path is treated with a gently variegated touch. Likewise, the trellis and the fence do not create a rigid, linear backdrop for the scene in front of them; rather, they are integrated into the overall play of colored touches that animates the whole canvas.



Detail of Claude Monet, *Gladioli,* ca. 1876. Oil on canvas. 82.5 x 55.8 cm. Detroit Institute of Art, Detroit. View Source

The effect of the brushwork on the surface of the picture is heightened by the flotilla of white butterflies that flutter across the scene. At times they are virtually indistinguishable from the touches that convey the flowers and foliage—are there nineteen or twenty of them? We cannot be sure. Their flight and weightlessness act as a metaphor for the disembodiment of Monet's brushstroke, for its liberation from the task of defining forms and volumes and suggesting weight and gravity.

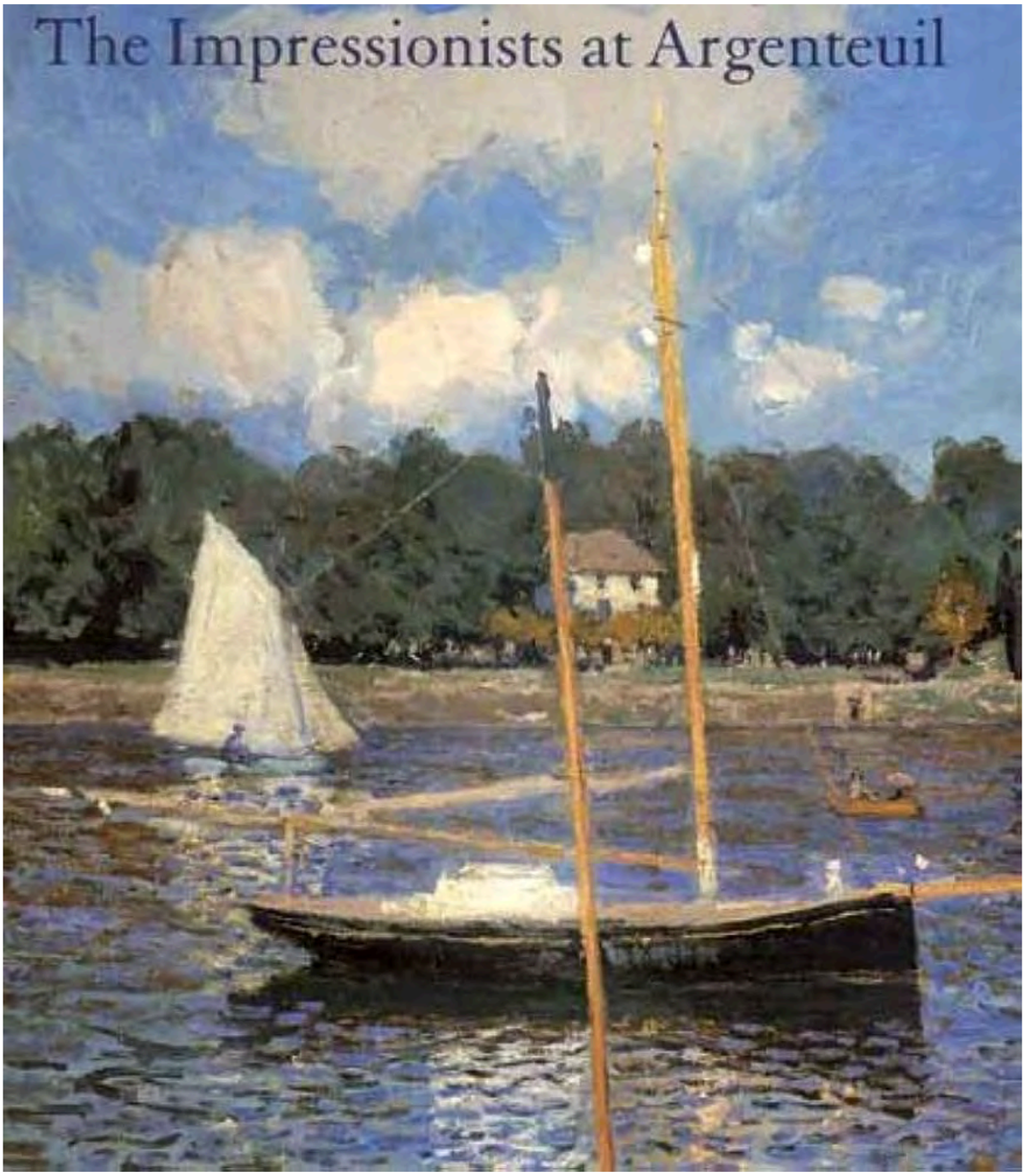


Claude Monet, *Gladioli,* ca. 1876. Oil on canvas. 82.5 x 55.8 cm. Detroit Institute of Art, Detroit. View Source



James Tissot, *Spring Morning,* ca. 1875. Oil on canvas. 55.9 x 42.5 cm. Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.
View Source

In this context, the painting demands to be viewed in relation to contemporary paintings of related subjects—of women in gardens. Yet it cannot readily be interpreted in terms of the stock conventions of such scenes. Rather, Monet was taking a subject that carried a range of familiar associations and treating it in a way that refused to be categorized in these terms, emphasizing instead his own creative powers, both as maker of the garden and, centrally, as creator of the extraordinary painted surface that conveyed his experience of this garden.



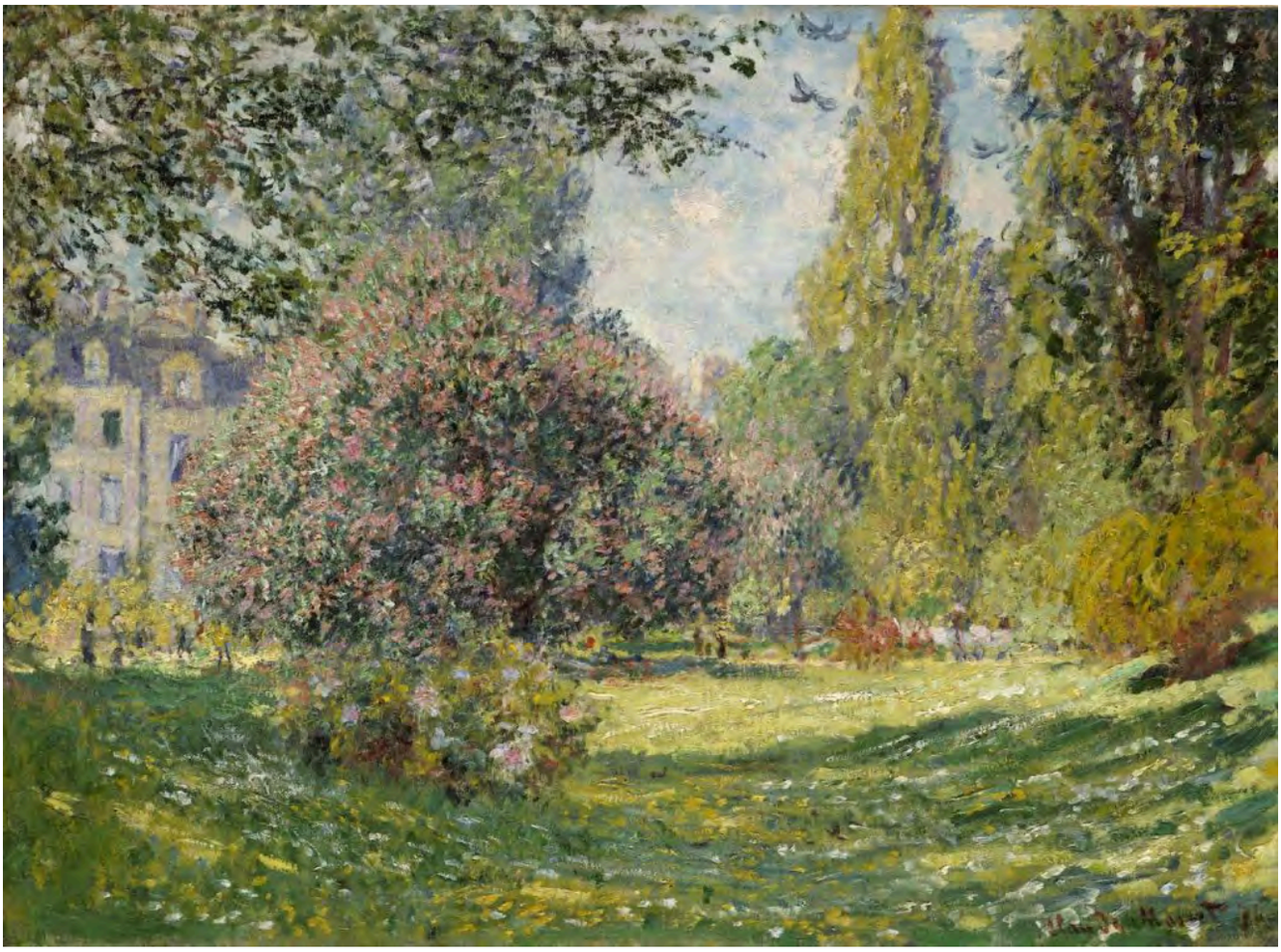
Paul Hayes Tucker, *The Impressionists at Argenteuil* (Washington: National Gallery of Art; Hartford: Wadsworth Atheneum Museum of Art, 2000. View Source

During his years in Argenteuil, Monet evolved his methods and style of landscape painting. According to Paul Hayes Tucker, author of *Impressionists at Argenteuil* (Washington: National Gallery of Art, 2000), Monet completed about 180 canvases during his stay "for an average of 30 pictures a year, or one every 12 days." In 1872 alone, he created 60 paintings.



Claude Monet, *The Studio Boat*, 1876. Oil on canvas. 72 x 59.8 cm. Barnes Foundation, Philadelphia and Merion.
View Source

Monet began using a floating studio boat to paint on the Seine at Argenteuil. As seen in *The Studio Boat*, he would anchor his craft to work, completing his paintings later in his studio. The drifting movement of the boat on the river inspired momentary images that eloquently capture the flow and atmosphere of the watery scenes.



Claude Monet, *Landscape: The Parc Monceau,* 1876. Oil on canvas. 59.7 x 82.6 cm. Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York. View Source

During the later 1870s, Monet sought out historically significant sites in the Capital to construct his vision of a re-born Paris. He painted the Parc Monceau six times between 1876 and 1878. Seven years earlier, during the Bloody Week of the Paris Commune, Monceau Park had been the site of brutal executions of Communards captured by troops of Versailles. Juxtaposed against this reality, Monet's series speaks to reclamation and continuity.

Monet's compositions pointedly leave the site's tainted past unstated. *The Parc Monceau* of 1876 depicts a space that is idyllic and verdant. The trees are in full bloom, and the scene is serene, reminiscent of a sheltered private garden at a secluded moment in time.

Monet's concern with capturing the immediacy of the transient here and now relies on the play of ephemeral light. The strips of grass and flowering trees and the delicacy of the leaves are arranged and rearranged by the dynamics of light and shadows, their infinite variations at once fleeting and anchored to a single point in time. Monet's use of dappled light, broad outlines and strong contrasts suggest that he had already begun to experiment with the boldly two-dimensional motifs that would characterize his work of the 1880s and 1890s.



Claude Monet, *The Parc Monceau,* 1878. Oil on canvas. 72.7 x 54.3 cm. Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.
View Source

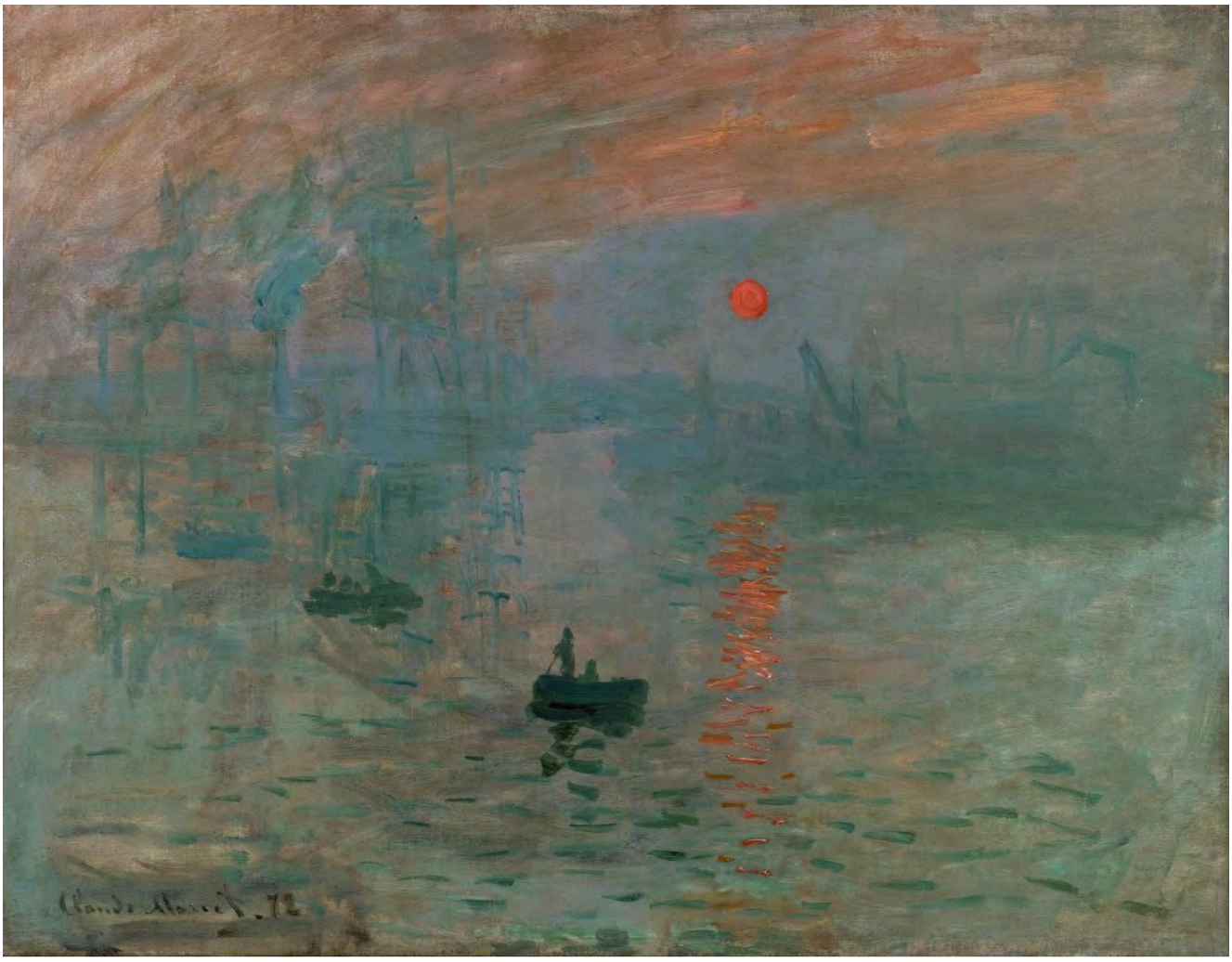
Notably, Monet's painterly images of public life are anonymous and indeterminate, without allusions to historical narrative.



Claude Monet, *The Parc Monceau,* 1878. Oil on canvas. 54.6 x 66 cm. Private collection. View Source

6.5
| Impressionism: A Critical Concept

During this period, Monet cultivated his impressionistic canvases, focusing on presenting visual sensations with an immediacy of execution that produced near-abstract compositions. *Impression, Sunrise* was painted rapidly from a hotel window at Le Havre, in thin washes, without details, underscoring Monet's primary aim, which was to capture the fleeting pictorial elements of the given moment before him.



Claude Monet, *Impression, Sunrise,* 1872. Oil on canvas. 48 x 63 cm. Musée Marmottan Monet, Paris. View Source

Monet's *Impression, Sunrise* was first exhibited in a show later called the "Exhibition of the Impressionists" in Paris in April 1874. Marnin Young, in the chapter "Impressionism and Criticism" (in *A Companion to Impressionism*, André Dombrowski, and Dana Arnold, eds., Wiley Blackwell, 2021, 11-26) discusses the contribution of art critics to defining Impressionism, and the consistent misinterpretation and limited reading of the review by Leroy which defined the reception of Impressionism. She describes the complex intertwining of the histories of Impressionist painting and art criticism and how the historical priority given to the critical coining of "Impressionism" was refracted through the lens of the twentieth-century avant-garde citing, as John House has pointed out, that in the 1860s a "quick notation of an atmospheric effect" was already widely described as an impression.



Pierre-Henri de Valenciennes, *Landscape with Ruins,* ca. 1782-1785. Oil on canvas. 33 cm x cm. Los Angeles County Museum of Art. View Source

Pierre-Henri de Valenciennes, *Landscape with Ruins*, ca. 1782-1785. Oil on canvas. 33 cm x cm. Los Angeles County Museum of Art.

Here are some excerpts from the chapter:

> The evidence that Leroy was the source of the words "Impressionism" (or *Impressionnisme* in French) and "Impressionist" rests entirely on precedence – he was certainly the first to use the words in print – but there is very little contemporary evidence that the words entered into common usage because of Leroy's article. How critics invented Impressionism becomes, therefore, a rather different story. That story hinges on the wider transition from 'impression' to 'Impressionism.'
>
> The critical attitude of Leroy's text is nonetheless not quite as clear as later historians have claimed. First published in *Le Charivari* 10 days after the exhibition of 1874 had opened, "L'Exposition des Impressionnistes" offers a fictional dialogue between a narrator (is it Leroy?) and an academic landscapist named Joseph Vincent. As the two move through the exhibition in Nadar's studio on the boulevard des Capucines, M. Vincent becomes more and more apoplectic in front of each new painting. The narrator, by contrast, calmly attempts to explain and defend the works on display, although M. Vincent presumes he is 'being ironic.' Such irony forms the backbone of what Jean Renoir once called the article's 'Boulevard wit,' and it is hard to determine, at least at first read, if the narrator actually shares his friend's hostility. Indeed, the humor of the text more obviously mocks the stick-in-the-mud mentality of the academic painter. For his part, however, Vincent is clearly appalled by the 'smears' and 'splashes' of paint.



Camille Pissarro, *Hoarfrost at Ennery,* 1873. Oil on canvas. 65.5 x 93.2 cm. Musée d'Orsay, Paris. View Source

The facture in Camille Pissarro's *Hoarfrost* consists of "palette scrapings spread uniformly across a dirty canvas."



Claude Monet, *Boulevard des Capucines,* 1873. Oil on canvas. 80.3 x 60.3 cm. The Nelson-Atkins Museum of Art, Kansas City. View Source

The pedestrians in the lower part of Monet's *Boulevard des Capucines* are just so many "black dashes" (*lichettes noires*). The narrator defensively insists that, "the impression is there," despite the lack of finish.



Paul Cézanne, *The Hanged Man's House,* ca. 1874. Oil on canvas. 55 x 66 cm. Musée d'Orsay, Paris. View Source

But in response to the impasto in Paul Cézanne's *Maison du pendu*, Vincent goes off the deep end, taking the "point of view of the Impressionists" and satirically assaulting anything he finds "too finished."



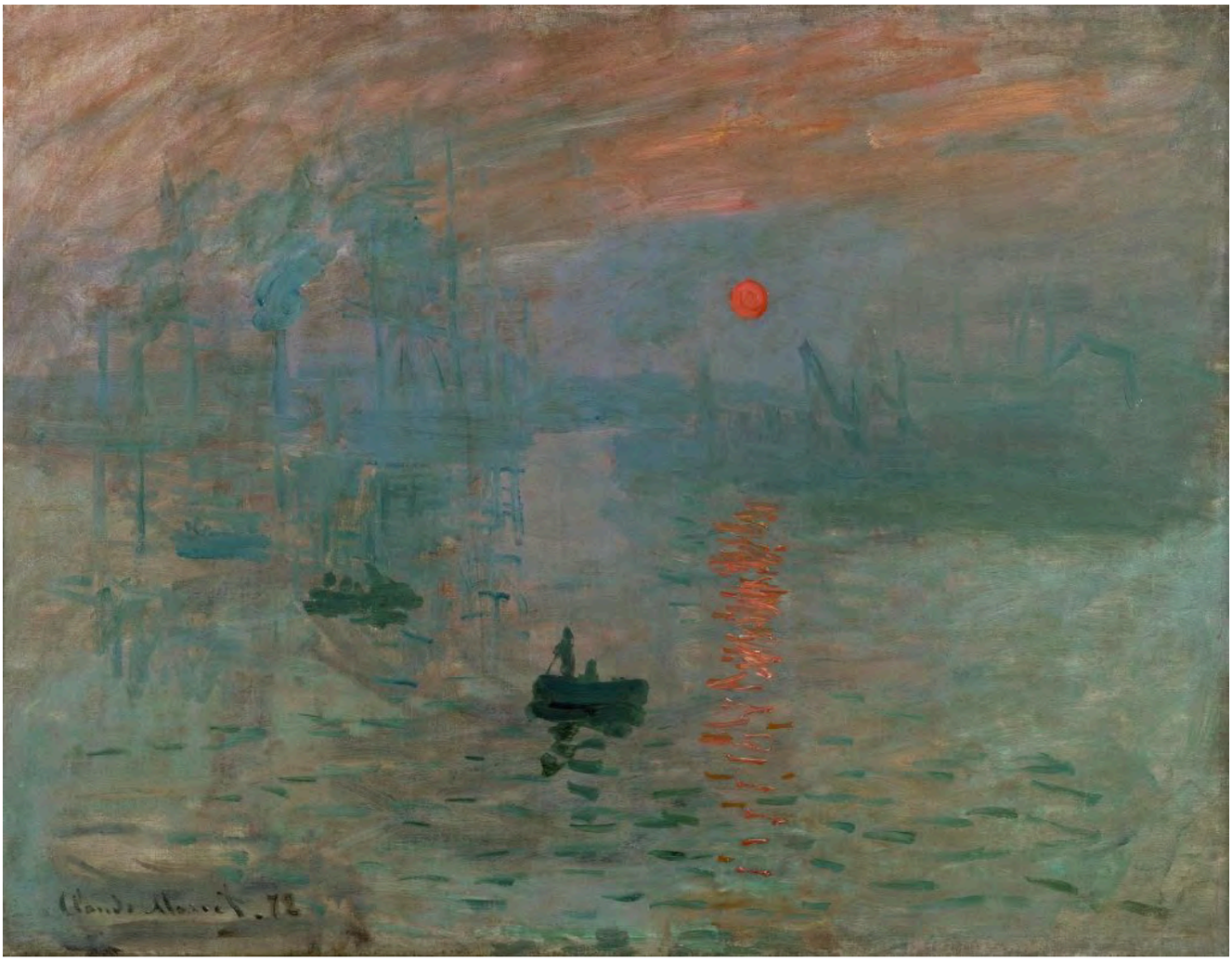
Berthe Morisot, *The Harbor at Cherbourg,* 1871. Oil on canvas, 41.91 × 56.2 cm. Yale University Art Gallery, New Haven. View Source

> He ironically defends the 'Impressionism' of Berthe Morisot, because she is "not interested in reproducing a mass of pointless details."



Pierre-Auguste Renoir, *La loge,* 1874. Oil on canvas. 80 cm x 63.5 cm. Courtauld Institute of Art, London. View Source

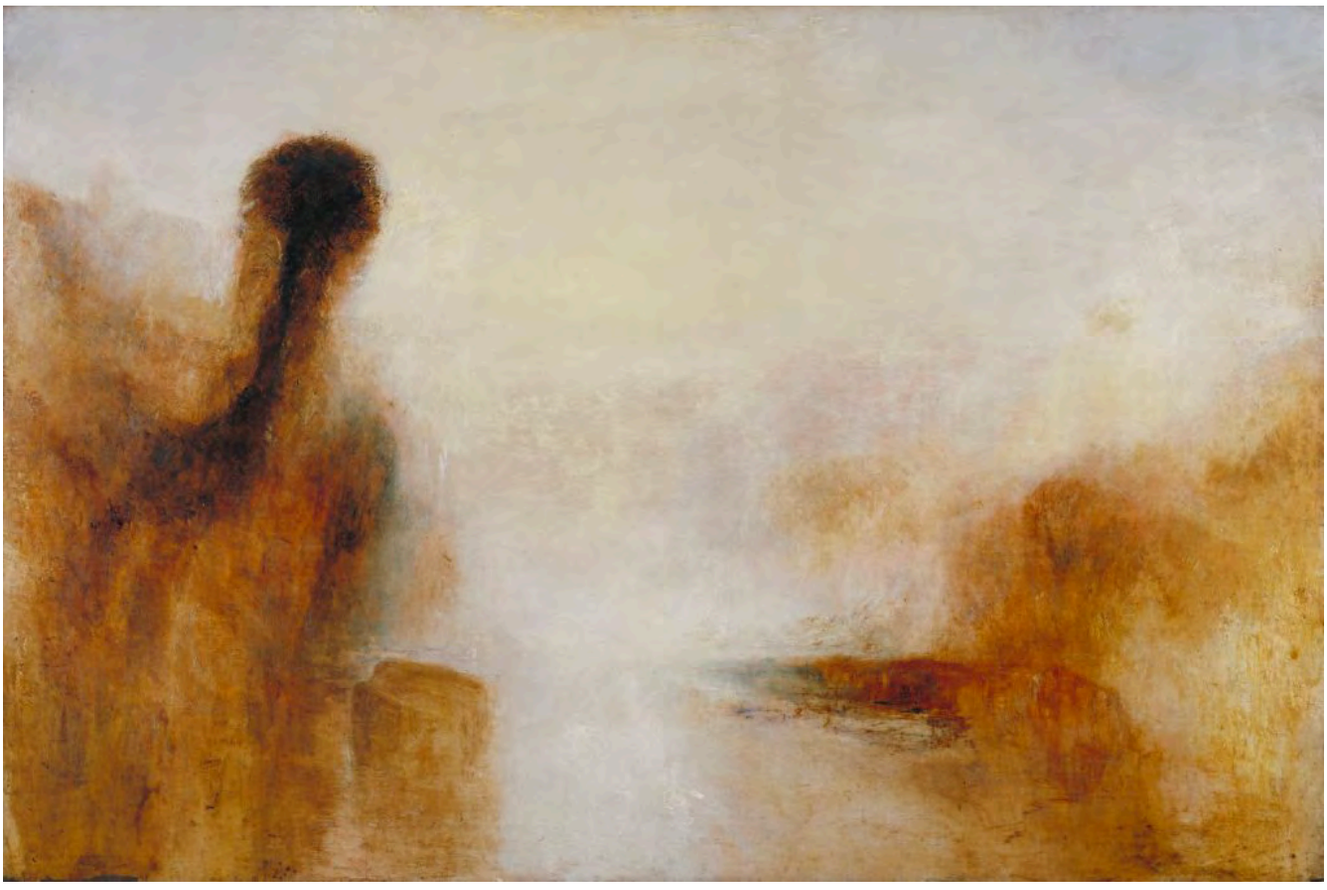
The narrator in turn positively suggests that “there is nothing superfluous” in the painting of Auguste Renoir.



Claude Monet, *Impression, Sunrise,* 1872. Oil on canvas. 48 x 63 cm. Musée Marmottan Monet, Paris. View Source

> When they eventually come across Monet's *Impression, Sunrise*, an implicit definition of Impressionism has already been laid out, and the picture functions more as a confirmation of a logic than as a source for the terminology. (If anything, Cézanne and Morisot prompted the coining of the words 'Impressionist' and 'Impressionism.') The logic of Monet's painting held, as Duret later wrote, that the 'title was in keeping with the light rapid touch and the general indefiniteness of the outlines. Such a work adequately expressed the formula of the new painting.' But the presumption that Monet's title stood as the source of Leroy's neologisms is borne out neither by the text itself, which uses both these terms before introducing *Impression, Sunrise*, nor by the history of the artistic usage of the word impression. Even as he definitively assigned credit to Leroy for the origin of the word 'Impressionist,' Duret also asserted that the term was in use even before the critic picked it up. He claimed, in fact, that the public had begun using the term and critics like Leroy, or more precisely his editor, simply borrowed it. Duret corresponded extensively with Pissarro at the time, so this assertion may be based on close testimony.
>
> …
>
> In the years that followed what we now call the first exhibition of the Impressionists, critics continued to cycle around the ambiguity of the term. Although alternate names for the group – "intransigeants," "intentionists," and "impressionalists" – still floated in the air, the question 'what is an impressionist?' framed the reception of the second exhibition in 1876.
>
> …
>
> At their third exhibit, Monet, Pissarro, and company finally embraced the name 'Impressionists.' Although a quasi-official journal appeared with the title *L'Impressionnisme*, it explicitly declined to offer any definition of the term. Critics, however, continued to puzzle it out.... Only Paul Mantz seemed to

have worked out the full logic of Impressionism. He provided a sharp and sympathetic description of an Impressionist as a 'sincere and free' artist, who 'translates, simply and with as much frankness as possible, the intensity of the experienced impression.' In other words, an impression of the world enters the physiological and mental makeup of an artist, who mobilizes colored pigment as directly as possible to convey that same impression to a spectator. For both artistic practice and theory questions only proliferate here, but for a general public such an explanation seemed to resolve hereafter the problem of defining Impressionism.



Joseph Mallord William Turner, *Landscape with Water,* ca. 1840. Oil on canvas. 121.9 x 182.2 cm. Tate Britain, London. View Source

Meanwhile, in Britain, the art critic and artist Wynford Dewhurst sought to convince his readership that Monet's *Impression Sunrise* (and the origins of French Impressionism) were inspired by J.MW. Turner. Dewhurst had studied in Paris and was a devotee of Monet's art. While the French were skeptical about Dewhurst's opinion, they reluctantly accepted that Turner had anticipated some Impressionist effects.

In "Impressionist Painting: Its Genesis and Development " (*Journal of the Royal Society of Arts* 56, no. 2887 (1908): 475–89), Dewhurst wrote:

> From 1773, then, being the natal year of that colossus amongst artists, dates all that is worthy of emulation in landscape painting. Now, since the greatest triumphs of Impressionism have been won on the field of landscape, it naturally follows that Turner and in less degree his friend, John Constable, are the true inspirators of the school. It derives from them as naturally and as easily as does the river from its mountain source, or the flowers of the field from the sunlit sky.



Joseph Mallord William Turner, *Norham Castle, Sunrise*, 1845. Oil on canvas. 91 x 122 cm. Tate Britain, London. View Source



John Constable, *Weymouth Bay: Bowleaze Cove and Jordon Hill,* ca. 1816. Oil on canvas. 53 x 75 cm. National Gallery, London. View Source

> We shall presently see how France, through Turner's eyes, did awake to the beauties revealed by this same light of Nature, and how, through France, the world at large has been enlightened. Whilst, in England Turner and Constable were striving after light, and more light, ambitious to imprison the sun's very rays upon their canvas, their cross-channel neighbours were just as ardently engaged upon a system of painting of their own invention, and far removed in objective from that of the Englishmen. They resigned themselves to the impossibility of sunlight and atmospheric painting, and took refuge in obscurity.
>
> The sight, however, of Turner's and Constable's pictures, frequently exhibited at the Paris Salon and in London, coupled in all likelihood with the study of Ruskin's clear exposition of their underlying principle, was undoubtedly the foundation and starting point of the brilliantly successful phase of art now known to the world as Impressionism.

Certainly, Monet's *Impression, Sunrise* echoes Turner's penchant for thinly painted surfaces, a restricted colour palette, and a summary rendition of form, all in the service of compelling visual effects. There is a sense of the ephemeral, the light absorbing and dematerializing mass and structure. Turner, coined the 'painter of light' because the brilliant intensity of his light sources often conveyed the presence of the supernatural, was the first to turn away from brown or buff priming of his canvas, preferring to lay down a brilliant white undercoat to enhance the brilliance of the final work.



Joseph Mallord William Turner, *The Lake, Petworth, Sunset; Sample Study,* ca. 1827-28. Oil on canvas. 139.7 x 63.5 cm. Tate, London. *View Source*

Seventy years after Dewhurst's pronouncement, John House called into question Turner's influence in "New Material on Monet and Pissarro in London in 1870-71" (*Burlington Magazine* 120, no. 907 (1978): 636–42.)

Pissarro and Monet had visited several museums and galleries in London while staying with their families during the Franco-Prussian War. As House describes, Pissarro wrote to his son Lucien shortly before his death in 1903, expressing his concern about Dewhurst's statements. His ideas about the origins of Impressionism were published in the *Journal of the Royal Society of Arts* as follows:

> He says that before going to London [in 1870] we [Monet and Pissarro] had no conception of light. The fact is that we have studies which prove the contrary. He omits the influence of Claude [Lorrain], Corot, etc. But what he has no suspicion of, is that Turner and Constable, while they taught us something, showed us in their works that they had no understanding of the analysis of shadow, which in Turner's painting is simply used as an effect, a mere absence of light. As far as true division is concerned, Turner proved the value of this as a method, although he did not apply it correctly and naturally. . .



Claude Lorrain, *Sunrise,* ca. 1646-47. Oil on canvas. 102.9 x 134 cm. Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York. View Source

It seems to me that Turner, too, looked at the works of Claude Lorrain… Mr. Dewhurst has his nerve.

6.6
| Landscape and the Legacy of Romanticism

Throughout the late 19th century, Monet's paintings were regarded as odes to "optical realism," devoid of subjectivity and sentiment. Critics disparagingly described his impressionism as an art of scientific objectivity, opposed in spirit and intention to the tenets of Romanticism. However, Monet's immersion in perceptual reality has many affinities with the landscape legacy of Romanticism.

Monet and the Impressionists were assumed to have painted exclusively out of doors, working spontaneously, and impassively. In large part, that was an accurate assumption. Monet's purpose was to create finished pictures in which the most valued qualities of the sketch, its freshness of execution and truth to the moment, were preserved. This characteristic was also an essential feature of Romantic painting, where the evoked sense of a rapidly executed sketch paralleled the artist's emotionally honest portrayal of a subject exactly as it appeared at a particular moment.



Jean-Baptiste-Camille Corot, *The Bridge at Narni,* 1826. Oil on paper mounted on canvas. 34 x 48 cm. Musée du Louvre, Paris. View Source

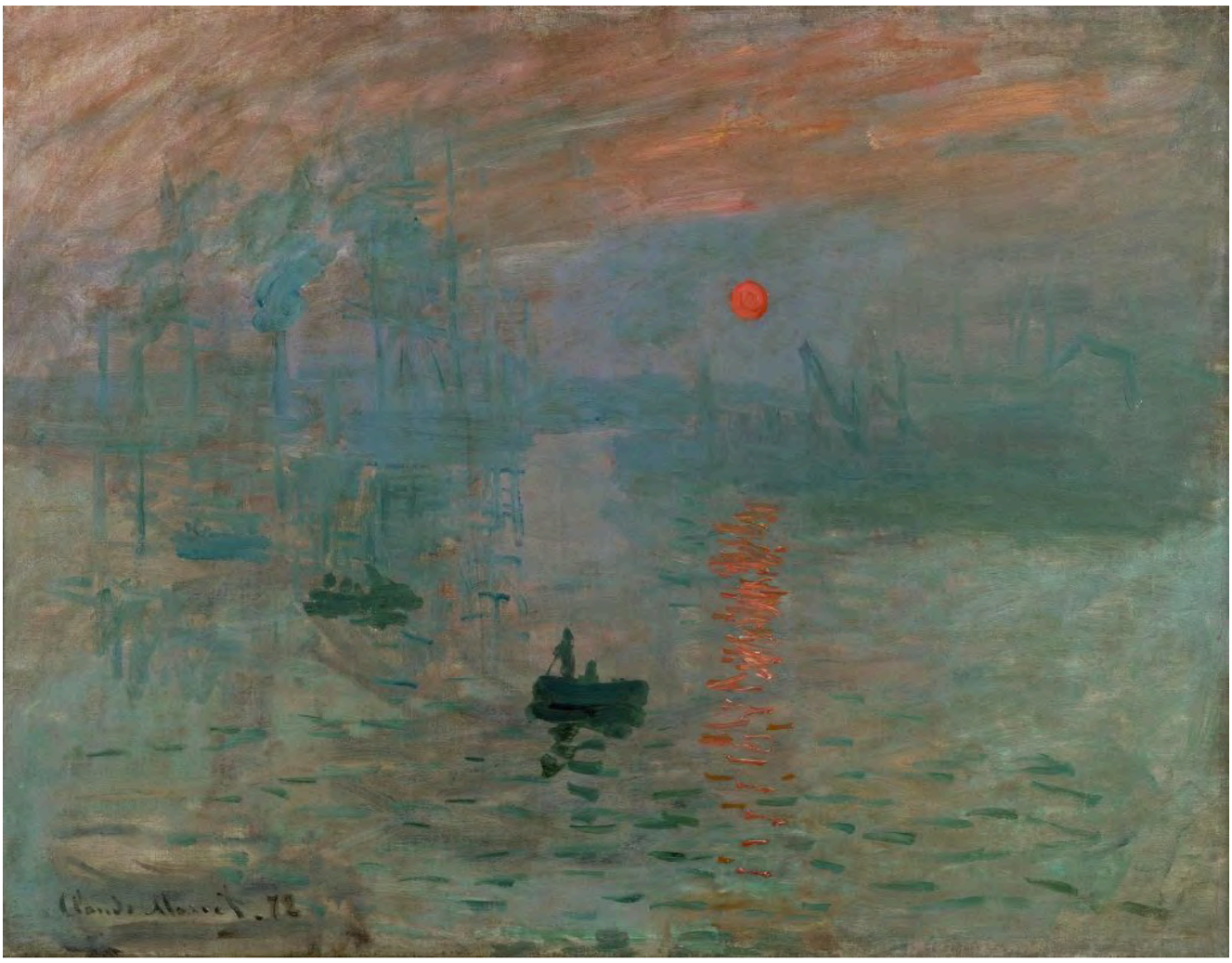
Jean-Baptiste-Camille Corot, the French Romantic landscape painter *par excellence,* was an influential precursor of Claude Monet. Corot taught Eugène Boudin and was an informal teacher of Pissarro and others, his legacy of painting directly from nature shaping the approach of a generation of artists.



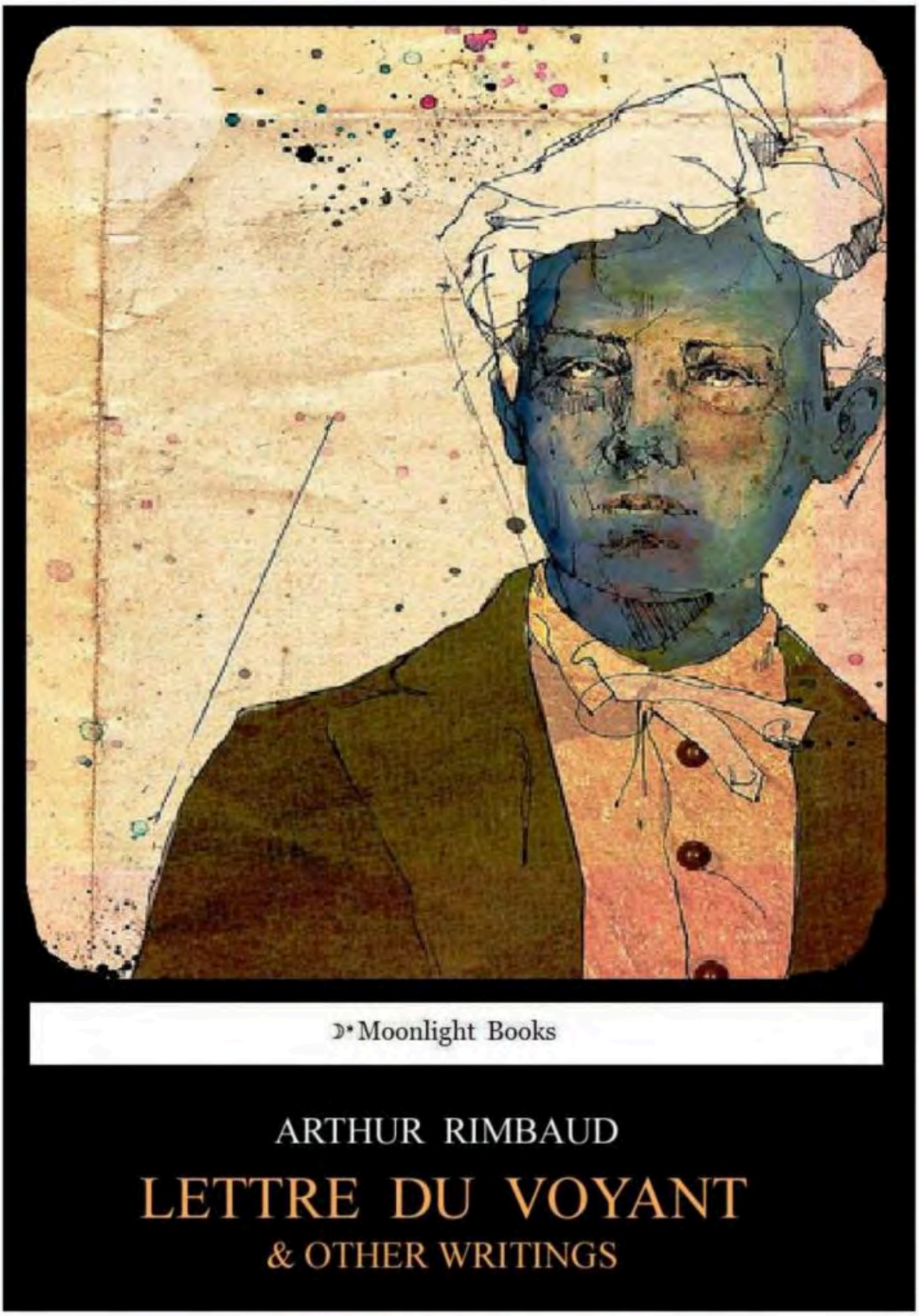
Camille Pissarro, *Jalais Hill, Pontoise,* 1867. Oil on canvas. 87 x 114.9 cm. Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York. View Source

Corot emphasized the Romanticist values of sincerity and individuality to the younger artists who admired and worked with him. He stressed the value of seeing and responding to natural light effects to convey the "sincerity of emotion" of one's first, true impression and, as he articulated, "to choose only subjects that harmonize(d) with one's particular impressions considering that each person's soul is a mirror in which nature is reflected."

Romantic artists of the late eighteenth to the mid-nineteenth century embraced the sensory, exalted the sublime and encouraged a sympathetic engagement with the natural world. Like era writers, they focused on subjective feeling and intuition over rational objectivity. The German novelist and poet Goethe's credo that "Feeling is all!" sums up the *raison d'être* of Romantic art. Historians have argued, and affirmed, the continuity between Romanticism and the avant-garde.



Claude Monet, *Impression, Sunrise*, 1872. Oil on canvas. 48 x 63 cm. Musée Marmottan Monet, Paris. View Source



Arthur Rimbaud *Lettre Du Voyant & Other Writings*. Translated and edited by J.J. Loe (Moonlight Books , n.d.).
View Source

The poet Arthur Rimbaud regarded Romanticism as the predecessor of new artistic and poetic ideals. In his *Lettre du voyant*, he wrote to Paul Demeny Charleville (May 15, 1871) , “Romanticism has never been properly judged. Who was there to judge it? The critics? The Romantics? They prove so clearly that the song is very seldom the work, that is, the idea sung and understood by the singer.” However, his acknowledgement of the

heritage of Romanticism was accompanied by his recognition of the right to deny it … Besides, newcomers have a right to condemn their ancestors: *on est chez soi et on a le temps."*

Monet's legacy as a plein air painter of light, and his ties to the artists of the Forest of Fontainebleau and Boudin, have tended to obscure his romanticist roots. But it is a relationship that has been recently addressed in varied interpretations of the evolution of Monet's oeuvre.

The following excerpts from the *Companion to Impressionism* give credence to this interpretative approach.

Mary-Dailey Marais:

> Despite the fact that Monet's approach to painting has often been portrayed as merely an optical exercise (we need only think of Cézanne's oft-cited remark, "Monet was only an eye, but my god what an eye!"), Monet's most sensitive critics, both in the nineteenth century and the present day, turned attention to the subjective aspects of his "impressions." Indeed the word itself implies a degree of subjectivity. Consider the reflections of the critic Jules-Antoine Castagnary upon seeing the first Impressionist exhibition in 1874: "They are Impressionists in the sense that they render not the landscape, but the sensation produced by the landscape." In the same review, Castagnary added that, if taken to the extreme, the Impressionists "will arrive at that degree of Romanticism without bounds, where nature is no more than a pretext for dreams, and that the imagination becomes incapable of formulating anything other than personal subjective fantasies, without any echo in general knowledge, because they are without regulation and without any possible verification in reality."

Marc Gotlieb:

> Pissarro made two complaints – at first sight distinct, but the one following from the other: Monet's new paintings were 'romantic,' that is to say keyed in some manner to the drama of the self. But they were also a 'salesman's game,' made to sell. Perhaps what the anarchist Pissarro meant was that Monet's new Romanticism flattered bourgeois fantasies of interiority, and in this respect was a marketplace move most of all. Modern scholars, for their part, have been generally sympathetic to such an understanding, and no wonder. Beyond growing success, expressed for example in Monet's first retrospective at Paul Durand-Ruel's gallery in 1882, the 1880s were enormously productive, the artist completing nearly 500 paintings in the first half of the decade alone. The garish colors, dramatic vistas, melodramatic moods – the 'extremes' of the 1880s, as they have been termed, have come to seem like an effort on Monet's part to "extend his range," to avoid being "typecast" – a savvy career strategy in the wake of rising prices and growing demand.

Monet's emphasis on the colouristic and tonal effects of atmosphere and his landscapes' ethereal and evanescent nature, not to mention their sensory dimension, echo elements of the Romantic landscape tradition. His works may also be read as Romantic in their visual articulation of an ideal France.



John Constable, *The Hay Wain*, 1821. Oil on canvas. 130.2 x 185.4 cm. National Gallery, London. View Source



Joseph Mallord William Turner, *The Fighting Temeraire Tugged to her Last Berth to be Broken Up, 1838,* 1839. Oil on canvas. 90.7 x 121.6 cm. National Gallery, London. View Source

English Romantic artists such as Constable and Turner had invested the natural landscape with epic overtones. Constable cast the rural landscape as a lost Eden, where pristine air, water and space were a metaphor for moral goodness in the face of the evils of industrial modernism. His enormous, poetic scenes of canals, fields, mills, and cottages surrounding and including his father's property in East Anglia employed the effects of light and shadow, the textures of earth and plant life, as sensory expressions of a union with nature, declaring in 1821 that "painting is but another word for feeling."

Turner, by contrast, painted nature's vital spirit and took his technical prowess to expressive extremes. He aimed to inspire reverence and trepidation through dramatic distillations of natural events. His atmospheric, near-abstract paintings compelled Constable to remark (somewhat disparagingly) that Turner "seems to paint with tinted steam, so evanescent and airy."



Caspar David Friedrich, *Rocky Ravine in the Elbe Sandstone Mountains*, 1822. 94 x 74 cm. Belvedere, Vienna. View Source

In Germany, the Romantic artist Caspar David Friedrich urged artists to “study nature after nature and not after paintings.” He invested his landscapes with symbolism and intimations of the sublime.



Caspar David Friedrich, *Two Men Contemplating the Moon,* ca. 1825-30. Oil on canvas. 34.9 x 43.8 cm. Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York. View Source

Friedrich's works also contained political implications. *Two Men Contemplating the Moon* signals the aftermath of Germany's liberation from Napoleon's yoke. Friedrich articulated patriotic fervour in this painting by presenting his two figures in traditional German costumes that new authorities had outlawed. Such political statements were widespread among artists and writers who were consequently prosecuted as "demagogues." The fact that the banned outfits were recurring motifs in Friedrich's works indicates his abiding political views.



Jean-Baptiste-Camille Corot, *Forest of Fontainebleau,* 1834. Oil on canvas. 175.6 x 242.6 cm. National Gallery of Art, Washington. View Source



Charles-François Daubigny, *The Pond at Gylieu,* 1853. Oil on canvas. 62.2 x 99.7 cm. Cincinnati Art Museum. View Source



Théodore Rousseau, *The Village of Becquigny,* ca. 1857. Oil on mahogany panel. 63.5 x 100 cm. Frick Collection, New York.
View Source



Jean-François Millet, *Autumn Landscape with a Flock of Turkeys,* ca. 1872-73. Oil on canvas. 81 x 99.1 cm. Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York. View Source

In France, Romantic landscapes were best represented by Corot, Charles Francois Daubigny, Théodore Rousseau and Jean-Francois Millet.

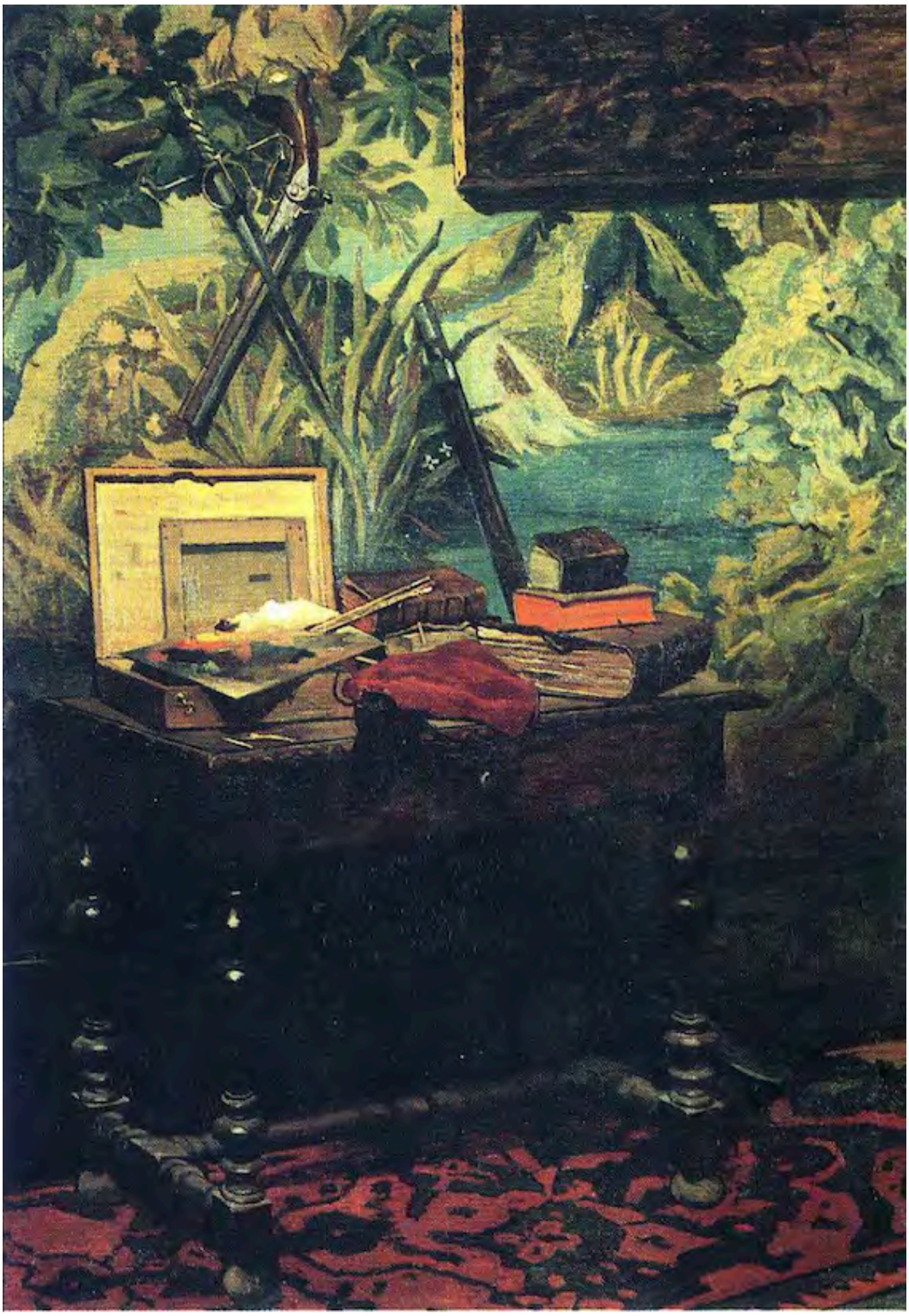


Théodore Géricault, *Riderless Racers at Rome,* 1817. Oil on paper, mounted on canvas. 44.9 cm x 59.5 cm. Walters Art Museum, Baltimore, Maryland. View Source



Eugène Delacroix, *Death of Sardanapalus,* 1844. Oil on canvas. 73.7 × 82.4 cm. Philadelphia Museum of Art. View Source

Their works contrasted the passion-filled, exotic Romanticism of Gericault or Delacroix.



Claude Monet, *A Corner of the Studio,* 1861. Oil on canvas. 180 x 130 cm. Musée d'Orsay, Paris. View Source

Returning to Monet's *A Corner of the Studio*, discussed in the opening passages of this chapter, it is notable that the artist was compelled to insert a landscape by Charles-François Daubigny in his own picture, tellingly replacing a religious icon. Its inclusion in the composition may be read as an indicator of the patriotism to come and an homage to his homeland.



Claude Monet, *Poppy Field in a Hollow near Giverny,* 1885. Oil on canvas. 65.1 x 81.3 cm. Museum of Fine Arts, Boston. View Source

Indeed, Monet's landscapes have been interpreted as soulful representations of 'La France' and the artist came to be regarded as a national painter.

In 1899, Durand-Ruel wrote: "Monet's work above all expresses France, at once subtle and ungainly, refined and rough, nuanced and flashy....Monet is one of greatest national painters; he knows the beautiful elements of countryside whether harmonious or contradictory...he has expressed everything that forms the soul of our race."

Monet, however, insisted that the significance of landscape as a motif lay in its transient, unbound nature, stating in 1891, "For me a landscape does not exist in its own right, since its appearance changes at every moment...For me it is only the surrounding atmosphere that gives subjects their true value."

This and related statements have led to a general consideration of Monet's choice of subject matter and its socio-historical attribution as unimportant. The reality is that in Monet's later paintings, as will be seen, his subject choices were not random but tinged with historical, national, or religious associations.

6.7
| Monet's Serial Subjects

In the 1880s, Monet began exploring a new direction in his painting process, the spontaneity of completing his works *en plein air* giving way to a more systematic approach to Impressionism. With his later multi-canvas

series, *Haystacks* (1890-1891), *Poplars* (1891), *Rouen Cathedral* (ca.1892-1894), and *Water Lilies* (1914-1926) his subjects were carefully studied, started *in situ*, then reworked in his studio to achieve the sense of instantaneity he sought.



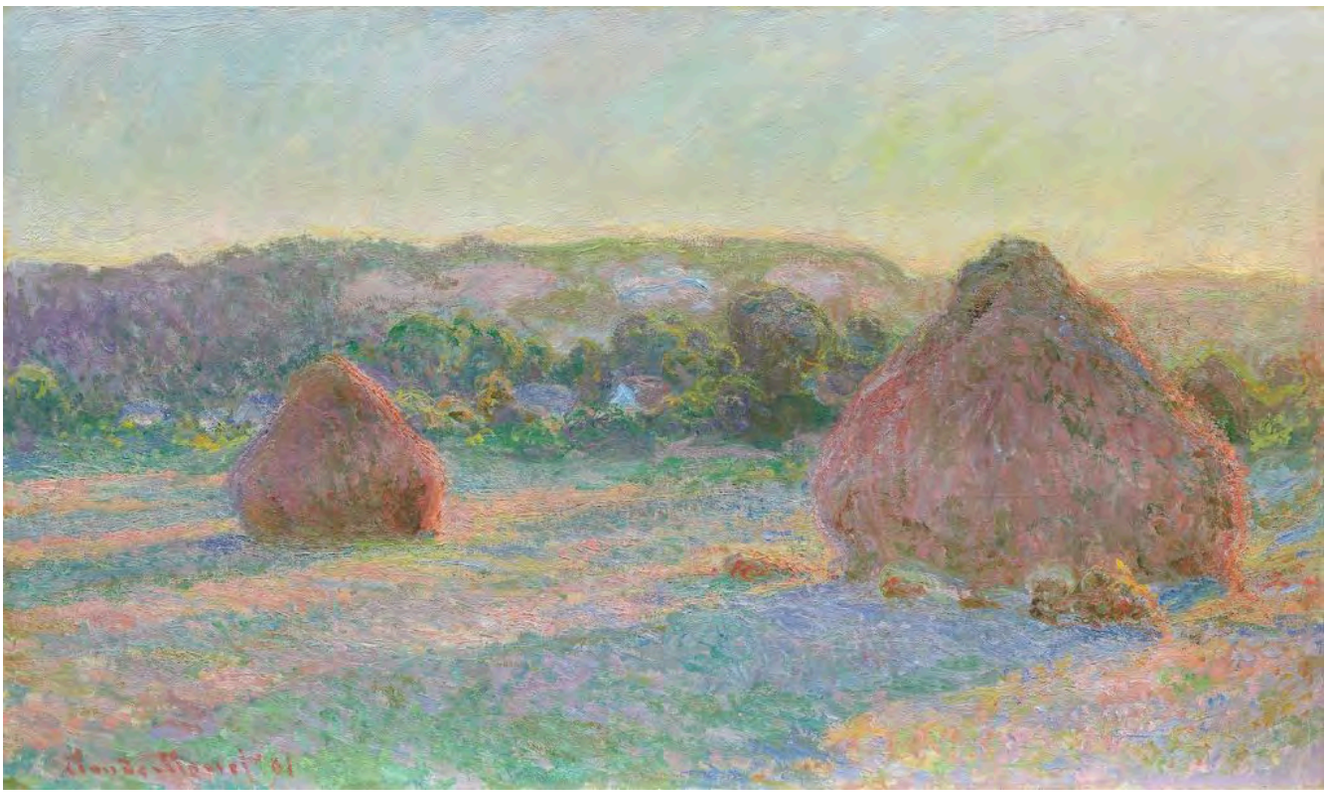
Claude Monet, *Poplars,* 1891. Oil on canvas. 93 x 74.1 cm. Philadelphia Museum of Art. View Source



Claude Monet, *The Four Trees*, 1891. Oil on canvas. 81.9 x 81.6 cm. Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York. View Source

In 1891 Monet concentrated on his poplar paintings. This series of twenty-four paintings captured the form and colour of the poplars in changing light conditions, over a period of several months, from early spring into the fall.

A recurring feature in the French countryside during the nineteenth century, the poplar after the French Revolution become symbolic of liberty, largely due to its name *peupliers* which derives from '*le people*,' meaning 'the people.' Within the popular imagination, the poplars came to symbolize the stability of the French nation and the fertility and beauty of rural France.

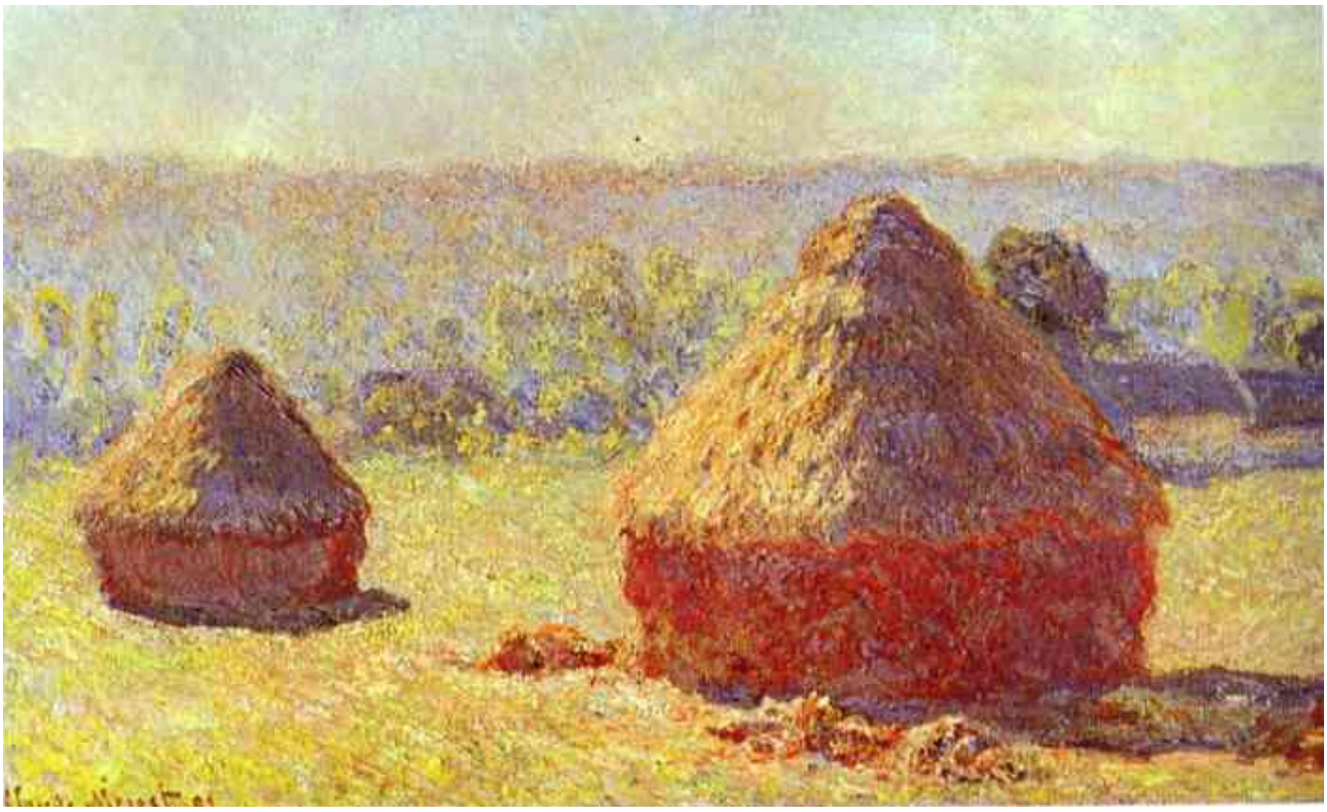


Claude Monet, *Stacks of Wheat (End of Summer),* ca. 1890-91. Oil on canvas. 60 x 100.5 cm. Art Institute of Chicago. View Source

Monet painted over twenty works that portray the same subject in the Haystacks series. Still, they are distinctive in every other respect, altered in appearance and ambiance by the effects of transient light, changing seasons and atmospheric conditions.



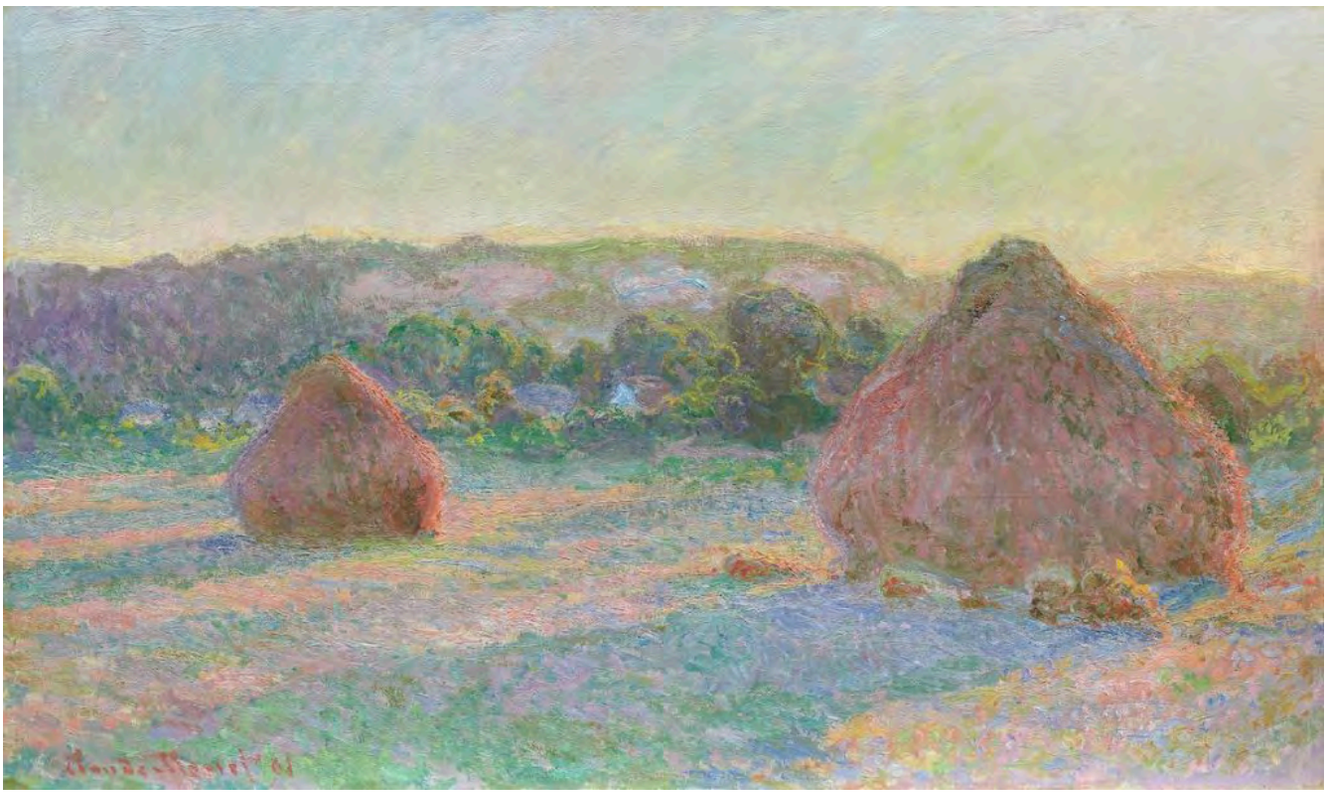
Claude Monet, *Grainstack, White Forest Effect,* ca. 1890-91. Oil on canvas. 65 x 100 cm. Shelburne Museum. View Source



Claude Monet, *Haystack, End of Summer,* ca. 1890-91. Oil on canvas. 60.5 x 100.8 cm. Musée d'Orsay, Paris. View Source

Monet wanted viewers to recreate the optical experience of the painting process. The bulk of haystacks, painted in flattened patches and tonal contrasts suspended within an atmospheric haze, are visualized in our sensory comprehension of their shifting, shimmering contours and colours. He aimed to elicit felt experience and to do so without the need for spectacular scenery. The un-picturesque and conventional haystacks are transformed and transformational, conveying temporal sensations while evoking a sense of ethereal nature.

In October 1890, Monet expressed the challenges he faced painting the haystacks to the art critic Gustave Geffroy writing: "I'm hard at it, working stubbornly on a series of different effects, but at this time of year the sun sets so fast that it's impossible to keep up with it … the further I get, the more I see that a lot of work has to be done in order to render what I'm looking for: 'instantaneity', the 'envelope' above all, the same light spread over everything… I'm increasingly obsessed by the need to render what I experience, and I'm praying that I'll have a few more good years left to me because I think I may make some progress in that direction…"



Claude Monet, *Stacks of Wheat (End of Summer),* ca. 1890-91. Oil on canvas. 60 x 100.5 cm. Art Institute of Chicago. View Source



Claude Monet, *Wheatstacks, Snow Effect, Morning,* 1891. Oil on canvas. 64.8 x 100.3 cm. J. Paul Getty Museum, Los Angeles. View Source

The artist's successful struggle against the fugitive forces of nature was a notion that Monet himself partly perpetuated:

When I began I was like the others; I believed that two canvases would suffice, one for grey weather and one for sun. At that time I was painting some haystacks that had excited me and that made a magnificent group, just two steps from here. One day, I saw that my lighting had changed. I said to my stepdaughter: "Go to the house, if you don't mind, and bring me another canvas!" She brought it to me, but a short time afterward it was again different: "Another! Still another!" And I worked on each one only when I had my effect, that's all. It's not very difficult to understand." (Claude Monet, 1920; see William C. Seitz, *Claude Monet*: S*easons* and *Moments*, MoMA, 1960, 22)



Claude Monet, *Rouen Cathedral, Portal, Front View,* 1892. Oil on canvas. 107 x 74 cm. Musée d'Orsay, Paris. View Source

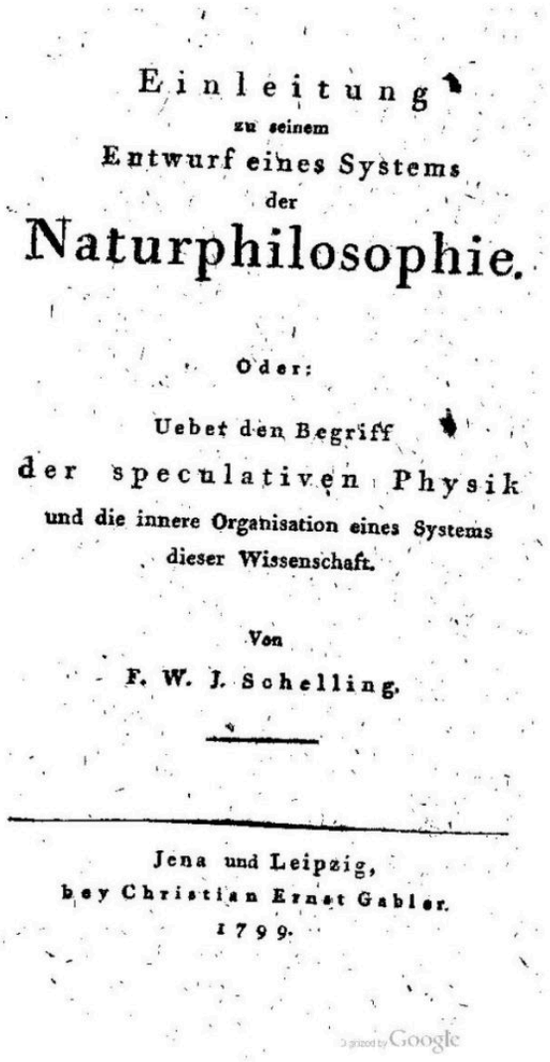


Claude Monet, *Rouen Cathedral. Façade,* ca. 1892-94. Oil on canvas. 100.4 x 65.4 cm. Pola Museum of Art, Hakone. View Source

As a subject, Rouen Cathedral contrasts with the impermanent and mundane motif of the *Haystacks*. Laden with history, the Cathedral paintings are architecturally iconic and monumental—signifiers of permanence. That they are imbued with an evanescence born of Monet's focus on light's altering, deconstructive potential renders them even more powerful.

6.8 | Paint Tubes and Portable Easels: Monet's Modern Palette

Monet's quest to capture the intricacies of light may have related to an understanding of its significance beyond aesthetics. The German Romantic philosopher F.W.J. Schelling had stressed the symbolic importance of light in rendering nature's invisible soul, a notion that contrasted with Enlightenment thought, which emphasized matter and motion.



Einleitung
zu seinem
Entwurf eines Systems
der
Naturphilosophie.

Oder:

Ueber den Begriff
der speculativen Physik
und die innere Organisation eines Systems
dieser Wissenschaft.

Von
F. W. J. Schelling.

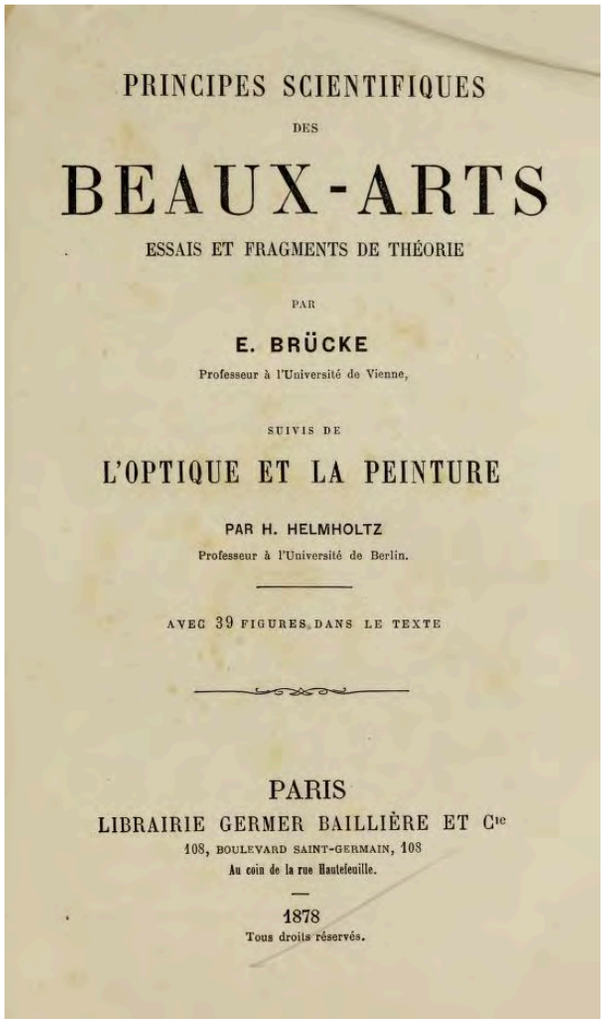
Jena und Leipzig,
bey Christian Ernst Gabler.
1799.

Digitized by Google

Frederich Wilhelm Joseph von Schelling, *Einleitung zu seinem Entwurf eines Systems der Naturphilosophie* (Jena and Leipzig: Christian Ernst Gabler, 1799). View Source

During the first decades of the nineteenth century, Schelling's *Naturphilosophie* was popularized in France, England, and the United States through the writings of Mme de Stael, Samuel Taylor Coleridge, Ralph Waldo Emerson, and others, influencing the work of Romantic landscape artists.

[NEXT TWO IMAGES should be side by side]



PRINCIPES SCIENTIFIQUES

DES

BEAUX-ARTS

ESSAIS ET FRAGMENTS DE THÉORIE

PAR

E. BRÜCKE

Professeur à l'Université de Vienne,

SUIVIS DE

L'OPTIQUE ET LA PEINTURE

PAR H. HELMHOLTZ

Professeur à l'Université de Berlin.

AVEC 39 FIGURES DANS LE TEXTE

PARIS

LIBRAIRIE GERMER BAILLIÈRE ET Cie

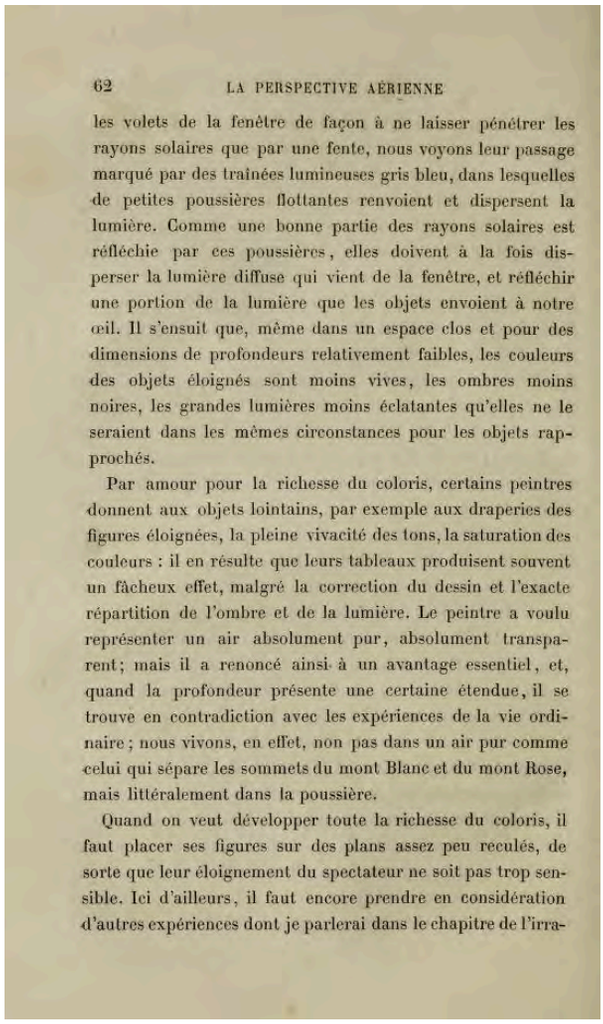
108, BOULEVARD SAINT-GERMAIN, 108

Au coin de la rue Hautefeuille.

1878

Tous droits réservés.

Brücke and H. Helmholtz, *Principes scientifiques des Beaux-Arts, essais et fragments de théorie, suivis de L'Optique de la peinture* (Paris: Librairie Germer Baillière et cie, 1878). View Source



62 LA PERSPECTIVE AÉRIENNE

les volets de la fenêtre de façon à ne laisser pénétrer les rayons solaires que par une fente, nous voyons leur passage marqué par des traînées lumineuses gris bleu, dans lesquelles de petites poussières flottantes renvoient et dispersent la lumière. Comme une bonne partie des rayons solaires est réfléchie par ces poussières, elles doivent à la fois disperser la lumière diffuse qui vient de la fenêtre, et réfléchir une portion de la lumière que les objets envoient à notre œil. Il s'ensuit que, même dans un espace clos et pour des dimensions de profondeurs relativement faibles, les couleurs des objets éloignés sont moins vives, les ombres moins noires, les grandes lumières moins éclatantes qu'elles ne le seraient dans les mêmes circonstances pour les objets rapprochés.

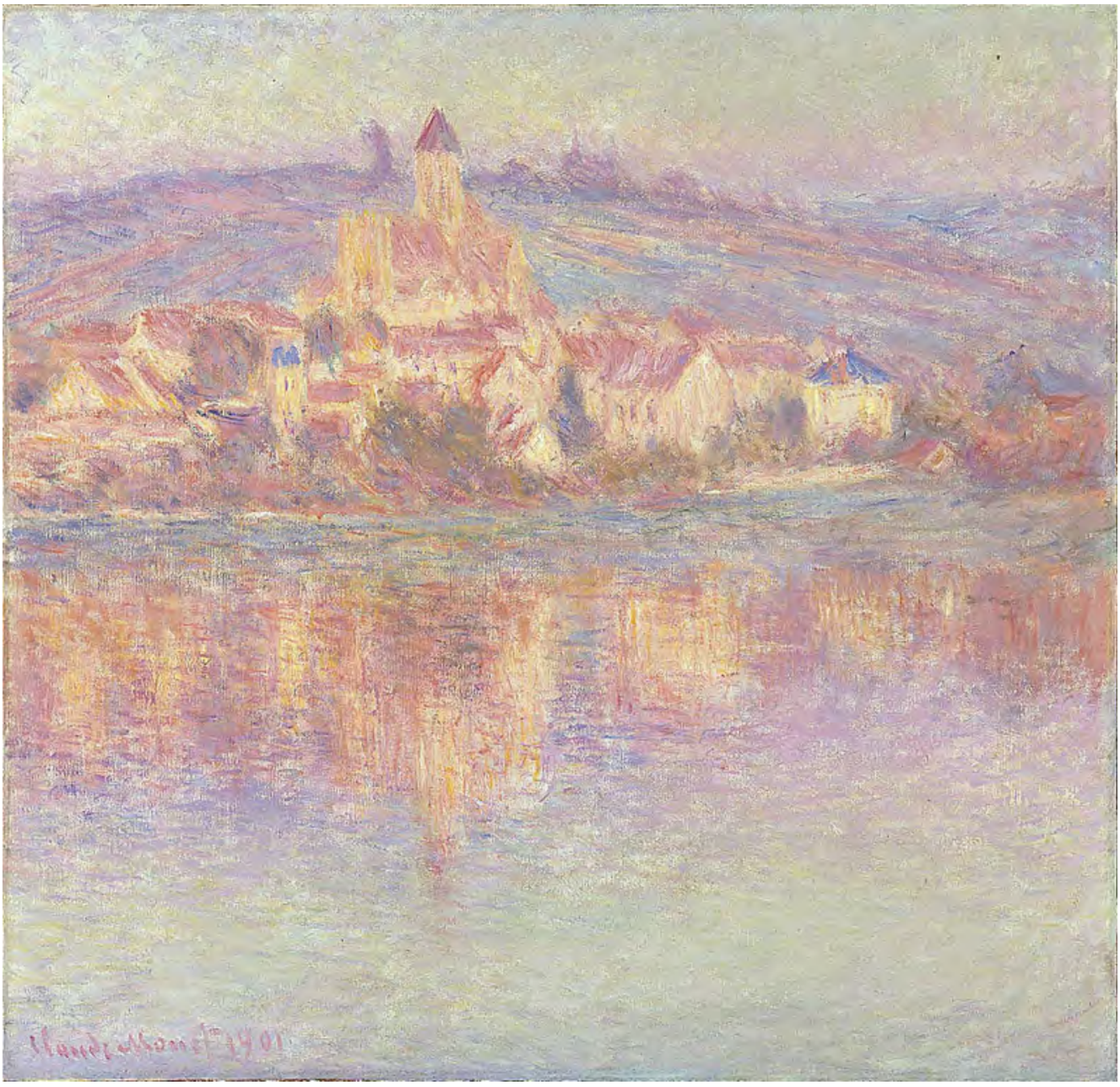
Par amour pour la richesse du coloris, certains peintres donnent aux objets lointains, par exemple aux draperies des figures éloignées, la pleine vivacité des tons, la saturation des couleurs : il en résulte que leurs tableaux produisent souvent un fâcheux effet, malgré la correction du dessin et l'exacte répartition de l'ombre et de la lumière. Le peintre a voulu représenter un air absolument pur, absolument transparent; mais il a renoncé ainsi à un avantage essentiel, et, quand la profondeur présente une certaine étendue, il se trouve en contradiction avec les expériences de la vie ordinaire ; nous vivons, en effet, non pas dans un air pur comme celui qui sépare les sommets du mont Blanc et du mont Rose, mais littéralement dans la poussière.

Quand on veut développer toute la richesse du coloris, il faut placer ses figures sur des plans assez peu reculés, de sorte que leur éloignement du spectateur ne soit pas trop sensible. Ici d'ailleurs, il faut encore prendre en considération d'autres expériences dont je parlerai dans le chapitre de l'irra-

Brücke and H. Helmholtz, *Principes scientifiques des Beaux-Arts, essais et fragments de théorie, suivis de L'Optique de la peinture* (Paris: Librairie Germer Baillière et cie, 1878), 62. View Source

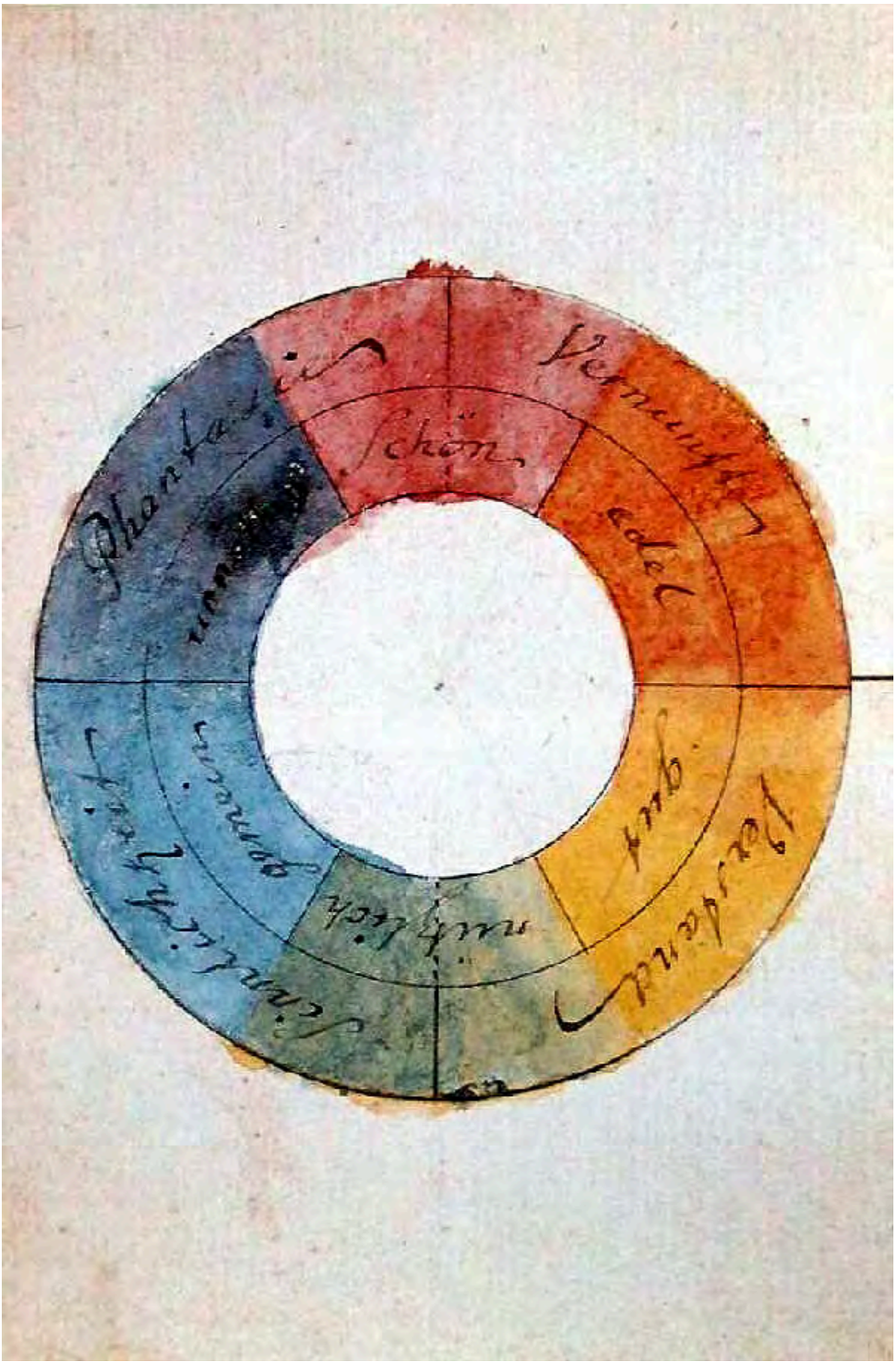
From a scientific standpoint, Monet's approach to the substance and effects of light may be linked to studies of the atom and molecular theory and their relationship to light. Charles Gerhardt and Auguste Laurent, originators of atomic theory, believed that those atoms and molecules were not mental abstractions but material objects constituting veritable blueprints for nature.

In Hermann von Helmholtz's famous essay on the relation of optics to painting, reprinted in Ernst Wilhelm Brucke's *Principes scientifiques des Beaux-Arts*, 1878, atmospheric perspective and the effect of air on light are described by the translator as "molecules de l'air" and "molecules flottantes."



Claude Monet, *Vétheuil,* 1901. Oil on canvas. 90.2 x 93.4 cm. Art Institute of Chicago. View Source

This concept of the molecular composition of the atmosphere is evident in Monet's paintings, where the painting of substantial form is presented as amorphous fields comprised of molecular particles of light.

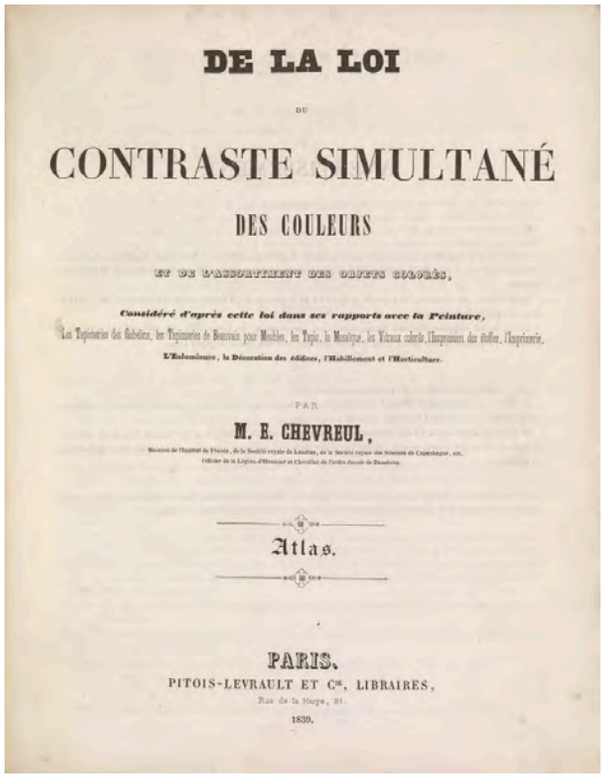


Johann Wolfgang von Goethe, Goethe's symmetric colour wheel with associated symbolic qualities, 1809. Pen and black ink, watercolour, on yellowish paper, mounted on cardboard. Freies Deutsches Hochstift / Frankfurter Goethe-Museum, Frankfurt am Main. View Source

Goethe, often considered Helmholtz's predecessor, was less scientific. His theories about colour and its relational aspects emphasized passionate feeling, and his treatise acknowledged the significance of colour as an essential part of human experience. He explored the psychological impact of different colours on mood and emotion—the sensory dimension of colour and its effect on the perceptual process. He asserted that the sensations of colour were determined by our perception, the mechanics of human vision, and how brains process information. Ultimately, what we see of an object depends upon the thing, the lighting, and our perception.

Much has been written about the possible influence of Goethe on Monet. In « La non-réception française de la *Théorie des couleurs* » de Goethe, *Revue germanique internationale* 13 (2000) : 169-186) Jacques Le Rider writes that there is little evidence of Goethe's influence of light and colour on French painting. Rather it was Goethe's concept of Romantic feeling which merged into the French tenets of Romanticism.

[NEXT TWO IMAGES ARE PAIRED SIDE BY SIDE]


DE LA LOI

DU

CONTRASTE SIMULTANÉ

DES COULEURS

ET DE L'ASSORTIMENT DES OBJETS COLORÉS,

Considéré d'après cette loi dans ses rapports avec la Peinture,

Les Tapisseries des Gobelins, les Tapisseries de Beauvais pour Meubles, les Tapis, la Mosaïque, les Vitraux coloriés, l'Impression des étoffes, l'Imprimerie,

L'Enluminure, la Décoration des édifices, l'Habillement et l'Horticulture.

PAR

M. E. CHEVREUL,

Atlas.

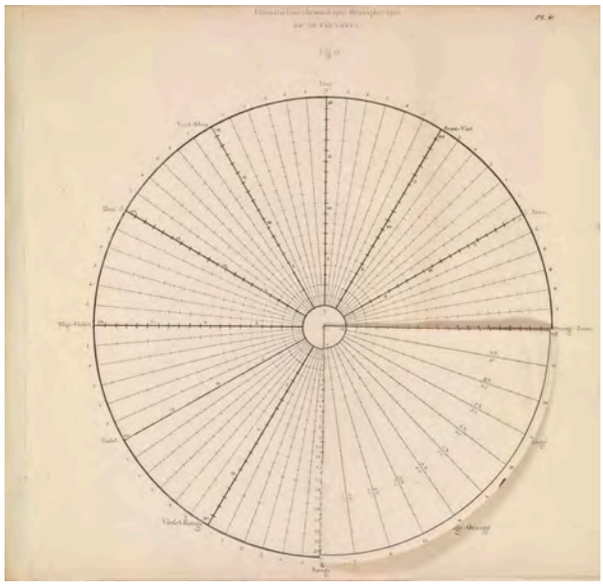
PARIS.

PITOIS-LEVRAULT ET Cie, LIBRAIRES,

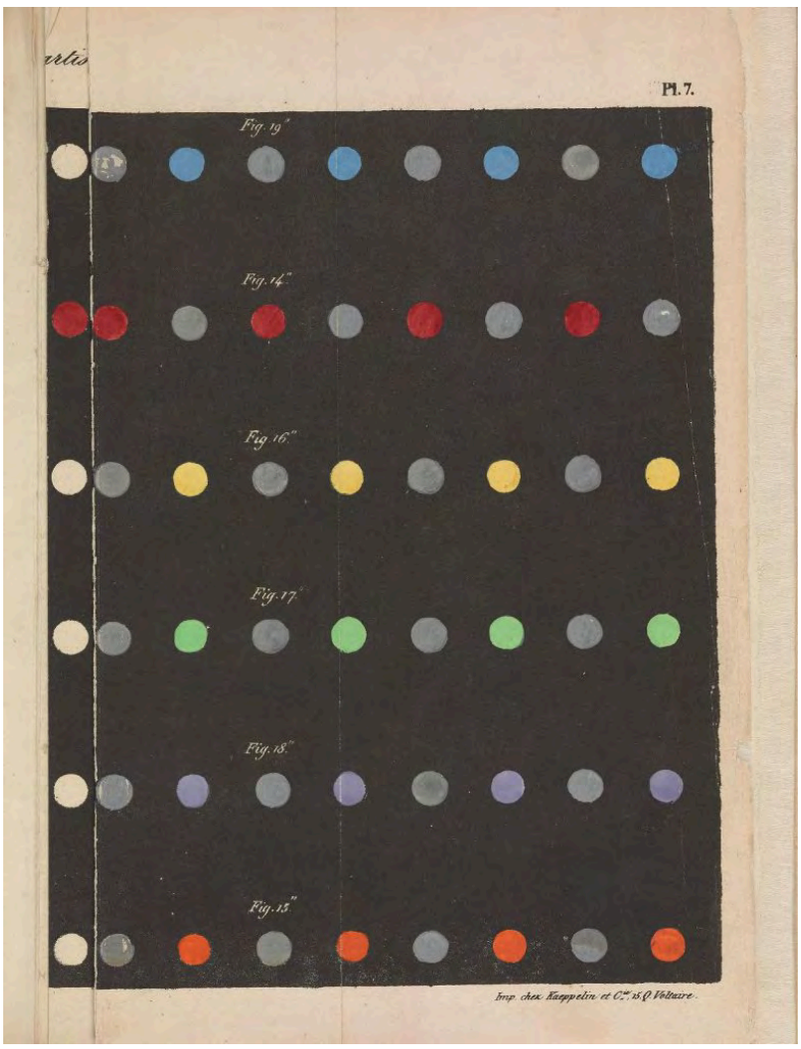
Rue de la Harpe, 81.

1839.

Michel-Eugène Chevreul, *De la loi du contraste simultané des couleurs et de l'assortiment des objets colorés (...)* (Paris: Pitois-Levrault et cie, libraires, 1839). View Source



Michel-Eugène Chevreul, “Construction chromatique hemisphérique de Mr Chevreuil, Fig. 15,” in *De la loi du contraste simultané des couleurs* (Paris: Pitois-Levrault et cie, libraires, 1839), pl. 4. View Source



Michel-Eugène Chevreul, “Assortiments des couleurs simples et binaires des artistes avec le blanc, le noir et le gris,” in *De la loi du contraste simultané des couleurs* (Paris: Pitois-Levrault et cie, libraires, 1839), pl. 7. View Source

The 1839 publication of French chemist Michel-Eugène Chevreul's *De la loi du contraste simultané des couleurs et de l'assortiment des objets colorés* (...) (*The Laws of Contrast of Colors*) was essential to the Impressionistic movement. Chevreul advanced that when two neighbouring colours are seen simultaneously, they appear different because one will cast a complementary hue on the other adjacent to it. As such, adjacent, non-complementary colours appear impure, while complementary colours appear bright, vibrant and intense.

Georges Roque writes in "Chevreul and Impressionism: A Reappraisal" (*Art Bulletin*, 78 no. 1 (March 1996): 26-39):

> In the first section of his chapter devoted to the "utility of the law of simultaneous contrast of color in the science of coloring," Chevreul explained that: "The painter must know, and especially see, the modifications of white light, shade and colors which the model presents to him in the circumstances under which he would reproduce In other words, the painter must know how to see, know before seeing, know how to see better. And one cannot make this knowledge visible without exaggerating the effect."
>
> ...
>
> The Impressionists were certainly attentive to the special way of seeing recommended by Chevreul. But while the chemist thought it necessary to be aware of these modifications in order more effectively to eliminate them (as Schapiro noted), the Impressionists were interested in the modifications for their own sake: they thought to represent them, insofar as they considered the "optical sensations" given by the perception of an object more important than the "faithful" representation of its conventional appearance.
>
> In an oft-quoted remark, characteristic of his position toward the visible, Monet said: "When you go out to paint, try to forget what objects you have before you, a tree, a house, a field or whatever. Merely think here is a little square of blue, here an oblong of pink, here a streak of yellow, and paint it just as it looks to you, the exact color and shape, until it gives your own naive impression of the scene before you." According to this statement, Monet was looking at the organization of color spots per se, rather than at the objects. This presents an opportunity to address the myth that the Impressionist painters did not need any "theory," since they trusted their eyes exclusively. Whether the phenomenologists agree or not, there is no such thing as a "wild eye." And the Impressionists no more and no less than any others could simply copy what their eyes "saw." The cognitive sciences have proved that there is no purely visual perception, for perception is already a cognitive phenomenon. At a more general level, there is no perception without implicit or explicit knowledge about what there is to see, knowledge that is dependent on cultural background; and that background, scientific as well as artistic, gave more importance in the 1860s to the "accidents" of light than to color constancy. It is therefore vain to wonder whether the Impressionists did or did not formulate explicit "theories": it is enough to say that the scientific knowledge that was part of the artists' background-since the time of the Barbizon School-gave form to their perception, and thus to their way of painting. It is hardly necessary to dwell upon the importance of cultural factors on color perception, since many studies have been devoted to this topic.



Claude Monet, *The Artist's Garden at Vétheuil,* 1881. Oil on canvas. 177.8 x 147.3 cm. National Gallery of Art, Washington.
View Source

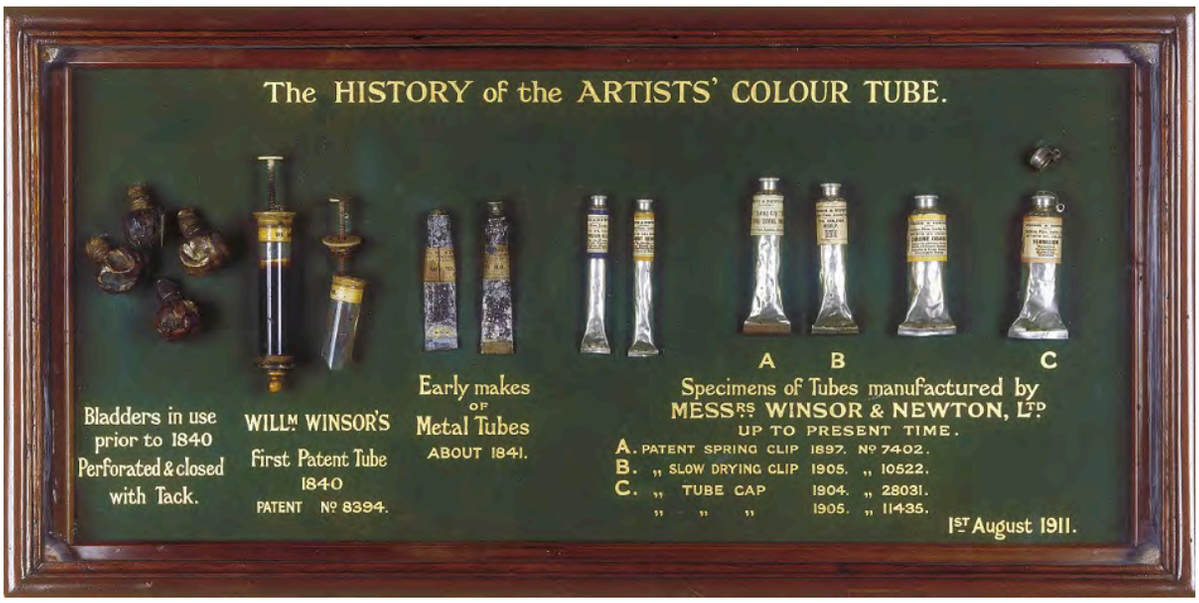
In Monet's *Artist's Garden at Vétheuil,* objects and forms appear to dissolve beneath the sun overhead. Here, the house is painted with light falling directly onto the left side of its roof, rendering it almost indistinguishable in value from the sky above, the intensity of light replacing what would be the familiar isolating aspects of colour and its mutations. This is particularly noticeable compared to the right side of the roof, which is not sunlit and abuts the sky as a grey horizontal rectangle beside another that is bright blue.

Monet often illuminated his forms from behind to be perceived as flat silhouetted surfaces. Objects appear to merge, light and colour fusing the individual elements. Through such strategies, Monet convincingly conveyed the qualities he sought for each image.



Grumbacher (Manufacturer), Vintage French Metamorphic Traveling Painters Box Easel, ca. 1930-40. Brass, tin, and wood. 16.5 x 55.9 x 38.1 cm. View Source

Monet's general practice demonstrates how, beyond aesthetic advances, scientific inventions contributed to new techniques that facilitated Impressionism's interest in exploring the immediacy of light effects. One significant innovation in art supplies was the so-called French easel, a handy box that unfolded into a stand and included a palette and holder. Portable and efficient, the easel facilitated the transportation of artists' materials.



The Windsor & Newton paint tube, ca. 1840-1911. View Source

In 1841, the American artist John Rend invented the tin tube to store paint pigment. The tube could be compressed to dispense the necessary amount of colour onto a palette, and a lid ensured that the remaining paint would not dry out. Such mundane improvements, the painter's box easel and the paint tubes, allowed artists to venture outside their studios and into the open air to paint. Furthermore, new, blunt-edged brushes altered application techniques, allowing for looser brushwork and the easy use of heavy impasto.



Claude Monet, *Poppy Field in a Hollow near Giverny,* 1885. Oil on canvas. 65,1 x 81,3 cm. Museum of Fine Arts, Boston. View Source

Improved knowledge of inorganic chemistry (metals and their compounds) led to the creation of materials that permitted artists to experiment with a broader range of intense and stable colours, using chromium, cadmium, cobalt, zinc, copper, and arsenic. Monet's typical palette, for instance, comprised lead white, cobalt blue, Prussian blue, French ultramarine, cerulean blue, emerald green, viridian, chrome green (a combination of chrome yellow and Prussian blue sold premixed), cadmium yellow, chrome yellow, lemon yellow, yellow ochre, vermilion, red ochre, red lake, cobalt violet and ivory black.

Monet exploited colours fully while employing a limited palette. Close-up, one discerns that his colours were often used straight from the tube or mixed on the canvas to enable the creation of myriad subtle and unique tones. Earth pigments, browns and blacks, were banished from his palette. When asked in 1905 what colours he used, Monet replied: "The point is to know how to use the colors, the choice of which is, when all's said and done, a matter of habit. Anyway, I use flake white, cadmium yellow, vermilion, deep madder, cobalt blue, emerald green, and that's all."

This limited palette was employed by many painters, providing warm and cool tones of each primary colour, along with white. Some painters, like Monet, often added green to facilitate mixing chroma for landscape painting and to combine with alizarin crimson to produce a chromatic black.

Monet's raw canvases were light in colour, often white, pale gray, or very light yellow, and his pigments were opaque. He also employed the scumbling technique, using thin, broken layers of paint, which allow lower layers of colour to break through. His textures were built up in rapid brushstrokes, varying from thick to thin, with tiny dabs of light, adding contours for definition and colour harmonies, working from dark to light.



Claude Monet, *Camille Monet on Her Deathbed,* 1879. Oil on canvas. 90 x 68 cm. Musée d'Orsay, Paris. View Source

It is important to note that Monet's were not merely experiments in colour and light. His paintings were observations of transient life events and expressions of felt experience.

There is perhaps no better example of how light and colour act as carriers of intense, subjective feeling than in Monet's portrait of his dead wife Camille, painted as the first rays of daylight floated into the room.

Camille Doncieux died of pelvic cancer on September 5, 1879 (although some sources mention tuberculosis or a botched abortion may have been the cause of her death).

Monet confided to Clemenceau:

> I found myself at daybreak at the bedside of a dead woman who had been and always will be dear to me. My gaze was fixed on her tragic temples, and I caught myself observing the shades and nuances of colour Death brought to her countenance. Blues, yellows, grey I don't know what. That is the state I was in. The wish came upon me, quite naturally to record the image of her departing from us forever. But before it occurred to me to draw those features I knew and loved so well, I was first and foremost devastated, organically, automatically, by the colours.

In this intensely personal painting of profound loss, the still chill of death is contrasted by the dawning sunlight that has entered the space, creating a clash that renders the image more poignant. The only interior glow emits from a handful of blossoms at Camille's breast. The immediacy of Monet's brushwork is agitated, unrestrained, and at times applied with a movingly tender delicacy. The dead woman's face is abstracted, unfinished, seeming to sink into the depths of the canvas.

In "Camille Monet on Her Deathbed (1879): A Radical *Veillée Mortuaire,*" Adrian Lewis connects the painting to Monet's dismissal of Catholic beliefs.

(https://www.academia.edu/10929904/
Camille_Monet_on_Her_Deathbed_1879_A_Radical_Veill%C3%A9e_Mortuaire_Adrian_Lewis)

> The painting is not a contemplative image of a woman in eternal repose, beautiful in death. Camille's dying involved agonising pain, and Monet's painting shows it. The dead face is thin and wasted, the jaw strapped in place but the lips parted, making the contrast between the tight shut eyes and frozen but open mouth all the more tragic. Light strokes cross the face, veiling her left eyelid and defining her nose simply with a patch of lower shadow, so that all the emphasis of the face falls on that mouth which will never speak again to the artist but which he almost wills to speak, given the unusually parted lips. The swift instantaneity of perception and execution militates against the function of portraiture as commemoration.



Henri Regnault, *Portrait of Madame Mazois on Her Deathbed,* 1866. Oil on canvas. 65.7 x 63 cm. Musée d'Orsay, Paris. View Source

Mid-nineteenth century representations of deathbed scenes sought to present death as serene and beautiful, the good death of a Christian with nothing to fear and everything to hope for in the afterlife. In the words of Chateaubriand, such images invite us to "come and see the most beautiful spectacle that the earth can present: come and see the death of the believer" (Emmanuelle Heŕan, *Le dernier portrait* (Paris: Museé d' Orsay 2002, 47). A good death involved knowledge that death is coming and spiritual preparation for it, unlike the assumption for many within our present-day culture that a swift and unexpected death is best.



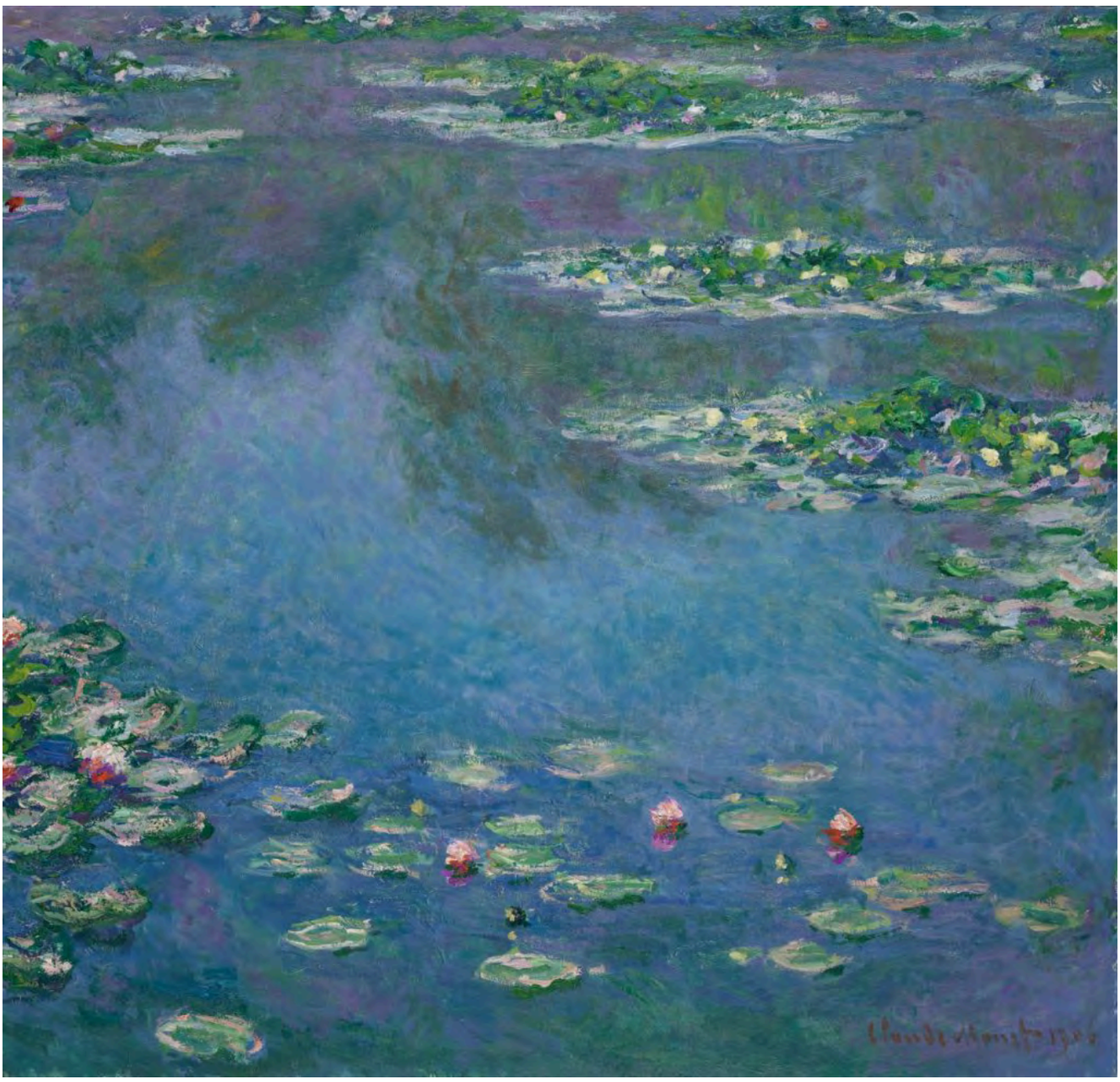
Claude Monet, *Camille Monet on Her Deathbed,* 1879. Oil on canvas. 90 x 68 cm. Musée d'Orsay, Paris. View Source

Monet did not make an open declaration of his Radical atheism in any will, though he does seem to have left instructions that even flowers from his garden should not be wasted on his funeral. However, his painterly dissection of the look of his dead wife is driven by a similar outlook. To present a real corpse with whom one feels less of a connection than with the person when alive is to resist the power of religion to invest meaning in such a death. The more deflationary the artist's gaze, suggesting that the body had lost the ability to feel and to think, and that the human spirit had simply gone, the more radically resistant Monet would be to the context in which he found himself, where his closest friends were investing her death with spiritual meaning. Monet might

even have felt that he had gone far enough in accommodating his wife and friend Alice's desire for a Catholic departure. Time now to pin his colours to the mast, as it were, to leave his own testament about the nature of her dying, to make his contribution to the cause of truthfulness. Monet would have his own secularized and radical version of the *veillée mortuaire*, in which he would work through his own grieving process while at the same time registering exactly what this death of his beloved was really like.

6.9
| Impressionism and Music

During the early 19th century, Romantic aesthetic theory favoured a musical rather than a literal paradigm for painting. Music, the German Romantic philosopher Schopenhauer said, had a vested power to make "every picture, indeed every scene from real life and the world, appear enhanced in significance." Music's ability to evoke emotions at a complete remove from reality with "inexpressible depth" could make visible that which lay beyond regular sight.



Claude Monet, *Water Lilies,* 1906. Oil on canvas. 89.9 x 94.1 cm. Art Institute of Chicago. View Source

The concept of creating sensory effects in landscapes had been encouraged by Corot and was related to his practice and pleasure of listening to music. As such, it attached to notions of symbiosis between pictorial art and music as theorized by Romanticists.



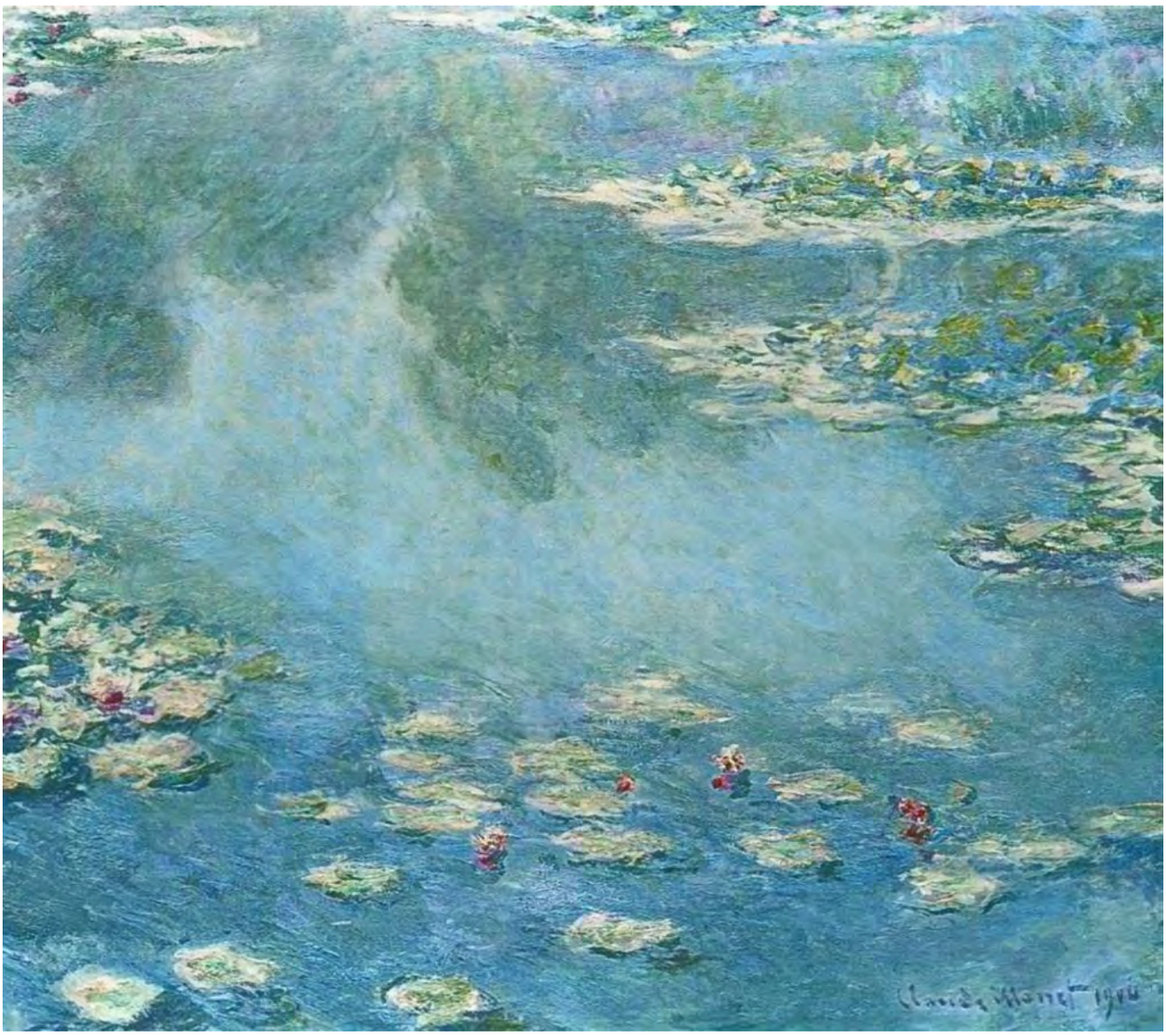
Claude Monet, *The Path Through the Irises,* ca. 1914-17. Oil on canvas. 200.3 x 180 cm. Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York. View Source

By the mid-nineteenth century in France, as in Germany, affiliations between music and landscape painting were recognized by Romantic composers from Beethoven and Wagner to Chopin, Schubert, and Debussy. The resonance of sound and harmony in piano was understood as analogous to the evocative effects of colour and light; music and art thus accorded the intent of conveying feelings.

Similarly, colour for Monet was more complex than selecting and applying appropriate hues to an isolated element in an image. Instead, it was a complex harmonization of tones and textures intended to reverberate

throughout the work. With the full development of symphonic orchestration, musical terms such as lyrical and sonorous began to be applied to landscape imagery as a reference to its rhythms and painterly tempo.

Roger Marx grasped echoes of the French Romantic composer Debussy in Monet's later works, remarking that Monet's landscape "succeeds in touching us, as a musical phrase or chord touches us, in the depths of our being, without the aid of a more precise or clearly enunciated idea."



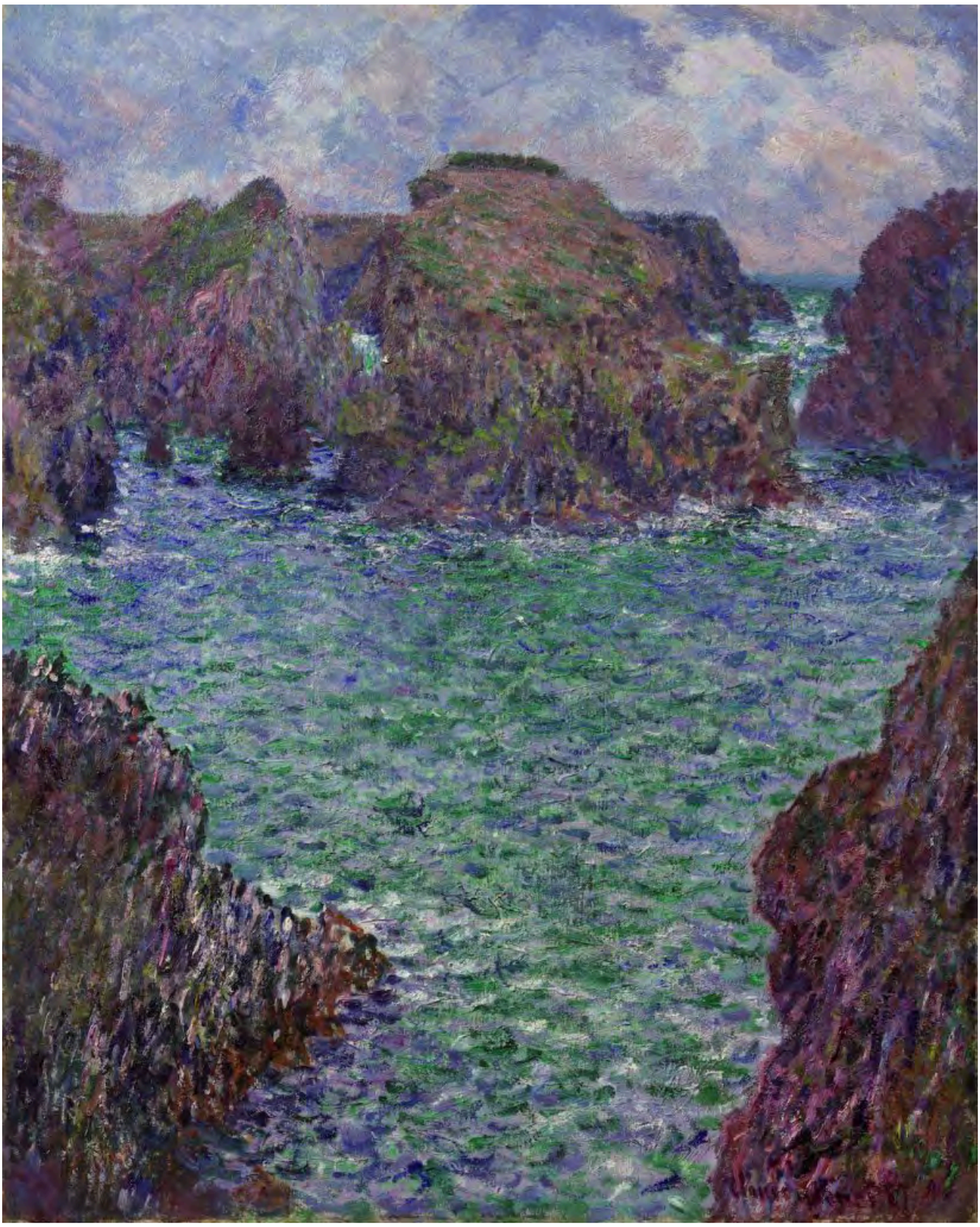
Claude Monet, *Water Lilies,* 1906. Oil on canvas. 81 x 92 cm. View Source

That which was incomplete in a landscape, or visible only at the peripheries of an image, or a pause in a melody, came to encapsulate the enigmatic, the unknown.

The French composer Berlioz created analogies between landscape elements and musical intonation, and Beethoven's *Symphony Number 6* (*The Pastoral*) increasingly served as the prime example of this meta world, an alternative nature, capable of communicating where sense-translating words failed, to unveil "infinity" and the "cosmos."

Berlioz described *The Pastoral* as both a poem and a visual landscape (ca. 1830) "...this poem of Beethoven, these long phrases so richly coloured, these living pictures, these perfumes, that light, that eloquent silence, those vast horizons, these enchanted nooks secreted in the woods, those golden harvests, those rose-coloured clouds like wandering flocks on the surface of the sky, that immense plain seeming to slumber under the rays of the midday sun."

Berlioz spoke of its effect as an evocation of the sensation of landscape in the listener, an affirmation of musical speech exposing heretofore as an indescribable and even unimaginable world.



Claude Monet, *Port-Goulphar, Belle-Île,* 1887. Oil on canvas. 107 x 91,6 cm. Art Gallery of New South Wales, Sydney. View Source

The Romantic concepts of masculine and feminine in music were equally applied to the characterization of elements of Romantic art. The so-called masculine music (of Wagner, for example) was characterized by a

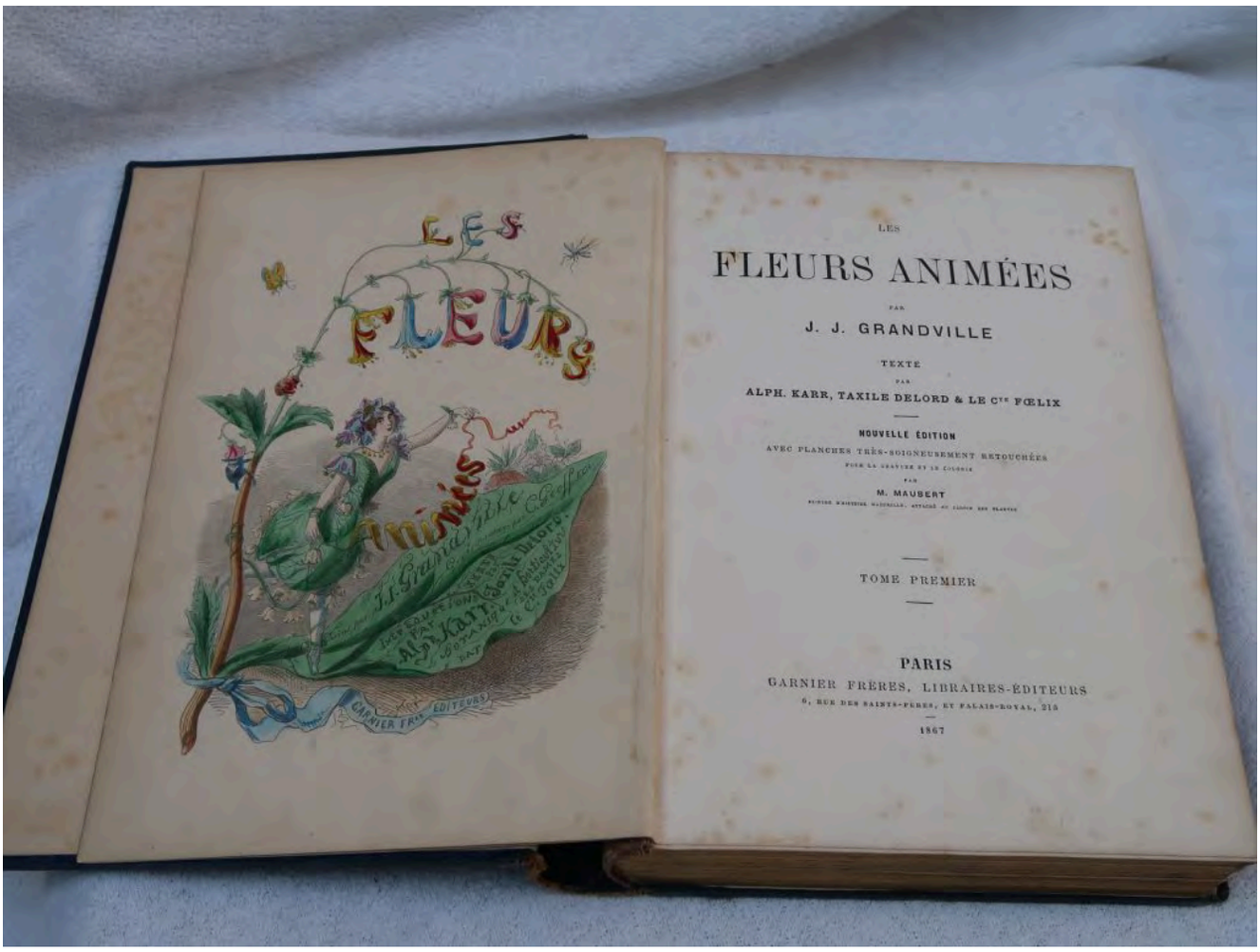
dramatic quality which included major intervals, robust sound, loud volume, full orchestral scorings and a predominance of wind and brass instruments.

These elements can be similarly applied to some of Monet's works, incarnating in vigorous brushstrokes that create robust formal arrangements to portray jagged rocks, for example, or daring juxtapositions of elemental forms as forces of energy.



Claude Monet, *Weeping Willow,* ca. 1918. Oil on canvas. Private collection. View Source

In his weeping willow paintings, Monet employs a dynamic stylistic technique and vibrant colours that divert from the lyricism of much of his work. The artist's pictorial language had radically altered at the beginning of the 20th century, with harmonious colour schemes and compositions making way for loud, bold effects and fragmented compositions creating undefined, abstracted images. The anthropomorphized willow presents as frenetic energy; it is a deconstructed image, a metaphor perhaps for the destruction brought about by the First World War or the sorrowful apprehension of waning strength in old age.



Jean-Jacques Grandville et al., *Les fleurs animées* (Paris: Garnier Frères, Libraires-Éditeurs, 1867). View Source

Did Monet paint this series of *Weeping Willows* to express the grief of France for her lost sons? Weeping willows, a symbol of mourning, are often found in French cemeteries. In J.J. Grandville's poem *Les fleurs animées*, grief is symbolized by the weeping willow:

> *Les fleurs animées* (*Flowers Personified*):
>
> Come into my shade all you who suffer, for I am the Weeping Willow.
> I conceal in my foliage a woman with a gentle face.
> Her blonde hair hangs over her brow and veils her tearful eye.
> She is the muse of all those who have loved...
> She comforts those touched by death.

6.10
| Landscape and the Female Form

It is the feminine principle, however, that is often the wellspring of Monet's poetic expression, a visual analogue to the harmonic subtleties of Debussy's revolutionary music, aspects of which are present, for instance, in Monet's *Poppy Field in Argenteuil*, a legato with delicate instrumentation, small intervals and regular rhythms.



Claude Monet, *Poppy Field in* 1873. Oil on canvas. 50 x 65 cm. Musée d'Orsay, Paris. View Source



Claude Monet, *Camille Monet in the Garden at Argenteuil,* 1876. Oil on canvas. 81.6 x 60 cm. Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York. View Source



Claude Monet, *Woman with a Parasol – Madame Monet and Her Son*, 1875. Oil on canvas. 100 x 81 cm. National Gallery of Art, Washington. View Source

Monet's female figures are often painted in harmonious accord with nature, their silhouettes integrated into the pictorial composition as aspects of a fertile world, immersed into the verdant fields and light of the sky or depicted as at one with nature through a fluent merging of colour, light, and form.



Claude Monet, *Woman with a Parasol,* 1886. Oil on canvas. 131 x 88.7 cm. Musée d'Orsay, Paris. View Source



Claude Monet, *Study of a Figure Outdoors*, 1886. Oil on canvas. 130.5 x 89.3 cm. Musée d'Orsay, Paris. View Source

In Monet's two open-air studies, Suzanne, the daughter of Alice Hoschedé, Monet's second wife, is differentiated mainly by a flipped pose; in one she faces left, and in the other, she looks to the right. Her face is abstracted as she stands holding a parasol in the middle of a blazing field. The works represent Monet's attempts at reconciling his interest in figuration with his love of landscape painting. In a letter to Théodore Duret, Monet explained his challenge: "I am entangled in some large canvases that I have been working on for months and from which I cannot extricate myself...I am at work as ever on new initiatives, open-air figures as I understand them, done like landscapes. It is an old dream that still plagues me and that I would one day wish to achieve; but it is so difficult." (August 13, 1887)



Claude Monet, *Boating on the River Epte,* 1890. Oil on canvas. 133 x 145 cm. São Paulo Museum of Art, São Paulo. View Source

The relationship between the female figure and the natural world can be further seen in works such as *Boating on the River Epte*, where the women are depicted floating in a canoe on the water,



Claude Monet, *The Bark at Giverny, ca.* 1887. Oil on canvas. 69 x 80 cm. Musée d'Orsay, Paris. View Source

or gazing into its dark depths, suggesting an elemental synergy between the feminine and water.

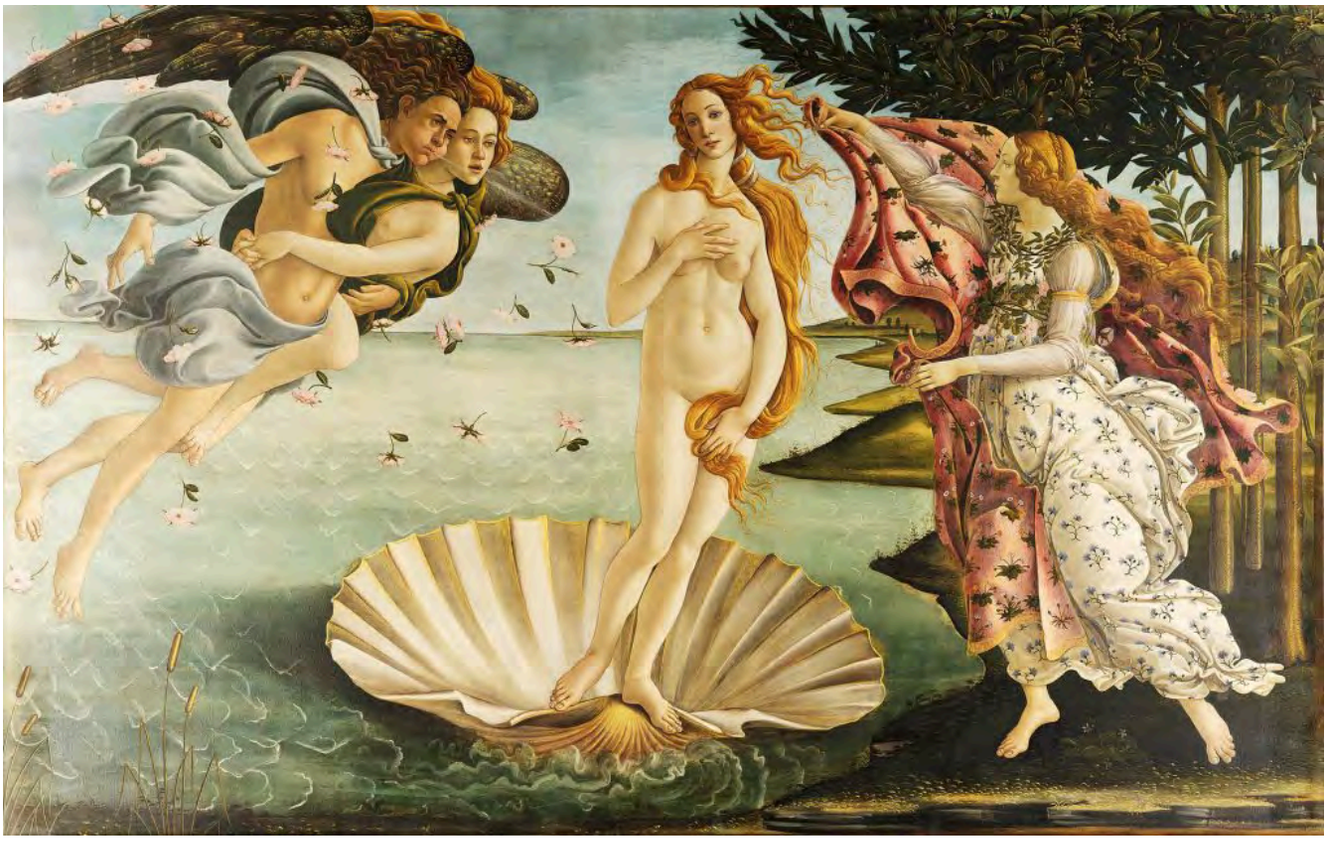


Claude Monet, *Water Lilies,* ca. 1915. Oil on canvas. 151.4 x 201 cm. Neue Pinakothek, Munich. View Source



Jean-Baptiste-Camille Corot, *A Morning. The Dance of the Nymphs,* ca. 1850. Oil on canvas. 98 x 131 cm. Musée d'Orsay, Paris. View Source

In the mid-nineteenth century, Corot had created idyllic scenes that incorporated female figures by streams and ponds, echoing the ancient belief that water was a transitional element, female in nature, linking earth and the immaterial, and a symbol of birth and fertility.



Sandro Botticelli, *The Birth of Venus,* ca. 1484-86. Tempera on canvas. 172.5 x 278.9 cm. Galleria degli Uffizi, Florence. View Source

Preceding generations of artists had explored this principle. During the early Renaissance, Sandra Botticelli's *Birth of Venus* represented the goddess Venus emerging from the sea as a fully-grown young woman.

The concept of nature as a body, specifically nature as a gendered body, was a strand of pre-modern conceptions of nature in the West; nature as a kind of living womb, a female body, a powerful procreative and regenerative form, and a dynamic embodiment of cosmic creation.



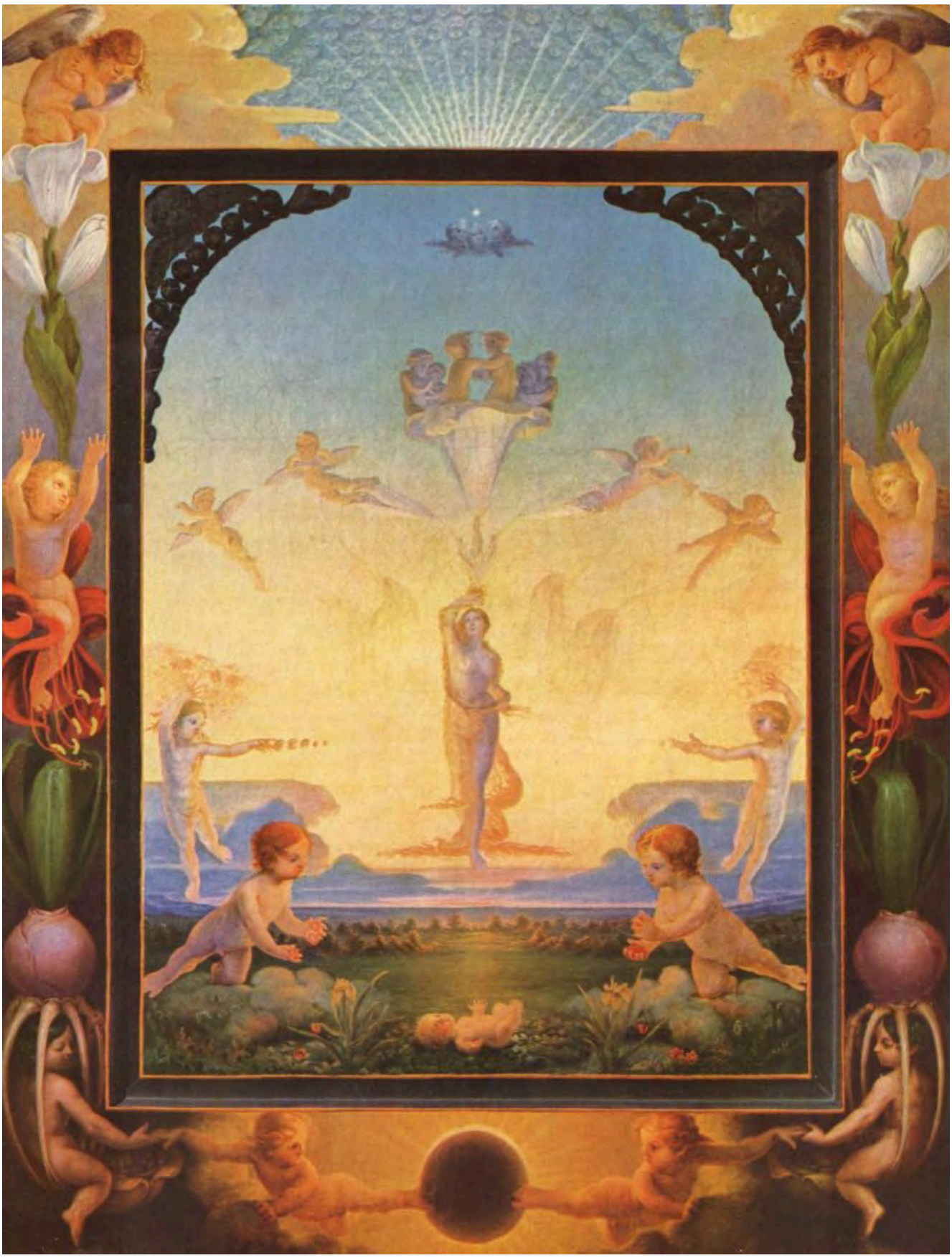
Alexandre Cabanel, *The Birth of Venus,* 1875. Oil on canvas. 130 x 225 cm. Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York. View Source

The Renaissance introduced images of nature that influenced later artists considerably.



Sandro Botticelli, *Spring,* ca. 1480. Tempera grassa on wood. 207 x 319 cm. Galleria degli Uffizi, Florence. View Source

In the paintings of Botticelli and others, nature is often tame, a peaceful garden. Such pastoral imagery equates nature and the female with passivity and without passion.



Phillipp Otto Runge, *The Morning,* 1808. Oil on canvas. 106 x 81 cm. Hamburger Kuntshalle, Hamburg. View Source

In 1802 the German Romantic artist Phillipp Otto Runge proclaimed landscape to be the art of the future, an embodiment of divine mysteries that could enrapture and transport the viewer to a higher spiritual awareness.

He believed religious art would take on new forms as spiritualized landscapes that transcended descriptions of the natural world to express occult forces.



Phillipp Otto Runge, *Red Currant,*ca. late 18th, early 19th century. Silhouette. 34.5 x 29.5 cm. Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York. View Source



Phillipp Otto Runge, *A Stalk of Lilies with Six Blooms,* 1808. Pen and black ink over graphite on very light green laid paper. 29.5 x 23.8 cm. National Gallery of Art, Washington. View Source

Runge believed that every flower and tree contained human spirit or sensibility, and as such that nature was reminiscent of Paradise, reflecting the German philosopher Schelling's claim that "the living spirit in every flower is put there by man; it is from this that the landscape arises; all the animals and flowers only half exist when mankind does not do his best."



Phillipp Otto Runge, *The Morning,* 1808. Oil on canvas. 106 x 81 cm. Hamburger Kuntshalle, Hamburg. View Source

In Runge's allegorical *Morning*, the cosmic nature of the event is expressed in an ethereal spatial arrangement. The central female that Runge refers to as Aurora and Venus is depicted as bringing forth a new day and era of love. She may also be interpreted as a spirit manifestation or motherhood itself. The work is perfectly symmetrical; the earth is a horizontal, harmonious landscape above which genii float gently. Brilliant colour animates the scene, further expressing the Divine in nature.



Claude Monet, *Nympheas,* 1907. Oil on canvas. 93.8 x 89.3 cm. Private collection. View Source

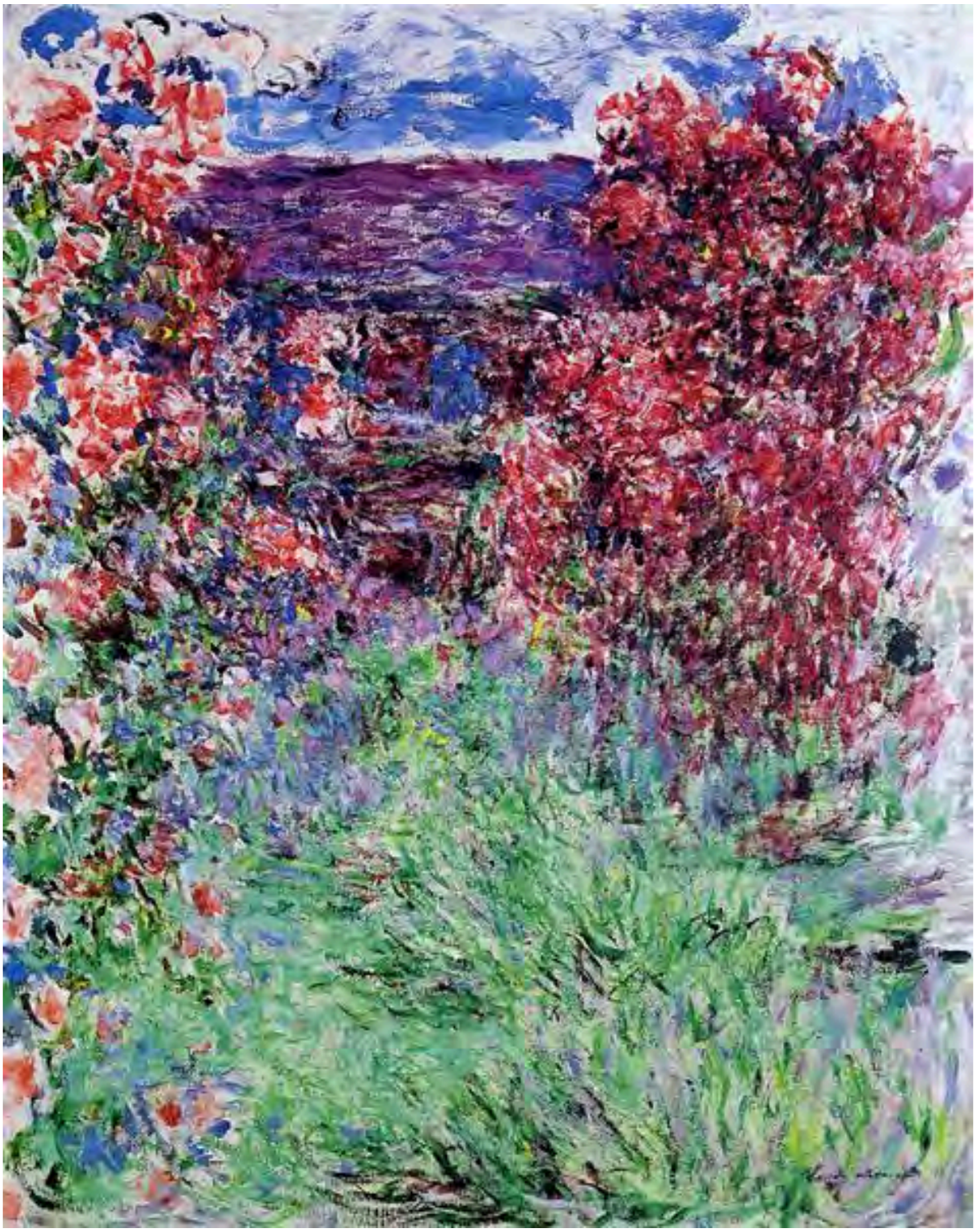
Monet's *Water Lilies* are similarly evocative of a feminine oneness with nature. This idea has retained relevance and resonates in contemporary green politics and cultural theory. The so-called "Gaia hypothesis" (named after the Greek goddess of the earth) proposes that the earth can be regarded as an organism involving a network of interdependent life processes, whereby different species and cycles of the natural world interact to maintain the balance of the whole.

6.11
| Giverny and the Influence of the Orient

Monet moved to Giverny some years after the death of Camille in 1879. He was accompanied by Alice Hoschedé, his companion, and their eight children. Monet and Hoschedé married in 1892.



Janine Marsh, Monet's House at Giverny Normandy, *The Good Life France*.View Source



Claude Monet, *The House Among the Roses,* 1925. Oil on canvas. 92.3 x 73.3 cm. Museo Nacional Thyssen-Bornemisza, Madrid. View Source

As he had at Argenteuil, Monet, a passionate horticulturalist, began working on his garden, applying the same principles he did to painting. He started with a flower garden and in 1893, after obtaining permits to divert water sources, he started his iconic water lily pond. Monet intended to create a garden for the pleasures of viewing and as a wellspring of painting motifs.



"Claude Monet's Garden, Our Tour of Giverny and his Water Pond," *Frame to frame – Bob and Jean: Discovering the World Through our Lens,* August 31, 2022. View Source

He started with a flower garden and in 1893, after obtaining permits to divert water sources, he started his iconic water lily pond. Monet intended to create a garden for the pleasures of viewing and as a wellspring of painting motifs.

The oriental garden exerted an influence on European culture in the 19th century. The extravagant large-scale gardens of Chinese and Japanese emperors and more minor, intimate landscapes were designed to be harmonious expressions of the bonds between nature and humanity.



Ritsurin Koen, Takamatsu, Japan. View Source



Ritsurin Garden, Takamatsu, Japan. View Source

Typically, the enclosed garden featured ponds, trees, flowers, rocks, bridges and small pavilions. The winding paths carry strollers through the garden to scenes meant to awe and inspire.

Varying viewpoints of the garden are afforded by bridges made of stone slabs or timber, and sometimes painted brightly, which overlook ponds usually filled with lotus flowers.



Stone bridge, Rikugien. View Source

The ponds are often the central feature of the garden, designed to convey a sense of ever-changing nature, where the reflections of the sky, flowers and trees, winds, clouds, sunlight, times of day and seasons constantly transform water.



Yuan Jiang, *The Palace of Nine Perfections,* 1691. Set of twelve hanging scrolls; ink and color on silk. 207 cm x 563.2 cm. Metropolitan Museum of Art. View Source

Walking and pausing through these gardens may be equated with the scroll of an Oriental landscape painting.

[NEXT TWO IMAGES ARE PAIRED SIDE BY SIDE]



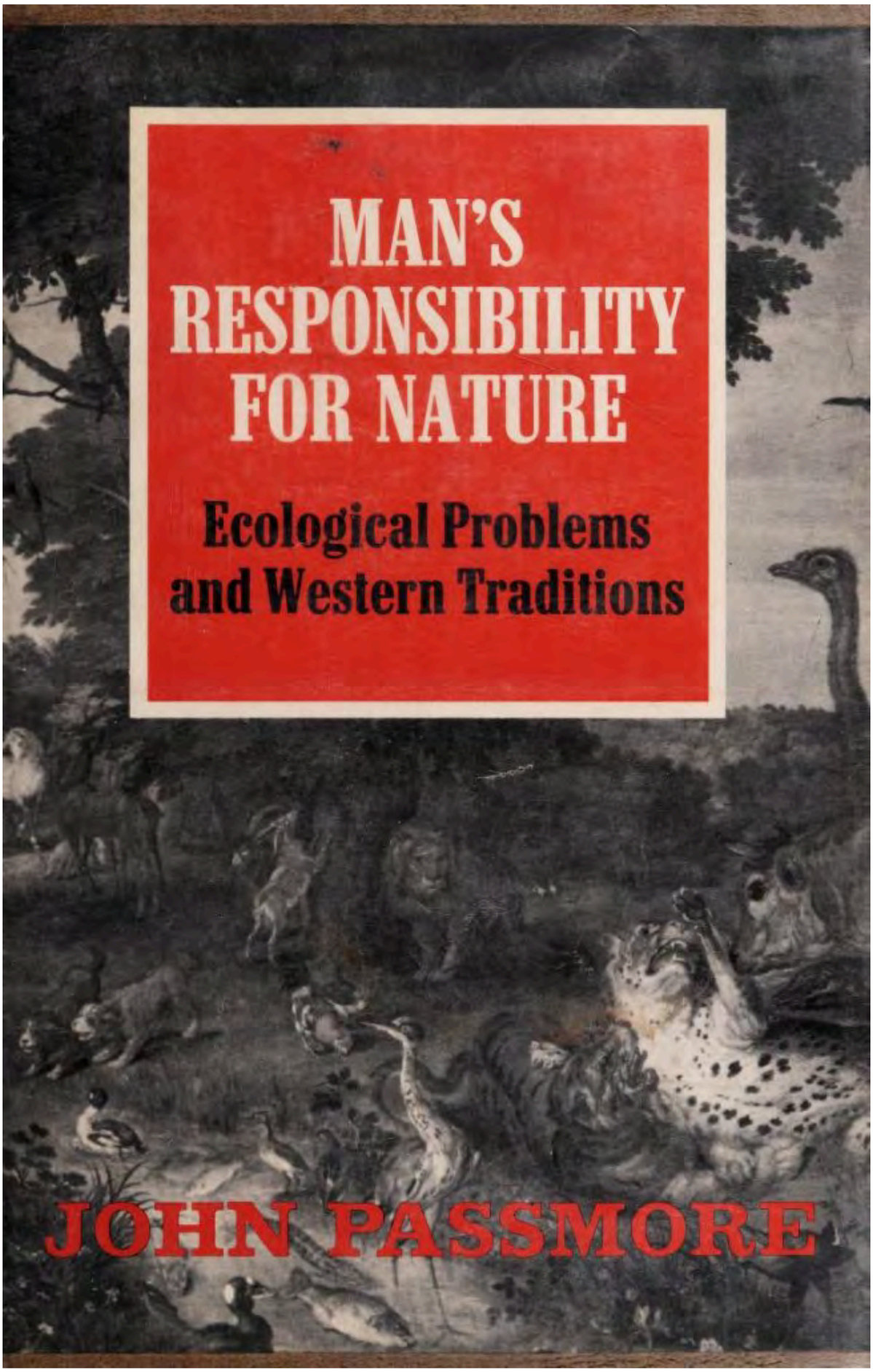
Garden, *Château de Vaux-le Vicomte,* Maincy. View Source



Louis le Vau, André le Nôtre, and Charles le Brun, Palace of Versailles, 1664-1710. Aerial view of the Petit Trianon. View Source

The oriental garden opposed Neoclassical ideals and tastes which sought out symmetry above all, the epitome of which was attained in the gardens at Versailles, for example. Such formal gardens boasted straight lines and symmetrical vistas, a layout of geometrically aligned paths and beds whose plant life was trimmed and manicured to precision.

Against such a backdrop, the lyricism of the oriental garden appealed to Romanticists and Impressionists alike, not least for its sensory dimension and changeability.



John Passmore, *Man's Responsibility for Nature* (New York: Scribner, 1974). View Source

In *Man's Responsibility for Nature* (New York: Scribner, 1974), philosopher John Passmore proposed two leading traditions in modern Western thought. The first is that matter is inert and passive requiring reshaping and control, as seen at the pre-Romantic Versailles. The second (Hegelian) view proposes nature as codependent, actualized through art, science, philosophy, and technology, to become a place that accommodates humanity. In the latter, humanity completes nature, not just by living in it but by contributing to its creation, vitality, form and colour.



"Types nationaux à l'Exposition universelle. – Japon. – Intérieur de la maison du gouverneur de Satzouma. (D'après le dessin de M. Montani)," *Le Monde Illustré,* September 28, 1867. View Source

The entry into Europe of an influential Oriental aesthetic began soon after Japanese ports reopened to trade with the West in 1854. Oriental artifacts became widely available in France in venues such as a Far Eastern curio shop called Le Porte Chinoise, which Siegfried Bing opened near the Louvre Museum in 1862. It sold fans, kimonos, lacquered boxes, hanging scrolls, ceramics, bronze statuary, and other items, which found a ready audience in the artists who frequented the area.

In 1867, Japan held its first formal arts and crafts exhibition at the Paris *Exposition* Universelle, which furthered interest in Orientalist artifacts, and they rapidly became stylish.



Le Japon artistique, no. 3, July 1888. View Source

The art dealer Bing was one of Paris's first importers of Japanese decorative arts. He sold them in his shop and promoted them in his lavish magazine *Le Japon artistique*, published between 1888 to 1891.

Bing believed that nature was the Japanese artist's "constant guide . . . his sole, revered teacher whose precepts form the 'inexhaustible source of his inspiration' and to whom he 'surrenders himself with frank fervor."

By 1876 the term Japonisme was in common usage. It was coined by the French journalist and art critic Philippe Burty in an article published in 1876 to describe the strong interest in Japanese artworks and decorative items.

Elisa Evett in “The Late Nineteenth-century European Critical Response to Japanese Art: Primitivist Leanings” (*Art History* 6, no. 1 (March 1983): 82-106), chronicles the key French writings about the Japanese oriental garden.

These are some excerpts:

> Gustave Geffroy played on the ‘fin de siecle’ nostalgia for the Golden Age by emphasizing the changes the Western world had wrought upon its environment, eradicating all traces of a Garden of Eden. He contrasted the disagreeable environment of modern London with the idyllic, remote world of Hokusai’s Japan.... Geffroy juxtaposed the most dramatic effects and potent symbols of industrialized Europe — the hurried pace of life, the roar of the machine, and the pollution of the environment — with an image of an unspoiled Japan — a land of unadulterated natural beauty and innocent, youthfully spirited people. Although Geffroy exaggerated, he revealed one aspect of the European infatuation for Japanese art. He, like others, envisioned Japan as an Eastern Eden or Arcadia, an idyllic environment where man lived in harmony with tamed but unviolated nature; where a close communion with a beneficent universe preserved the original childlike innocence of its people.
>
> ...
>
> John LaFarge made explicit the direct relationship between the natural beauty of the Japanese landscape and the enduring, intimate, respectful appreciation of the Japanese for it when he wrote: “The lovely scenery reminds me continually of what has been associated with it; a civilization which has been born of it, has never separated from nature, has its religion, its art, and its historic associations entangled withal natural manifestations. The great Pan might still be living here, in a state of the world which has sanctified trees and groves, and associated the spirit-world with every form of the earthly dwelling-place.”
>
> ...
>
> Michel Revon’s description of the Japanese landscape also rings with Arcadian overtones. He attributed to it ‘un beauté tout hellenique’ and lauded the sweetness of nature’s effect on the people. As others did, he interpreted Shintoism as an expression of the seductive hold that the beauty of the natural surroundings had on the temperament of the people and on their system of explaining the world....Renan waxed poetic about the Japanese sympathetic identification with nature. He elevated the relationship to a semi-religious plane and called up a metaphor that has a metaphysical ring to it to characterize the way the Japanese resonate with nature.
>
> ...
>
> Théodore de Wyzewa was even more explicit in proclaiming that the Japanese, their childlike perceptions of the world, do not distinguish themselves from the world around them. They simply see the world as an extension of themselves; in a child’s narcissism, they love nature as a part of themselves....De Wyzewa’s final remark was a common observation about Hokusai’s animal and plant studies in the Manga and the tradition of bird and flower painting of which those studies were a part. This kind of isolation and scrutiny of individual creatures and living organisms indicated to many critics the evidence of a profound love of and identification with nature. De Wyzewa explained that the Japanese artist did not need to paint ‘after nature,’ since by virtue of his feeling for it, he was automatically imbued with an intuitive sense of form and color.

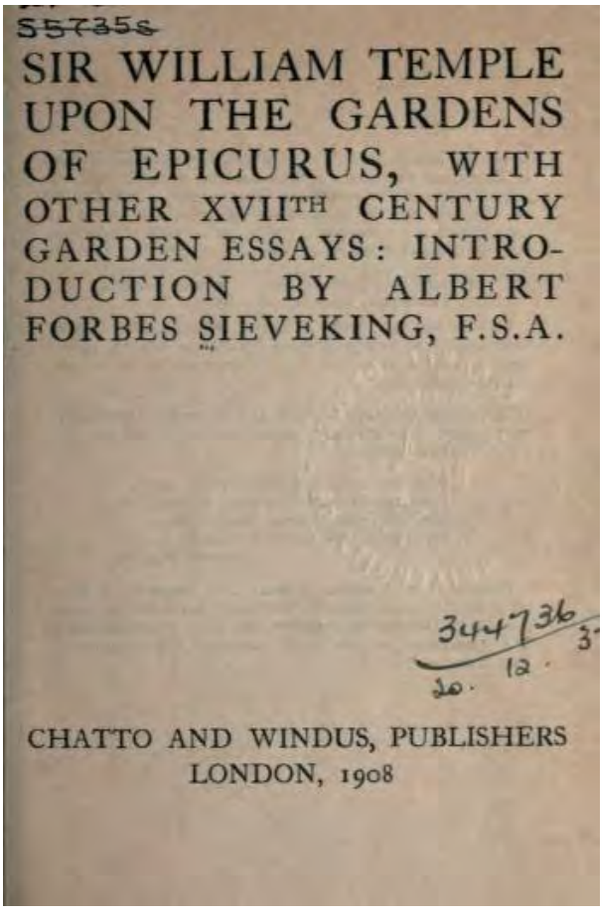


Claude Lorrain (Claude Gellée), *Pastoral Landscape: The Roman Campagna,* ca. 1639. Oil on canvas. 101.6 x 135.9 cm. Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York. View Source

The oriental garden inspired the Romantic sensibility of seventeenth century artists like Claude Lorrain.



Sir William Temple, *Upon the Gardens of Epicurus, with Other XVIIth Century Garden Essays* (London: Chatto and Windus, 1908). View Source



Several writers admired the gardens of the Far East, China and Japan, contributing to an aesthetic taste for the picturesque.

In 1685 Sir William Temple, an essayist and statesman compares Western and Eastern concepts of natural beauty in *Upon the Gardens of Epicurus*:

> Among us [Europeans], the beauty of building and planting is placed chiefly in some certain proportions, symmetries, or uniformities; our walks and our trees ranged so as to answer one another, and at exact distances. The Chineses scorn this way of planting … But their greatest reach of imagination is employed in contriving figures, where the beauty shall be great, and strike the eye, but without any order or disposition of parts that shall be commonly or easily observed: and, though we have hardly any notion of this sort of beauty, yet they have a particular word to express it, and, where they find it hit their eye at first sight, they say the *sharawadgi* is fine or is admirable, or any such expression of esteem. And whoever observes the work upon the best India gowns, or the painting upon their best screens or purcellans, will find their beauty is all of this kind (that is) without order.

Kubla Khan

BY SAMUEL TAYLOR COLERIDGE

Or, a vision in a dream. A Fragment.

In Xanadu did Kubla Khan
A stately pleasure-dome decree:
Where Alph, the sacred river, ran
Through caverns measureless to man
  Down to a sunless sea.
So twice five miles of fertile ground
With walls and towers were girdled round;
And there were gardens bright with sinuous rills,
Where blossomed many an incense-bearing tree;
And here were forests ancient as the hills,
Enfolding sunny spots of greenery.

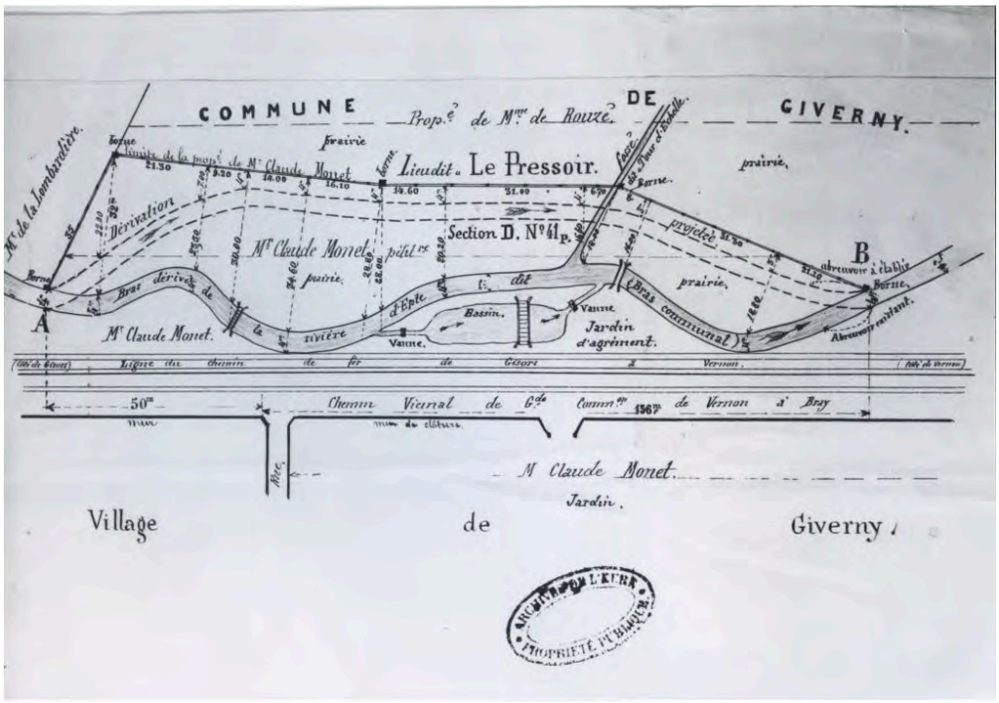
But oh! that deep romantic chasm which slanted
Down the green hill athwart a cedarn cover!
A savage place! as holy and enchanted
As e'er beneath a waning moon was haunted
By woman wailing for her demon-lover!
And from this chasm, with ceaseless turmoil seething,
As if this earth in fast thick pants were breathing,
A mighty fountain momently was forced:
Amid whose swift half-intermitted burst
Huge fragments vaulted like rebounding hail,
Or chaffy grain beneath the thresher's flail:
And mid these dancing rocks at once and ever
It flung up momently the sacred river.

Five miles meandering with a mazy motion
Through wood and dale the sacred river ran,
Then reached the caverns measureless to man,
And sank in tumult to a lifeless ocean;
And 'mid this tumult Kubla heard from far
Ancestral voices prophesying war!
  The shadow of the dome of pleasure
  Floated midway on the waves;
  Where was heard the mingled measure
  From the fountain and the caves.
It was a miracle of rare device,
A sunny pleasure-dome with caves of ice!

  A damsel with a dulcimer
  In a vision once I saw:
  It was an Abyssinian maid
  And on her dulcimer she played,
  Singing of Mount Abora.
  Could I revive within me
  Her symphony and song,
  To such a deep delight 'twould win me,
That with music loud and long,
I would build that dome in air,
That sunny dome! those caves of ice!
And all who heard should see them there,
And all should cry, Beware! Beware!
His flashing eyes, his floating hair!
Weave a circle round him thrice,
And close your eyes with holy dread
For he on honey-dew hath fed,
And drunk the milk of Paradise.

Samuel Taylor Coleridge, *Kubla Khan* completed in 1797 and published in 1816. It is sometimes given the subtitles "A Vision in a Dream" and "A Fragment." View Source

About one hundred years later in his poem *Kubla Khan* Samuel Taylor Coleridge evokes the peaceful qualities of the Chinese emperor's garden in contrast to the warfare of the world.



Map of Giverny showing Monet's property, "M. Claude Monet. Jardin, Village de Giverny," Archives Départementales de l'Eure, Évreux. View Source

In addition, by the late nineteenth century, public parks across Europe had introduced picturesque garden features like pagodas, pavilions, and bridges. Still, few expressed the aesthetic *raison d'etre* of the oriental garden. The exception was Monet, whose full embrace of the oriental garden was conceptual as well as aesthetic.

Monet's water-lily garden exhibited many oriental features, including a natural layout and reflective waters. The water-lily garden is a Romantic and Oriental conception.



Utagawa Hiroshige I, *The Plum Garden at Kameido Shrine,* 1857. Nishili-e / color woodcut on paper. 36.4 x 24.4 cm. Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam. View Source



Utagawa Hiroshige I, *Sumida River, the Wood of the Water God, at Masaki,* ca. 1856-58. Color woodblock print. 36.4 x 24.5 cm. Los Angeles County Museum of Art, Los Angeles. View Source

The design principles of the garden were inspired by the Japanese block prints that filled the walls of his house.

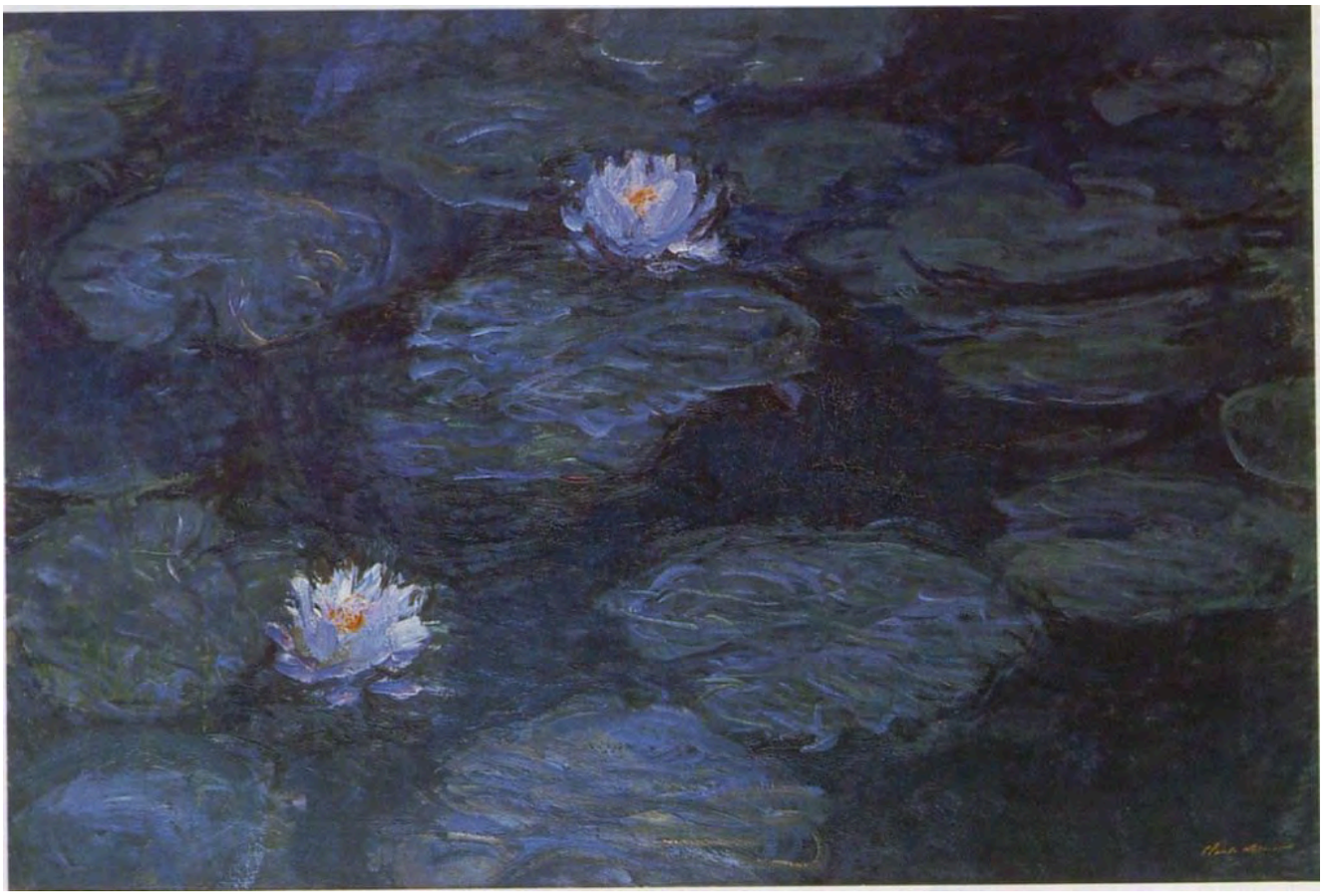
Monet used the visual elements of Hiroshige's prints as a reference point, using irregular shapes to create rapidly changing points of interest and many visual perspectives to engage the eye. His conscientiously crafted garden provided him with aesthetic inspiration for his painterly practice.

6.12
| Monet's Water Landscapes

Monet began painting his waterlilies between 1897 and 1900 with a series that was relatively homogenous, most of the canvases bearing this particular date having a more or less square format and representing the pond closest to the road with its footbridge and willow branches. From the start, the water pond paintings were rich in national poetic significance recalling the French philosopher Voltaire's adage that nature was the source of all goodness and wisdom, and that each person should cultivate his own garden.



Claude Monet, *Water Lilies, Evening Effect,* 1897. Oil on canvas. 73 x 100 cm. Musée Marmottan Monet, Paris. View Source



Claude Monet, *Water Lilies,* ca. 1898. Oil on canvas. 89 x 130 cm. Kagoshima City Museum of Art, Kagoshima. View Source



Claude Monet, *Water Lilies,* ca. 1897-98. Oil on canvas. 66 x 104.1 cm. Los Angeles County Museum of Art, Los Angeles. View Source

In Monet's *Water Lilies*, flatness and a decentralized composition create a dreamy, unreal picture plane where the lilies, which would be floating in water in reality, appear to float in space. Monet purposefully cultivated a sense of irrational space by cropping the edges and pulling the objects to the surface plane of the work.



Claude Monet, *Bridge Over a Pond of Water Lilies,* 1899. Oil on canvas. 92.7 x 73.7 cm. Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York. View Source

In 1899, Monet began a series of eighteen views of the wooden footbridge over the pond. He would finish twelve paintings of the bridge that same summer. In their atypical vertical format within the context of his overall

works, the water lilies assume an expanded space in the foreground, the floating flowers and their reflections over the pond capturing our immediate attention.



Claude Monet, *Japanese Footbridge and the Water Lily Pool, Giverny,* 1899. Oil on canvas. 89.2 x 93.3 cm. Philadelphia Museum of Art. View Source

In *Japanese Footbridge* Monet treats the wisteria and drum bridge as one, the bridge spanning the lake and overhanging trees melding into a seamless yet varied composition.



Nymphaea Mexicana (Yellow Water Lily). View Source

Science was an important partner in Monet's cultivation of his pond and garden. His horticultural interests led to his acquiring specimens of Joseph Bory Latour-Marliac's new form of water lilies; a botanical invention recognized at the 1889 Exposition Universelle of Paris. At a time when only hardy wild water lilies were available to Europe, Marliac painstakingly and deliberately collected seeds and rhizomes from various species across the world, experimenting for years prior to producing the first hybrid in 1877.



Joseph Bory Latour-Marliac's, Water lily ponds. Collection Nationale Française de Nympheas, Temple-sur-Lot. View Source

A French lawyer and horticulturalist dedicated to breeding water lily hybrids, Latour-Marliac produced a water lily nursery at Le Temple-sur-Lot in 1875. Monet saw his water lilies at the Exposition Universelle of 1889 in Paris and obtained them for his garden in Giverny from Latour-Marliac.



A gardener cleaning out the pond near the Japanese Bridge, Giverny.
View Source



Utagawa Hiroshige, *69 Stations of the Kisokaido – Moon at Seba,* ca. 1797-1858 (Edo era, this one is a re-carved edition from the late 20th century). View Source

The lily pond's flowering surface was judiciously maintained by Monet's gardener, who spent the entire day tending it in the Japanese tradition. Before Monet set up his canvases at dawn, the gardener would row out into the pond in a small, green, flat-bottomed boat to clean its surface, removing any moss, algae or water grasses which grew from the depths. Monet devised ways to insert food wrapped in cloth like a tea bag into the muddy roots so as not to disturb water, which he insisted on keeping crystal clear. He maintained the floating pads in a circular pattern, with unobscured expanses of water between each plant. These in-between spaces of clear water served as reflective surfaces for the sky and inverted landscape imagery.



Claude Monet, *Water Lily Pond and Weeping Willow,* 1916. Oil on canvas. 140 x 150 cm. Private collection. View Source

6.13
| Monet's *Water Lilies* as Immersive Experience

Monet's *Water Lilies* series is significant, comprising over two hundred and thirty canvases.

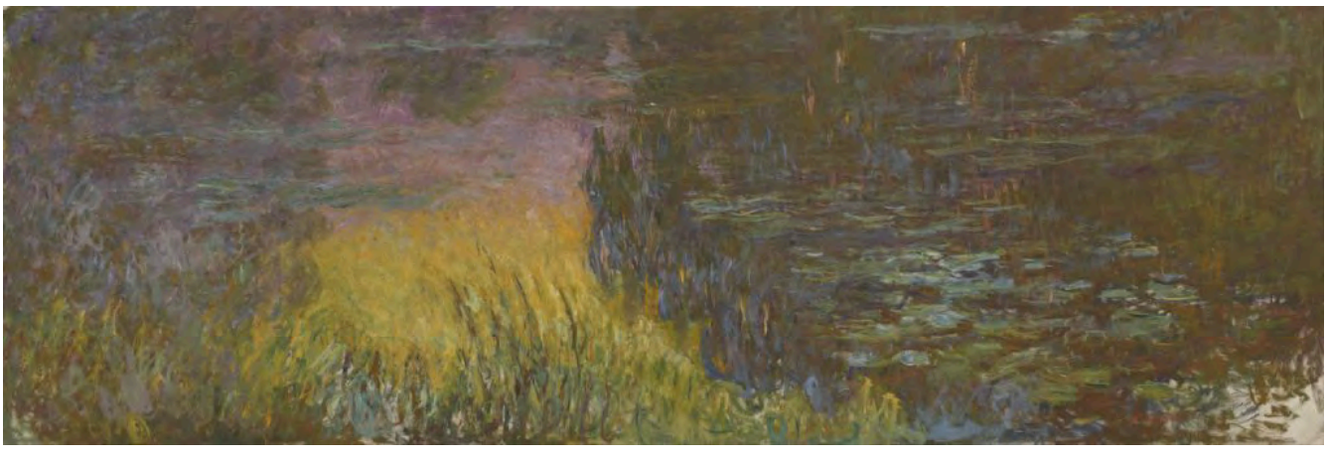
The first twenty-five works were exhibited at the Galerie Durand-Ruel in 1900. In 1914, the French Prime Minister Georges Clemenceau, who was an avid supporter of Monet, urged him to enlarge the cycle project. Two years later the suggestion became a formal state commission for a large series destined for permanent display. The *Water Lilies* panels were Monet's main preoccupation from 1920 until at least the summer of 1926 when his strength began to fail.



Claude Monet, *Reflections of Clouds on the Water-Lily Pond,* ca. 1920. Oil on canvas. 200 x 1,276 cm. Museum of Modern Art, New York. View Source



Claude Monet, *Green Reflections,* ca. 1914-26. Two oil on canvas panels, mounted on the wall. 200 x 850 cm. Musée de l'Orangerie, Paris. View Source



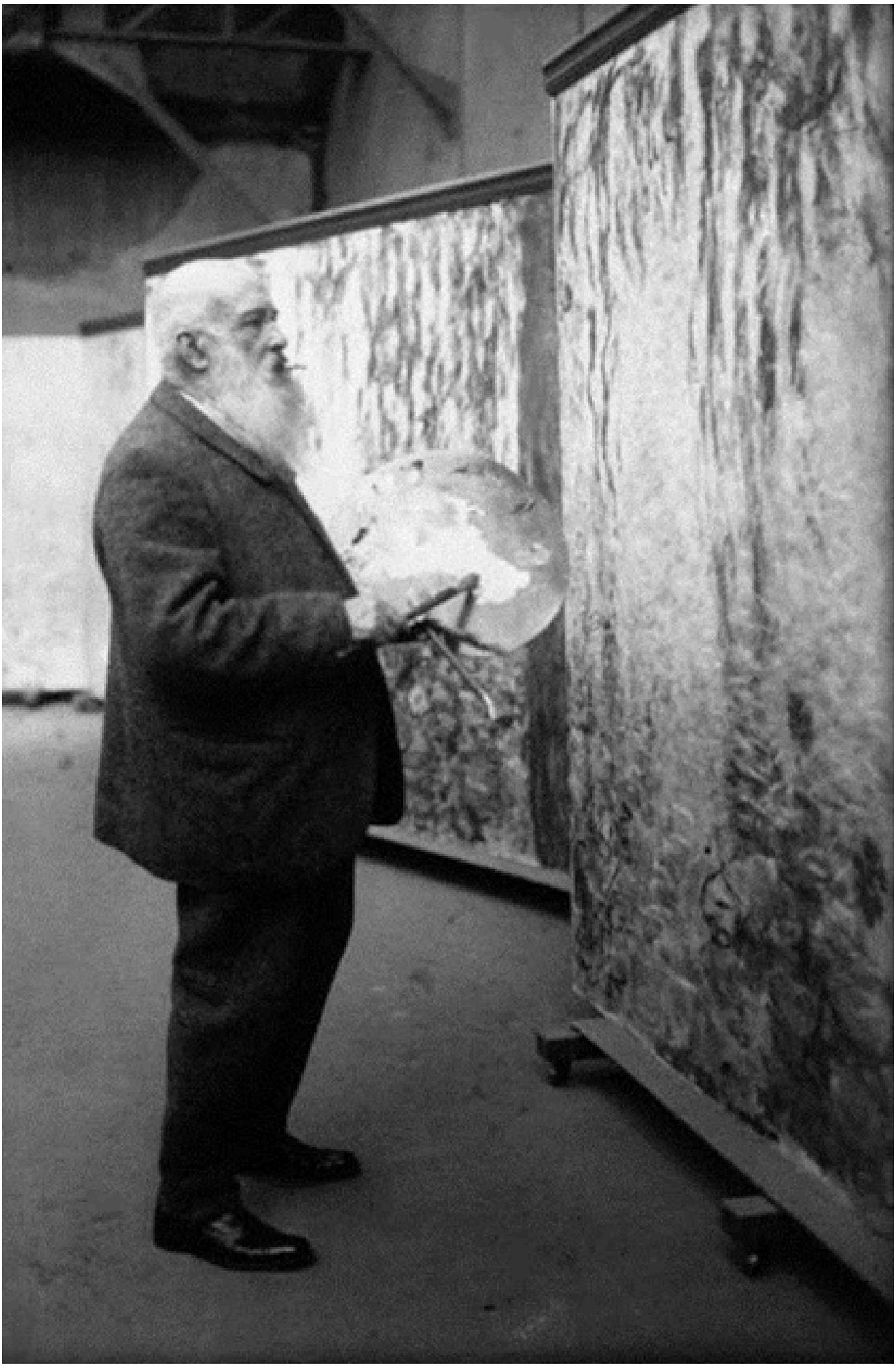
Claude Monet, *The Water Lilies – Setting Sun,* ca. 1914-26. Oil on canvas panel, mounted on the wall. 200 x 600 cm. Musée de l'Orangerie, Paris. View Source

Clemenceau humorously described the process of setting up the outdoor studio terrain,

We loaded the wheelbarrows, and sometimes even a small farm cart, with a pile of equipment, so as to set up a row of outdoor studios, the easels lined up on the grass for the battle between Monet and the sun. It was a very simple idea, but it had never been tried by any of the great painters... Fourteen paintings were started at the same time, almost like a scale of studies, depicting a single motif that varied according to the effects of the time of day, the sunlight, and the clouds.



Henri Manuel, *Claude Monet in His Studio,*ca. 1920. Gelatin silver print. Collections Roger-Viollet, Paris. View Source



Photograph of Claude Monet in his studio at Giverny. View Source

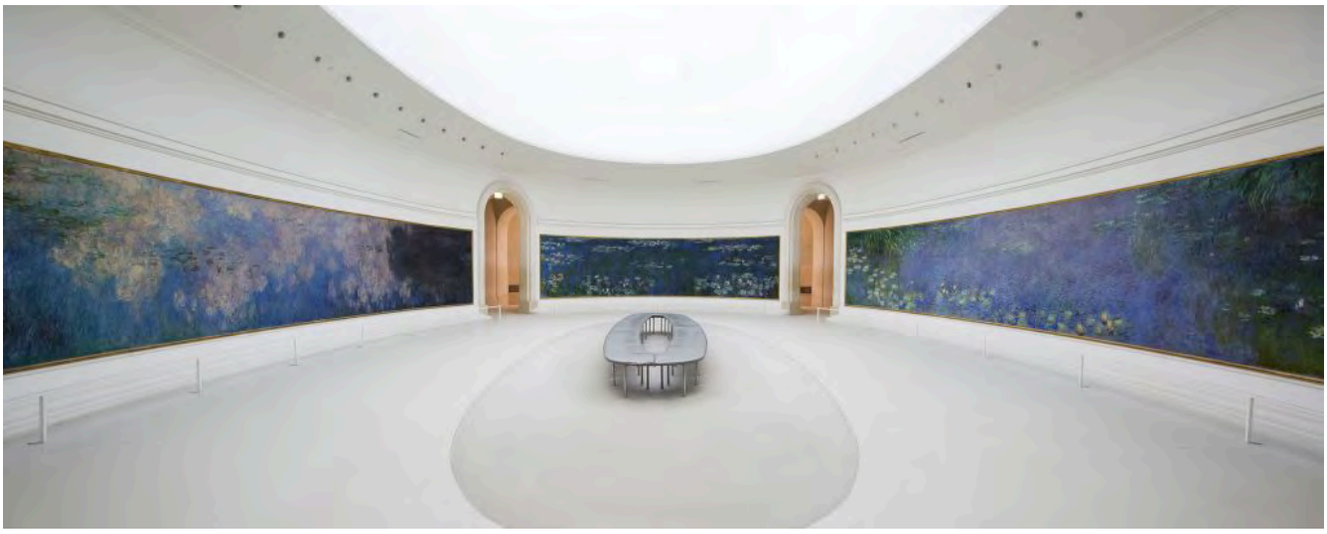
As a symbol of peace, Monet gifted the *Water Lilies* cycle to the French State on the day after the Armistice, November 11, 1918. The twenty-two panels were installed according to a pre-designed plan at l'Orangerie in 1927, just a few months following the artist's death.

The rest of his canvases remained in his studios until the late 1940s when the Museum of Modern Art as well as private collectors purchased them.

On July 8, 1927, Paul Claudel in *Journal Tome I: 1904-1932* (Bibliothèque de la Pléiade) (Paris: Gallimard, 1965) described the installation at l'Orangerie thus:

> At the Orangerie in two large oval rooms the Nymphéas of Claude. Mirrors of water on which drift water lilies at all hours of the day, morning, afternoon, evening and night. Claude Monet at the end of his long life after having studied all the ways in which the different motifs of nature could answer the question of light in terms of assemblages of colour finally addressed himself to the most docile, most penetrable of elements, water, which at once transparency, iridescence, and mirror. Thanks to water he became the painter of what we cannot see. He addressed himself to that almost invisible and spiritual surface which separates light from its reflection. A surface seen only through flowers, the corollas of leaves and of petals, organic emanations from the depths, bubbles, open eggs. There is the same passion for colour in Monet as in the stained-glass window makers of our cathedrals. The colour rises from the bottom of the water in clouds, in swirls.

The chapter ends with short excerpts and accompanying images of the *Water Lilies* installation by Anthony Portulese from his essay "A Phenomenology of Display: Monet's L'Orangerie, the Panorama Rotunda, and the History of Proto-Installation" (*Rutgers Art Review* 37, https://rar.rutgers.edu/a-phenomenology-of-display-monets-lorangerie-the-panorama-rotunda-and-the-history-of-proto-installation-art-by-anthony-portulese/)



Claude Monet and Camille Levèvre (architect), *Nymphéas* [Water Lilies] *Gallery,* first room, facing east wall, ca. 1914-26. Mixed media. 1,240 x 2,065 cm. Musée de l'Orangerie, Paris. View Source

> The *Water Lilies* gallery can be thus envisaged as proto-installation art because its custom display practice deploys immersive stratagems that amalgamate the material environment of the physical gallery space and the perceptual field of the visitor's sensorium.
>
> ...

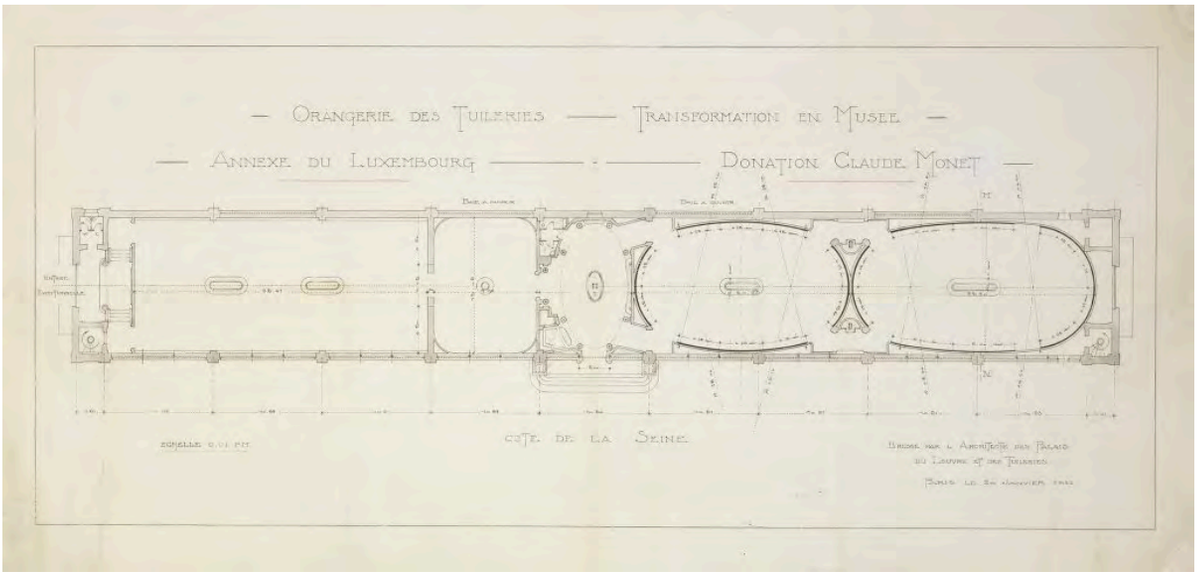
Louis Gillet describes the L'Orangerie *Water Lilies* installation in his book *Trois variations sur Claude Monet* [*Three Perspectives on Claude Monet*]. Published in June 1927, just a month after the gallery's unveiling12, Gillet writes:

Two large ovular rooms, running in the direction of the Seine, two lakes, two rings ingeniously chained to each other, precede a vestibule, ovular as well, but smaller and of different orientation; nothing but curves, ellipses which the floor pavement repeats in a muted manner; bare surfaces, almost without moldings, made only to support the aquatic décor … : all this has an air of liquid movement, elongated fluidity that miraculously lends itself to this slow belt, to this zone of floating, flowing reveries.

Gillet's description emphasizes these paintings as an experience of "liquid movement" and "floating, flowing reveries" in the distinct space they occupy, rather than as motionless art objects hung on a wall solely for visual consumption.

…

As Gillet's testimonial suggests, they were perceived as a singular, unified arrangement, each brought together through a structural fusion of canvas and winding wall.



Camille Lefebvre, *Water Lilies Gallery Floorplan for the Orangerie des Tuileries,* 1922. Print. 86 x 155 cm. Archives des musées nationaux, Paris. View Source

The L'Orangerie gallery cannot simply be categorized as an "art installation." Monet and Lefèvre's display plan for the *Water Lilies* murals, which combined the illusory conventions of the panorama rotunda with the ambient devices of installation art, should be recognized as an innovative intervention into the discourses of display that shaped the period.



Claude Monet and Camille Lefèvre (architect), *Water Lilies Gallery beneath Vellum Canopy and Skylight, first room, facing west wall,* ca. 1914-26. Mixed media. Musée de l'Orangerie, Paris. View Source

All the murals in the *Water Lilies* gallery rooms are two meters in height and installed approximately two feet off the floor. Their low placement in relation to the visitor's body, coupled with the fact that the murals surpass most people in height, maximizes the sensation of immersion, whereby the visitor feels they may tumble in the vast imagery and plunge into the polychromatic pond. Taking in all parts of the monumental cycle at once proves difficult, even from a distanced viewpoint. This challenge thus entices the visitor to register the different sections of the murals in succession.

In an article published in 1909 by the *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, Roger Marx writes that in the *Water Lilies* series, Monet "finds his pleasure in the enjoyment experienced, throughout the day, in the viewing of a

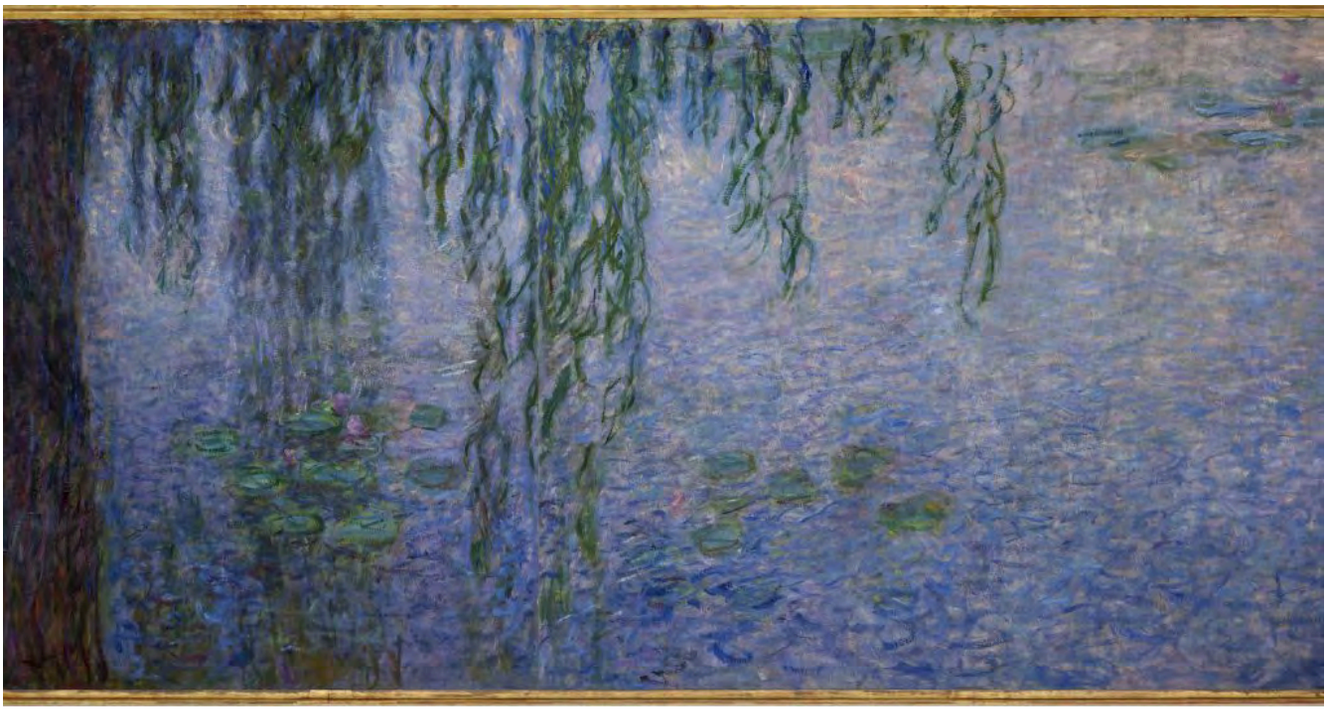
single site." This statement well encapsulates the fused temporal and spatial parameters of the Water Lilies gallery experience. Advancing this notion of the L'Orangerie Water Lilies as a holistic experience, critic François Monod wrote a review for the journal *L'Art et les Artistes* in June 1927, wherein he describes Monet's paintings within the site's "enveloping" display:

"In each of the two rooms of the Orangerie, a foggy morning effect and twilight effect occupy the ends of the ellipse; on the long sides shine effects of full light during the hours of midday. The only concrete elements of the spectacle are the floating petals of the water-lilies, flames of purple and gold, which, on the large sides, frame the long plunging views, two thin trunks of weeping willows, and a few twigs of their foliage trembling in the breeze. The spectator is enveloped in a bath of aerial quivering, damp *moirure*, and flickers of clarity."



Claude Monet, *Les nuages* [*Clouds*] (detail), ca. 1914-26. Oil on canvas. 200 x 1,275 cm. Musée de l'Orangerie, Paris. View Source

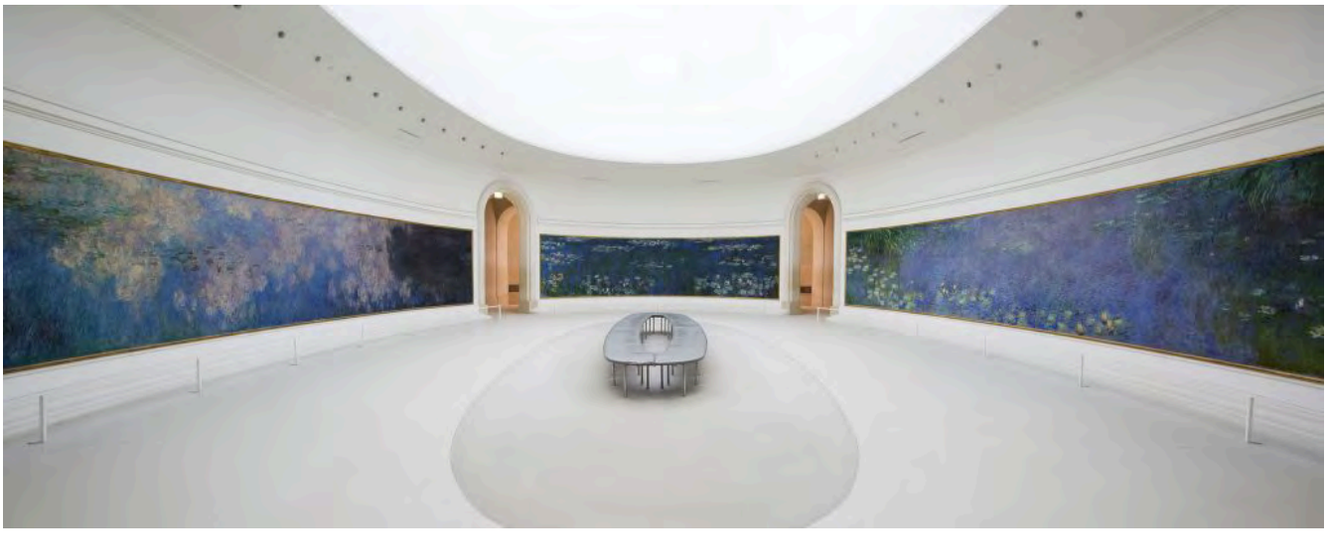
The seriality of these in situ paintings offers an altered perception of time, for when viewing the L'Orangerie murals together, the visitor receives the sense that different moments in time—morning, noon, afternoon, dusk, and back to morning—meld into a simultaneous continuum, and in consequence render the experience of time graspable through the experience of space.



Claude Monet, *Le matin clair aux saules* [*Clear Morning with Willows*] (detail), ca. 1914-26. Oil on canvas. 200 x 1,275 cm. Musée de l'Orangerie, Paris. View Source

The paintings run through a broad palette of color contrasts, with which Monet played in many modulations, such as light-dark, warm-cold, and complementary colors. Coarse areas of texture alternate with dabbing and hatching, where two or more colors can be seen within a single brushstroke. Monet's rubbing of pasty pigments on top of dried, pastose layerings produces a broken, rough appearance, with streaks of paint so granulose that subsequent swift, thinner strokes would not cover its ridges or penetrate its crevices.

The final result is a canvas of saturated pigmentations and heavy impasto. The incrustations of paint, layer atop layer, texture upon texture, and color over color, summon to the visitor's consciousness Monet's hand and very physical painterly process.



Claude Monet and Camille Levèvre (architect), *Nymphéas* [Water Lilies] *Gallery,* first room, facing east wall, ca. 1914-26. Mixed media. 1,240 x 2,065 cm. Musée de l'Orangerie, Paris. View Source

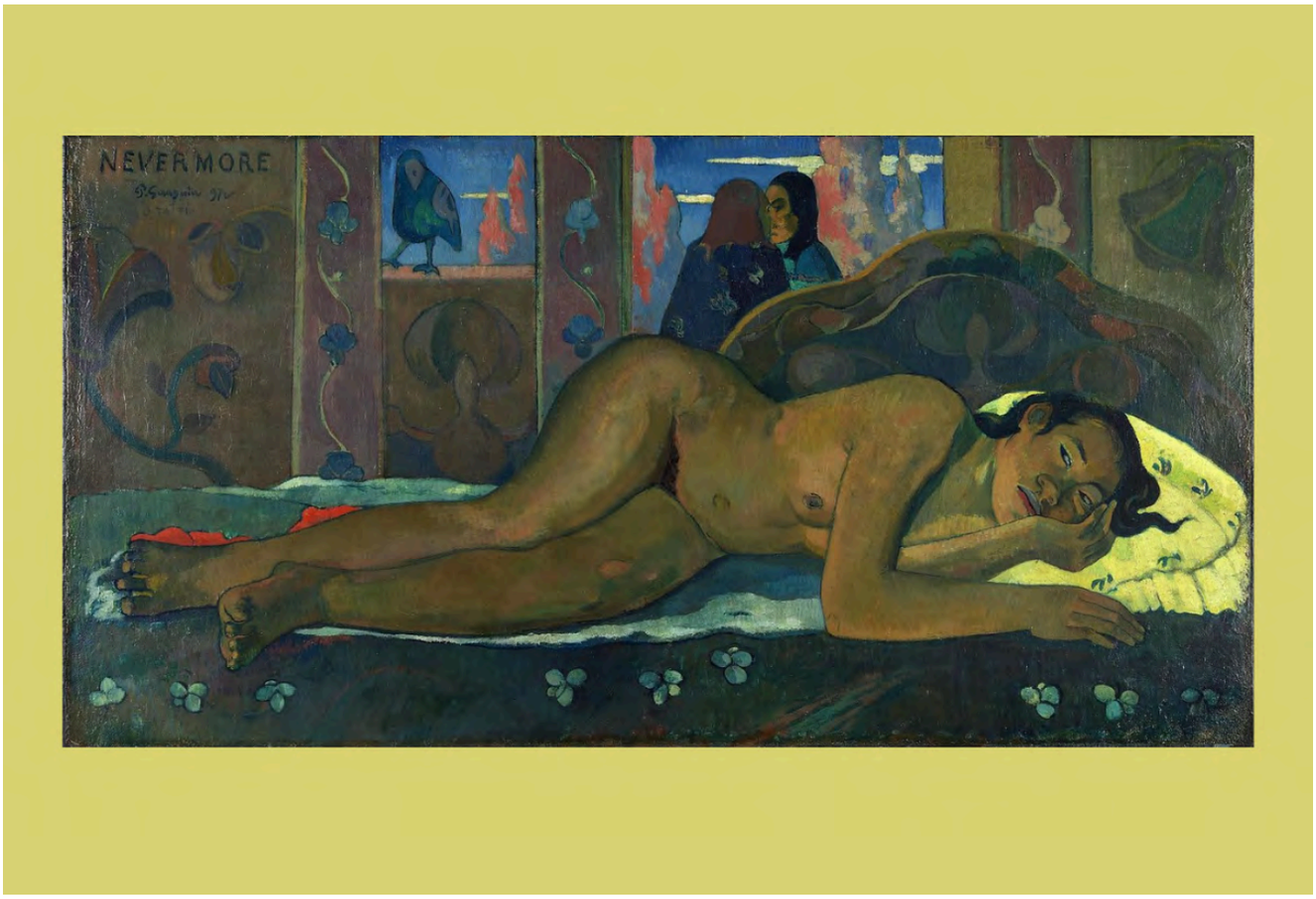
The *Water Lilies* gallery has herein been recognized as a unique artistic site and praised for its panoramic qualities, now with deeper historical contextualization. The architectural design of the Water Lilies gallery engages the visitor's sight and proprioception. The relationship between its massive paintings and

their unique display invites questions regarding the significance of the perceiving, sensing body in art interpretation. Intersecting the panorama traditions of his past and the installation art practices of his future, Monet's gallery plays host to a phenomenological, embodied mode of artistic contemplation. It propels our notion of the experience of art from a passive spectatorship that hierarchizes vision over other senses, toward an active participation that democratizes them instead.Monet's garden was a labour of love, a utopian place, and an aesthetic metaphor for peace. This takes on added significance when considering that Monet's *Water Lilies* cycle, to be gifted to France, was produced during a time of considerable turmoil for the artist, battling personal tragedies and living through the devastation of the Western Front.

Upon gifting the paintings at war's end, Monet stated, "I have given my paintings to my country. And I will let my country judge me."

Chapter Seven

PAUL GAUGUIN & The Colonial Myth of Primitivism



Paul Gauguin, Nevermore, 1897. Oil on canvas. 50 x 116 cm. Courtauld Institute of Art, London. View Source

CONTENTS

Introduction

7.1

Early Influences

7.2

Brittany and the Path to Primitivism

7.3

Émile Bernard and Synthetism

7.4

The *Studio of the South* and the Volpini Exhibition

7.5

Portraits of the Artist as *Other*

7.6

Savage Influences: Tahiti 1891

7.7

Fantastical Figures, Scandalous Subjects

7.8

Noa Noa

7.9

Existential Manifesto:

Where do we come from? Who are we? Where are we going?

7.10

Exoticism, Eroticism, and Spirituality

7.11

Critical Conversations

INTRODUCTION

The mythology surrounding Paul Gauguin as an artist-outsider who set out to remedy the failures of western art through his sacrifice and genius was largely self-created and, for decades, perpetuated by art history itself Like all legends with a basis in fact, the myth of Gauguin, the artist has obscured the fuller context of his practice. Now viewed from a contemporary vantage point, his narrative compels reconsideration.

Gauguin created his avant-garde works by rejecting the soulless vacuum of European art to find regenerative inspiration 'elsewhere.' He pursued his fascination with the primitivism of distant cultures first in Brittany, then further afield in the Caribbean and the islands of Tahiti and the Marquesas. Away from Paris and the corrupting influence of civilization, he created prolifically: paintings, sculptures, prints and writings, producing works which were profoundly symbolic and technically daring. He engaged with the so-called 'savage other' to further his artistic vision, which he articulated in exoticized and mystical images.

While he was not the first European artist to seek foreign stimulus through world travel (Eugène Delacroix, Jean-Léon Gérôme and others had before him), he was unique in his grasping of the aesthetic and myth-making significance of primitive art. His central role in developing Symbolism derived from his interest in telling stories through simplified forms laden with meaning, his influences ranging from South Asian, Egyptian, and Oceanic iconography. His Post-Impressionism was characterized by bold outlines, vivid unnaturalistic colours and semi-abstracted forms, stylistic devices that radically influenced modern art's parameters and perception.

However, ethical reservations now shadow Gauguin's pioneering art legacy. His (mis)appropriation of non-western cultural traditions, his predatory sexual conduct, and his colonialist-driven sense of entitlement have spurred new critical discourse about his work across multiple disciplines, from contemporary indigenous polemics to feminist and curatorial studies.

This chapter will examine Gauguin's art practice from a recontextualized perspective, considering ahistorical viewpoints while investigating the influences and personal ambitions of an artist who foregrounded the modernism of twentieth-century art.

7.1
| Early Influences

Eugène Henri Paul Gauguin was born to cultured upper-middle-class parents in Paris on June 7, 1848. His father, Clovis Gauguin, was a French journalist; his mother, Aline Maria Chazal, was Franco-Spanish, and her mother, Flora Tristan (Flora Tristán y Moscoso), was a Peruvian Creole and a known socialist active in France.



Louis-Maurice Boutet de Monvel, *Paul Gauguin Wearing a Breton Jacket,* 1891. Photograph. Musée départemental Maurice Denis, Saint-Germain-en-Laye. View Source

Gauguin frequently referenced his “exotic” bloodline, and his family’s liberal political activism would shape his early outlook. Clovis, a radical journalist who worked for the National and was a critic of the Bonapartist regime, decided to move the family to Peru, concerned about the consequences of Napoleon III’s 1848 return to power. He died en route, but the family continued to Peru, where they stayed with relatives. In 1855 Gauguin returned to France to live with his grandfather Guillaume Gauguin, in Orléans, attending boarding school as a day student. In 1860 his mother, a dressmaker, moved her household to Paris, and her children lived with her during school breaks. She befriended the collector Gustave Arosa who became Gauguin’s legal guardian when she died. Arosa’s formidable art collection, which comprised works by Delacroix and the Impressionists, stimulated Gauguin’s nascent passion for painting.

Gauguin joined the crew of the ship Luzitano as Second Lieutenant in the merchant marine at 17, continuing the nomadic wanderings of his childhood. Six years later, he settled in Paris, working as a bookkeeper for an investment firm and marrying the Danish Mette-Sophie Gad the following year. Gauguin was increasingly drawn to the arts despite his financial stability at Bertin’s. He met Camille Pissarro at Arosa’s home and, through his connections, established himself in the Parisian art scene as a collector of art and as a ‘novice’ artist.



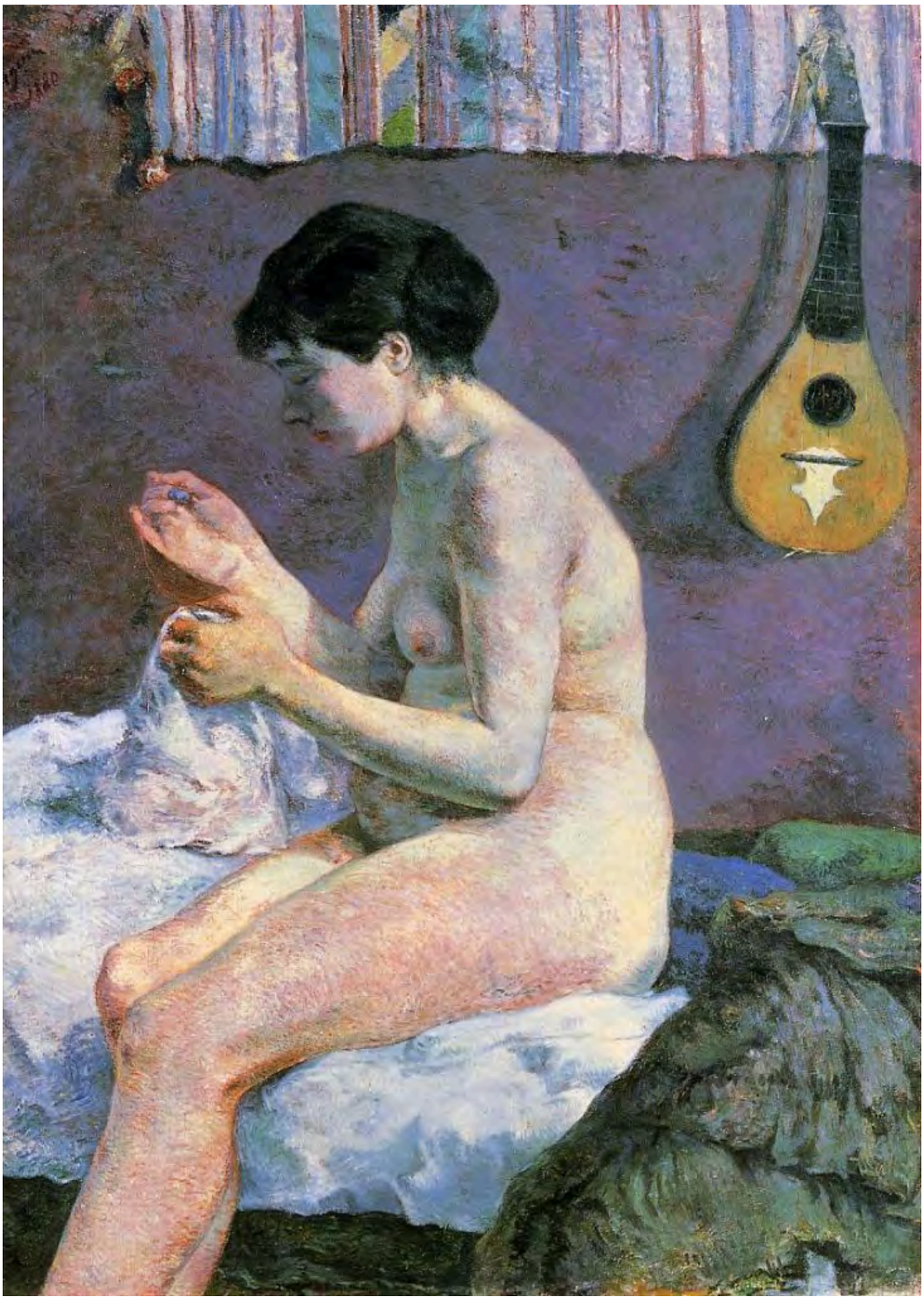
Paul Gauguin, *Working the Land,* 1873. Oil on canvas. 50.5 x 81.6 cm. Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge. View Source

His early works were realistic and painterly, unlike his later style. In 1880, he made his debut in the Fifth Impressionist exhibition, but the little critical response he received was disappointing.



Camille Pissarro, *The Harvest*, 1881. Oil on canvas. 46 x 55.2 cm. Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York. View Source

Gauguin was referred to as a “second-tier” Impressionist and deemed overly-influenced by Pissarro.



Paul Gauguin, *Suzanne Sewing,* 1880. Oil on canvas. 114.5 x 79.5 cm. Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek, Copenhagen. View Source

Following the stock market crash of 1882, he dedicated himself to his art, displaying eight paintings and two sculptures in the Sixth Impressionist exhibition. The works galvanized the attention of the critics.

One canvas, in particular, *Nude Study (Woman Sewing)* (also known as *Suzanne Sewing*), was praised for its direct and honest portrayal of a female nude. The female figure's unattractive appearance made others call it cruel and horrific, but its unusual style and content established Gauguin's aesthetic bent. According

to Mary Mathews Gedo, in "Retreat from an Artistic Breakthrough: Gauguin's 'Nude Study (Suzanne Sewing).'" *Zeitschrift Für Kunstgeschichte* 58, no. 3 (1995): 407–16):

Bertall pronounced it "the key to the exhibition," while J. K. Huysmans lauded the artist for "representing a woman of our own time" with an unvarnished realism that none of his contemporaries could match. Only Rembrandt, declared Huysmans, transported by enthusiasm, had painted the female nude with equal honesty and directness, despite the fanciful settings in which he had represented them. None of the other reviewers responded to Gauguin's nude study with Huysmans' fervor, but even those who deemed the painting "cruel" or "horrific" admitted that the artist showed talent.



Paul Gauguin, *Portrait of Clovis and Pola Gauguin*, 1885. Charcoal and pastel on wove pastel paper mounted onto a wooden stretcher. 70.49 x 52.1 cm. Kreeger Museum, Washington. View Source

Gauguin continued to show with the Impressionists until their final exhibition in 1886.



Paul Gauguin, *Double-Necked Vase,* ca. 1886-87. Stoneware with slip. 14 x 20 x 9.5 cm. Musée du Petit Palais, Paris. View Source



Paul Gauguin, *Vessel with Women and Goats,* ca. 1887-89. Stoneware. 20 x 11.7 x 11.1 cm. Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York. View Source



Ernest Chaplet, *Vase,* ca. 1881-1887. 27.94 x 22.2 cm. Los Angeles County Museum of Art. View Source

Gauguin's sculptural interests led him to pottery-making. He worked with the ceramicist Ernest Chaplet, learning essential ceramics skills and benefiting from his collaboration on his early pieces. The medium also allowed Gauguin to develop a unique free-hand technique of working by hand without a potter's wheel and, more importantly, to explore the expressive dimensions of sculptural ceramics through exaggerated, unconventional forms. As the Metropolitan Museum's entry describes, the asymmetrical *Vessel with Women and Goats* is characterized by "un-conventional shapes and a tough 'primitive' appearance … Its decorative subject of a woman with a goat very likely developed during his travels in Brittany and Martinique."

7.2
| Brittany and the Path to Primitivism

In August of 1886, Gauguin departed for the south coast of Brittany and was immediately enticed by the otherworldliness of a place where time had seemingly stood still. The simplicity and timeless traditions of the local inhabitants and the landscape— the standing stones, yellow farm fields, and wind-blown sandy beaches — conjured up the sounds and scents of the past. "I traveled back across the centuries," he would later write, "isolating myself increasingly from my contemporaries whose preoccupation with the modern industrial world inspired in me nothing but disgust. Bit by bit, I became a man of the Middle Ages ... I love Brittany; I find there the savage, the primitive. When my clogs resound on the granite soil, I hear the muffled, dull, powerful tone that I seek in my painting."

Gauguin's increasingly anti-empiricist and anti-naturalist art found its fit with a culture that he believed was equally resistant to the superficial rush of material progress. Gauguin's iconic style began to take shape in this under-developed coastal province. He set out to capture the substantial elements of life in his work, turning away from the Impressionists' stress on surface appearances towards the symbolism and subjectivity of imagery. Themes deemed primitive — peasants and their customs — were his subjects of choice.



Paul Gauguin, *Bonjour Monsieur Gauguin*, 1889. Oil on canvas mounted on panel. 74.9 x 54.8 cm. Hammer Museum, Los Angeles. View Source

In Brittany, Gauguin began constructing his persona of the nomadic wanderer, a familiar stranger in the local landscape. *Bonjour Monsieur Gauguin* was painted after a visit to the Musée Fabre in Montpellier with Vincent Van Gogh in December of 1888, where he saw the Realist painter Gustave Courbet's *Bonjour, Monsieur Courbet* (1854).



Gustave Courbet, *The Meeting, or Bonjour, Monsieur Courbet!,* 1854. Oil on canvas. 132 x 150.5 cm. Fabre Museum, Montpellier. View Source

There are similarities in the works. Like Courbet, Gauguin's self-representation is central to the composition. Courbet had represented himself as a wandering figure, an artist dwelling outside the constraints of society. Likewise, Gauguin pictures himself as an eclectic outsider, the rural setting expressing his escape from civilized Paris. His figure is immersed within the landscape. Gauguin was experiencing financial difficulties at the time, and his demeanour suggests his downcast mood: pale face with a cap pulled low and a tentative stance.

On another level, the painting offers a glimpse at the interaction between the foreign artist and a local resident. The (ex)cosmopolitan Gauguin is in modern dress: greatcoat, scarf, and beret; the Breton woman is in timeless garb: heavy blue shift, a grey apron woman, and headscarf. It is a meeting of past and present, united by the sabots they both wear on their feet and the common ground they stand on. Still, they face each other across a small gate, the visual partition a symbolic compositional element often employed by Gauguin. In Brittany, among the locals, Gauguin confronted the strangeness and exoticness of the past through a culture seemingly frozen in time. The past, encountered in Brittany, was the faraway land of memory and imagination.



The Calvary of Notre-Dame de Tronoën, 15th century. Saint-Jean-Trolimon. View Source

Searching for symbolic form, Gauguin found the Brittany countryside abundant with pictorial potential. The region's roadside calvaries, the distinctive Breton costume with its vivid patterns of black and white, and its elaborate embroidered ornamentation invigorated Gauguin's interest in flat, decorative surfaces.

Gauguin's quest for the spiritual found inspiration also in the "primitive" Celtic Christianity of Brittany and its religious traditions. These included the ritual religious processions, called 'pardons,' which visibly reinforced the deep spirituality of the region. His pietist Breton paintings were highly experimental, marked by a radically unrealistic treatment of colour and space. They pointedly overlooked the infiltration of modern influences consequent to Brittany's economic boom of the 1870s and 1880s.



Paul Gauguin, *Vision after the Sermon (Jacob Wrestling with the Angel),* 1888. Oil on canvas. 72.2 x 91 cm. Scottish National Gallery, Edinburgh. View Source

The first of Gauguin's highly personal religious subjects, *Vision after the Sermon (Jacob Wrestling with the Angel),* encapsulates the artist's innovative treatment of form and colour and highly inventive approach to spiritual experience. Gauguin referred to *Vision after the Sermon* as a "tableau religieux."

The painting depicts a cluster of white-capped Breton women after mass, where the sermon was about Jacob wrestling with the angel (Genesis 32:24-32). What Gauguin sought to capture was not an actual event. Instead, he was manifesting a shared fantasy of faith, invisible but authentic nonetheless.

Vision after the Sermon demonstrates Gauguin's marked move away from the Impressionists' emphasis on the visible, sensory world to narratives drawn from the psyche, which he articulated in a distilled, direct manner. In the painting, the real and unreal spaces are divided by the curve of a tree bough. The stylized female figures are placed on one side of the cleaved composition, while on the other, two much smaller male figures wrestle on a blood-red ground.



Katsushika Hokusai, *Sumo Wrestlers, Denshin kaishu Hokusai manga,* ca. 19th century. Woodblock print. 22.7 x 15.5 cm. Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris. View Source

The male figures appear to be inspired by images of Hokusai wrestlers, furthering the notion that the painting's religious narrative is covert, and thus a presumption of faith on the viewer's part.



Paul Gauguin, *Vision after the Sermon (Jacob Wrestling with the Angel),* 1888. Oil on canvas. 72.2 x 91 cm. Scottish National Gallery, Edinburgh. View Source

Writing in a letter to van Gogh in 1888, Gauguin expressed his awareness of the radicality of the work,

> Grouped Breton women, praying, very intense black dress – very luminous yellow white hats. The two hats on the right are like freakish helmets – an apple tree traverses the canvas, dark purple, and the foliage is drawn in masses like emerald green clouds with sunny yellow-green interstices. Ground pure vermilion. At the church it declines and becomes red brown. The angel is dressed in strong ultramarine and Jacob in bottle green. Angel wings pure chrome yellow no. 1 – Angel's hair chrom no. 2 and feet orange flesh – in the figures I think I've attained great simplicity, rustic and superstitious – all very severe – The cow underneath the tree, tiny compared to reality, is bucking – For me, the landscape and wrestling match in this picture exist only in the minds of the people praying after the sermon, that's why there's a contrast between the natural people and the wrestling match in a non-natural, disproportionate landscape." (cited in Rodolphe Rapetti, *Symbolism*, Deke Dusinberre, trans. (Paris: Flammarion, 2006), 108-9)

Vision after the Sermon stands as Gauguin's first intentionally Symbolist painting. Here, all the elements of Synthetism are in evidence. As Nicole Myers writes in "Symbolism" (Heilbrunn Timeline of Art History. New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, August 2007 http://www.metmuseum.org/toah/hd/symb/hd_symb.htm), Gauguin and Bernard aimed to "synthesize abstracted form with emotional or spiritual experience. Here, Gauguin combined heavily outlined, simplified shapes with solid patches of vivid color to symbolically express the ardent piety of simple Breton women."

Despite Gauguin's formal simplification of the figures, his working methods were not simplistic or naive. He selected his images carefully, methodically creating motifs which he employed in various arrangements.



Paul Gauguin, *Four Breton Women,* 1886. Oil on canvas. 71.8 x 91.4 cm. Neue Pinakothek, Munich. View Source

Claire Bernardi, writing about *Four Breton Women* in "Iteration and Invention in Gauguin's Paintings" (in *Gauguin: Artist as Alchemist*, edited by Gloria Groom, 56–63 (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2017)).

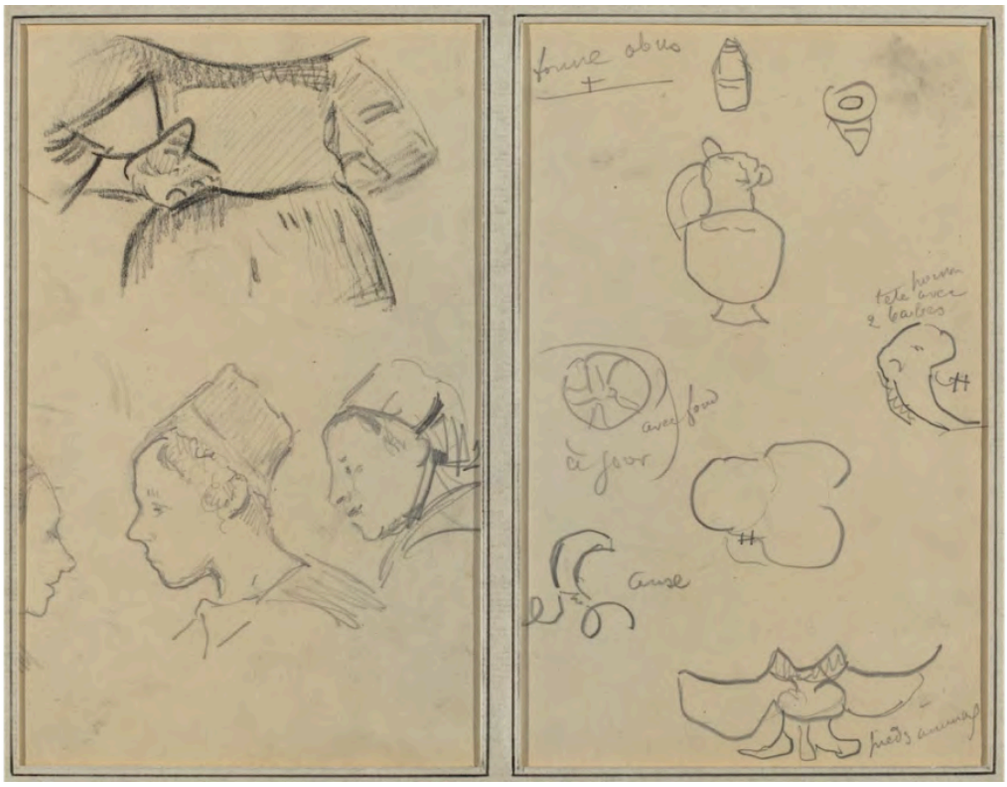
> [His] working method is clearly visible in the preparation of many of his works in two dimensions and also in his unique habit of transferring a motif from one work to another. The artist created his canvases in stages, especially the more ambitious and carefully planned compositions of the mid-1880s. The preparatory drawings – either made from life or a model-have survived for a number of works, including *Four Breton Women*. They allow us to ascertain the different means he employed to transfer an image from drawing to a painting. This canvas, which represents the artist's ambition to create a composition that emphasized the dialogue between its figures, was probably created in Gauguin's studio upon his return to Paris in mid-October 1886.



Paul Gauguin, *Breton Woman,* 1886. Chalk on paper. Burrell Collection, Glasgow. View Source



Paul Gauguin, *Bretonne de profil à droite,* 1886. Pastel, white chalk and charcoal on paper. 46.5 x 32 cm. Private collection. View Source



Paul Gauguin, *Four Studies of Breton Women; Shapes and Vases [verso],* ca.1884-88. Graphite and crayon on wove paper. 16.8 x 22.9 cm. National Gallery of Art, Washington. View Source

Gauguin's sketchbooks illustrate the way in which the artist reworked older studies to use as preparatory sketches for his canvases. As quoted in Bernardi, Gauguin shared his methodical process in a letter to his friend Georges-Daniel de Monfreid in 1892: "I am going to let you into a secret. There is a great deal of logic in it, and I act methodically...the methodical way is to arrange matters so that things follow smoothly... If only people did not spend so much time in useless and unrelated work! One stitch a day-that's the great point..." His statement recalls one he had made three years earlier to Emily Bernard in which he suggested that continuous repetition and reinterpretation were key ingredients of his aesthetic; "I experience pleasure not at going further than what I previously prepared. But at finding something more."



Paul Gauguin, *Four Breton Women,* 1886. Oil on canvas. 71.8 x 91.4 cm. Neue Pinakothek, Munich. View Source

David Clarke, in "Gauguin, Linguistic Opacity, and Cultural Difference" (Source 38, no. 2 (2019): 98–107), asserts that Gauguin's images of Brittany and later Tahiti speak to colonial power and subjugation. France forced its language and cultural values on these local populations, primarily by suppressing their traditional languages. Clarke examines how the encounter with linguistic otherness is handled in the painting of Gauguin, arguing that it is an underappreciated theme of his art.

Clarke contends that Gauguin may have addressed linguistic issues and the impenetrability of cultural otherness in some of his works, such as *Four Breton Women* of 1886. Its depiction of an isolated group of women conversing in the Celtic Brittonic language speaks to exclusion (Gauguin's as well as the viewers). It may point to the artist's initial feelings of alienation. The depiction of the women with their backs and eyes turned away signals that difference. Clarke points out that Gauguin's feelings of linguistic isolation after his arrival at Pont-Aven can be documented by his letter to Mette in July 1886, in which he notes, "there are hardly any French people here."

Humphrey Lloyd Humphreys estimates that there were 1,320,000 Breton speakers in 1886 (the year of Gauguin's painting), of which 51 percent spoke only Breton. Only 5 percent of the residents of Brittany at that time spoke French alone. He also notes that "knowledge of French spread earlier among men than among women" (a fact relevant to the consideration of Gauguin's painting, which features only female subjects), and places the habitually or exclusively French-speaking population as "a small upper-and middle-class minority with noticeable concentrations restricted to towns and households of the landed aristocracy." He believes that lower Brittany (where Gauguin was based) was largely populated at that time by people who spoke only Breton.

In surreptitiously addressing the linguistic divide, Gauguin would have been engaging in an ongoing problem. Mandatory secular education had just been enacted by Jules Ferry. As Prime Minister of France from 1880 to 1881 and 1883 to 1885. Ferry promoted excluding the Catholic Church from the public domain and colonial

expansion. In Brittany, these reforms meant that the Breton language could no longer be spoken in classrooms, with consequences for defiant teachers and pupils alike. Ironically, the little protection the Breton language had, was under the umbrella of the Catholic church.



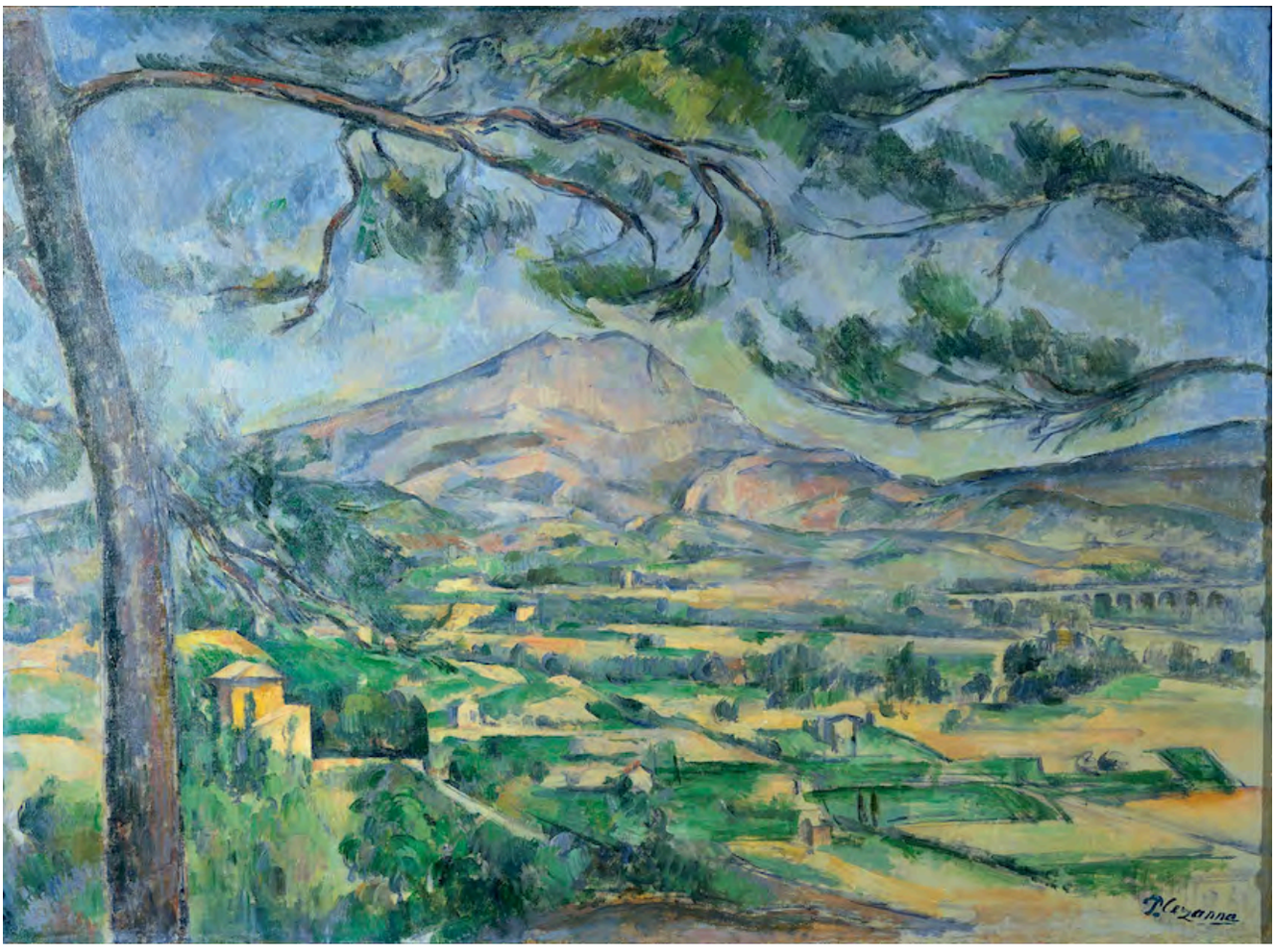
Paul Gauguin, *Christmas Night (The Blessing of the Oxen),* ca. 1894-98. Oil on canvas. 70.9 x 82.5 cm. Indianapolis Museum of Art. View Source



Camille Pissarro, *Place du Théâtre Français, Paris: Rain,* 1898. Oil on canvas. 73.6 x 91.4 cm. Minneapolis Institute of Art. View Source

Gauguin's subjective conceptions of reality were anathema to contemporaries such as Pissarro. As a committed anarchist, Pissarro believed that art that diverted attention from real-world events or authentic appearances was pure escapism. On May 14, 1891 he wrote to his son Lucien, singling out Gauguin as a prime example of the misguided mysticism of new art trends. (John Rewald, ed., *Camille Pissarro: Letters to his Son Lucien*, 170-171 (New York: Pantheon Books, 1943)):

> De Bellio confessed to me that he had changed his view of Gauguin's work that he now considered him a great talent. Why? It's a sign of the times, my dear. The bourgeoisie, astonished by the immense clamour of the disinherited masses feels it necessary to restore to the people their superstitious beliefs. Hence the bustlings of religious symbolists, religious socialists, idealist art, occultism, Buddhism etc. etc. Gauguin has sensed this tendency. The Impressionists have the true position, they stand for robust art based on sensation, and that is an honest stand.

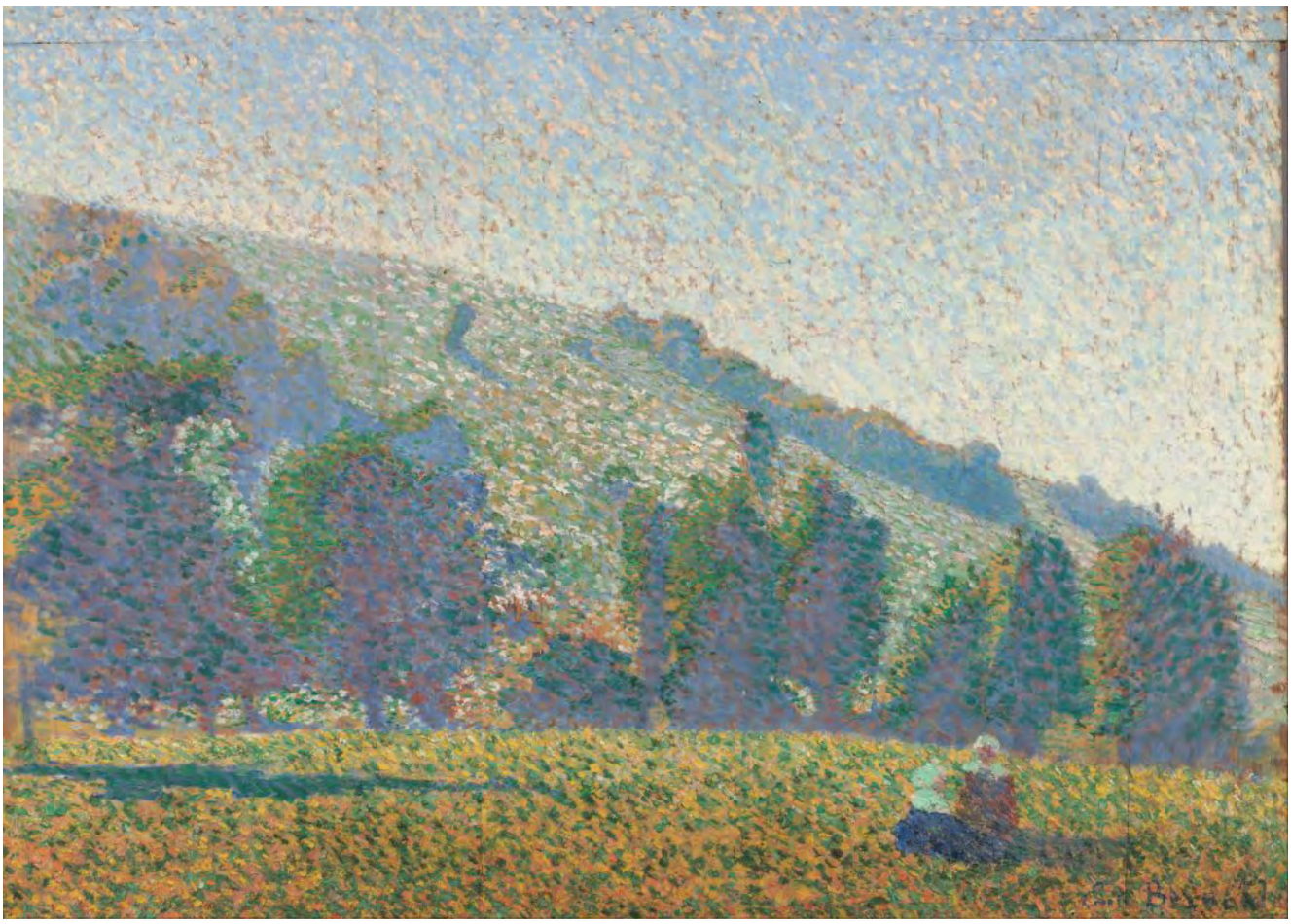


Paul Cézanne, *Mont Sainte-Victoire*, ca. 1887. Oil on canvas. 67 x 92 cm. Courtauld Institute of Art, London. View Source

Paul Cezanne's planar designs were also in marked contrast to the expressive, emotional vocabulary of Gauguin.

7.3
| Émile Bernard and Synthetism

Émile Bernard had come to Brittany in the Spring of 1886, before Gauguin's first visit. His career was short-lived but prolific, and his work influenced the direction of modern art in its radical treatment of form and colour. Before his sojourn on the French coast, he had studied in the studio of the academic painter Fernand Cormon.



Émile Bernard, *Two Breton Women in a Meadow,* 1886. Oil on panel. 61.9 x 83.3 cm. Van Gogh Museum, Amsterdam. View Source



Émile Bernard, *Breton Women in the Meadow (Le Pardon de Pont-Aven)*, 1888. Oil on canvas. 74 x 93 cm. Musée d'Orsay, Paris. View Source



Vincent Van Gogh (copy after Émile Bernard), *Breton Women and Children,* 1888. Watercolour painting. 60 x 73.7 cm. Galleria d'Arte Moderna, Milano. View Source

In 1886, at 18, Bernard was expelled from Cormon's studio for his lack of discipline and for his experimental style. He went to Brittany to paint, meeting Gauguin four months later at the Pension Gloanec.

In 1887, according to Ronald Alley in "Émile Bernard: Amsterdam, Van Gogh Museum" (*Burlington Magazine* 133, no. 1056 (1991): 214–16): Gauguin's objective was "to create a visual equivalent to literary Symbolism… [he] began to develop a style inspired by Japanese prints and stained glass, with flat areas of colour surrounded by bold outlines… [by this time] he had become very friendly with Van Gogh."



Émile Bernard, *Self-portrait with Portrait of Gauguin,* 1888. Oil on canvas. 46.5 x 55.5 cm. Van Gogh Museum, Amsterdam.
View Source

Returning to Brittany again in 1888, Bernard joined up with Gauguin at Pont-Aven where, as Alley states, Bernard "according to his own account had a decisive influence on Gauguin's style, his picture of Breton women in the meadow prompting Gauguin to paint *Vision of the Sermon* and make a complete break with Impressionism."



Émile Bernard, *Breton Women in the Meadow (Le Pardon de Pont-Aven)*, 1888. Oil on canvas. 74 x 93 cm. Musée d'Orsay, Paris. View Source



Émile Bernard, *Buckwheat Harvesters at Pont-Aven,* 1888. Oil on canvas. 73 x 90 cm. Private collection. View Source

Two decades apart in age, Gauguin and Bernard desired to simplify form and intensify colour to express the essence of their subjects best. They called their art Synthetism, a term they preferred to Cloisonnism, coined by art critic Édouard Dujardin on the occasion of the Salon des Indépendants in March 1888, where Bernard and Gauguin's works were on exhibit. In both, the decorative outlines derive from the enamel cloisonneé technique and recall the flat distilled images of Japanese prints.

Bernard and Gauguin continued to work together until February 1891, but the ongoing argument about which one was the originator of Synthetism led to their final rift. Bernard left France in 1893, living abroad for over a decade, mainly in Cairo.



Émile Bernard, *Yellow Christ,* 1889. Oil on canvas. 27 9/16 x 23 5/8 in. Indianapolis Museum of Art, Indianapolis.
View Source

Alley states, “He turned against modern art and became a devout Catholic and politically very right wing. Nevertheless, he continued up to his death in 1941 to insist on the importance of his own role as a pioneer of Symbolism in painting, and wrote various articles of a rather bitter, polemical kind to justify his claim.”



Paul Gauguin, *The Yellow Christ,* 1889. Oil on canvas. 92.1 x 73 cm. Albright-Knox Art Gallery, Buffalo. View Source

The schematized brilliance of Synthetism was conducive to the depiction of charged spiritual subjects and Gauguin's intensifying interest in the symbolism of the Passion. *The Yellow Christ*, a radical interpretation of the Crucifixion scene, exemplifies Gauguin's abandoning naturalistic observation for expressive colour and form. Jesus is painted in bright yellow and is placed in a landscape of orange trees and saffron hills. Christ has Gauguin's face, and the Breton women surrounding him are in contemporary costumes, melding present and past.



Paul Gauguin, *The Green Christ*, 1889. Oil on canvas. 92 x 73 cm. Royal Museum of Fine Arts of Belgium, Brussels. View Source

Gauguin's landscapes are filled with artifice, the awkwardly interlocking of foreground, middle ground and background creating an arbitrary space. The events are neither historical nor completely contemporary, and the scenes are neither completely familiar nor imaginary, anticipating the full-blown ambiguity of the artist's later mythical work.

The Green Christ led the poet, art critic and painter Albert Aurier to dub Gauguin a as synthetist ideist, or symbolist, shortly after it was painted. He declared:

> [N]ow that we are witnessing the agony of naturalism in literature and, simultaneously, the preparation of an idealist, even mystical, reaction, we should wonder whether the plastic arts are revealing a similar

evolution. *The Struggle of Jacob and the Angel*, which I have attempted to describe by way of an introduction, is sufficient proof that this tendency exists, and one must understand why painters treading this new path reject this absurd label of impressionist, which implies a program diametrically opposed to theirs. This little discussion about words – which might appear ridiculous at first – is nevertheless, I believe, necessary, for everyone knows that the public, supreme judge in artistic matters, has the incurable habit of judging things according to their names. One must, therefore, invent a new term ending in ist...for the newcomers whose leader is Gauguin: synthetists, ideists, symbolists, as one likes best..." (G.-Albert Aurier, "Le Symbolisme en peinture: Paul Gauguin," *Mercure de France*, no. 2 (March 1981); cited in Henri Dorra, *Symbolist Art Theories: A Critical Anthology* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1994), 197)

7.4
| The Studio of the South and the Volpini Exhibition

Gauguin traveled to Arles in October 1888, where he and van Gogh had established a joint residence, a "studio of the South." The idea for a "studio of the Tropics" took root soon after. In a letter to Bernard, Gauguin talked of his plan to travel to the Indian Ocean Island of Madagascar to establish a new studio, a plan he had also shared with van Gogh. In his letter, he advised Bernard that "the future of a new generation [of artists] in the tropics seems absolutely right," and van Gogh agreed, writing that "new art will have the tropics for its homeland."



Paul Gauguin, *Van Gogh Painting Sunflowers*, 1888. Oil on jute. 73 x 91 cm. Van Gogh Museum, Amsterdam. View Source

Gauguin and van Gogh imagined they would live cheaply, bask in the sun, and attract beautiful women as models and lovers in their ambitions to produce avant-garde work. Their romanticized vision was informed by a host of sources, both factual and fictive. For Gauguin, they stemmed from his childhood experiences in Lima, Peru, and his travels as a merchant marine in Europe, the Americas and the Pacific, including Bergen in Norway, Iquique in Peru and Auckland in New Zealand.

The dream of a Tropical studio was never realized. On Christmas Eve, two months after Gauguin's arrival in Arles, a severe quarrel between the two resulted in Gauguin's departure. It was the last time they saw each other.

Gauguin spent the first three months of 1889 in Paris. That year the city hosted the Exposition Universelle, the world's fair, showcasing the latest in technology and art from over thirty-five countries. France was represented by the *creme de la creme* of its academic artists. Gauguin and other progressives were not included. Knowing of their rejection, they cast about for a venue to exhibit their works in a city swarming with potential buyers. *L'Exposition de Peintures du Groupe Impressioniste et Synthetiste* (the Volpini Exhibition) was held at the Café des Arts on the Champ de Mars, near the Exposition pavilion and the new Eiffel Tower that marked the entrance to the exposition.



Gauguin in his Studio, from the Noa-Noa album, ca. 1893-94.
Photograph. 31.5 x 23.2 cm. Musée d'Orsay, Paris. View Source

The exposition included a Wild West show.

Nancy Mowll Mathews examines how Gauguin absorbed Buffalo Bill's dual cowboy and Indian mythologies at Neuilly-sur-Seine in "Gauguin, Buffalo Bill, and the Cowboy Hat" (*Transatlantica: Revue d'études américaines / America Studies Journal* (https://journals.openedition.org/transatlantica/10968?lang=en):

> Gauguin brought to the Wild West … his own recently-constructed identity as an American Indian (albeit Peruvian) and, in the years following—while in Brittany, Tahiti, and Paris—performed various aspects of the French interpretation of 'Buffalo Bill' as applied to a pioneering modern artist. Gauguin's New World context was extensive, and included his Peruvian and other South American relatives, his art world audience of American artists and collectors, and, finally, his expatriation to the Pacific islands of Tahiti and the Marquesas. His adoption of the long hair and cowboy hat, made internationally famous by Buffalo Bill, gives us a key to understanding how he wove together the French and American cultural notions of primitivism, sexuality, leadership, and the *avant-garde*. And in turn it sheds new light on Buffalo Bill himself as we see him through the lens of the French avant-garde art community. In Gauguin's interpretation of both Buffalo Bill's gender performativity and of the *avant-garde* scout, we gain a new appreciation of [Buffalo Bill] Cody's daring embrace of androgyny and rejection of the narrowness of western civilization, all of which makes him more 'modernist' than the twentieth-century cowboy mythology has previously led us to believe.

Roger Cardinal in "Gauguin" (*Burlington Magazine* 152, no. 1293 (2010): 805–8), a review of the exhibition *Gauguin: Maker of Myth* at Tate Modern in 2010, discusses Gauguin's storytelling and self-inventions as put forward by exhibition curator Belinda Thomson.

> Paul Gauguin needed to be noticed, and constructed a mythic version of himself which embraced both the striking elements of his biography as a social outsider and exile, and the styles and themes of his art, where he stood out as a pioneer of novel expression….
>
> Central to Gauguin's Tahitian narrative was the persona of the European adventurer who had 'gone native' and made a string of dusky conquests.

7.5 | Portraits of the Artist as Other

Despite Gauguin's expectations, the Volpini exhibition was a commercial failure. Receiving the news back in Brittany, he fell into despair. As Jaworska Władysława describes in "'Christ in the Garden of Olive-Trees' by Gauguin. The Sacred or the Profane?" (*Artibus et Historiae* 19, no. 37 (1998): 77–102):

> His failure was even more painful as it put off his longed-for "departure for the tropics." He complained in a letter to Emil Schuffenecker: "I am climbing the hard road of Golgotha. Sounds of outcries, which my latest pictures triggered me from Paris. I do not want to say that they are good, but that they lead to something more perfect than my latest paintings." He also described his state of mind in a letter to Emil Bernard: "The news I get from Paris discourages me so much that I lack the courage to paint and I drag my old body exposed to the northern wind, along the sea shore in Le Pouldu. Automatically I make a few studies (if one can call studies these few strokes of brush coordinated with the eye). But my soul is far away and looks sadly into a black abyss that opens in front of me."



Paul Gauguin, *Christ on the Mount of Olives,* 1889. Oil on canvas. 73 x 92 cm. Norton Museum of Art, West Palm Beach.
View Source

Christ on the Mount of Olives is a dark and profoundly evocative self-image. Extending his time in Brittany, Gauguin continued to paint a series of self-portraits relating himself to the suffering of Christ and building his self-mythology as a hero and martyr. Later, he told a journalist, “There I have painted my own portrait… But it also represents the crushing of an ideal and a pain that is both divine and human.”



Paul Gauguin, *Self-Portrait with Portrait of Émile Bernard (Les Misérables),* 1888. Oil on canvas. 44.5 x 50.3 cm. Van Gogh Museum, Amsterdam. View Source

There is an affinity with his earlier self-images of suffering, for instance, the self-portrait entitled *Les Miserables*, which was painted for Van Gogh the year before.

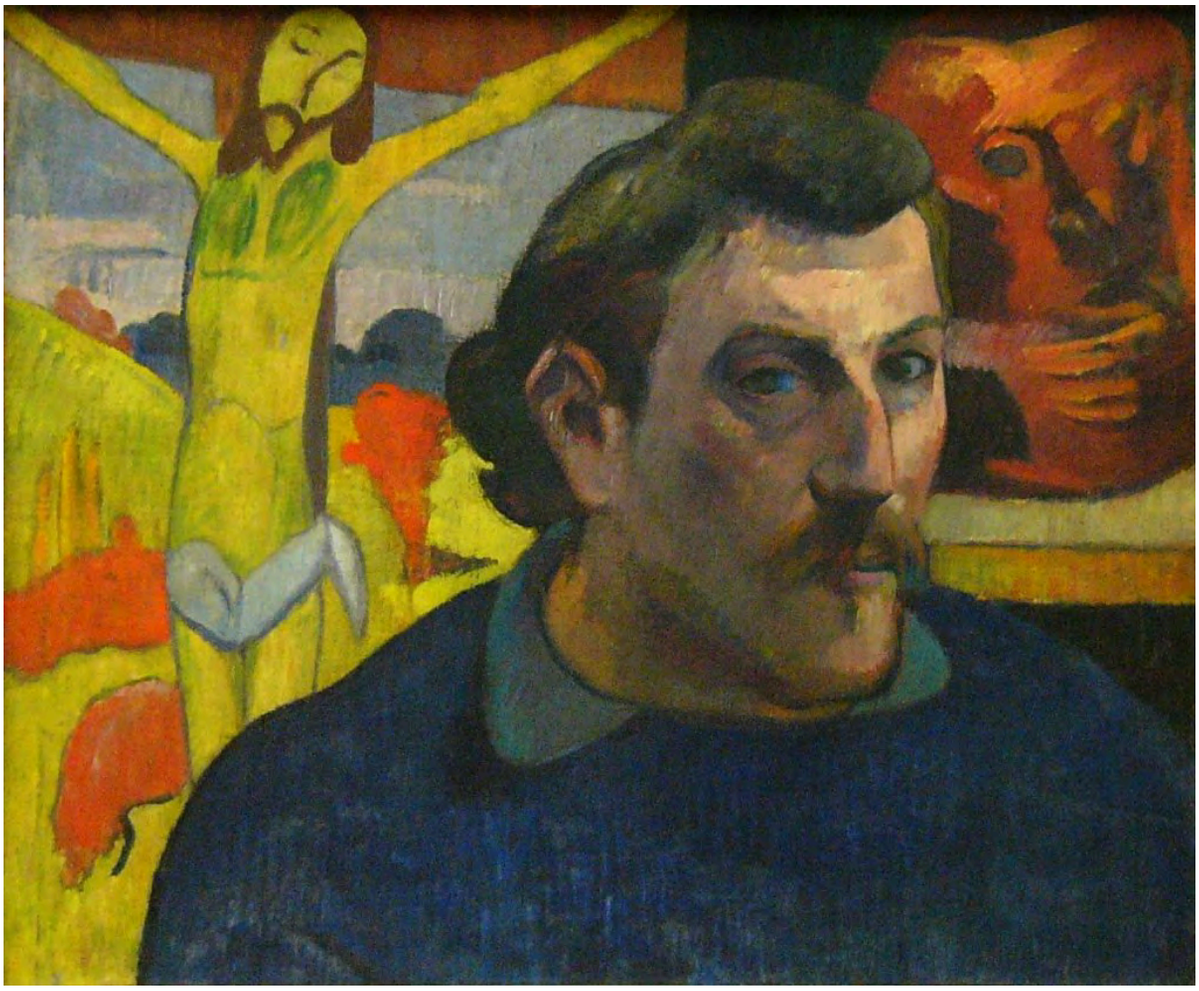
Emily Browne, a contributor to *Sartle: Rogue Art History*, a blog that "mixes serious art history with snarky observations," writes (https://www.sartle.com/artwork/self-portrait-with-portrait-of-Émile-bernard-paul-gauguin):

> Gauguin did something a little funky with his self-portrait though. He made himself look like Jean Valjean, a character in Victor Hugo's novel *Les Misérables*, to insinuate that he is an outcast, but also the best of society. The character Jean Valjean is an ex-con who was imprisoned for stealing bread for his sister's starving children. So, in this painting Gauguin is hinting at the fact that he and his little collective were the good guys and were breaking the rules in order to do the right thing...as opposed to those miscreants in Paris.
>
> The colors in the piece, at least for the time period in which it was made, are gaudy. Gauguin's guava-colored face contrasts harshly with the green portrait of Bernard (done by Bernard himself). The unsettling yellow of the background wallpaper features flowers that are supposed to indicate their "artistic virginity." They were definitely working outside of the box, which made their geographic location outside of Paris all the more fitting.



Paul Gauguin, *Christ on the Mount of Olives,* 1889. Oil on canvas. 73 x 92 cm. Norton Museum of Art, West Palm Beach.
View Source

Władysława continues, “His suffering is so heart-rendering that it can only be compared to the suffering of Christ… This is not a portrait painted from a mirror likeness. The closed eyes with the heavy eye-lids, the large distinct “broken” nose (which was meant to confirm his Inca origin), the shape of his chin were all treated summarily as an archetype to be often repeated in his self-portraits whether *en face*, profile or *trois quarts* views.”



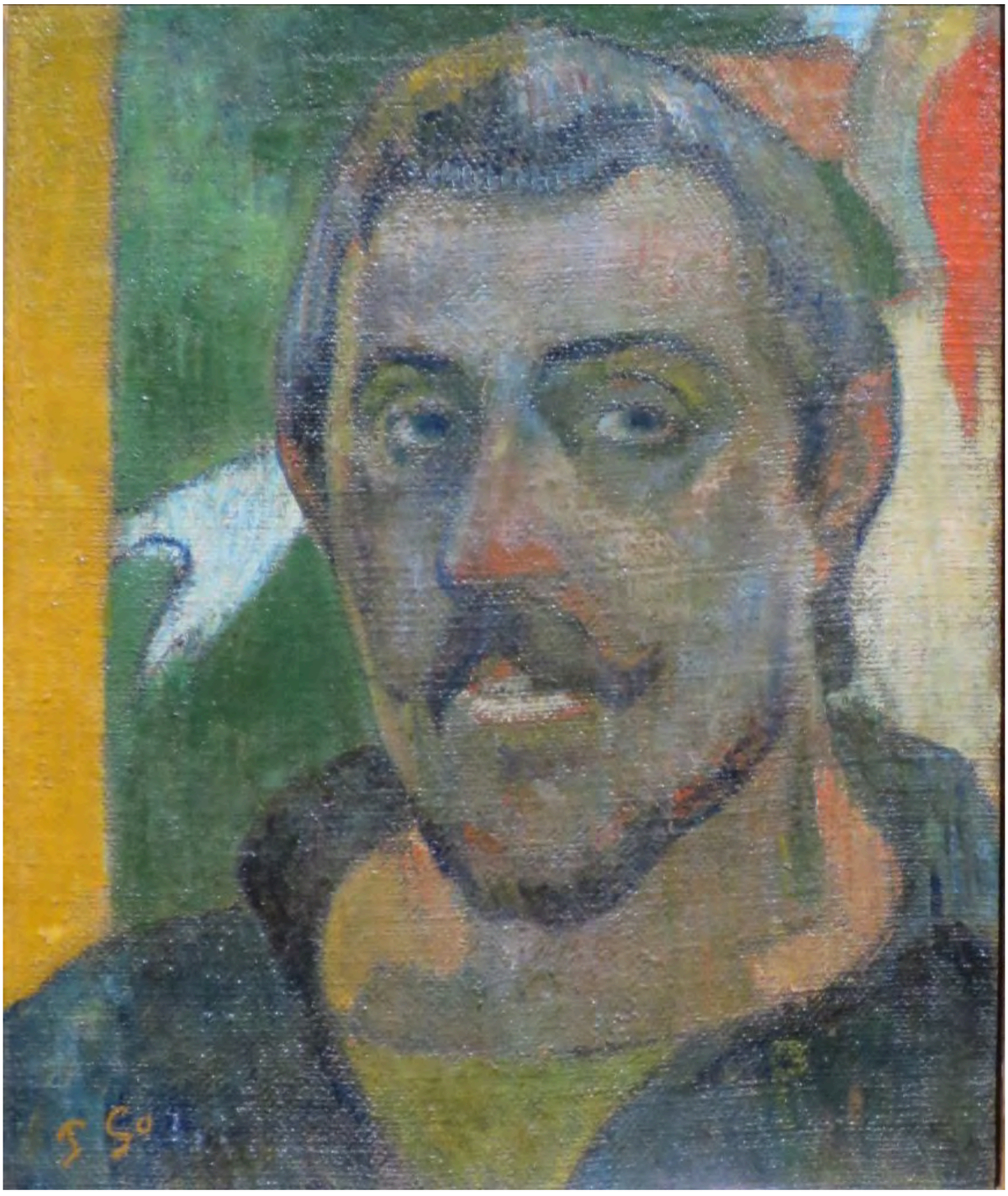
Paul Gauguin, *Portrait of the Artist with the Yellow Christ,* 1891. Oil on canvas. 38 x 46 cm. Musée d'Orsay, Paris.
View Source

In 1891, on the eve of his first trip to Tahiti, Gauguin painted his portrait manifesto, *Portrait of the Artist with the Yellow Christ,* where the Crucifixion scene occupies more than half the background surface. A large earthenware tobacco pot molded in the artist's likeness hovers behind him. His self-image looms large in the foreground, a brooding, confrontational presence whose burdens and determination stare us in the face.



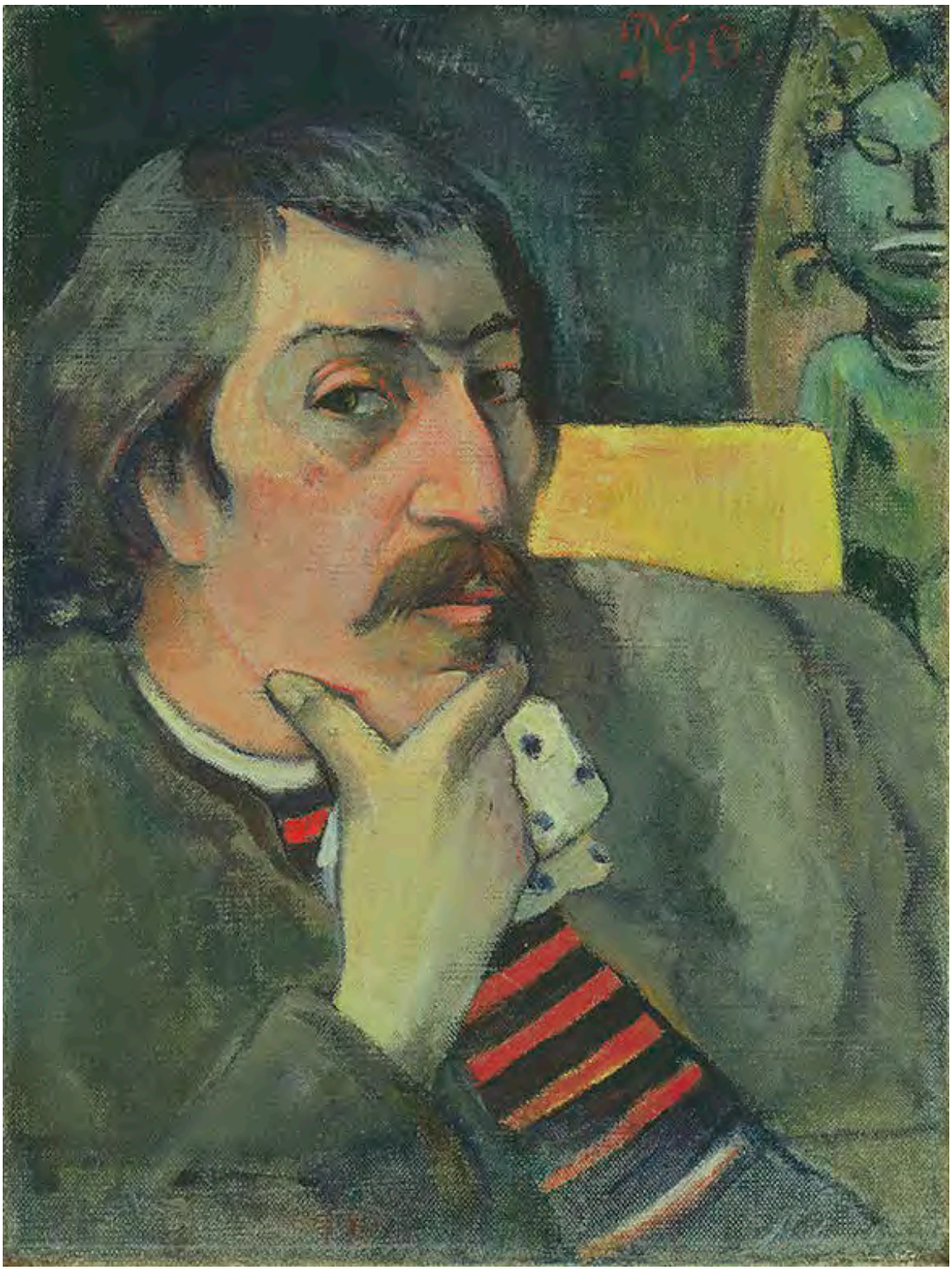
Paul Gauguin, *Jug in the Form of a Head,* 1889. Glazed Stoneware. 19.3 cm (height). Designmuseum Danmark, Copenhagen. View Source

Gauguin's *Jug in the Form of a Head* is, in essence, a severed head. The streaming red against the glaze of the ceramic surface suggests the blood of injury and suffering. The crude subject is furthered by references to the exotic Peruvian folk pottery he would have seen in Paris.



Paul Gauguin, *Self-Portrait,* ca. 1889. Oil on canvas. 45 x 38 cm. Pushkin Museum, Moscow. View Source

In another self-portrait of the same era, Gauguin seems again to accentuate his exotic heritage; part of his self-fabrication was his claim to be of Inca descent. This is apparent in the dark skin and Peruvian-like features. While the narrative is limited in accuracy, Gauguin employed it to mythologize his otherness, stating, “You know I have Indian blood, Inca blood in me, and it’s reflected in everything I do….”



Paul Gauguin, *Portrait of the Artist with the Idol,* ca. 1893. Oil on canvas. 43.8 x 32.7 cm. McNay Art Museum, San Antonio. View Source

Two years after painting *Self-Portrait with the Yellow Christ*, Gauguin painted a self-portrait with a Maori deity in the background, an indicator of the mixing of myths he was prone to. *Self-portrait with the Idol* was completed towards the end of his first Polynesian stay. Chin in hand, looking directly at the viewer, Gauguin is pensive and composed, the idol a representation of the goddess Hina, who symbolized happiness, calm and peace.



Paul Gauguin, *Beach at Le Pouldu*, 1889. Oil on canvas. 73 x 92 cm. Private collection. View Source



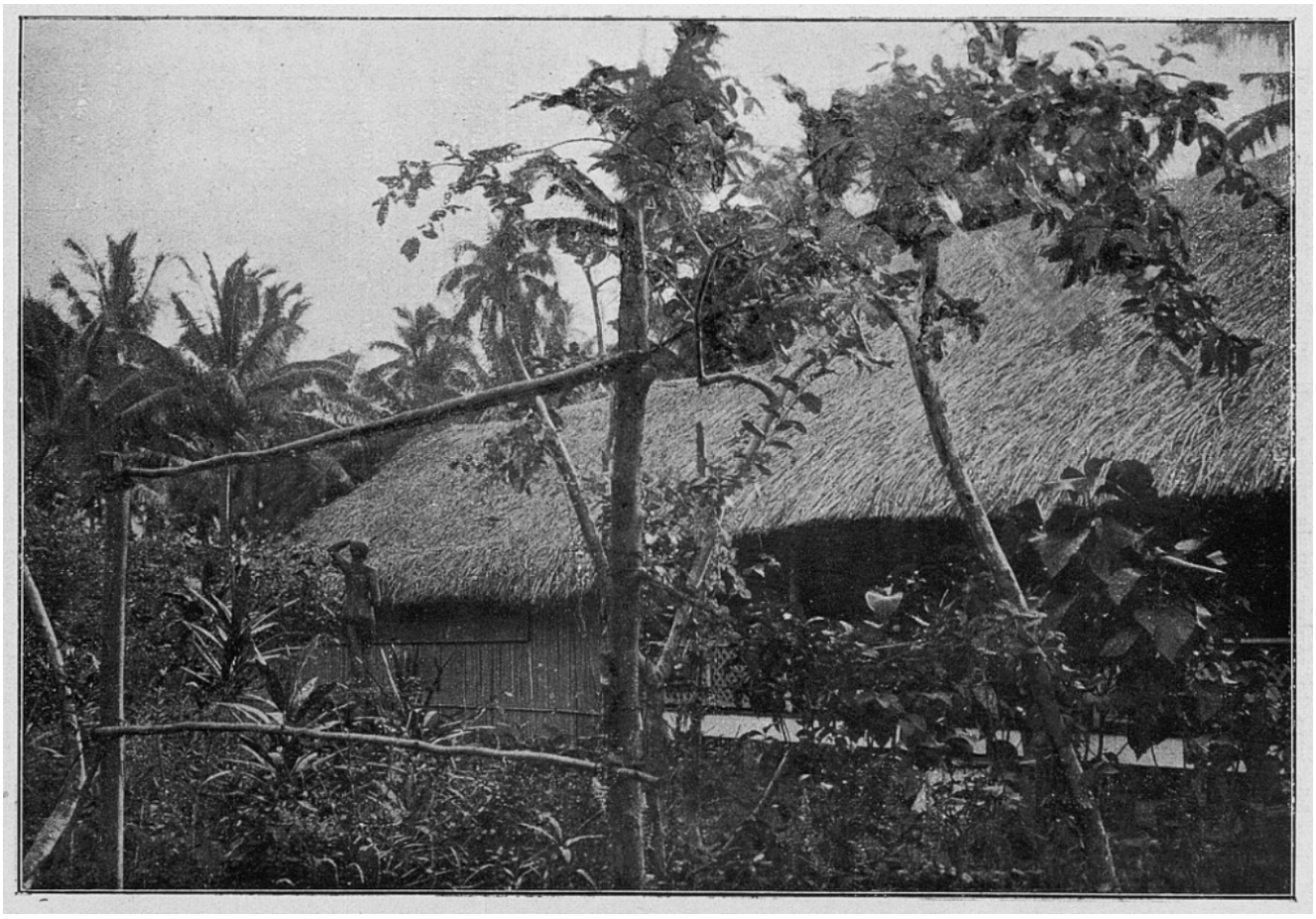
Paul Gaugin, *Haymaking Season, or Harvest: Le Pouldu,* 1890. Oil on canvas. 73 x 92.1 cm. Tate Modern, London. View Source

In 1890, Gauguin was staying in the remote village of Le Pouldu. He continued to sell through the Parisian art dealer Theo van Gogh, but his sales declined.

Vincent Van Gogh died in 1890, followed by Theo six months later. By this time, Gauguin no longer found inspiration in Brittany, finally understanding that it was not a place forgotten by time, even as he claimed otherwise in letters to family and friends. The unique local costumes were not vestiges of an ancient pagan past, and the 'pardons' were as much intended to attract tourists as they were public expressions of religious faith. The exoticism he sought in Brittany did not exist.

7.6
| 'Savage' Influences: Tahiti, 1891

Gauguin remained in Le Pouldu until his transfer to the Pacific Islands as head of a government-funded artistic mission in 1891. He confided in a journalist from the *Écho de Paris*: "I am leaving to be at peace, to be rid of the influence of civilization. I only want to do simple, very simple art. For that, I need to re-immerse myself in virgin nature, to see only savages, to live their life."



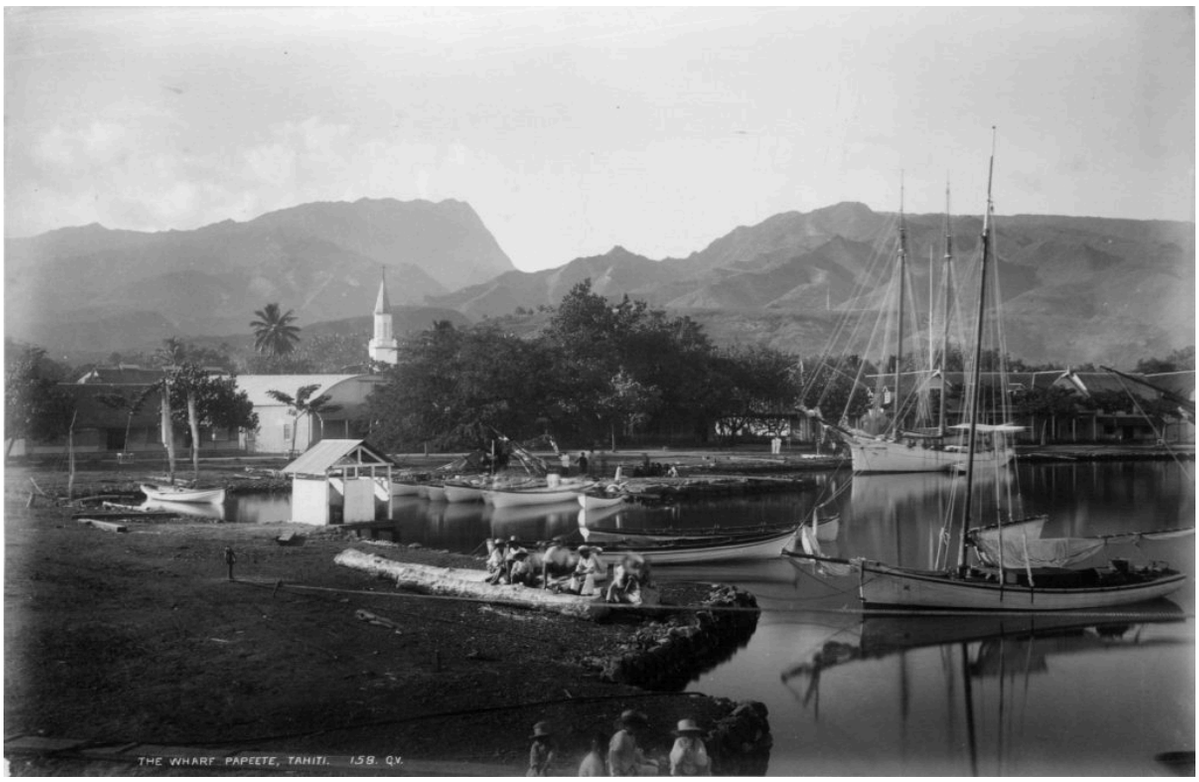
Jules Agnostini, *Gauguin House at Tahiti,* 1905. Photograph. Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris. View Source

Gauguin arrived at Papeete Harbor in June 1891, long-haired and wearing a cowboy hat, expecting to brave a strange new land. But Tahiti was no longer an untamed paradise. Shocked, he moved to the remote district of Mataiea, on the island's far west side. He embraced the land with all his senses, calling it "Noa Noa," meaning "fragrant" or "perfumed."



Sébastien Charles Giraud, *Prise du fort de Fautahua à Tahiti,* 1857. Oil on canvas. 152 x 111 cm. Musée de l'Histoire de France, Versailles. View Source

His arrival in Tahiti occured fifty years after the Franco-Tahitian war and a decade after its French annexation. For three years, from 1844 to 1847, the Tahitians, lacking the military power of the French marines, waged guerilla warfare on the island's mountainous terrain. The French forcibly imposed a protectorate over the Kingdom of Tahiti and then annexed Tahiti in the 1880s.



George Dobson Valentine, *Port of Papeete, Tahiti,* 1887. Photograph. National Library of New Zealand. View Source



A conference of all church members in French Polynesia was held on the atoll of Faaite, January 6, 1893. View Source

Gauguin's scant ethnographic knowledge, combined with his disillusionment when, on reaching Papeete, he first encountered the worst aspects of French colonialism, caused him to idealize the reality of Tahitian life before him. He immersed himself in Oceanic culture, avoiding the French schooners in the harbour and the Catholic missionaries. He began developing his so-called savage imagery, a hybrid of many sources, including

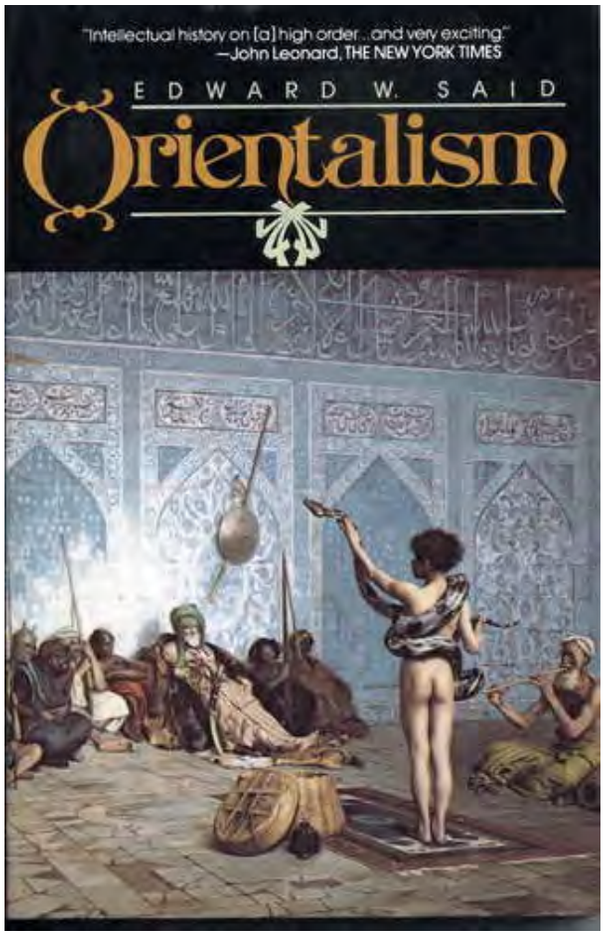
ideas of the exotic encountered in art, literature and through access to primitive artifacts in Paris, well before his travels.



Jean-Léon Gérôme, *Dance of the Aimeh,* 1863. Oil on panel. 50 x 81 cm. Dayton Art Institute. View Source

Gauguin was familiar with the Orientalist genre popular among academicians at the Paris salon. Nineteenth-century Orientalists such as Jean-Léon Gérôme had traveled to the East after the Napoleonic invasion (then defined as the regions of Turkey, the Levant, the Arabian Peninsula, Egypt, Libya, Tunisia, Algeria, and Morocco) and returned with romanticized interpretations of foreign lands and their inhabitants. Their visualized colonial ideology was a form of cultural distortion that presumed the Islamic Orient's inferiority and, intentionally or not, served to justify and perpetuate ideas of European dominance.

Orientalists focused on images laden with cultural significance and transformed them into metaphors and myths that served to contrast the civilized world of the West with the 'barbarism' of the Orient.



Edward W. Said, *Orientalism*(Pantheon Books, 1978). Cover of the first edition, showing part of *The Snake Charmer* (1880), a painting by Jean-Léon Gérôme.
View Source

In 1978, Palestinian-American Edward Saïd published *Orientalism*, a study of European perspectives of the Orient, which laid the foundations of what we now understand as postcolonial studies and the beginnings of a discourse of the Other. Orientalism was essentially the false creation of the Orient as Other, which "was made the subject of lyrics, fantasies, and even novels, but it was never actual." A prejudiced portrayal of non-western culture, Orientalism was repeatedly reproduced in scholarly works, travelogues, novels and poems that underscored a binary worldview where Europe (the West, the 'self ') comprised the rational, developed, humane, superior, virtuous, normal and masculine. In contrast, the Orient (the East, the Other, a surrogate version of the West or the 'self ') must be irrational, backward, despotic, inferior, depraved, aberrant and female.



Jean-Auguste-Dominique Ingres, *The Valpinçon Bather,* 1808. Oil on canvas. 146 x 98 cm. Musée du Louvre, Paris. View Source

Notably, such ideology had parallels in the academic nineteenth-century approaches to depicting the female, which insinuated concepts of the exotic, the passive, and the lesser. Foreigners and females were to be gazed

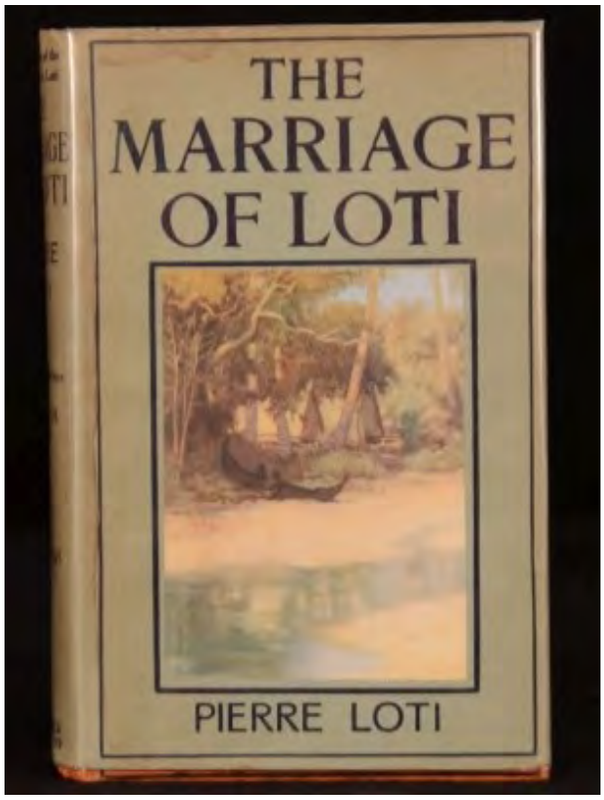
upon, objectivized, and controlled by white western men. The enticing harem scenes were a perfect example of the twinning of dualistic ideas.



John Frederick Lewis, *The Harem – Introduction of an Abyssinian Slave,* ca. 1860. Oil painting on mahogany panel. 114 x 91.1 cm. Birmingham Museums Trust. View Source

For western males, the harem was exotic and escapist, a respite from the strictures and taboos of Victorian society. When John Frederick Lewis went to Cairo, for example, he immediately "turned Turk," painting idealized harem scenes where sensuous women happily cater to the men.

The Orient in these pictorial representations may have kindled Gauguin's interest in the exotic, although he would soon grow critical of them.

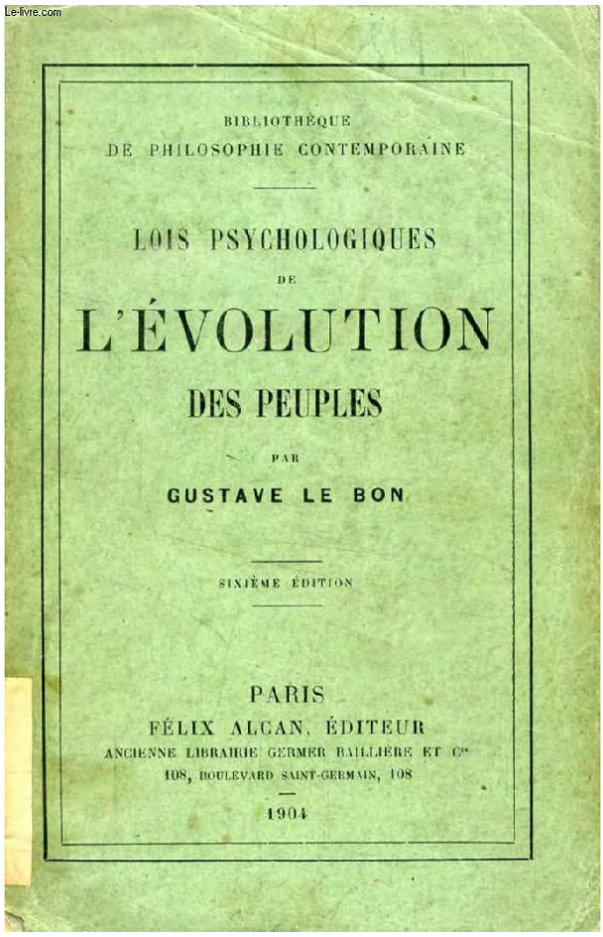


Pierre Loti, *The Marriage of Loti* (1880). View Source

Among the literary sources which inspired ideas of the exotic in Gauguin was *The Marriage of Loti* by Jules Viaud, published in 1880. Viaud's contemplations on love and life in the Orient used words such as strange, exotic, bizarre, mysterious, savage, weird, and incredible. Further, his paradisiacal descriptions of the tropical landscape insinuated a realm of sensual liberty and earthly delights that was stereotypical at best.

Le Mariage de Loti (*The Marriage of Loti*, *Rarahu*, or *Tahiti*) is an autobiographical novel. In 1872, at twenty-two, Julien Viaud (later known as Pierre Loti) was a naval officer stationed briefly in Papeete. In Tahiti, he "went native," adopting native customs and loving the Tahitian women. He was swept away. In his words, "the air was charged with heady and unfamiliar perfume; quite unconsciously I abandoned myself to this enervating existence, overborne by the Oceanic spell." His detailed diary became the source of the novel, which intermixes Loti's true-life experiences with fiction. *Le Mariage de Loti* typically reflected contemporaneous imperialistic attitudes describing the native inhabitants as romantically exotic, child-like and innocent.

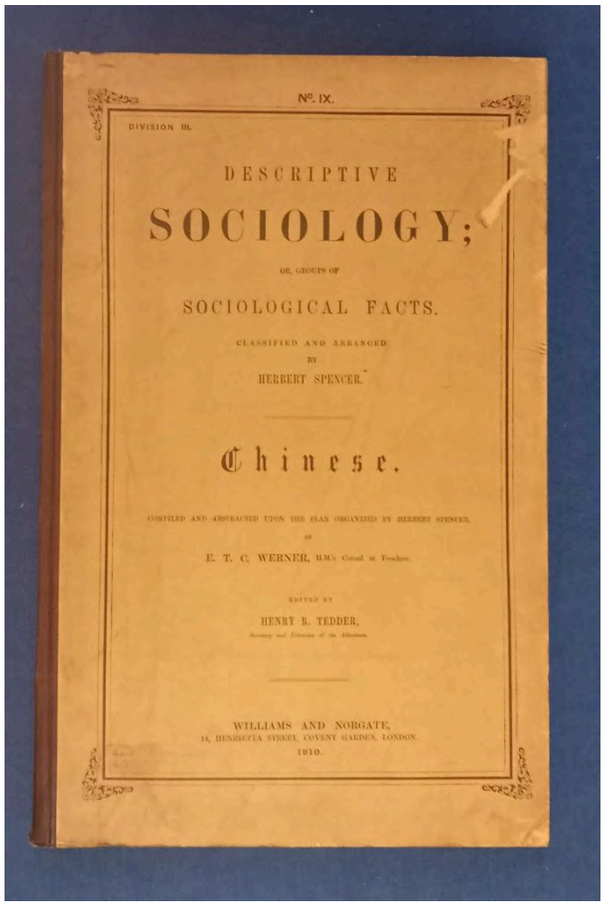
Taking the form of a journal, *Le Mariage de Loti* centres on the ill-fated romantic liaison between a British midshipman, Harry Grant, rebaptized Loti, and a fourteen-year-old Tahitian named Rarahu. The plot is rudimentary, episodic and circular. Loti falls in love with Rarahu but must leave her. After a brief adventure in the Marquesas, he returns to Tahiti and Rarahu, and to the realization of the impossible racial divide. Abandoning her for a second time to pursue love and excitement, he travels to Honolulu, Vancouver and San Francisco's Chinatown. They reunite once more, but despite her conversion to Protestantism, his belief that she is irredeemably savage and doomed like the rest of her race to extinction ends the relationship. Loti finally leaves her, seeing her only once more, in his dreams, before learning of her horrible death.



Gustave Le Bon, *Lois psychologiques de l'évolution des peoples,* 3rd ed. (Paris: Félix Alcan, éditeur, 1898).
View Source

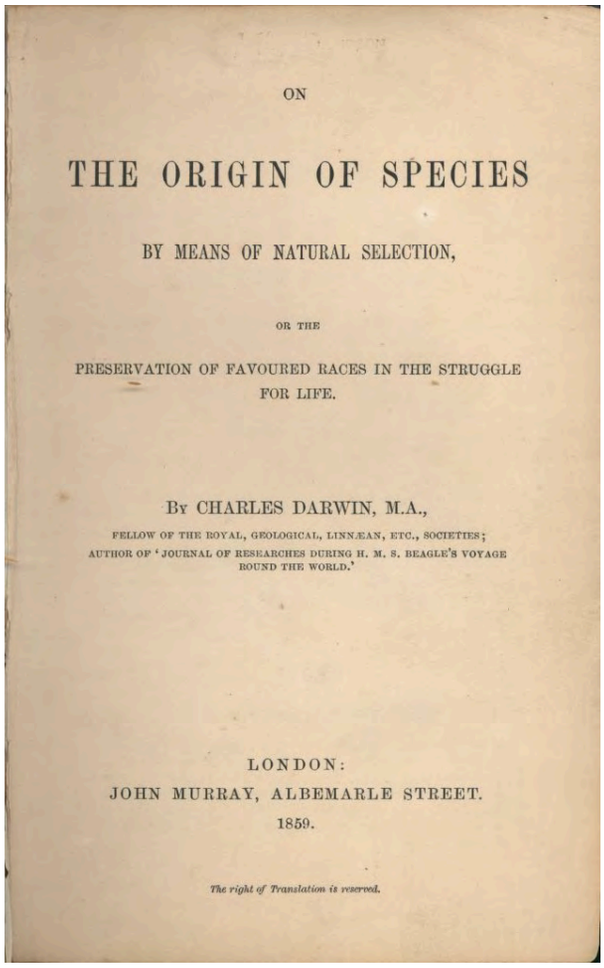
Gustave Le Bon *Les Lois psychologiques de l'évolution des peuples*, first published, 1894 (English translation : *The Psychology of Peoples*)

Beyond the storyline, which establishes the freedom of Loti, and the passiveness of Rarahu, the language employed in *Le Mariage de Loti* echoes prevalent racist and eroticist writings of authors such as Gustave Le Bon. Le Bon popularized notions of moral and physiological decadence amongst primitive races. "Indo-Europeans," he claimed, were uniquely capable of civilization, progress, and conquest, while others including the Australian Aborigines, Pacific kanakas, and African black were not. Instead, the latter experienced arrested development, unhealthy inbreeding or infantilism, and when in contact with a "superior people," he wrote, "the primitive races are inevitably condemned to disappear at an early date."



Herbert Spencer, *Descriptive Sociology; or Groups of Sociological Facts,* parts 1–8, classified and arranged by Spencer, compiled and abstracted by David Duncan, Richard Schepping, and James Collier (London, Williams & Norgate, 1873–1881). View Source

This view of Tahitians follows Herbert Spencer's concept of so-called primitive societies as discussed in his publication *Descriptive Sociology*.



ON

THE ORIGIN OF SPECIES

BY MEANS OF NATURAL SELECTION,

OR THE

PRESERVATION OF FAVOURED RACES IN THE STRUGGLE FOR LIFE.

By CHARLES DARWIN, M.A.,

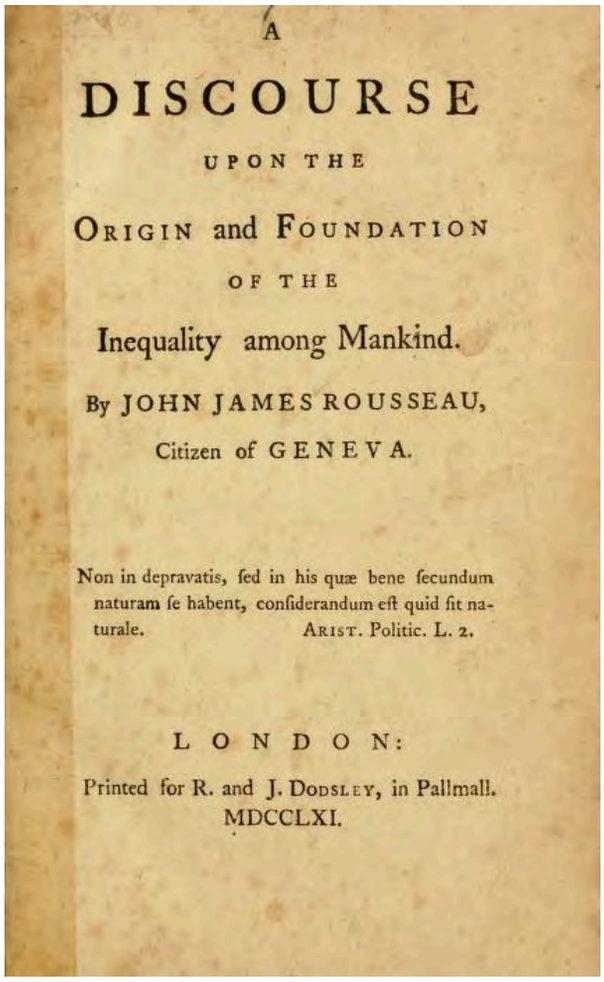
FELLOW OF THE ROYAL, GEOLOGICAL, LINNÆAN, ETC., SOCIETIES;
AUTHOR OF 'JOURNAL OF RESEARCHES DURING H. M. S. BEAGLE'S VOYAGE ROUND THE WORLD.'

LONDON:
JOHN MURRAY, ALBEMARLE STREET.
1859.

The right of Translation is reserved.

Charles Darwin, *On the Origin of Species,* (London: John Murray, 1859). View Source

Spencer was well known for his thesis on social Darwinism. He was the originator of the expression "survival of the fittest," which he coined after reading Charles Darwin's *On the Origin of* Species and which links social superiority with biology. Spencer asserted that Tahitians had a volatile disposition and depraved habits. They were cheerful, good-natured, and fond of jesting, but their emotions were violent and merciless.



A

DISCOURSE

UPON THE

ORIGIN and FOUNDATION

OF THE

Inequality among Mankind.

By JOHN JAMES ROUSSEAU,

Citizen of GENEVA.

Non in depravatis, ſed in his quæ bene ſecundum naturam ſe habent, conſiderandum eſt quid ſit naturale. ARIST. Politic. L. 2.

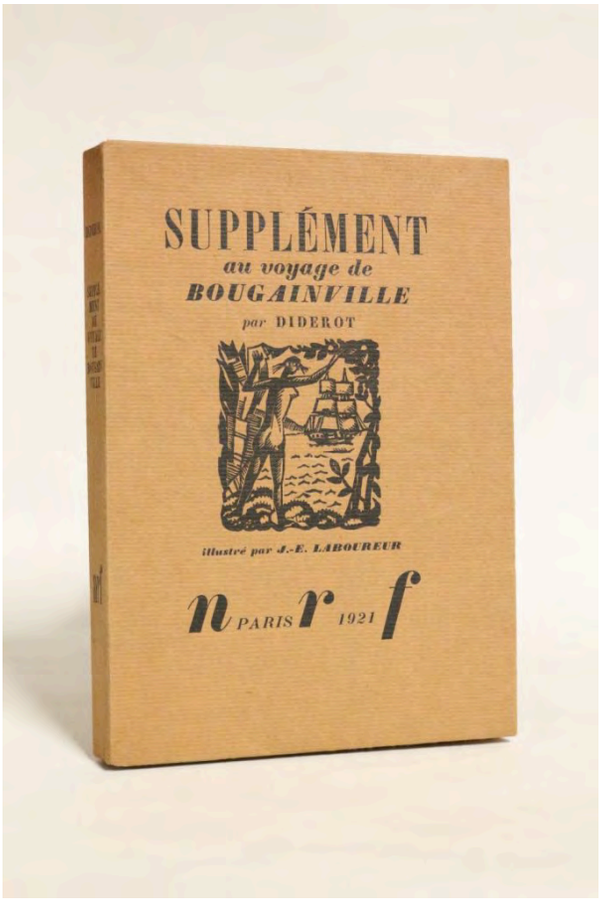
LONDON:

Printed for R. and J. DODSLEY, in Pallmall.
MDCCLXI.

John James Rousseau [Jean-Jacques Rousseau], *Discourse upon the Origin and Foundation of the Inequality Among Mankind* (London: R. and J. D, in Pall Mall, 1761). View Source

Spencer's *Descriptive Sociology* blatantly rejected early texts on primitivism, which first appeared during the 18th-century Enlightenment. In his *Discourse on the Origins and Foundation of Inequality Among Men* (1755), the French philosopher Jean-Jacques Rousseau researched ancient and contemporary peoples and compared their systems of laws and ideas of morality with modern Europeans. For him, the study of "original man," "natural man," "savage man," and "man in his primitive state" was a means to understand the depth and breadth of human virtue and to measure the impact of civilization. His sober conclusion was that civil society and the value it placed on private property and its protection was the basis of all inequality.

The "noble savage," a term Rousseau did not directly employ, spoke to the idealized indigene, the Other, uncorrupted by civilization, epitomizing humanity's innate morality.



Denis Diderot, *Supplément au Voyage de Bougainville* (Paris : NRF, 1921 [1771]). View Source

The *Supplément au voyage de Bougainville, ou dialogue entre A et B sur l'inconvénient d'attacher des idées morales à certaines actions physiques qui n'en comportent pas*, Denis Diderot's series of philosophical dialogues, written in 1772 for the journal C*orrespondance littéraire*, but not published until 1796, similarly, praised the primitive and criticized the civilized.



Joseph Ducreux , *Louis-Antoine, Comte de Bougainville,* 1790. Oil on canvas. 88 cm x 71 cm. Palace of Versailles. View Source

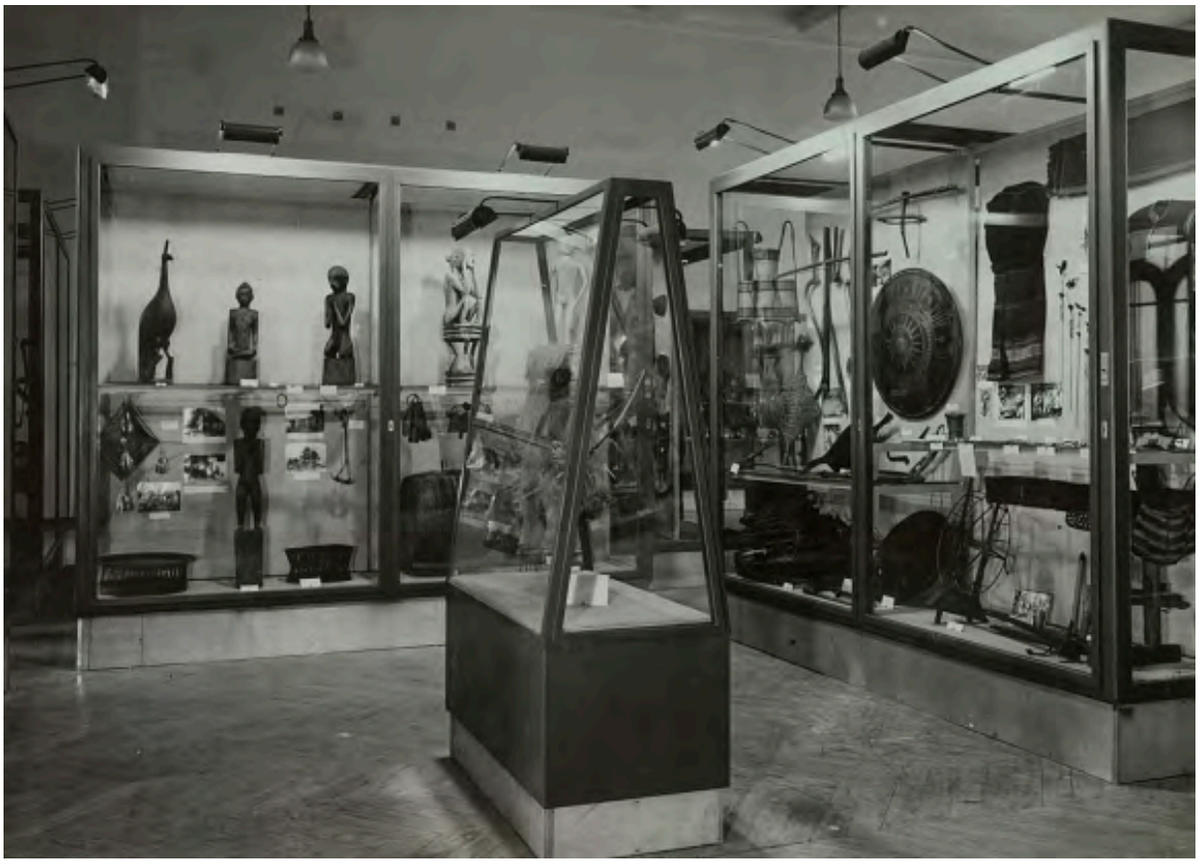
Louis-Antoine, Comte de Bougainville, was a French admiral and explorer. He was acclaimed for his expeditions, including a circumnavigation of the globe in a scientific expedition in 1763, which included Tahiti. Diderot's *Supplément au voyage de Bougainville* was a response to the views of Bougainville, who claimed the superiority of "savage" over "civilized" society.

The text is considered an example of the exotic glorification of foreign primitive people in contrast to the depravity of Western civilization. Diderot discusses the sexual freedom of Tahitians *vis a vis* the European double standard. He proposed that envy, jealousy, coquetry and infidelity were foreign to Tahitian men. "We possess already all that is good or necessary for our existence," says Diderot's wise Tahitian, "Do we merit your scorn because we have not been able to create superfluous wants for ourselves?" While it may seem that

Diderot was advocating for a return to nature, his purpose was to provide the meritorious aspects of primitive societies.



The Trocadéro Palace, home of the Musée d'Ethnographie du Trocadéro, in the 1890s. View Source



"Musée d'Ethnographie du Trocadéro. Salle d'Asie B1. Vitrine Indochine, moï," 1934. Albumen silver print. 13 x 17.5 cm. Musée du quai Branly – Jacques Chirac, Paris. View Source

Imaginings of the exotic were also kindled by the newly opened Musée d'Ethnographie in Paris. The Trocadéro Museum opened to the public in 1878 with artifacts from across the globe, including West Africa and Oceania. Carved clubs, bowls, masks, and sculptures were inspirational to Gauguin and other artists interested in exploring new perspectives in art.

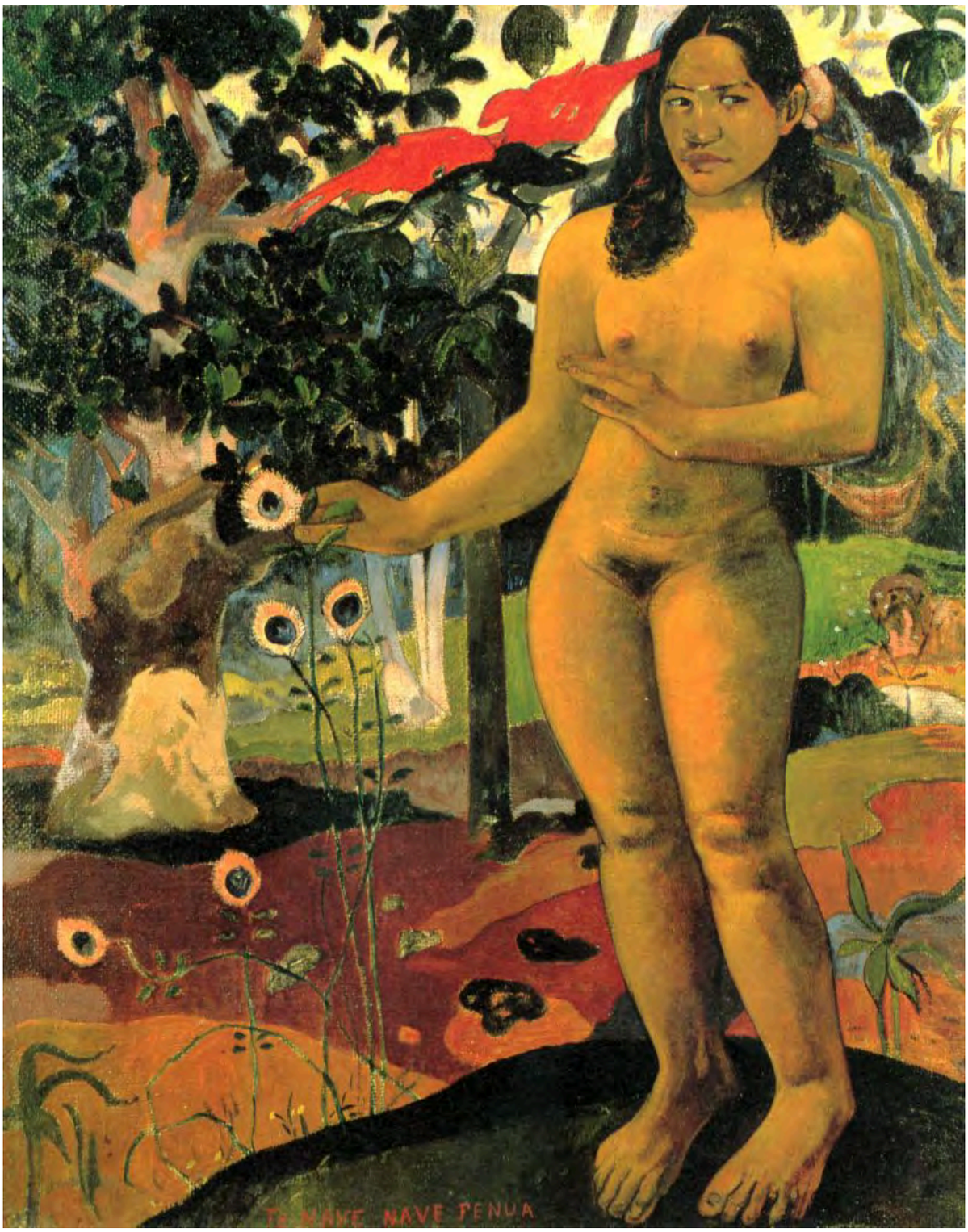


Paul Gauguin, *Woman with Mango Fruits*, ca. 1889. Painted oak. 30 x 49 cm. Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek, Copenhagen. View Source

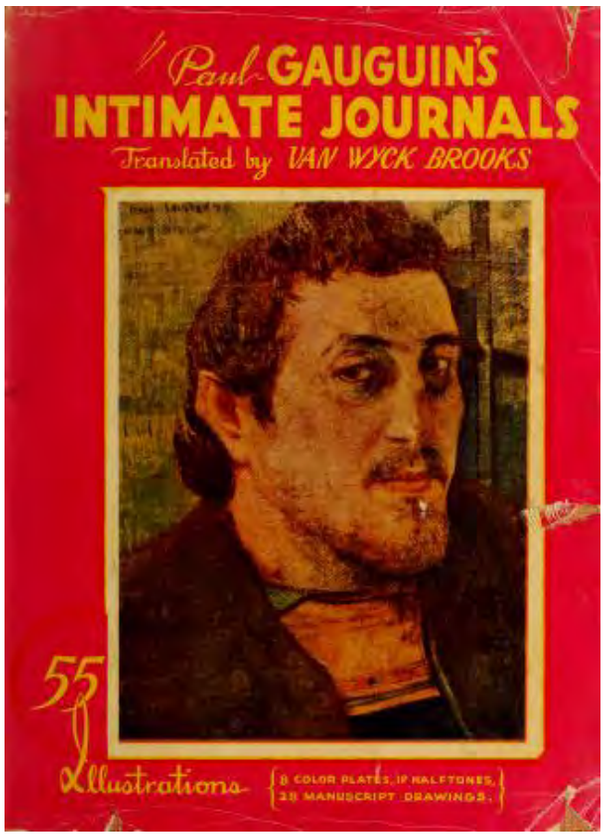
Gauguin's exposure to the exotic and the primitive therefore predated his departure for Tahiti and was influenced by a variety of disparate sources as manifested in his painted relief sculpture *Woman with Mango Fruits* of 1889.

7.7
| Fantastical Figures and Scandalous Subjects

The Delightful Land is one of Gauguin's most complex early Tahitian paintings. When he wrote about it in his *Intimate Journals* he quoted the art critic Achille Delaroche: "Fantastical orchard. Its seducing plants stimulate the sexual desire of Eve in the Garden of Eden. Her arm timidly extends, trying to pick an evil flower. The monster Chimera flutters its red wing to graze her temple."



Paul Gauguin, *The Delightful Land*, 1892. Oil on canvas. 91 x 72 cm. Ohara Museum of Art, Kurashiki. View Source



Paul Gauguin, *Paul Gauguin's Intimate Journals* (New York : Crown Publishers, 1936). View Source

The Tahitian Eve pictured here is naive in her nudity. She is placed in an idyllic nature, harmonious and joyful but for the small demon that appears nearby. Strange peacock-like flowers and anthropomorphic plant life stand in for the original serpent and the apple of original sin. The girl's naked body appears to sway in time to the rhythms of the unheard *upa upa.*For Gauguin, she was like Loti's Rarahu, always "singing and loving."The model was Teha'amana, Gauguin's thirteen-year-old 'native wife.' French colonialists like Gauguin commonly took native wives, but such unions were not legally binding.

In *The Delightful Land*, Teha'amana is not shown as conventionally beautiful. She is depicted as heavy-set and compact, with broad shoulders, wide thighs, thick calves, and large hands and feet. She is dark-skinned and black-haired and is disfigured by a polydactyl foot, a feature which prompted a contemptible comparison to a simian with feet adapted for use as hands. Another critic judged her to be 'lower' on the scale of evolution.

In addition, her posture and anatomy emphasize boyishness, insinuating a different assault on the depictions of the female nude. Gauguin wrote in *Noa Noa*: "there is something virile in the (Tahitian) women and (something) feminine in the men." And when his friend and literary collaborator Charles Morice described Teha'amana, he called her an "androgynous little girl."



Eugène Emmanuel Amaury Duval, *Birth of Venus,* 1862. Oil on canvas. 197 x 109 cm. Palais des Beaux-Arts de Lille. View Source

Teha'amana/Eve is the embodiment of European racist tropes. Her image contrasts, even clashes, with well-known conceptions of the Venus of western mythology. She represents but does not resolve the contradictions. This is echoed by Gauguin's own words:

> She was to all intent my little wife; I loved her truly. And yet there was a great gulf between us-a great gate forever shut. She was a little savage; between us two who were one flesh there was a radical difference of race and utter divergence of views on the first elements of things. If my ideas and conception were often impenetrably dark to her, so were hers to me...I remember what she had once said to me: "I am afraid lest the same god did not create us both. In truth we were the offspring of two types of nature absolutely apart and dissimilar and the union of our souls could only be brief, imperfect and stormy."

Gauguin's grasp of evolutionary ideas is crudely expressed in these thoughts: "The feet of a quadrumane! So be it! Like Eve the body is still an animal thing. But the head has progressed with evolution, the thinking has acquired subtlety, love has imprinted an ironic smile on the lips and naively she searches in her memory for the why of times past and present."

Is she then a transformative figure synthesizing both European and non-Western mythology? In Polynesia, bruised heads and feet, the transformation of men and women into rooted trees and plants, and the dismemberment and dispersal of bodies were associated with Tahitian genesis mythology. Thus, she is an Eve born of the earth and a modern Tahitian born of a particular historical union. She is not merely a primitive product of nature but a complex creature of culture, her binarism highlighted by her foot with six toes.

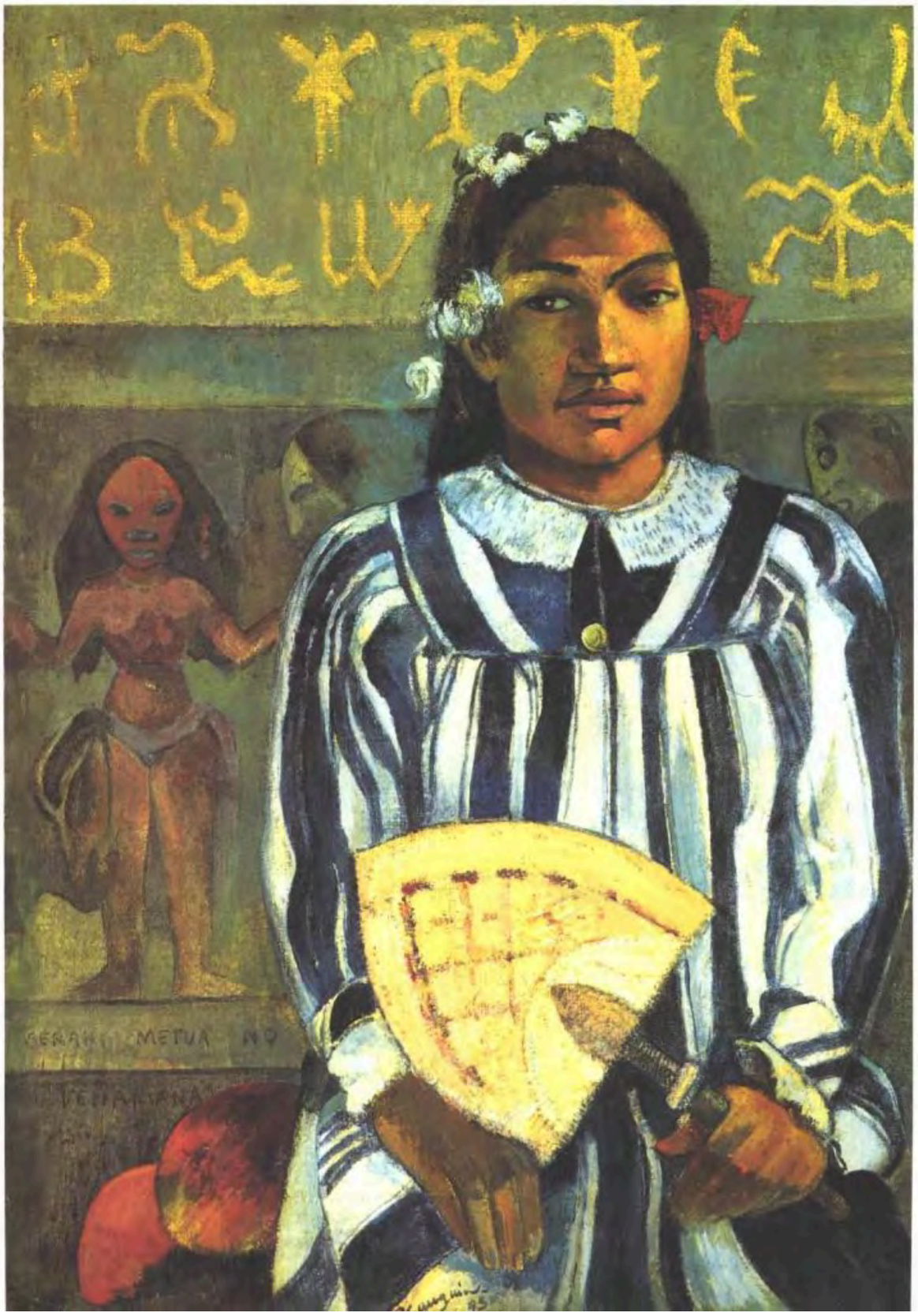


Pierre Loti, *Rarahu.* View Source

Loti's stereotypical Rarahu had become a foil by the time Gauguin departed from Tahiti in 1893, and the book was a representation of the bourgeois ideas of Polynesia that Gauguin had sought to overcome. Whereas Viaud described Rarahu as "a little creature," Teha'amana is a veritable giantess, a fact clearly articulated by Gauguin, "This is not some little Rarahu, listening to a pretty ballad by Pierre Loti…She is Eve after the Fall, still able to go about unclothed without being immodest, still with as much animal beauty as on the first day."

Strength, sexuality, confidence, not weakness, innocence and passivity were the traits Gauguin wished to depict in the representation of this and other Tahitian women. Whereas Rarahu's "business in life," as written by Viaud, was "simple and mindless … to dream, to bathe- especially to bathe-to sing and to wander through the woods," Tahitian Eve was far more complex.

Gauguin noted how the Tahitian body, naked, agile, powerful, and erotic was specifically adapted for a Pacific Island life and culture, which (he) supposed was ancient and slow to change.



Paul Gauguin, *Tehamana Has Many Parents or The Ancestors of Tehamana,* 1893. Oil on canvas. 76.3 x 54.3 cm. Art Institute of Chicago. View Source

Painted near the end of Gauguin's first Tahitian trip, *Tehamana Has Many Parents,* or *The Ancestors of Tehamana,* depicts his teenage lover again. The title references the rich ancestral past of Tahiti, where adoption and foster parentage were common. Here Teha'amana is surrounded by ancient and new symbols: the island's ripe mangoes, an inscription plucked from a tablet on Easter Island, and a background frieze depicting dancers whose forms echo the glyphs above. The open-armed female figure to the right of Teha'amana is in native costume while she is clothed in western dress, perhaps a comment on the modernizing of the island.



Tahitian Girls wearing Mother Hubbard Dress, ca. 1860-79. Musée de l'homme, Paris. View Source

The complexities of colonial influence, evidenced by the fashionably hybrid attire, may also be seen in this photographic group portrait of women in missionary dress.



Paul Gauguin, *Spirit of the Dead Watching [Spectre Watches Over Her. Mano Tupapau],* 1892. Oil on hessian mounted on canvas. 72.4 x 92.4 cm. Albright-Knox Art Gallery, Buffalo. View Source

Teha'amana was the model for a third painting by Gauguin entitled *Spirit of the Dead Watching.* This time the imagery is overtly sexualized. Yet, while the pose is highly suggestive, the face shows apprehension. The image was deemed scandalous from the time of its exhibition in Paris in 1894 and continues to elicit criticism amongst contemporary art historians today. At the time of the painting's exhibition, Gauguin wrote to his wife Mette in Paris to prepare her for the controversy ahead, arming her with a different narrative, that of a woman transfixed by the fear of a Maohi (phantom).

> I have painted a young girl in the nude. In this position a trifle more, and she becomes indecent. However I want it this way as the lines and movement interest me. So I make her look a little frightened. This fright must be excused if not explained in the character of a person, a Maohi. These people have by tradition a great fear of the dead. One of our young girls would be startled if surprised in such a posture. Not so a woman here … Here endeth the little sermon, which will arm you against the critics when they bombard you with their malicious questions.

The young girl's fearful expression is directed at the viewer, gazing upon her recumbent nude body. It highlights that Gauguin's alternative narrative was spurious, reducing ancestor worship's complexities to mere superstition.



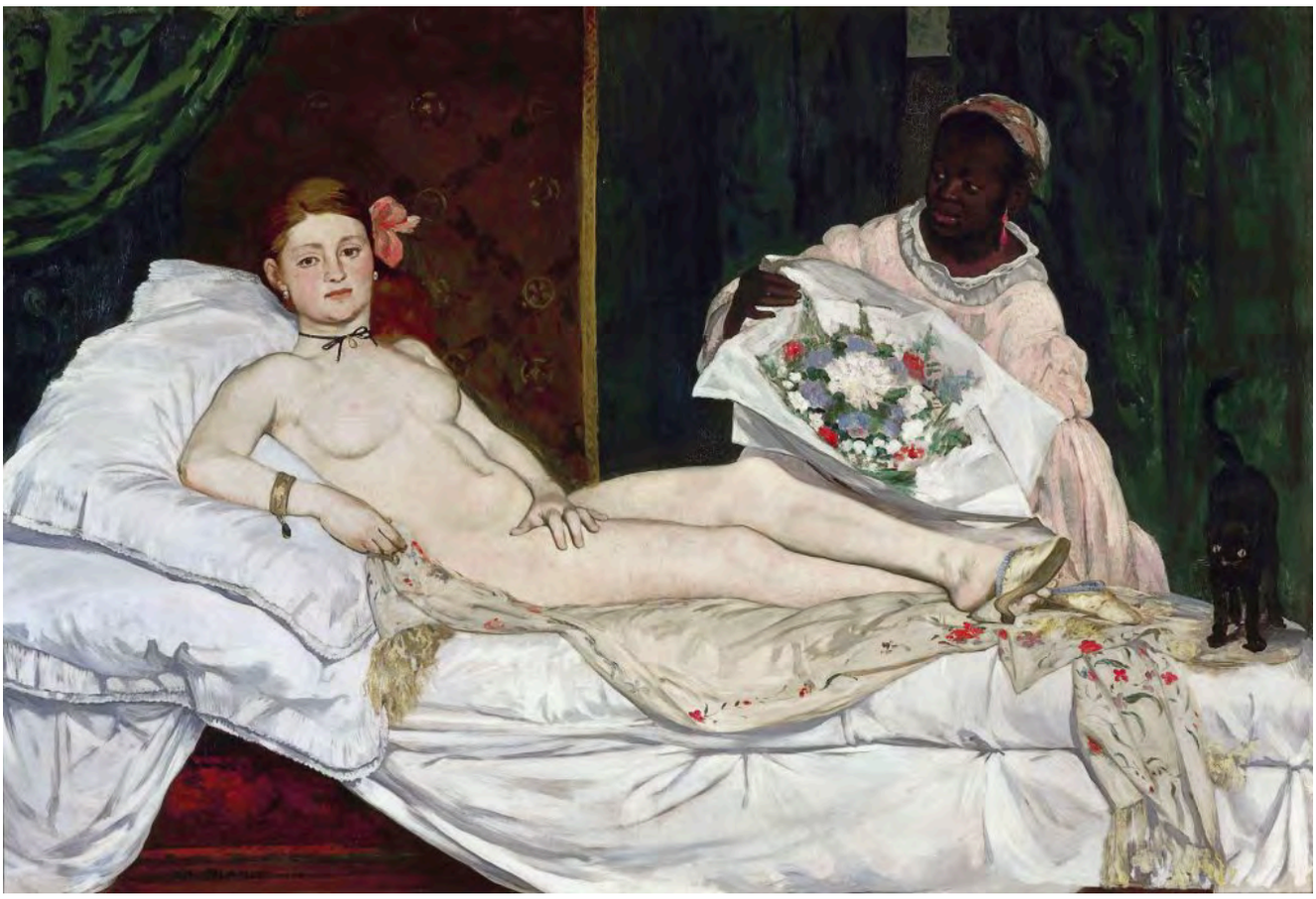
Pierre Puvis de Chavannes, *The Dream,* 1883. Oil on canvas. 82 x 102 cm. Walters Art Museum, Baltimore. View Source



Émile Bernard, *Madeleine in the Bois d'Amour*, 1888. Oil on canvas. 138 x 163 cm. Musée d'Orsay, Paris. View Source



Paul Gauguin, *The Loss of Virginity,* ca. 1890-91. Oil on canvas. 89.5 x 130.2 cm. Chrysler Museum of Art, Norfolk. View Source



Édouard Manet, *Olympia,* 1863. Oil on canvas. 130 x 190 cm. Musée d'Orsay, Paris. View Source

Despite its allusions to primitivism, the suggestive nature of the image was familiar, not uncommon, transcending cultural contexts. Gauguin had exoticized the erotic. Among the French precedents that exist are Puvis de Chauvannes's *The Dream* (1883), Bernard's *Madeleine au Bois d'Amour* (1888), Gauguin's *The Loss of Virginity* (1890-91) and, of course, Manet's *Olympia*.



Paul Gauguin, *Spirit of the Dead Watching [Spectre Watches Over Her. Mano Tupapau],* 1892. Oil on hessian mounted on canvas. 72.4 x 92.4 cm. Albright-Knox Art Gallery, Buffalo. View Source

Compositionally, the similarities between *Olympia* and *Mano Tupapau* are striking. The massive bed across the plane of the painting, a naked body served up on a sheet of dazzling white linen and set off by a patterned background, the expressive hand gestures. Both compositions contrast a recumbent nude and a clothed upright figure. One significant difference is that in Gauguin's painting, the maid figure is now the spirit of death.

The story behind *Mano Tupapau* is repeated in Gauguin's *Noa Noa* manuscript:

> One day I had gone to Papeete. I had promised to come back that same evening. On the way back, the carriage broke down halfway: I had to do the rest on foot. It was one in the morning when I got home. Having at the moment very little oil in the house – my stock was due to be replenished – the lamp had gone out, and the room was darkness when I went in.... Tehura (Teha'amana) lay motionless, naked, belly down on the bed: she stared up at me, her eyes wide with fear and she seemed not to know who I was. For a moment I felt a strange uncertainty. Tehura's dread was contagious; it seemed to me that a phosphorescent light poured from her staring eyes. I had never seen her so lovely; above all, I had never seen her beauty so moving... Perhaps she took me, with my anguished face, for one of those legendary demons or spectres, the *tupapaus* that filled the sleepless nights of her people.

Gauguin insisted that the work was merely a representation of Tahitian superstition. Without its superstitious aspect, it was simply a nude. He continued:

> According to Tahitian beliefs, the title has a double meaning... either she thinks of the ghost or the ghost thinks of her. To recapitulate: musical part-undulating horizontal lines-harmonies in orange and blue linked by yellows and violets from which they derive. The light and greenish sparks. Literary part-the spirit of a living girl linked with the spirit of death. Night and day. This aforementioned genesis is written for those who always have to know the whys and whereafter. Otherwise, the picture is simply a study of a Polynesian nude.

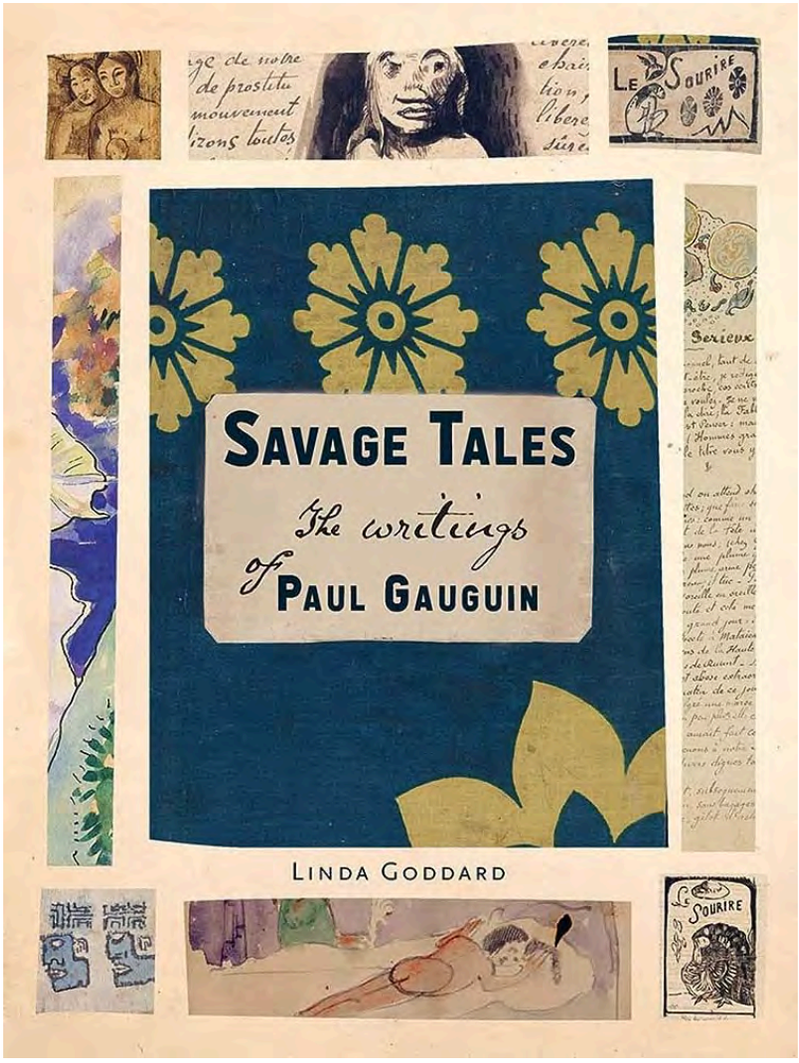
Gauguin also rationalized his choice of risky imagery, penning the following:

> A young native woman lies flat on her face. Her terror-stricken features are only partially visible ... I am attracted by a form and movement and paint them with no other intention (than a nude) ... In this particular state, the study is a little indecent. But I want to do a chaste picture and above all render the native mentality and traditional character ... What can a nude Kanaka girl be doing quite naked on her bed in a rather risky pose as this? She can be preparing herself of course for lovemaking. This is an interpretation which answers well to her character but is an indecent idea which I dislike. If on the other hand she is asleep the inference is that she has had intercourse which also suggests something indecent. The only conceivable mood is one of fear. But what sort of fear possessed her? Certainly not the fear shown by Susannah when she was surprised by some old men. There is no such fear in the South Seas. No, it is of course the tupapau. The Kanakas are always afraid and leave a lamp light at night... As soon as this idea of a tupapau occurred to me I concentrate on it and make it the theme of my picture, the nude thus becomes subordinate.

That the subject of this painting was Gauguin's thirteen-year-old "wife," extends its controversial aspects. These relationships between European men and Tahitian women, formalized on the Island and meaningless elsewhere, were predicated upon the wielding of the power of men, regardless of culture. The racist structures which empowered western men to destroy the kinship system of other cultures may be seen as a racialized extension of the phenomenon. Western narratives such as *Marriage de Loti* reflect this. While Teha'amana's self-perception was that of a young wife, from a European perspective, she was inconsequential, a prostitute.

The image and the artist's written account speak of colonialism, racism, and misogyny. The young woman is "terrified out of her mind" by a spectre suggests that she is ruled by emotion and mysticism, incapable of rational thought.

7.8
| *Noa Noa*



Linda Goddard, *Savage Tales: The Writings of Paul Gauguin* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2019). View Source

In her book review of "*Savage Tales: The Writings of Paul Gauguin* by Linda Goddard" (*Nineteenth-Century Art Worldwide* 19, no. 2 (Autumn 2020), https://doi.org/10.29411/ncaw.2020.19.2.9), Mary Morton outlines the author's focus on Gauguin's literary career as a whole:

> Paul Gauguin and the extraordinary range of his creative output—paintings and drawings, wood and ceramic sculpture, prints, and prose—pose one of the stickier challenges for historians of nineteenth-century art. … His visual art was intended to provoke and shock, and his prolific textual output was riddled with statements that were racist, sexist, anti-French, anti-colonial, and frequently untruthful and contradictory. He was a contrarian, an inveterate liar, and one of the most inventive and compelling artists of the later nineteenth-century.
>
> … (Goddard) also critiques the dismissal of Gauguin's writings as amateurish and narrowly self-serving, and secondary to his larger artistic project. This reputation was reinforced by Gauguin himself … aligning a fragmentary, non-linear, and apparently simple style with his "savage" identity. Goddard makes the point that his primitivist self-fashioning against academic conventions extended to his literary work.



PORTRAIT OF THE ARTIST BY HIMSELF

NOA NOA

BY

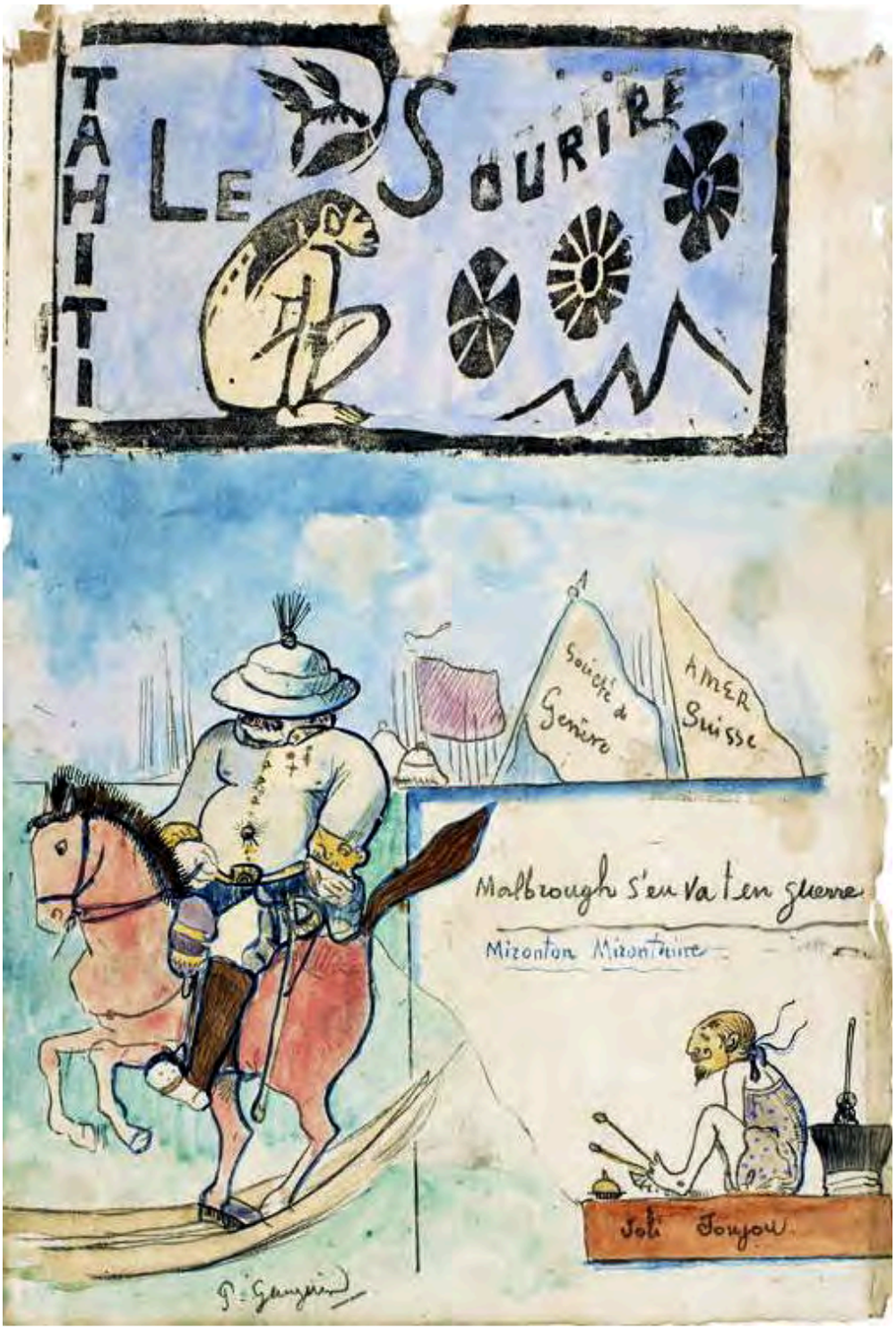
PAUL GAUGUIN

TRANSLATED FROM THE FRENCH
BY
O. F. THEIS

WITH TEN ILLUSTRATIONS

NICHOLAS L. BROWN
NEW YORK MCMXX

Paul Gauguin, *Noa Noa,* trans. O. F. Theis (New York: Nicholas L. Brown, 1920). View Source



Paul Gauguin. *Le Sourire* (Caricature of Governor Gallet). 1899 or 1900. Woodcut on paper and drawing in watercolour. 296 mm x 204 mm. Art Institute of Chicago. View Source

From *Ancien Culte Mahorie*, *Cahier pour Aline*, and *Noa*, all of 1893, to the satirical broadsheet he produced in his final years in the Marquesas titled *Le Sourire*, Goddard's study peels back this maneuvering to define a distinct authorial practice worthy of serious literary attention.

When Gauguin returned to Paris in 1893, he began writing his semi-fictionalized *Noa Noa,* maybe to accompany the Durand-Ruel exhibition of his Tahitian paintings in Paris that same year. While he wrote the preliminary draft himself, he invited collaborators, such as the poet Charles Morice, to elaborate and edit. Back in Tahiti, he continued to add material, including a section titled *Diverses Choses*. Alastair Wright explains in *Paradise Lost* (*Artforum* 49, no. 1 (September 2010):

> *Diverses Choses* (*Various Things*, 1896–98), a sprawling manuscript the artist penned in Tahiti, opens with a description of its own form: "Scattered notes, without order like Dreams, made up of fragments, like

life. And because of the fact that several collaborate here; the love of beautiful things glimpsed in one's neighbor's house." The first sentence aptly characterizes Gauguin's aphoristic and disjointedly anecdotal writing; the second makes explicit that the pages to follow will be constructed not only from the artist's own thoughts but also from the words of others, textual fragments that caught the artist's eye and that he harvested from a dizzyingly wide array of sources. That this is stated openly requires us to think differently about Gauguin: not as a plagiarist, but as someone who allows us to sense that he worked always with the already written. His images may make the same point.



Paul Gauguin, *Femmes et déesses polynésiennes,* Album Noa Noa, folio 30 recto, ca. 1893. Watercolour, pen and black ink, and pasted photograph. 315 mm x 232 mm. Louvre Museum, Department of Graphic Arts. View Source

Noa Noa resembled an artist's book, a *livre d'artiste,* more than a conventional book. It contained original drawings, watercolours and prints, Morice's poems, and "more or less original texts in which Gauguin pens a fictional 'memoir' of his life in Tahiti." Goddard goes on to identify "strains of imperialist ideology and romantic travel writing, as well as a darker shift in which the "familiar trope of a land of plenty, characterized by leisure and sexual liberty, whose beauty was embodied by the compliant and youthful Tahitian woman, became tainted by the fatalistic narrative of extinction." Morton continues,

> While *Noa* draws heavily on travel-writing tropes, its most compelling dynamic is in Gauguin's complex self-presentation as both primitivized and irredeemably European … The description of his discomfort, alienation, and loneliness belies the fantasy of a seamless immersion in this exotic paradise. Goddard notes passages born of self-awareness and social insecurity in which he challenges the boundaries of colonial, sexual, and gender identity, such as his embarrassment at being stood up by the villagers for a communal event, or his recognition of Tehamana's confident serenity relative to his own sense of fearful hesitancy (84–5). He does not, then, feed conventional notions of primitivism as having to do with some essential element of Polynesia, but rather acknowledges it as an ideological construction inextricably bound up with the conditions of colonialism and capitalist modernity.

Perhaps Goddard's greatest contribution in *Savage Tales* is her restoration of the sense of material complexity to *Noa Noa* and Gauguin's other ambitious manuscripts... The collage aesthetic and the brilliant symbiosis of word and image is conveyed through beautiful reproductions of carefully selected album pages. She argues for the aesthetic coherence linking the artist's visual oeuvre to his literary work, involving the "bricolage" of motifs, and the process of appropriation, reiteration, fragmentation, and repetition.



Paul Gauguin, *Self-Portrait with Hat,* 1893. Oil on canvas. 45 x 38 cm. Musée d'Orsay, Paris. View Source

Gauguin returned to Paris in September 1893 and exhibited his 'savage' Polynesian paintings, including *Spirit of the Dead Watching* (*Manao Tupapau*), which he considered the most significant among them. The works were not much-admired. *Self-Portrait with Hat*, within which *Manao Tupapau* is inserted as a mirror image, is a rebellious response to his lukewarm welcome home.

7.9
| Gauguin's Existential Manifesto:
Where do we come from? Who are we? Where are we going?

Gauguin returned to Polynesia in 1895. Two years later, he created a massive painting that stands as his chef-d'oeuvre. "I believe that this canvas not only surpasses all my preceding ones, but [also] that I shall never do anything better, or even like it," he wrote to his dealer, Daniel de Monfried, in Paris.



Paul Gauguin, *Where do we come from? Who are we? Where are we going?* 1897. Oil on canvas. 139.1 x 374.6 cm. Museum of Fine Arts, Boston. View Source

The enormous painting is Gauguin's existential manifesto, in his words, "a philosophical work on a theme comparable to that of the gospel."

Writing about it in 1898, he begins with his attempted suicide, suggesting that the painting came from a confrontation with the abyss of death.

> I went into the mountains, where my body would have been devoured by ants. I had no revolver, but I had arsenic … Whether the dose was too strong or whether vomiting counteracted the action of the poison I don't know, but after a night of terrible suffering I returned home.
>
> …
>
> But before I died, I wished to paint a large canvas that I had in mind and worked day and night that whole month in an incredible fever.

The suggestion is that the painting was ignited by an imaginary confrontation with death's abyss. In describing the work, he emphasizes its archaistic fresco-like quality and the magical landscape setting. He enumerates its diverse dramatis personae: children, gossips, "figures (genderless), old women, farm animals, totemic and allegorical creatures and an idol." Gauguin continues:

> It is a canvas four meters fifty in width, by one meter seventy in height. The two upper corners are chrome yellow, with an inscription on the left and my name on the right, like a fresco whose corners are spoiled with age and which is appliqued upon a golden wall. To the right at the lower end a sleeping child and three crouching women. Two figures dressed in purple confide their thoughts to one another. An enormous crouching figure, out of all proportion and intentionally so, raises its arms and stares in astonishment upon these two who dare to think their destiny. A figure in the center is picking fruit. Two carats near a child. A white goat. An idol, its arms mysteriously raise in a sort of rhythm, seems to indicate the beyond. Then lastly an old woman near in death appears to accept anything. To resign herself to

her thoughts. She completes the story. At her feet a strange white bird, holding a lizard in its claws, represents the futility of words. It is all on the bank of a river in the woods. In the background the ocean, then the mountains of a neighbouring island. Despite changes of tone, the colouring of the landscape is constant, either blue or Veronese green. The naked figures stand out on it in bold orange. If anyone should tell Beaux-Arts pupils for the Rome competitions: "The picture you must paint is to represent Where do we come from? Where are we? Where are we going? what would they do? So I have finished a philosophical work on a theme comparable to that of the gospel.

In essence, Gauguin was mythologizing the life cycle. In a letter to the Symbolist poet Charles Morice in 1901 Gauguin scribbled out his ideas and imagery

Where Are We Going?

An old woman near death

A strange bird to conclude

Who Are We?

Daily existence.

The man of instincts asks himself what all this means.

The Source.

A Child.

The beginning of Life.

The bird concludes the poem [through] a comparison between the inferior being and the intelligent one in this large ensemble announced by the title. Behind a tree, two sinister figures, dressed in sadly colored clothes, converse near the tree of science, their dolorous aspect caused by this science itself, in comparison to [the feelings of] simple beings in a virgin nature that could be a human concept of paradise [if] they abandoned themselves to the happiness of living.

While the work demands to be read like a book, there is no underlying narrative to anchor it. Therein lies its obscurity, its ambiguity. There is neither conceptual clarity nor is there formal cohesion. The individuals and groupings are isolated from one another, and the landscape elements, trees, streams, caves, breaking waves, and distant mountains, appear stand-alone, sometimes in conflict.

The painting was shipped to Paris in July 1898 along with eight others, and in November, the Tahitian group of works was shown at the gallery of Ambroise Vollard. *Where do we Come from? What are we? Where are we going*? was the centrepiece of the exhibition.

Despite careful planning, advance promotion, and publicity, the show was a critical and financial failure. Gustave Geoffroy described it as a "too strongly held belief in artifice …but a very charming taste for nature."



Pierre Puvis de Chavannes, *The Sacred Groves, Beloved of the Arts and the Muses,* ca. 1884-89. Oil on canvas. 93 x 231 cm. Art Institute of Chicago. View Source



Pierre Puvis de Chavannes, *Hope*, 1872. Oil on canvas. 102.5 x 129.5 cm. Walters Art Museum, Baltimore. View Source

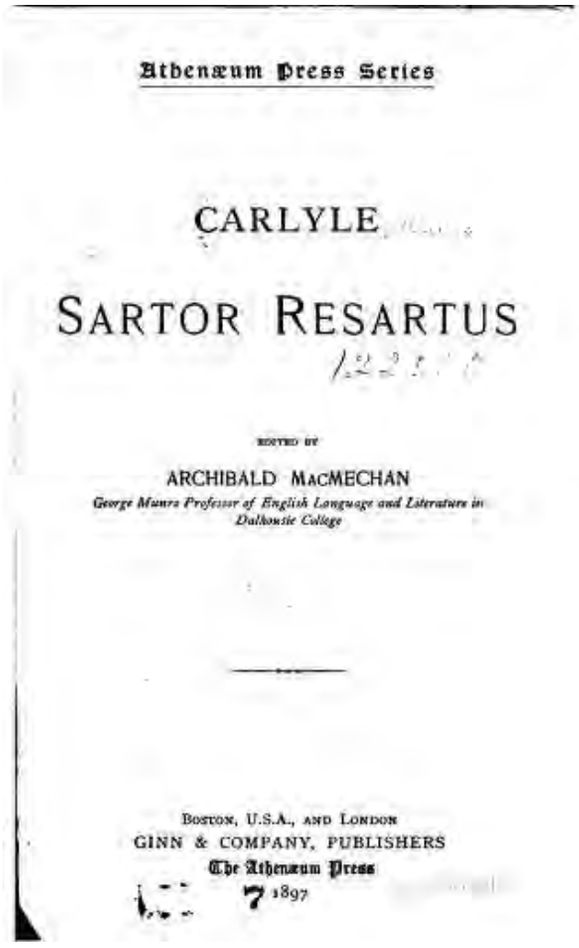
In 1901, explaining how his work differed from that of Puvis, Gauguin wrote, “Puvis explains his idea, yes, but he does not paint it. He is Greek, whereas I am a savage, a wolf in the woods without a collar. Puvis will call a picture Purity, and to explain it will paint a young virgin with a lily in her hand-a hackneyed symbol, but which is

understood by all. Gauguin under the title Purity, will paint a landscape with limpid streams; no taint of civilized man, perhaps an individual."



Paul Gauguin, *Where do we come from? Who are we? Where are we going?* 1897. Oil on canvas. 139.1 x 374.6 cm. Museum of Fine Arts, Boston. View Source

Gauguin's criticism of Puvis was essentially his rejection of western art. Paradoxically, by dismissing the work, he denies Puvis' allegorical approach, while his own large paintings invoke the extra pictorial albeit through a medley of appropriated and invented sources.



Athenæum Press Series

CARLYLE

SARTOR RESARTUS

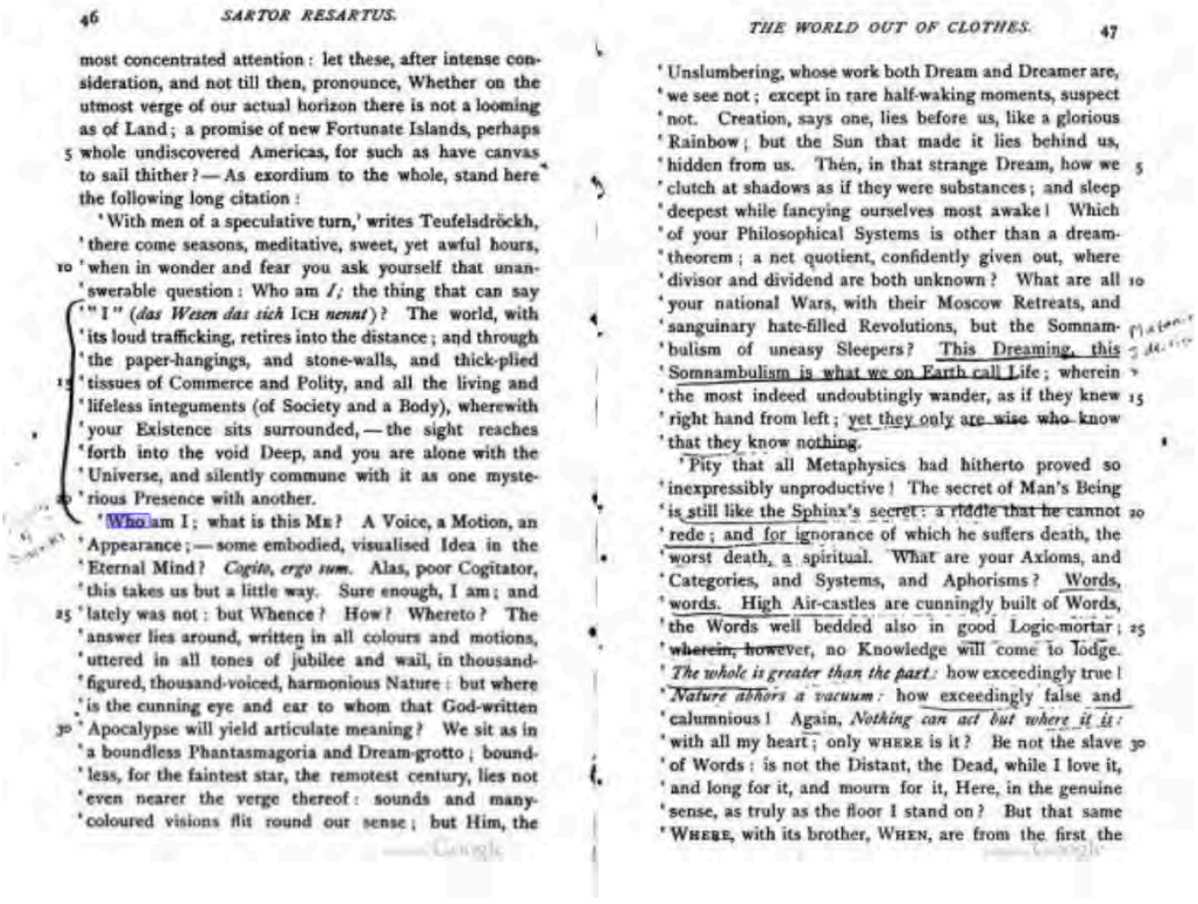
EDITED BY

ARCHIBALD MACMECHAN

George Munro Professor of English Language and Literature in Dalhousie College

BOSTON, U.S.A., AND LONDON
GINN & COMPANY, PUBLISHERS
The Athenæum Press
1897

Thomas Carlyle, *Sartor Resartus,* ed. Archibald MacMechan (Boston: Ginn & Company, Publishers, 1897), 46-47. View Source



46 SARTOR RESARTUS.

most concentrated attention: let these, after intense consideration, and not till then, pronounce, Whether on the utmost verge of our actual horizon there is not a looming as of Land; a promise of new Fortunate Islands, perhaps whole undiscovered Americas, for such as have canvas to sail thither?—As exordium to the whole, stand here the following long citation:

'With men of a speculative turn,' writes Teufelsdröckh, 'there come seasons, meditative, sweet, yet awful hours, 'when in wonder and fear you ask yourself that unanswerable question: Who am *I*; the thing that can say '"I" (*das Wesen das sich* ICH *nennt*)? The world, with 'its loud trafficking, retires into the distance; and through 'the paper-hangings, and stone-walls, and thick-plied 'tissues of Commerce and Polity, and all the living and 'lifeless integuments (of Society and a Body), wherewith 'your Existence sits surrounded,—the sight reaches 'forth into the void Deep, and you are alone with the 'Universe, and silently commune with it as one mysterious Presence with another.

'Who am I; what is this ME? A Voice, a Motion, an 'Appearance;—some embodied, visualised Idea in the 'Eternal Mind? *Cogito, ergo sum.* Alas, poor Cogitator, 'this takes us but a little way. Sure enough, I am; and 'lately was not: but Whence? How? Whereto? The 'answer lies around, written in all colours and motions, 'uttered in all tones of jubilee and wail, in thousand-'figured, thousand-voiced, harmonious Nature: but where 'is the cunning eye and ear to whom that God-written 'Apocalypse will yield articulate meaning? We sit as in 'a boundless Phantasmagoria and Dream-grotto; bound-'less, for the faintest star, the remotest century, lies not 'even nearer the verge thereof: sounds and many-'coloured visions flit round our sense; but Him, the

THE WORLD OUT OF CLOTHES. 47

'Unslumbering, whose work both Dream and Dreamer are, 'we see not; except in rare half-waking moments, suspect 'not. Creation, says one, lies before us, like a glorious 'Rainbow; but the Sun that made it lies behind us, 'hidden from us. Then, in that strange Dream, how we 'clutch at shadows as if they were substances; and sleep 'deepest while fancying ourselves most awake! Which 'of your Philosophical Systems is other than a dream-'theorem; a net quotient, confidently given out, where 'divisor and dividend are both unknown? What are all 'your national Wars, with their Moscow Retreats, and 'sanguinary hate-filled Revolutions, but the Somnambulism of uneasy Sleepers? This Dreaming, this 'Somnambulism is what we on Earth call Life; wherein 'the most indeed undoubtingly wander, as if they knew 'right hand from left; yet they only are wise who know 'that they know nothing.

'Pity that all Metaphysics had hitherto proved so 'inexpressibly unproductive! The secret of Man's Being 'is still like the Sphinx's secret: a riddle that he cannot 'rede; and for ignorance of which he suffers death, the 'worst death, a spiritual. What are your Axioms, and 'Categories, and Systems, and Aphorisms? Words, 'words. High Air-castles are cunningly built of Words, 'the Words well bedded also in good Logic-mortar; 'wherein, however, no Knowledge will come to lodge. '*The whole is greater than the part:* how exceedingly true! '*Nature abhors a vacuum:* how exceedingly false and 'calumnious! Again, *Nothing can act but where it is:* 'with all my heart; only WHERE is it? Be not the slave 'of Words: is not the Distant, the Dead, while I love it, 'and long for it, and mourn for it, Here, in the genuine 'sense, as truly as the floor I stand on? But that same 'WHERE, with its brother, WHEN, are from the first the

View Source

Gauguin's medley of sources included literary references such as *Sartor Resartus* by Thomas Carlyle, which Gauguin owned. In chapter eight, "The World Without Clothes," the philosopher questions the validity of a modern system of thought and imagines an undiscovered America in which new philosophical questions can be posed. He asks, "Who am I; what is this Me? A Voice, a Motion, an Appearance;—some embodied, visualized Idea in the Eternal Mind? *Cogito, ergo sum* ... The answer lies around, written in all colours and motions, uttered in all tones of jubilee and wail, in thousand-figured, thousand-voiced, harmonious Nature... We sit as in a boundless Phantasmagoria and Dream-grotto... the Canvas (the warp and woof thereof) whereon our Dreams and Life vision are painted."

Gauguin's *Where do we come from? Who are we? Where are we going?* appears to visualize these questions in many colours and painted on coarse sackcloth. But his subject is also rooted in biblical and Polynesian creation narratives. The figure at the near center reaching for the fruit from the Biblical tree of knowledge is an androgyne. They possess spiritual purity. Tahitian culture has long included an established place and role for a third gender, the feminine male, and this figure may be interpreted as *māhū*. Mario Vargas Llosa describes the *māhū* in "The Men-Women of the Pacific Paul Gauguin II " (*Tate Etc*. no 20 (Autumn 2010)

(https://www.tate.org.uk/tate-etc/issue-20-autumn-2010/men-women-pacific):

> When Gauguin arrived in Tahiti for the first time, in June 1891, he had his hair down to his shoulders, wore a cockade with red fur, and his clothes were flamboyant and provocative. He had dressed like this ever since he had given up his career on the Stock Exchange in Paris. The indigenous people of Papeete were surprised at his appearance and believed he was a *mahu*, a rare species among the Europeans in Polynesia. The colonists explained to the painter that, in the Maori tongue, the *mahu* was a man-woman, a type that had existed from time immemorial in the cultures of the Pacific, but which had been demonized and banned by common consent by both Catholic and Protestant missionaries, engaged in a fierce battle to indoctrinate the native peoples, during the intense period of colonization in the mid-nineteenth century.

However, it was proved well-nigh impossible to root out the *mahu* from indigenous society. Concealed in urban settlements, the *mahu* survived in the villages and even in the cities, and re-emerged when official hostility and persecution abated. Proof of this fact can be found in Gauguin's paintings in the nine years that he spent in Tahiti and the Marquesas Islands, which are full of human beings of uncertain gender who share equally masculine and feminine attributes with a naturalness and openness that is similar to the way in which his characters display their nakedness, merge with natural order or indulge in leisure.

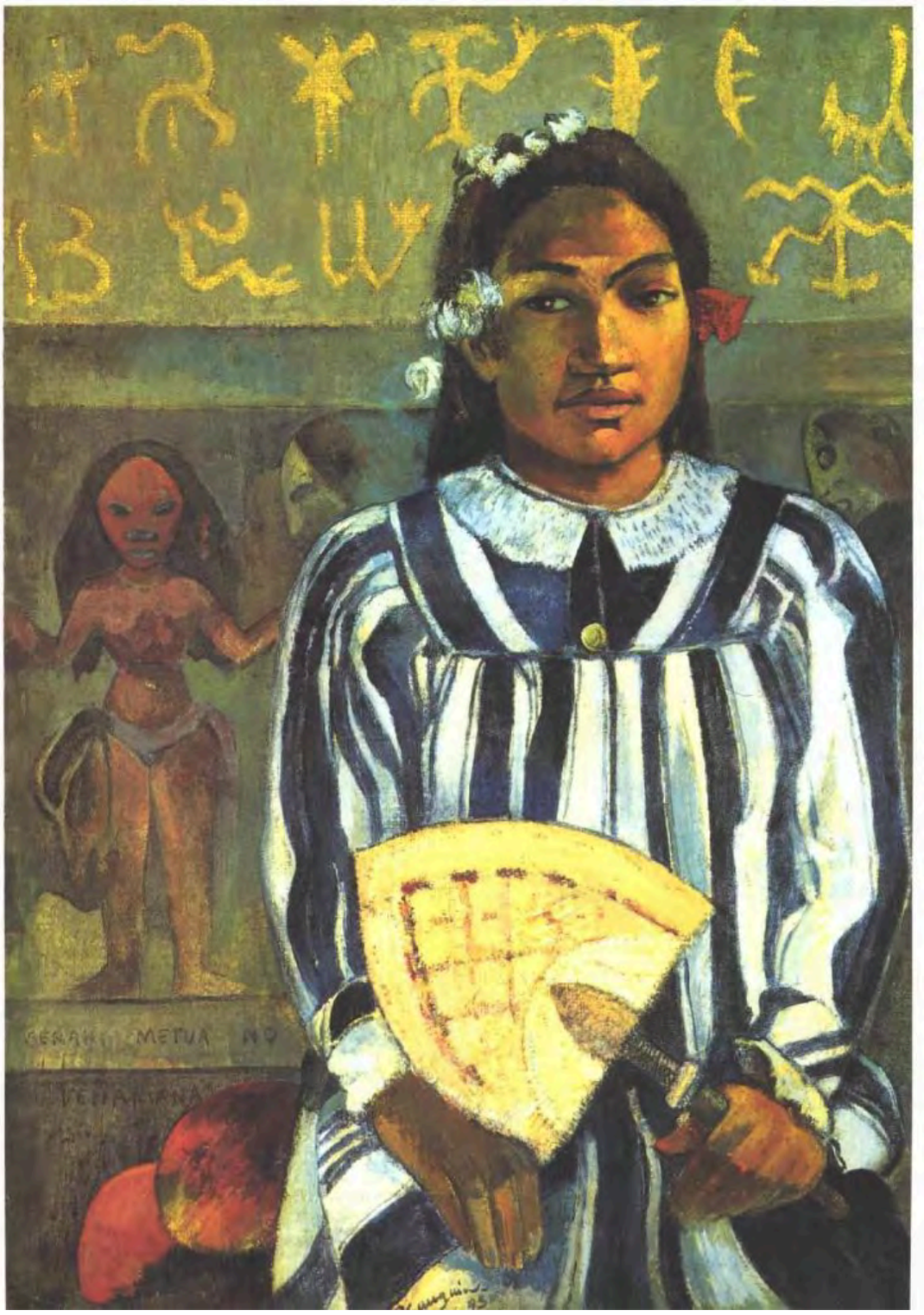
...

It is risky to translate *mahu* as homosexual because, even in the most permissive societies of our age, homosexuality is still surrounded by prejudice and discrimination. Such prejudices did not exist among the Polynesians before the emissaries of Christian Europe censored a practice that, before their arrival, was recognized and universally accepted as a legitimate variant of human diversity. The extraordinary sexual freedom of the Maoris of the islands has been subject to countless studies, testimonies and caricatures ever since the first European ships reached these islands of paradisiacal beauty. Only now that western society has gradually made sufficient advances to allow similar sexual freedom and tolerance to that enjoyed by Polynesian cultures can we realize how civilized and lucid these small Pacific Maori communities were, at a time when the powerful West was still mired in the savagery of prejudice and intolerance. It was not just a question of sexual freedom; there was also the widespread practice among native communities of adopting orphaned or abandoned children, a custom that is still maintained. (Mr Tetuani of Mataiea, where Gauguin lived for several months, had 25 adopted children.)

The *mahu* might be a practicing homosexual or remain chaste, like a girl making a vow of chastity. What defines them is not how or with whom they make love, but that, having been born with the sexual organs of a man, they have opted for femininity, usually from childhood, and that, helped by their family and community, they have become women, in their way of dressing, walking, talking, singing, working and often, but clearly not necessarily, of making love.

The blue idol is said to represent the goddess Hina who Gauguin mistakenly assumed had great significance in Tahitian cosmogony.

7.10
| Exoticism, Eroticism, and Spirituality



Paul Gauguin, *Tehamana Has Many Parents or The Ancestors of Tehamana*, 1893. Oil on canvas. 76.3 x 54.3 cm. Art Institute of Chicago. View Source

Cardinal argues that Gauguin searched for deeper meaning by engaging with mysterious signs and icons in his paintings. In *Tehamana Has Many Parents,* for example, he inserts a cryptic band of lettering on the wall behind Tehamana, an inscription in *rongorongo* writing from Easter Island, which Gauguin had copied and kept. What bearing it has on the painting itself is still being determined. However, seen in tandem with other markings and the title, Cardinal suggests that Gauguin was striving to convey the essence of Maori culture,

...he had gained access to a pan-Pacific native culture and could begin to see himself engaged in serious ethnographic research... He had a genuine curiosity about Oceania and the Maori people at large, studying their accomplished artefacts during a brief stay in Auckland and reading up on their legends and ancient customs. His own totemic carvings may be pastiches of Maori models, yet they reflect a serious commitment and have a dignity and presence of their own. What Gauguin seems to be arguing is that there exists in the Pacific a tradition of spiritual involvement in the natural world, and that this links its inhabitants to a past and present system of tacit meanings.



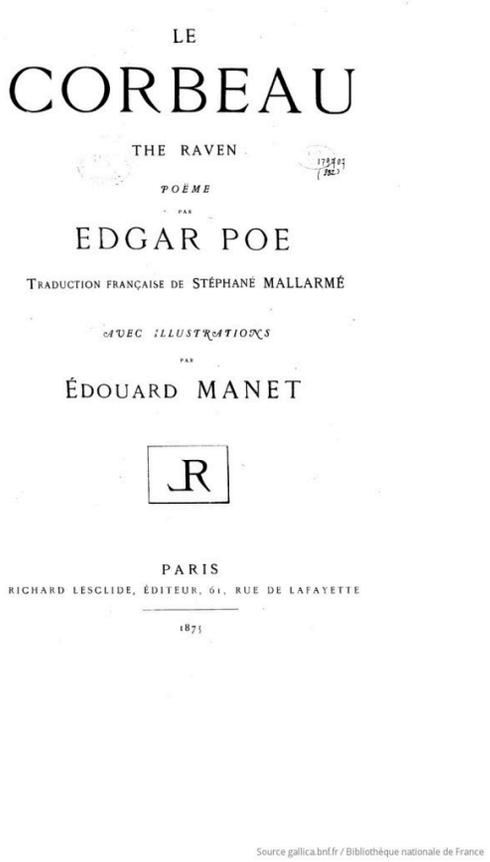
Paul Gauguin, *Spirit of the Dead Watching [Spectre Watches Over Her. Mano Tupapau],* 1892. Oil on hessian mounted on canvas. 72.4 x 92.4 cm. Albright-Knox Art Gallery, Buffalo. View Source



Paul Gauguin, *Nevermore,* 1897. Oil on canvas. 50 x 116 cm. Courtauld Institute of Art, London. View Source

Gauguin's preoccupation with the spirituality of Tahitian culture can be seen in his frequent inclusion of supernatural beings in his works, as in *Spirit of the Dead Watching* or *Nevermore*.

Nevermore may depict the reclining nude image of Gauguin's fifteen-year-old mistress Pahura. A sense of unease permeates the scene. The darkness of the interior, in contrast to the bright skies seen through the windows in the background, reinforces the occult mood. A large raven which perches on a sill staring inwards is an allusion to Poe's Gothic poem *The Raven*, which Gauguin knew from Stephane Mallarmé's translation. Its presence suggests Gauguin's deliberate attempt to incorporate a western touchstone and engage with a European audience through "cross-cultural citation."



LE

CORBEAU

THE RAVEN

POÈME

PAR

EDGAR POE

TRADUCTION FRANÇAISE DE STÉPHANE MALLARMÉ

AVEC ILLUSTRATIONS

PAR

ÉDOUARD MANET

PARIS

RICHARD LESCLIDE, ÉDITEUR, 61, RUE DE LAFAYETTE

1875

Source gallica.bnf.fr / Bibliothèque nationale de France

Edgar Poe, *Le corbeau (...) avec illustrations par Édouard Manet,* trans. Stéphane Mallarmé (Paris: Richard Lesclide, Éditeur, 1875). View Source

Vojtěck Jirat-Wasiutyński writes in "Paul Gauguin and Edgar Allan Poe's "Philosophy of Composition" (RACAR : Revue d'art canadienne /Canadian Art Review 1 no. 1 (1974): 61-62):

> In emphasizing the freedom of the creative artist vis-à-vis nature and the calculated, rational aspect of the creative process, Gauguin used the example of Poe's *Raven*. He was echoing Poe's own explanation of the composition of the poem given in "The Philosophy of Composition" ... Gauguin alluded to the raven as a literary parallel in order to emphasize the artist's choice and his calculation of effects on the basis of pictorial appropriateness and probability.



Édouard Manet, *The Flying Raven, Ex Libris for The Raven by Edgar Allan Poe*, 1875. Lithograph on simili-parchment. 15.6 x 29.5 cm. Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York. View Source

But he was also surely attracted to the *Raven* in connection with the discussion of shadows because of Manet illustration of the passage, "And my soul from out that shadow that lies floating on the floor/Shall be lifted — nevermore !" came to mind; here the shadow was used with calculated "strangeness'. Gauguin may have been familiar with the Manet illustrations which were published in 1875 and again in 1888 and 1889." (Poe chose the raven image in his poem because in many cultures the raven is associated with death. The bird's quote, "nevermore," refers to the fact that the narrator will never again see or forget the dead Lenore).

7.11
| Critical Conversations



Norma Broude, ed. *New Perspectives: After Postmodernism* (Bloomsbury Visual Arts, 2018). View Source

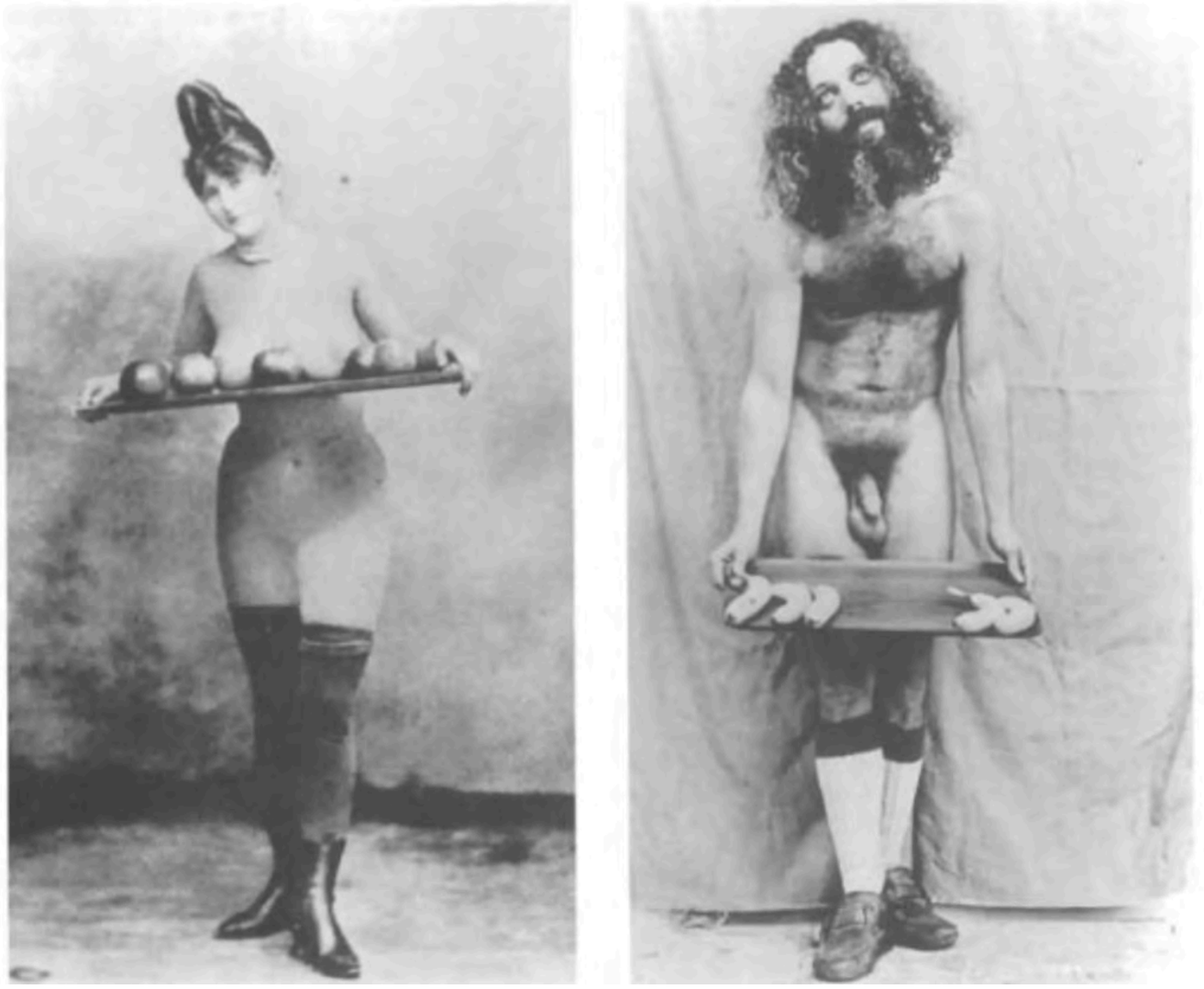
Norma Broude, a feminist scholar of 19th-century European art, has addressed the divergence of opinion that inevitably accompanies Gauguin's work in the twenty-first century. As quoted in Meredith Mendelsohn "Why is the Art World Divided over Gauguin's Legacy?" (Artsy August 3, 2017, https://www.artsy.net/article/artsy-editorial-art-divided-gauguins-legacy) on the one hand, Broude says, is Gauguin's "perennial popularity in the art world, fueled by aesthetically focused exhibitions that appear with regularity in major museums worldwide," and on the other is the "mistrust and even abhorrence with which a segment of the academic world, unable to move beyond earlier feminist and post-colonialist critiques, continues to regard him and his oeuvre."

To enlarge upon the multiple issues arising from a redressing of Gauguin's life and oeuvre, we look to excerpts from Norma Broude's introductory essays to *Gauguin's Challenge: New Perspectives After Postmodernism* (https://www.bloomsburycollections.com/book/gauguins-challenge-new-perspectives-after-postmodernism/introduction-gauguin-after-postmodernism?from=search)



Paul Gauguin, *Two Tahitian Women*, 1899. Oil on canvas. 94 x 72.4 cm. Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York. View Source

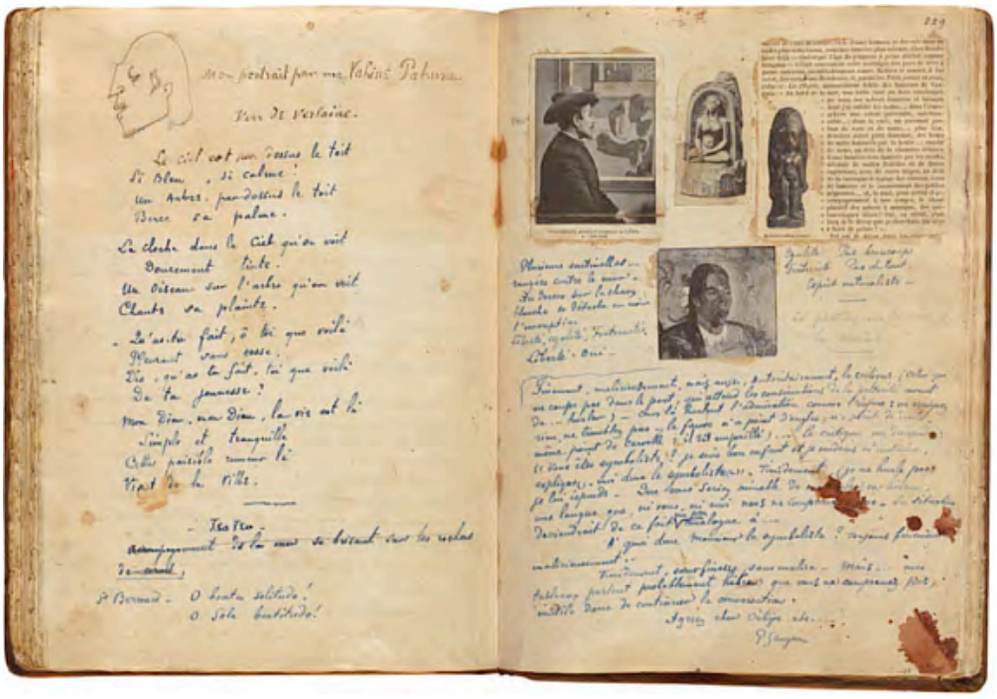
As Broude states in her introduction, in the late twentieth century, Paul Gauguin became "an artist whom feminist art historians loved to hate." The salvo was spurred by Linda Nochlin's analysis of the artist's *Two Tahitian Women* in 1972, where the two women "offer their breasts to the viewer along with the platters of ripe mangoes that they hold."



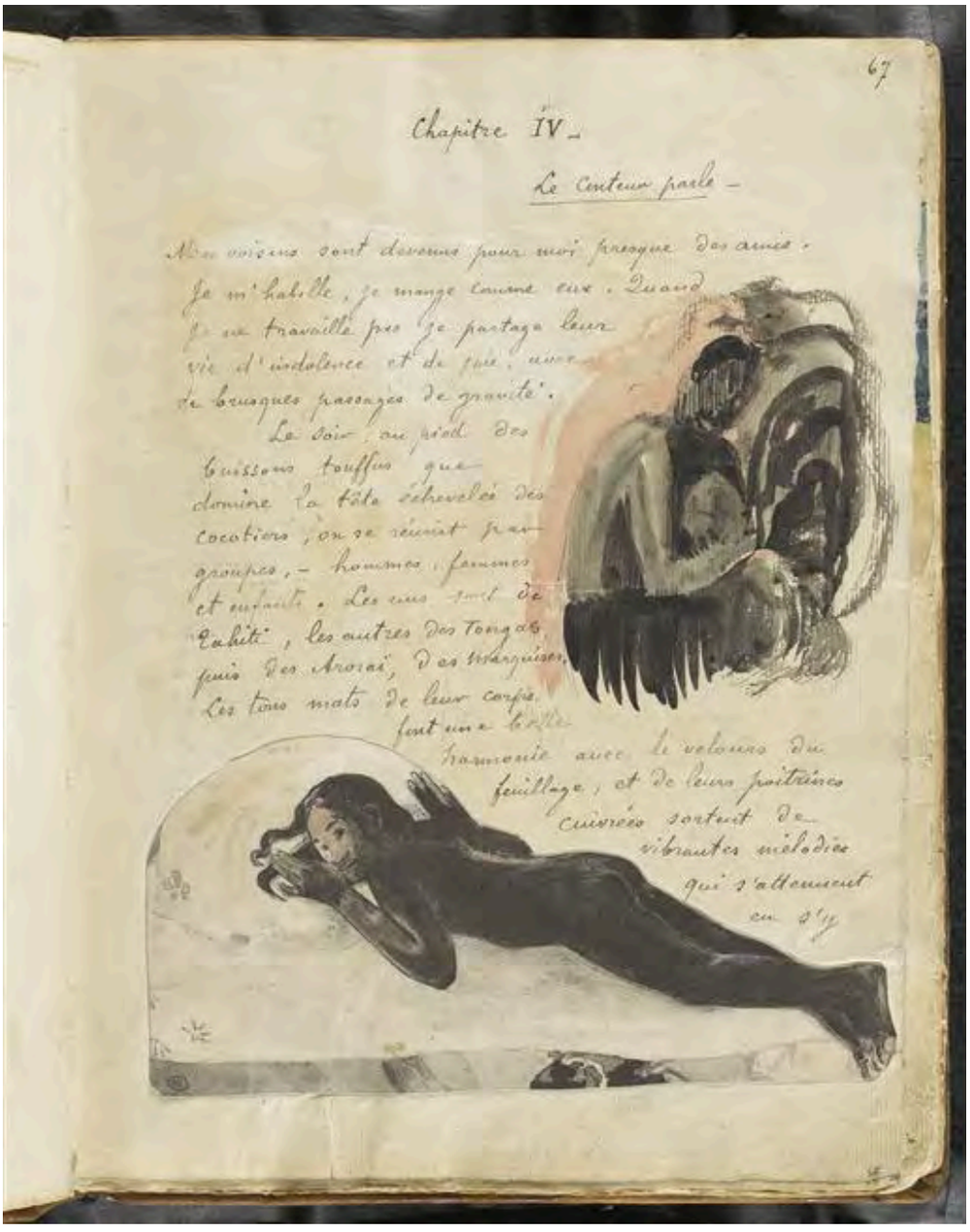
(Left) *Buy My Apples,* anonymous, ca. 19th century. Photograph, courtesy of Linda Nochlin. (Right) Linda Nochlin, *Buy My Bananas,* 1972. View Source

Nochlin famously juxtaposed this painting with her own mock-pornographic photograph of a nude male model, posing with a platter of bananas beneath his genitals and exhorting the viewer, through the caption, to "buy my bananas." Using sexual reversal, a powerful weapon of early feminist analysis, Nochlin's visual joke exposed the gendered operations of the gaze in "high art," and it was a wake-up call for emerging feminist art historians in the early 1970s. It was also a turning of the lens that told us perhaps as much about ourselves as it did about Gauguin: about the extent to which women as well as men in the twentieth century had come to accept the sexualized and possessive gaze of the male upon the body of the female as integral to the patriarchy's definition of high art and universal cultural greatness.

This awakening, however, and the subsequent revelations it engendered did little to alter Gauguin's place in the mainstream canon, if judged by the steady stream of major exhibitions that have continued to appear down to the present day. But it did lead at the time to a vehement rejection and repositioning of Gauguin in the feminist art-historical literature, where he soon came to be castigated, as much for his life as his art, in terms of late-twentieth-century standards and moralities in general and in terms of feminist and postcolonial ones in particular.



Paul Gauguin, Collaged images and text. Mixed media. Musée d'Orsay, Paris. View Source



Paul Gauguin, “Chapitre IV, Le conteur parle,” from the *Noa Noa* album, 1894. Mixed media. Musée d’Orsay, Paris. View Source



A YouTube element has been excluded from this version of the text. You can view it online here: https://opentextbooks.concordia.ca/creating-the-modern/?p=4136

In “Gauguin’s Alter Egos: Writing the Other and the Self,” Linda Goddard examines the artist’s penchant for role-playing and the multiple identities he assumed in his writings in relation to the realities of his existence in Polynesia. His writings are assessed as a tool for negotiating the racial and gendered power structures of colonialism and “his own, awkward position as an outsider to both the colonial and indigenous communities.” Arguing that the artist’s “primitive” writing style was a deliberate aesthetic strategy, Goddard presents the “fragmentary and repetitive structures” of Gauguin’s writings, his appropriation of multiple sources, and the scrapbook qualities of the texts and images in his physical manuscripts, as textual parallels to the multiple authorial positions that Gauguin assumed and used to upset “related binary oppositions between male and female, civilized and savage, writer and artist.” Goddard’s focus on Gauguin’s literary strategies and on his extensive body of writings adds new dimensions to recent understandings of the mutability and instability of the artist’s colonial identity. And her essay sets the stage for the prominent position accorded to the writings by several of the authors in this volume, who join Goddard in seeing the literary oeuvre as integral to Gauguin’s creative agenda, process, and achievement.



Paul Gauguin, *Self-Portrait with Hat*, 1893. Oil on canvas. 45 x 38 cm. Musée d'Orsay, Paris. View Source



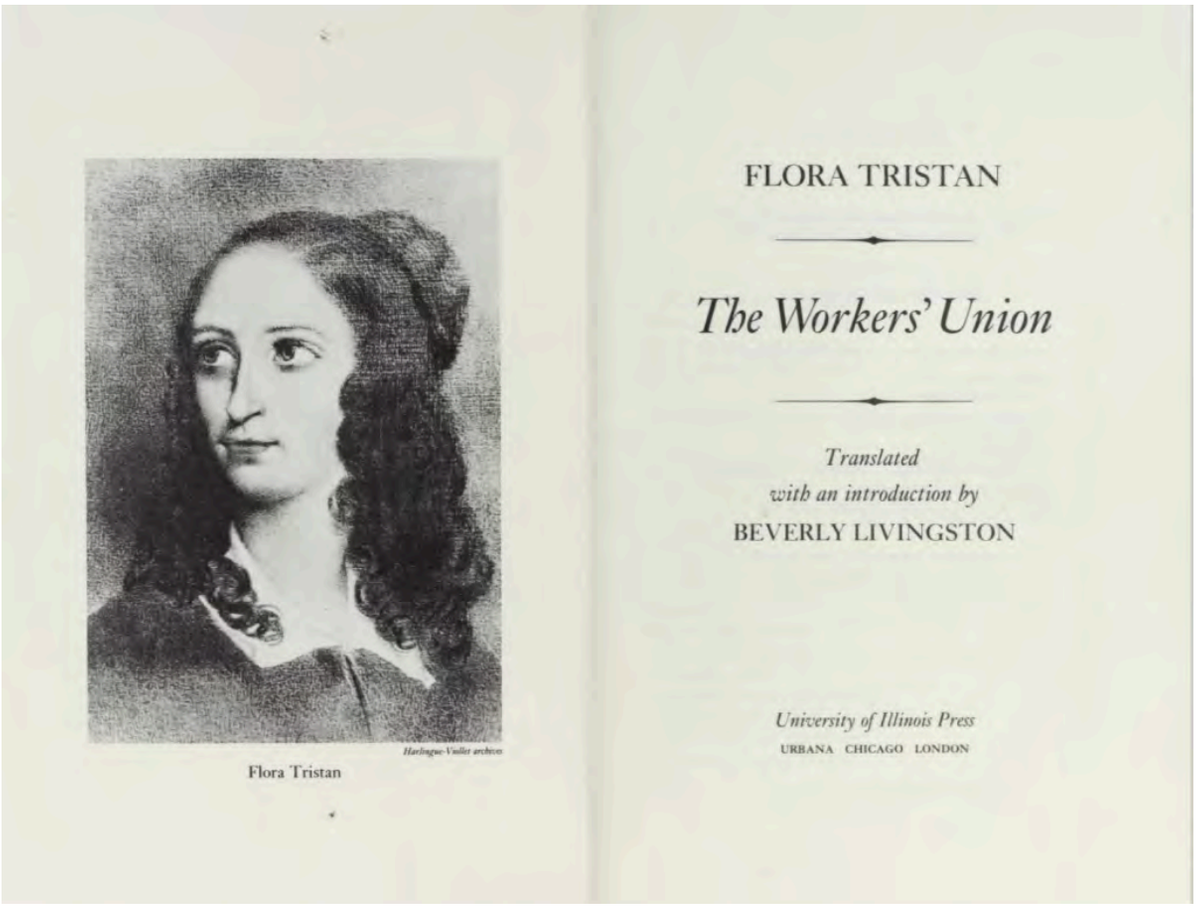
Paul Gauguin, *Self-Portrait with Palette,* 1894, oil on canvas, 55 × 46 cm. Private collection. Erich Lessing/Art Resource, New York. View Source



Paul Gauguin, *Self-Portrait (Near Golgotha),* 1896. Oil on canvas. 75.5 x 63 cm. Museu de Arte de São Paulo. View Source

The role of gender ambivalence and androgyny in Gauguin's art, a subject opened up in the 1990s by the path-breaking work of Stephen Eisenman is revisited and significantly expanded upon by Irina Stotland, who applies it for the first time to an analysis of the nine self-portraits that Gauguin painted after his removal to Tahiti in 1891. Providing new contextual framing for these challenging works, Stotland presents the self-portraits as hybrid and androgynous images in which Gauguin created for himself multiple identities that probe and resist his era's norms of bourgeois masculinity. At the same time, she contends, the multiple identities that Gauguin assumed in his self-portraits reflected the ambivalence of nineteenth-century cultural attitudes towards the androgyne, a figure seen in French culture as transcendent on the one hand and as threateningly transgressive on the other. "Each of the self-portraits," Stotland writes, "is a presentation of hybridity that contains masculine

and feminine, heterosexual and homosexual, colonial and colonized. Gauguin's Polynesian self-portraits become spaces where he negotiates between multiple identities and undermines the structures of colonialism by effacing its categories of gender, desire, and status, substituting fluidity for normativity in his presentation of self."



Flora Tristan, *The Workers' Union*, trans. Beverly Livingston (Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1983 [1843]).
View Source

In "Flora Tristan's Grandson," Norma Broude explores Gauguin's debt to the writings and persona of his grandmother, Flora Tristan (1803–44), the utopian socialist and feminist reformer whom he never met, but of whose challenges to capitalism and patriarchy we now know he was deeply aware. Inviting feminists to consider the ways in which Gauguin may have threatened patriarchal thinking, Broude draws attention to aspects of his identity as social reformer and advocate for the rights of women that have been obscured by earlier critiques. She newly interprets the predominance of women in Gauguin's work, not as a strategy to infantilize and sexualize the Polynesian world, but as a preoccupation with alternative forms of social organization that privileged the female role in pre-colonial myth and culture. Gauguin's attentiveness to the survival or demise of these older forms of societal organization in the colonial present is here connected with the role of strong women in his own family structure and with the Victorian era's fascination for anthropological and literary accounts of matriarchy and matrilineal descent in ancient and primitive societies.



Paul Gauguin, *Idol in the Shell,* ca. 1900-15. Carved wood and shell. 12.5 cm (diameter). Musée du Louvre, Paris.
View Source



Paul Gauguin, *Head of a Young Girl*, ca. 1893-94. Sandstone. 15.2 x 26 x 18 cm. Museo Nacional Thyssen-Bornemisza, Madrid. View Source

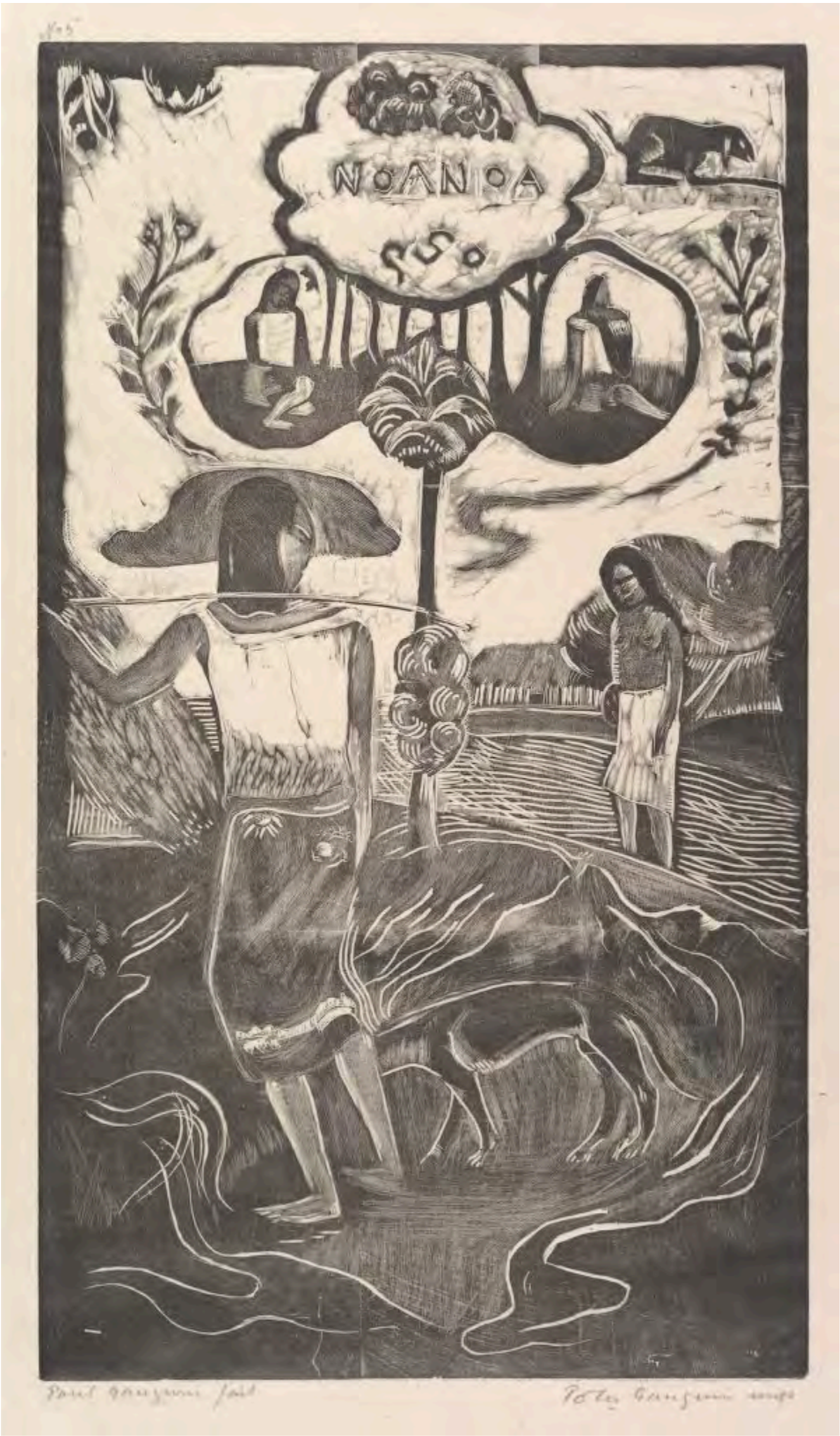


Paul Gauguin, *Oviri,* 1894. Terracotta. 75 x 19 cm. Musée d'Orsay, Paris. View Source



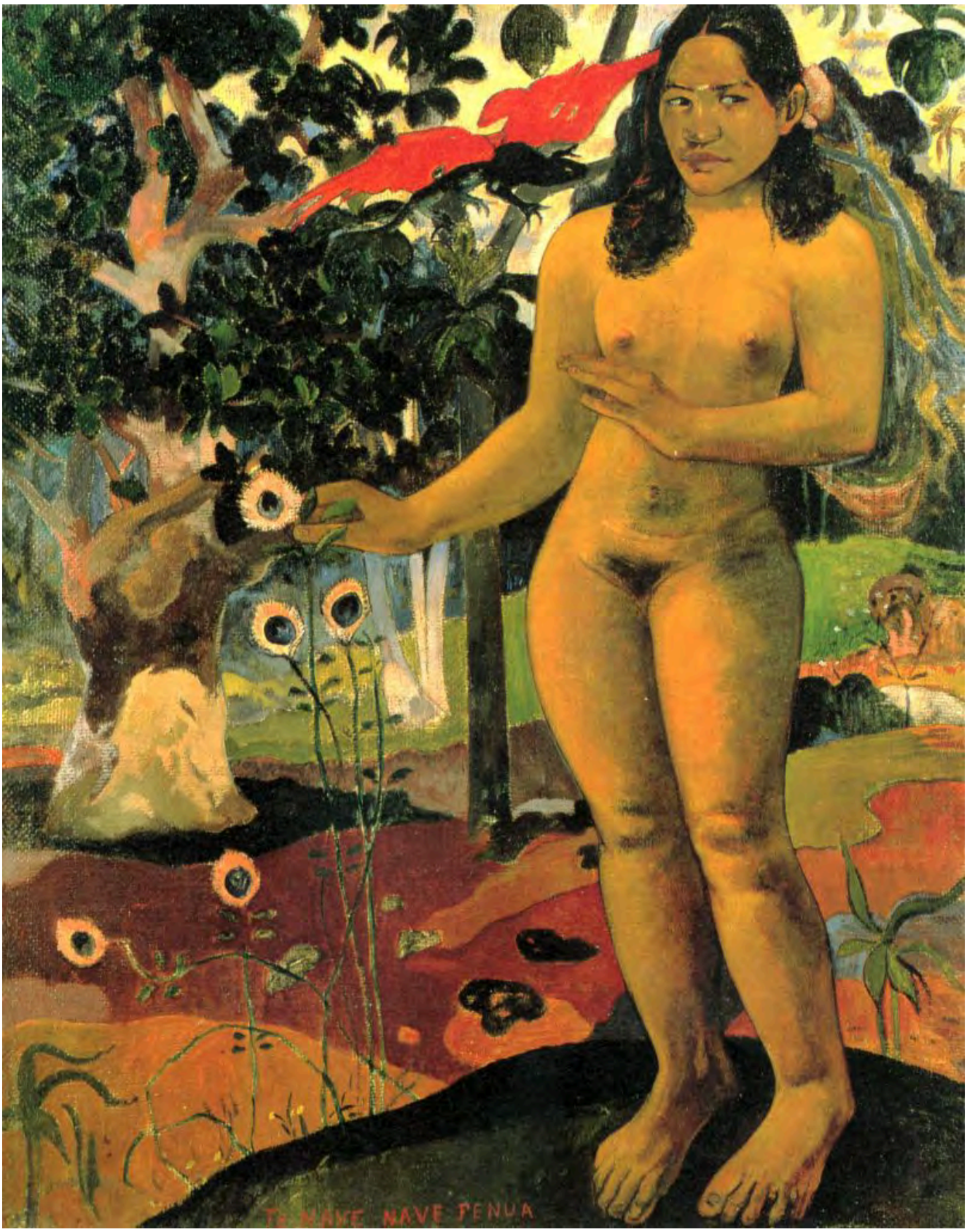
Paul Gauguin, *Vase,* ca. 1887-88. Glazed stoneware with gold.
Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek, Copenhagen. View Source

The perceived ambiguity of Gauguin's imagery, long associated in the literature with the Symbolist search for "mystery," is revisited here by Dario Gamboni, who examines the ways in which critics and art historians have received and interpreted this essential component of Gauguin's work across several media. Noting that the modernist binary between "abstraction" and "representation" has left little room for the implied or ambiguous, Gamboni traces the reluctant acceptance among Gauguin scholars of ambiguity and polyiconicity, the so-called double imagery in Gauguin's work, which Gamboni sees as a self-conscious aesthetic strategy, a withholding of legibility designed to stimulate participatory interpretation. He analyzes several of the unconventional techniques used by Gauguin in his sculpture and ceramics as well as in printmaking and painting to promote such visual and interpretive ambiguity. But Gamboni notes, too, the continuing discomfort and the tendency on the part of modern Western art historians, as distinct from non-Western specialists, to marginalize modes of communication that may privilege subjectivity of perception and imaginative participation. He thus raises larger methodological questions about the discipline of art history and its future, by bringing into focus yet another of Gauguin's challenges for the twenty-first century, a time, Gamboni says, "when a new process of 'globalization' transforms the discipline and opens up new horizons of study, in which visual ambiguity plays an important role."


NOANOA

Paul Gauguin, *Noa Noa,* ca. 1893-94. Woodcut on China paper. 35.6 x 20.5 cm. Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York. View Source

In an essay provocatively entitled "On Not Seeing Tahiti: Gauguin's *Noa Noa* and the Rhetoric of Blindness," Alastair Wright focuses more specifically on the visual ambiguities and complexities of technique and iconography offered by Gauguin's *Noa Noa* (1893–4) and other print projects of the 1890s, seeing them through the analytical lens of Paul de Man in the manner of Mallarmé, as a quintessentially Symbolist "strategy to suggest that neither eye nor mind can grasp the full significance of the world." It was through Mallarmean ambiguity, as conveyed by the fragmentary text of Noa Noa and the nearly illegible darkness and deliberate technical crudity of its woodcuts, that Gauguin was able to present Tahiti as an object of desire that can never be fully understood or possessed. Using an allusive writing style and unorthodox woodcut techniques that masked the legibility of forms, Wright argues, Gauguin invoked the rhetoric of blindness as a potent metaphor for his "melancholy awareness both that the Tahitian idyll he had dreamed of finding no longer existed and that he remained an outsider unable to understand what remained of its culture."



Paul Gauguin, *The Delightful Land*, 1892. Oil on canvas. 91 x 72 cm. Ohara Museum of Art, Kurashiki. View Source


NAVENAVE FENUA

Paul Gauguin, *Delightful Land,* 1893-94. Series/Portfolio: Noa Noa (suite of ten woodcuts). Woodcut printed in colour on wove paper, lined in silk. 34.9 x 20.3 cm, block; 47.6 x 27.2 cm. Metropolitan Museum of Art. View Source

In her essay "Evolution and Desire in Gauguin's Tahitian Eve," Martha Lucy offers a different context for the atmosphere of loss that emanates from such paintings as Gauguin's *Te nave nave fenua ("Tahitian Eve")* [*The Delightful Land*] of 1892. Lucy sees this painting not in terms of Symbolist-inspired ambiguity and cultural bricolage, but as an origins fantasy that had its historical roots in Darwinism and that intersected empirically with the scientific discourses of the period, namely the evolutionary sciences and paleontology. These concerned themselves with retrieving the prehistoric past and restoring origins. But like Gauguin's nude bodies, their explorations were marked by a sense of loss that stemmed from "the longing to know and possess an original body that was just out of reach." Expanding on the analyses of Wright, who presents the innovative woodcut techniques of the Noa suite as a formal metaphor for Gauguin's personal feelings of loss and distance from a disappearing culture, Lucy sees those techniques more broadly as metaphors for human history and "the melancholy process of evolution." She writes: "As much as Gauguin's melancholy was about the vanishing paradise of Tahiti, it was also rooted in the most basic existential questions concerning the self's place in the universe," questions that were being foregrounded by the discoveries of evolutionary science. The shifting and evolving prints, Lucy argues, are works that give visual form to "Gauguin's melancholia about the mystery of our origins in an ever-changing universe"; while the frozen and firmly articulated forms of his painted Tahitian Eve present an unnaturally "fossilized" image of an "original body" surrounded by tropical plenitude, an image that acknowledges both the disappearance of that body and the role played by Western male desire in bringing about its evolutionary transformation and demise.



Paul Gauguin, *Vision after the Sermon (Jacob Wrestling with the Angel),* 1888. Oil on canvas. 72.2 x 91 cm. Scottish National Gallery, Edinburgh. View Source

In “Gauguin: Vitalist, Hypnotist,” Barbara Larson newly investigates the role of science and, in particular, neurology, as a context for Gauguin’s aesthetic agenda and his belief in what he described in his 1897 treatise, “The Catholic Church and Modern Times”, as “the mysterious affinities that exist between our brains and arrangements of color and line.” Taking as her starting point the philosophical agenda that Gauguin put forth in that treatise, Larson writes: “Like the Idéistes, Gauguin thought of himself as a student of science, but he rooted his agenda in medical vitalism (which included a foregrounding of the role of the neurological system) and Lamarckian evolutionism.” Positing the relevance for Gauguin of scientific inquiries into the “neurological effects of sensory stimuli on the brain,” she points to contemporary theories that linked color and hypnosis; and she likens the use by psychiatrists and neurologists of bright light and large fields of brilliant color to inspire mesmeric and hypnotic states to Gauguin’s use of a brilliant red field in his painting *Vision of the Sermon* to both describe and implicate the viewer in a scene of group hypnosis. By thus shedding light on the artist’s scientifically sanctioned deployment of vividly expressive and “hypnotic” color in this and several other of his major works, Larson offers us here a fresh context for understanding one of Gauguin’s defining formal strategies.



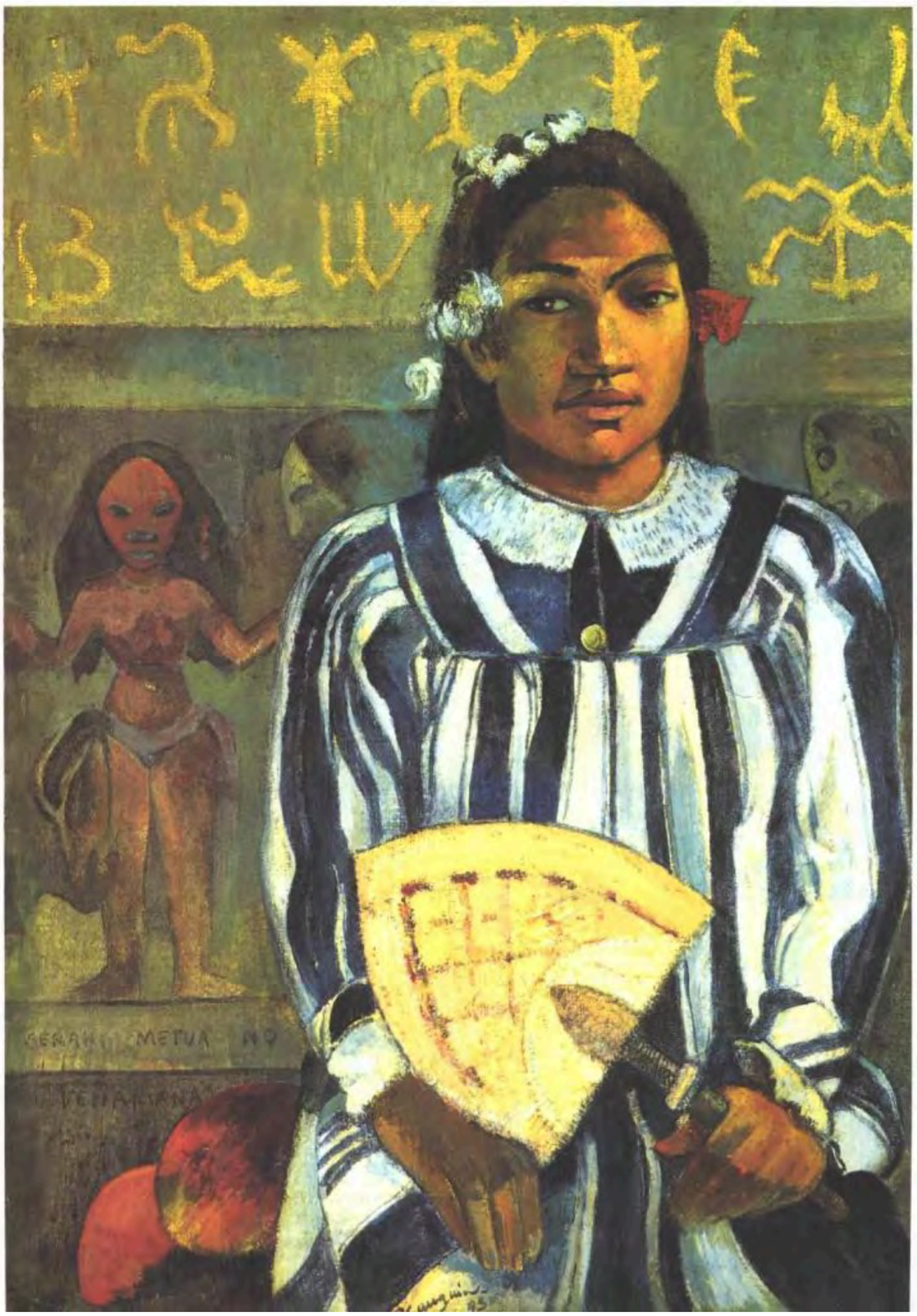
Paul Gauguin, *Bathers,* 1902. Oil on canvas. 92 × 73 cm. Private collection.
View Source



Paul Gauguin, *The Sorcerer of Hiva Oa. Marquesan Man in the Red Cape*, 1902. Oil on canvas. 92 x 73 cm. La Boverie, Liège. View Source

The essays in this section conclude with June Hargrove's "'All Men Could be Buddhas': Paul Gauguin's Marquesan Diptych," an exploration of the unsuspected intersections between symbolism and spirituality in two of Gauguin's late works painted in the Marquesas in 1902**,** *Bathers a*nd Marquesan *Man in Red Cape* (also known as *The Sorcerer of Hiva Oa*). Hargrove newly examines the relationship between these two paintings as a reflection of Gauguin's "spiritual enterprise, representing the two components of the soul's existence, the physical and the spiritual," with the Bathers functioning "as the earthly foil to the spiritual ideal of the Marquesan Man." In the latter, an androgynous figure representing spiritual transcendence, she proposes that Gauguin created a syncretic image of an ideal spiritual type to which all could aspire. Drawing on Gauguin's fascination with reincarnation and the transmigration of the soul, his privileging of the artist as prophet and

spiritual leader, and his propensity for merging the world's religions into a personal syncretic construction of Christian, Buddhist, and Maori tenets. Hargrove presents the late diptych and the spiritual journey it re-enacts as a product of Gauguin's belief that the artist can achieve immortality through his art and also as an expression of personal anxiety during his last years over the survival of his own legacy in these terms.

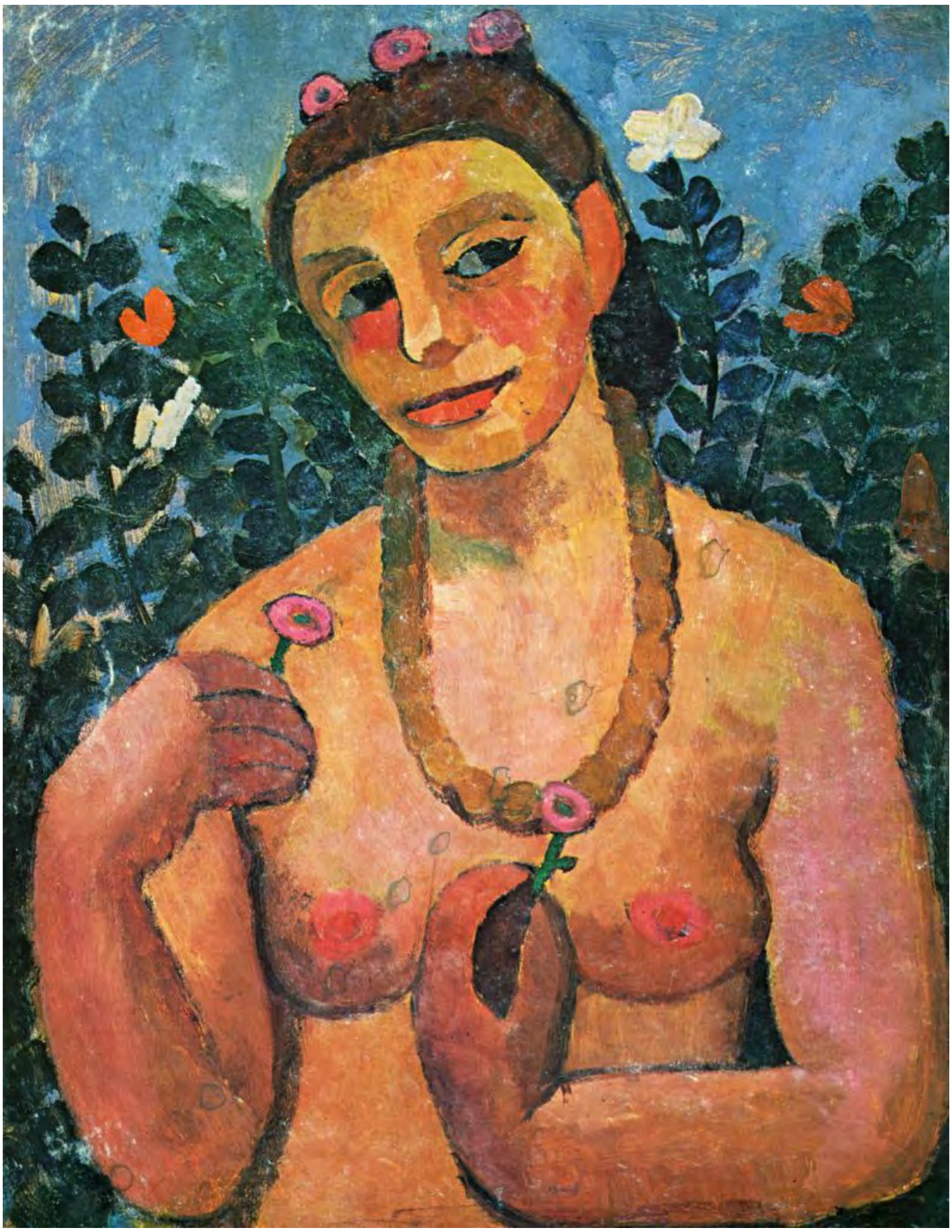


Paul Gauguin, *Tehamana Has Many Parents or The Ancestors of Tehamana,* 1893. Oil on canvas. 76.3 x 54.3 cm. Art Institute of Chicago. View Source

The final two essays of this volume re-examine the reception of Gauguin's work in the century since his death, with new and special focus on his importance for women artists, both in Europe and the Pacific, whose responses of creative resistance and reinvention are inviting more considered treatment in the literature. In "Taking Back Teha'amana: Feminist Interventions in Gauguin's Legacy," Elizabeth Childs begins by presenting Gauguin from the perspectives of his female consorts in Polynesia, in particular the teenaged Teha'amana, who looms large in the later Gauguin mythology. Contextualizing the little that is actually known about her within an ethno-history of how Polynesian women encountered French men, Childs explores new avenues for reclaiming Teha'amana's voice within a larger historical framework.



Paula Modersohn-Becker, *Child with Goldfish Bowl*, ca. 1906-07. Oil on canvas. 105.5 x 54.5 cm. Pinakothek der Moderne, Munich. View Source

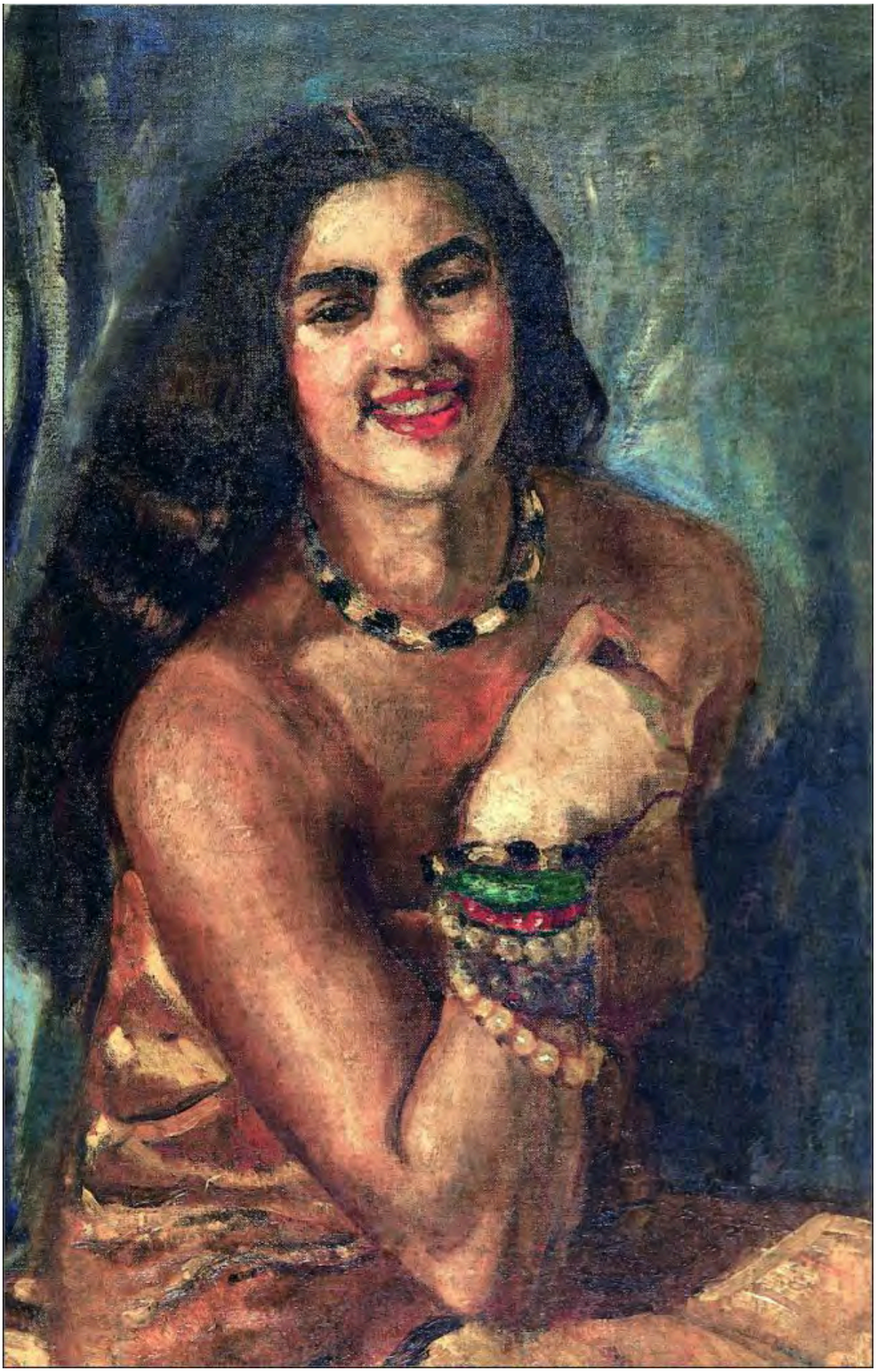


Paula Modersohn-Becker, *Self-Portrait Nude with Amber Necklace,* 1906. Oil on canvas. 62.2 x 48.2 cm. Museen Böttcherstraße, Bremen. View Source

For not only did Teha'amana have many ancestors, as Gauguin tells us in his single named image of her, she also had many progeny globally, as Childs demonstrates by exploring both contemporary and later responses among women artists to Gauguin's work. Focusing on the work of the German Paula Modersohn-Becker



Amrita Sher-Gil, *Bride's Toilet,* 1937. Oil on canvas. 88.8 x 146 cm. National Gallery of Modern Art, India. View Source



Amrita Sher-Gil, *Self-Portrait*, 1930. Oil on canvas. 72 x 92.5 cm. National Gallery of Modern Art, New Delhi. View Source

and the Hungarian-Indian artist Amrita Sher-Gil, Childs brings new attention to the over-looked ways in which emerging women modernists in early-twentieth-century Europe took on “the mantle of Gauguin as a kind of gateway, to paint [their] way into a recently established canon.”



Kay George, *Exhibition 103*. View Source



Tyla Vaeau Ta'ufo'ou, *When Will You Marry?* (Dee and Dallas Do Gauguin Series), 2009. Digital montage. 20.32 × 27.94 cm. Private collection. Image: courtesy the artist. View Source

... she points to the ways in which more recent contemporary women such as the Maori artist Kay George and the Samoan Tyla Vaeau Ta'ufo'ou have "deliberately engaged the image of women in Gauguin's art, appropriating those images to intervene in his legacy, by inserting their own subjectivities and personae into the currents of modernism."



Debra Drexler, *Gauguin Zombie* (installation view), 2002. Installation. Honolulu Museum, Honolulu. View Source

The volume closes with an overview essay by Heather Waldroup entitled “Re-Possessing Gauguin: Material Histories and the Contemporary Pacific.” Here, the author engages with Pacific history and Pacific studies scholarship to consider the shifting roles that Gauguin and his art continue to play for Oceanic peoples in the twenty-first century as they seek to reclaim and honour traditional identities on the one hand and assert modern agency on the other. Waldroup points to the romantic-primitivist myth that has survived in the recent Gauguin literature, even as Western art historians struggle to reposition this artist in the visual economy of colonialism and tahitisme then and now.

... she presents the work of two contemporary Pacific Island artists, Debra Drexler



Adrienne Pao, *Hula Girl Dress Tent*, 2017. Chromogenic print. 121.92 x 101.6 cm. View Source

and Adrienne Pao, as satirical and evocative efforts to “re-possess” Gauguin in newly relevant terms that interrogate and critique those resilient romantic-primitivist myths. Bringing the perspectives of material culture newly to bear on disentangling the multiple meanings of Gauguin’s legacy for the Pacific world, Waldroup evocatively likens that legacy to “cargo” washed up on a Pacific beach. “The material objects he has left us,” she concludes, “can only be vessels for continued conversations in the future. Why, then, are we still talking about Gauguin? The answer is simple: because the conversation is not finished.” Adrienne Pao, whose reappropriation of Gauguin serves to interrogate and critique those resilient romantic-primitivist myths. Waldroup’s consideration of the colonialist “cargo” Gauguin imposed on his Tahitian images provides entry into contemporary indigenous polemics. “The material objects he has left us,” she concludes, “can only be vessels for continued conversations in the future. Why, then, are we still talking about Gauguin? The answer is simple: because the conversation is not finished.”

Indeed, the immensely divergent perspectives flooding the conversation around Gauguin ensure that the discussion is far from over. While the analysis in Broude's book complement and counterpoint one another, the essays do not present, nor are they intended to present, a coherent assessment of Gauguin, whose once-seamless modernist persona, a product of the false mythologizing of earlier generations, has long been picked apart and destabilized by the postmodern and multicultural critiques of the late twentieth century and today.

Consequently how do we or should we understand Gauguin?

As Norma Broude has concluded:

> To consider these questions productively, viewers today will need to resist the temptation to judge the past exclusively and ahistorically by the standards of the present. And they will also need to remember that Gauguin shared one very important habit of mind with his later postmodern critics: his propensity for challenging the orthodoxies of his own time. As these essays show, Gauguin's art today remains a potent catalyst for exploring the socio-political, cultural, and aesthetic issues that were foregrounded by early postmodern critiques. But as they also suggest, those earlier critiques must now be further interrogated and qualified if we are to have a meaningful and nuanced discussion of the challenges that Gauguin continues to present to his audiences.

Chapter Eight

MADNESS & Modernity



Edvard Munch, *Evening on Karl Johan Street*, 1892. Oil on canvas. 84.5 x 121 cm. KODE Kunstmuseer og komponisthjem, Bergen. View Source

CONTENTS

Introduction

FRANCISCO DE GOYA

8.1

Goya's Demons

8.2

The Disasters of War

JAMES ENSOR

8.3

Psychic Malaise

8.4

The Painter of Masks

8.5

The Carnivalesque: Images of Social Morbidity and Spiritual Crisis

8.6

Madness, Mania, Melancholy: The Artist as Observer

VINCENT VAN GOGH

8.7

Finding the Spiritual in Art

8.8

Van Gogh's Empathic Eye

8.9

Arles: Aesthetic Advances and Visions of Madness

8.10

Asylum

8.11

Portraits of Madness and Soulful Self-Images

EDVARD MUNCH

8.12

Death and Life

8.13

The Frieze of Life

8.14

Female Representations: Halos and Hysteria

8.15

Alienation, Angst, and Collective Despair

FERDINAND HODLER

8.16

“Always a Corpse in the House”: The Search for Constancy

8.17

Symbolic Expressionism

8.18

Disillusion and Psychic Despair

8.19

Hodler’s Parallelism

INTRODUCTION

Images of madness reflect shifts in social ideology and the changing cultural concerns of a given era. Until the Enlightenment, views of madness were attached to a fear of the supernatural and were visualized in terms of good and evil. With the Age of Reason came the recognition that insanity was a disease and that madness was a morbid condition. The mentally ill were sequestered and often subjected to experimental 'treatments'. In visual terms, the insane were pictured as the *other*, diminished by their disease, and essentially lesser humans.

The eighteenth and nineteenth centuries heralded modern psychiatry's beginnings and the dawn of the moral era. But it was only in the late eighteenth century that a more humane treatment of the mentally ill emerged.

With Romanticism, in the early nineteenth century, detached sympathy gave way to a fascination with the bizarre and the uncanny. Disillusioned with the Enlightenment's rational ideals, artists of the Romantic era turned to the imagination for their subject matter, emphasizing creative subjectivity and delving into the furthest reaches of the human mind to reveal narratives of human experience. For example, Francisco Goya used romantic imagery and realism to probe the world of inner demons and social madness.

During the latter 19th century, the term madness encompassed several disorders that could be both mental and physical; ideas of alienation and angst surged within the cultural lexicon. Madness became an expression of passionate feeling, difference, and a response to the toxicity of modern life. In *fin-de-siècle* Europe, concepts of degeneracy were embraced by a rebellious avant-garde forging an identity outside the so-called norm.

This chapter will examine the practices of Francisco José de Goya, James Ensor, Vincent van Gogh, Edvard Munch and Ferdinand Hodler, each of whom addressed aspects of madness by laying bare the world of inner experience. Their subjective interrogations of psychological truth, ability to locate the universal in the personal, and belief in the freedom of artistic expression helped establish the trajectory of twentieth-century modern art.

Francisco José de Goya

8.1
| Goya's Demons

Francisco José de Goya was one of the first modern artists to address the world of the irrational in visual terms. The frontispiece of his *Los Caprichos* album of etchings, entitled *The Sleep of Reason Produces Monsters,* depicts the slumbering artist assailed by nocturnal monsters of his imagination: the creatures associated in Spanish folk tradition with mystery, folly, ignorance and evil. Goya's caption for this print offers an interpretation: "Imagination abandoned by reason produces impossible monsters; united with her, she is the mother of the arts and source of their wonders." The implication is that without rational balance, the wondrous world of the imagination can quickly slip into the realm of insanity.



Francisco de Goya, *The Sleep of Reason Produces Monsters* (No. 43), from Los Caprichos, 1799. Etching with aquatint and other intaglio media. 188.98 x 149.10 cm. Nelson-Atkins Museum of Art, Kansas City. View Source

Gillian Achurch, writing about the exhibition *Goya and Modernity* at the Pinacothèque de Paris, ("The Madness of Goya: The Father of Modern Art" (December 20, 2013) (https://www.meer.com/en/6556-the-madness-of-goya) explains,

> "No great mind has ever existed without a touch of madness," so Aristotle tells us. A quick glance over Goya's oeuvre is enough to recognize art both great and, by some definition, mad. Goya is famously often considered the first modern artist, for his concentration on depicting his own, inner thoughts and responses to the world he saw around him, rather than reflecting those of others or attempting to produce an 'objective' representation. What he saw, both in his private life and in the events occupying

Spain, was often incomprehensible turmoil. It is unsurprising, therefore, that this is dramatically reflected in his astonishing works. The symbolism implies the dangers of withdrawing into oneself.



Francisco de Goya, *Courtyard with Lunatics or Yard with Madmen,* 1794. Oil on tin-plated iron. 43.8 x 32.7 cm. Meadows Museum, Dallas. View Source

Within Goya's prolific output of some 700 paintings, 900 drawings and 300 prints we find madness appearing again and again. Incarcerated lunatics roam an asylum yard, and play fancy-dress in their cell



Francisco de Goya, *The Madhouse,* ca. 1808-12. Oil on panel. 45 x 72 cm. Real Academia de Bellas Artes de San Fernando, Madrid. View Source



Francisco de Goya, *Cannibals Chopping up Victims*, ca. 1808-14. Oil on panel. 31 x 45 cm. Musée des Beaux-Arts et d'archéologie de Besançon. View Source



Francisco de Goya, Saturn Devouring His Son, ca. 1819-23. Mixed media mural transferred to canvas. 143.5 x 81.4 cm. Museo del Prado, Madrid. View Source

Francisco de Goya, *Saturn Devouring His Son,* ca. 1819-23. Mixed media mural transferred to canvas. 143.5 x 81.4 cm. Museo del Prado, Madrid. View Source

cannibals gnaw on their victims and monsters loom over humans.

Goya's fascination with the subject of insanity speaks to Romanticism's emphasis on passionate feeling and self-expression. His personal experience with depression and anxiety, of feeling, as quoted in Achurch, "so bad that I don't know if my head is on my shoulders... I don't know what is happening," and the delusions of madness aggravated by a severe illness at forty-six which also left him deaf catalyzed his engagement with themes of reason and unreason and the dark side of the human psyche.

The socio-political turmoil of the era, and the horrific events of Spain's Peninsular War, which Goya witnessed first-hand, furthered his interest in exploring the fragility and ferociousness of human experience and what can occur when we are faced with the unfathomable.

8.2
| *The Disasters of War*

Goya's *Disasters of War* series signals an abandonment of his attempts at moralizing or rationalization. He created a series of etchings highlighting the horrors of the war between France and Spain, barbaric acts beyond rational understanding. As Achurch writes,

> Predating photojournalism by centuries, in these personal works which went unpublished until thirty years after Goya's death, the artist portrays with equal attention the atrocities committed by the French troops and those of the Spanish guerrilla fighters. This is no attempt at patriotic propaganda, but a bitter record of the things of which humans are capable. Alongside the drawings that Goya produced throughout his life, these raw, monochrome prints are where we find Goya's most vivid, frightening and touching renditions of madness.



Francisco de Goya, *The Same (The Disasters of War),* ca. 1810-14. Etching, burnisher, burin, dry point on washed paper. 16.2 x 22.3 cm. Real Academia de Bellas Artes de San Fernando, Madrid. View Source



Francisco de Goya, *They do not want to (The Disasters of War),* ca. 1810-14. Aquaforte, aquatint, dry point on warp paper. 15.6 x 20.9 cm. Real Academia de Bellas Artes de San Fernando, Madrid. View Source

In an address he made at the San Fernando Academy of Fine Arts, Goya emphasized the importance of allowing art students to follow their imaginations. This is certainly what he did throughout his life, finding the courage to do so knowing that though the imagination creates genius, so too is it the root of insanity. For Goya, giving free rein to his imagination was the only way to explore his persistent fascination with humankind and to express his sympathy for those he saw as dehumanized Perhaps they were mad, perhaps he was mad, and perhaps the world was mad, but the monsters roamed and Goya wanted only to open our eyes.

Goya's subjective exposés of the grotesqueness of the human condition made him a precursor of James Ensor, Vincent Van Gogh, Edvard Munch, and Ferdinand Hodler. All four artists, active on the verge of 20th-century modernism, engaged with an irrational and uncanny liminal world.

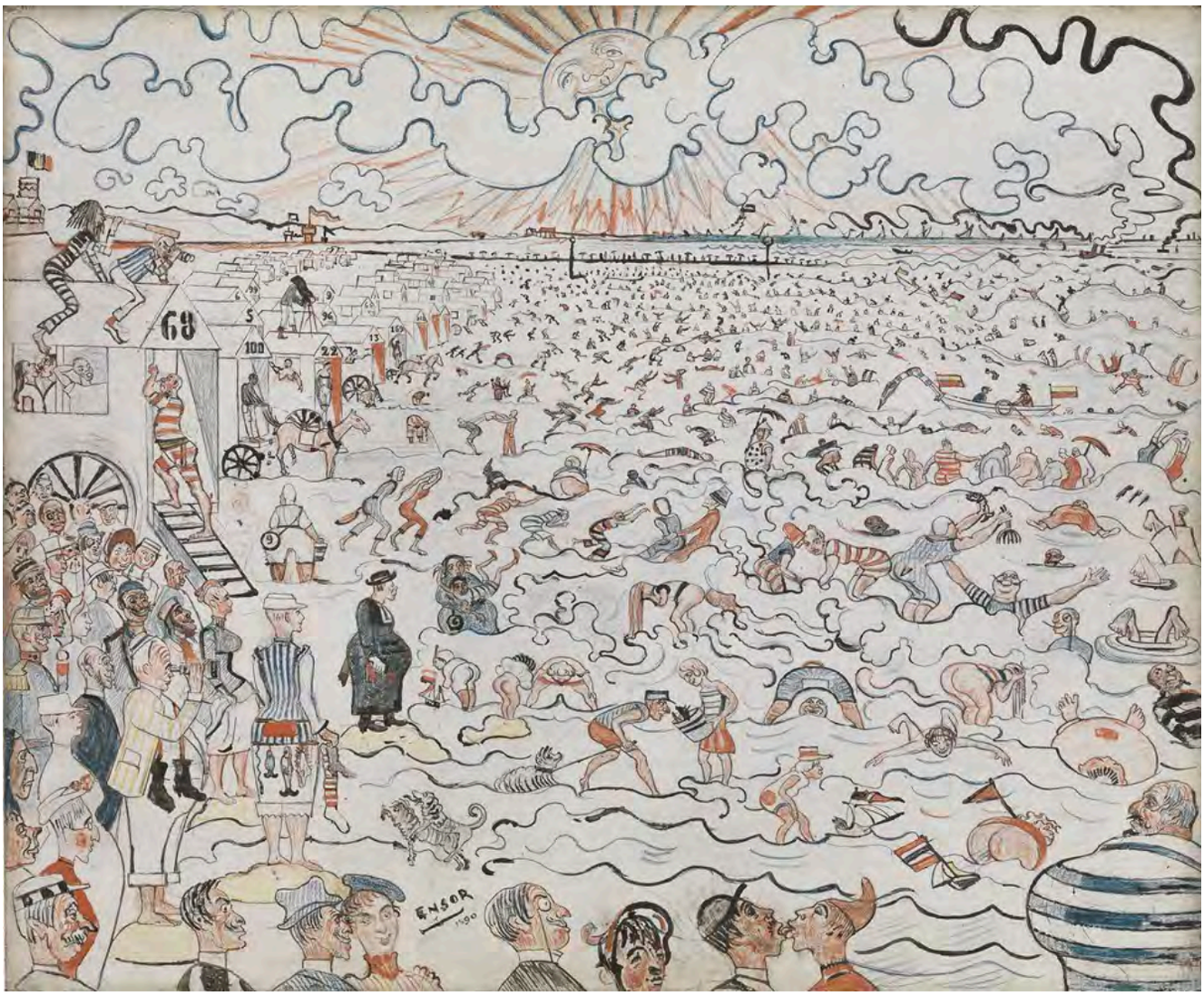
James Ensor

8.3 | Psychic Malaise

James Ensor was born in 1860 at the seaside resort of Ostend in northwestern Belgium to James Frederic Ensor, a British engineer and the Belgian Maria Catherina Haegheman.His maternal family owned a novelty shop that sold exotic curios, taxidermic specimens and souvenir masks to tourists who flocked to the city during Carnival in summer. But it was a troubled family, frequently afflicted by ill health. Ensor's father was an outsider in Ostend, often unemployed, mentally unstable, and suffering from several addictions, mainly alcohol and heroin.

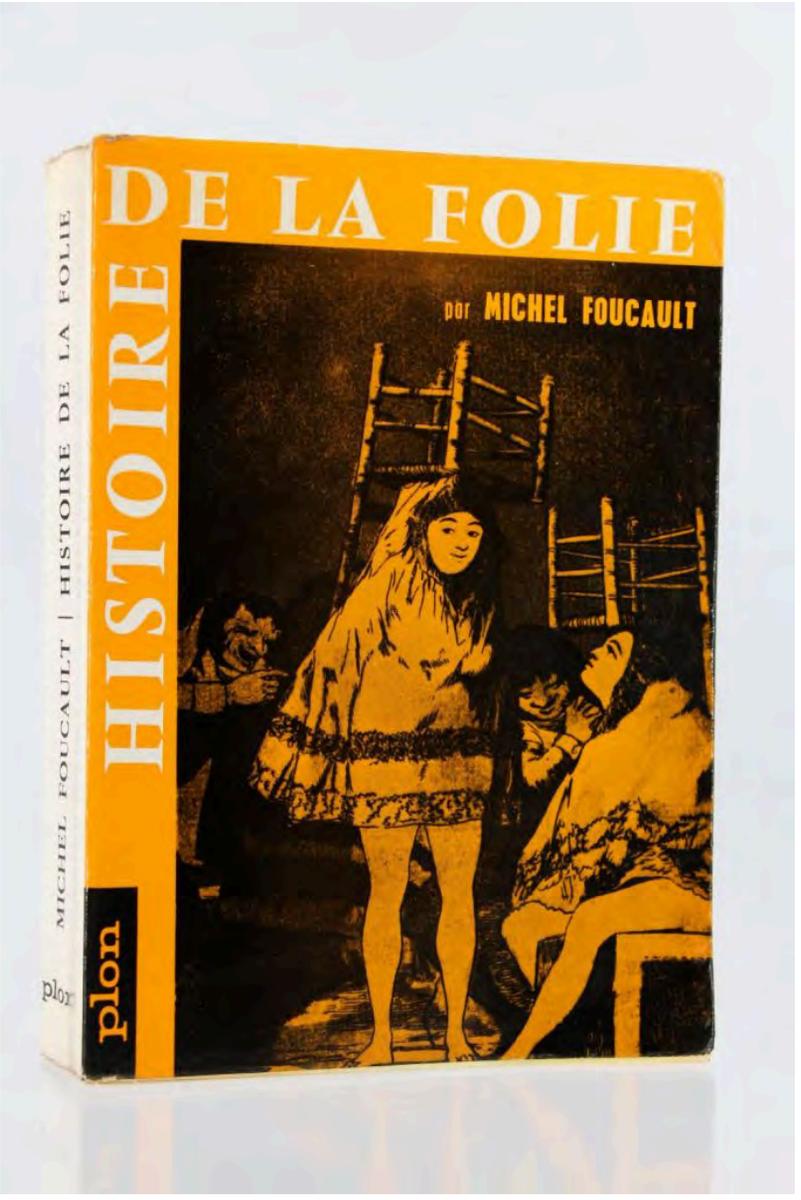


James, Ensor, *Ensor and His Easel,* ca. 1890. Oil on canvas. 40 x 58.5 cm. Royal Museum of Fine Arts, Antwerp.
View Source



James Ensor, *The Beach at Ostende,* 1890. Gouache. 37.4 cm x 45.4 cm. Museum of Fine Arts, Ghent. View Source

James Ensor's early years were spent in relative isolation, making art in the small attic above the family's curio shop. The works he made then reflect his interest in a northern naturalism that was far removed from the psychological complexity of his later paintings. From 1877 to 1880, he attended the Académie Royale des Beaux-Arts in Brussels. However Ensor was essentially self-educated, honing his skills through the practiced study of the master drawings of Rembrandt, Callot, Watteau, Goya, and Daumier.



Michel Foucault, *Folie et déraison: Histoire de la folie à l'âge classique (Madness and Civilization: A History of Insanity in the Age of Reason)* (Paris: Plon, 1961). View Source

In *Madness and Civilization: A History of Insanity in the Age of Reason* the philosopher Michel Foucault addresses the concept of madness and its evolution in the early Renaissance, Classical and Modern eras, describing that it once "was allowed free reign; it circulated throughout society, it formed part of the background and language of everyday experience (that one sought neither to exalt nor control…)." The insane had a role in the community, and madness was seen as intrinsic to the human condition. Madness, like death, was not romanticized but was a constant reminder of the nearness and possibility of eternal damnation. During the nineteenth century, psychic maladies were often associated with the volatility and angst experienced as an effect of modernization.



James Ensor, *Afternoon in Ostend,* 1881. Oil on canvas. 132 x 108.5 cm. Royal Museum of Fine Arts, Antwerp. View Source

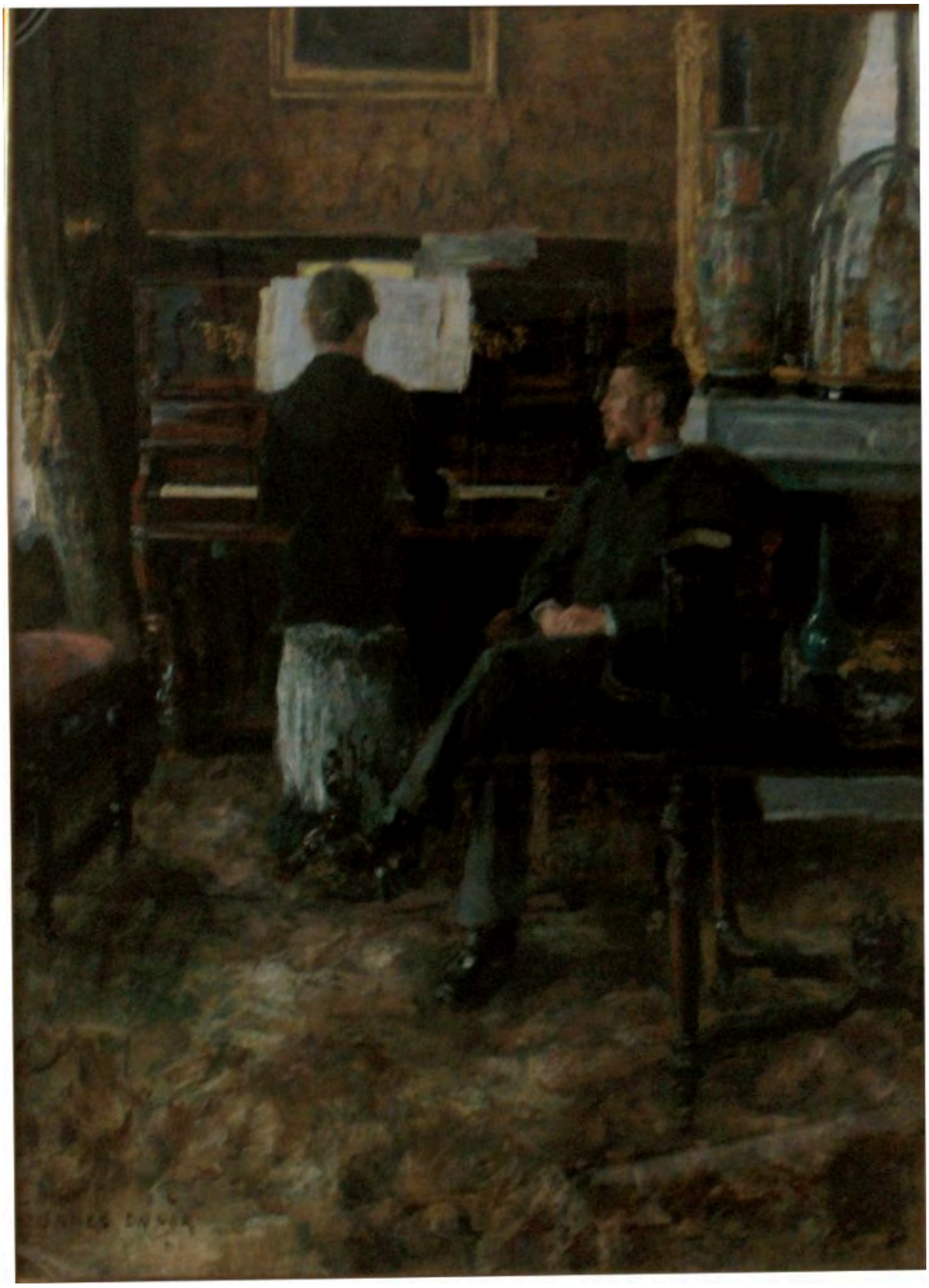
Ensor's early images were often of interiors and family scenes. Executed in dark colours, they introduced his engagement with the intricacies of the human psyche. In his early career, the theme of psychic malaise was couched in the small dramas of domestic life. His impressionistic bourgeois interiors of the early 1880s were conveyed with the economy of a palette knife, yet still evoked interpersonal idiosyncratic behaviours. There is little doubt that the eccentricity of his domestic life marked him. The suggestion of neurosis and madness often undercut allusions to the home as the nucleus of safety and affection. *Afternoon in Ostend,* which shows the artist's mother and sister at tea, suggests an uneasy encounter and foreshadows the psychological tensions of Ensor's later theatrical spaces.

Marnin Young in "1882 -The Revolutionary Foyer" (*Realism in the Age of Impressionism: Painting and the Politics of Time* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2015), 165-203) writes about these earlier works by Ensor:

> *Afternoon in Ostend* on the whole seems especially attuned to the comforts of home. Like the other paintings of the artist's home and family, this canvas starts from an assumption of bourgeois composure within the space of the interior. Yet, there is also sense that these paintings cut against their own familiarity and the comfort with their subjects. The atmospheric effects of Ensor's loose paint handling across the surface only heightens the sense of disconnect between these women. The absence of men from these scenes speaks of the family dynamics that underpinned the social life of these interiors. Both Ensor and his unemployed father spent large stretches of the day indoors…two Ensor men are missing from these interior spaces.
>
> In the early 1880s, Ensor aggressively exhibited his various paintings of interiors… By 1886, these "bourgeois interiors" had made the painter's name, and he was widely noted for them… With some

notable exceptions, critics reviewing his work focused almost exclusively on the paint handling, comparing it repeatedly with French Impressionism. As early as 1882, an anonymous review in *L'Art moderne* described the "great quirkiness" of Ensor's brushwork and proclaimed that he was "strongly inspired by the procedures dear to the Impressionists." At Les XX, one critic dismissively declared that "French Impressionism dominates him," another that he sought to "enthrone Impressionism in Belgium." Beyond the predictable lamentations for a lost national school of painting—Ensor was haunted "by wan, second- hand memories of the French school"— critics failed to explain exactly why this embrace of Impressionism so troubled them... Ensor vehemently denied the influence of Impressionism but nonetheless insisted that the "deformations" that light subjects to line had been the key concern in his early works.

The critic Jules Destrée, for example, waxed enthusiastic over Ensor's *Afternoon in Ostend*: "It has a superb intimacy and intensity of life. How well one senses the closed up apartment! How one discerns the chit-chat of the two women, one smelling her coffee with a natural gesture, the other depicted with such truth, such observation, such a modern sense." In discussing the necessity of painting the modern world at the exhibition of Les XX in 1885, Albert Dutry used the same word to describe what advanced painting can achieve: "We must paint what is around us, as it is only from this that we can penetrate into intimacy." As Fried points out, French critics in the 1860s consistently used both "intimacy" and "penetrating" to praise the absorption of the characters depicted in paintings. Dutry use of both terms confirms that the critical vocabulary had migrated to Belgium, and Ensor's productions only typified these wider preoccupations.



James Ensor, *Russian Music,* 1881. Oil on canvas. 133 x 110 cm. Royal Museums of Fine Arts of Belgium, Brussels.
View Source



James Ensor, *Afternoon in Ostend,* 1881. Oil on canvas. 132 x 108.5 cm. Royal Museum of Fine Arts, Antwerp. View Source



James Ensor, *The Bourgeois Salon,* 1881. Oil on canvas. 133 x 109 cm. Royal Museum of Fine Arts, Antwerp. View Source

Young continues:

> In the end, Ensor's interiors—*Chez Miss (Russian Music)*, *Afternoon in Ostend, The Bourgeois Salon*, and others—sought to hold in some kind of tension, the interior as stereotyped, sentimentalized representation and the interior as a space of lived experience. This seemed to demand the production of paintings that made visible the to-and-fro between the comforts of home and the recognition of its falling into mere image.

8.4
| The Painter of Masks

Working in his cramped, stock-filled studio, Ensor was drawn to the aesthetics and symbolism of the *papier maché* masks sold in the souvenir shop, causing the writer and poet Émile Verhaeren to later dub him “the painter of masks.” His early interest in masks and skeletons introduced the elements of the macabre imagery that would dominate his paintings of the grotesqueries of the world as he experienced it and the darkness of humanity as a whole.



James Ensor, *Scandalized Mask*, 1883. Oil on canvas. 135 x 112 cm. Royal Museums of Fine Arts of Belgium, Brussels. View Source

Scandalized Masks, initially exhibited as *Les Masques,* announced a new interest in the pictorial potential of the mask motif as a manifestation of covert things and contrivance of concealment. Here, a brightly lit interior shows a man seated at a table, a half-empty wine bottle and glass before him. A blue-spectacled shrew stands at the doorway, holding a stick like a weapon. Both figures wear long-nosed masks. The harsh lighting, the carnivalesque costuming of the woman, and the arrested action of the scene create an eclectic atmosphere of intimacy and menace.
Young discusses *Scandalized Masks:*

> Within the more naturalistic iconography of his earlier works, the scene might be viewed as a domestic narrative of alcoholism … even if it uncannily unfolds at the time of Carnival. Yet, the painting also seems to literalize the problematic of absorptive motifs giving way to frankly facing effects. The mask was Ensor's means of allegorizing this doubleness, and this motif, which typifies his later work, should be understood as an outwardly facing object, intended to be seen—it literally faces us—but also as a mechanism to conceal the subject from view.

Scandalized Masks is one of several domestic scenes evocative of strangeness and alienation that the artist produced over the next several years.



James Ensor, *Skeleton Looking at Chinoiseries,* 1885. Oil on canvas. 101 x 61 cm. Museum of Fine Arts, Ghent. 896 | Chapter Eight MADNESS & Modernity

View Source

The cryptic *Skeleton Looking at Chinoiseries* painted two years later, lends itself to multiple interpretations. Is the skeleton the artist? Is the work a symbolic representation of a shopkeeper's tawdry secrets? Or does it conceptualize the living death of madness, a notion described by Foucault as "...the head that will become a skull is already empty. Madness is the *deja-la* of death."



James Ensor, *Skeletons Warming Themselves,* 1889. Oil on canvas. 74.8 x 60 cm. Kimbell Art Museum, Fort Worth. View Source

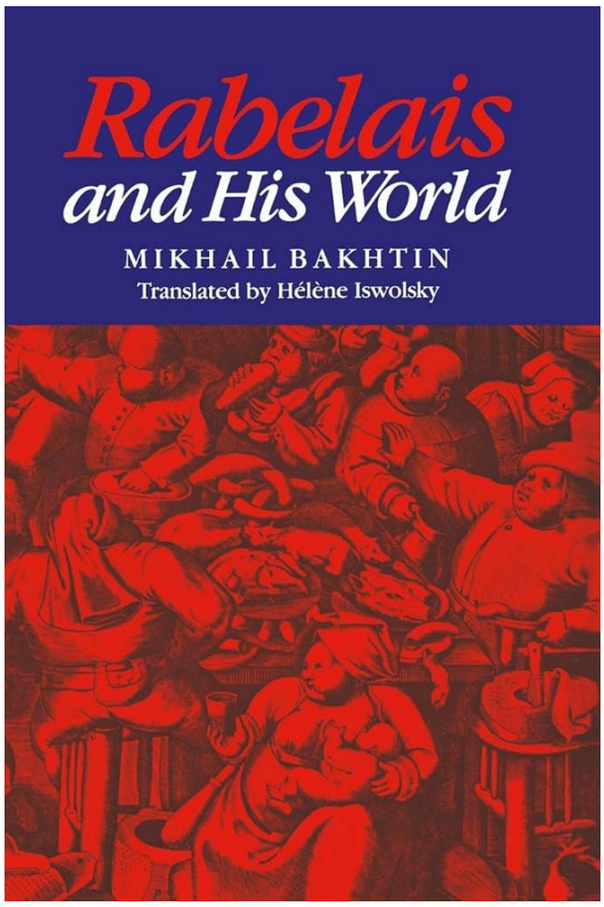
Ensor's father died of the effects of alcoholism in 1887, followed by the death of his maternal grandmother. The shadow of mortality that had percolated beneath the surface of Ensor's oeuvre now assumed prominence.



James Ensor, *Self-Portrait with Masks,* 1899. Oil on canvas. 117 x 82 cm. Menard Art Museum, Komaki. View Source

In *Self-Portrait with Masks,* Ensor's self-image dominates in a carnival of masks, including skulls, glaring faces, exaggerated noses, piercing eyes and mixed looks of shock, menace, fear and amusement. Clad in a red fedora adorned with flowers and feathers, the artist's gaze directs the viewer on a tour of the claustrophobic masked crowd, always returning to his image.

Here, the motif is repeated across the scene, a symbolic critique of a two-faced bourgeois society. For Ensor and others, masking was deployed as a multi-faceted metaphor, at once playful and dark.



Mikhail Bakhtin, *Rabelais and His World,* trans. Hélène Iswolsky (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1965). View Source

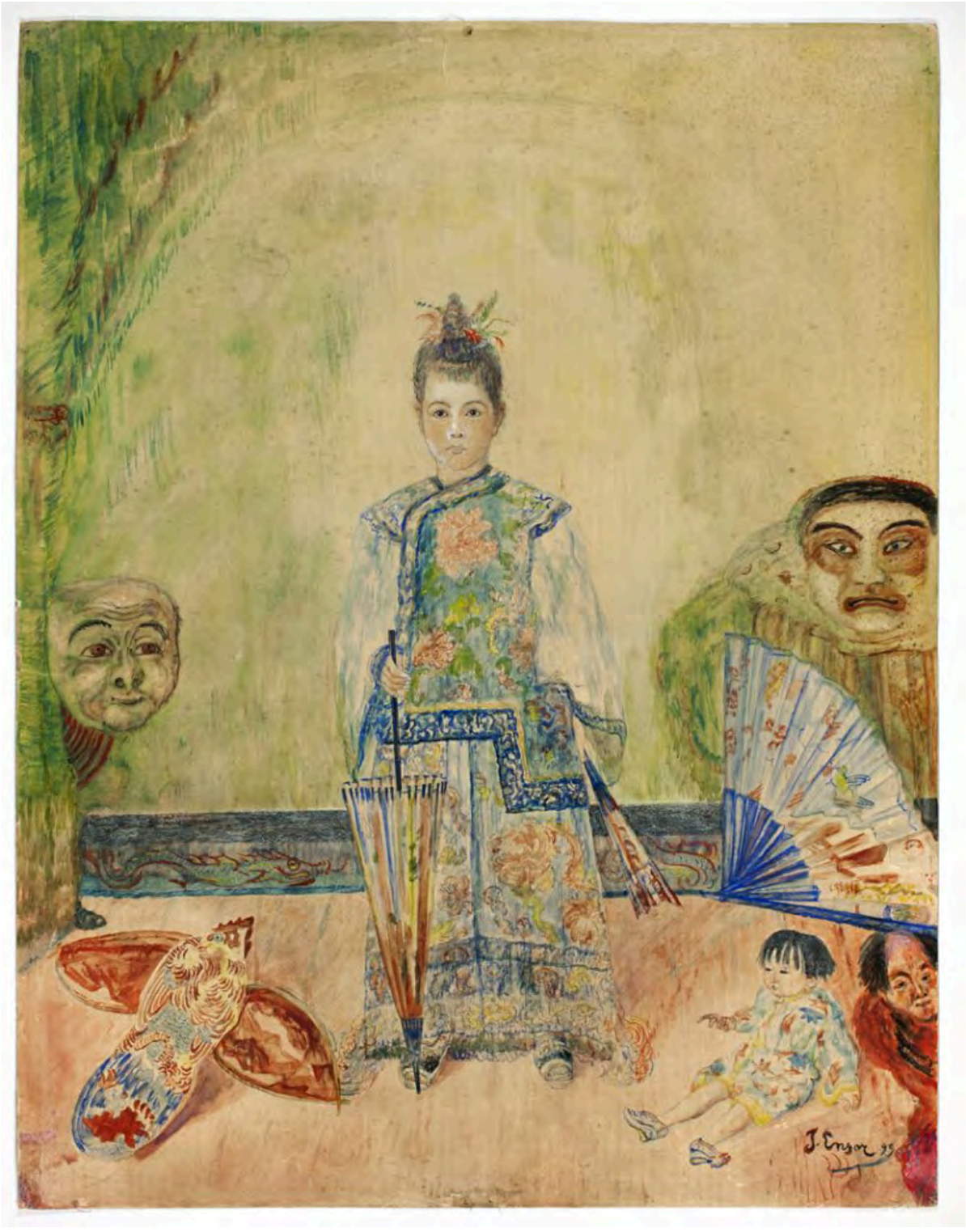
As the Russian philosopher Mikhail Bakhtin explains in *Rabelais and His World* (Bloomington: Indian University Press, 1984 (1965):

> The mask is connected with the joy of change and reincarnation, with gay relativity and with the merry negation of uniformity and similarity; it rejects conformity to oneself ... It contains the playful element of life; it is based on a peculiar interrelation of reality and image, characteristic of the most ancient rituals and spectacles. ... It reveals the essence of the grotesque. The Romantic mask loses almost entirely its regenerating and renewing element and acquires a sombre hue. A terrible vacuum, a nothingness lurks behind it.



James Ensor, *Old Lady with Masks,* 1889. Oil on canvas. 55 x 46.6 cm. Museum of Fine Arts, Ghent. View Source

Ensor's portraits of family and friends were inclined toward naive renderings or misogynistic mockery. The woman is presumably Neel Doff, the Dutch writer and publicist.



James Ensor, *Portrait of the Artist's Niece in Chinese Costume*, 1899. Watercolour over graphite, retouched in pen and ink, on light tan wove paper. 63.8 x 49.7 cm. Art Institute of Chicago. View Source

Portrait of the Artist's Niece shows a girl who appears two-dimensional, empty, and lifeless. Leering masks surround her. Her painted face is mask-like, and behind her, a halo of light suggests an unreal space, perhaps an allusion to the theatre of life and death.

8.5
| The Carnivalesque:
Images of Social Morbidity and Spiritual Crisis

Ensor co-founded *Les XX,* an artist-run group initiated in 1883 by Octave Maus, a Belgian lawyer, art critic, and writer. They aimed to promote international modern art, holding regular exhibitions of works by the group's members and invited artists.

Les XX was sympathetic to anarchist ideas, as was Ensor. They advocated for freedom of individual expression while actively promoting the social role of art. They utilized a variety of tactics, including hanging red flags outside their salon and printing the cover of their catalogue in red to represent their activities to the Belgian public as radical and revolutionary.



Louis Tinayre, "Roux – Les chasseurs du 3e regiment, sous les orders du capitaine Bulot, dispersant par la force les émeutiers qui viennent d'incendier la Verrerie du Hainaut," [Strikers burning the glass factory and château of M. Baudoux at Jumet], *Le Monde Illustré,* April 10, 1886. Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris. View Source

In 1886, four days after the closure of *Les XX*'s March exhibition—which included works by members Ensor,Alfred William (Willy) Finch, Fernand Knopff, Théo van Rysselberghe, Guillaume Vogels, as well as invitees Monet, Redon, and Renoir, among others— anarchists commemorating the anniversary of the Paris Commune rioted in the streets of Liège.

Susan M. Canning writes in "The Ordure of Anarchy: Scatological Signs of Self and Society in the Art of James Ensor" (*Art Journal* 52, no. 3 (1993): 47–53):

> On March 18, four days after the exhibition of Les XX closed … anarchists in the east of Belgium paraded through the streets of Liège to commemorate the fifteenth anniversary of the Paris Commune. The demonstration capped months of nationwide agitation for wage increases, work-time reforms, and the institution of universal suffrage. The vicious police response to the Liège event, resulting in numerous deaths, escalated national protests and crackdowns over the course of the year, ending with military

control of industrial regions and the consolidation of the recently formed Parti Ouvrier Belge as a legitimate and enduring political force in the kingdom. Louis Bertrand would write at the end of the year, referring to the Franco-Prussian War and the Paris Commune, "1886 is our année terrible, just like the year 187 was in France."

Ensor was in the thick of things politically that year, possibly even participating in demonstrations, and he responded to the events with works both small and large over the next half-decade.



James Ensor, *Christ's Entry into Brussels in 1889,* 1888. Oil on canvas. 252.6 x 431 cm. J. Paul Getty Museum, Los Angeles.
View Source

From the late 1880s onward, Ensor's imagery grew more exaggerated and twisted. He turned to caricature in his complex commentaries on social malaise and hypocrisy.

Christ's Entry into Brussels in 1889 is regarded as his most significant work. The monumental canvas introduces the artist's forte as a mordant observer of his time and declares his leftist leanings. Apart from its imposing ten by 15-foot scale, the frenzied work is jarring in form and content. Strident colour animates the agitated crowd. Among them is the figure Ensor, personified as Christ, riding an ass and barely discernible in the crowd of military bands, masked marchers, historical figures and politicians of all persuasions. The work exudes the madness of crowds, social deviancy and religious indecency. It conjures up the festivity of the Carnival of Ostend and turns it on its head.

Suspended above the obscured Christ figure is a banner which reads "Vive La Social" (Long live Socialism) and a poster announcing "Fanfares Doctrinaires Toujours Réussi" (doctrinal fanfares always succeed). The stacked configuration of the crowd on the viewing stand on the other side is surreal, a metaphor for mounting madness. The distorted faces and uniform stare are demonic, conveying twisted spirits. But this was not a celebration of socialist and artistic politics. Ensor was striking out against the crushing of individual freedoms in a panoptic critique of institutional control.



Pieter Bruegel the Elder, *The Fight Between Carnival and Lent*, 1559. Oil on panel. 118 x 164 cm. Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna. View Source

There are comparisons to the Flemish Renaissance painter Brueghel worth noting. For one, the composition compels a reading that unfolds in time, as we decipher the pictorial pattern. In Brueghel's *The Fight Between Carnival and Lent*, disparate characters animate the cacophonous scene, from Carnival's corpulent figuration to Lent's emaciated personification. Carnival embodies the three great excesses of carnival: food (and drink), sex and violence. He is Indulgence personified, and also Folly, a piper to the crowd of frenzied revellers.



Detail of Pieter Bruegel the Elder, *The Fight Between Carnival and Lent,* 1559. Oil on panel. 118 x 164 cm. Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna. View Source

The Carnival is everyday material life; Lent is attired as a thin nun with severe countenance; she is the antidote to Indulgence. She is Abstinence, and she is losing. Elsewhere, people give alms and go to church, and the clergy are conspicuous among them (by the time of this painting, 1559 the clergy were at the forefront of campaigns against Carnival).

Bruegel does not seem to lean in favour of one side or another. Unlike Ensor's work, this is not a mortality painting. The folly of Carnival simply highlights life after the Fall, the reign before the Second Coming. It is life as inherently foolish.



James Ensor, *Christ's Entry into Brussels in 1889,* 1888. Oil on canvas. 252.6 x 431 cm. J. Paul Getty Museum, Los Angeles. View Source



James Ensor, *The Strike,* 1888. 67.5 x 34 cm. Drawing. Royal Museum of Fine Arts, Antwerp. View Source

Ensor's works frequently featured people (clergy, kings, the bourgeoisie) vomiting, urinating, or defecating as an allusion to the crudity of their actions. Canning states, "Ensor as Christ triumphantly enters Brussels in the midst of a Mardi Gras celebration, while on a balcony in the background revelers vomit and defecate on a banner bearing the Vingtist emblem "art."

Canning compares the "moral satire" of this work to others painted during the same period:

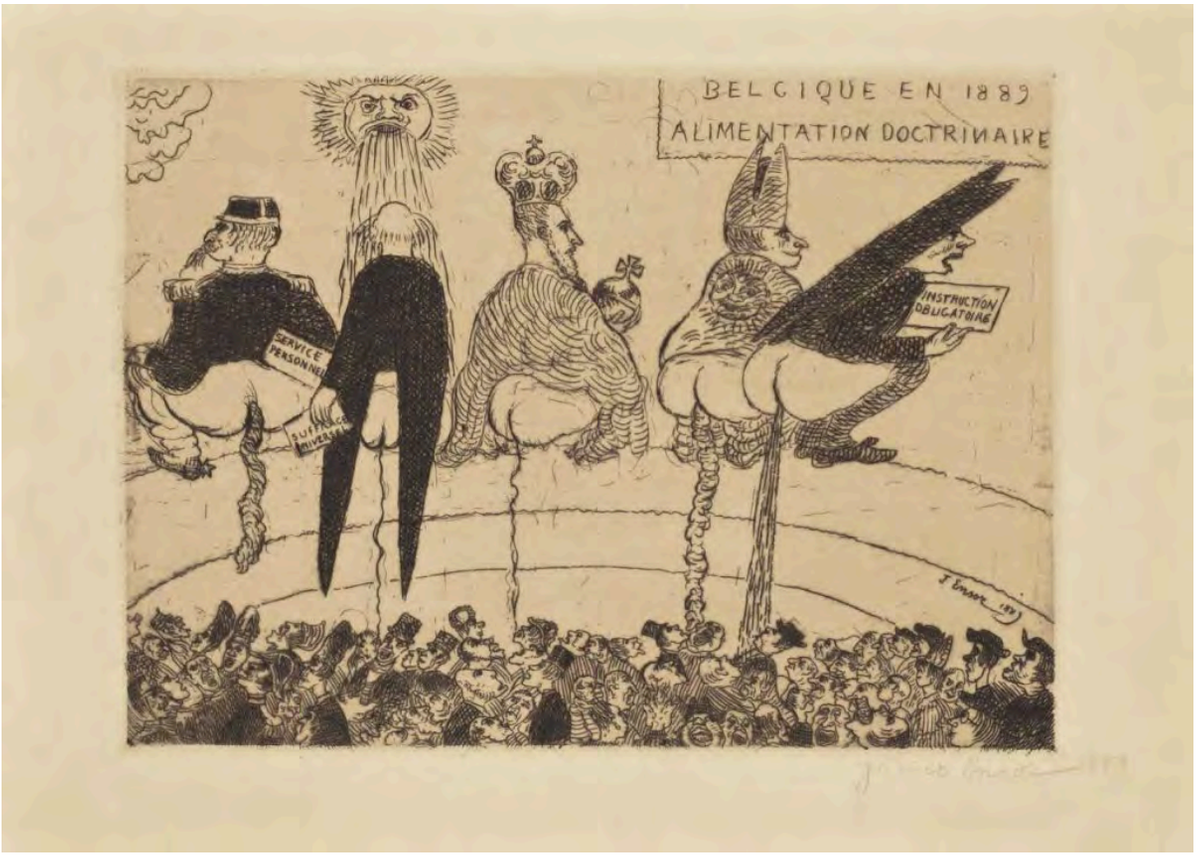
> In *The Strike*, or *Massacre of the Fishermen of Ostend* Ensor turns his attention to contemporary events. This large composite drawing refers to the August 1887 strike called by Ostend fishermen to protest the use of their fishing areas by the British. In the course of the strike, several fishermen were killed. In his

drawing, Ensor merges reality with fantasy as he juxtaposes the bloody repression by the police with the imagined revenge of the townspeople, who defecate or vomit fish on the invaders. Whereas the men and women of Ostend are given heroic poses, the police are shown as brutal agents of state authority who surround and overwhelm the small group of protesters, slaughtering all who stand in their way.

In *The Strike*, the scatological acts as an equalizing element, raising or lowering all to the same level. At the same time, Ensor associates the vulgar aspects of defecation, elimination, and vomit with an instinctual, unrefined state, a way of living, which in the artist's view appears more in tune with the natural order of things than the artificial leisure of the bourgeoisie or the violent actions of a repressive state. Like the anarchists whose beliefs he shared, Ensor sought in these works to replace the values of the old social order with representations of a new, more elemental society based on natural law and on harmony among classes.

After 1888 Ensor employed exaggeration, distortion, and caricature as well as scatological references to comment upon a society which he saw as conformist, conservative, and hypocritical. As these images grew more political, Ensor's individualist ideology assumed a more anarchistic tone. Like many of his contemporaries, Ensor never publicly proclaimed his political views, but he associated with anarchists from the beginning of his career.

Ensor first learned of the theories of Elisde Reclus, the geographer and anarcho-communist, in the late 1870s when he came to Brussels to study at the Academy. Later, in 1886, Ensor read excerpts of Prince Kropotkin's *Words of a Revolutionary* in the Brussels avant-garde journal *l'Art moderne*. While these contacts educated Ensor on the fundamentals of anarcho-communist theory, at Les XX he learned the strategies of anarchist action. Les XX had declared themselves an anarchist group when they formed in 1884, and throughout their ten salons they utilized a variety of tactics, including hanging red flags outside their salon and printing the cover of their catalogue in red to represent their activities to the Belgian public as radical and revolutionary. Like the anarcho-communist theorists, Les XX did not outline a specific way for artists to visualize their political beliefs. Instead, the group proclaimed the freedom of individual expression while actively promoting the social role of art. Although in agreement with the socialist goals for class equality and the collective ownership of the means of production, anarcho-communist theory rejected the socialist model of collectivity. Instead, they called for small associations of individuals to form into harmonious federations. In anarchist theory, the free individual became an agent for social change. The anarchist sought an ideal order which would result in a natural world founded upon the harmony between the individual and society, a "life without masters" as Reclus termed it, where a social accord would arise "from the free association of individuals and groups, conforming to the needs and interests of each and all." In the anarchist's view, until this ideal order was created, each individual must continue to struggle against all forms of political, economic, and personal authority by means of direct action or "propaganda by the deed."



James Ensor, *Doctrinal Nourishment, second plate,* 1889. Etching. 18.2 x 25 cm. View Source

Canning notes that *Alimentation doctrinaire (Doctrinal feeding)* is even more explicit in its assessment of social, political, and religious deceit than *The Strike*, or *Massacre of the Fishermen of Ostend*.

As indicated in this print, Ensor addresses the beholder in an aggressive, inflammatory way. He bares the buttocks of the political, military, and religious leaders of the Belgian state while titling the scene with a plaque and subtitling it with cards to underscore his point. He also inverts the scatological referent. Rather than a sign of the natural power is enfranchised lower class, excrement becomes a symbol of the foul-smelling, anal processes of the ruling order. Here, as the Flemish say, “zij schijten in een pot” (they all shit in the same pot).

Alimentation doctrinaire is Ensor’s most overt political statement and his most direct use of scatological imagery. By the mid-1890s, when his art began to sell and he gained some critical and public acceptance, Ensor’s use of scatological imagery declined. While he continued to make scatological references in later works, they are not as confrontational as the images discussed here. Just as the anarchists turned in the 1890s to a more constructive and less destructive model for social change, so too does Ensor’s criticism of society grow more general and less abusive. Yet even with the artist’s mellowing, the ordure of anarchy that acts as a sign for his sexually repressed, alienated, and foolish self and for his personal revolt against social and political repression remains fresh.



James Ensor, *Christ's Entry into Brussels in 1889*, 1888. Oil on canvas. 252.6 x 431 cm. J. Paul Getty Museum, Los Angeles.
View Source



James Ensor, *Christ's Entry into Jerusalem*, 1885. Graphite and conte crayon on off-white wove paper. 22.5 x 16.5 cm. J. Paul Getty Museum, Los Angeles.

Mark Leonard and Louise Lippincott in "James Ensor's Christ's Entry into Brussels in 1889: Technical Analysis, Restoration, and Reinterpretation" (*Art Journal* 54, no. 2 (1995): 18–27) provide an informed formal and technical analysis of the painting when it was purchased by the Getty Museum in Los Angeles.

It is essential to recall that Ensor was a consummate draftsman, and *Christ's Entry into Brussels* must be seen in comparison with his own graphic works, particularly *Christ's Entry into Jerusalem.* It is revealing to observe the way in which the calligraphic notations of the crowd from the drawing have been translated into similar shorthand notations in paint *in Christ's Entry into Brussels*.

> It is clear that Ensor considered himself the heir to a Northern tradition of draftsmanship that looked back to Rembrandt (the similarities between Ensor's prints and Rembrandt's etchings are notable), and the importance of underdrawing to the creation of a work of art has even deeper roots within the earliest traditions of Flemish painting and manuscript illumination.



Detail of James Ensor, *Christ's Entry into Brussels in 1889,* 1888. Oil on canvas. 252.6 x 431 cm. J. Paul Getty Museum, Los Angeles. View Source

Ensor used his underdrawing as a strong guide for the painting. In a sense *Christ's Entry into Brussels* could be considered to be an enormous colored drawing. Ensor carefully filled in the lines of his extensive drawing and was certainly not prone to bursts of spontaneity or change. In fact, aside from the changes within the inscriptions of the banners, there are virtually no major pentimenti to be found within *Christ's Entry into Brussels*. In a detail from the lower right of the painting, it is possible to see that bordering colors of paint do not overlap, or as in the profile of the head, even touch. Ensor simply left the bare ground visible between the outlines of the underdrawing. The silhouetted effects of the forms are heightened by this careful and controlled handling of the paint.

Ensor's palette in *Christ's Entry into Brussels* was actually quite straightforward; he favored the use of pure colors and only rarely resorted to mixtures of any type. For example, a cross section taken from the red feather just below the signature showed that it was painted on top of the green background. Three simple layers were found: the lead white of the ground, the pure emerald green of the background, and the pure vermilion of the red feather. In the lower-right corner of the picture, underneath the podium, where the head of the figure identified as Ensor's aunt overlaps a blue stripe in her costume, the flesh tone is a simple mixture of vermilion, chrome yellow, and lead white. The blue is a pure Prussian blue. It is important to note that all of the pigments used were standard artist's pigments of the period. Media analysis suggested that these were straightforward oil colors.... Analysis of all of the cross-section samples taken from *Christ's Entry into Brussels* supported the fact that development of complicated or overlapping layers of paint was not part of Ensor's working method. The paint is very thick in many areas of the picture, but the layer structure is actually quite simple; the colors were applied in single strokes, simply and directly.

While Ensor retained possession of *Christ's Entry into Brussels* for over sixty years, he reworked a number of details within the picture. Some of the basic analytic techniques commonly used to sort out the later changes actually revealed very little as a result of the nature of the materials that Ensor used in the painting.

Ensor's *The Intrigue* which he painted several years later, is yet another portrayal of humanity gone mad. The faces are at once realistic and surreal, a comment on the depravity ordinarily hidden behind the facade of everyday appearances. Coarsely painted in clashing hues of red, green, yellow, blue, and white, the work describes a carnivalesque culture, discordant and dark. It is a veiled critique of the "mercurial speculators" who were bringing about the ruin of Ostend through modernization. His writings and art reveal that he sought

a return to cultural unity, to a Belgium untainted by commercialism, tourism, and industrialization. “Let us re-establish our pure and natural carnivals…those which included greatcoats of arms and red-lipped prostitutes, ostrich plumes and wooden shoes.” *The Intrigue* speaks to the collapse of familial and communal bonds in a society increasingly centred on materiality.



Hieronymus Bosch, *The Ship of Fools,* ca. 1490-1500. Oil on wood. 58 x 33 cm. Musée du Louvre, Paris. View Source

In some respects, *The Intrigue* also references Hieronymus Bosch in notions of satanic evil and the end of the world. There are thematic equivalences to be made between Ensor’s carnivalesque madness and Bosch’s *Ship of Fools,* for example, sailing through a landscape of superficial pleasures while demonic forces anticipate the end at hand.

8.6
| Madness, Mania, Melancholy: The Artist as Observer

Diane Karp writes in “Madness, Mania, Melancholy: The Artist as Observer” (*Philadelphia Museum of Art Bulletin* 80, no. 342 (1984): 1–24):

> The enlightenment of the public to the complicated workings of the human psyche opened a whole new interior landscape to the scrutiny of the artist’s eye, a landscape that had not escaped his vision in the past, but one that was becoming increasingly acceptable. *Demons Ridicule Me*, a powerful etching by James Ensor, is a frightfully moving self-portrait of the artist surrounded by phantasmagorical demons that claw and pull at him.



James Ensor, *Demons Taunting Me,* 1895. Etching. 11.8 x 15.8 cm. Museum of Fine Arts, Ghent. View Source



Martin Schongauer, *Saint Anthony Tormented by Demons*, ca. 1470-74. Engraving. 30 x 21.8 cm. Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York. View Source



Lucas Cranach the Elder, *The Temptation of St. Anthony,* 1506. Woodcut; second state of two (Hollstein). 40.8 x 28 cm. Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York. View Source

> In comparison to the prints by Martin Schongauer or Lucas Cranach, the depiction is not of a saint... but of a mere mortal. The artist presents himself in a state of compromise, a human being tormented by his own demons, oppressed and pursued by the enemy within.

Ensor's self-portrait exemplifies the self-doubt and emotional malaise that occurred at the end of the nineteenth century, marked by a proliferation of exotic religious movements and other manifestations of spiritual crisis. There was a fear that the golden glow on the horizon toward which nineteenth-century man had pointed with scientific-technological pride was perhaps not the bright glow of the rising sun but the waning light of the sun setting on the nineteenth century, leaving goals and hopes unfulfilled in the darkness.

Vincent Van Gogh

8.7
| Finding the Spiritual in Art

Vincent van Gogh's remarkable contribution to art history has often been viewed through the overarching lens of his mental illness. Yet the context of his artistic development, the social attitudes toward degeneracy and how his art shaped his life are essential to our understanding of his legacy. Perhaps most important is understanding his creative intentionality beyond his illness. Recent research has revealed the extent to which the artist assiduously honed his skills through a self-directed program and how his working methods were far more methodical than previously understood.



Vincent van Gogh, *Coalmine in the Borinage,* 1879. Pencil, watercolour, paper. 26.4 x 37.5 cm. Van Gogh Museum, Amsterdam. View Source

Vincent van Gogh was born on March 30, 1853, in Groot-Zundert, the Netherlands, to Théodorus van Gogh, a Calvinist pastor, and Anna Cornelia Carbentus. He was the first of six surviving children, second to a stillborn brother also called Vincent, whose name-inscribed tombstone haunted the artist's early childhood. His younger brother Théo was born in 1857. The relationship between the two was close and

life-spanning. Their correspondence maps out the narrative of the artist's life, beginning in 1872 when Vincent was nineteen and Théo fifteen and comprises more than 650 letters.

Until the age of twenty-five, Van Gogh worked at several futile jobs—as an art seller, unpaid teacher, minister's assistant, and book clerk. In 1878 he was awarded a preaching appointment in the Borinage coal mining region, arriving in December and staying ten months. It was a harrowing experience which influenced his spiritual beliefs and inspired his aesthetic interests.

In his first letters from Borinage to Théo, Van Gogh described the booming area, its scenery and the local people as "full of character … and reminiscent of Bruegel's medieval paintings …The people are completely black, like chimney sweeps. Their houses could be better called huts, scattered along the sunken roads and against the slope of the hills. At first sight everything around it has something dismal and deathly about it. The workers are emaciated and pale due to fever, and they look exhausted and haggard, weather-beaten and prematurely old, the women generally sallow and withered."

Nellie Hermann, the author of *The Seasons of Migration*, a novel about Van Gogh's ten months stay (1878-1879) in the coal-mining village of Petit Wasmes in the Borinage region of Belgium, writes in *Paris Review* (Idle Bird, June 10, 2015, https://www.theparisreview.org/blog/2015/06/10/idle-bird/)

> In October of 1879, Theo van Gogh went to visit his brother, Vincent, in the Borinage coal-mining district of Belgium. Theo was en route to Paris, where he had business to conduct as an art dealer; Vincent was doing self-appointed missionary work… Theo, upset by Vincent's appearance—he had given away nearly all of his clothes to the miners, and had ceased bathing—told him, "You are not the same any longer." He felt that Vincent was wasting his time in this squalid place, and suggested that he leave to take up a different trade.
>
> Angry at his brother's inability to understand him, Vincent wrote a letter to Theo on October 15 that would be the last for ten months. The brothers had been writing letters to each other almost unceasingly since 1872, when Vincent was nineteen and Theo fifteen. This would be the first and deepest rupture between them, a silence that would never repeat itself. Referring to Theo's accusation of "idleness," Vincent wrote with bitterness: "I am not sure it would be right to combat such an accusation by becoming a baker, for instance. It would indeed be a decisive answer (always supposing that it were possible to assume, quick as lightning, the form of a baker, a barber or a librarian); but at the same time it would be a foolish answer, more or less like the action of a man who, when reproached with cruelty for riding a donkey, immediately dismounted and continued his way with the donkey on his shoulders."
>
> Theo's visit came at a particularly vulnerable point for Vincent. After almost a year in the dark and poverty-stricken landscape of the Borinage, he was losing any clarity he had about what his life was for. He had brought himself to the furthest limits of his Christian understanding trying to help the destitute community he found there, giving them all of his money and clothes, moving out of the comfortable home he was living in and into a run-down abandoned miner's hut, trying to live like them and care for them as Jesus would have, and yet it had come to nothing—no one was saved. The break from his brother was only the last deepening of an isolation that had been growing for years. Vincent was wrestling, at base, with who he was; he was struggling to understand the dissonant elements of himself, the religious man and the artist, and the ways they might combine. He was frightened of the spiritual void he might confront if he gave up his religious life, yet he had known no other life. The deep silence of those ten months over the winter of 1879—more than any outside accounts of him or what he would later write of the time—speaks to the profound struggle of this, the most significant period of transition in his life.



Vincent van Gogh, *Miners' Wives Carrying Sacks of Coal*, 1882. Watercolour on paper. 32 x 50 cm. Kröller-Müller Museum, Otterlo. View Source

In mining country, van Gogh followed Christian teaching literally to the letter—to the dismay of his father and other pastors on the missionary committee—behaving, truly, as if he were Jesus Christ, sacrificing all he had. But in the end, after he had given away everything and was sleeping on the floor of his abandoned hut, feverish and delirious, barely preaching anymore, the townspeople began, as people would for the rest of his life, to think him mad. Enormous explosions rocked the mines and he had nothing to give the people to help, but still he ran from hut to hut, tearing up his remaining clothes to use for bandages. Then Theo came to visit and berated him, completing his isolation and despair.



Jules Breton, *The Weeders*, 1860. Oil on canvas. 94 cm x 169 cm. Joslyn Art Museum, Omaha. View Source

At some point during the winter after Theo's visit Vincent walked some seventy kilometers from the Borinage to Courrieres, a town just across the French border; his aim was to see the painter Jules Breton, whom he admired, and whom he had heard had recently moved there. As he wrote months later, "I had undertaken the trip to find some kind of work … I would have accepted anything. But after all, perhaps I went involuntarily, I can't exactly say why." The trip seems to have been an artistic pilgrimage, a way of breaking free from the darkness of the mines and the religious life that held him there. He was reaching, however unconsciously, for something concrete to hold onto—confirmation, perhaps, of the dawning of his call to art. Prior to this time, Vincent had never thought of himself as an artist – he was always involved with art and artists, but always as an admirer rather than a creator. In the Borinage, he began to draw more earnestly, and it was after his time there that he began his study to become the artist we know.

It took him a week to get to Courrieres, where Breton lived. Vincent walked through freezing rain and slept in haystacks and woodpiles, waking up each morning in frost. But when he finally got to Breton's house, he could not get himself to enter. "The outside of the studio was rather disappointing," he wrote later: "it [had] … an inhospitable, chilly and irritating aspect … But what shall I say of the interior? I was not able to catch a glimpse, for I lacked the courage to enter and introduce myself." He walked around the town, searching for some trace of Breton or his work, but found nothing concrete. He had no more money and nothing else to do, so he turned around and walked back.

Despite the seeming failure of his pilgrimage, the journey served the purpose Vincent originally hoped that it would. As he wrote to Theo,
"Though this trip was almost too much for me and I came back overcome with fatigue, with sore feet, and quite melancholy, I do not regret it, for … one learns to take a different but correct view of the hardships of real misery … Well, even in that deep misery I felt my energy revive, and I said to myself, in spite of everything I shall rise again: I will take up my pencil, which I have forsaken in my great discouragement, and I will go on with my drawing. From that moment everything has seemed transformed for me; and now I have started and my pencil has become somewhat docile, becoming more so every day."



Letter from Vincent Van Gogh to his brother Théo, 1881. View Source

In taking up that pencil, Van Gogh did not turn away from the labourers he'd worked among. "I should be happy if someday I could draw them," he wrote, "so that these unknown types would be brought before the eyes of the people." Realizing that art could be the conduit to express his passion for religion, the underdog, and beauty cemented his commitment to creative expression.By the fall of 1880, Van Gogh had broken the silence with Théo, seeking his brother's understanding of the paralyzing effects of his mood disorders. The analogy he employs is revelatory:

> A caged bird in spring knows quite well that he might serve some end; he is well aware that there is something for him to do...What is it? He does not quite remember. Then some vague ideas occur to him, and he says to himself, "The others build their nests and lay their eggs and bring up their little ones"; and he knocks his head against the bars of the cage. But the cage remains, and the bird is maddened by anguish.
>
> "Look at that lazy animal," says another bird in passing, "he seems to be living at ease." Yes, the prisoner lives, he does not die; there are no outward signs of what passes within him—his health is good, he is more or less gay when the sun shines. But then the season of migration comes, and attacks of melancholia—"But he has everything he wants," say the children that tend him in his cage. He looks through the bars at the overcast sky when a thunderstorm is gathering, and inwardly he rebels against his fate. "I am caged, I am caged, and you tell me that I do not want anything, fools! You think I have everything I need! Oh! I beseech you liberty, that I may be a bird like other birds!" A certain idle man resembles this idle bird.

8.8
| Van Gogh's Empathic Eye

In 1881, Van Gogh moved back to his parent's home in Etten, falling in love with his widowed cousin Kee Vos, whose rejection devastated him. The subsequent family discord spurred his move to The Hague in December 1881, where he studied painting with his cousin-in-law Anton Mauve and became involved with a homeless pregnant prostitute named Clasina (Sien) Hoornik.



Vincent van Gogh, *Sorrow,* ca. 1882. Black chalk on paper. 44.5 x 27 cm. New Art Gallery, Walsall. View Source



Anton Mauve, *A Dutch Road,* ca. 1880. Oil on canvas. 50.5 cm x 36.8 cm. Toledo Museum of Art. View Source

Van Gogh would only end up spending three weeks with Mauve who could not tolerate his erratic behaviour. But he gave Van Gogh money to rent and furnish his own studio. Van Gogh was appreciative of Mauve's short tutelage and mentioned him in 152 letters. Vincent's determination to marry Sien and support her daughter and unborn child scandalized his family. Out of concern for his mental health, his father sought to commit him to an asylum.

Van Gogh's evocative, empathic depictions of Sien are portraits of a woman driven to the brink. He described his relationship with her in a letter to Théo in 1882: "I never had such a good assistant as this

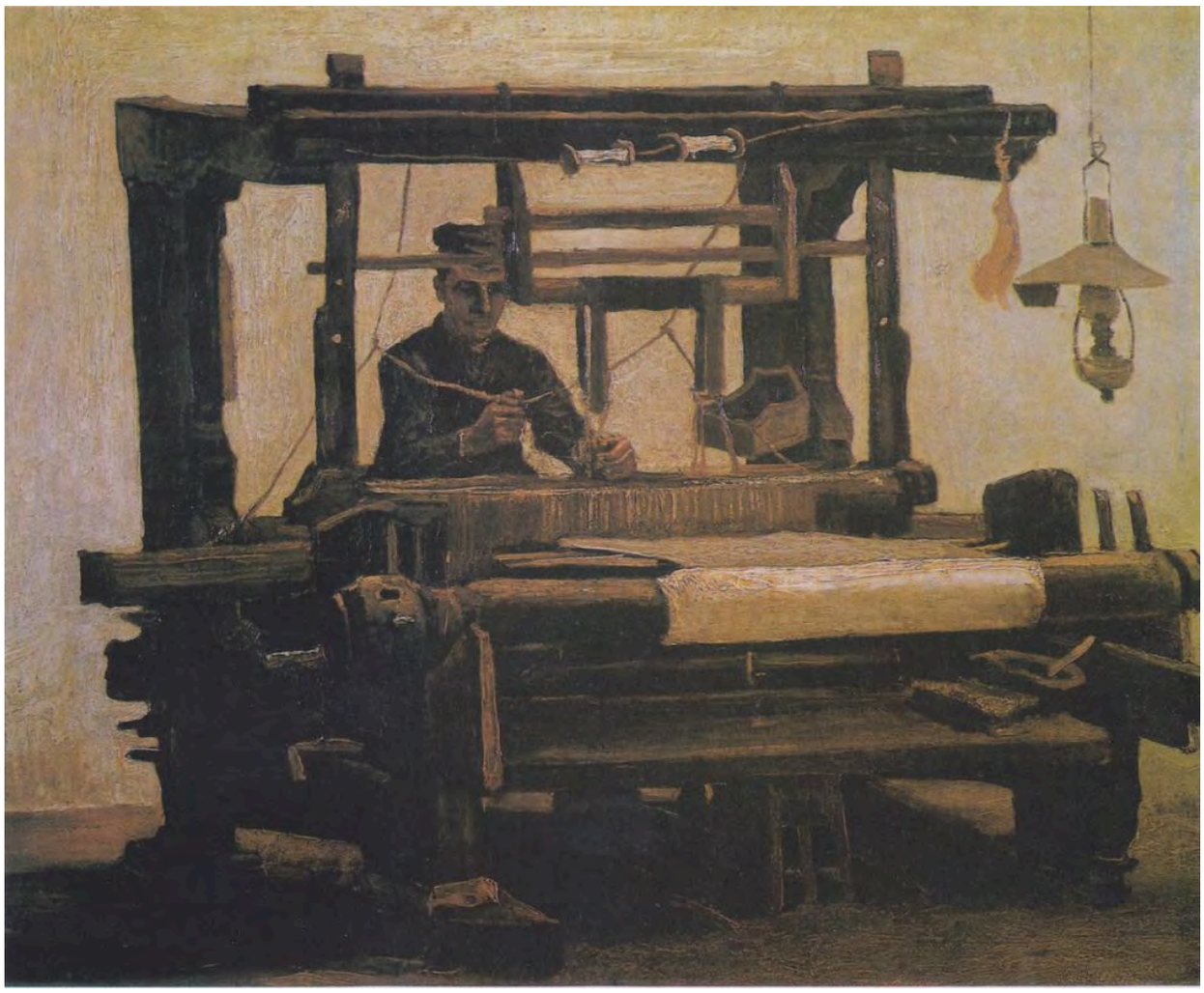
ugly, faded woman. In my eyes she is beautiful, and I find in her exactly what I want; her life has been rough, and sorrow and adversity have put their marks upon her-now I can do something with her." When he left her the following year, at Théo's urging, Van Gogh abandoned the only domestic relationship of his lifetime.



Vincent van Gogh, *Weaver,* 1884. Oil on canvas. 62.5 x 84.4 cm. Museum of Fine Arts, Boston. View Source

From late 1883 to 1886, Van Gogh lived in Nuenen, a village in the rural Dutch province of North Brabant, where his father had a parsonage and then Antwerp. Carol Zemel has described that despite his unhappiness, he was idealistic about country life. "I for my part," he wrote, "often prefer to be with people who do not even know the world, for instance, the peasants, the weavers, etc., rather than being with those of the more civilized world. It's lucky for me." ("The 'Spook' in the Machine: Van Gogh's Pictures of Weavers in Brabant" (*Art Bulletin* 67 no. 1 (March 1985): 123-137).

He was fascinated by the weavers who worked from their homes and produced numerous paintings and drawings of them between January and July 1884.

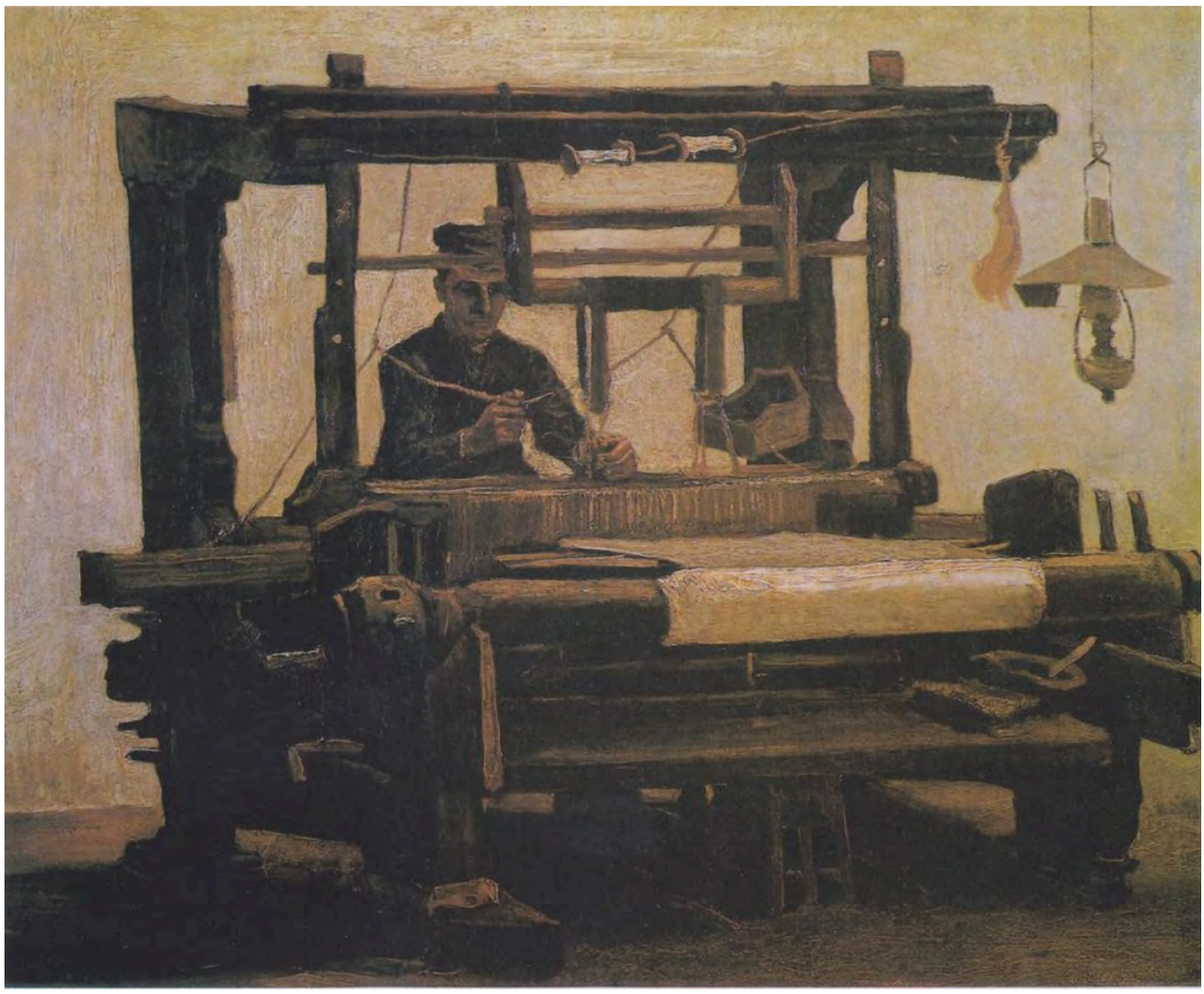


Vincent van Gogh, *Weaver at the Loom,* 1884. Oil on canvas. 70 x 85 cm. Kröller-Müller Museum, Otterlo. View Source

Van Gogh's empathic nature and his compassion are evident in these works which capture the weavers' grim, mind-dulling work. But his approach to his subject is also unexpected. Rather than focusing on the weavers portrayed, his scenes are stripped of extraneous and personal detail, fusing worker and work instrument into one.

Zemel writes:

> In December, 1883, after two difficult years in The Hague and three lonely months in provincial Drenthe, Vincent van Gogh returned to his father's parsonage in Nuenen, a village in the rural Dutch province of North Brabant. Despite his own unhappiness, he was idealistic about country life. "I for my part," he wrote his brother Theo a month after he arrived, "often prefer to be with people who do not even know the world, for instance, the peasants, the weavers, etc., rather than being with those of the more civilized world. It's lucky for me." Almost immediately, Van Gogh began to depict the local weavers at their looms, producing approximately thirty drawings, watercolors, and oil paintings of them between January and July, 1884."



Vincent van Gogh, *Weaver at the Loom,* 1884. Oil on canvas. 70 x 85 cm. Kröller-Müller Museum, Otterlo. View Source

In *The Weaver: The Whole Loom, Facing Front*, a painting dated May, 1884, the loom and weaver are the single important form. Firmly focused on work or the instruments of labor, and lacking anecdote or extraneous detail, pictures like these and others in the series are virtually emblems of an archetypal, artisanal trade. So Van Gogh initiated his homage to Brabant workers and artisans. But for the modern viewer, at least, these images can also invite less celebratory and even disquieting readings. For rather than the weaver and his skills, it is the loom and its structure that dominate these images, and the weaver is reduced, it seems, to a mere accessory of the monumental machine.

When they were first exhibited in Rotterdam in 1903 and 1904, critic Albert Plasschaert admired the sense of "communication between the object and the encaged man working in it"; and N. H. Wolf was moved by the representation of "unremitting activity" and "the tragedy of labor which man has in common the beast."... Half a century later in 1953, Carl Nordenfalk wrote: "Van Gogh presents the weaver as a victim held fast in the spiked jaws of the loom, or a captive in a medieval instrument of torture. The social significance is quite unmistakable. Still, this is one possible explanation: the paintings also possess a tender, intimate atmosphere." Nordenfalk notes the pictures' "unmistakable social significance," but he scarcely explains this interpretation and leaves it unrelated to the specific conditions of Van Gogh's time, place, or experience... [T]hey nevertheless set historical factors aside, and they do not explore the pictures' unusual and ungainly features – the remote, impassive figures, the starkness of the designs, and their unexpected emphases.



Vincent van Gogh, *Weber Near an Open Window,* 1884. Oil on canvas. 67.7 x 93.2 cm. Neue Pinakothek, Munich.
View Source

It is precisely these qualities which signal that there is more here and that call for a closer look. For the troubling elements in these images, I believe, are bound to Van Gogh's own understanding and experience of the Brabantine weavers' conditions and circumstances. They mark the point at which the artisans' situation, as he saw it, no longer meshed comfortably with his expectations or general assumptions about country life. And as such, they disclose an unsettling gap at the intersection of personal experience and cultural ideology.



Vincent van Gogh, *Weaver Facing Right (Half-Figure),* 1884. Oil on canvas. 48 x 46 cm. Hahnloser Collection.
View Source

The series, moreover, is problematic, for it does not set out a single position or attitude. In many respects, these pictures suggest reverence for artisanal traditions. But they also tug in another direction that erodes any clear-cut notion of reverence or uncomplicated homage. If we consider them within two historical frameworks – the condition of the Nuenen weavers, on the one hand, and the nineteenth-century cultural nostalgia for artisanry, on the other, they enjoyed nowhere near the wealth or well-being of the craftsmen in large textile centers like Leiden in Holland. In the nineteenth century, however, capital investment, industrialization, widening markets, and entrepreneurial demands substantially altered that rural commerce and the artisan's way of life.

" *Familiar in their Mouths as HOUSEHOLD WORDS.*"—SHAKSPEARE.

HOUSEHOLD WORDS.

A WEEKLY JOURNAL.

CONDUCTED BY CHARLES DICKENS.

N°. 210.] SATURDAY, APRIL 1, 1854. [PRICE 2d.

HARD TIMES.

BY CHARLES DICKENS.

CHAPTER I.

"Now, what I want is, Facts. Teach these boys and girls nothing but Facts. Facts alone are wanted in life. Plant nothing else, and root out everything else. You can only form the minds of reasoning animals upon Facts: nothing else will ever be of any service to them. This is the principle on which I bring up my own children, and this is the principle on which I bring up these children. Stick to Facts, sir!"

The scene was a plain, bare, monotonous vault of a school-room, and the speaker's square forefinger emphasised his observations by underscoring every sentence with a line on the schoolmaster's sleeve. The emphasis was helped by the speaker's square wall of a forehead, which had his eyebrows for its base, while his eyes found commodious cellarage in two dark caves, overshadowed by the wall. The emphasis was helped by the speaker's mouth, which was wide, thin, and hard set. The emphasis was helped by the speaker's voice, which was inflexible, dry, and dictatorial. The emphasis was helped by the speaker's hair, which bristled on the skirts of his bald head, a plantation of firs to keep the wind from its shining surface, all covered with knobs, like the crust of a plum pie, as if the head had scarcely warehouse-room for the hard facts stored inside. The speaker's obstinate carriage, square coat, square legs, square shoulders,—nay, his very neckcloth, trained to take him by the throat with an unaccommodating grasp, like a stubborn fact, as it was,—all helped the emphasis.

"In this life, we want nothing but Facts, sir; nothing but Facts!"

The speaker, and the schoolmaster, and the third grown person present, all backed a little, and swept with their eyes the inclined plane of little vessels then and there arranged in order, ready to have imperial gallons of facts poured into them until they were full to the brim.

CHAPTER II.

THOMAS GRADGRIND, sir. A man of realities. A man of facts and calculations. A man who proceeds upon the principle that two and two are four, and nothing over, and who is not to be talked into allowing for anything over. Thomas Gradgrind, sir—peremptorily Thomas—Thomas Gradgrind. With a rule and a pair of scales, and the multiplication table always in his pocket, sir, ready to weigh and measure any parcel of human nature, and tell you exactly what it comes to. It is a mere question of figures, a case of simple arithmetic. You might hope to get some other nonsensical belief into the head of George Gradgrind, or Augustus Gradgrind, or John Gradgrind, or Joseph Gradgrind (all supposititious, non-existent persons), but into the head of Thomas Gradgrind—no, sir!

In such terms Mr. Gradgrind always mentally introduced himself, whether to his private circle of acquaintance, or to the public in general. In such terms, no doubt, substituting the words "boys and girls," for "sir," Thomas Gradgrind now presented Thomas Gradgrind to the little pitchers before him, who were to be filled so full of facts.

Indeed, as he eagerly sparkled at them from the cellarage before mentioned, he seemed a kind of cannon loaded to the muzzle with facts, and prepared to blow them clean out of the regions of childhood at one discharge. He seemed a galvanising apparatus, too, charged with a grim mechanical substitute for the tender young imaginations that were to be stormed away.

"Girl number twenty," said Mr. Gradgrind, squarely pointing with his square forefinger, "I don't know that girl. Who is that girl?"

"Sissy Jupe, sir," explained number twenty, blushing, standing up, and curtseying.

"Sissy is not a name," said Mr. Gradgrind. "Don't call yourself Sissy. Call yourself Cecilia."

"It 's father as calls me Sissy, sir," returned the young girl in a trembling voice, and with another curtsey.

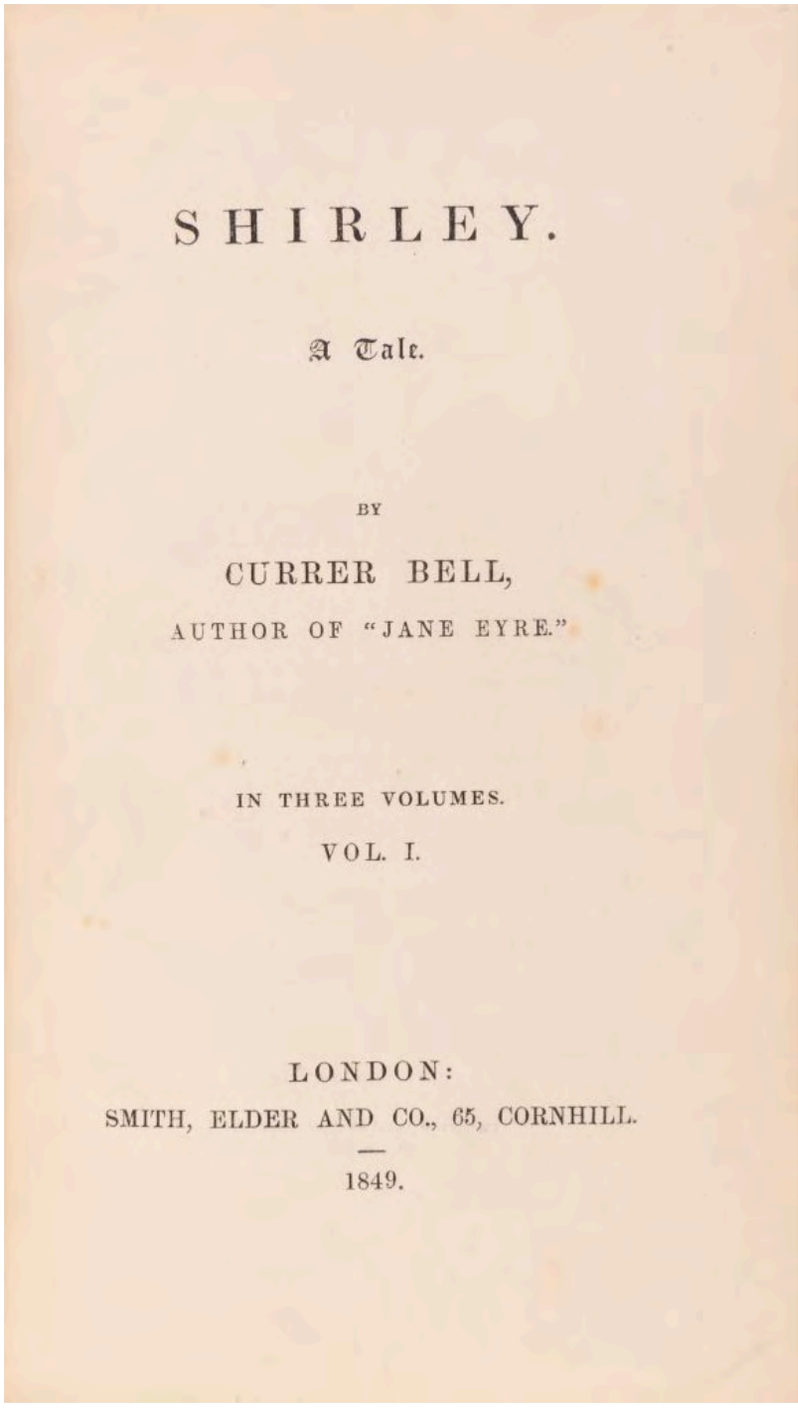
"Then he has no business to do it," said Mr. Gradgrind. "Tell him he mustn't. Cecilia Jupe. Let me see. What is your father?"

"He belongs to the horse-riding, if you please, sir."

Mr. Gradgrind frowned, and waved off the objectionable calling with his hand.

"We don't want to know anything about

Charles Dickens, "Hard Times," *Household Words,* no. 210, Saturday, April 1, 1854. View Source



SHIRLEY.

A Tale.

BY

CURRER BELL,

AUTHOR OF "JANE EYRE."

IN THREE VOLUMES.

VOL. I.

LONDON:

SMITH, ELDER AND CO., 65, CORNHILL.

1849.

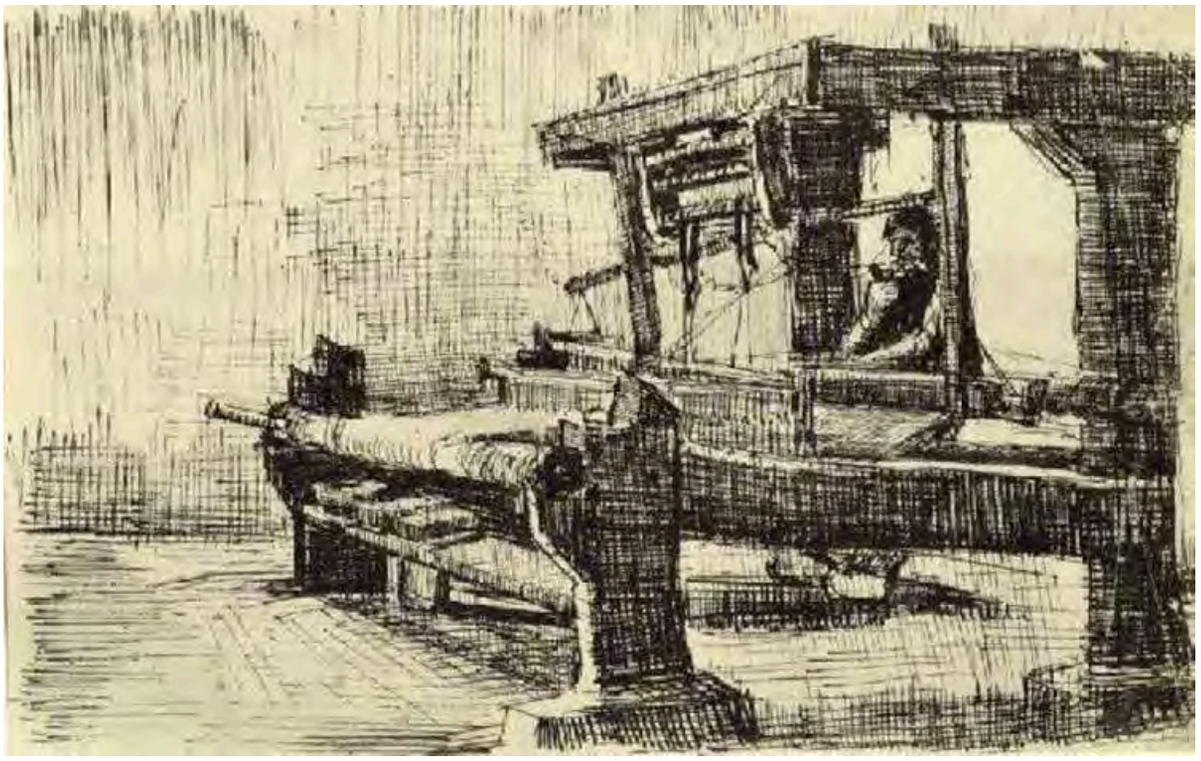
Currer Bell, *Shirley: A Tale*, vol. 1 (London: Smith, Elder and Co., 1849). View Source

Many artists and writers – Dickens in *Hard Times* (1854), Charlotte Bronte in *Shirley* (1849) – dramatized the oppressive conditions that developed in mill towns and factories, but others expressed their dismay at the changes in terms of a retrospective ideal, harnessing their anger to a nostalgic legend of 'what once had been.' The legend was in many ways only that – a fable or fantasy, but it resounded with ideological conviction and generated a widespread literary and pictorial repertoire.



Vincent van Gogh, *A Weaver's Cottage,* 1884. Oil on canvas on panel. 47.5 x 61 cm. Museum Boijmans Van Beuningen, Rotterdam. View Source

> It is the loom, then, not the weaver, that we encounter with unusual intimacy in Van Gogh's pictures, and the tool, not the task, that we see... in Van Gogh's image the weaver has become the tool, and the loom the locus and embodiment of artisanry. Van Gogh's friend, the artist Anthon van Rappard, who shared his interest in worker and artisanal subjects, apparently objected to the inversion of hierarchies and the treatment of the figure in these images.



Vincent van Gogh, *Weaver Facing Left,* 1884. Ink on paper. 12.5 x 19.5 cm. Van Gogh Museum, Amsterdam. View Source

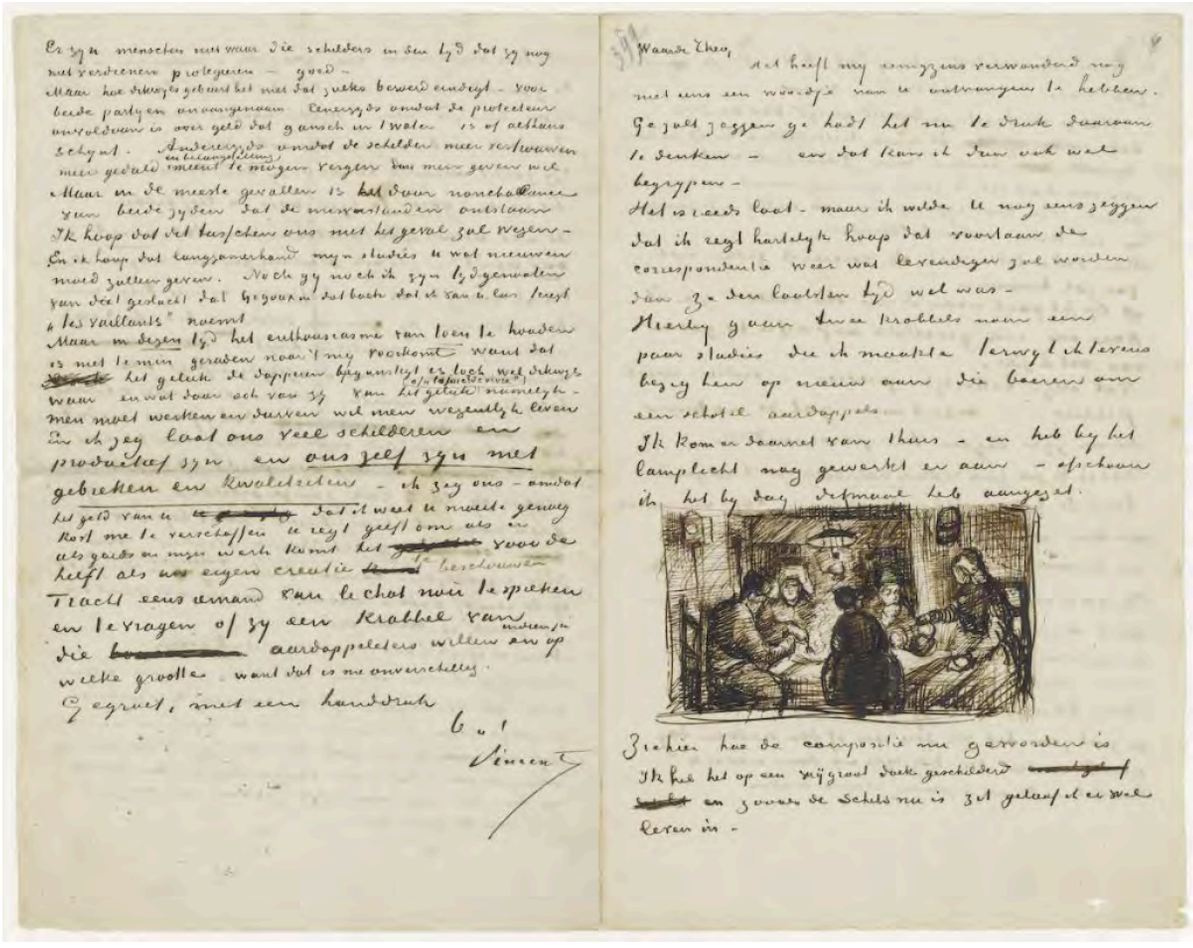
Van Gogh's letter in reply – the only document that discusses his expressive strategies and intentions in detail – is a telling defense. ". . . I did include the figure in the drawing after all," he admitted to Van Rappard, "But what I wanted to express by it was just this: When that monstrous black thing of grimed oak with all those sticks is seen in such sharp contrast to the grayish atmosphere in which it stands, then there in the center of it sits a black ape or goblin or spook that clatters with those sticks from early morning till late at night. And I indicated that spot by putting in some sort of apparition of a weaver, by means of a few scratches and blots, where I had seen it sitting. Consequently I hardly gave a thought to the proportions of arms and legs."

The letter offers no apology for disproportionate figures rendered as mere "scratches and blots." On the contrary, this was deliberate, for according to Van Gogh, it was the loom, not the weaver, that had to speak. He continued: "When I had finished drawing the apparatus pretty carefully, I thought it was so disgusting that I couldn't hear it rattle that I let the spook appear in it. Very well – and let us say it is only a mechanical drawing – all right, but just put it beside some technical design for a loom – and mine will be more spectral all the same, you may be sure of that."



Vincent Van Gogh, *The Potato Eaters,* April 1885. Oil on canvas. 82 cm x114 cm. Amsterdam, Van Gogh Museum.
View Source

Van Gogh's *Weavers* convey a complexity that touches upon social critique. His empathic personality, like his spirituality, undoubtedly influenced his early work, particularly his mundane images of humble peasants. Although he felt forsaken by organized religion and never returned to it, van Gogh did not abandon his spirituality, telling Théo, "I think it is a splendid saying of Victor Hugo's 'Religions pass away, but God remains.'"



Vincent van Gogh, A letter from Vincent van Gogh to His brother Théo van Gogh, including a sketch of *The Potato Eaters,* 1885. Pen and ink. 20.7 x 26.4 cm. Van Gogh Museum, Amsterdam. View Source

Van Gogh applied himself to sketching multi-figured compositions, studying from textbooks and creating live drawings. For example, he frequently visited the de Groot family at their mealtime to observe them as they ate, making multiple compositional studies before completing his controversial painting of them, *The Potato Eaters,* in 1885.

The Potato Eaters is a sombre-toned painting of the peasant family at their frugal dinner. The figures are crudely rendered and distorted; their abject poverty is sensed and seen. Van Gogh was convinced of the strength and moral significance of this painting, so much so that he believed it would afford entry into the Parisian art market. Instead, at best, its reception was reticent, even Theo criticizing its murky, unmodern palette.



Katsushika Hokusai, *Chrysanthemums and Bee,* from an untitled series of large flowers, ca. 1833-34. Art Institute of Chicago. View Source

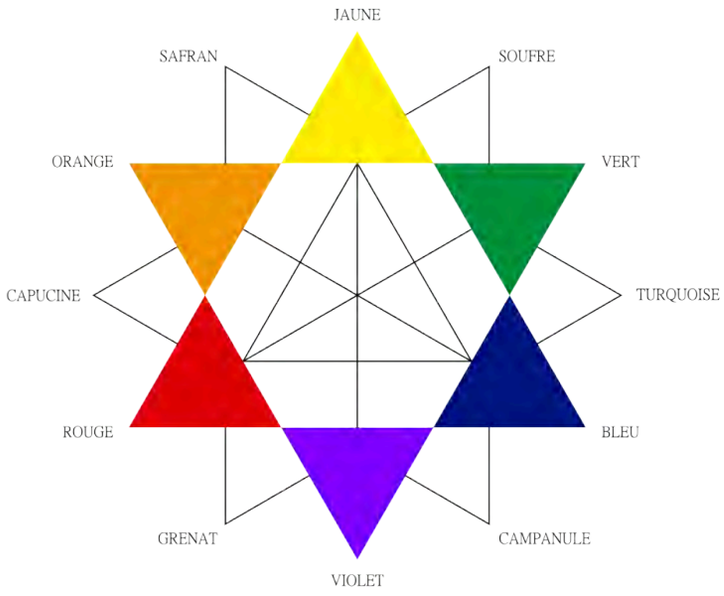
In 1886 Van Gogh moved to Antwerp, where he lived in poverty. He went to museums where he was particularly drawn to Peter Paul Rubens and studied Japanese ukiyo-e woodcuts. Not long after he discovered the woodcuts, he determined to buy inexpensive Japanese prints, acquiring over six hundred from an art dealer in Paris. His interest in Japonisme would provide a lasting aesthetic and conceptual influence.



Vincent van Gogh, *Still Life with Meadow Flowers and Roses,* 1886. Oil on canvas. 99 x 79 cm. Kröller-Müller Museum, Otterlo. View Source



Vincent van Gogh, *Small Bottle with Peonies and Blue Delphiniums*, 1886. Oil on board. 34.5 x 27.5 cm. Van Gogh Museum, Amsterdam. View Source



Charles Blanc's Colour Star (étoile des couleurs), 1867. View Source

Charles Blanc's treatise on colour absorbed him. He began investigating the visual language of complementary colours in his flower paintings, developing a chromatic vocabulary that would drive his later style. That same year the effects of excessive drinking and a diagnosis of gonorrhea hospitalized him through February and March. When he recovered, he took the higher-level admission exams at the Academy of Fine Arts in Antwerp and, in January 1886, matriculated in painting and drawing. He was defiant and rebellious of the traditional teaching methods, was expelled from the academy and left for Paris in March 1886.

He worked at the studio of Fernand Cormon that spring, meeting fellow students Émile Bernard, Louis Anquetin and Henri de Toulouse-Lautrec at Julien "Père" Tanguy's paint shop, where he also became familiar with paintings by Georges Seurat and Paul Signac, thus fleshing out his exposure to Impressionist work seen at Théo's gallery on boulevard Montmartre.

In the Fall of 1887, Paul Gauguin returned from Martinique with new exotic works for the Parisian market, which Théo and Vincent saw on display at the apartment of Emile Schuffenecker. The Van Gogh brothers were smitten, acquiring a painting and several drawings. This encounter catalyzed van Gogh's decision to leave Paris for Arles and his big dream of establishing a studio of the south, a utopian community of artists.

8.9
| Arles: Aesthetic Advances and Visions of Madness

Van Gogh arrived in the south of France in February 1888. In Arles, he "let (himself) go." His early works there were rarely figural, yet always evoked a dynamic presence that is reminiscent of the emotional expressionism of his peasant paintings. He developed his signature style, characterized by intense colours and energetic brushstrokes.



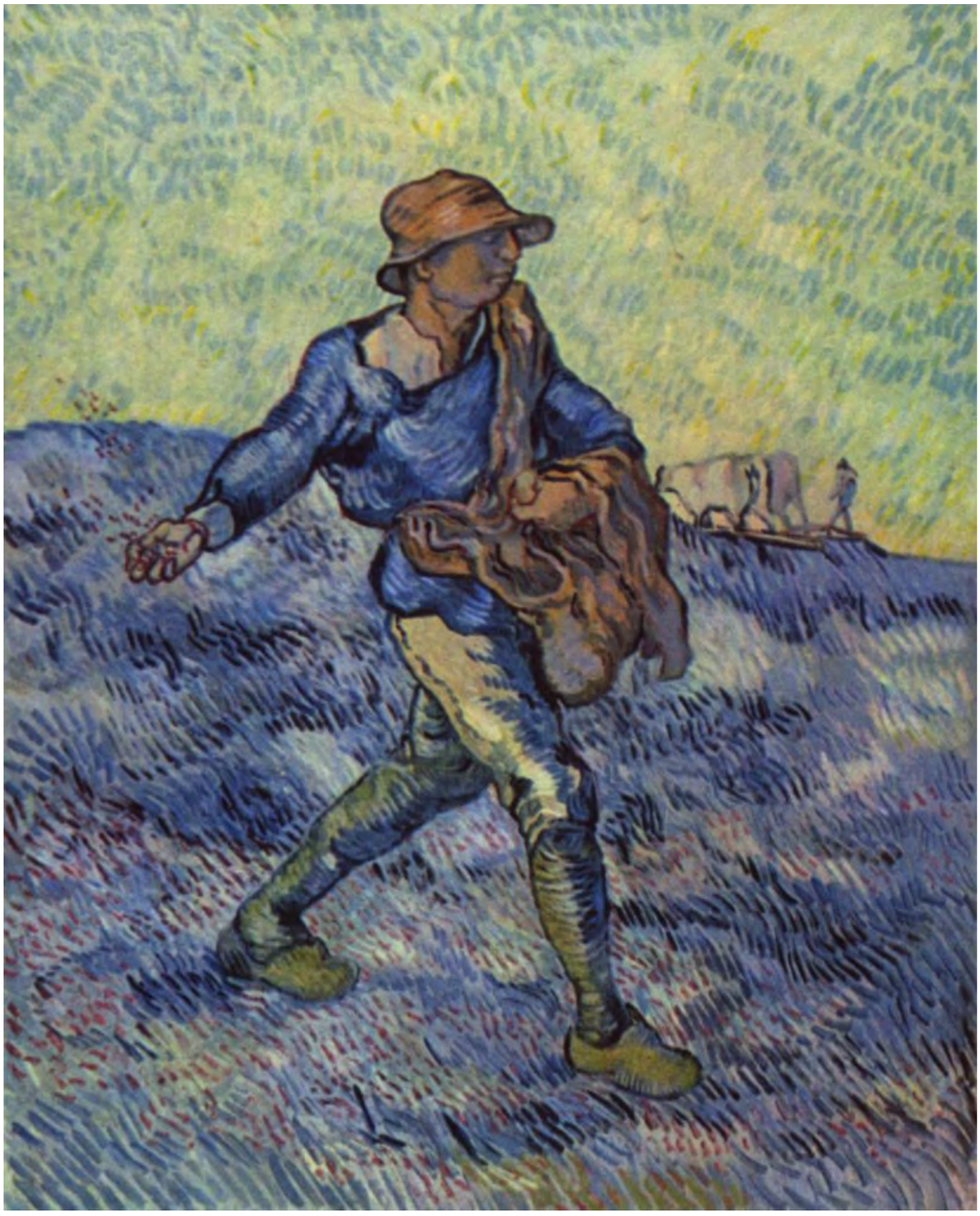
Vincent van Gogh, *The Sower*, 1888. Oil on canvas. 64.2 x 80.3 cm. Kröller-Müller Museum, Otterlo. View Source



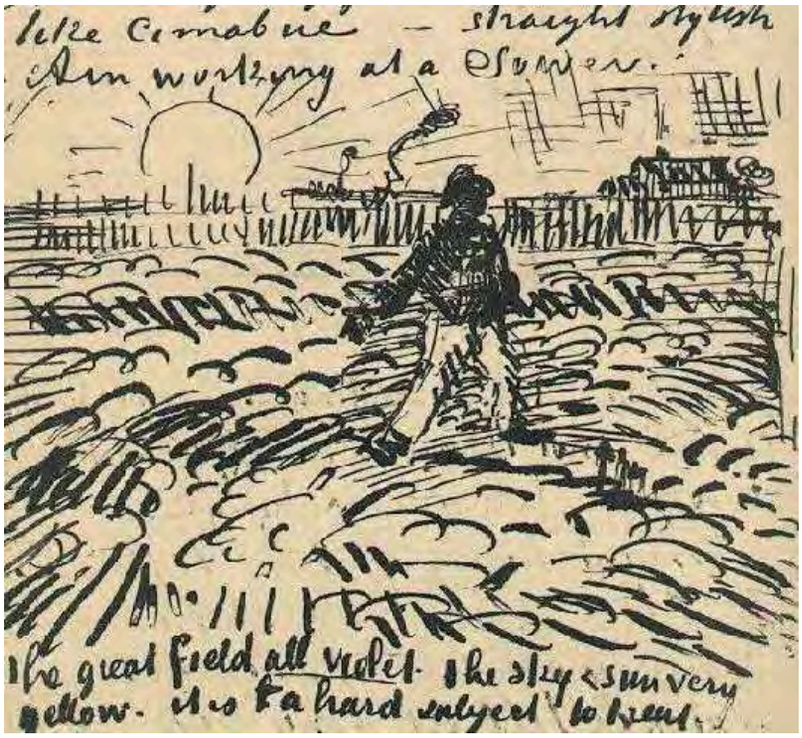
Vincent van Gogh, *The Sower III* (version 1), 1888. Oil on canvas. 73.5 x 93 cm. E. G. Bührle Collection, Zurich. View Source



Vincent van Gogh, *The Sower III* (version 2), 1888. Oil on canvas. 32.5 x 40.3 cm. Van Gogh Museum, Amsterdam.
View Source



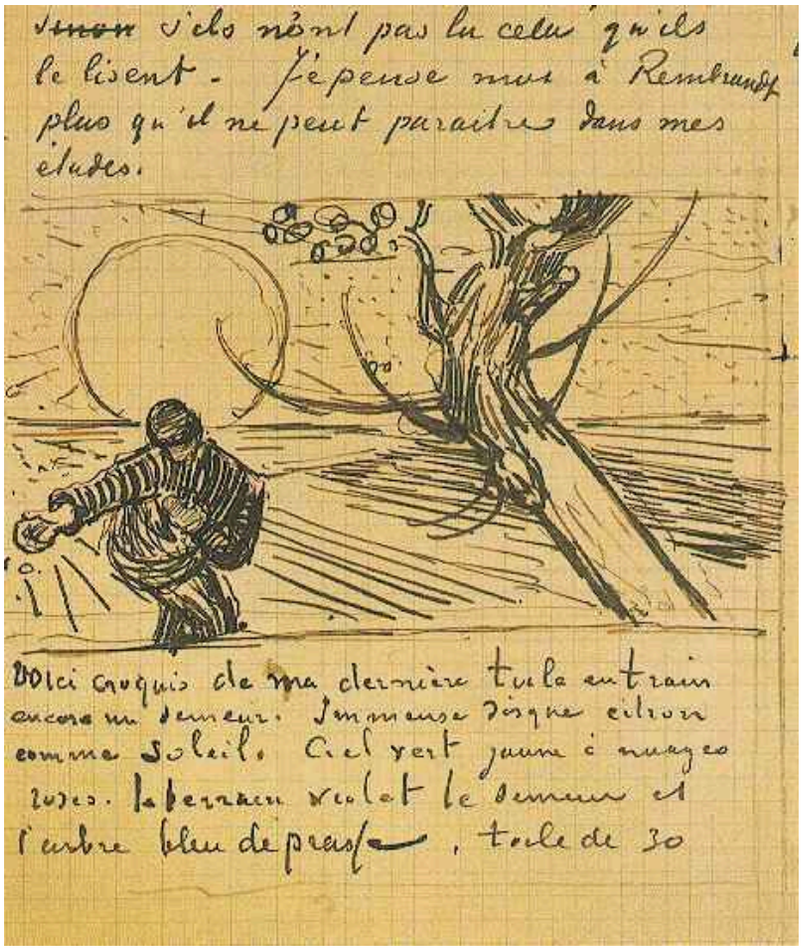
Vincent van Gogh, *The Sower* (after Millet), 1889. Oil on canvas. 80 x 64 cm. M. W. Haft Collection, New York.
View Source



Vincent van Gogh, *Sower with Setting Sun* (in Letter 501a), 1888. Ink on paper 20.3 x 26.3 cm (letter). Solomon R. Guggenheim Museum, New York. View Source



Vincent van Gogh, *Sower with Setting Sun* (in Letter B7, to Émile Bernard), 1888. Pen and black ink on cream machine-maid laid paper. 20.5 x 26.8 cm (letter). Morgan Library and Museum, New York. View Source



Vincent van Gogh, *Sower with Setting Sun* (In Letter 558a, to Théo van Gogh), 1888. Pen and ink on paper. 21 x 27 cm (letter). Van Gogh Museum, Amsterdam. View Source



Vincent van Gogh, *The Sower,* 1888. Oil on canvas. 64.2 x 80.3 cm. Kröller-Müller Museum, Otterlo. View Source

Judy Sund writes in "The Sower and the Sheaf: Biblical Metaphor in the Art of Vincent van Gogh" (*Art Bulletin* 70, no. 4 (December 1988): 660-676):

> Van Gogh was especially drawn to the parables, which couch Christian thought in everyday incident, and in his work he aimed to communicate meaning within similarly mundane contexts. In so doing, he took Jean-Francois Millet as a model.



Jean-François Millet, *The Sower,* 1850. Oil on canvas. 101.6 x 82.6 cm. Museum of Fine Arts, Boston. View Source

> In 1883 …Van Gogh told his brother: "I see that Millet believed more and more firmly in 'Something on High.' He spoke of it in a way quite different than, for instance, [our] Father does. He left it more vague, but for all that, I see more in Millet's vagueness than in what Father says."



Vincent van Gogh, *The Sower III* (version 1), 1888. Oil on canvas. 73.5 x 93 cm. E. G. Bührle Collection, Zurich. View Source

Later in life, reprising the motif of the sower, Van Gogh articulated his altered perception: “For I see in the sower a vague figure fighting like a devil in the midst of heat to get to the end of his task. I see the image of death, in the sense that humanity might be the corn he’s reaping. So it is, if you like, the opposite to that sower I tried to do before with a sun flooding everything with a light of gold…It is an image of death, as the great book of nature speaks of it.”



Vincent van Gogh, *Still Life: Vase with Fourteen Sunflowers,* 1888. Oil on canvas. 92.1 cm x 73 cm. National Gallery, London. View Source

Between 1888 and 1889. Vincent painted five canvases with sunflowers in a vase, with three shades of yellow “and nothing else.”

Van Gogh wrote to Theo about the sunflower paintings that were hung in the bedroom of the house he rented. “The room you will have then, or Gauguin if he comes, will have white walls with a decoration of great yellow sunflowers. In the morning, when you open the window, you will see the green of the garden and the rising sun, and the road into the town. But you will see these great pictures of sunflowers, 12 to 14 to the bunch, crammed into this tiny boudoir with its pretty bed and everything else dainty.”



Vincent van Gogh, *Self-Portrait with a Bandaged Ear,* 1889. Oil on canvas. 60 x 49 cm. Courtauld Institute of Art, London. View Source

Paul Gauguin joined Van Gogh in Arles in October 1888 and they worked alongside one another for two months. In December, on the heels of a volatile argument Van Gogh suffered the first in a series of nervous collapses. This was the infamous event which resulted in the severing of part of his ear.
At the end of 1888, following his self-mutilation, and again the following February, Van Gogh was admitted to the hospital at Arles suffering from delusions of persecution.

Sund elaborates,

> His self-described affliction was a melancholic "aversion to life" (LT592). Though his spirits gradually lifted, the artist now lived under the shadow of his illness, and within the isolation of the asylum, his thoughts sometimes turned to death – "the great journey to that other hemisphere of life whose existence we only surmise" (W5) – as a promising alternative to earthly unhappiness. Given the bleakness of Van Gogh's surroundings (LT592) and the uncertainty of his future, the

> "thoughts of suicide" reported by his doctor (LT602a) are not surprising. Even at the peak of his productivity in Arles he considered death with an equanimity born of belief in a world beyond it; in summer 1888, for instance, Van Gogh observed:
>
> "Is the whole of life visible to us, or isn't it rather that this side of death we see only one hemisphere? Painters dead and buried speak to . . . succeeding generations through their work. Is that all, or is there more to come? Perhaps death is not the hardest thing in a painter's life. For my own part, I declare I know nothing whatever about it, but looking at the stars always makes me dream, as simply as I dream over the black dots representing towns and villages on a map. Why, I ask myself, shouldn't the shining dots of the sky be as accessible as the black dots on a map of France? Just as we take the train to get to Tarascon or Rouen, we take death to reach a star." (LT506)

In January 1889, Van Gogh left the hospital in Arles. Over the next few months, he painted furiously but sporadically as he continued suffering mental breakdowns.



Vincent van Gogh, *The Courtyard of the Hospital at Arles,* 1889. Oil on canvas. 73 x 92 cm. Oskar Reinhart Collection, Winterthur. View Source



Vincent van Gogh, *Orchards in Blossom, View of Arles,* 1889. Oil on canvas. 50 x 65 cm. Van Gogh Museum, Amsterdam. View Source



Vincent van Gogh, *Ravine with a Small Stream,* 1889. Oil on canvas. 32 x 41 cm. Van Gogh Museum, Amsterdam.
View Source

Throughout 1889 Van Gogh experienced recoveries and lapses. In the spring of 1889, he voluntarily admitted himself to the private sanatorium of Saint-Paul-de-Mausole at Rémy, where he stayed for a year. When able, he continued his paintings of landscapes. When his attacks returned, often triggered by the experience of being outdoors, he would confine himself to his room, sometimes revisiting his earlier works or basing new ones on other artists' paintings.



Vincent van Gogh, *Mountainous Landscape Behind Saint-Paul Hospital,* 1889. Oil on canvas. 70.5 x 88.5 cm. Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek, Copenhagen. View Source

Vojtěch Jirat-Wasiutyński writes in "Vincent van Gogh's Paintings of Olive Trees and Cypresses from St.-Rémy" (*Art Bulletin* 75 no. 4 (December 1993): 647-670):

> A sick, broken man, he retreated into the voluntary protective custody of the asylum of St.-Paul-de-Mausole at St.-Rémy. The artist had acknowledged on a number of occasions, most recently in Arles in the late summer of 1888, that he, like many creative contemporaries, lived with "madness" as their burden in a decadent society. He also believed that he could control and perhaps heal this aspect of his personality. Now, by entering the asylum, he gave that task to professional caretakers; at the same time, he left the city of Arles for a retreat in the Provencal countryside. Van Gogh considered the countryside to be a rejuvenating antidote to the enervating decadence of the modern city. One of the first motifs that he painted in St.-Rémy was a field of wheat behind the asylum, which he could see from his cell window. The walled-in field set amid enclosing hills in the *Mountainous Landscape*, 1889, presents a striking contrast to the earlier views of the open countryside around Arles. The artist has adopted an expressive agitated-looking handling; a pervasive energy seems to course through the landscape on the edge of the Alpilles.



Vincent van Gogh, *The Starry Night,* 1889. Oil on canvas. 73 x 92 cm. Museum of Modern Art, New York. View Source

Vincent van Gogh painted *The Starry Night* during a relapse at the asylum when he began to suffer from hallucinations and suicidal thoughts. The darker colours of his early works re-emerged, punctuated by passages of brilliant light. This was a vision of the ecstatic and of death. Allusions to transcendent spirituality (extraterrestrial existence), traditional religious practice (the church spire reaching towards God) and earthly life (the darkened village) coalesce in a swirl of painterly energy (life).

Even at the peak of his productivity in Arles he considered death with an equanimity born of belief in a world beyond it; in summer 1888, for instance, Van Gogh observed:

> "Is the whole of life visible to us, or isn't it rather that this side of death we see only one hemisphere? Painters dead and buried speak to . . . succeeding generations through their work. Is that all, or is there more to come? Perhaps death is not the hardest thing in a painter's life. For my own part, I declare I know nothing whatever about it, but looking at the stars always makes me dream, as simply as I dream over the black dots representing towns and villages on a map. Why, I ask myself, shouldn't the shining dots of the sky be as accessible as the black dots on a map of France? Just as we take the train to get to Tarascon or Rouen, we take death to reach a star." (LT506)
>
> He seems, in fact, to have reached beyond his immediate, pain-filled horizon to catch such a glimpse in his best-known painting of this era, *The Starry Night* of June 1889. It is one of the few landscapes Van Gogh did not paint the spot; instead, the artist aggrandized and melded together a variety of seen motifs to create an ecstatic vision. The scene was, by his own account, an "exaggeration," its "lines as warped as old wood" (LT607).
>
> ...
>
> Its genesis in the artist's mind suggests the metaphorical intent of *The Starry Night*; it is a picture that seems to reflect Van Gogh's unconventional meditations on death. Within the context of his

avowed belief in an enhanced extraterrestrial existence promised by the night sky, the darkened townscape at the lower edge of *The Starry Night* suggests the limits of earthly life and its relative marginality in the larger scope of existence. The prominent church alludes to traditional religious practice and faith (with its promise of salvation), while at the left a cypress – a traditional Mediterranean memento mori and a tree Van Gogh himself called "funereal" (LT541) – introduces a note of death. The elegiac tenor of these motifs is, however, overpowered by the richness and animation of the celestial spectacle beyond – the image of an afterworld both vast and enticing.

For Van Gogh, starry skies bespoke the infinite (LT520) and wakened deep-seated religious sentiments (LT543). He wrote that "a terrible need of religion" induced him "to go out at night to paint the stars" (LT543), and such an impulse doubtless lies behind *The Starry Night*. The vertical projections of its cypress and steeple are images of aspiration; the flame-like tree extends to the picture's upper edge, touching and enframing the stars as it goes, and the elongated church spire echoes and underscores this upward movement – which wishfully forecasts the artist's escape from earthly darkness into astral light.



Vincent van Gogh, *Cypresses,* 1889. Oil on canvas. 93.4 x 74 cm. Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.
View Source

The cypress tree seen in *The Starry Night,* a traditional memento mori that Van Gogh saw as "funereal," was a motif the artist frequently reprised, its intimations of death mixed up in the energy and animating effects of the artist's forceful paint application.



Vincent van Gogh, *Dormitory in the Hospital in Arles,* 1889. Oil on canvas. 74 x 92 cm. Oskar Reinhart Collection, Winterthur. View Source

Van Gogh painted numerous studies of his physical surroundings at the asylum, but *Dormitory in the Hospital in Arles* is an unusual representation of a populated ward in the hospital. He had started the painting at Arles in the "fever ward" and completed it at St.-Paul-de-Mausole. The image of the hospital at Arles is therefore filtered through the asylum experience, becoming a poignant view of the patients and the isolation of illness. Describing the making of this painting, he wrote:"I am working on a ward in the hospital. In the foreground a black stove surrounded by a number of gray and black figures of patients, behind this a very long room with a red tile floor, with two rows of white beds, the walls white, but a white which is lilac or green, and the windows with pink and green curtains."

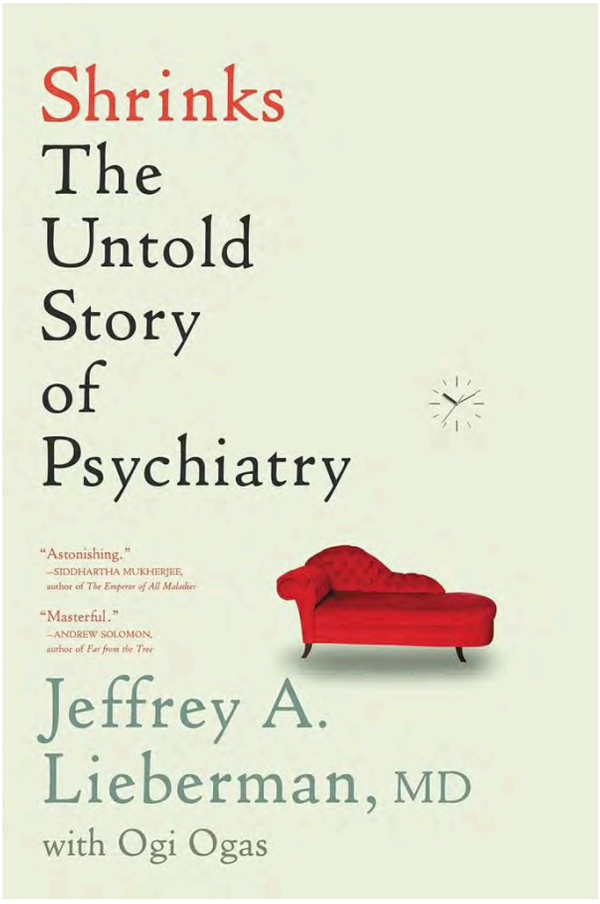
Van Gogh's understanding of mental suffering radically shifted following his voluntary admission to Saint-Rémy. His growing awareness was bolstered through readings of Dostoevsky's *Notes from the House of the Dead*. "Some days ago I was reading in the *Figaro* the story of a Russian writer who suffered all his life from a nervous disease which he finally died of, and which brought on terrible attacks from time to time. And what's to be done? There is no cure, or if there is one, it is working zealously." Van Gogh identified with Dostoevsky's epilepsy and a belief that illness could be controlled by creative work.

At Saint-Rémy, immersed in an alien world, Van Gogh confronted the stark, shifting realities of mental illness, writing, "Though here there are some patients seriously ill, the fear and horror of madness that I used to have has already lessened a great deal. And although here you continually hear terrible cries and howls like beasts in a menagerie, in spite of that, people get to know each other very well and help each other when their attacks come on." He was afraid of madness when he arrived at the asylum "but all joking aside, the fear of madness is leaving me to a great extent, as I see at close quarters those who are affected by it in the same ways I may very easily be in the future."

Van Gogh's composition *Interior of Men's Hospital at Arles* expresses confinement and hopelessness. His interest was not in describing classifications or categories of mental illness, but rather the experience of inmates in the hospital, the useless, purposeless daily existence taken up with smoking, reading newspapers, and talking that he wished to convey. "The treatment of patients in this hospital is certainly easy, one could follow it even when travelling, for they do absolutely nothing; they leave them to vegetate in idleness." There are echoes here of Charles Dickens, a favoured author of Van Gogh, who condemned the absence of any meaningful activity in English asylums "if the system of finding the inmates employment ...were introduced...the proportion of cures would be much greater."

8.10 | Asylum

The history of the insane asylum, its origins, and its purpose as a place of detention bears consideration. In the early 17th century, the French philosopher René Descartes' dualistic approach to the mind/body relationship advanced a rationalistic and calculative conception of human beings. What could not be grasped by reason did not exist, making communication between sanity and madness impossible; madness had "nothing authentic to say."



Jeffrey A. Lieberman, with Ogi Ogas, *Shrinks: The Untold Story of Psychiatry* (Boston: Little Brown, 2015).
View Source

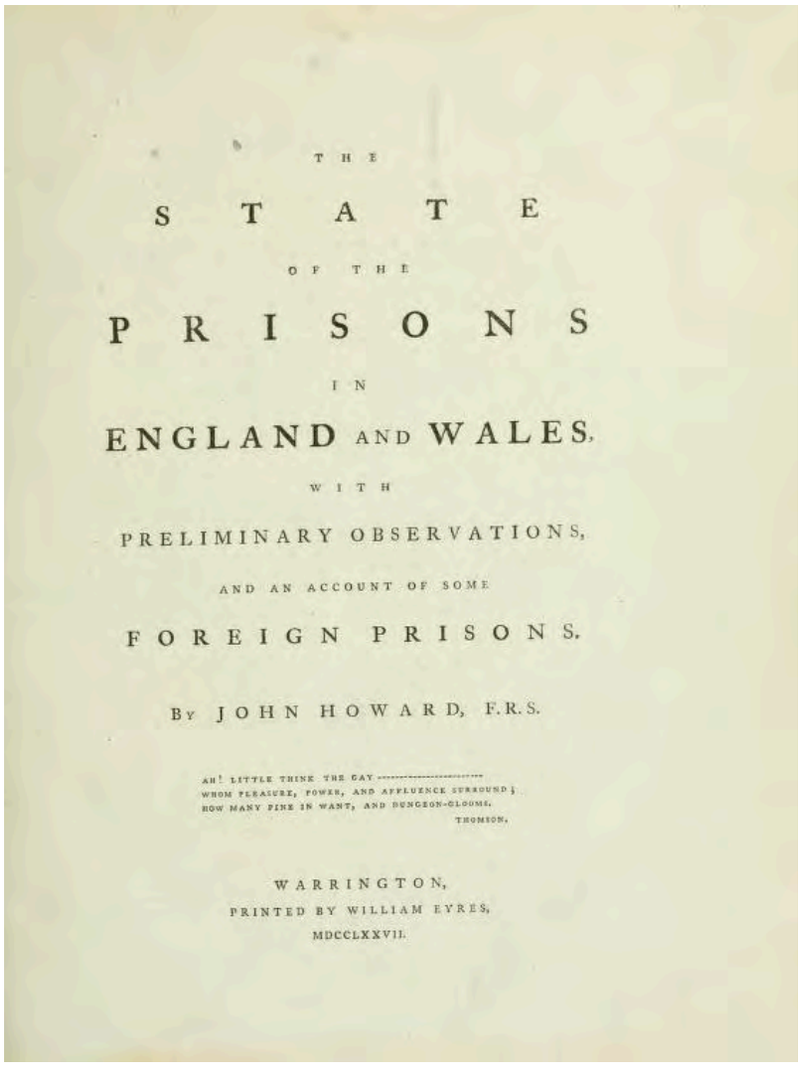
The mid-1700s marked the beginning of the warehousing of the mentally ill. Confined in asylums, 'patients' were unseen in the social landscape, and subjected to appalling treatment."The purpose of the earliest mental institutions was neither treatment nor cure, but rather the enforced segregation of inmates from society," writes Jeffrey A. Lieberman in *Shrinks: The Untold Story of Psychiatry*. "The mentally ill were considered social deviants or moral misfits suffering divine punishment for some inexcusable transgression."

The fact that asylums were not just for the mentally ill but for any so-called societal deviant originated in England in the late 16th century when asylums were instated for the "punishment of vagabonds and the relief of the poor." Houses of correction were opened in every county, becoming *de rigueur* across Europe.

Asylums were the function of a society determined to confine those forces that threatened its working order. By the end of the eighteenth century, houses of detention included hospitals, prisons and jails, their inmates running the gamut from criminals to young men who disturbed their family's peace or squandered their goods, the unemployed and the insane.



James Hogg after Francis Wheatley, *John Howard Visiting a Prison: a group of inmates sitting or lying on the floor,* 1787. Etching. Wellcome Collection. View Source



THE

STATE

OF THE

PRISONS

IN

ENGLAND AND WALES.

WITH

PRELIMINARY OBSERVATIONS,

AND AN ACCOUNT OF SOME

FOREIGN PRISONS.

By JOHN HOWARD, F.R.S.

AH! LITTLE THINK THE GAY ----------
WHOM PLEASURE, POWER, AND AFFLUENCE SURROUND;
HOW MANY PINE IN WANT, AND DUNGEON-GLOOMS.
THOMSON.

WARRINGTON,
PRINTED BY WILLIAM EYRES,
MDCCLXXVII.

John Howard. *The States of Prisons in England and Wales with Preliminary Observations, and An Account of Some Foreign Prisons* (Warrington: William Eyres, 1777). View Source

Change would only begin with the British prison reformer John Howard. Shocked by the cruelties and abuses he saw when he visited several hundred prisons across England, Scotland, Wales and wider Europe, he published the first edition (of three) of *The State of the Prisons* in 1777. His work focused on improving the prison system by providing hygienic living conditions and medical care and by offering opportunities for meaningful work.

An illustration of how the mad were incarcerated indiscriminately with vagrants, the poor and criminals may be found in a series of eight paintings by 18th-century English artist William Hogarth, *A Rake's Progress*, a satirical narrative of a young man who follows a path of vice and self-destruction after inheriting his father's fortune.



William Hogarth, *The Orgy,* ca. 1732-35. Oil on canvas. 62.5 x 75 cm. Sir John Soane's Museum, London. View Source



William Hogarth, *The Arrest,* ca. 1732-35. Oil on canvas. 62.5 x 75 cm. Sir John Soane's Museum, London. View Source



William Hogarth, *The Gaming House,* ca. 1732-35. Oil on canvas. 62.5 x 75 cm. Sir John Soane's Museum, London.
View Source



William Hogarth, *The Madhouse,* ca. 1732-35. Oil on canvas. 62.5 x 75 cm. Sir John Soane's Museum, London. View Source



William Hogarth, *In the Madhouse,* 1735 (Retouches by Hogarth in 1763, adding Britannia). Engraving. 35.5 x 41 cm. Northwestern University, McCormick Library, Evanston. View Source

In Hogarth's final painting, *The Madhouse*, Rakewell has descended into madness and is locked up in Bethlem Hospital (Bedlam). Around him are pictured inmates of all persuasions, including a man who thinks he is a king; he is naked and carries a straw crown and sceptre. Also portrayed are two fashionable ladies who have come to observe the lunatics as one of the sights about town. The insane were considered entertainment; as late as 1815, according to a House of Commons report, the Bethlem hospital exhibited lunatics for a penny a day every Sunday. The annual revenue was almost four hundred pounds, suggesting an astonishing 96,000 visitors annually.



Francisco de Goya, *The Madhouse,* ca. 1808-12. Oil on panel. 45 x 72 cm. Real Academia de Bellas Artes de San Fernando, Madrid. View Source

Close to a century later, Goya's *The Madhouse at Saragossa* echoes Hogarth's scene of chaotic lunacy, a wide swath of characters acting out their alternate realities in a "casa de locos," but the misery is palpable here.



William Blake, *Nebuchadnezzar,* ca. 1795-1805. Colour print, ink and watercolour on paper. 54.3 x 72.5 cm. Tate Britain, London. View Source

During the eighteenth century, it was not uncommon for those deemed insane to be portrayed as alien. William Blake's interpretation of the biblical story of king Nebuchadnezzar captured the deep melancholy of the biblical character, the madness that followed loss, by portraying him as animalistic. His strangeness is evidenced in his expression and physiognomy.



Charles Bell, *Essays on the Anatomy and Philosophy of Expression* (London: John Murray, 1824), 121. View Source

preserved grand and terrific. The hero may still appear though palpitating and drained of vigour*.



* A beautiful example of this, in poetical description, occurs in the passage where Virgil paints the death of Turnus. Conscious of the opposition of heaven, and how fruitless and unavailing all his efforts are, he shrinks unnerved from every exertion. "His spirits, as in a dream, are all bound up."

Neque currentem se nec cognoscit euntem,
Tollentemve manu, saxumque immane moventem:
Genua labant, gelidus concrevit frigore sanguis:
Tum lapis ipse viri vacuum per inane volutus
Nec spatium evasit totum, nec pertulit ictum:
Ac velut in somnis oculos ubi languida pressit

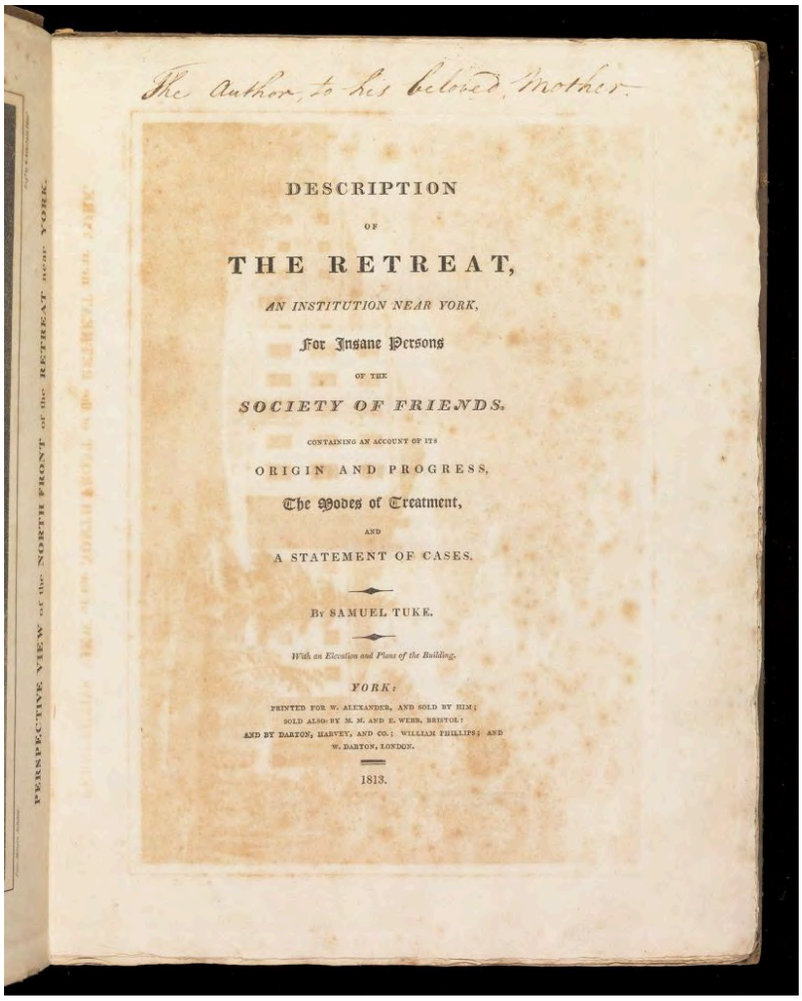
Charles Bell, *Essays on the Anatomy of Expression in Painting* (London: Longman, Hurst, Rees, and Orme, 1806), 151. View Source

In 1806 Charles Bell, a Scottish anatomist, published *Essays on the Anatomy of Expression in Painting,* which emphasized that artists must seek out the true nature of their subjects by learning how to read expressions. He proposed that expressions were not inherent but acquired through constant repetition, a visible consequence of lived experience.

Increasingly, behaviour replaced appearance as the outward manifestation or "proof" of the madness within. Madness was no longer read on the body's surface but observed through a person's acts. Bell's principles of facial expression were based on his extensive observations of anatomical dissections. He concluded that the expression of passions and emotions was revelatory not just of mood but also of madness, "his inflamed eye is fixed upon you, and his features lighten up into an inexpressible wildness and ferocity." The madman has a "human countenance…devoid of expression and reduced to the state of brutality." Bell claimed that to understand otherness, "we must have recourse to the lower animals; and as I have already hinted study their expression, their timidity, their watchfulness, their state of excitement and their ferociousness. If we should happily transfer their expression to the human countenance, we should, as I conceive it, irresistibly convey the idea of madness, vacancy of mind and mere animal passion."



Arnaud, *James Norris, Bethlem Patient*, ca. 1814-15. Coloured etching.
View Source

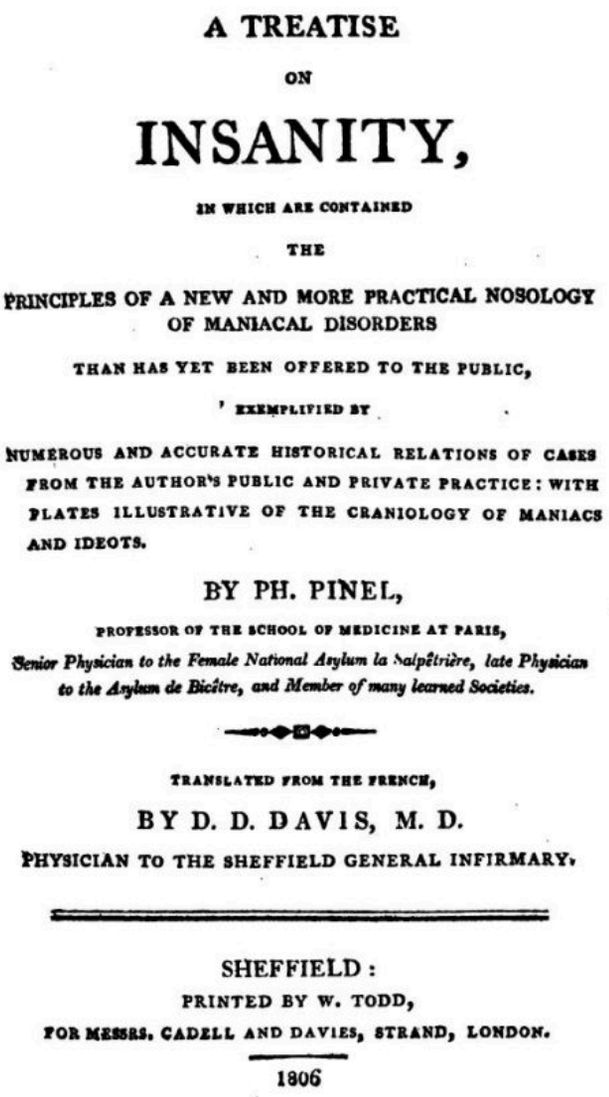


Samuel Tuke, *Description of the Retreat, an Institution Near York, for Insane Persons of the Society of Friends* (York: Darton, Harvey, and Co., 1813). View Source

The horrific treatment of inmates at Bethlem included shackling them to cell walls. Samuel Tuke, a Quaker philanthropist and mental-health reformer, provided an account of such treatment in his *Report on the Condition of the Insane* (1813), describing how a man deemed dangerous was attached to a long chain that ran over the walk, permitting attendants to lead him about on a leash from the outside. Around his neck was an iron ring attached by a short chain to another ring which slid along the length of a vertical iron bar fastened to the floor and ceiling of the cell. When reforms were instituted, it was discovered that he had survived that way for twelve years. Those people chained to cell walls were seen as bestial, without moral reason, acting only on instinct, and as such, were subjected to the same cruelties habitually inflicted on animals.



Tony Robert-Fleury, *Pinel, Releasing Lunatics form their Chains at the Salpêtrière Asylum in Paris in 1795*, 1876. Oil on canvas. Hôpital de la Salpêtrière, Paris. View Source



A TREATISE

ON

INSANITY,

IN WHICH ARE CONTAINED

THE

PRINCIPLES OF A NEW AND MORE PRACTICAL NOSOLOGY OF MANIACAL DISORDERS

THAN HAS YET BEEN OFFERED TO THE PUBLIC,

EXEMPLIFIED BY

NUMEROUS AND ACCURATE HISTORICAL RELATIONS OF CASES FROM THE AUTHOR'S PUBLIC AND PRIVATE PRACTICE: WITH PLATES ILLUSTRATIVE OF THE CRANIOLOGY OF MANIACS AND IDEOTS.

BY PH. PINEL,

PROFESSOR OF THE SCHOOL OF MEDICINE AT PARIS,

Senior Physician to the Female National Asylum la Salpêtrière, late Physician to the Asylum de Bicêtre, and Member of many learned Societies.

TRANSLATED FROM THE FRENCH,

BY D. D. DAVIS, M. D.

PHYSICIAN TO THE SHEFFIELD GENERAL INFIRMARY.

SHEFFIELD:

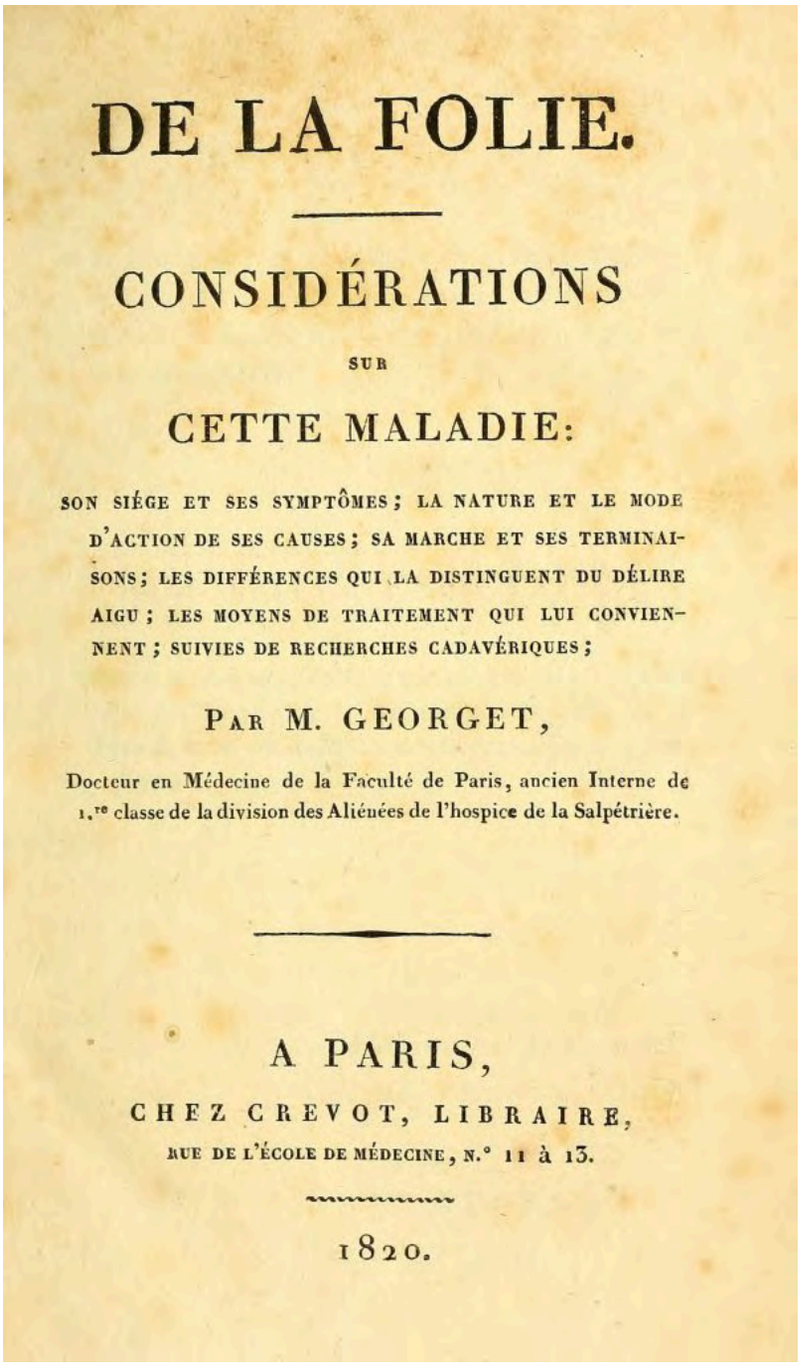
PRINTED BY W. TODD,

FOR MESSRS. CADELL AND DAVIES, STRAND, LONDON.

1806

Philippe Pinel, *A Treatise on Insanity (...),* trans. D. D. Davis (Sheffield: Cadell and Davies, Strand, London, 1806). View Source

The French physician Philippe Pinel, "the father of psychiatry," sought to abolish the shackling of the incarcerated and to introduce a more humane treatment of the mentally diseased. He believed that appearance, along with individualized analysis, was an essential diagnostic tool. *A Treatise on Insanity,* published in 1806, was a discourse on the physiognomy of the insane.



DE LA FOLIE.

CONSIDÉRATIONS

SUR

CETTE MALADIE:

SON SIÉGE ET SES SYMPTÔMES; LA NATURE ET LE MODE D'ACTION DE SES CAUSES; SA MARCHE ET SES TERMINAISONS; LES DIFFÉRENCES QUI LA DISTINGUENT DU DÉLIRE AIGU; LES MOYENS DE TRAITEMENT QUI LUI CONVIENNENT; SUIVIES DE RECHERCHES CADAVÉRIQUES;

PAR M. GEORGET,

Docteur en Médecine de la Faculté de Paris, ancien Interne de 1.re classe de la division des Aliénées de l'hospice de la Salpétrière.

A PARIS,

CHEZ CREVOT, LIBRAIRE,

RUE DE L'ÉCOLE DE MÉDECINE, N.° 11 à 13.

1820.

[Étienne-Jean] Georget, *De la folie: considérations sur cette maladie ; son siége et ses symptômes; la nature et le mod d'action de ses causes; sa march et ses terminaisons; les différences qui la distinguent du délire aigu; les moyens de traitement qui lui conviennent; suivies de recherches cadavériques* (Paris: Chez Crevot, 1820). View Source

In 1820, Étienne-Jean Georget, a student of Pinel and Jean-Étienne Dominique Esquirol, wrote *De la folie (On Insanity),* which addressed the nuances needed in the assessment of patients through physiognomy:

> One must observe their physiognomy in order to capture its image. The patients cannot be recognized from their normal state. The physiognomies are different from individual to individual. In general…the monomaniacal kind has a proud inflated facial expression; the religious fanatic is mild…the anxious patient pleads, glancing sideward…I will stop this rather simple listing of patients for only the direct experience of them can give one an idea of the rest.

8.11
| Portraits of Madness and Soulful Self-Images

The Romantic era ushered in a new interest in individuality and subjective experience. In the arts, the emphasis on imagination and emotion was a response to Neoclassicism's stress on reason and order. This was reflected in portraiture, as artists sought to probe the inner depths of the human psyche.



Théodore Géricault, *Portrait of a Demented Woman,* ca. 1819-22. Oil on canvas. 72 x 58 cm. Musée des Beaux-Arts de Lyon. View Source



Théodore Géricault, *A Madwoman and Compulsive Gambler,* ca. 1820. 77 x 65 cm. Musée du Louvre, Paris.
View Source

Among the most remarkable examples of the newly compassionate representation of the mentally ill is a series of paintings by the French Romanticist Théodore Gericault. In 1822, at the request of Georget, Gericault embarked on a series entitled *Portraits of the Insane,* in part an effort at destigmatizing mental illness by depicting the insane with the dignity of formal portraiture. Gericault's interest in the mentally ill was likely related to his lived experience. Both his father and grandfather died of psychic-related causes, and he suffered a nervous breakdown in 1819. Gericault drew on his experiences to portray his subjects through an empathetic lens.

Géricault's portraits did not seek out the specifics of his sitters' conditions in a scientific sense. In *A Madwoman and Compulsive Gambler*, for example, the depiction is free of iconographic symbolism related to mania; we know she is an addict solely through the work's title.



Théodore Géricault, *Man with Delusions of Military Command,* ca. 1819-22. Oil on canvas. 81 x 65 cm. Private collection. View Source



Théodore Géricault, *Portrait of A Kleptomaniac or The Mad Assassin,* 1822. Oil on panel. 61.2 x 50.2 cm. Museum of Fine Arts, Ghent. View Source

Gericault illustrates his subjects' inner realities by conveying the fleeting, unfocused expression that speaks to mental instability.
His portrait of a "monomaniacal assassin" is described as "an intelligent head with the expression of audacity and perversity" in his catalogue raisonné. It captures the patient's disquiet and represents a break with generalized and moralizing visual descriptions of the insane.

Gericault's quest for felt authenticity in portraiture finds resonance in Van Gogh's self-images.



A chronological list of self-portraits painted by Van Gogh during his stay in Paris between 1886 and 1888. View Source

Van Gogh was a prolific self-portraitist, imbuing each of nearly forty self-images with a forceful, haunting presence. His self-images record his shifting states of being and indicate his hope for self-knowledge. The genre required an emotional investment in the probing of self-identity and self-revelation. When he finished the last one, he reportedly reflected, "They say, and I am very willing to believe it, that it is difficult to know yourself…but it isn't easy to paint yourself either."

Van Gogh painted himself in many guises: as a gentleman, peasant, worker-painter, wounded man, exotic monk. He was interested in the language of physiognomic perception, being familiar with A. Ysabeau's *Physiognomy and Phrenology* (1870) and other accounts of the quasi-science. He recounted to Théo how he had "read with great pleasure an extract from the work of Lavater and Gall, *Physiognomy and Phrenology,* namely, how character is expressed in the features and the shape of the skull." He reportedly drew from phrenology, which was no longer in vogue by the 19th century, in his representations of peasants and labourers. He used it to describe his and Théo's common character, "Certain reddish-haired people with square foreheads are neither only thinkers nor only men of action, but usually combine both elements."



Johann Kaspar [Caspar] Lavater, “Phlegmatic,” “Choleric,” “Sanguine,” and “Melancholic,” in *Physiognomische Fragmente zur Beförderung der Menschenkenntnis und Menschenliebe* (Leipzig: Weidmanns Erben und Reich, 1778). View Source



Johann Caspar [Kaspar] Lavater, *A man with a nose indicating reflectiveness, according to Lavater,* ca. 1794. Pencil. Wellcome Library, London. View Source



Thomas O'Conor Sloane, *Lavatar's Apparatus for Taking Silhouettes* (from an ancient engraving of 1783), 1895. View Source

Lavator produced an encyclopedia categorizing human features and their meaning in 1774.



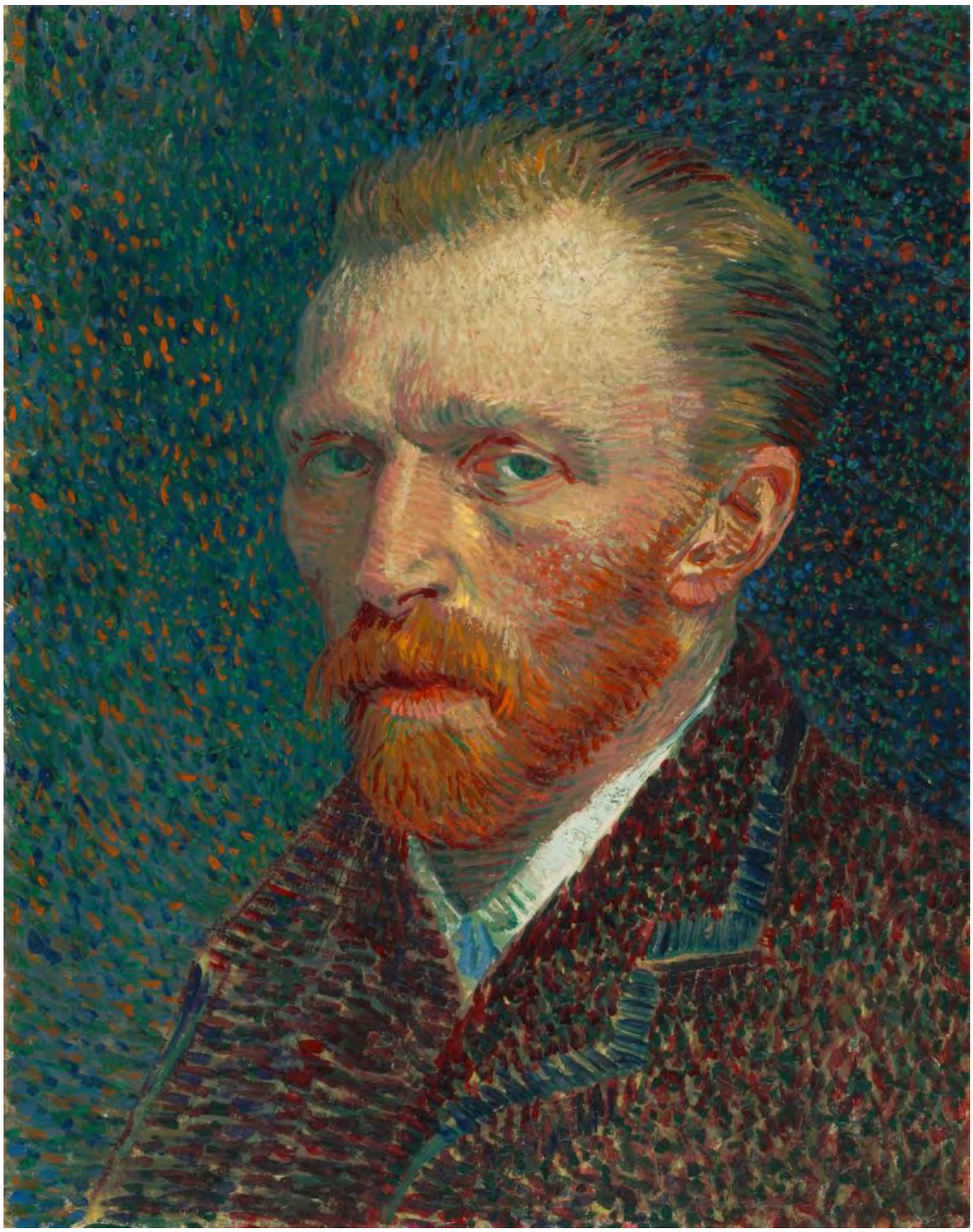
Johann Caspar Lavater, *Two eyes expressing a character of genius, according to Lavater*, ca. 1794. Pencil. Wellcome Library, London. View Source

For example, genius was deemed evident in the forehead, the eyes (especially the upper eyelid) and the root of the nose. He believed the eye and forehead were the most decisive physiognomic traits.



Vincent van Gogh, *Self-Portrait as a Painter,* ca. 1887-88. Oil on canvas. 65.1 x 50 cm. Van Gogh Museum, Amsterdam. View Source

Features such as a high forehead, knitted brow, penetrating eyes (and bristled red beard) appear in most of Van Gogh's self-portraits like a physiognomic template. While they describe his superficial features, they are also employed as visual signifiers of the artistic temperament and physiognomic marks of activism, determination, and intelligence.



Vincent van Gogh, *Self-Portrait,* 1887. Oil on artist's board, mounted on cradled panel. 41 x 32.5 cm. Art Institute of Chicago. View Source

This self-image (1887) is one of seventeen in which Van Gogh depicted himself as a middle-class urbanite, neatly barbered and nattily dressed in a braid-trimmed jacket and cravat.



Vincent van Gogh, *Self-Portrait with Pipe and Straw Hat,* 1887. Oil on canvas. 42 x 30 cm. Van Gogh Museum, Amsterdam. View Source

In nine self-portraits, Van Gogh portrays himself in a collarless shirt or smock suggestive of an artisanal worker or a peasant, an alliance he sought to make with the working classes.



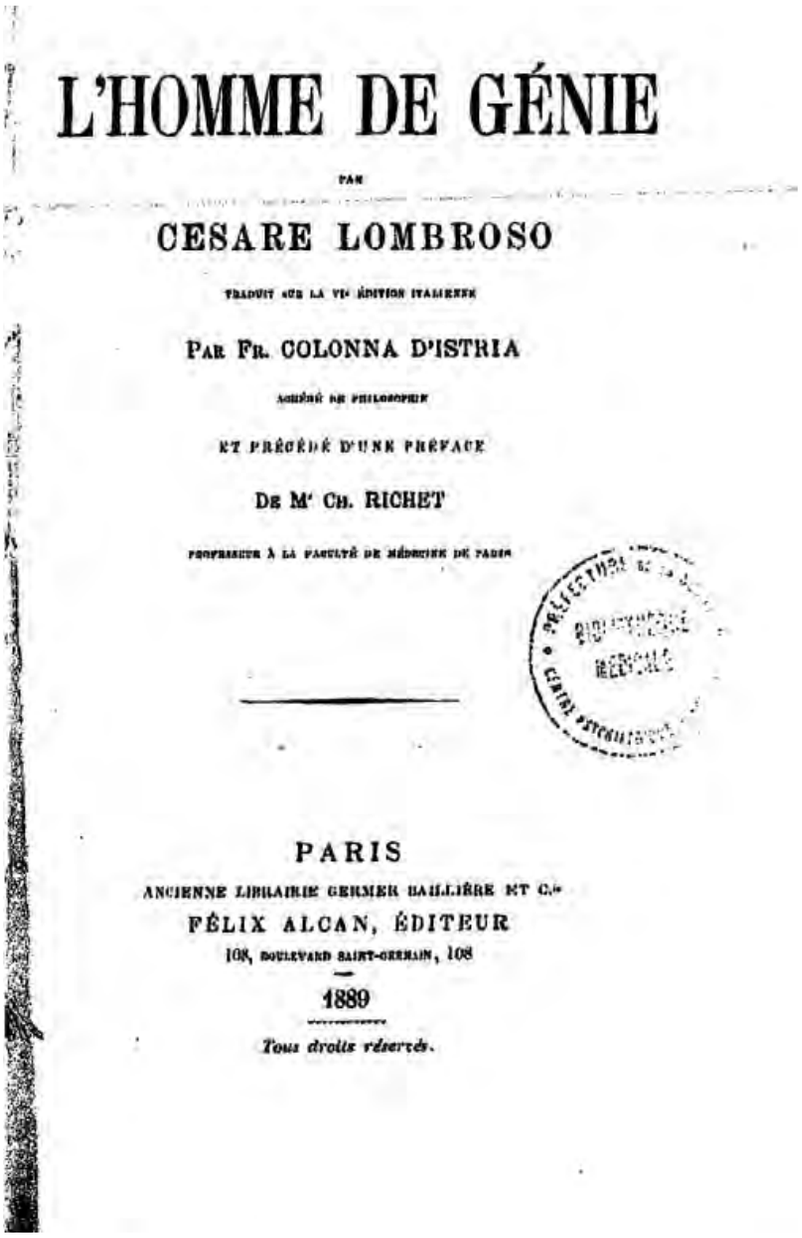
Vincent van Gogh, *Self-Portrait, Dedicated to Paul Gauguin,* 1888. Oil on canvas. 61.5 x 50.3 cm. Fogg Museum, Cambridge. View Source

In 1888 Van Gogh and Gauguin made a deal to exchange self-portraits. Van Gogh represented himself austerely, ascetically, and monastically against a brilliant, breathing colour field.

This self-portrait conveys Van Gogh's self-identification as part of a community of modern artists, marginalized and poverty-stricken. But it is also imbued with a spiritualized personal presence, at a remove from the material world. The slanted eyes, high forehead, and radiant forehead are reminiscent of a bonze, a Buddhist monk. He described his self-portrait thus: "It is all ashen gray against pale Veronese (no yellow). The clothes are this brown coat with a blue border, but I have exaggerated the brown into purple, and the width of the blue borders. The head is modeled in light colours painted in a thick impasto against the light background with hardly any shadows. Only I have made the eyes slightly slanting like the Japanese."

Van Gogh's self-portraits are often read as signs of mental crisis and markers of disease onset, partly because he refers to madness in his letters about them and partially because the best of them coincide with his episodic breakdowns.

The works he made while suffering an attack are exceptionally accomplished paintings with equally compelling content. Rather than revealing the malady of the artist, the pictures incorporate madness as an attribute bound up with the modern artist's persona. During the nineteenth century connections were increasingly made between artists and nervous or neurotic temperaments. This analogy was presented in modern novels and contemporary art criticism.



L'HOMME DE GÉNIE

PAR

CESARE LOMBROSO

TRADUIT SUR LA VIe ÉDITION ITALIENNE

PAR FR. COLONNA D'ISTRIA

AGRÉGÉ DE PHILOSOPHIE

ET PRÉCÉDÉ D'UNE PRÉFACE

DE Mr CH. RICHET

PROFESSEUR À LA FACULTÉ DE MÉDECINE DE PARIS

PARIS

ANCIENNE LIBRAIRIE GERMER BAILLIÈRE ET Cie

FÉLIX ALCAN, ÉDITEUR

108, BOULEVARD SAINT-GERMAIN, 108

1889

Tous droits réservés.

Cesare Lombroso, *L'homme de genie,* trad. Colonna D'Istria (Paris: Félic Alcan, Éditeur, 1889). View Source



122 PREMIÈRE PARTIE

même et de tout ce qui l'entourait. « Dès mon jeune âge, dit-il, j'ai toujours été mélancolique. Une fois, — je pouvais avoir 18 ans — j'ai pensé en moi-même, malgré ma jeunesse, que ce monde ne pouvait pas être l'œuvre d'un

Schopenhauer.

Dieu : non, plutôt d'un diable. J'ai certainement, pendant mon éducation, eu trop à souffrir du tempérament de mon père ».

Des maladies imaginaires l'épouvantaient : en Suisse, le monde sublime des Alpes éveilla en lui, au lieu de l'admiration, une profonde tristesse.

La mère de Schopenhauer dut elle-même, autant et plus que tous ceux qui se trouvèrent en contact avec lui, éprouver les tristes effets de son caractère : car, lorsqu'il

Cesare Lombroso, *L'homme de genie,* trad. Colonna D'Istria (Paris: Félic Alcan, Éditeur, 1889), 122. View Source

The French translation of the Italian criminologist, phrenologist, and physician Cesare Lombroso's *L'Uomo di genio* (*L'Homme du genie*) (originally published 1880) explains that "genius is like madness, one of the forms of mental degeneration" advancing the idea that genius and madness were opposite poles of the same axis and therefore intrinsically intertwined.



Vincent van Gogh, *Self-Portrait, Dedicated to Paul Gauguin*, 1888. Oil on canvas. 61.5 x 50.3 cm. Fogg Museum, Cambridge. View Source

Van Gogh's self-image as a bonze re-dresses these concerns by balancing the notions of the "mad" artist with spiritualism.



Fazang Buddhist Monk, 13th century. Japanese print. Todaiji, Nara. View Source

By assuming a religious figure's identity, he felt he could reconcile his Japonisme with the religious iconography favoured by his friends in Pont-Aven. Van Gogh maintained that Jesus was a "matchless artist" among men. He "lived serenely," he wrote to his artist friend Émile Henri Bernard. Jesus "is a greater artist than all other artists … working in living flesh. That is to say, this matchless artist…made neither statues nor pictures nor books; he loudly proclaimed that he made…living men, immortals."

The bonze represented simplicity in life and rigour at work in pursuit of a higher order. Like Jesus, he served as an archetype for inspired creativity within the context of a utopian ideology.



Vincent van Gogh, *Self-Portrait with a Bandaged Ear*, 1889. Oil on canvas. 60 x 49 cm. Courtauld Institute of Art, London. View Source

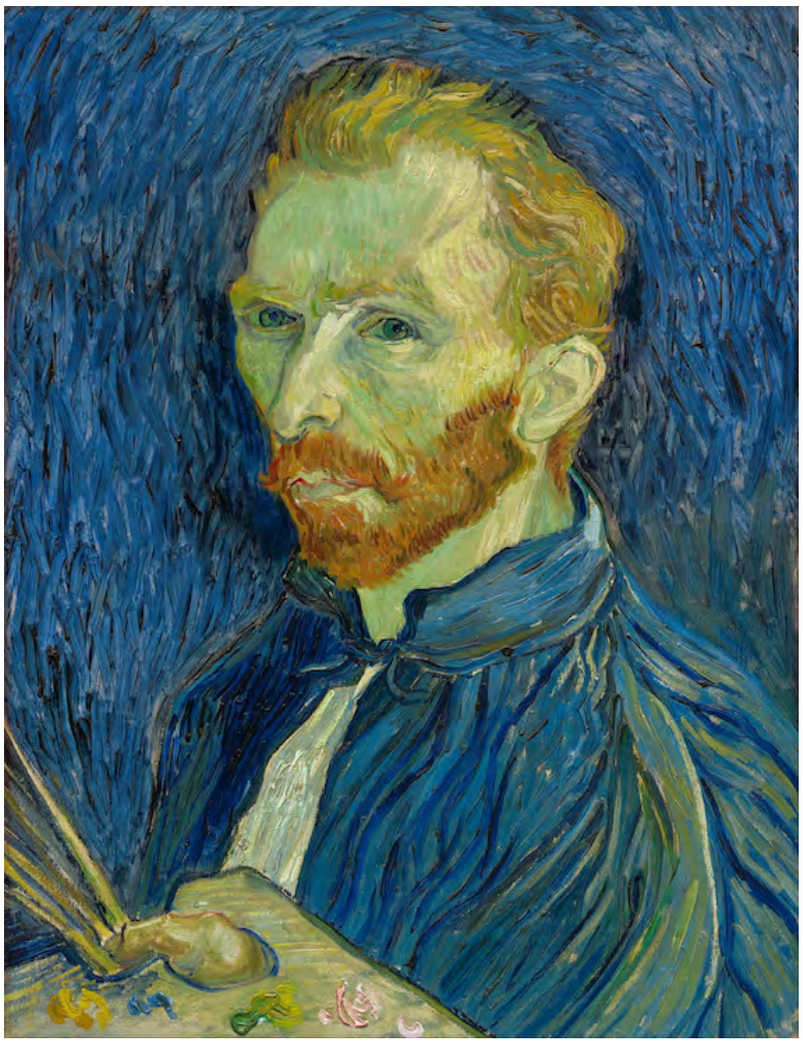
In January 1889, a week after leaving the hospital at Arles, Van Gogh painted *Self-Portrait with Bandaged Ear*. The image is unflinching in its honesty. While the artist's thickly bandaged ear features prominently in the painting, the work extends beyond the imaged wound to convey a sense of infinite sadness.

Here, he wears a workman's jacket and a fur hat, indicating the cold conditions of a winter's studio. Around him are objects of personal significance, a canvas he has just begun, an easel, and a Japanese print, the whole executed with an energetic application of paint and a strident palette, serving to remind us, or perhaps himself, of his purposeful pursuit as a painter.

This self-portrait, created on the heels of his first major breakdown, is laden with personal biography: the "terribly electric" arguments with Gauguin regarding artmaking methodologies; changes in family circumstances (the marriage of Theo and his wife Johanna's subsequent pregnancy); professional anxieties and envy. Such events and personal experiences presumably stirred feelings of insecurity and fears of abandonment and loss.



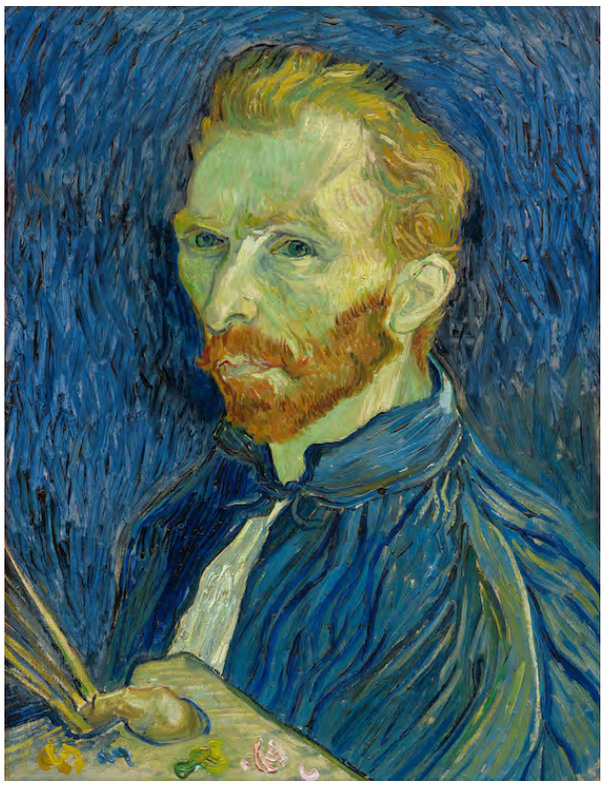
Vincent van Gogh, *Self-Portrait,* 1889. Oil on canvas. 51.5 x 45 cm. National Museum of Art, Architecture and Design, Oslo. View Source



Vincent van Gogh, *Self-Portrait,* 1889. Oil on canvas. 57.7 cm x 44.5 cm. National Gallery of Art, Washington. View Source

The artist was struck down by a severe psychotic episode in mid-July 1889 that lasted a month and a half until September 1. He confined himself to his room, never venturing outside. He was still 'disturbed' at the end of the crisis, as he wrote on 22 August, but he nevertheless felt able to paint again.

The first *Self-Portrait* was, as Van Gogh described in a letter to Théo, "an attempt from when I was ill." The self-portrait more than suggests his unwellness. He portrays himself with his head slightly bowed and his body turned somewhat away from the viewer. His timid, sideways glance is easily recognizable and is often found in patients suffering from depression and psychosis. The expression on his face is lifeless, and a brownish-green, downbeat tone dominates the image as a whole. Louis van Tilborgh, the senior researcher at the Van Gogh Museum, has described it as a confrontation with madness. "Here you see a patient, forcing himself to understand he is sick, choosing to confront himself with himself …The self-portrait seems to document his struggle to survive as a patient." (Quoted in Senay Boztas, "The Madness of Van Gogh: Pivotal Self-portrait," *Dutch News*, January 20, 2020, https://www.dutchnews.nl/news/2020/01/the-madness-of-van-gogh-pivotal-self-portrait-confirmed/



Vincent van Gogh, *Self-Portrait,* 1889. Oil on canvas. 57.7 cm x 44.5 cm. National Gallery of Art, Washington. View Source

Van Gogh's *Self-Portrait* in the National Gallery of Art, Washington, was painted slightly after the Oslo work. Here, as he had in two earlier self-portraits, he holds the tools that mark his identity as a painter, a palette and brushes, and he wears a painter's smock.

Both the fervour and fragility of Van Gogh's life emanate from the canvas, the deep colour and broken directional strokes drawing us into his world. An aura seems to surround him like a pulsating force field. The play of complementary colours between the brilliant background and his green-tinged face and orange hair intensifies the work's visual impact.



Vincent van Gogh, *Self-Portrait,* 1889. Oil on canvas. 51.5 x 45 cm. National Museum of Art, Architecture and Design, Oslo. View Source

The contrast between the raw self-portrait in the Oslo Museum and the calm and controlled self-image in the Washington museum is striking. The first is moody and dark, its lightless quality neither lyrical nor illustrative; the artist's skin is sickly, and there is a dormant wildness about his expression. In the second, the light has re-emerged; there is a sense of equanimity, a change he was swift to share with Théo, "You will see, I hope, that my face is much calmer, though it seems to me that my look is vaguer than before." Contrary to van Gogh's own opinion, however, his expression was anything but vague. His demeanour is focused and determined. He has captured his likeness dynamically, an orange-haired, bearded figure in bourgeois clothing positioned against an animated background of ice-blue paint. One senses the purpose of the picture. It evokes self-assurance and more than hints at the artist's eagerness to leave the hospital and return to his studio. He instructs Théo to "Show it to old Pissarro when you see him."

In the spring of 1890, Van Gogh left Saint-Rémy to stay with Théo and then with Dr. Gachet at Auvers-sur-Oise. In June, he began working on three large landscapes:" I hope you will see them soon," he wrote to Théo, "for I hope to bring them to you in Paris as soon as possible since I almost think these canvases will tell you what I cannot say in words, the health and restorative forces I see in the country."

The extent to which the paintings were restorative remains a question, for he also wrote, "These are vast fields of wheat under troubled skies, and I did not need to go out of my way to try to express sadness and extreme loneliness." In his last letter, he also mentioned these works to his mother, adding, "I am in a mood of almost too much calmness."



Vincent van Gogh, *Wheatfield with Crows,* 1890. Oil on canvas. 50.2 x 103 cm. Van Gogh Museum, Amsterdam. View Source

Wheatfield with Crows betrays the artist's extreme sense of oncoming menace: the deep darkening blue of the sky, the tempestuous, whirling brush strokes and the anxiety of a low-flying flock of blackbirds.

On 27 July 1890, aged 37, Van Gogh is believed to have shot himself in the chest. The following morning, soon after Théo's arrival, he died of an untreated infection resulting from the wound.

Recent psychiatric studies suggest Van Gogh suffered from several disorders, Claire Selvin reports in "New Study Suggests van Gogh Suffered from 'Several Comorbid Disorders" (*Art News*, November 3, 2020). She cites an article in t*he International Journal of Bipolar Disorders* which claimed that the artist also likely suffered from delirium associated with alcohol withdrawal in the years leading up to his suicide in 1890. Whatever the diagnosis, Van Gogh's mental state was aggravated by malnutrition, overwork, insomnia, and alcohol. It describes the artist's "enormous willpower, resilience, and perseverance" in the face of such struggles and points out, "Over the years he kept on painting, also during most difficult periods in his life. Only during the most severe psychotic episodes he temporarily stopped working, but in intervals, with less symptoms, he was able to paint."

Edvard Munch

8.12
| Death and Life

Alongside Van Gogh, one of the most famous artists to portray mental suffering – loss, loneliness and fear – was Edvard Munch. The Norwegian's artworks consistently and vividly drew on emotional turmoil and trauma. This ability to use deeply personal experiences of mental anguish to create an work suggestive of collective suffering is seen repeatedly in Munch's work.



Edvard Munch, *Self-Portrait,* 1882. Oil on canvas. 26 x 19 cm. Munch Museum, Oslo. View Source

Munch was an outsider and a visionary who was plagued by personal tragedy. Illness and failures fed his creativity. “My fear of life is necessary to me, as is my illness,” he once wrote. “Without anxiety and illness, I am a ship without a rudder… My sufferings are part of myself and my art. They are indistinguishable from me, and their destruction would destroy my art.” In an undated private journal, Munch once wrote, “I inherited two of mankind’s most frightful enemies—the heritage of consumption and insanity—illness and madness and death were the black angels that stood at my cradle.”

The Edvard Munch of popular imagination—a tortured, bohemian rebel who seemed almost a living version of the famous figure in *The Scream*—was in fact a myth carefully constructed during Munch's lifetime by critics, historians, and the artist himself. Since then, this persona has been reinforced by our collective fascination with his many pictures of existential suffering. But there are many other sides to the artist and his work that have been eclipsed by the traditional emphasis on his supposed emotional imbalance and artistic isolation. In addition to his depictions of death and anxiety, for example, are moody, calm landscapes and pictures of bathers that celebrate the vitality of the human form in nature.

Munch's moody works gained him a reputation for mental illness from the beginning of his career. The Norwegian art critic and historian Andreas Aubert suggested that he suffered from the psychological condition known as neurasthenia. A medical term invented by the American physician George M. Beard in 1869, neurasthenia, otherwise known as nervous exhaustion, was said to be on the rise in metropolitan centers as chronic fatigue, depression, hysteria, and weakness attacked the emotionally compromised urban body. Adopted and adapted by social commentators, the disorder was connected to decadence and degeneration and applied to the visual arts. (Introduction to the exhibition *Becoming Edvard Munch: Influence, Anxiety and Myth*, Art Institute of Chicago, 2013, https://archive.artic.edu/munch/overview/)

Edvard Munch was born December 12, 1863, in Löten, Norway, to a middle-class family. His mother was Laura Catherine Bjølstad, and his father, Christian Munch, was a military doctor. It was a puritanical home plagued by sickness. Munch's father was an extreme Christian fundamentalist who regarded disease as a punishment from God, cured only by penitence and remorse.



Edvard Munch, *Death and Spring,* 1893. Oil on canvas. 73 x 94.5 cm. Munch Museum, Oslo. View Source

The death of his mother from tuberculosis when he was five and his sister Sophie eight years later impacted the emotional tenor of his childhood. He had a weak constitution, suffering from tuberculosis, bronchitis, and anxiety. "The illness (tuberculosis) followed me through all my childhood and youth – the germ of consumption placed its blood-red banner victoriously on the white handkerchief – my loved

ones died one by one. One Christmas night, I lay 13 years old – the blood running out of my mouth – the fever raging in my veins – the anxiety screaming inside of me. Now in the next moment you shall stand before the judgement – and you shall be doomed eternally."

As a young man, Munch traveled to Paris, where he experimented with Impressionism and found inspiration in the work of Gauguin and Van Gogh, particularly their embrace of a raw, expressionistic, and mysterious aesthetic. He adopted a simplified formal vocabulary and an intense palette, pursuing motifs of anxiety and alienation to elicit powerful feelings. He was also influenced by James Ensor, particularly the carnivalesque masks. In 1916 he penned: "I saw all the people behind their masks—smiling, phlegmatic—composed faces—I saw through them and there was suffering—all of them—pale corpses—who without rest ran around—along a twisted road—at the end of which was the grave."

Munch has been described as a painter of the soul, his works addressing universal themes of life and death. He was also the painter of inner demons, his pieces delving into the darkest recesses of the human psyche, where anxieties, fears and suffering reside.



Edvard Munch, *The Sick Child,* ca. 1885-86. Oil on canvas. 120 x 118.5 cm. National Museum of Art, Architecture and Design, Oslo. View Source

The Sick Child depicts Sophie before her death. It is one of six paintings and several lithographs, drypoints and etchings of the subject completed by Munch between 1885 and 1926. Munch painted *The*

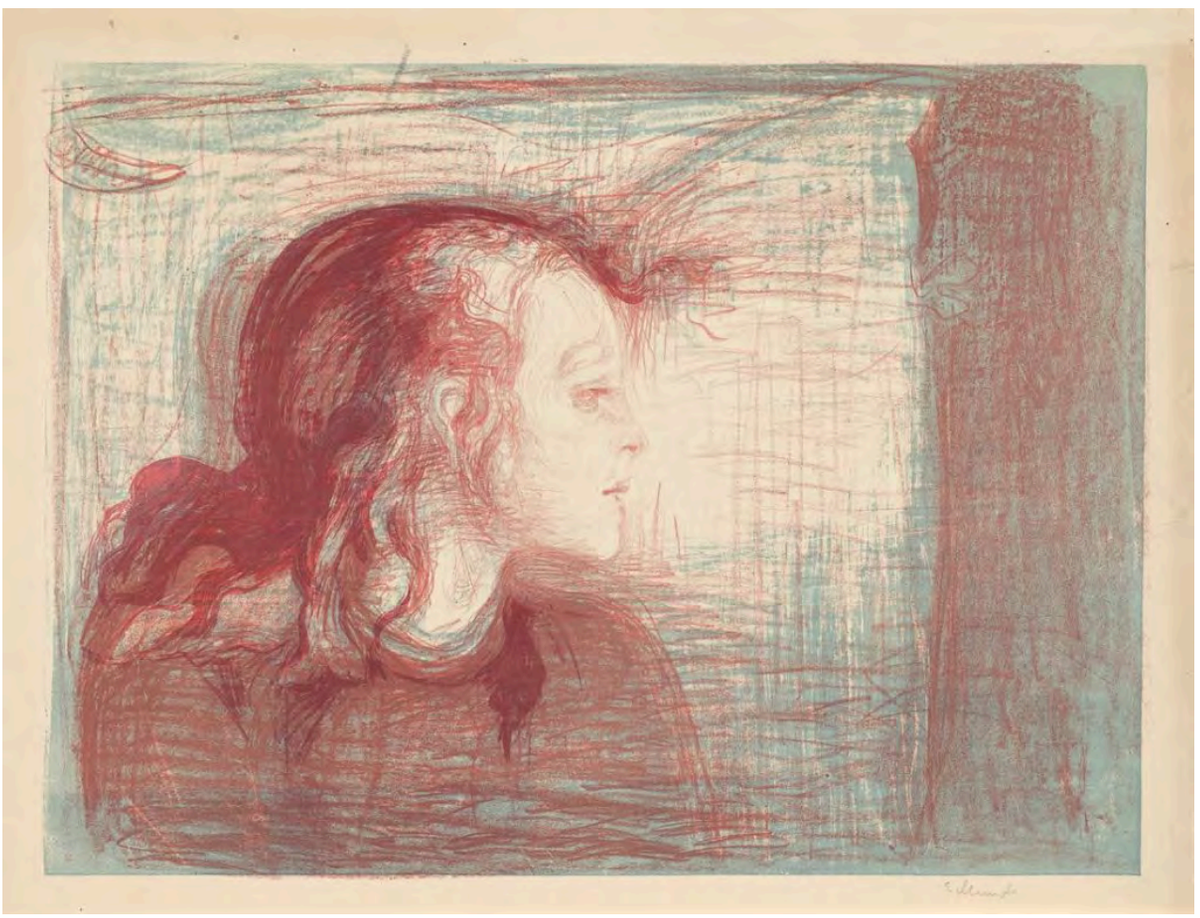
Sick Child from memory during his first trip to Paris in 1885. The canvas required painstaking work as he built up a surface that he would later dissolve with turpentine, scratch away, and then repaint. Brian Singer, Trond E. Aslaksby, Biljana Topalova-Casadiego, and Eva Storevik Tveit explain in "Investigation of Materials Used by Edvard Munch" (*Studies in Conservation* 55, no. 4 (2010): 274–92):

> *The Sick Child* is considered to be Edvard Munch's breakthrough painting and was first exhibited in Kristiania (now Oslo) in 1886. Munch, in his writings, has described how he fought with the image for a year: painted, wiped out, repainted, scraped off, etc. until it was "heavy as lead." His statement is confirmed by early photographs and X-radiographs.

Norma S. Steinberg in "Munch in Color" (*Harvard University Art Museums Bulletin* 3, no. 3 (1995): 1–54) offers a comprehensive analysis of *The Sick Girl* series.

As a struggling young artist he adopted an Impressionist style but found it limited with respect to conveying human emotion. When he veered away from naturalism with his painting *The Sick Girl*, exhibited in Christiania in 1886, Munch and his work were greeted with derision. He had decided from an early stage, however, that memory was a more reliable source of imagery than nature, and penned this now famous statement on the subject: "I paint not what I see, but what I saw."

Steinberg notes that his friends and colleagues knew of his use of colour as a reflection of felt experience. Sigbjorn Obstfelder, lyrical poet and art critic, commented,"Munch writes poetry with colour… His use of colour is above all lyrical. He feels colours and he reveals his feelings through colours; he does not see them in isolation. He does not just see yellow, red, blue, and violet; he sees sorrow, screaming, melancholy, and decay."



Edvard Munch, *The Sick Child I,* 1896. Lithograph. 40.8 x 66 cm. Munch Museum, Oslo. View Source

Munch's analogous use of colour and emotion – yellow and sorrow, red and screaming, blue and melancholy, violet and decay – continued in his printmaking practice. Red often predominated,

sometimes employed alone, but more often in contrast with other hues, its tonality ranging from clear orangey-reds to the darkness of dried blood.

Tellingly, the artist's first colour lithograph was of *The Sick Girl*. It illustrates Munch's development of an intuitive methodology attached to his quest for symbolic art. It is a close-up view of Sophie's head and shoulders, concentrating attention on her fragility and transparency. Munch's translation of the language of the painting is seen here in the wavy lines that stand in for the mesh of paint strokes and the suggestion of an aura for the atmospheric qualities of the image. Obstfelder describes Munch's process:

> After providing the form of the aura, Munch employed the element of chance to determine its color. Although he worked closely with Parisian master printer Auguste Clot, he did not ask him to produce a specific number of edition prints. Rather he used Clot's expertise in ways that guaranteed variation. Paul Hermann, recalling a meeting with Munch during the printing of *The Sick Girl*, said that Munch would close his eyes, stab the air above the assembled stones, and recite the colors and order of printing. They would go out for a drink and later, again with closed eyes, Munch would gesture randomly and ask for another group of colors.
>
> The red substance of this version burns with fever,



Edvard Munch, *The Sick Girl I,* 1896. Lithograph printed in black, gray, yellow, and red ink on off-white China paper. 46.7 x 61 cm. Fogg Museum, Cambridge. View Source

> compared with the ethereal, enigmatic quality of the Fogg print, whose crimson accents are like streaks of fresh blood staining the pillow. Munch used color to transform the very character of the representation of illness; in the latter print the child seems to die while we look on.

8.13
| The Frieze of Life

Between 1893 and 1908, Munch lived most of the time in Germany. During the 1890s, he conceived of and partly executed a series of paintings which he later called *The Frieze of Life*. The images are united by their existential focus, dealing with themes of love, illness and death. The nucleus of *The Frieze of Life* was a group of six pictures exhibited in 1893 under the title 'Studie zu einer Serie "Die Liebe."' They were titled *The Death in the Sickroom, Scream*, *The Vampire*, *Madonna, Anxiety*, and *Melancholy.*



Edvard Munch, *Death in the Sickroom,* 1893. Oil on canvas. 134 x 160 cm. Munch Museum, Oslo. View Source



Edvard Munch, *The Scream,* 1893. Oil, tempera and pastel on cardboard. 91 x 73.5 cm. National Gallery of Norway, Oslo. View Source



Edvard Munch, *The Vampire*, 1893. Oil on canvas. 101 x 121 cm. Göteborgs konstmuseum, Gothenburg. View Source



Edvard Munch, *Madonna,* 1894. Oil on canvas. 90 x 68 cm. Munch Museum, Oslo. View Source



Edvard Munch, *Anxiety,* 1894. Oil on canvas. 94 x 74 cm. Munch Museum, Oslo. View Source



Edvard Munch, *Melancholy,* 1894. Oil on canvas. 72 x 98 cm. Private collection. View Source

The Introduction to the exhibition *Edvard Munch*: *A Poem of Life, Love and Death*, September 20th, 2022, to January 22nd, 2023, Musée d'Orsay, (https://www.musee-orsay.fr/en/whats-on/exhibitions/edvard-munch-poem-live-love-and-death) describes his ouevre thus:

> Munch's singular creative process led him to produce many variations of the same motif, but also several versions of the same subject. Eminently symbolist, the notion of cycles thus played a key role in Munch's thought and art. It is manifest on several levels in his work, even coming into play with the very construction of his paintings, where certain motifs recur regularly. For Munch, humanity and nature are united in the cycle of life, death and rebirth.
>
> When the series was first exhibited as a group, it comprised these six works, later twenty-two. Speaking of his revelation of their pictorial reciprocity, Munch stated, "I placed them together and found that various paintings related to each other in terms of content. When they were hung together, suddenly a single musical note passed through them all. They became completely different to what had been previously. A symphony resulted."
>
> To Edvard Munch, physical and spiritual illness was one; his early experience of disease and loss catalyzed the darkness and pessimism that permeated his life. He once declared, "I was born dying."



Edvard Munch, *Death in the Sickroom,* 1893. Oil on canvas. 134 x 160 cm. Munch Museum, Oslo. View Source

Death in the Sickroom, painted in 1893, expresses the grief of death in the family. Frode Haverkamp describes the painting in "Edvard Munch in the National Museum" (Nasjonalmuseet 2008) (https://www.nasjonalmuseet.no/en/collection/object/NG.M.00940)

> The picture shows what we can assume to be the artist's family grouped around his sister Sophie, who died in 1877. She is sitting in a chair with her back to us. To the right stands an aunt, Karen Bjølstad, who moved in with the family to take care of the children and the household after the mother died of tuberculosis in 1868. In the background stands the father, the doctor Christian Munch, with his hands clasped as if in prayer. Near the centre of the picture is a male figure, probably Edvard, in quarter-face. Sister Laura is sitting in the foreground with her hands in her lap, while the third sister, Inger, stands staring straight at us. The male figure to the left is generally identified as Edvard's younger brother Andreas. In *Death in the Sick Room* there is no physical contact between the people, except for the hand that aunt Karen has laid on the back of the chair in which the invalid sits.
>
> ...
>
> This is a situation recalled from several years earlier, to which he returned in the 1890s. The scene is strictly composed and excludes anything irrelevant to the theme. The dark clothes and the noxious green of the bedroom walls intensify the mood of discomfort.



Edvard Munch, *The Scream,* 1893. Oil, tempera and pastel on cardboard. 91 x 73.5 cm. National Gallery of Norway, Oslo. View Source

Munch produced five versions of *The Scream,* an image which is said to have been inspired while he was walking with friends: "I was walking along a road one evening – on one side lay the city, and below me was the fjord. The sun went down – the clouds were stained red, as if with blood. I felt as though the whole of nature was screaming – it seemed as though I could hear a scream. I painted that picture, painting the clouds like real blood."

The screaming colours and multi-directional compositional scheme evoke an unmistakable image of terror. The linear patterning of horizontals and diagonals, the spiralling shore, and the undulant sky against the stretch of the pier draw the viewer's eyes past the calmly promenading pair toward an androgynous figure of embodied fear. With widened eyes, flaring nostrils and elongated hands pressed firmly against the skull it is a quintessential image of a self in anguish.

The subject matter of Munch's paintings, particularly the *Frieze of Life* series, reflects his agoraphobia. Despite the empty expanse of the pictorial space, the image is stifling; the blood-red sky and black fjord are suffocating. The figure appears untethered and entrapped.

In a larger context, the sky is glowing and tortured, perhaps inspired by a genuine scientific phenomenon: the ashes poured into the atmosphere by the eruption of a volcano in Indonesia, which would have had repercussions as far as Northern Europe. *The Scream* penetrates the realm of the psyche and reveals an extreme form of self-reflexivity that speaks to modern awareness of the self-conscious, embodied self.



Edvard Munch, *The Vampire*, 1893. Oil on canvas. 101 x 121 cm. Göteborgs konstmuseum, Gothenburg. View Source

Originally entitled *Love and Pain* and *Les Cheveux Rouges (Red Hair*) in the influential *L'Art Nouveau* in Paris, *The Vampire* acquired its putative title when Munch's friend, the critic Stanisław Przybyszewski saw the painting on exhibition and described it as "a man who has become submissive, and on his neck a biting vampire's face."

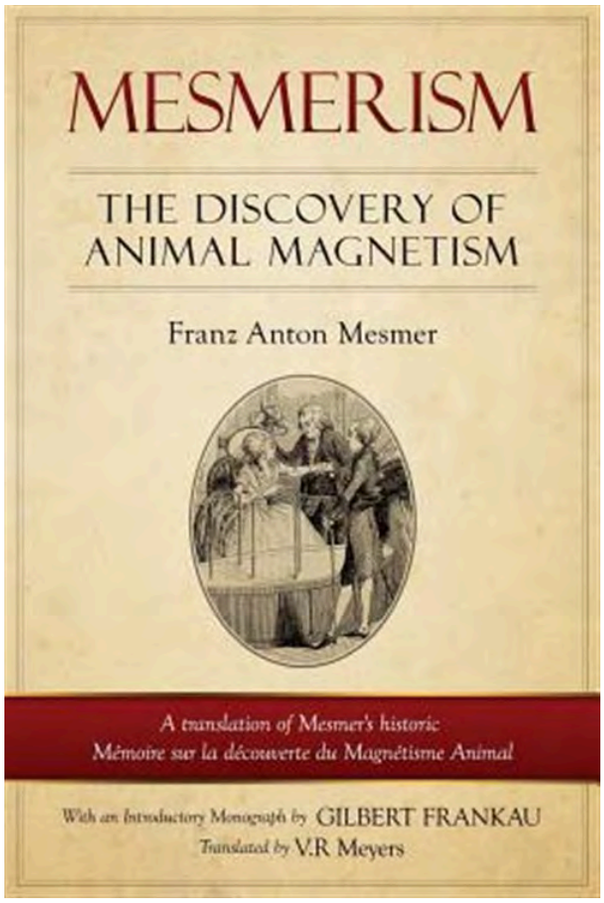
Munch moved in Bohemian circles of artists and writers in Kristiania and Berlin, among them Przybyszewski, August Strindberg, Henrik Ibsen and other intelligentsia who regularly frequented the Black Pig bar in Berlin. In the 1890s, the bar was the meeting place for Nordic writers and artists. In this world, love (free love) reigned, but it was dark, deadly and destructive. Vampires were in vogue. Munch admitted to his friend and biographer Jens-Thiis: "[the title] *Vampire* is actually what gives the picture its literary character. In reality, it is only a woman kissing a man on the neck." The image of the red-headed woman, a female Judas, sucking the blood of a defenceless man was too perfect an interpretation to publicly dispute.

8.14
| Female Representations: Halos and Hysteria

Munch's interest in psychic mobility and atmospheric vibrations influenced his*Madonna*, painted the following year. The work evokes mysterious movement, particularly in the lines encircling the figure. The thin, translucent layering of oil paint furthers the effect.



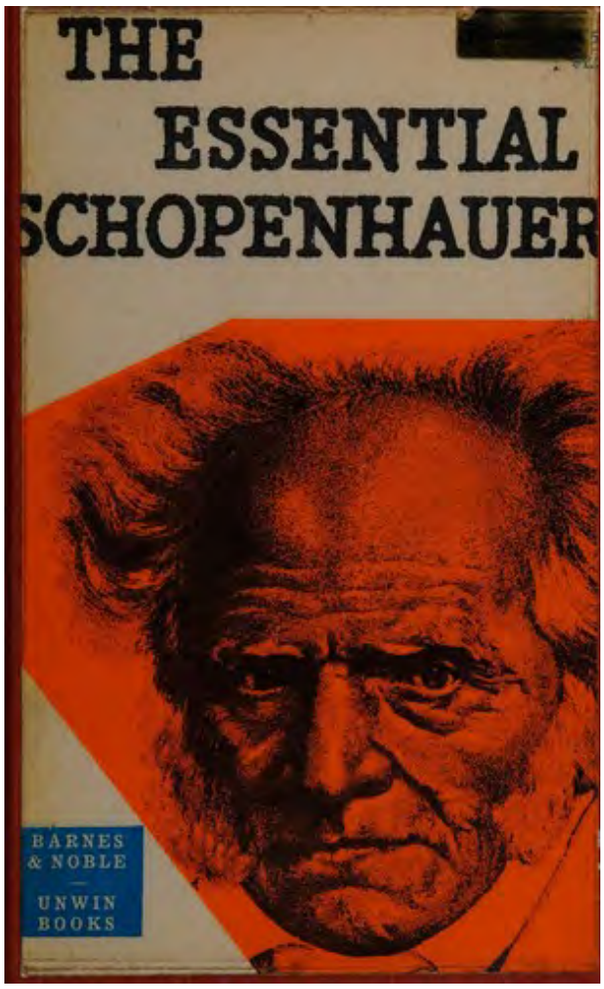
Edvard Munch, *Madonna,* 1894. Oil on canvas. 90 x 68 cm. Munch Museum, Oslo. View Source



Franz Anton Mesmer, *Mesmerism: The Discovery of Animal Magnetism: English Translation of Mesmer's historic Mémoire sur la découverte du magnétisme* (Soul Care Publishing, 2016). View Source

Munch's interest in images suggesting the hypnotic state of mesmerism, defined by the German philosopher Franz Mesmer in 1779 as an "animal magnetism," may be discerned here. Munch would later connect his interest in mesmerism to Strindberg's belief phenomena, "there must be some truth to what Strindberg said about waves which surround and influence us. Perhaps we have a sort of radio receiver in the brain."

During the critical decade of the 1890s, Munch often engaged with notions of transmutation, particularly as related to the feminine principle. His *Madonna* evokes not only dominant female sexuality but also the spectre of death. According to Munch, the alternatives of artistic creation or relinquishing one's individuality to generate new life within a woman's womb were both acts of creation fraught with anxiety and danger. That Munch associated the image with death is known by his comments on the picture, which he sees as representing the eternal cyclical process of generation and decay in nature. He continually connected love with death: for the man because it eviscerated him, for the woman because her function ended with childbearing.



Arnold Schopenhauer, *The Essential Philosopher* (Allen and Unwin, 1962). View Source

In 1851, Schopenhauer wrote in *Parerga und Paralipomena*, a collection of philosophical reflections, that "women exist solely for the propagation of the species and live more for the species than for the individual."

> You need only to look at the way in which she is formed to see that woman is not meant to undergo great labour, whether of the mind or of the body. She pays the debt of life not by what she does but by what she suffers; by the pains of childbearing and care for the child, and by submission to her husband, to whom she should be a patient and cheering companion. The keenest sorrows and joys are not for her, nor is she called upon to display a great deal of strength. The current of her life should be more gentle, peaceful and trivial than man's without being essentially happier or unhappier.
> Deleted: Women are directly fitted for acting as the nurses and teachers of our early childhood by the fact that they are themselves childish, frivolous and short-sighted; in a word, they are big children all their life long – a kind of intermediate stage between the child and the full-grown man, who is man in the strict sense of the word. (*The Essential Schopenhauer*, first published *in Parerga and Paralipomena,* 1851 (http://www.naturalthinker.net/trl/texts/Schopenhauer, Artur/OnWomen.pdf)

In some sense, the *Madonna* figure recalls the mesmeric images of female hysterics prevalent during the era. Carla Lathe has explored this dimension of Munch's production in "Edvard Munch's Dramatic Images 1892-1909" (*Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 46 (1983): 191- 206). She writes,

> The forms of medical inquiry Munch's friends wished to pursue were the investigation into the unconscious, into the control of nerve fluid and nerve vibrations associated with the theories of the Austrian doctor Anton Mesmer. The ideas Mesmer had made popular a hundred years before

were given clinical authority when Jean Charcot persuaded the Paris Academy to accept hypnosis officially in I882.



André Brouillet, *A Clinical Lesson at the Salpêtrière,* 1887. Oil on canvas. 290 x 430 cm. Université Paris-Descartes, Paris (Fonds national d'art contemporain). View Source

The French neurologist Jean-Martin Charcot who lectured at the *Salpêtrière* asylum in Paris in the 1880s, explored this so-called female predisposition, aiming to demonstrate that hysteria was a form of mental illness. The climax of the demonstration would occur when he hypnotized a patient into a state of hysterical seizure, "la grande hysterie" which would culminate with the classical swanlike "arc en cercle" movement. Contemporaneous pictures and engravings capture the scene, a rapt, attentive audience, the assistants, the master and then the young woman in a theatrical convulsive pose, head thrown back; body arched forward. One might suspect the regular patients, "actresses," were well-practiced in their performance; it was too perfect.

Amanda du Preez, in "Putting on Appearances: Mimetic Representations of Hysteria" (*de arte*, 39 no. 69 (2004): 47-61), explains that hysteria is a disease "that manifests exclusively through visual appearances and images and is reproduced in imitations and representations.... hysteria has no anatomical or corporeal basis. As a result, the condition can be described as a simulacrum of symptoms, where one symptom refers to another without constituting an apparent link to a bodily referent."

> [H]ysteria was most often diagnosed in women who had the cunning aptitude of imitating symptoms of all diseases with such accuracy that the `real' patients could not be distinguished from those miming them. The fact that hysteria apparently favoured a female disposition corresponded with the conflation of hysteria with the signifiers of both femaleness (sex) and femininity (gender) to such a degree that the terms female, femininity and hysteria actually became inter-exchangeable. Women were epitomised as harbouring intense emotions, sensitivities and as being extremely impressionable, while hysteria was itself diagnosed as a disease of impressionability and susceptibility... Consequently, although not all women were diagnosed with hysteria at the time, all women were, nevertheless, suspected of being susceptible to hysteria.
>
> ...
>
> Charcot did not make hospital rounds like other physicians. Rather, patients were either brought

to his office for examination or they were examined in the `theatrical space' of the public lecture rooms of *Salpêtrière*. His ocularcentric orientation becomes clear if one considers descriptions of private consultations: "He would have the patients brought to his office and stripped naked; he would observe them, ask them to perform certain movements, stare, meditate, and then have them led out. . . . he rarely exchanged words with the patients" (Evans 1991:20). In addition, Charcot held regular public lectures for his students and colleagues. He also opened his theatrical lectures to a lay audience so as to include members of the artistic and literary scene, whom he befriended. These lectures unfolded dramatically as, "Charcot, with a bearing reminiscent of Napoleon, would stand beside a patient in a 600-seat filled to capacity, with floodlights on the stage, and demonstrate each clinical sign to the spellbound audience" (Jay 2000:11). During these public lectures mostly female bodies were displayed and their apparent waywardness was unveiled. It seems that the females on display could be depended upon to produce appropriate collapses and turbulent convulsions, almost as if their performances were rehearsed and their movements carefully choreographed... Hysteria was treated as a condition to be observed, and as a result there was no apparent need to address the predominantly female patients or to listen to their plights. In other words, patients diagnosed with hysteria were not consulted about their condition but, on the contrary, they were silenced in many ways.



Andrea del Sarto, *Liberation of the Woman Possessed by the Devil* , ca. 1509-10. Fresco. 364 x 300 cm. Basilica della Santissima Annunziata, Florence. View Source



Andrea del Sarto, Detail of *Liberation of the Woman Possessed by the Devil,* ca. 1509-10. Fresco. 364 x 300 cm. Basilica della Santissima Annunziata, Florence. View Source

Charcot, who is also described as “the medical scientist with the outlook of an artist” (Schade 1995:505), was fascinated by the artistic possibilities of hysteria. Not only did he collect images from the Western canon wherein insanity and possession were depicted (from the twelve to the eighteenth centuries, including artists such as Andrea del Sarto, Goya, Delacroix, Gericault, and Fuseli), but he also tried to redo these images by copying them.



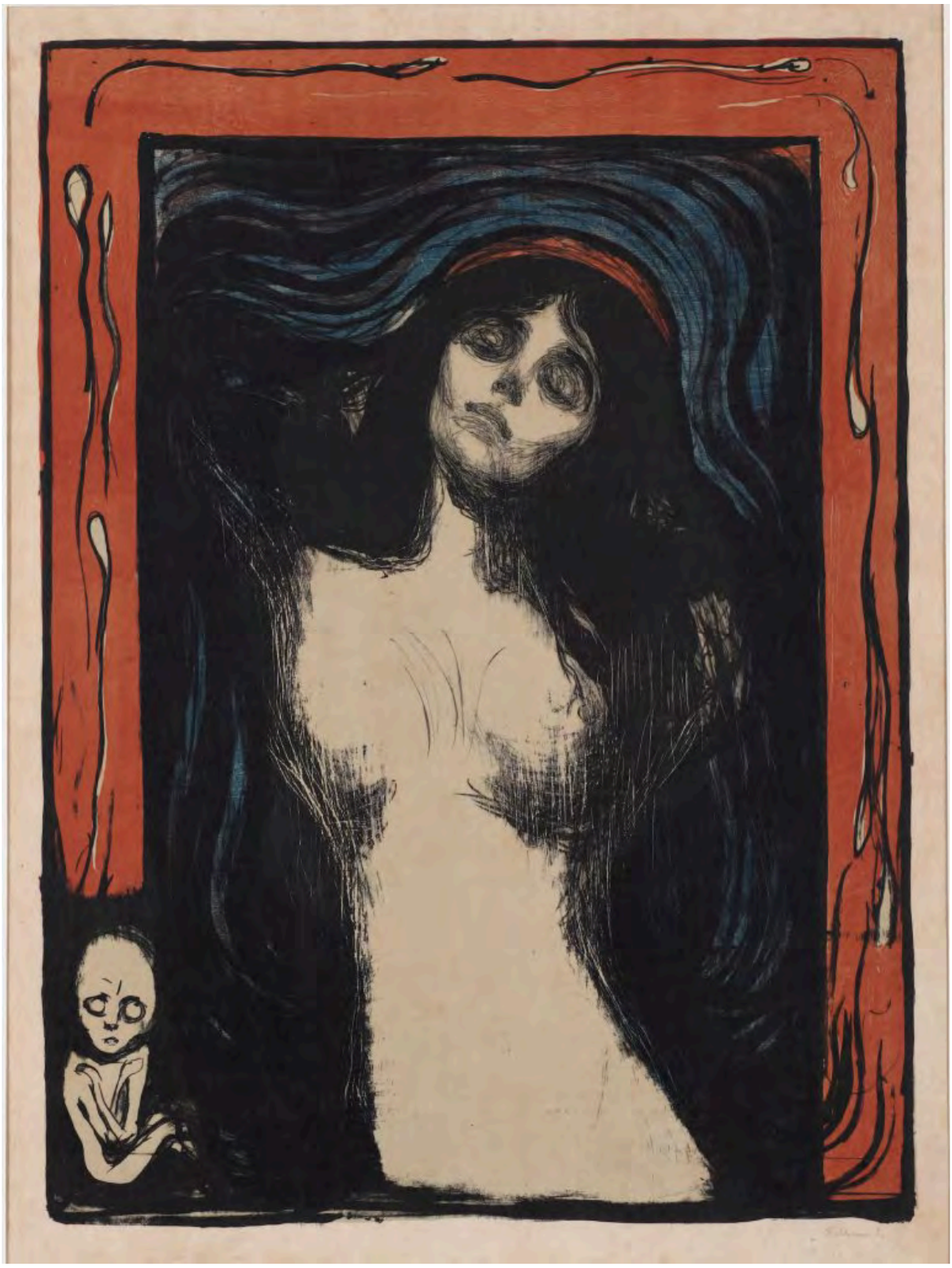
Jean-Martin Charcot, *Iconographie photographique de la Salpêtrière,* 1878. Chronophotography. View Source

> Charcot's discourse on the female hysterical body could not contain her, for there is no way of conclusively pinpointing or locating her. Although the hysteric seemingly abandons herself to scientific analysis by creating a spectacle of symptoms, she does so in simulation, representation and mime. As Matlock (1994:141) explains: "Hysteria has an appearance, but no materiality. Its symptoms can be catalogued, their frequency registered, but it remains always beyond understanding." Any attempt to essentialise her fails, for, even though women are embodied beings, they cannot be contained within one conclusive body. The other discursive trick played by patriarchal discourses, namely to evaporate women like a mysterious perfume into unexplainable oblivion, will also not hold, for women do exist, but not always as patriarchy thinks they do.

Outside of his family circle, Munch's female representations centred on their sexuality. "Munch's women are disclosed as helpless pawns of biological and sexual forces and processes buried below the level of consciousness," Kristie Jayne writes in "The Cultural Roots of Edvard Munch's Images of Women" (*Woman's Art Journal* 10, no. 1 (1989): 28–34):

> [A]spects of Munch's art reflect an awareness of Darwinian concepts of sexual difference-as well as a number of other "scientifically based" theories of sexual differences spawned in part by Darwinism—which stressed the female's procreative capabilities, inclinations, and obligations.... According to Darwin, nature provides an unlimited supply of unsolicited, fortuitous hereditary

novelties. The sheer fecundity of nature leads to a constant struggle for existence in which those individuals fortunate enough to be endowed with favorable novelties will survive in greater numbers, while their less fortunate peers will be more likely to perish. Sexual selection refers to the struggle between the males of a species for possession of the females, whereby the successful males will be the strongest, most competitive, and most aggressive and will thus leave the most progeny. Darwin claimed that, through the interaction of natural and sexual selection, man had become superior to woman in courage, energy, and intellect and that these greater physical and mental traits were more readily transmitted to the male than to the female offspring. The process of genetic mutation and transfer was not yet understood; the production of favorable hereditary variations was regarded as requiring intelligence and courage, both of which were male, not female traits. Males were therefore the innovators in the course of evolution, while females were merely the passive transmitters of hereditary material. Darwin argues that women do possess certain faculties found lacking in man-maternal feeling, intuition, perception, imitation, altruism, and tenderness -character ascribed to lower races. He viewed females as primitive, non-varying, and undifferentiated in their function, which was to reproduce. The evolutionary development of women had been arrested, as it were, resulting in the intellectually and physically inferior female.



Edvard Munch, *Madonna,* ca. 1895-1902. Lithograph. 60.5 x 44.4 cm. Ohara Museum of Art, Kurashiki. View Source

In the *Madonna* prints, the "biological substances" of the fetuses and sperm that appear in the borders assert that the female subject's primary function is the physiological process of reproduction. This interpretation seems confirmed by Munch's famous comment on the painting: "Now life reaches out its hand to death. The chain is forged that binds the thousands of generations that have died to the thousands of generations yet to come." Appearing to float in her own fluid-filled, amniotic-like sac, the Madonna is denied any measure of contact with the world beyond by the sperm and the bulky, oversized fetuses swimming around her. The instruments of her own physiological destiny imprison her.

8.15
| Alienation, Angst and Collective Despair



Edvard Munch, *Anxiety,* 1894. Oil on canvas. 94 x 74 cm. Munch Museum, Oslo. View Source

In *Anxiety,* the specter of an anxious humanity advances in a nightmarish state as if driven by ominous elemental forces. The painting draws on two others from the same period, *Evening on Karl Johan Street* and *The Scream.*



Edvard Munch, *Evening on Karl Johan Street*, 1892. Oil on canvas. 84.5 x 121 cm. KODE Kunstmuseer og komponisthjem, Bergen. View Source

Evening on Karl Johan Street situates the spectator in confrontation with a crowd of ghostly figures. The mood on Oslo's main boulevard is ominous, the nightlights in the inhabited buildings only adding to the sense of strange presences in the accumulating darkness. The skeletal faces are ghostly as they gaze out at us, the fixed, blank stare a device Munch would employ again in *The Scream*.



Edvard Munch, *The Scream,* 1893. Oil, tempera and pastel on cardboard. 91 x 73.5 cm. National Gallery of Norway, Oslo. View Source



Edvard Munch, *Anxiety,* 1894. Oil on canvas. 94 x 74 cm. Munch Museum, Oslo. View Source

In *Anxiety,* the alienated personages reappear against the swirling inky lake in the distance, hemmed in by a volcanic red sky. Whereas *The Scream* expressed the loneliness and horror experienced by an isolated individual, *Anxiety* evokes collective despair.

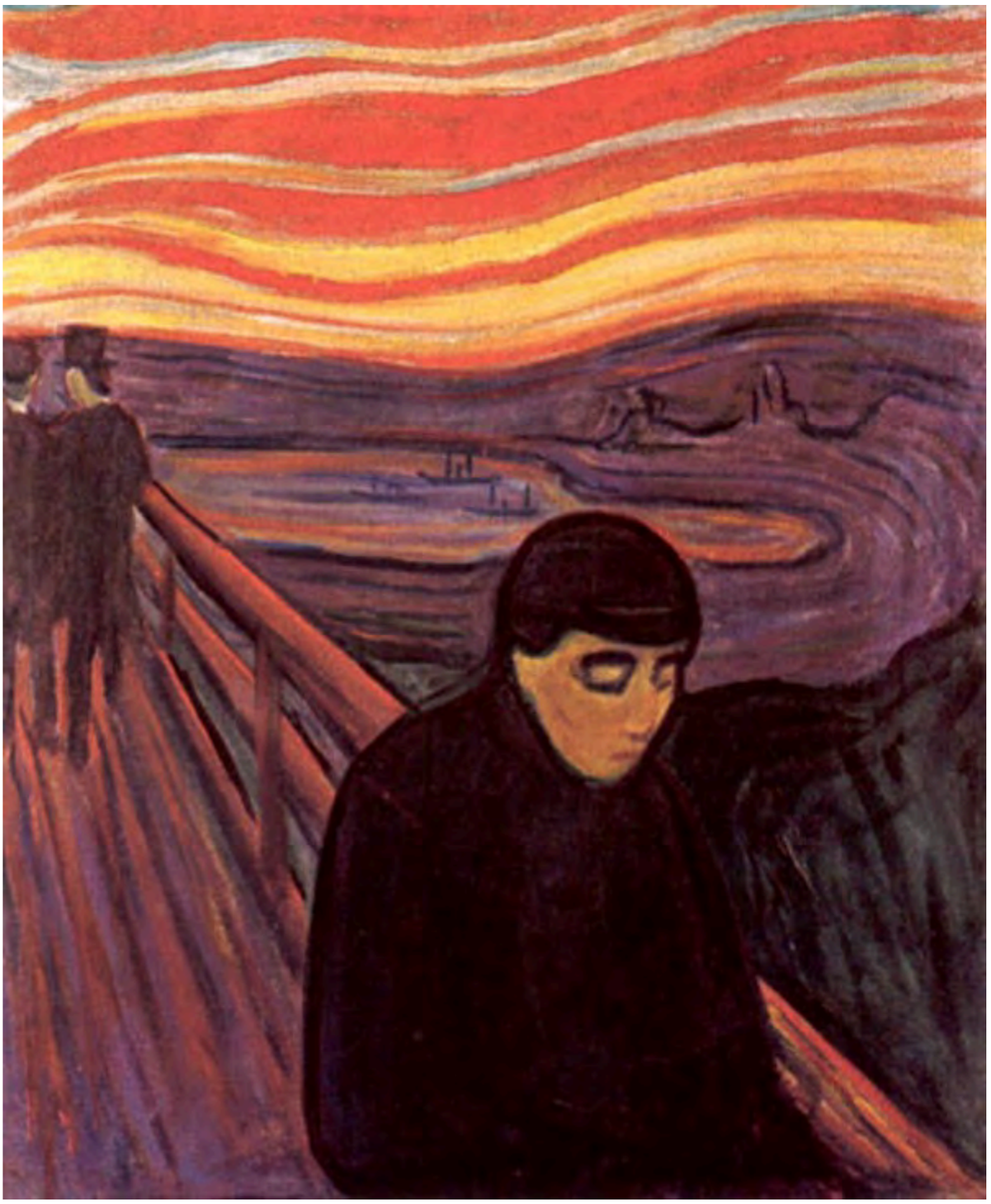


Edvard Munch, *Anxiety,* 1896. Lithograph. 41.4 x 39.1 cm. Museum of Modern Art, New York. View Source

Munch repeated the motif of *Anxiety* two years later as a print. The white features are even more visible in the woodcut because of the red-coloured paper backing. The inherent properties of the graphic technique, its linearity and limited use of colour emphasize the emotive forcefulness of the visual content.

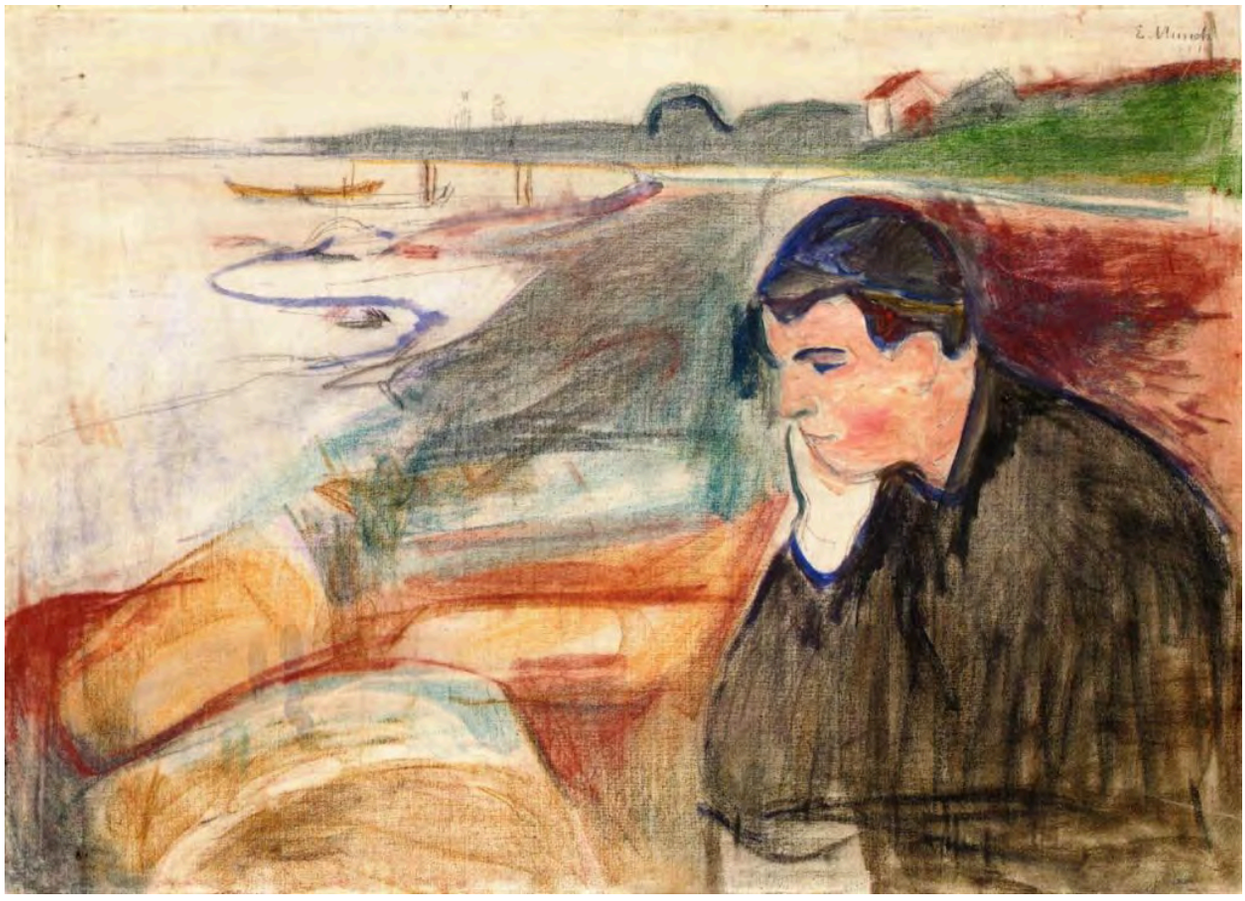


Edvard Munch, *Melancholy,* 1894. Oil on canvas. 72 x 98 cm. Private collection. View Source

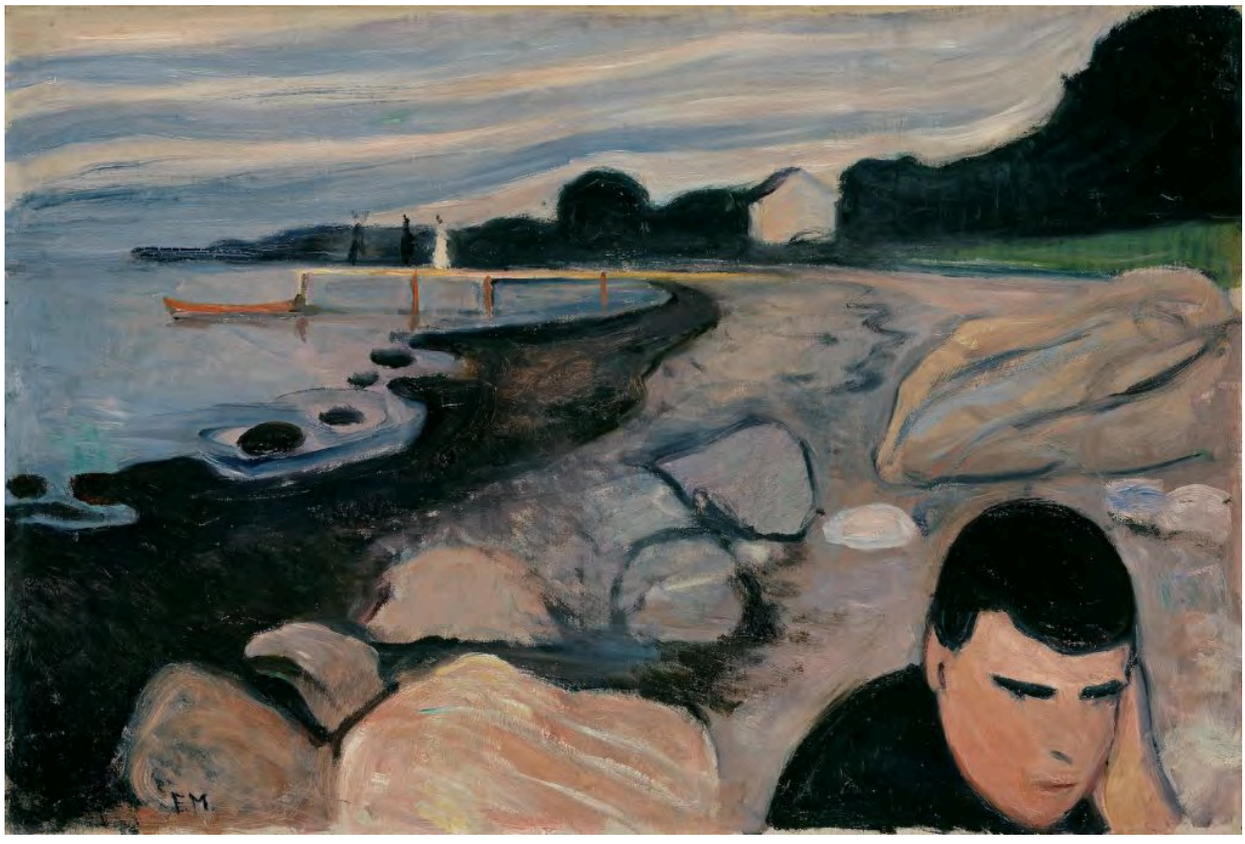


Edvard Munch, *Despair,* 1894. Oil on canvas. 92 x 72.5 cm. Munch Museum, Oslo. View Source

In *Melancholy* and *Despair,* the long, undulating shoreline recalls *The Scream* yet again, symbolizing loneliness and a sense of pervasive sadness. The painting was inspired by the unhappy romantic affair of Munch's friend, Jappe Nilssen, a Norwegian novelist and art historian well known for his numerous contributions as an art critic to the newspaper *Dagbladet*.



Edvard Munch, *Evening. Melancholy,* 1891. Oil, wax crayon and pencil on canvas. 73 x 101 cm. Munch Museum, Oslo. View Source



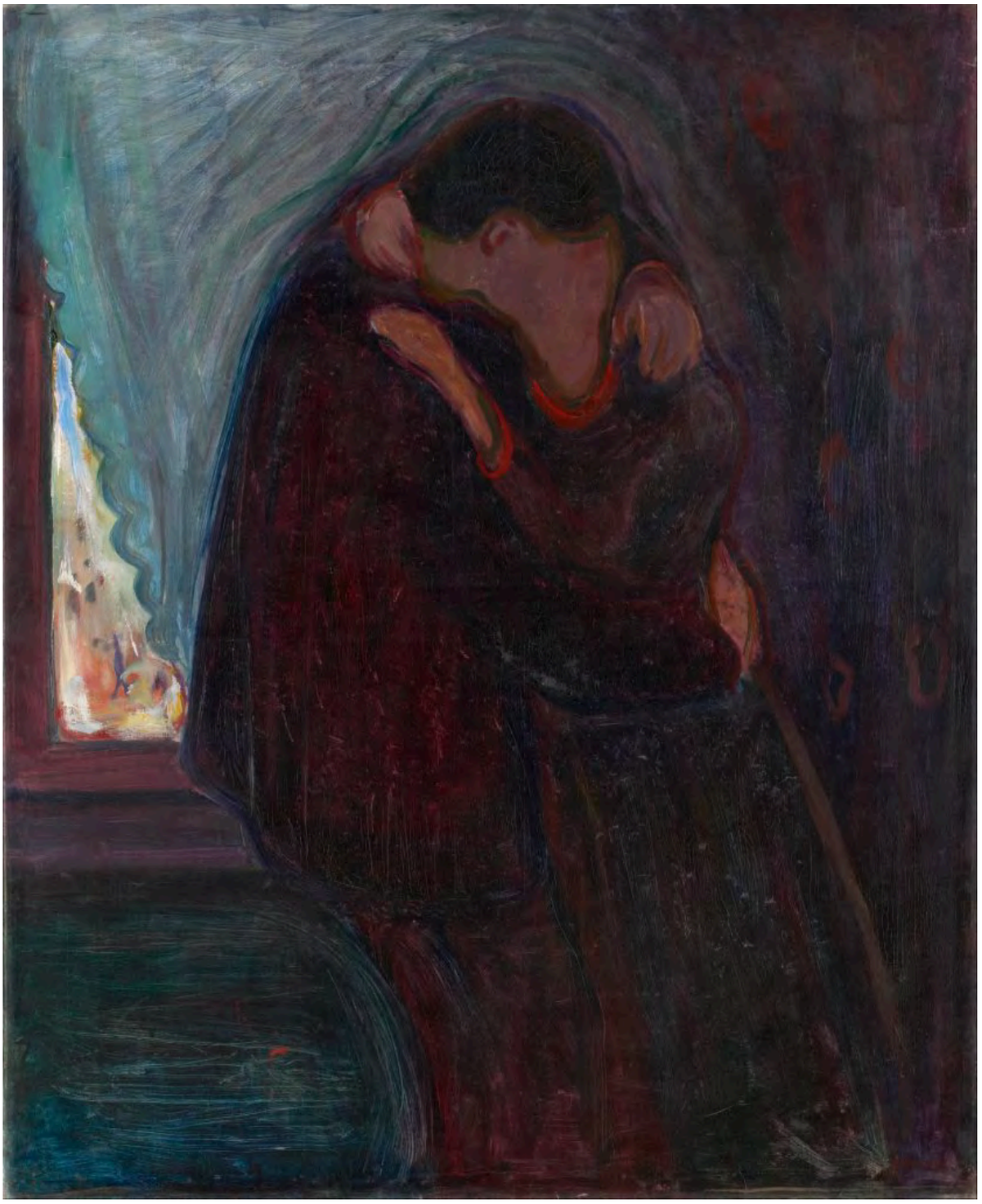
Edvard Munch, *Melancholy,* presumably 1892. Oil on canvas. 64 x 96 cm. National Museum of Art, Architecture and Design, Oslo. View Source

Here once again, Munich produced more than one version of the composition.



Edvard Munch, *Jealousy,* 1895. Oil on canvas. 67 x 100.5 cm. KODE Kunstmuseer og komponisthjem, Bergen.
View Source

Jealousy, a theme the artist returned to throughout his life, engages with the theme of Adam and Eve as it depicts his friend Przybyszewski, frozen and impotent, staring out at us as his wife, Dagny Juel, stands naked beneath a tree with another man. The Bohemian culture that advocated free love was also plagued by the undertow of jealousy.



Edvard Munch, *The Kiss,* 1897. Oil on canvas. 99 x 81 cm. Munch Museum, Oslo. View Source

In *The Kiss,* the faces of the anonymous lovers appear to bleed together, creating an amorphous, embryonic form. The united bodies are articulated minimally, in disjointed streaks of red, symbolizing the tortured pain of passion.

In November 1892, a retrospective of Munch's work was held at the Verein Berliner Künstler in Berlin. While it furthered his reputation internationally, the show also garnered hostility for its untraditional vocabulary and ugliness. The exhibition was closed in Berlin within less than a week, and several works were damaged.

The newspaper *Frankfurter Zeitung* mocked the exaggerated attention given to the whole episode: "And what is the ground for this fear-inspiring lamentation? An Impressionist and a mad one at that has broken into the herd of fine solidly bourgeois artists. An absolutely furious character."



Edvard Munch, *Munch in the Open Air Studio,* ca. 1927. Photograph. Munch Museum, Oslo. View Source

When a retrospective exhibition of Munch's paintings took place at the Museum of Modern Art in San Francisco in 2017, Lindsey Westbrook wrote this short piece entitled "An Icon of Emotion" (August 2017, https://www.sfmoma.org/read/icon-emotion-edvard-munch-san-francisco/)

> The show demonstrates the vast range of techniques Munch deployed over the course of his career. He labored over some pieces for months or years, even (notoriously) keeping them outside, uncovered, allowing them to accumulate water stains and bird droppings. He returned to many subjects again and again, either to satisfy a compulsion or because he was constantly creating his own themed groups of works, in a sense curating his own oeuvre.
> ...
> Munch was interested in rigorous figuration. When you look at his work, you see that he understands material power in the same way that an abstract painter does, but he's always working in the service of telling a story, creating a narrative structure or a figurative scene, that marries the language of making the painting with its thematics. Abstraction was never enough for him.
> If he's painting a scene about sickness, he's going to show you something about sickness—about emotional sorrow and physical breakdown—through the materiality of the paint.

Munch was an alcoholic and suffered from agoraphobia, among other ailments associated with the stresses of modern urban existence.
Anne Bowen McElroy writes in "Munch and Agoraphobia: His Art and His Illness." *RACAR: Revue d'art Canadienne / Canadian Art Review* 15, no. 1 (1988): 23–50):



Edvard Munch, *The Scream,* 1893. Oil, tempera and pastel on cardboard. 91 x 73.5 cm. National Gallery of Norway, Oslo. View Source

Munch was terrified of going mad. Consistent with his inscription "Can only have been painted by a madman," in the sky of *The Scream* (Version in Oslo, Nasjonalgalleriet, 1893), he wrote in 1905: "And for several years, I was almost mad— at that time the terrifying face of insanity reared up its twisted head. You know my picture *The Scream*. I was being stretched to the limit—nature was screaming in my blood — I was at breaking point."

For much of his life he worried about his inherited nervousness from his father's side of the family. Munch's father has been described as having suffered from religious melancholia and anxiety, and both his grandfather and sister died in asylums. Consistent with the discussion of the role

of childhood fears in either causing or predisposing one to the development of agoraphobia, Munch's family life was plagued with fear surrounding the death of his mother and sister and anxiety concerning the subsequent nervousness of his father.

Complicating Munch's agoraphobic condition was alcoholism. The artist's own account of his use of alcohol to gain relief from anxiety is similar to a cycle frequently described by agoraphobics: "I felt these frightening pains near my heart, I was frightened in the morning, felt dizzy when I got up. Quickly something to calm me. Rang for service, Port wine, a half bottle—that helped. Felt better. Then some coffee and a bit of bread. Renewed anxieties. On into the street, to the first restaurant, one drink, two drinks — that helped. Out into the street. Everything will be alright … I drank and drank yesterday like all days and went to bed in a stupor."

Munch's suffering as an agoraphobic had a powerful impact on the content, style, and subject matter of his art. He felt his illness was responsible for his ability to create and shunned any suggestion that he would be better rid of such pain. His famous *Frieze of Life* series (Oslo, Munch-Museet, 1892-1902) grew out of a deep commitment to representing inner truths and his impatience with what he considered to be trivia. At age 26, he wrote that "we should stop painting interiors with people reading and women knitting. We should paint people who breathe and feel and suffer and love." His aim was to create a visual representation of an inner, psychic state by painting the "confessions" of his own life.



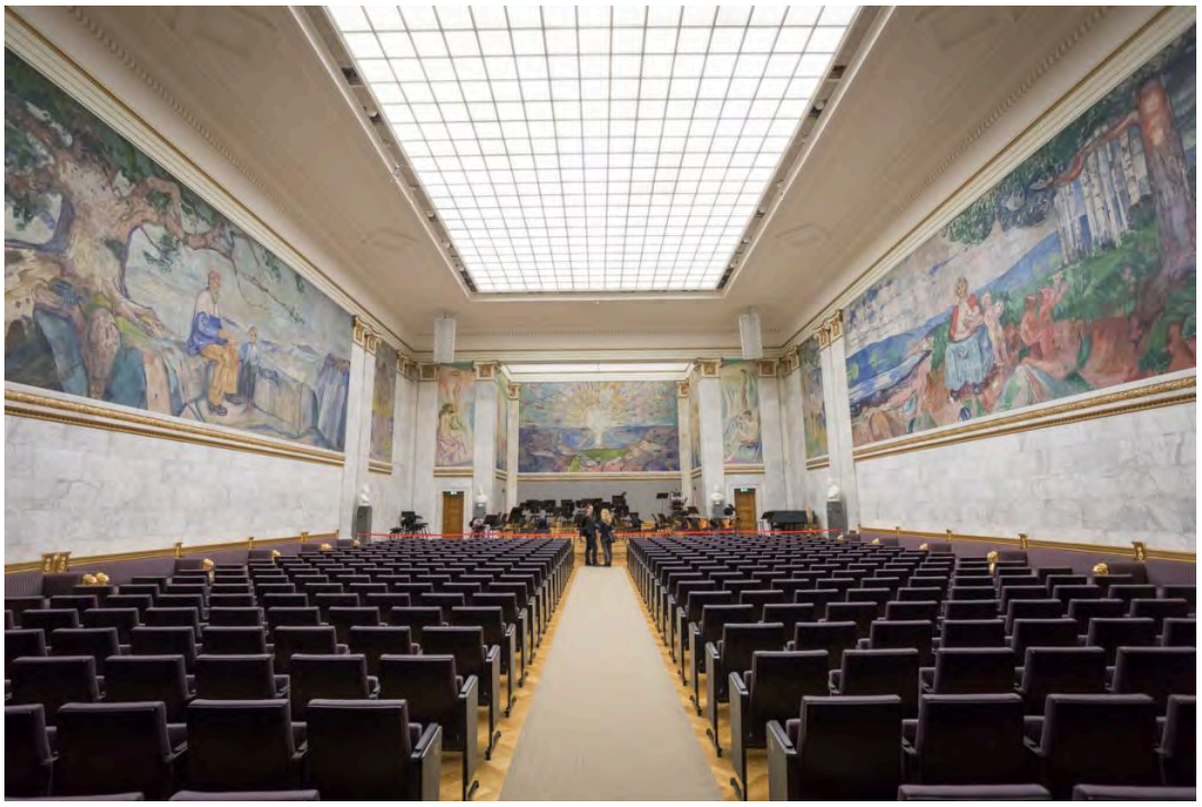
Edvard Munch, *Edvard Munch in the open-air studio at Ekely,* 1933. Photograph. View Source

McElroy concludes:

Following his breakdown and treatment at Dr. Jacobsen's clinic in 1909, Munch's motto became "steer clear of everything," a restrictive lifestyle common to agoraphobics. He bought a small house at Ekely, where he lived in virtual seclusion until his death in 1944. He built a curious outdoor studio with tall perimeter walls and no roof, leaving him and his work open to the heavens but protecting him from the visual threat of the open countryside.



Edvard Munch, *The Sun,* 1911. Oil on canvas. 455 x 780 cm. University of Oslo's Art collection, Oslo. View Source



The Aula at the University in Oslo. View Source

> From the depiction of personal sorrows in *the Frieze of Life series*, Munch shifted to the placid, eternal mood of the Oslo University, *Aula Décorations* (Oslo, 1909-12).

The works of Edward Munch cannot be thought of in the same terms as those of painters primarily concerned with the formal qualities of art. What was important to Munch was the expression of intense feeling in his art. Much of his source material consisted of his personal sufferings as a victim of panic attacks and agoraphobia. Our knowledge of his illness is not of mere anecdotal interest, nor does this knowledge detract from the overwhelming personal quality of his expression. On the contrary, this

knowledge provides us with a more sensitive appreciation of the images that structure his works. Munch was primarily a painter. He was also a man who suffered from a psychiatric disorder that altered his perception of his environment. His genius was his capacity to communicate the intensity of these perceptions to us, and startle us with their familiarity.

Ferdinand Hodler

8.16
| “Always a corpse in the house”: The Search for Constancy



Ferdinand Hodler, *Self-Portrait,* 1912. Oil on canvas. 38.4 x 29.5 cm. Kunstmuseum, Basel. View Source

Ferdinand Hodler, the eldest of six children, would be orphaned by the age of twelve. His father, a carpenter, died of tuberculosis on Christmas Eve, a few months after being forced into bankruptcy. His mother, Margareta Hodler, remarried soon after but died six years later after giving birth to three "In my family," Hodler later said, "there was a constant dying, and it seemed only right to me that there would always be a corpse in the house." These early experiences of loss and instability marked his psyche. Hodler experienced a psychological crisis in his late 20s, spurred, it seems, by a profound fear of death, and he almost joined the ministry. His search for permanence followed him through life, a quest for a sense of self that would counteract his fears of change and death. In time Hodler's obsession with disease and death evolved into a vocabulary of symbolic expressionism.



Barthélemey Menn, *Lakeside near Bellerive (Lac Léman),* ca. 1860. Oil on canvas. 47 x 18.5 cm. Museum zu Allerheiligen, Schaffhausen. View Source

Hodler began his formal study of art at the Geneva School of Design in 1872, where he studied with Barthélemey Menn, a Swiss painter and draughtsman. Menn led him through a rigorous curriculum focusing on historical masterpieces, the analysis of classical literature, Renaissance theory, and a working mastery of traditional techniques.

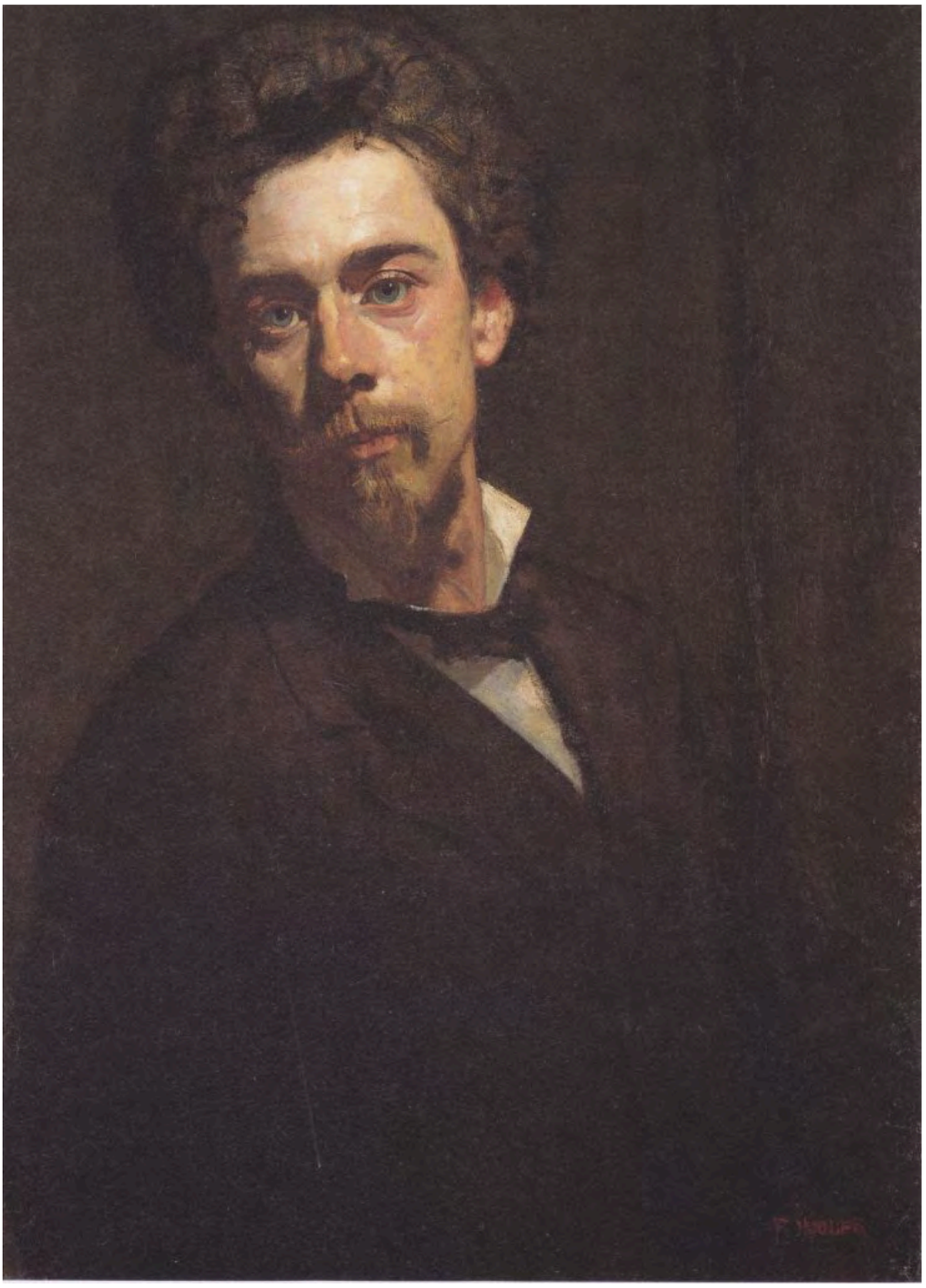


Ferdinand Hodler, *Landscape Near Madrid,* 1878. Oil on canvas. 71 × 50 cm. Private collection. View Source

His early works were mainly landscapes,



Ferdinand Hodler, *Watchmakers' Workshop in Madrid,* 1879. Oil on canvas. 81 × 94 cm. Kunstmuseum Luzern, Lucerne. View Source



Ferdinand Hodler, *Self-portrait with Wing Collar,* 1879. Oil on canvas. 72 × 102 cm. Museum Oskar Reinhart am Stadtgraben, Winterthur. View Source

a few genre paintings and portraits, such as this self-portrait, painted in a realist, traditional style.

Reinhold Heller writes in "Ferdinand Hodler: A Unique Note in the Birch Bartlett Collection" (*Art Institute of Chicago Museum Studies* 12 no. 2 (1986) The Helen Birch Bartlett Memorial Collection: 166-187).

> A student of J. A. D. Ingres's and a friend of Camille Corot's, Menn attempted to fuse the demands of his teacher's classicism with the concerns of Romantic naturalism in both his teaching and his

art. His teaching emphasized the consolidation of an established, universal theory with temporal observation; he advised his students to fuse Euclid's laws of geometry and Albrecht Durer's fundamentals of human proportion with a constant process of sketching from life. Hodler, searching for the stasis only a constant theory could provide, absorbed Menn's principles and transformed them into a personal list of essential rules which he committed to memory and later jokingly identified "Ten Commandments." Characteristically, these aphoristic "Ten Commandments," written while he was a student, remained stable principles that guided for life Hodler's practice of art. Through them and their reflection of Menn's authority, he could replace the shaky realms of existence with universal laws and inalterable processes. In changeability, he discovered permanence:

"The measure of all things visible is the eye. The painter must accustom himself to seeing nature in terms of a flat surface. In a sensitive and reflective manner, he must subdivide that segment of flat surface he wishes to represent into geometric planes, using the precision of mathematics as it is available to him. After he has subdivided his surface in this way, he should draw as precisely and sharply as possible the contour of his object. In and of itself, the contour constitutes an element of expression and beauty. It serves as the foundation of all further work, and consequently that it be precise and powerful is important."

Hodler maintained traditional working methods throughout his career, developing his paintings carefully, starting with preliminary sketches, theoretical notations and mock-up compositions. He turned to the actual canvas only once his preliminary studies were completed. Ironically, he often balanced this rigid working method with creative spontaneity, altering the painting as it progressed.

8.17
Symbolic Expressionism



Ferdinand Hodler, *The Night,* ca. 1889-90. Oil on canvas. 116.5 x 299 cm. Kuntsmuseum, Bern. View Source

In the mid-1880's, Hodler met poets, critics and journalists who were the admirers of the German musician Richard Wagner and the French symbolist poets Stéphane Mallarmé and Paul Verlaine. He became deeply involved with the Symbolist circle in Geneva. His art developed towards a style of realism coupled with idealism and symbolism. By 1884, he became a leading proponent of Symbolism, a movement that rejected the naturalism of external observation in favour of emotion and aesthetic artifice.

The Night displays Hodler's embrace of Symbolist motifs, as it introduces a series of paintings dealing with fundamental questions of existence: life and death, faith and despair. It depicts four young men and three young women asleep outdoors and naked save for the black blankets that cover them. Hodler portrays himself as the figure in the centre who has awakened, horrified to discover death upon him.

Originally the painting was framed with a verse written by 18th-century poet Charles Francois Panard: "More than one who has gone to sleep tranquilly in the evening will not awaken the next morning." Heller continues:

> Hodler's process of transforming Naturalism into Symbolism culminated in 1890 in *Night*, in which the evocatively draped black form of the phantom of death crouches on the naked body of a terrified man who reclines in an ethereally illuminated landscape in the center of a group of peacefully sleeping women and men. Created at a time when Hodler was plagued by fears of his own death, following that of his sister, the painting must have functioned to fix and allay those anxieties. The central male figure even bears Hodler's own features, but in accordance with Symbolism's demands for the mystical, the full significance of the painting defies clarification in its mixture of the traditional and personal, the naturalistic and the abstracted.
> Hodler later pointed out that painting was not a traditional *memento mori* but an expression of his own obsessions. He described *Night* in notes for his art critic-friend Louis Duchosal:
>
> > Up to now, my most important painting, in which I reveal myself in a new light, is *Night*. Its appearance is dramatic. It is not one night, but a combination of night impressions. The ghost of death is there not to suggest that many men are surprised by death in the middle of the night, as the *Cologne Gazette* has claimed, but it is there as a most intense phenomenon of the night. The coloring is symbolic: these sleeping beings are draped in black; the lighting is similar to an evening effect after sunset, showing the approach of night, but the effect is completed by those black drapes which partially cover the figures everywhere; they are the low, muffled notes of an austere harmony, which is merely a transcription of the effects of night. But the most striking feature is the ghost of death and the way – both harmonious and sinister – in which this ghost is represented, hinting at the unknown, the invisible. *Night* is what I claim to be my first work; it is mine by its conception and setting. At the Champ-de-Mars [exhibition] it was the most original picture. (Ferdinand Hodler, "My Present Tendencies," translated and excerpted in Peter Selz, *Ferdinand Hodler* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1972), 115-16)

The painting reflects Hodler's ongoing feelings of doom at the time, compounded by an unhappy personal life. Although content in a relationship with Augustine Dupin, the woman pictured in the foreground at left, he had recently married Bertha Stucki, the model for the figure on the right. This marriage occurred in 1889 and did not last. That same year Bertha filed for divorce, and he returned to Augustine. In 1890, when the painting was underway, Hodler was literally as well as figuratively caught between two women.

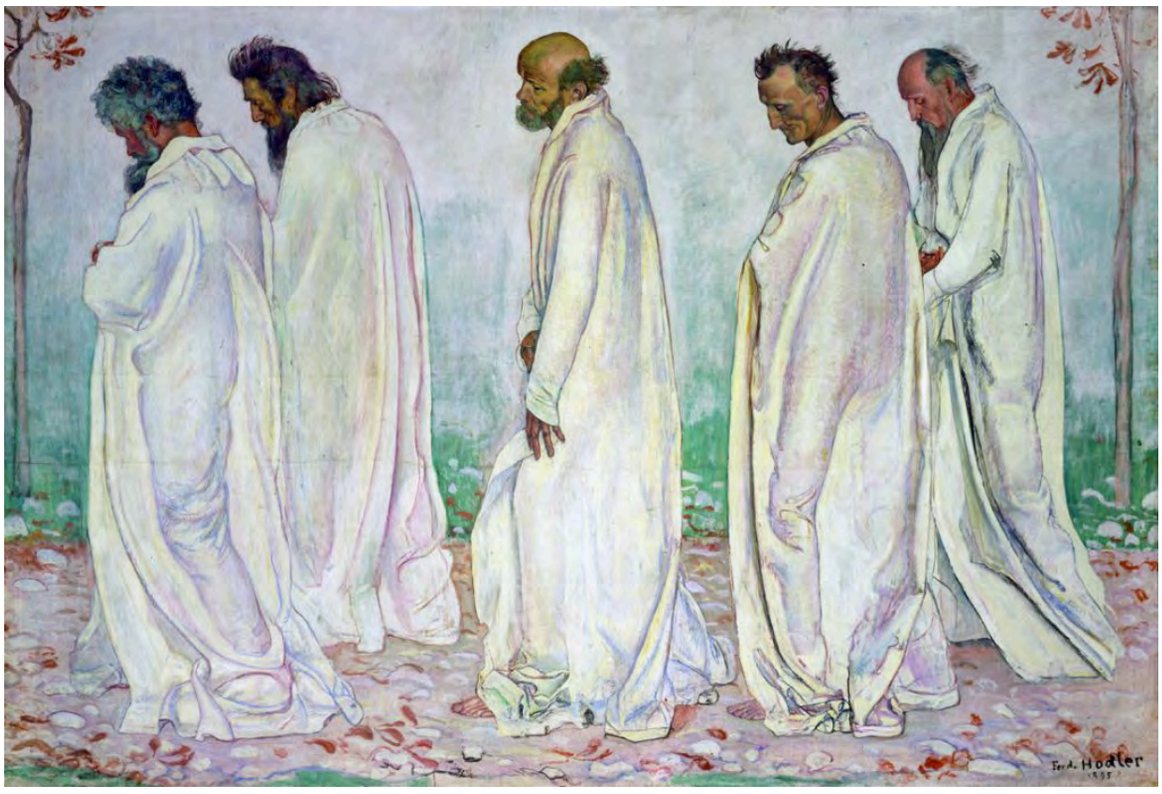
The true impact of the painting may be derived from autobiographical references. The phantom figure represented more than a self-induced nightmare, conceived as a mental haunting. It signified the Doppelganger, or darker side of the artist's imagination, come to light before his eyes. In German folklore, a Doppelganger is the double apparition of a living person, a symbol of horror, and possibly a sign that one's death is imminent. *The Night* evokes a sense of timeless trauma in its abstractedness and repeating compositional scheme. When it was first exhibited in the Geneva municipal exhibition of 1891, the council had the work removed before the public opening due to its "lewd and immoral implications." It was subsequently accepted at the Champs de Mars exhibition, where while admittedly "aggressive" and "provocative," it was not considered offensive. When it was submitted to the Paris Salon, the painting was praised by Puvis de Chavannes and the sculptor Auguste Rodin. It was also exhibited at the Exposition Universelle in Paris in 1900, again to great acclaim.

8.18
| Disillusion and Psychic Despair

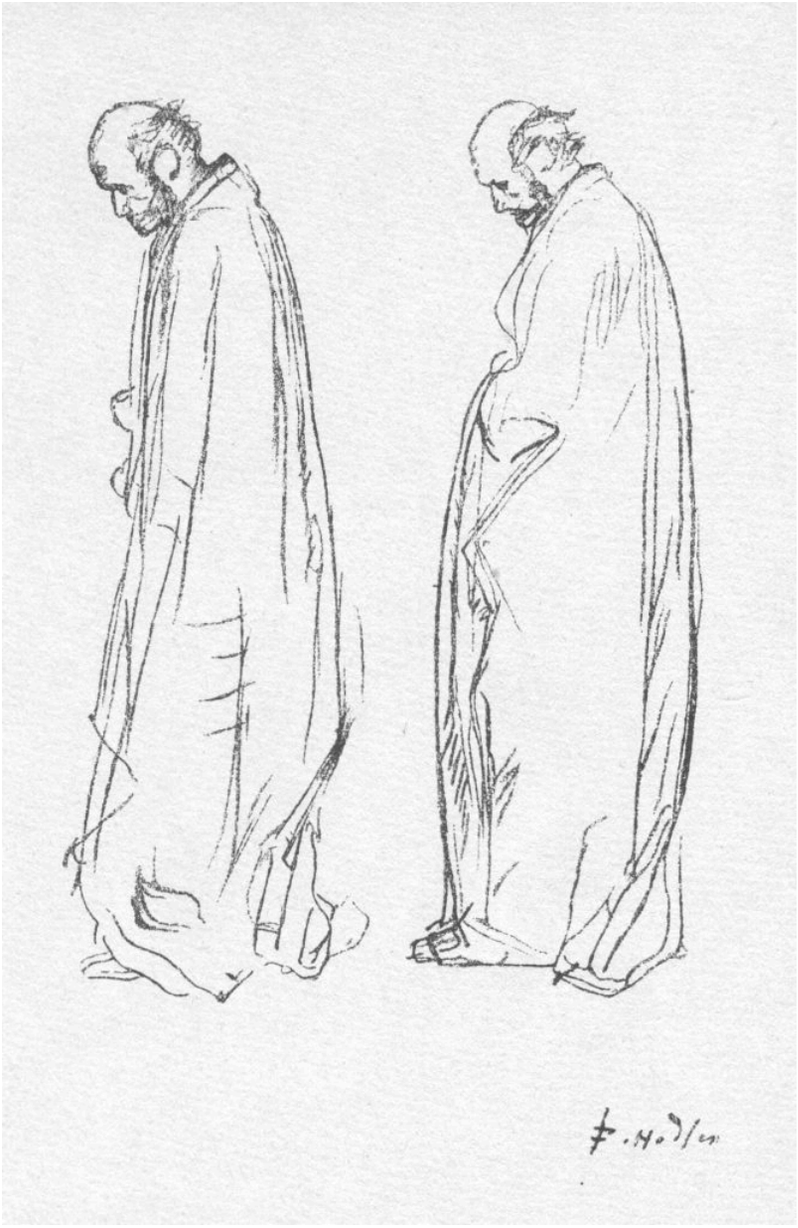


Ferdinand Hodler, *The Disillusioned One*, 1892. Oil on canvas. 56.2 x 45.1 cm. Los Angeles County Art Museum, Los Angeles. View Source

In *The Disillusioned One*, Hodler engages with themes of ageing and hopelessness. The solitary figure conveys the depths of psychic despair. His hunched posture, bowed head, and clenched hands held close to the body are evocative of aloneness and desolation.



Ferdinand Hodler, *Eurythmy,* 1895. Oil on canvas. Kunstmuseum, Bern. View Source



Ferdinand Hodler, *Eurythmie,* 1895. View Source

In *Eurythmie,* the solitary figures are without narrative or biographical content. The overall result is silent and despairing, suggesting a meaningless destiny. Dressed in white monastic robes and placed in a setting without definition, they are anonymous. Yet still, a sense of dignity is present in this work inspired by the artist's empathic relationship with the men who worked as his models. The artist concentrates on the human figures' expressive potential in all these compositions. His reverential interest in images of elderly men, such as the one in this composition, led him to use some of the eighty-year-olds who frequented the café near his Geneva home as sitters. "I knew them all personally, not merely superficially. I was the confidante of their tragic situations; they confessed to me and I listened to them while they sat for me. All of them expected more of life and had given up on themselves and the world … Hopeless submission to an unpreventable, disconsolate fate characterized them all and this identity of feelings also showed itself in their conduct and appearance. That stimulated me and for that reason I painted them."

Richard Thomson discusses *Eurythmy* within the context of the Hodler exhibition in Paris in 2008. ("Hodler, Paris," 150 no. 1259 *Burlington Magazine* (February 2008): 126-127)

> *Eurythmy* is a group of aging men processing along a stony path in white robes. Both *Eurythmy*'s loosely symmetrical composition and its linkage of age and autumn articulate the emergence of Hodler's theory of parallelism: the eternal interlocking cycles of natural

and human existence around which our lives are played. But this is no dry theoretical art. Hodler was a painter, and *Eurythmy* gets its edge from the counterintuitive direction of the resigned figures and the loose marks of his surfaces, for the mature Hodler never let the viewer doubt his active role in the crafting of his powerful synthetic vision.

8.19
| Hodler's Parallelism



Ferdinand Hodler, *The Day,* ca. 1904-06. 163 x 356 cm. Kunsthaus, Zurich. View Source

In *The Day*, painted a decade after *The Night*, the malignant dark forces of the night world seem banished by the influx of bright light. The figures act as the opposite of *Night*. Hodler perceived his emotional traumas as universally expressive of passion, transforming his innermost feelings into monumental, public statements. Existential questions were often conveyed through the occurrences of nature. He developed an ideology of Parallelism, a concept of art and philosophy based on the premise that an underlying order binds nature and humanity, "a world law of universal validity."

Robert Pincus-Witten explains in "Ferdinand Hodler: Expressionism Versus Symbolism" (*Artforum* 11 (March 1973): 530-560):

> Polarized coordinates are typical of Hodler. *The Night*, which opens the symbolic phase so brilliantly, cannot really be said to be completed until the painting of the final version of *The Day*, 1905 .... *The Night*, with its many homo-erotic clues (an important, neglected aspect of Hodler's entire Symbolic phase, although there is no question concerning the artist's personal heterosexual orientation), is balanced by the focus on female sexuality implicit in *The Day*. *The Night*'s concern with death is countered by *The Day*'s focus on life. The symmetry of *The Day*, balanced parenthetical curves surrounding a central vertical figure, is vaginally implicit. The center of the composition is marked by drapery covered

female genitalia. Similarly, the figure of death slouches upon the male genitalia in the center of *The Night*. *The Day* can be understood to concern birth as *The Night* symbolized death. These theatricalized compositions illustrate the duality of birth and death—in short the unity of existence.

Parallelism was Hodler's Symbolist signature. A principle of formal composition, in Hodler's hands, the neoclassical elements of balance and symmetry suggested artifice and the surreal, the latter augmented by the addition of mystical overtones. Parallelism extended beyond the pictorial; it was a visualization of a philosophical idea, "relying on the premise that nature has an order, based on repetition" and that all men were equal.



Ferdinand Hodler, *The Grand Muveran,* ca. 1912. Oil on canvas. 70.5 x 94 cm. Art Institute of Chicago. View Source

The landscapes Hodler produced were equally inspirational and relevant to his conceptual pursuits. He described that nature as "an impression of melancholy grandeur" which "...overcomes us when we find ourselves on a mountain top in the Alps. All the numerous mountain peaks surrounding us give rise to that feeling of attraction that results from the repetition of similar forms... When I look up to the vast expanse of the cloudless sky, then this great undivided flatness, this great unity inspires a sense of wonder in me... Every molecule of air is identical in appearance to the other, [they are] parallel, and the sum of these individual effects is determined by the great, clear overpowering unity."

In the end, Hodler's oeuvre, inspired by spiritual crises and despair, was a quest to express the symmetry and harmony at the core of human existence while evoking a spirituality symbolic of escape from the afflictions of modern life. "Uniformity, as well as diversity, exists within human beings. We are different from each other, but we are even more alike. What unites us is greater and stronger than what divides us."

This search for universality unites with the quest for psychic authenticity in the practice of artists of the early modern era discussed in this chapter. Goya, Van Gogh, Ensor, Munch and Hodler laid bare the deep, dark dimensions of emotional experience, and did so through a visual language that was unencumbered by stylistic convention, and intensely resonant. Their art spoke to commonality as much as strangeness and helped foster an expanded view of madness, one which acknowledged its place as a potent part of the human condition.

Chapter Nine

BLACK SLAVERY, RACISM, & Modernity



Henry Ossawa Tanner, *The Thankful Poor,* 1894. Oil on canvas. 90.1 cm x 112.4 cm. Private collection. View Source

CONTENTS

Introduction

9.1

Théodore Géricault, Romanticism and the Radical Representation of Race

9.2

The Atlantic Slave Trade: Records and Reverberations

9.3

Abolition and Aesthetics in Britain: J.M.W. Turner's *Slave Ship*

9.4

Picturing Enslavement: Genre, Race and Stereotype in Antebellum America

9.5

Civil War

9.6

Emancipation, Black Civil Rights and Social Reform

9.7

Winslow Homer: Bearing Witness

9.8

Reconstruction and the Remaking of Identity

9.9

Tools for Freedom

9.10

Nature as Metaphor

9.11

Frederick Douglass's "Pictures and Progress": Reclaiming Race

9.12

Edmonia Lewis and Henry Ossawa Tanner: Breaking Free

INTRODUCTION

An understanding of nineteenth-century modernity is incomplete without a consideration of the complex legacy of racialized slavery. Beyond its economic and political impact and the horrific human toll on millions of people of African descent, the history of Atlantic slavery advanced a Eurocentric worldview which asserted Western supremacy and legitimized the identity construction of the 'other.'

This chapter will look at how representations of race were conceived, received and confronted in the Western imagination. How did artists picture a negated humanity born of bondage? Beginning with the European Romanticist artists, Théodore Géricault and J.M.W. Turner, and moving through to late-nineteenth American art, we will examine the underpinnings of conceptualizing race as momentous events were shaping modern history. In the context of race, these themes extend to narratives related to slavery, colonialism, and the struggles of marginalized communities.

When Édouard Manet was painting his infamous Olympia in 1863, and Paris was embracing modern life, modernity in the United States was mired in the changes of a nation's fractured identity. America's expansive agenda, its manifest destiny, was deeply entwined with slavery. The clash over slavery divided the country and led to the cataclysmic events of the Civil War in 1861, and the Reconstruction era, fraught with stereotypical slander, which followed.

American artists were severely challenged by the impact and aftermath of the war and the profound social changes they witnessed. Some turned to genre images of the every day, ambiguous and open-ended, to

comment on the changing relationships between blacks and whites. Winslow Homer and Eastman Johnson produced works that reflected America's complex, changing attitudes toward black citizens in psychologically nuanced works that considered the inner experience of African Americans. Others adopted the metaphorical potential of the natural world, presenting the transformations of a nation in flux through the pictorial investigation of landscape phenomena.

The contributions of nineteenth-century African American artists Edmonia Lewis and Henry Ossawa Tanner will close the chapter. The obstacles of racial and gender bias compelled both artists to pursue their acclaimed professional careers internationally, Tanner living in Paris, while Lewis worked in Italy, where she produced the iconic sculpture *Forever Free*.

9.1
| Théodore Géricault, Romanticism and the Radical Representation of Race

In the early nineteenth century, as the Napoleonic Empire collapsed, European allies comprising Britain, Prussia, Russia, Austria, and later France, convened the Congress of Vienna (1814-15) to reorganize Europe and re-establish conservative order across the continent. France was returned to its original borders of 1789 but reclaimed the West African colony of Senegal from the British. The international abolition of the slave trade was also on the table in Vienna, initiated by British anti-slavery campaigners who feared that with peace, French slave traders would resume their trafficking of enslaved Africans.



Théodore Géricault, *The Raft of the Medusa,* 1819. Oil on canvas. 491 x 716 cm. Musée du Louvre, Paris. View Source

Their fears were not unfounded. The restored Bourbon government commanded an expedition to recover the Senegal colony, an important symbol of French colonial ambitions in West Africa, and install its own administration, as well as restore a now covert slave trade. A convoy of ships set off from France on July 17,

1816. Over four hundred people were on board the flagship Medusa, among them the new governor of Senegal, settlers, an army regiment, and a group of government officials. Also aboard were abolitionists whose mission was to develop a cooperative agricultural industry between the Senegalese and the colonists, a venture through which they hoped to eliminate the practice of enslaved labour.

At the ship's helm was Hugues Duroy de Chaumareys, a minor aristocrat with little naval experience who had been given the post as a reward for his allegiance to the monarchy. When he failed to assess navigational soundings adequately, the ship ran aground on the Arguin Bank off the African shore. What followed was a narrative of horrific human proportions. Only 15 of the 150 people aboard the raft were rescued by the *Argus,* and only ten ultimately survived to recount the horrors of cannibalism and murder. The event was monumentalized by the Romantic painter Théodore Géricault in his iconic *Raft of the Medusa exhibited* at the Paris Salon under the title *Scène de Naufrage* (Shipwreck Scene).

Claire Black McCoy's essay, "Géricault, *Raft of the Medusa,*" provides more fully the historical context (Khan Academy, https://www.khanacademy.org/humanities/becoming-modern/romanticism/romanticism-in-france/a/Géricault-raft-of-the-medusa):

> There had never been a painting like *Raft of the Medusa*. It was on the grand scale of French history painting (think, for example, of Jacques Louis David's *Oath of the Horatii*) but instead of ideal forms and a moralizing story from history, Géricault offered the Salon audience a thoroughly modern, Romantic depiction of death and suffering based on a contemporary event that was in the news. To create his painting, Géricault investigated everything about the story of the raft and talked with many of the survivors. He then brought all of the research together to create a radical painting that responded to the conservative tradition of history paintings.

Géricault first learned about the disaster in the Paris newspapers. Then two of the survivors, the ship's surgeon, Henri Savigny, and the engineer, Alexandre Corréard, published accounts of their experiences on the raft. Géricault interviewed them both and worked with other survivors as well. The painter went to the French coast to study the movement of ships on the water. He examined images of the raft's design and the *Medusa*'s carpenter, who had built the raft, gave Géricault a miniature copy of it. Géricault began drawing the bodies of the living and the dead, then working out the scene in watercolour and oil sketches trying to figure out what to show the viewers and just how to do it. The process required over 100 studies that moved through each episode of the story.

In *Raft of the Medusa*, Géricault chose to represent the dramatic moment of hope when the distant ship *Argus* was first sighted. That he articulated it through the image of a black man at the apex of the composition is significant. Poised at the top of the painting, the sailor waves a red rag at the distant, passing ship. Beneath him on the makeshift raft is a pyramidal composition of living bodies and corpses.

The political impact of the work cannot be underestimated. The tragedy of the Medusa had become a full-blown scandal, calling into question the politics of France's Restoration government. And although slavery was only superficially discussed in connection with Géricault's painting, it was fundamental to its intended meaning.

The commander's trial had become the trial of the monarchy, rallying the liberal opposition. Géricault's placement of a black figure at the top of his pyramidal composition, instead of at its base, was symbolically charged.

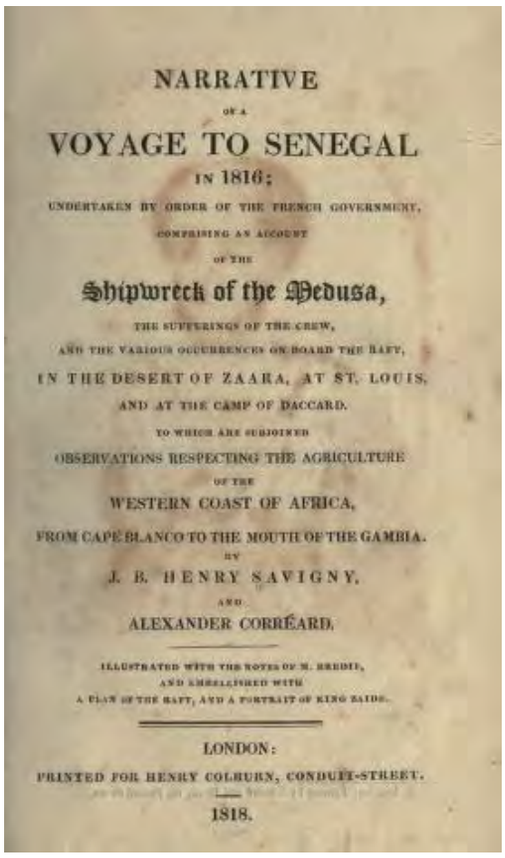
Klaus Berger and Diane Chalmers Johnson in "Art as Confrontation: The Black Man in the Work of Géricault" (*The Massachusetts Review* 10, no. 2 (1969): 301–40) connect the black man in the *Raft of the Medusa* with other depictions of blacks by Géricault.

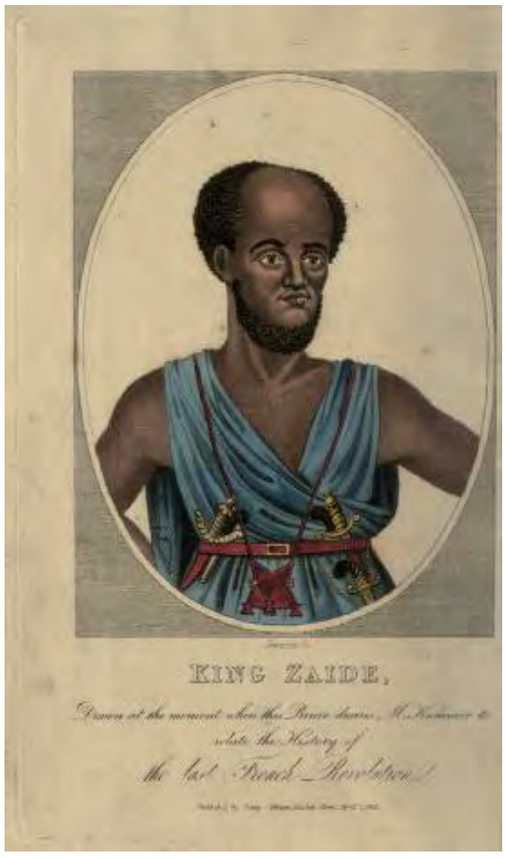
> Géricault realized also that through the black man his art could deal with the concepts of modern society in a concrete way, and that such an art could then become a means of social and political confrontation. For Géricault, born in a time when *Liberté, Egalité, Fraternité* were legally established as the goals of society, the discrepancy between these high-minded ideals and the terrible realities of slavery was too obvious. He was determined to bring the people and the Establishment of his country face to face with their hypocrisy.



Théodore Géricault, *Boxers,* 1818. Lithograph. 35.4 x 41.9 cm (image). Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York. View Source

> His interest in prints led him, indirectly, to an important awareness. In 1818 he made a lithograph of a *Prize Fight* [*Boxers*].... In this irrelevant piece of pictorial cartoon Géricault hit upon an answer to his urgent questions: How can an artist deal pictorially with abstract concepts such as Freedom, the Rights of Man, the Equality of All Men? How was a painter to make known his passionate political convictions without resorting to the cartoon? How could he, Géricault, use the monumental artistic traditions of the past to deal explicitly with the complex of appalling social problems in the life about him? A glance at this English boxing print gave him an answer: the Negro.
>
> ...
>
> In his own version of the *Prize Fight* Géricault did not depict merely the specific match between a Black named Molineaux and an Englishman named Crib; he created a visual embodiment of the whole problem of Black versus White. ...There is no hint here of winner or loser. The two men are represented as completely equal in physical strength and courage and are placed in equally dominant positions in the composition.





B. Henry Savigny, and Alexander Corréard, *Narrative of a Voyage to Senegal in 1816; Undertaken by Order of the French Government, Comprising an Account of the Shipwreck of the Medusa, the Sufferings of the Crew, and the Various Occurrences on Board the Raft, in the Desert of Zaara, at St. Louis, and At the Camp of Daccard. To Which are Subjoined Observations Respecting the Agriculture of the Western Coast of Africa, From Cape Blanco to the Mouth of the Gambia* (London: Printed for Henry Colburn, 1818).View Source

Géricault's interest in the Medusa was inspired in part by *Narrative of a Voyage to Senegal in 1816* a book written by J. B. Henry Savigny and Alexander Corréard. The publication's impact was significant; it was translated into English and French and reprinted in multiple editions.

Géricault recognized the story's importance beyond its tragic narrative. He was interested in the fact that French nationals wishing to escape the despotism of the French Restoration government were also aboard the *Medusa*, their mission to resume the administration of the French by living cooperatively among the Senegalese. The book describes the controversy of their stance:

> Their attitude towards the Negro was "enlightened," that is, they believed Negroes "should be prepared for their new condition [emancipation] as well by instruction as by the progressive amelioration of their situation." The captain of the *Medusa*, on the other hand, was an incompetent, elderly and reactionary emigre, who owed his appointment to government patronage. Was it possible that this captain had set the raft adrift purposely in order to assure his own safety? Certainly he would have thought of many of these men leaving France as deserters, even traitors. Whatever the truth of the story, evidently Géricault saw far more in this contemporary catastrophe than a merely sensational, gruesome happening. He saw in it a chance to attack the Bourbon monarchy, and he took it.

Géricault was twenty-seven when he began to work on the immense painting. He was politically astute and fully aware that the size of the work would restrict it to museum display, thus bringing it directly to the public's attention. He isolated himself in his large studio throughout the spring and summer of 1818, completing

the work by August, in time for the opening of the Salon on August 25, 1819. Berger and Chalmers recount the contrary reactions it elicited:

> As one writer has put it, "Géricault's success rested not only on his artistic qualities. If he wanted to provoke a political scandal, he calculated only too well. The government would not allow the name *Medusa* in the catalogue, and substituted the harmless title, *Shipwreck Scene*. The public quickly restored the right name, and political sympathies were given free reign. Some congratulated Géricault on his courageous attitude as a citizen, others blamed him severely for his choice of subject. Whoever let the Medusa stir him to sympathy, indirectly brought the government of Louis XVIII into disrepute." Géricault himself recognized that the criticisms leveled against his painting were largely dependent upon the political stance of the particular critic: "This year our journalists have reached the pinnacle of the ridiculous. Every picture is judged first on the spirit in which it is painted. So you will hear a liberal writer praising the patriotic brush-stroke or the nationalist color of a certain work. The same work, judged by a reactionary, is not only a revolutionary composition dominated by a generally seditious tone, but also one in which the faces are filled with an expression of hatred for our paternal government. Finally, I have been accused by a certain White Banner of having libelled the entire Navy Department in one 'character' head."
>
> In spite of the many criticisms made of the *Raft of the Medusa*, one imagines that secretly Géricault must have been pleased at the tremendous public reaction to the political and social indictments of the painting's theme. Not only is the Navy indeed accused of incompetence by the tragedy itself; the entire government, as well as the public, is forced to accept the work or be accused of discrimination, for there at the climax of the scene, the one man strong enough to attract salvation for the rest, is the Negro. Géricault forced a confrontation through this painting, a confrontation of the people of France with the depiction of a black man as not only an equal, but perhaps a superior being.



Théodore Géricault, *A Young Negro Woman,* ca. 1810. Oil on canvas. 40 x 31 cm. Musée Bonnat-Helleu, Bayonne. View Source

Through numerous oil sketches, such as *Negro Woman*



Théodore Géricault, *Head of a Black Man,* ca. 1818-19. Black chalk. 24.8 x 17.5 cm. Morgan Library & Museum, New York. View Source

and several studies of Negro heads, as well as in chalk drawings, Géricault goes beyond generalizations to recognize the beauty and delineate the unique variations of these personalities. The schematic profile of the Negro boxer is quickly superseded by portrait-like, illusionistic presentations.



Théodore Géricault, *The Raft of the Medusa,* 1819. Oil on canvas. 491 x 716 cm. Musée du Louvre, Paris. View Source

This individualistic representation of the black man is carried into the final painting of the *Raft of the Medusa*, especially in the figure to the right of the mast.



Detail of Théodore Géricault, *The Raft of the Medusa,* 1819. Oil on canvas. 491 x 716 cm. Musée du Louvre, Paris. View Source

> This black man, though individual in physique, has his face turned from us towards the distant ship, the source of his deliverance from the misery of the raft. The man remains anonymous, a symbol of all black men urgently seeking liberation. Through this fusion of the factual account of the event with the grand composition and heroic gestures of traditional classical art, Géricault monumentalizes the incident and the men of this modern tragedy.
>
> ...
>
> One of the last and unexecuted projects planned by Géricault was a monumental painting, or series of paintings, depicting the moral and physical horrors of slavery. The abolition of slavery, for which Géricault appeals here, was first achieved in England. During the artist's visit in 1820-21, the English abolitionists had already begun organizing an Anti-Slavery Society, which by 1823 was publishing periodicals on the appalling conditions of the slaves. England finally abolished slavery in 1833, while France, moving more slowly, granted the Negro freedom in 1848.



Théodore Géricault, *The Slave Market,* ca. 1823. Pen and red chalk. École des Beaux-Arts, Paris. Reproduced in Klaus Berger, and Diane Chalmers Johnson, "Art as Confrontation: The Black Man in the Work of Géricault." View Source

Senegal continued to be a notorious clearing point for slave traffic. The demand for slaves in the West Indies and the southern United States made clandestine traffic worth any risk, and the profits involved incited large-scale bribery.

Géricault's *The Slave Market* portrays a captive black man, hands bound behind his back and neck encased in an iron collar, about to be brutally beaten by a slaver. A black woman struggles to defend him from the flogging. The cruelty depicted extends beyond the aggression. The image speaks of the separation of husbands, wives, and children, a strategy designed to break the human spirit of enslaved families. Géricault's image succinctly contrasts the inhumanity of the slavers with the powerlessness of their captives. To abolitionists, scenes such as this confirmed the devolution of slave traders into sadistic monsters who had lost their moral compass. Berger and Chalmers:

> In his conception of the slavery paintings, Géricault drew on earlier tendencies. Like the *Raft of the Medusa*, these were to be huge works in the grand tradition of Western painting, meant to confront the viewer with the horrible realities of slavery. The more complete drawing deals with the cruelties of the *Slave Mark*et,



Théodore Géricault, *The Slave Trade,* 1823. Pen. 10.5 x 13.3 cm. Musée Bonnat-Helleu, Bayonne. Reproduced in Klaus Berger, and Diane Chalmers Johnson. "Art as Confrontation: The Black Man in the Work of Géricault." View Source

the other with the lonely despair of women and children separated from their husbands and fathers, doomed regardless of age or sex to inhuman treatment and early death. Surely Géricault had scenes such as these etched in his imagination by the publications of the abolitionists...

...

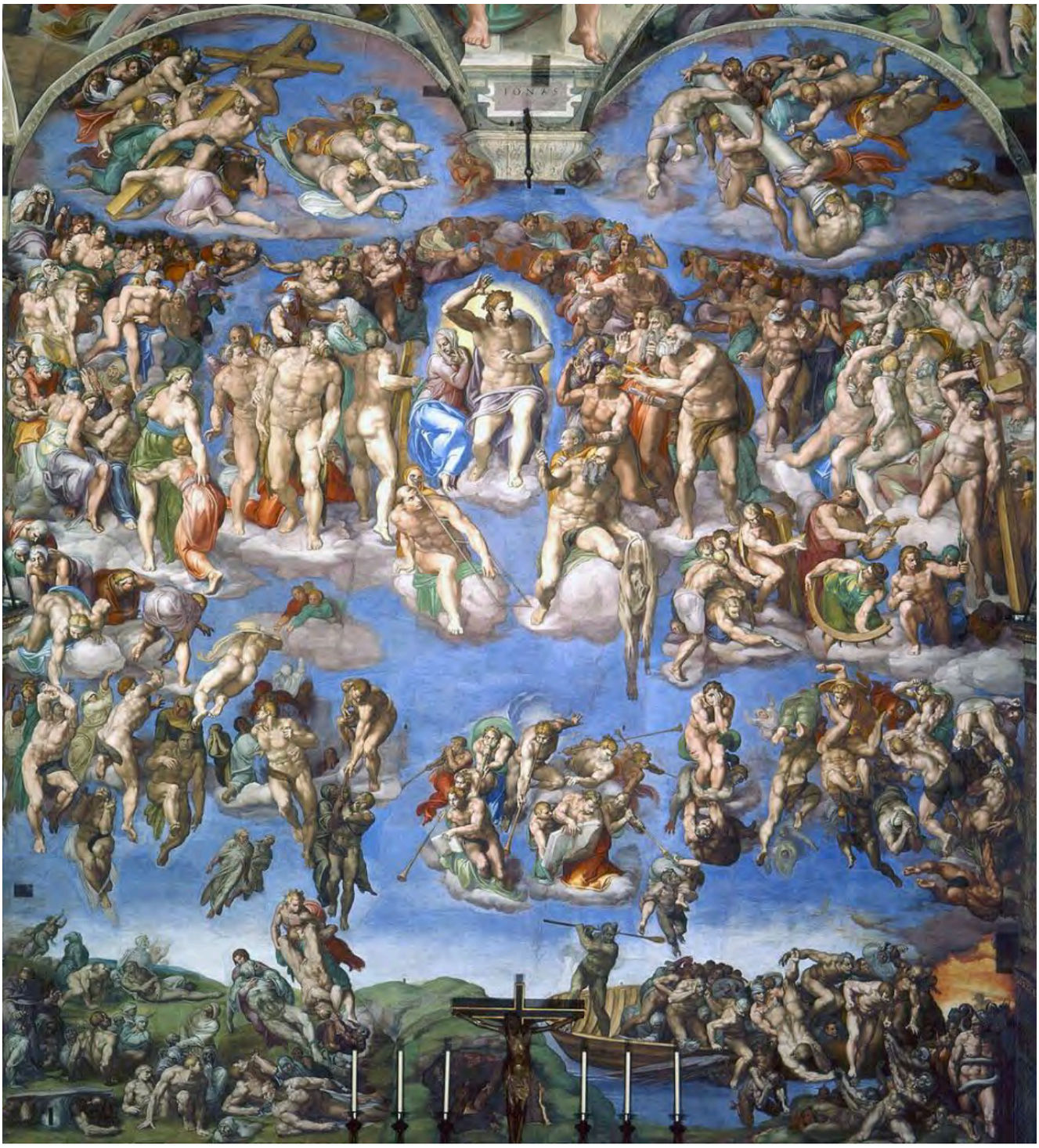
In this later work the true social situation is rendered in dramatic naturalism: the slave is helpless in the hands of his captor tormentor; and anguished women, beaten and torn from their men, replace the jolly English spectators of the *Prize Fight*. Again Géricault uses all the strength of the classical grand tradition to render the scene clearly and forcefully, and again he tempers this classicism with naturalistic representation and the simple and somewhat exaggerated dramatic gestures of the popular prints. Although Géricault was undoubtedly inspired by the themes and even the compositions of such prints, he overcame the insignificance, the narrowness of this genre art by applying the insights obtained through his long studies of classical reliefs and great Italian and French painting. His aim was the monumental fresco depicting the epic events of his own day "with buckets of color," as he put it. This expressive synthesis was conceived by Géricault, but never realized. The artist died in January of 1824 at the age of thirty-two.



Théodore Géricault, *The Raft of the Medusa,* 1819. Oil on canvas. 491 x 716 cm. Musée du Louvre, Paris. View Source

Lorenz Eitner, in *French Paintings of the Nineteenth Century* (*Part I: Before Impressionism*, 2000 (excerpt, https://www.nga.gov/collection/artist-info.1334.html) discusses the significance of Géricault's sojourn in Italy where he saw Michelangelo's *Last Judgment*.

> In March 1816 he competed for the academic Rome Prize but failed the contest and decided to undertake the voyage on his own account. His Italian stay in 1816-1817 gave him profound impressions of paintings of heroic size that further stimulated his interest in problems of style and whetted his appetite for work on the wall-filling scale.



Michelangelo, *The Last Judgement*, ca. 1534-41. Fresco. 13.7 x 12 m. Sistine Chapel, Vatican City. View Source



Michelangelo, detail from *The Last Judgement,* ca. 1534-41. Fresco. 13.7 x 12 m. Sistine Chapel, Vatican City. View Source

> The enormous canvas represents an episode of a recent shipwreck that had violently aroused French public opinion. The problem that Géricault set himself in composing his picture was to combine the immediacy of an eyewitness account with the permanence and stability of monumental composition. He thus sought to unite the two antithetical aspects of his art in a grand synthesis, reconciling historical realism with heroic generality: the modern shipwreck was made to echo Michelangelo's *Last Judgment*.

Scholarly interpretations of the *Raft of the Medusa* have been numerous over the years and have stimulated critical assessments. Here is a recent noteworthy example by Ken Lum.

Lum maintains that "most art historical treatments of *The Raft of the Medusa* have concentrated on the allegorical functioning of the painting; its image of despair and degeneracy .... In fact there has been surprisingly little analysis in terms of the painting's other functioning as a radical expression of racial and sexual permutability within modernity." ("On Board The Raft of the Medusa" in *Everything Is Relevant: Writings on Art and Life, 1991-2018*, 35–41; originally published *in Nka: Journal of Contemporary African Art* 10 (1999): 14–17) (https://www.design.upenn.edu/fine-arts/graduate/post/excerpt-ken-lum-g%C3%A9ricaults-raft-medusa).

Lum's argument is as follows:

> In Géricault's painting, everyone is literally on the same boat with hardly a shred of clothing to distinguish officer from seaman and slave from slave trader. Although the depicted scene is a tragic one, the grouping of bodies on the raft can be read unitarily as a community.
>
> The raft functions as a platform of interspersed sexual and racial codes, metonymically split from the false decorousness and rigidly stratified constitution of French society of the period. More particularly, the composition of the human pyramid aboard the raft is meant to mirror the social composition of France's apparatus of empire, built to a large extent as it was on the backs of male African slaves.
>
> ...

The Medusa painting is an image that upsets power relations because it articulated modern ideas of multiple social roles but it could only do so on the largely imaginary and deculturated setting of Géricault's canvas.

...

The important artistic problem for Géricault was how to negotiate a meeting of mutuality without ceding his art to mere illustration of historical fact. His solution was to highlight the salience of race and male sexuality in the raft narrative by dislodging both terms from their normative and socially fixed meanings. Throughout his career, Géricault insisted on the prominence of both discursive terms in the configuration of modernity.

The rationalization for a full realization of human freedom for slaves was consistently compromised by the faith invested in the guidance provided by positivistic thought and the empirical sciences that in Géricault's time made many racist claims on the person of the slave. A common view among Europeans held that the black body was a savage body, descended from a tribe of cannibals. Homologies between racist science and the slave trade were widely accepted because the equation of blacks with cannibalism, for example, offered the convenience of one more racial justification for slavery. Both Géricault and the Salon public were familiar with the accounts of cannibalism that had taken place on the raft, measures taken out of desperation to survive. But in the artist's Medusa painting, cannibalism is not essentialized as a property intrinsic to the black person. Rather, it is something generalized to both the white body and black body. The artist seems to be saying that in a diseased situation anyone can become a cannibal.

...

The Raft of the Medusa did not conform neatly to contemporary perceptions about alterity; what it more accurately conformed to were contemporary facts about alterity not yet understood. The discourse of colonization meant the increasing inscription of the Other within the space of the same.

Géricault's *Medusa* functioned as a signpost of multi-racial hybridity, one that effected what Homi Bhabha has described as the unfixing of the authority of colonial discourse by the voice of the Other. As such, *The Raft of the Medusa* operates in what bell hooks refers to as a counter-hegemonic cultural production. The painting is an expression of Géricault's reflection on the profound precariousness of traditional conceptions of race and sexuality at the dawn of the modern industrial age. He understood that to think historically about slavery was to grapple with a profound ambiguity, that slavery continued to thrive in a period marked by profound opposition.

This led Géricault to draw upon the subconscious force of the image of the black African in order to challenge its basis. His challenge came at a time when debates about the slave trade coincided with what Heinrich Heine has called the new revolutionary force of money. Norbert Elias has pointed out that "the reproduction of capital is tied to the reproduction of slaves, and thus directly or indirectly to the success of military campaigns." It has been argued that international finance entered into the modern era after the French debacle at Waterloo in 1815, merely a year before the Medusa tragedy, when there was a decisive shift in influence from nation-states to financial institutions such as the House of Rothschild and Baring Brothers.

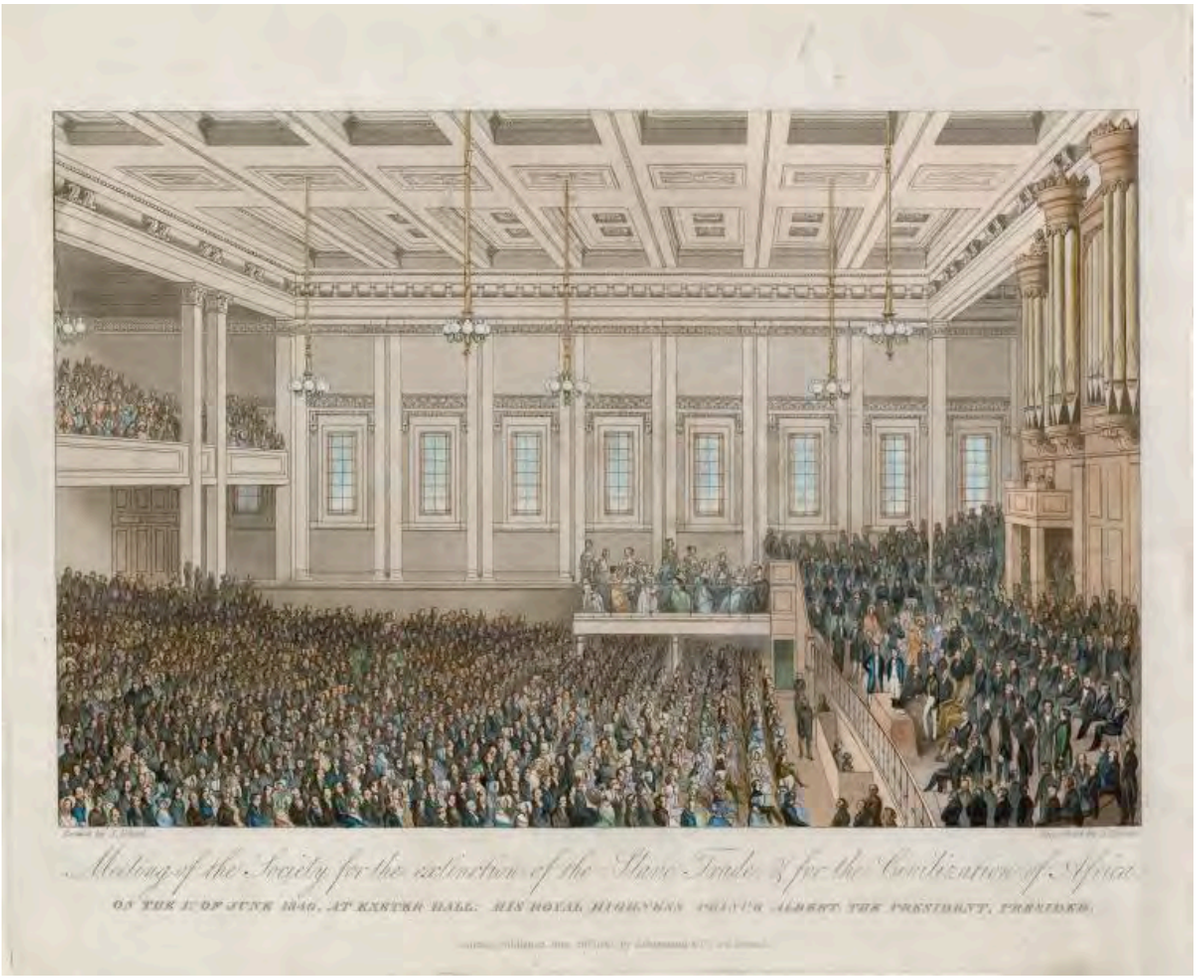
The penetration of European money into Africa, Asia, and the Americas spurred new entrepreneurial agencies of European colonialism that established a global division of labour of unprecedented exploitative power. Despite its language of indignity, opposition to slavery was often in practice an argument for a new form of indentured labour. The work of slaves would be recast in new terms, as agricultural labourers legally and economically bonded to France, free only to the extent of the slave wages offered.

9.2
| The Atlantic Slave Trade: Records and Reverberations

Two decades after Géricault's *Raft of the Medusa* was shown at the Paris Salon, and within a month of the opening of London's World Anti-Slavery Convention in June 1840, the English Romanticist J.M.W. Turner's *The Slave Ship* was exhibited at the Royal Academy. The timeliness of the painting's public showing on the heels of the Anti-Slavery Convention contributed to its impact.



Joseph Mallord William Turner, *The Slave Ship,* 1840. Oil on canvas. 90.8 x 122.6 cm. Museum of Fine Arts, Boston. View Source



Blunt, *Meeting of the Society for the Extinction of the Slave Trade & For the Civilization of Africa,* 1840. Engraving by James Harris. New York Public Library. View Source

The Anti-Slavery Convention was organized by the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, founded in 1787, the same year as the Society for the Abolition of the Slave Trade. The twelve male members comprised nine Quakers and three Anglicans, including Thomas Clarkson. Through their efforts, the Slave Trade Act was passed in 1807, its purpose to abolish the slave trade. From 1823 to 1838, the Society for the Mitigation and Gradual Abolition of Slavery Throughout the British Dominions lobbied to bring about the Slavery Abolition Act of 1833, advocated by William Wilberforce. By August 1834, some 800,000 enslaved people in the British empire had been freed. The work had just begun. The need to campaign for anti-slavery worldwide resulted in the founding of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society (BFASS) in 1839 and the World Anti-Slavery Convention in 1840, the latter only permitting access to male delegates, of whom 200 were British, 50 American and a minor number of attendees from other countries.

Jake Thurman in "Origins and Overview of the Transatlantic Slave Trade (sixteenth to nineteenth century CE)" (World History Project, https://www.oerproject.com/-/media/WHP/PDF/Era5/WHP-5-4-2-Read—The-Transatlantic-Slave-Trade—1140L.ashx) explains how and why the transatlantic slave trade came about, how it affected the lives of those enslaved and what the consequences were for Africa, Europe, and the Americas.



Triangle trade. View Source

Slavery is one of the most devastating things that one group of humans can subject another group to, and it is an extremely complex topic. The arrival of Europeans in the Americas caused major changes in the social, political, cultural, demographic, economic, and environmental aspects of the Western Hemisphere. The needs and desires of elites determined how land and laborers in the New World were exploited. Though on a different continent, the goal was to support the economic growth of European communities. The shift to plantation agriculture in Brazil and the Caribbean meant that sugar could now be produced and exported on a large scale. This created a demand for labor. Spaniards and Portuguese did not want to work in the fields; they wanted to own the fields. European diseases had wiped out indigenous populations, and conversion to Christianity made some indigenous peoples exempt from certain types of forced labor. As a result, Europeans looked to Africa for a new source of workers. Africans were deemed suitable for work in the Americas because they were unfamiliar with the land and so less likely to escape, largely resistant to European diseases, accustomed to laboring in the tropics, and came from farming cultures. Scholars still debate how much race had to do with Europeans' initial decision to enslave Africans. Certainly at the height of the slave trade and in the centuries that followed, the notion of racial inferiority was used by Europeans to justify the enslavement of millions of Africans. Other justifications included religion and concepts of "civilization." To the English, for example, pagan people were candidates for enslavement. They argued that the absence of Christian belief and behavior made people inferior and that they lacked the capacity to be "civilized."

The Atlantic slave trade began shortly after the arrival of the Spanish and Portuguese in the Americas. The transatlantic leg of the African slave trade most likely began with a Portuguese slaving voyage from Africa to the Americas in 1526. The earliest efforts were copied and accelerated by later Portuguese, British, French, and Dutch voyages. All told, approximately 12.5 million Africans were taken from the coast of Africa to the Americas, though about 2.5 million of those died during the voyage. The sheer volume and violence of the trade sets it apart from the types of slavery that existed earlier in history. Complex links between networks of slave traders in Africa trying to meet Europe's demand led many of those 12.5 million humans being forcibly taken from Africa.

But there were other Africans who were forced into bondage through war and societal collapse. The violence of the trade was undeniable, as slavers from the coasts journeyed inland and used their military advantage to prey upon smaller agricultural societies and their populations. It is true that many of those doing the enslaving were themselves Africans. However, European demand and economic muscle clearly drove the trade and maximized its volume. Europe had the demand, the traders on Africa's coasts had the supply, so slavery became a major business. As slave traders provided more enslaved people to European colonies in the Americas, many communities in Africa simply collapsed. Africans and Europeans both cited factors such as economics, religion, and race and ethnic divisions to justify the

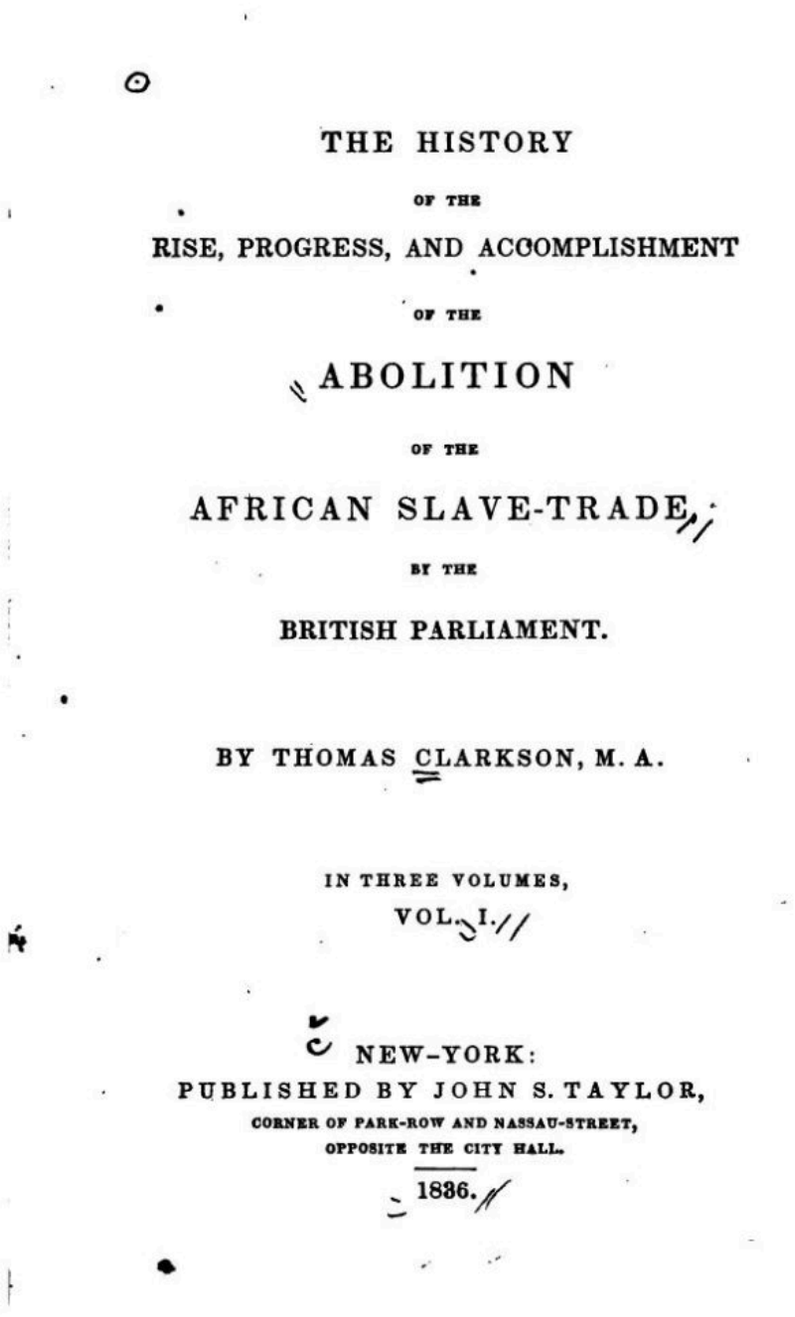
enslavement of millions of people based upon factors such as economics, religion, and racial and ethnic divisions.

9.3
| Abolition and Aesthetics in Britain: J. M.W. Turner's *Slave Ship*



Joseph Mallord William Turner, *The Slave Ship,* 1840. Oil on canvas. 90.8 x 122.6 cm. Museum of Fine Arts, Boston. View Source

Turner's *The Slave Ship* was inspired by accounts of the late 18th-century slave ship Zong, which had jettisoned human cargo at sea to collect insurance money.



THE HISTORY

OF THE

RISE, PROGRESS, AND ACCOMPLISHMENT

OF THE

ABOLITION

OF THE

AFRICAN SLAVE-TRADE,

BY THE

BRITISH PARLIAMENT.

BY THOMAS CLARKSON, M. A.

IN THREE VOLUMES,

VOL. I.

NEW-YORK:

PUBLISHED BY JOHN S. TAYLOR,

CORNER OF PARK-ROW AND NASSAU-STREET,

OPPOSITE THE CITY HALL.

1836.

Thomas Clarkson, *The History of the Rise, Progress, and Accomplishment of the Abolition of the African Slave-Trade by the British Parliament,* vol. 1 (New York: John S. Taylor, 1836). View Source

The story appeared the year before the exhibition in the new addition of Clarkson's *History of the Rise, Progress and Accomplishment of the Abolition of the African Slave Trade,* which described how in 1783, 152 enslaved men had been thrown overboard while still alive. The Zong ship had lost its way; 60 slaves and seven crew members had died of an epidemic, and the water supply was depleting. The survivors were in poor health, and the captain knew many would die before the ship reached its destination. Because insurance compensation could only be claimed for those slaves "lost at sea," but not those who had expired on board, he contrived to cast three groups of men to their fates at sea.

Robert Leo Costello, in "The Center Cannot Hold: J. M. W. Turner's Contemporary History Paintings in the Age of Revolution" (PhD diss., Bryn Mawr College, 2002), notes that

The only sign of the slaves being thrown overboard in the painting is the shackled leg, hands and chains that slide into the water in the foreground, but it is referred to directly in the verse-tag which accompanied the entry in the Royal Academy exhibition catalogue. The verses read:

"Aloft all hands, strike the top-masts and belay;
Yon angry setting sun and fierce-edged clouds
Declare the Typhon's coming.
Before it sweeps your decks, throw overboard
The dead and dying – ne'er heed their chains
Hope, Hope, fallacious Hope!
Where is thy market now?"



Joseph Mallord William Turner, *The Slave Ship,* 1840. Oil on canvas. 90.8 x 122.6 cm. Museum of Fine Arts, Boston. View Source

Slave Ship was ridiculed at the Royal Academy. The *Times* remarked that it was "impossible to look at without mingled feelings of pity and contempt … the leg of a negro which is about to afford a nibble to John Dory, a pair of soles, and a shoal of whitebait." In the *Athenaeum* May 15, it was a "passionate extravagance of marigold sky, and pomegranate-coloured sea and fish dressed as gay as garden flowers in pink and green with one shapeless dusky-brown leg thrown up from this parti-coloured chaos" (quoted in Albert Boime, "Turner's Slave Ship: The Victims of Empire," *Turner Studies*, 10 no. 1 (1990): 34–43).

There are multilayered meanings to *Slave Ship*, writes Costello. He summarizes two key writings, the first by Boime.

Boime relates the visual and thematic structure of the image to economic issues contemporary to the painting, and argues that it stages the struggle between the plantation system of slavery and the new forces of laissez-faire industrialism of the nineteenth century. According to Boime, the painting's fiery sunset is a metaphor for the "passing of the outmoded institution [of slavery] in the context of the new industrialized state." Boime's metaphorical interpretation depends upon the identification of the ship as the Zong because it places British participation in the slave system firmly in the past. The ship's conflict with the storm can then be made, in his account, to represent the conflict of slavery with the new industrial forces of the nineteenth century.

A particularly relevant part of Boime's article is about William Makepeace Thackeray, a British novelist, author and illustrator. Boime relates that Thackery, who was a racist, wrote to his mother on 26 January 1853 while visiting slaveholder friends in the southern United States.

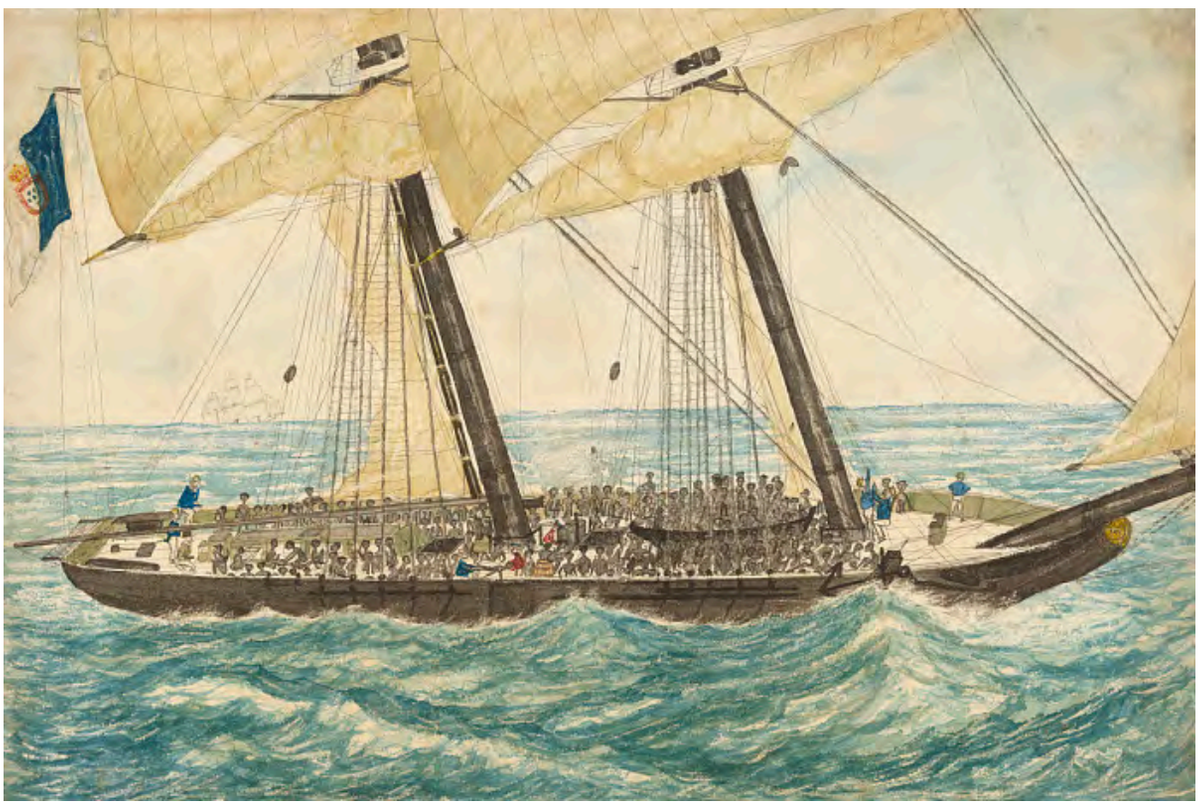
> "Sambo is not my man and my brother, the very aspect of his face is grotesque and inferior. I can't help seeing and owning this, at the same time denying any white man's right to hold this fellow creature in bondage and make goods and chattels of him and his issue."

Like most members of his group, he assuaged his guilt through the caricatural depiction of ethnic groups as sub-human. In fact he returned home believing that the working poor in England were worse off and more miserable than Black slaves in America. He also felt that England should clean up its act before advising other countries on slave issues.

> "Of course we feel the cruelty of flogging and enslaving a negro- they feel here the cruelty of starving an English labourer or driving an English child to a mine – Brother, Brother we are kin."

The second interpretation summarized by Costello is John McCoubrey's "Turner's Slave Ship: Abolition, Ruskin and Reception" *(Word and Image* 14, no 4 (1998): 319-53):

> John McCoubrey, however, has suggested that a very different moment is represented in the *Slave Ship*. While Britain had abolished the slave trade in 1806, a number of other nations, including Spain and Portugal, continued to engage in it in the 1840's. British warships patrolled the waters of the West Coast of Africa in an effort to stop them, but because captains were given prize money for slaves captured on the open sea but not for those still on shore or in the harbor, many captains allowed the slave-ships to leave the coast before pursuing them. A frequent result of this tactic was that the slavers jettisoned slaves to lighten their ships as they tried to outrun the patrol. This issue of pursuit and jettison was a highly controversial public concern in 1840, and, according to McCoubrey, it is such a scene which Turner depicts in the *Slave Ship*.



Lieutenant Henri Samuel Hawker, *The Portuguese slaver Diligenté captured by H.M. Sloop Pearl with 600 slaves on board, taken in charge to Nassau,* 1838. Watercolour on paper (fiber product). 28.9 x 43.5 cm. Smithsonian National Museum of African American History and Culture, Washington. View Source

As evidence, he points to the shape of the slave-ship which he finds similar to those used by the Spanish and the Portuguese in those years and slaving vessels.



Detail of Joseph Mallord William Turner, *The Slave Ship,* 1840. Oil on canvas. 90.8 x 122.6 cm. Museum of Fine Arts, Boston. View Source

He also points to the blue and white object in the water in the middle-left of the painting, which he reads as a Portuguese flag of trade also in use in the late 1830... McCoubrey also discusses at length the considerable public debate over the continued practice of the slave trade as well as the role of the British navy. McCoubrey has thus brought an important new aspect of the slave trade issue into play in relation to this painting and shown that it was indeed a very topical work of art.

Here is McCoubrey's description of a detail of the painting:



Detail of Joseph Mallord William Turner, *The Slave Ship,* 1840. Oil on canvas. 90.8 x 122.6 cm. Museum of Fine Arts, Boston. View Source

If we allow Turner the necessity of painting on the surface of the sea the horrors that should be hidden in its depths, the figures are not much more bizarre than the anomalous behavior of the ship, the misplaced swells and belated storm we have mentioned. The most arresting figure is a woman, scarcely mentioned in 1840, who has been the focus of the most hostile criticism. Her right leg, an iron fetter around its ankle, is upthrust, and her breasts are clearly visible just above the frame. In a cruel frenzy, carnivorous fish feed upon her, led by one whose eyes and mouth unmistakably express human malevolence, relating its assault to the human profiteers from slavery and its trade. The leg is seen against a large, indistinct, whitish form of what must be a shark whose mouth appears to her right, and whose large fin or back rises close behind it. Because of its alignment, it is tempting to conclude that this monster is swallowing the woman's other leg, the fish claiming its 'legacy' noticed in a ghastly pun by a hostile reviewer in 1840; but, since it is clearly a right foot upraised, the other leg of the victim is to the left.

...

It is not surprising that this seeming fantasy was not taken seriously, much less understood, as a public protest. In 1840, the naked, upside-down woman was not only an affront to the decorum of high art, but a violation of common morality that forfeited the painting's claim to address any moral issue.



François-Auguste Biard, *The Slave Trade (Slaves on the West Coast of Africa),* ca. 1833. Oil on canvas. 162.5 x 228.6 cm. Wilberforce House Museum, Hull. View Source

Costello also suggests that Biard's *The Slave Trade* was exhibited at the Royal Academy, London in 1840, the same year as Turner's painting,

... had considerably less dangerous implications for a British audience. Because the title of the painting placed its atrocities so specifically on the African coast, rather than in the colonies, there could be no direct implication of guilt to a contemporary audience in Britain. What guilt there was could be firmly

> placed in the past, allowing the image to fit very comfortably into the dominant model of abolition that I have described, which held Britain to be cleansed of sin, having ended its role in slave trading. Turner's image on the other hand, with its dialectical structure of reference, suggested a much more complex, less progressive model of history in which British guilt was not so easily eliminated.

Sam Smiles in "Turner and the Slave Trade: Speculation and Representation, 1805-40" (*British Art Journal* 8, no. 3 (2007): 47–54) discusses a key piece of evidence that confirms Turner's "deeply skeptical view of abolition."

> It comes as a surprise, therefore, to find that in 1805 Turner invested in a Jamaican speculation whose profits were entirely dependent on slave labour. The Dry Sugar Work pen in St Catherine's parish was an estate of about 1500 acres close to Spanish Town, whose primary business was intended to be the raising of cattle for the local market. Currently encumbered with a mortgage of £2530, an investment scheme was devised to pay this off, buy sufficient slaves to run the property effectively and remit the ensuing profits to the subscribers.
>
> ...
>
> Turner cannot have been in any doubt regarding what he was investing in. The printed Proposals for the tontine, having enumerated the property's potential to deliver a substantial income, clearly state that . . . "these Objects cannot be accomplished without a large Gang of Negroes; the Money is therefore to be laid out in the Purchase of Negroes ... the Number of Negroes thereby purchased, will of themselves form a full Security for the Money, independent of the present and the daily increasing Value of the Estate. Negroes always greatly increase in Value, after they have been some time in the Island, so as to double the Amount of their first Price, after allowing any casual Loss by Death."
>
> All these assets could be sold for profit, except the slaves, who were too valuable to dispose of. Given the strength of the abolitionist campaign in the early 1800s, this last clause may have been included as a reassurance to the investors that even were the slave trade to be outlawed the Dry Sugar Work pen would maintain its slave population.
>
> ...
>
> [It] seems reasonable to suggest that Turner's investment in the tontine points to an uncritical view of slavery in the 1800s and, correspondingly, that his humanitarian feelings for the victims of the slave trade and his endorsement of abolition did not exist much before the later 1820s.

9.4
| Picturing Enslavement: Genre, Race and Stereotype in Antebellum America

The seventeenth and eighteenth centuries witnessed the widespread forcible removal of Africans from their homeland to the American colonies to be exploited as labourers in the production of tobacco and cotton crops. By the mid-19th century, the controversy surrounding America's westward expansion and the rise of the abolition movement in the States incited a debate over slavery that tore America apart, culminating in the bloody Civil War. Even though four million enslaved people were liberated, the legacy of slavery continued to impact the nation in myriad ways, including challenging its collective identity and how artists found ways to represent it.



William Sidney Mount, *Farmers Nooning,* 1836. Oil on canvas. 52.1 x 62.2 cm. Long Island Museum of American Art, History & Carriages, Stony Brook. View Source



William Sidney Mount, *Farmers Nooning,* 1836. Engraving. 47.7 x 55.5 cm. Library of Congress, Washington. View Source

William Sydney Mount, an American painter from Long Island, was the first native-born artist to specialize in genre paintings of quotidian life in rural America. His realistic scenes reveal a particular interest in the depiction of African Americans, whom he often portrayed as smiling.

Mount was born into a prosperous family of slave owners in Setauket, Long Island (slavery was only abolished in New York in 1827). His attitude was paternalistic, his much-quoted phrase that "a Negro is as good as a White man-as long as he behaves himself," summarizing his innate beliefs. Frederick C. Moffatt explains in "Barnburning and Hunkerism: William Sidney Mount's *Power of Music*" (*Winterthur Portfolio* 29, no. 1 (1994): 19–42) that this phrase spoke of: "the innate servility of the black race, of the humane treatment black slaves received, of their basically childlike and happy natures, of their acceptance of their status as property in Southern white society, of the economic benefits the nation reaped from the products of slavery … As personal property, the slave could expect birth-to-death protection and nurturing from his master."

The assumption that African Americans were carefree was linked to slavers' beliefs that they possessed limited intelligence. To those who supported slavery, they were regarded as savage beings who could be domesticated only in captivity. The fact that obedience and docility were the result of brutality was unrecognized or unheeded.

The trope of the "lovable slave" was positioned against that of the "monstrous freedman." Enslaved adults were regarded as dependent children but were deliberately kept from an education that would advance their cause. While laws in most Southern states barred slaves from schooling, their independent efforts to educate themselves, sometimes with the aid of their "owners," is well-documented.

The laziness of black Americans was a stereotype propagated by slave owners to justify their barbarous actions ."It was the general testimony of slaveholders… [that the Negro was] habitually indolent and opposed to

exertion, which condition necessitated a master to force him to work." (William Sumner Jenkins, *Proslavery Thought in the Old South* (University of North Carolina Press, 1935), 251).

In Mount's *Farmers Nooning,* we see a striking contrast between the representation of the indolent black man sporting a smile and napping on a stack of hay and the industrious white Yankee honing his scythe sharpener, the implication being that whites alone could stay alert during a noonday break. The black man was further demeaned here by being cast as the butt of a joke, fast asleep while being tickled with a straw. African Americans were common victims of practical jokes in early 19th-century images, accentuating the assumption of gullibility and feebleness.

Karen M. Adams writes in "The Black Image in the Paintings of William Sidney Mount" (*American Art Journal* 7, no. 2 (1975): 42–59):

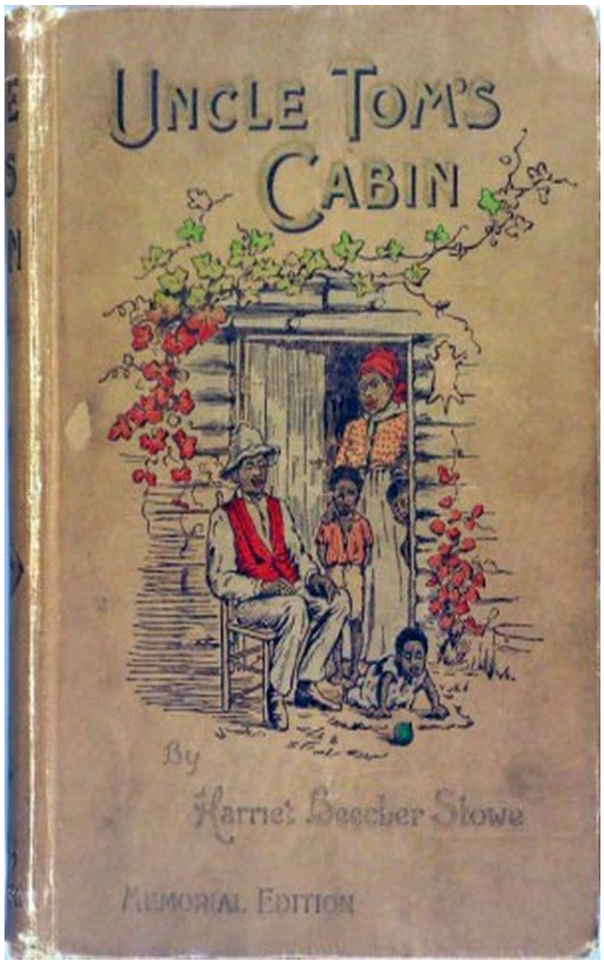
> In *Farmers Nooning* Mount has painted a subtle allegory on the subject of work. For this enduringly popular painting, which was lithographed by the Apollo Association and later by the American Art Union and published in "Godey's Lady's Book," Mount utilized the stereotype of the lazy, carefree Negro, a type readily recognized and accepted by his contemporary audience.
>
> Yet, despite the device of the small boy with the teasing straw, this black man is no caricature. He is, as one of Mount's reviewers recognized, "the masterpiece of the composition."' Placed in the sunlight, in a pose of luxuriant abandon reminiscent of the sleeping Ariadne, he dominates the scene.



James Goodwyn Clonney, *Waking Up,* 1851. Oil on canvas. 68.9 x 55.8 cm. Museum of Fine Arts, Boston. View Source

This painting is a subversive attack on the Puritan maxim to make hay while the sun shines, although its subtler message may have been lost on most of his audience and on his imitators–like James Goodwin Clonney, who in the 1851 painting *Waking Up* perpetuated the stereotype but borrowed none of the modifying qualities of grace and beauty that characterized Mount's sleeping black man.

The association of the black with natural grace and sensuousness, with a relaxed attitude and a love of pleasure, was part of a concept that reassured American slaveholders that black men were more like animals than were white men; but these same qualities were cited in the 1830's, '40's, and '50's by reformers and abolitionists such as Alexander Kinmont and Théodore Tilton in defense of the notion that black men had more natural Christian virtue than did white men. This romantic idea was as much a critique of American society as it was a defense of anti-slavery.



Harriet Beecher Stowe, *Uncle Tom's Cabin* (London: H. G. Bohn, 1852). View Source

It found its most complete and popular expression in Mrs. Stowe's bestseller.



Robert Seldon Duncanson, *Uncle Tom and Little Eva,* 1853. Oil on canvas. 69.2 × 97.2 cm Detroit Institute of Arts. View Source

In his interpretation of Harriet Beecher' Stowe's anti-slavery novel *Uncle Tom's Cabin* (1852), Robert Seldon Duncanson addressed the issue of spirituality and race in a romanticized way. Duncanson was the first documented African American landscape artist. He established himself in Cincinnati in the 1840s with the help of funds from the Anti-Slavery League and private patrons where he worked as a painter of still lifes and "fancy pieces" after success as an itinerant painter. Racial tensions following the Civil War forced him to leave America for Canada, where he lived in Montreal from 1863 to 1865.

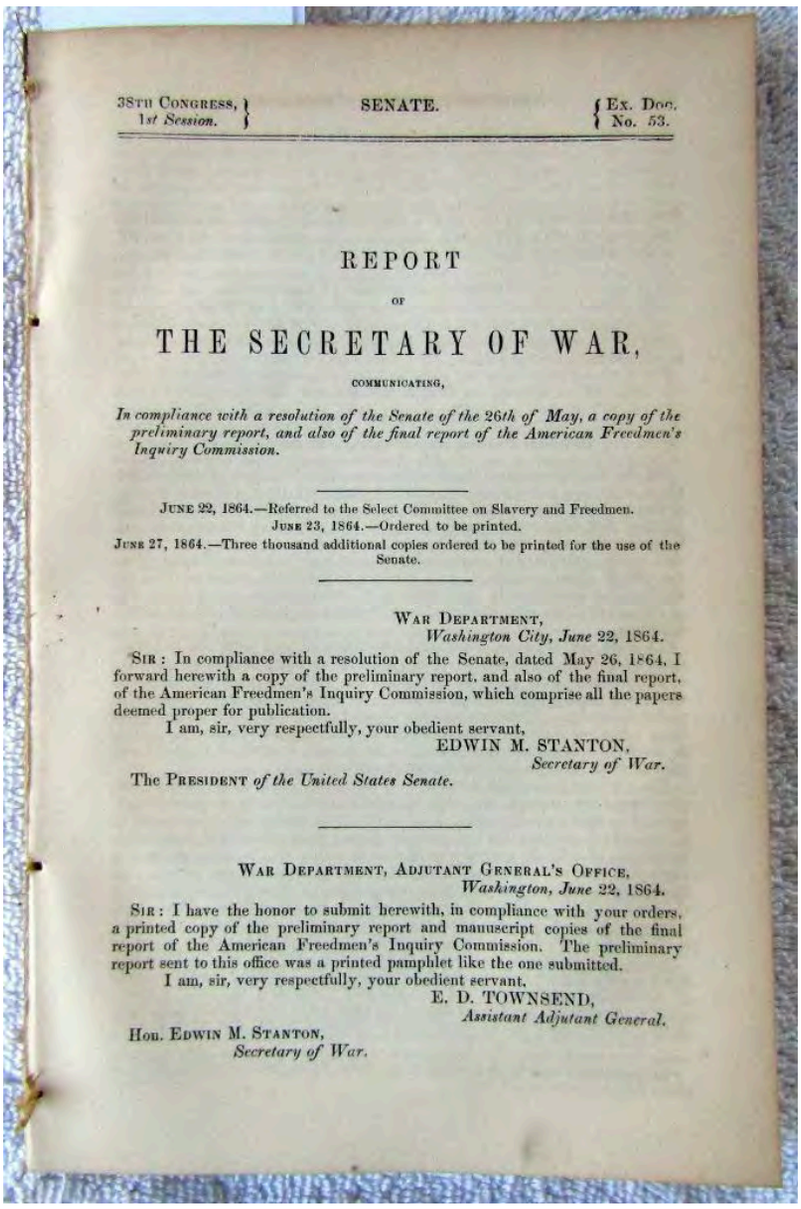
His travels to Europe and studies in the European landscape tradition reveal the influence of Turner, Claude Lorrain, and Thomas Cole. *Uncle Tom and Little Eva* was one of only a few of his paintings that dealt directly with African American subjects.

The two central characters, Uncle Tom and Little Eva are depicted in the foreground of a lyrical landscape painting. The scene is patterned on an edition of the story which describes the event at the St Clare family's summer home on the shores of Lake Pontchartrain. It is sunset on a Sunday evening. Eva stands bathed in light in front of her faithful servant and points to the sky. "Where do you suppose new Jerusalem is, Uncle Tom?" said Eva. "Oh, up in the clouds, Miss Eva" he replies. "Then I think I see it," said Eva. " Look in those clouds!—they look like great gates of pearl; and you can see beyond them,—far, far off,—it's all gold. Tom, sing about 'spirits bright.'"

The image illustrates the bond between the Black servant and the white little girl. Its engagement with the spirituality they shared highlights Little Eva's (and thus Stowe's) belief that spiritual and physical salvation for African Americans could be attained through devotion to a Christian God. The blond Eva represents the best of abolitionist sentiment and Christian love, although she dies shortly after the scene by the lake. Still, one discerns a patronizing tone: the child, who is unmistakably blond, will lead the Black man out of darkness and ignorance into salvation and light. White abolitionists saw the passivity of Uncle Tom as evidence of the morality of efforts to free him.

Duncanson's image maintains the tone of Stowe's text. Little Eva elicits a Christlike association while Uncle Tom's religious devotion to her is immediately perceptible.

Stowe writes, "Uncle Tom loved her as something frail and earthly, yet almost worshipped her as something heavenly and divine. He gazed on her as the Italian sailor gazes on his image of the child Jesus-with a mixture of reverence and tenderness."



38TH CONGRESS, 1st Session. SENATE. Ex. Doc. No. 53.

REPORT

OF

THE SECRETARY OF WAR,

COMMUNICATING,

In compliance with a resolution of the Senate of the 26th of May, a copy of the preliminary report, and also of the final report of the American Freedmen's Inquiry Commission.

JUNE 22, 1864.—Referred to the Select Committee on Slavery and Freedmen.
JUNE 23, 1864.—Ordered to be printed.
JUNE 27, 1864.—Three thousand additional copies ordered to be printed for the use of the Senate.

WAR DEPARTMENT,
Washington City, June 22, 1864.

SIR: In compliance with a resolution of the Senate, dated May 26, 1864, I forward herewith a copy of the preliminary report, and also of the final report, of the American Freedmen's Inquiry Commission, which comprise all the papers deemed proper for publication.

I am, sir, very respectfully, your obedient servant,
EDWIN M. STANTON,
Secretary of War.

The PRESIDENT *of the United States Senate.*

WAR DEPARTMENT, ADJUTANT GENERAL'S OFFICE,
Washington, June 22, 1864.

SIR: I have the honor to submit herewith, in compliance with your orders, a printed copy of the preliminary report and manuscript copies of the final report of the American Freedmen's Inquiry Commission. The preliminary report sent to this office was a printed pamphlet like the one submitted.

I am, sir, very respectfully, your obedient servant,
E. D. TOWNSEND,
Assistant Adjutant General.

HON. EDWIN M. STANTON,
Secretary of War.

Edwin M. Stanton, "Report of the Secretary of War, communicating, in compliance with a resolution of the Senate of the 26th of May, a copy of the preliminary report, and also of the final report of the American Freedman's Inquiry Commission," 1864. View Source

When the American Freedmen's Inquiry Commission was formed to advise the government in the aftermath of emancipation, its final report contained a call to religion to help usher freed people and their former owners into the post-slavery era. Adams quotes from the "Final Report of the American Freedman's Inquiry Commission," issued in 1864 at the request of President Lincoln and quoted by Adams:

> The Anglo-Saxon race, with its great force of character, much mental activity, an unflagging spirit of enterprise, has a certain hardness, a stubborn will, only moderate geniality, a lack of habitual cheerfulness. Its intellectual powers are stronger than its social instincts. The head predominates over the heart. There is little that is emotional in its religion … It is a race more calculated to call forth respect than love, better fitted to do than to enjoy. The African race is in many respects the reverse of this. Genial, lively, docile, emotional, the affections rule; the social instincts maintain the ascendent except

> under cruel repression, its cheerfulness and love of mirth overflow with the exuberance of childhood. It is devotional by feeling. It is a knowing rather than a thinking race.... As regards the virtues of humility, loving-kindness, resignation under adversity, reliance on Divine Providence, this race exhibits these, as a general rule, in a more marked manner than does the Anglo-Saxon... With time, if we but treat these people in a Christian fashion, we shall have our reward. The softening influence of their genial spirit, diffused throughout the community, will make itself felt as an element of improvement in the national character.



William Sidney Mount, *The Power of Music*, 1847. Oil on canvas. 43.4 x 53.5 cm. Cleveland Museum of Art. View Source

A painting that illustrates the racial divide in America while suggesting a shared humanity between Blacks and Whites is Mount's *The Power of Music*. The scene takes place before the Civil War in rural Long Island. It is a complex, compelling work. It elicited commentary for its unique subject when it was first displayed at the annual exhibition of the National Academy of Design in 1847.

The Power of Music portrays an African American labourer as he listens intently to white men playing the fiddle. The figures occupy separate spaces – the white men indoors, the black man outdoors – but they are united by the music they love.

Frederick C. Moffatt writes in "Barnburning and Hunkerism: William Sidney Mount's *Power of Music"* (*Winterthur Portfolio* 29, no. 1 (1994): 19–42):

> When *The Power of Music* first was exhibited, *The Literary World* reviewed it at some length as "one of the most thoroughly original and successful little pictures it has ever been our lot to behold. The subject is one that he has in other ways treated before, but never so successfully as now." After discussing the three white men, the anonymous reviewer continued: "But the triumph of the picture is the negro standing outside the door, out of sight of the main group but certainly not out of hearing. He is an

amateur, plays himself, and listens critically, at the same time delightedly. We never saw the faculty of listening so exquisitely portrayed as it is here. Every limb, joint, body, bones, hat, boots, and all, are intent upon the tune."

...

A New England journalist was equally impressed with the psychological portrayal. "The scene is a country barn, the hostler is fiddling, the stable boy, a negro wood-sawyer, and one or two others are listening, and never was the power of music more beautifully portrayed than in this rude audience, no longer vulgar, but transfigured. The music has struck the electric cord, and kindled the latent soul that now shines through every feature. To idealize such faces, and such a scene, I conceive to be a great triumph in art."

Neither reviewer mentions the racial implications of *The Power of Music*. An African American labourer is outside a barn listening to a fiddle tune enjoyed by white men inside the barn. A love of music may indicate a shared humanity, but the two races are in different spaces, symbolic of their unmistakable division.



William Sidney Mount, *The Bone Player,* 1856. Oil on canvas. 91.76 x 73.98 cm. Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.
View Source

Scholars have varied in their interpretation of *The Bone Player,* painted five years before the Civil War. Is the painting a stereotypical image of an African American, or is it a sympathetic portrait of an individual? Mount titled the painting *The Bone Player.* Does this mean that the main subject is the man's musical ability rather than his identity? The bones of ivory, wood, or bone clicked together were a typical instrument of African American minstrels.



Dan D. Emmett, *Dandy Jim from Caroline* (London: Delmaine & Co., ca. 1844). View Source
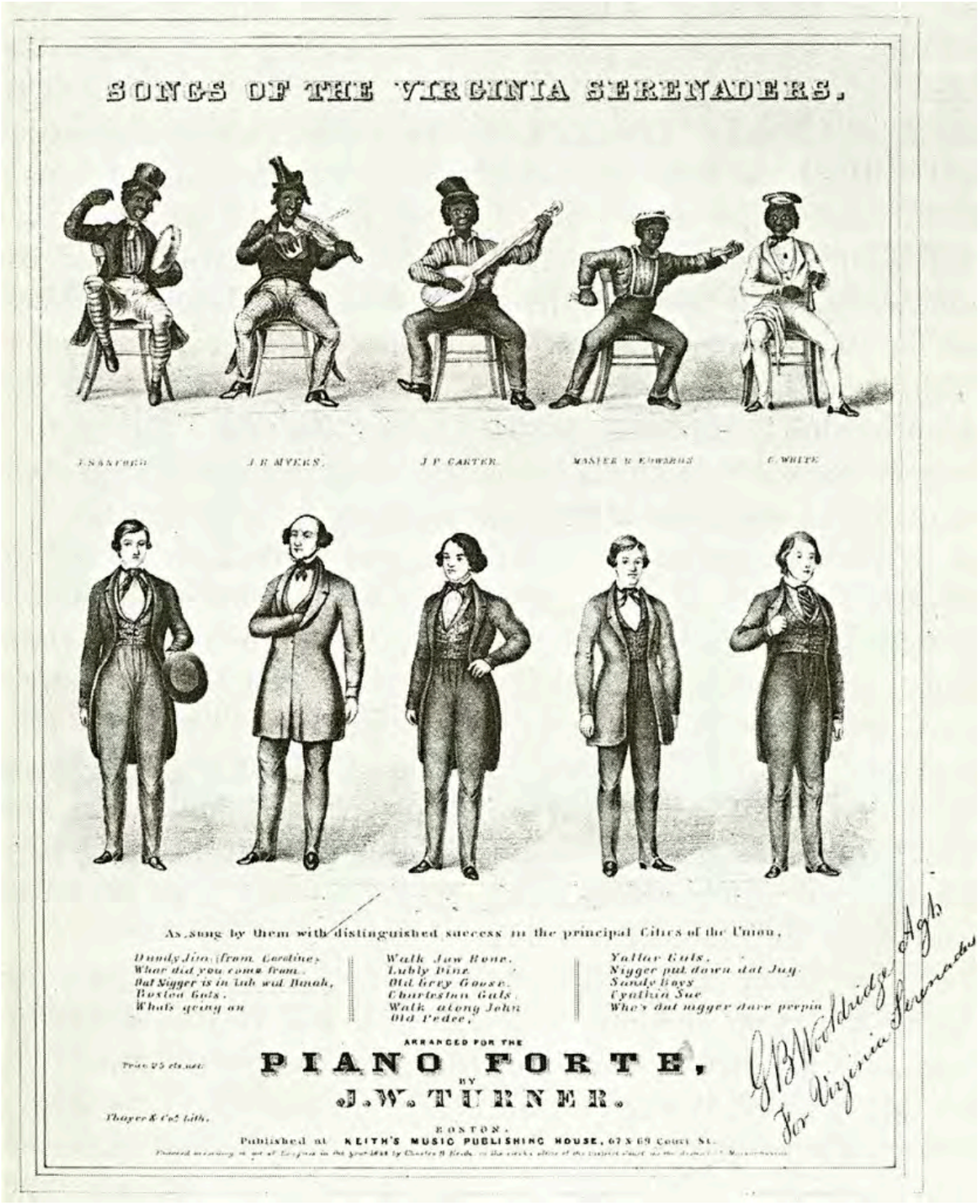
When Mount was painting his genre pictures, the image of the beaming black minstrel had already been cast into stereotype, aided by the advent of minstrel shows, a form of popular entertainment based on the image of the happy, carefree and child-like slave.



Photograph of Dan Emmett in blackface, ca. 1860. View Source

In the 1840s, Dan Emmett, an American songwriter and the author of “Dixie,” founded the first troupe of Blackface minstrels known as the Virginia Minstrels. The genre became popularised in American theatre. Thus began the fixed image of a toothy-grinned black man wearing tattered clothes, carrying a fiddle, a tambourine or bones, and doing the cakewalk. The iconic image became the standard cover of Emmett’s programmes, typically depicting a man strumming a banjo and wearing a freaky facial expression. White racists took the banjo-picking Jim Crow as a stereotypical representation of blacks.

This conceptualization was almost universally recognized in the 19th century and partially explains the pervasive caricature of cheery black folk, puppet-like performers even in servitude.



J.W. Turner, *Songs of the Virginia Serenaders* (Boston: Keith's Music Publishing House, 1844). View Source

Bruce Robertson, in "'The Power of Music': A Painting by William Sidney Mount" (*The Bulletin of the Cleveland Museum of Art* 79, no. 2 (1992): 38–62), offers another viewpoint.

> The essence of the minstrel show was the ludicrous spectacle of whites imitating blacks. The stereotypes were usually scurrilous; blacks were stupid, vainglorious, naive, ugly. The format was irregular, consisting of patter songs, skits, ballads: whatever seemed apposite and likely to get a laugh. But the humor was not aimed at blacks so much as the white elites who lorded it above the white working- and middle-class audiences. It was the spectacle of blacks mimicking their ultimate superiors (their aristocratic Whig allies) that proved so funny, because it mortified the latter's pretensions.



Eastman Johnson, *Negro Life at the South,* 1859. Oil on linen. 91.4 x 114.9 cm. New York Historical Society, New York. View Source

Eastman Johnson, a Northern artist whose father was a state official, depicted pre-Civil War black Southern life in a sentimental light. *Negro Life at the South* takes the deprived life of enslaved people and renders it picturesque. Later, his works would contribute to the general, gradual transformation of the public image of black people following the Civil War.

Negro Life at the South was painted at a critical moment in the debate about slavery, and its impact was significant.

In 1867, Henry Tuckerman, in his *Book of the Artists* (New York: G. P. Putnam & Son, 1867, 467-70), said of Eastman Johnson that "No one of our painters has more truly caught and perfectly delineated American rustic and negro, or with such pathetic and natural emphasis put upon canvas bits of household or childish life, or given such bright and real glimpses of primitive human nature. . . In all his works we find vital expression, . . . [I]nvariably characteristic; trained in the technicalities of his art, keen in his observation, and natural in his feeling, we have a genre painter in Eastman Johnson who has elevated and widened its naturalistic scope and its national significance. His pictures are in constant demand, and purchased before they leave the easel. All American collectors seek and prize them."

Tuckerman's attitude reflected a Northern elitism in keeping with Johnson's paternalistic attitude, a form of liberalism couched in sympathetic feeling for social groups unable to defend their cause.

Negro Life at the South was exhibited at the National Academy of Design spring exhibition in 1859. The figures were inhabitants of the block his father owned on F Street. The worn-down house was situated in the interior yard of what used to be an old tavern east of the family home in Washington, D.C. The ramshackle state of the dwelling is emphasized by the deteriorating wood, loose clapboards, and broken windows, and it evokes a picture of dismal living conditions.

Various figures surround the central banjo player: a mother and her children, kids at play, self-absorbed lovers, and, looking down from a window, a turbaned woman and her baby. Two young girls look on from the sidelines as an elegant white woman (Johnson's sister), and her companion emerge from the big house next door to watch.

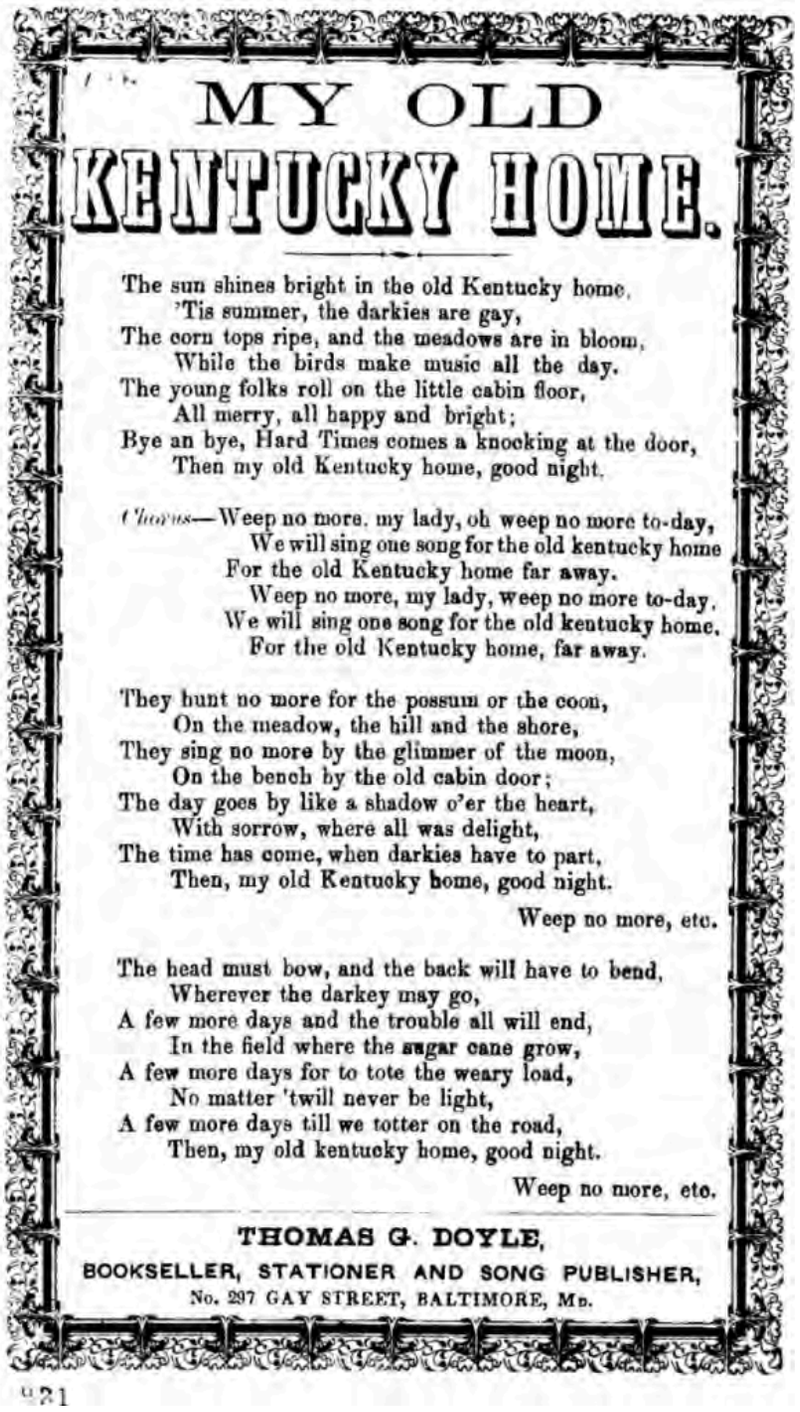
The painting's instant success was aided by its equivocal approach to the subject of slavery. Abolitionists in the North interpreted the scene as depicting the appalling living conditions of Southern slaves. In contrast, Southern slave owners argued that it demonstrated how the enslaved in the south were happy, despite their "uncomfortable" living conditions.

The most direct and distressing contradiction to this phoney belief came from a former enslaved black man named John Little. In *A People's History of the United* States,*1492-Present* (Harper and Row, 1980), Howard Zinn includes an excerpt from an interview with Little: "They say slaves are happy, because they laugh, and are merry. I myself and three or four others, have received two hundred lashes in a day, and had our feet in fetters; yet, at night, we would sing and dance, and make others laugh at the rattling of our chains....We did it to keep down trouble, and to keep our hearts from being completely broken."

While Johnson's scene speaks to the stereotype of the ever-cheerful black person, approaching somewhat the notion of many Southerners that "Negroes" could find happiness and fulfilment only when in service to a white master, it also addresses abolitionists' concerns by showing crumbling and decaying architecture as signifiers of the crisis of slavery.

John Davis writes in "Eastman Johnson's *Negro Life at the South* and Urban Slavery in Washington, D.C." (*Art Bulletin* 80, no. 1 (1998): 67–92):

> The great success of the painting at the time of its debut in New York has usually been ascribed to its ability to be all things to all people. For abolitionists, the decrepit, tumbledown living conditions pictured by Johnson matched the moral degeneracy of the institution of slavery, while for slavery's defenders, the careless leisure-time activities of several generations of slaves provided visual proof that forced servitude was neither physically onerous nor destructive of family life... The main question, at least indirectly, has centered on intentionality: Did Eastman Johnson create *Negro Life at the South* as an indictment of Southern slavery, or was it intended as a sop to apologists of the peculiar institution? Or, perhaps was it simply a shrewdly constructed document of judicious neutrality?
>
> Above all, *Negro Life at the South* was commended for the distinct types it catalogued visually, for its seeming "truthfulness of expression," reality of character," and "honesty of painting," in the words of the *Evening Post*. To identify these types, critics resorted to the language of minstrelsy and popular literature, particularly Harriet Beecher Stowe's *Uncle Tom's Cabin* (1851).



MY OLD

KENTUCKY HOME.

The sun shines bright in the old Kentucky home,
'Tis summer, the darkies are gay,
The corn tops ripe, and the meadows are in bloom,
While the birds make music all the day.
The young folks roll on the little cabin floor,
All merry, all happy and bright;
Bye an bye, Hard Times comes a knocking at the door,
Then my old Kentucky home, good night.

Chorus—Weep no more, my lady, oh weep no more to-day,
We will sing one song for the old kentucky home
For the old Kentucky home far away.
Weep no more, my lady, weep no more to-day,
We will sing one song for the old kentucky home,
For the old Kentucky home, far away.

They hunt no more for the possum or the coon,
On the meadow, the hill and the shore,
They sing no more by the glimmer of the moon,
On the bench by the old cabin door;
The day goes by like a shadow o'er the heart,
With sorrow, where all was delight,
The time has come, when darkies have to part,
Then, my old Kentucky home, good night.

Weep no more, etc.

The head must bow, and the back will have to bend,
Wherever the darkey may go,
A few more days and the trouble all will end,
In the field where the sugar cane grow,
A few more days for to tote the weary load,
No matter 'twill never be light,
A few more days till we totter on the road,
Then, my old kentucky home, good night.

Weep no more, etc.

THOMAS G. DOYLE,
BOOKSELLER, STATIONER AND SONG PUBLISHER,
No. 297 GAY STREET, BALTIMORE, Md.

Stephen Foster, "My Old Kentucky Home" (Baltimore: Thomas G. Doyle, 1853). View Source

The most enduring popular association, however, was with Stephen Foster's sentimental minstrel song "My Old Kentucky Home, Good Night!" (1853), a mournful tune with overtones of impending death and longing for an earlier, uncomplicated time when slaves supposedly lived untroubled existences in idyllic rural landscapes."

...

Although records in succeeding decades were kept less carefully, petitions against Washington slavery continued unabated through the 1850s, up to the time of the unveiling of *Negro Life at the South* and, subsequently, the outbreak of the Civil War. Abolitionist newspapers helped by fanning the flames of public outrage: William Lloyd Garrison's *Boston Liberator* lamented, for example, "The District is rotten with the plague, and stinks in the nostrils of the world."



American Anti-Slavery Society, "Slave Market of America" (New York: American Anti-Slavery Society, 1836). View Source

Broadsides, such as *Slave Market of America*, with maps, illustrations, and descriptions of district slave prisons in what it termed "The Home of the Oppressed," were also distributed as part of the campaign.

9.5 | Civil War

The Civil War in the United States broke out in 1861 after decades of tensions between Northern and Southern states. A central issue was the abolition of slavery. The government's prohibition of enslavement led the deep South to secede and form the Confederate States of America, which the incoming Lincoln administration and Northern states refused to recognize as legitimate.

African American men were officially allowed to enlist in the Union army following the Emancipation Proclamation on January 1, 1863. In the Northern states, black people were now regarded in a new and different light—their fight for freedom equated with Western Europeans' release from feudal dominion—and they were actively recruited to serve in the army.

American artists wrestled with representing a war that had fractured a country's nascent identity, and their response was diverse stylistically and ideologically. Images of enslaved people and former slaves that bracket the Civil War are conspicuous in their differences. In terms of painting, the predominant subjects fell into the categories of landscape and genre, with the former assuming a metaphoric dimension and the latter modulating everyday scenes to look at a changing social order where former enslaved Americans negotiated for a life in freedom.



Eastman Johnson, *A Ride for Liberty – The Fugitive Slaves,* ca. 1862. Oil on paper board. 55.8 x 66.4 cm. Brooklyn Museum, New York. View Source

The theme of the runaway slave was popular during this period, affording a visible contradiction to Southern propaganda that enslaved people did not seek change. It also carried New Testament parallels in allusions to Mary, Joseph and Jesus fleeing to Egypt.

Only a few weeks into the war, in May 1861, three enslaved African American men escaped Confederate territory and sought refuge at the Union's Fort Monroe. The fort's commander, General Benjamin Butler, refused to return them to the Confederate officer who legally owned them, declaring they were a "contraband of war." His stance was codified by the First Confiscation Act, which invalidated the claims of enslavers to escaped enslaved people who had been used on behalf of the Confederacy. Thousands of fugitives escaped slavery at significant risk by fleeing to Union lines, and many became involved in the Union war effort.

Johnson's *Ride for Liberty: The Fugitive Slaves* encapsulates the transformation from passivity to intentionality as a black family ride to freedom. The painting is autobiographical, recalling an event Johnson witnessed near Bull Run in Virginia in March 1862. An inscription on the back of the image describes the event: "A veritable incident / in the civil war seen by / myself at Centerville / on this morning of / McClellan's advance towards Manassas March 2, 1862 / Eastman Johnson." While Johnson painted three versions of this event, he never displayed any. Two are in public museums; the location of the third is unknown. Did the incident captured in *A Ride for Liberty* raise issues that Johnson hesitated to display publicly?

In *Mine Eyes Have Seen The Glory: The Civil War in Art* (New York: Orion Books, 1993), 246-248), Harold Holzer and Mark E. Neely, Jr. describe the painting and Johnson's motives:

> About all the viewer can surmise is the nobility of the woman, the innocence of the child, and the responsible seriousness of the husband and father determined to free himself and his family from the horrors of slavery. Like much antislavery propaganda, Johnson's painting aimed at the sentimental bull's-eye of the nineteenth-century American heart: the family. The blacks escape as a family unit, not as dislocated, unpredictable, hopeless, or dangerous individuals.

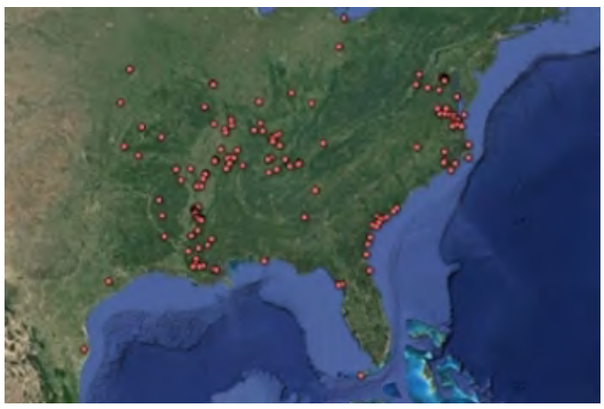
Abigail Cooper, in "'Away I Goin' to Find My Mamma': Self-Emancipation, Migration, and Kinship in Refugee Camps in the Civil War Era"(*Journal of African American History* 102, no. 4 (2017): 444-467) also focuses on the importance of the family unit. Cooper tells the story of Mary Armstrong, a fugitive slave with "free papers" seeking her mother. Moreover, she discusses her findings on fugitive slaves and refugee camps in her dissertation: "Lord, until I reach my home": Inside the Refugee Camps of the American Civil War (PhD, diss., University of Pennsylvania, 2015).



Mary Armstrong, ex-slave, Houston, 1937. Gelatin silver print. 12.7 x 8.26 cm. Library of Congress, Washington.
View Source

Mary Armstrong was about seventeen years old when she got her “free papers.” It was 1863 in St. Louis, Missouri. She took a basket of food, a basket of clothes, a little money, and a boat to Texas. For the first time in her life she did not belong to anybody, and she took that knowledge and headed into a war zone: “when Mr. Will set us all free … Away I goin’ to find my mamma,” Mary said. What she did next challenges the conventional view of

the direction of freedom. … Mary had managed to avoid re-enslavement in Confederate Texas, but she had not found her mother. How can historians reckon with Mary Armstrong's emancipation migration? She received her papers in 1863 in an emancipated metropolis under Union control and migrated south to Texas where the slave trade was still active … Freedom's function was a claim to her kin—a material corporeal being together, of knowing her mother existed, knowing her location. Mary was a seventeen-year-old black girl with free papers hidden in her bosom traveling alone into spaces where she was considered walking currency, but the risk was of only secondary importance to finding her mother.



This map of the contraband camps, shown here on a relief map compiled from historical imagery data from 1930, the earliest visual imagery available, has been compiled from archival research. Cooper, Abigail. Reproduced from "Lord, Until I Reach My Home": Inside the Refugee Camps of the American Civil War," PhD dissertation, University of Pennsylvania, 2015, 287. View Source

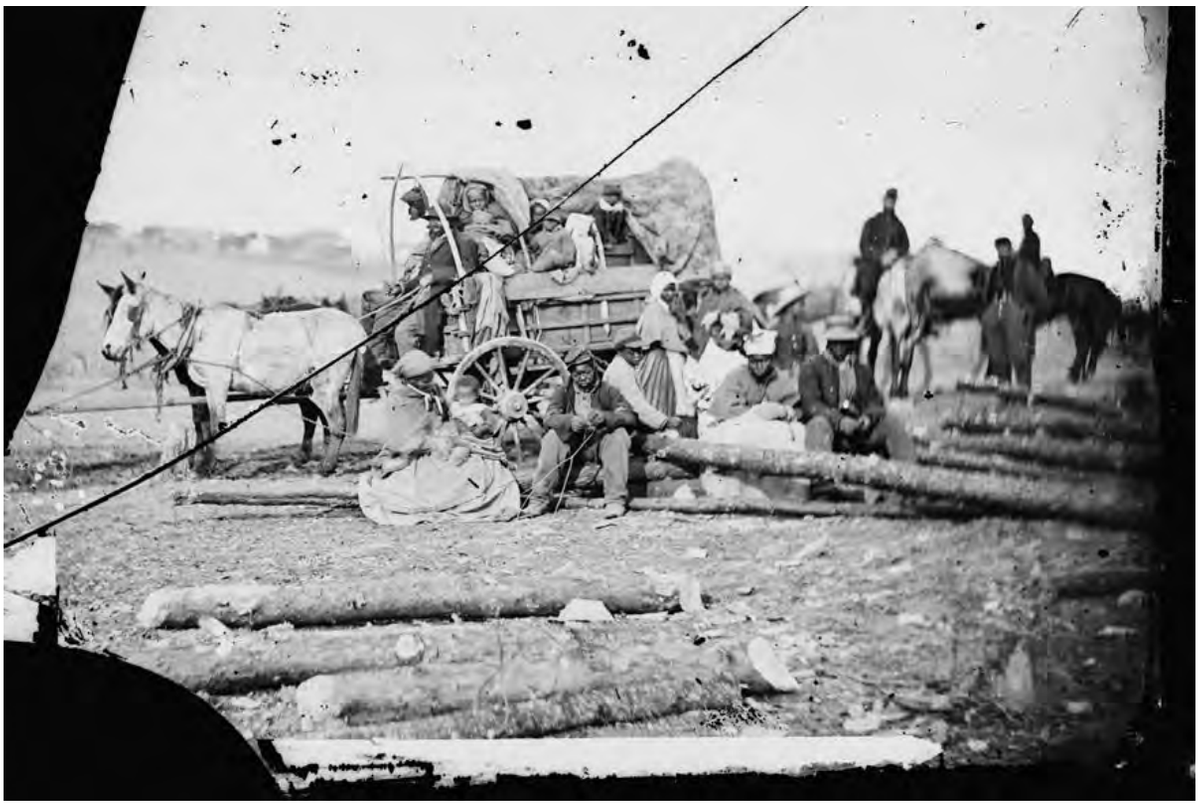
Cooper continues:

> Civil War historians have drawn the maps and movements of armies over time in abundance; they have only recently begun to trace the migration pathways of African Americans in the Civil War era as a means to understand not just the many acts of self-emancipation but of walking toward something—a place where an entirely new order might be possible.
>
> The new order that appeared possible to Mary Armstrong was the household of two—Mary and her mother Siby—that had been impossible in slavery. Mary's migration suggested that traveling in search of kin (without a pass that would indicate that such travel advanced the purposes of a white person) was a legitimate form of movement for a free black woman in the U.S. South, and that Mary could expect recognition of two black females as a bonded and indissoluble family unit. Mary's decision to move to her mother was a political act; her aspiration to stay with her mother as an independent household in Texas imagined a new order. Mary made her journey because papers alone were not enough to make her freedom real. The seal made self-ownership official, but her hunt for her mother gave it meaning. Looking out from slavery, Mary Armstrong's migration embodies a version of black politics that put kin before nation as the integral foundation upon which black communities would navigate the route to citizenship.



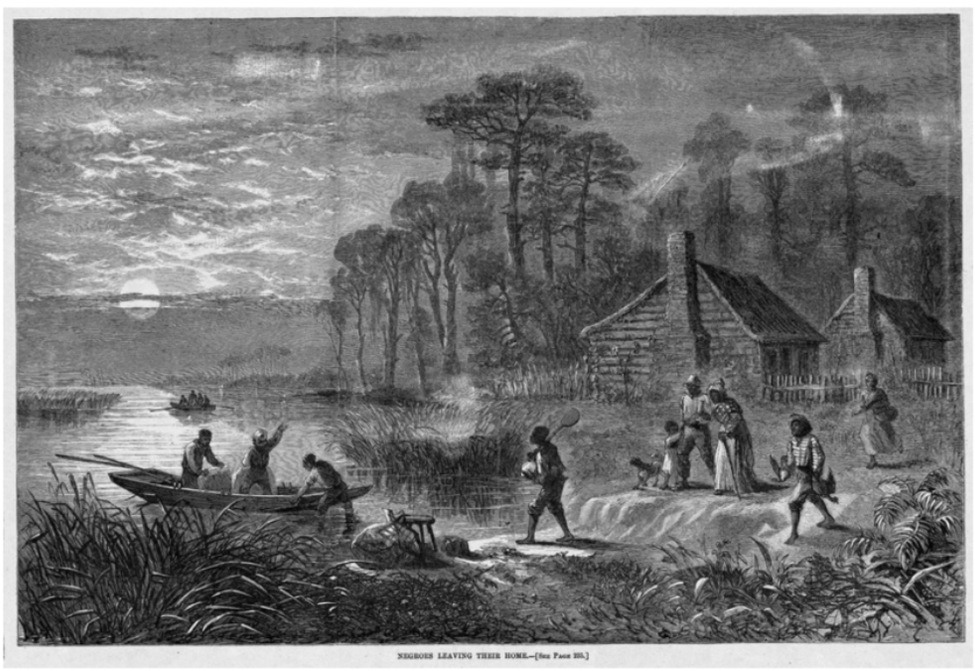
James F. Gibson, Cumberland Landing, Va. Group of “contrabands” at Foller’s house, 1862. Negative: glass, stereograph, wet collodion. Library of Congress, Washington. View Source

The 1860 census reported 4.2 million African Americans lived in the South; 3.9 million of which were enslaved. Data compiled from government sources—refugee camp superintendents’ reports, records gathered by the Freedmen and Southern Society Project at the University of Maryland, the Freedmen’s Bureau pre-Bureau records, and the American Freedmen’s Inquiry Commission records (to name only the most prominent), along with missionary sources and estimates gleaned from qualitative evidence in local archives, suggests that between 524,000 and 660,470 freed people populated refugee camps within Union lines by 1865.



David B. Woodbury, Arrival of Negro family in the lines, 1863. Negative: Glass, wet collodion. Library of Congress, Washington. View Source

Freed people frequently came into camps in family groups. They came like "the oncoming of cities," one camp superintendent" wrote... Photographs and sketch artists alike captured scenes of black migration that were family affairs. These were representations of displacement, but they were also representations of a kind of settler experience.



"Negroes Leaving their Home," *Harper's Weekly,* April 9, 1864. View Source

The boats also permit perfect freedom of transportation to the [N]egroes, with or without passes," a Confederate official noted. Boats might carry whole families, including those members whose limited mobility had once ruled out antebellum escapes. Indeed, boats transporting folks of all manner of abilities and disabilities are what sketch artists of the day captured in their scenes.

In a sketch in *Harper's Weekly* on 9 April, 1864, a stooped woman with a cane makes her way to the rowboats coming onto the bank. She moves alongside a child with a dog and a man carrying flailing chickens.



"Heavy Weights – Arrival of a Party at League Island," 1872. Engraving. New York Public Library. View Source

Boats were also excellent means of escape due to their hiding places. Mary Armstrong seated herself "as close to the big wheel as possible" when she rode on the Mississippi steamer. .... Mary Armstrong relayed this story seventy-four years later with the precision and immediacy of a person giving directions to a stranger ... Mary Armstrong's telling reveals that this migration created an indelible memory. When she gave her interview in 1937, Mary already knew how the story would end; yet in her interview she relayed, and perhaps relived, the suspense of her journey.

Lawrence Goodman's interview with Abigail Cooper highlights her findings about the refugee camps ("Between Bondage and Freedom: Life in Civil War Refugee Camps," *Brandeis Now*, February 14, 2020, https://www.brandeis.edu/now/2020/february/civil-war-refugee.html)



Slabtown, a refugee camp in Hampton, Virginia, now the site of Hampton University. Library of Congress, Washington. View Source

By looking at this in-between moment when slavery's end was possible but not assured, we can look to how African Americans made and lived out freedom on their own terms, Cooper said. "African Americans gathered to forge a monumental psychological transformation from knowing America as their enslaver to envisioning America as their home."



Timothy H. O'Sullivan, Culpeper, Va. "Contrabands," 1863. Negative: glass, wet collodion. Library of Congress, Washington. View Source

A camp could hold anywhere from a few hundred to several thousand people, most of them living in barracks or fabric tents.

Conditions in many of the camps were squalid and disease was common. Black refugees lived in constant fear and terror of raids from southern whites. At one point, the Confederate army plundered and burned Slabtown to the ground.

But despite the hardships and oppression, Cooper says that the camps offered the formerly enslaved people their first opportunity to savor freedom, reunite as families and lay the groundwork for a new society and religion.



A contraband school, ca. 1860-65. National Archives and Records Administration, College Park. View Source

Never before had so many former slaves of so many different cultures gathered in such concentrations with the possibility of freedom near.

There was an exchange of ideas, traditions and rituals that fostered literacy and education and led to religious revivals.

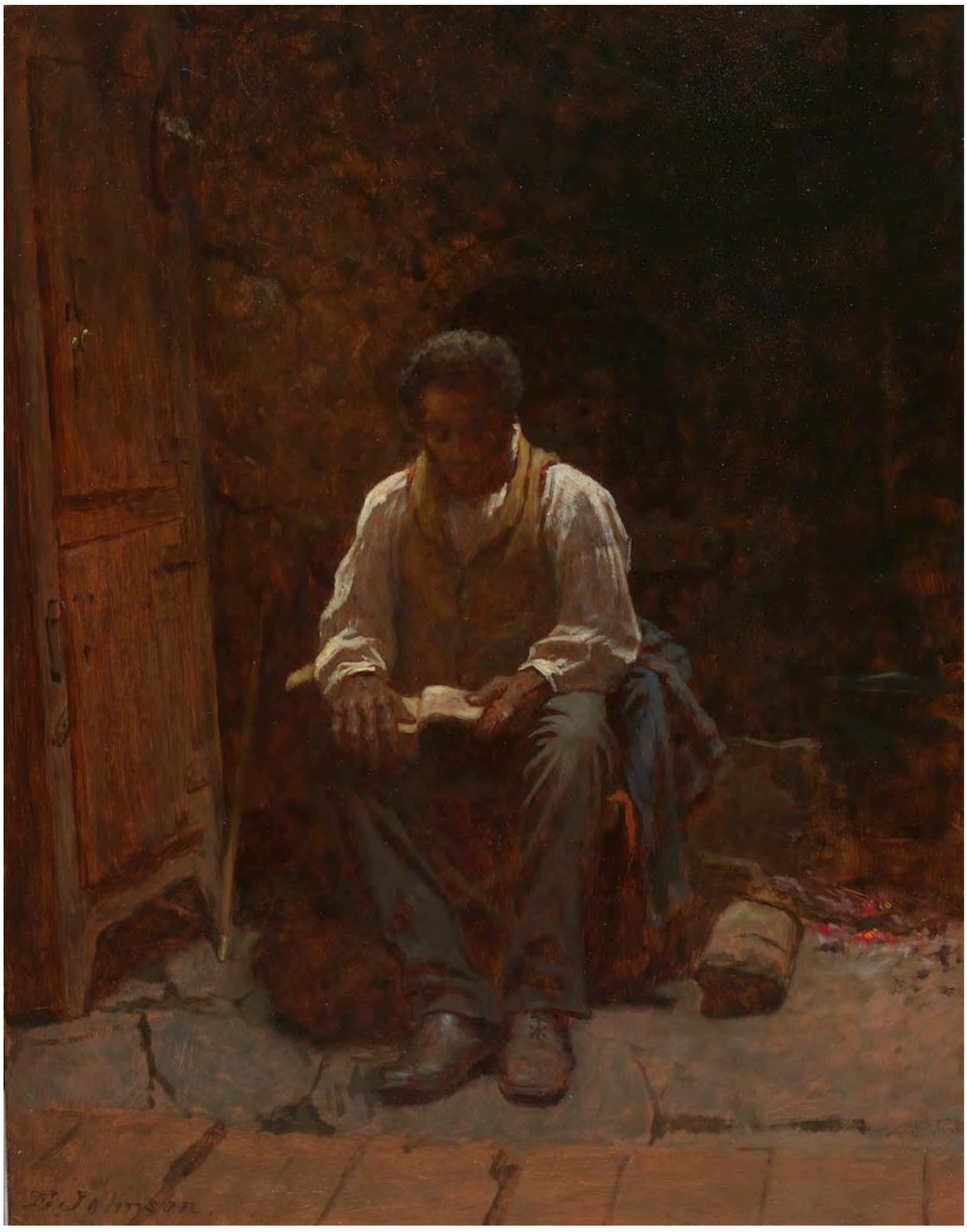
Camp inhabitants compared their plight to the Israelites in the desert in the book of Exodus, freed from slavery but not yet delivered to their new country.

Critical to this was the ability to read the Bible for themselves for the first time in their lives. Southern slaveholders had used selected passages to justify slavery.

Blacks in the camps now formed Bible study groups and found scripture to support their liberation. The Jubilee in the Old Testament marks the day when Hebrew slaves would be freed from bondage in Egypt. African Americans created their own Emancipation Jubilee on January 1, 1863, the day the Emancipation Proclamation went into effect.

Often cast in terms of African Americans winning the right to vote or running candidates for office, Cooper believes there were other, equally fundamental ways blacks viewed freedom.

Freedom had a spiritual dimension that fueled a radical transformation of what it meant to be a black American.



Eastman Johnson, *The Lord is My Shepherd,* 1863. Oil on canvas. 42.2 x 33.3 cm. Smithsonian American Art Museum, Washington. View Source

Johnson painted *The Lord Is My Shepherd* only months after the Emancipation Proclamation of New Year's Day, 1863, as an example of the educability of Americans of African descent. It shows a black man seated in the shelter of a warm hearth, concentrating on his reading. A dark blue coat with scarlet lining drapes over the back of the chair to emphasize that this man has served in the Union Army. The figure's attentive expression, awkward way of grasping the book, and uncomfortable-looking posture suggest some difficulty with reading. At the same time, the image projects the man's intense commitment to overcoming the obstacles in the way of his education.

Eleanor Jones Harvey writes in "Painting Freedom" (*New York Times*, October 30, 2013) (https://archive.nytimes.com/opinionator.blogs.nytimes.com/2013/10/30/painting-freedom/) that:

The title conjures the comforting words of the Psalms. But the Bible is not open to Psalms, which is in the middle of the book, but to the front — to Exodus — with its much more compelling message: "Let my people go.""

Exodus runs like a river through stories of escape from slavery. The parallels were easy to draw between plantation overseers and the pharaoh, and between their strongest opponents—Sojourner Truth, Harriet Tubman, Frederick Douglass—and Moses, who served as a shepherd to his people as he led them out of Egypt to the Promised Land.

The story of Moses bringing the Israelites out of bondage held particular resonance among enslaved people. "Go Down Moses" was a familiar Negro spiritual in Virginia. The Rev. Lewis C. Lockwood, a Northern chaplain sent South by the American Missionary Association to aid black refugees, heard it sung as a rallying anthem by the contraband slaves who gathered at Virginia's Fortress Monroe. Impressed by the timely and heartfelt song, he copied it down in late 1861 and submitted 20 verses to Horace Greeley's *New York Tribune*. The song immediately became popular among Northern readers, and in December, a New York printer and a Boston music company collaborated to publish a sheet music arrangement under the title, "Oh! Let My People Go: The Song of the Contrabands." The opening and closing verse of the song lyrics read:

Oh! Go down, Moses
Away, down to Egypt's land,
And tell King Pharaoh
To let my people go.

For many Americans, enslaved or free, this story from Exodus described the conditions of slavery in the South and the moral imperative for the North to free all enslaved blacks. The leading abolitionist preacher Henry Ward Beecher delivered a sermon on Jan. 4, 1863, in celebration of the Emancipation Proclamation in which he warned his congregation that just as the Egyptian oppressors faced death and destruction with the departure of the Hebrews, so, too, North and South awaited God's judgment for their selfish behavior regarding chattel slavery. It is possible that Johnson heard this stirring sermon, as he occasionally attended Beecher's Church of All Souls, formerly his First Unitarian Church.

In this way, "The Lord is My Shepherd" blurs the line between two types of literacy, one in the service of faith and the other in political awareness. Literacy was in its own way a declaration of independence and humanity for a people long denied both. The idea of wanting to learn—reading, writing, talking and being heard—was a powerful force in the black communities. It embodied the concepts of determination and self-advocacy, of independent thinking and initiative. As a writer for Harper's Weekly put it, "The alphabet is an abolitionist. If you would keep a people enslaved, refuse to teach them to read." Literacy was also a means of understanding the past and of using that knowledge to create a future.

Many Americans, both enslaved and free, heeded such biblical lessons and felt that Lincoln was fulfilling a moral imperative when he issued the Emancipation Proclamation and opposed a slave system that denied people the right affirmed in this painting: access to the liberating power of the written word. Johnson painted this composition as Americans began to consider the actual impact of emancipation, not simply its theoretical and moral aspects.

9.6
| Emancipation, Black Civil Rights and Social Reform



Thomas Nast, "The emancipation of the Negroes, January, 1863 – The past and the future," *Harper's Weekly,* January 24, 1863. Wood engraving. 37.2 x 52.6 cm. Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York. View Source

The liberal-minded artist Thomas Nast had fled Germany as a child, traveling to America with his family because his father held political convictions critical of the Bavarian government. His images in *Harper's Weekly* document the plight of African Americans as they celebrate the promise inherent in the Emancipation Proclamation issued by Abraham Lincoln as an Executive Order on January 24, 1863.

The Emancipation of the Negroes is a complex image, centralizing a black family free at last from fears of exploitation and separation. While the central domestic scene is tranquil, imagistic associations to slavery appear in vignettes beside it—the slave ship, the lash, the bloodhound, and the auction block—while on the right, blessings for the future are pictured, such as education, wage work, home. "Here domestic peace and comfort reign supreme" explains the accompanying text "the reward of faithful labour, undertaken with the blissful knowledge that at last its benefit belongs to the labourer only and that all his honest earnings are to be appropriated as he may see fit to the object he has most at heart- his children's advancement and education."

Richard Samuel West describes the illustration in detail in "*Emancipation of Negroes,* 24 January, 1863." (https://thomasnastcartoons.com/selected-cartoons/emancipation-of-negros-24-january-1863/)



Detail of Thomas Nast, "The emancipation of the Negroes, January, 1863 – The past and the future," *Harper's Weekly,* January 24, 1863. Wood engraving. 37.2 x 52.6 cm. Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York. View Source



Detail of Thomas Nast, "The emancipation of the Negroes, January, 1863 – The past and the future," *Harper's Weekly,* January 24, 1863. Wood engraving. 37.2 x 52.6 cm. Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York. View Source

Center image: The family is economically comfortable. Their parlor is well appointed with a modern wood stove, and Nast created the UNION brand to stress the point that the Union provides warmth and sustenance. Candlesticks rest upon a decorative mantle. A portrait of Lincoln, and a banjo, a validation of African American culture, hang on the wall next to a cornice window treatment with curtains fashionably pulled back…The father is well dressed and sits in a tufted chair, an overcoat folded over the arm. The coat suggests an arrival, perhaps from a day of paid employment. He playfully bounces a young child on his leg. Near the stove, an elderly woman wearing a headscarf, observes the play. A young boy, book in hand, stands behind his father –taking a break from his reading to admire the moment. Behind the grandmother, a young couple shares a tender moment of courtship. An adult woman tends to the stove opposite the elderly woman… She protects her striped dress with an apron as she busies herself with the family meal. Everyone is well dressed. There are no tattered holes or rags in this family's wardrobe.



Detail of Thomas Nast, "The emancipation of the Negroes, January, 1863 – The past and the future," *Harper's Weekly,* January 24, 1863. Wood engraving. 37.2 x 52.6 cm. Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York. View Source

Below the central image: … a smaller circle containing a figure of an angelic Father Time. He holds the New Year baby who leans forward to unlock the hand shackles of one last slave, kneeling on the ground awaiting his freedom. This is the promise that Lincoln has ordered—a realization of the moral stance to correct the wrongs of history.



Detail of Thomas Nast, “The emancipation of the Negroes, January, 1863 – The past and the future,” *Harper’s Weekly,* January 24, 1863. Wood engraving. 37.2 x 52.6 cm. Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York. View Source



Detail of Thomas Nast, “The emancipation of the Negroes, January, 1863 – The past and the future,” *Harper’s Weekly,* January 24, 1863. Wood engraving. 37.2 x 52.6 cm. Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York. View Source



Detail of Thomas Nast, "The emancipation of the Negroes, January, 1863 – The past and the future," *Harper's Weekly,* January 24, 1863. Wood engraving. 37.2 x 52.6 cm. Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York. View Source

Vignettes:
left: scenes of grief and pain illuminate the recent history of African slavery in America. Vicious dogs chase down African Americans who are trying to escape.

middle left … a black man stands at auction, his future unknown. His distraught wife pleads with the white owner not to separate her family … Other slaves are slumped on the ground, heads down, awaiting their fate at the hands of the auctioneer.

lower left: In a scene of sexual submission, a female, stripped to the waist, bends over a tree stump, her white master swinging the knotted cat o' nine tails whip high in the air to assure a severe punishment upon her naked back. Other acts of white mistreatment fill out the image.

right: Nast includes progress— the new system of public schools introduced during this era, and two children happily leave their home to receive an education. Nast believed in the concept of a multi-cultural public school system and in his public school cartoons shows children of many races and creeds playing and learning together.

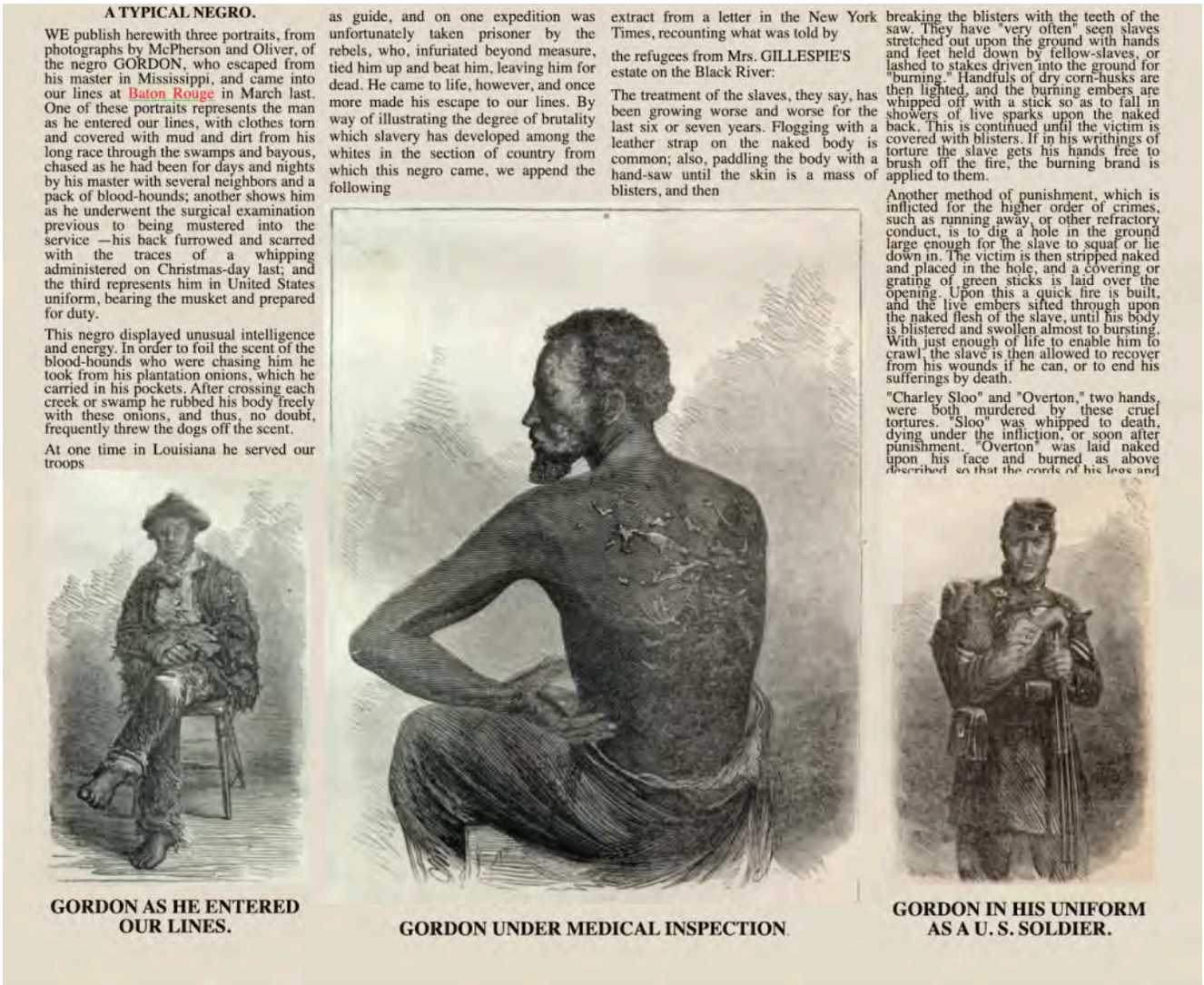
bottom right: an African American stands at a cashier's window making a transaction. His attire and bare feet indicate he is a sharecropper, confirmed by a smaller scene showing two farmers waving to their white overlord. The sharecropping system emerged out of necessity. Following emancipation, sharecropping developed as a popular method to retain African Americans as an agricultural labor force. Economic arrangements varied, but the sharecropping system largely favored white plantation owners and restricted labor mobility and economic choices for the worker or "sharecropper."

right of a cashier's window: … individuals conduct business. A Mexican serape or blanket, seen on the man on the right, suggests the movement or influx of new of people and new laborers toward new opportunities. In this gathering, an African American approaches the cashier to conduct a transaction. He may be receiving his pay, or making an arrangement to travel. A little girl armed with a basket, rather than luggage, waits to his left. By including this vignette, Nast is showing that new freedoms provide choices that were not offered in the past.



Thomas Nast, *Emancipation,* ca. 1865. Print on wove paper: wood engraving printed in black and rose. 36 x 52.1 cm. Library of Congress, Washington. View Source

In 1865, the image was re-released by Philadelphia printmakers King & Baird and sold as a commemorative print after Lincoln's assassination... The second version did not appear in Harper's Weekly. In the commemorative version, the content of the smaller center circle was replaced with a portrait of Lincoln.



A TYPICAL NEGRO.

WE publish herewith three portraits, from photographs by McPherson and Oliver, of the negro GORDON, who escaped from his master in Mississippi, and came into our lines at Baton Rouge in March last. One of these portraits represents the man as he entered our lines, with clothes torn and covered with mud and dirt from his long race through the swamps and bayous, chased as he had been for days and nights by his master with several neighbors and a pack of blood-hounds; another shows him as he underwent the surgical examination previous to being mustered into the service —his back furrowed and scarred with the traces of a whipping administered on Christmas-day last; and the third represents him in United States uniform, bearing the musket and prepared for duty.

This negro displayed unusual intelligence and energy. In order to foil the scent of the blood-hounds who were chasing him he took from his plantation onions, which he carried in his pockets. After crossing each creek or swamp he rubbed his body freely with these onions, and thus, no doubt, frequently threw the dogs off the scent.

At one time in Louisiana he served our troops as guide, and on one expedition was unfortunately taken prisoner by the rebels, who, infuriated beyond measure, tied him up and beat him, leaving him for dead. He came to life, however, and once more made his escape to our lines. By way of illustrating the degree of brutality which slavery has developed among the whites in the section of country from which this negro came, we append the following extract from a letter in the New York Times, recounting what was told by the refugees from Mrs. GILLESPIE'S estate on the Black River:

The treatment of the slaves, they say, has been growing worse and worse for the last six or seven years. Flogging with a leather strap on the naked body is common; also, paddling the body with a hand-saw until the skin is a mass of blisters, and then breaking the blisters with the teeth of the saw. They have "very often" seen slaves stretched out upon the ground with hands and feet held down by fellow-slaves, or lashed to stakes driven into the ground for "burning." Handfuls of dry corn-husks are then lighted, and the burning embers are whipped off with a stick so as to fall in showers of live sparks upon the naked back. This is continued until the victim is covered with blisters. If in his writhings of torture the slave gets his hands free to brush off the fire, the burning brand is applied to them.

Another method of punishment, which is inflicted for the higher order of crimes, such as running away, or other refractory conduct, is to dig a hole in the ground large enough for the slave to squat or lie down in. The victim is then stripped naked and placed in the hole, and a covering or grating of green sticks is laid over the opening. Upon this a quick fire is built, and the live embers sifted through upon the naked flesh of the slave, until his body is blistered and swollen almost to bursting. With just enough of life to enable him to crawl, the slave is then allowed to recover from his wounds if he can, or to end his sufferings by death.

"Charley Sloo" and "Overton," two hands, were both murdered by these cruel tortures. "Sloo" was whipped to death, dying under the infliction, or soon after punishment. "Overton" was laid naked upon his face and burned as above described, so that the cords of his legs and

GORDON AS HE ENTERED OUR LINES.

GORDON UNDER MEDICAL INSPECTION.

GORDON IN HIS UNIFORM AS A U. S. SOLDIER.

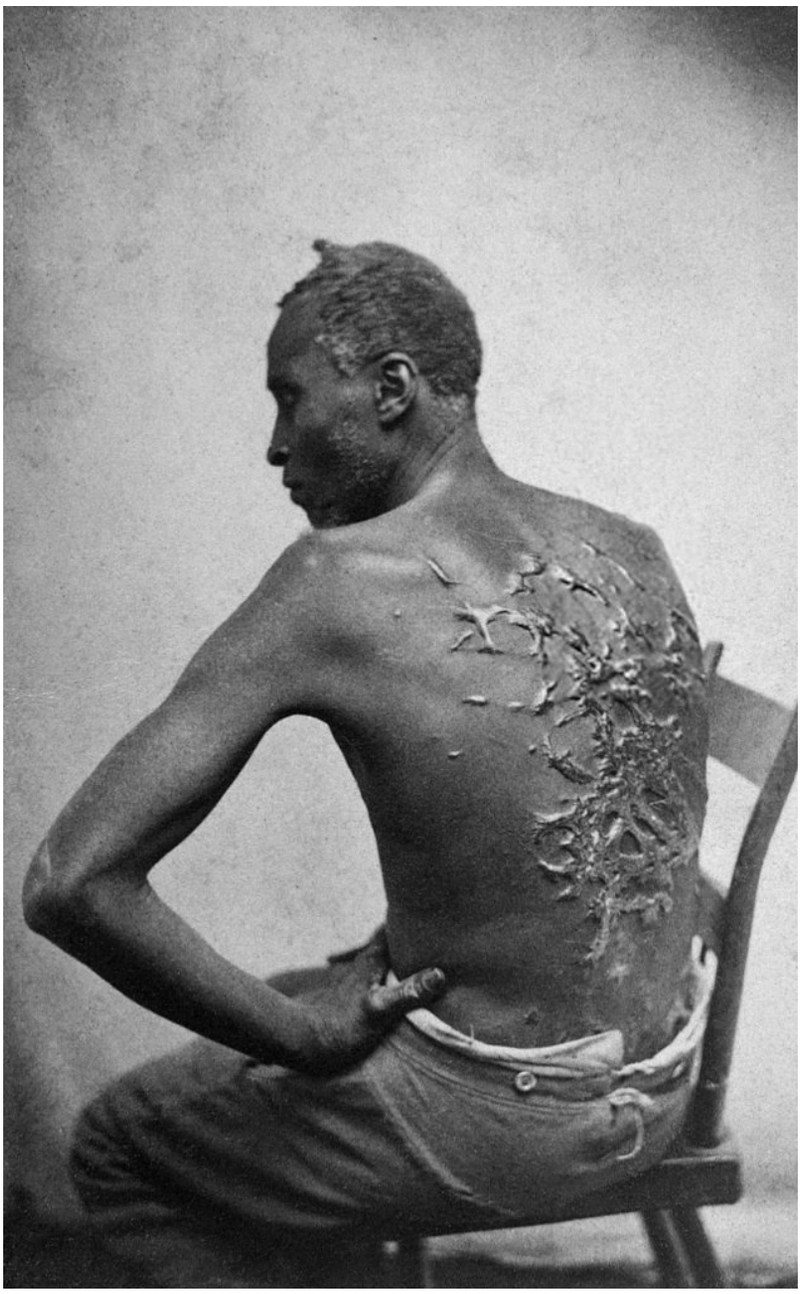
"Gordon under medical inspection," *Harper's Weekly,* July 4, 1863. View Source

"A Typical Negro" appeared in *Harper's Weekly* on July 4, 1863. Before the Civil War, *Harper's Weekly* largely avoided the topic of slavery. This editorial policy stemmed from the conservative politics of the Harper family and the financial motivation to prevent the loss of subscribers across the country.

This changed after the start of the Civil War. *Harper's Weekly* took a Unionist stance and strongly supported emancipation, black civil rights, and social reform. The shift was thanks to George William Curtis, the paper's political editor, from 1863 to 1892. Curtis was a staunch supporter of civil rights for African Americans and Native Americans, women's suffrage, civil service reform, public education, and environmental conservation.

Also responsible was Thomas Nast, the most important political cartoonist in American history, whose images addressed racial injustice. Curtis and Nast were influential advocates of equal rights for black Americans, attacking the prejudices and unrelenting violence committed against them.

Images of the brutality inflicted on people of African descent in America before and during the Civil War laid bare the horrific effects of disciplinary actions, including flogging, the standard punishment of whipping naked flesh with leather straps. The photograph printed by *Harper's* labelled "Gordon Under Inspection," part of a triptych, remains one of the most compelling images of slavery. The smaller photos on either side were tagged "Gordon as He Entered Our Lines" and "Gordon in His Uniform as a U.S. Soldier" but provided little more context or explanation.



Martin Benjamin Brady, *Gordon, Scourged Back*, 1863. Photograph. The city of Baton Rouge. View Source



William D. McPherson, and Mr. Oliver, Civil War CDV of Gordon (slave) upon arrival at the Baton Rouge Union camp, 1863. Photograph. View Source

David Silkenat writes in "'A Typical Negro': Gordon, Peter, Vincent Colyer, and the Story behind Slavery's Most Famous Photograph," *American Nineteenth Century History*, 15 no. 2 (2014): 169-186):

> The image of Gordon, his back scarred from whipping, remains one of the most visually arresting depictions of slavery.... However, despite the image's ubiquity, we know relatively little about the image and the man featured in it. Most historians who have examined the image have accepted the narrative in the accompanying *Harper's* article as an accurate account of the subject's life and the image's origins. This article argues, however, that there is good evidence to suggest that the accompanying article was largely fabricated and much of what we think we know about "Gordon" may be inaccurate.
>
> ...
>
> As Carole Emberton has recently observed, the transition embodied in the "Gordon" triptych "played an important role in the redemptive narrative of the war." It was a part of a larger genre of images that chronicled the transition from slave to soldier, from bondsman to citizen. "Gordon's" suffering, the focal point of the triptych, helped to justify his assumption of the uniform and the rifle. For a public uncertain about the merits of African American as soldiers, the redemptive nature of the image helped to justify the enlistment of black soldiers and later for black citizenship.

...

The article names the subject as "Gordon," a slave "who escaped from his master in Mississippi, and came into our lines at Baton Rouge in March last." The article indicates that the scarring on his back was the result of whipping he had received the previous Christmas, and that he had escaped from slavery using onions to disguise his smell from dogs sent in pursuit. The article also mentions that Gordon had served at one point as a guide for Union troops in Louisiana and was captured by Confederate soldiers, who "tied him up and beat him, leaving him for dead," but somehow survived and returned to Union lines.

...

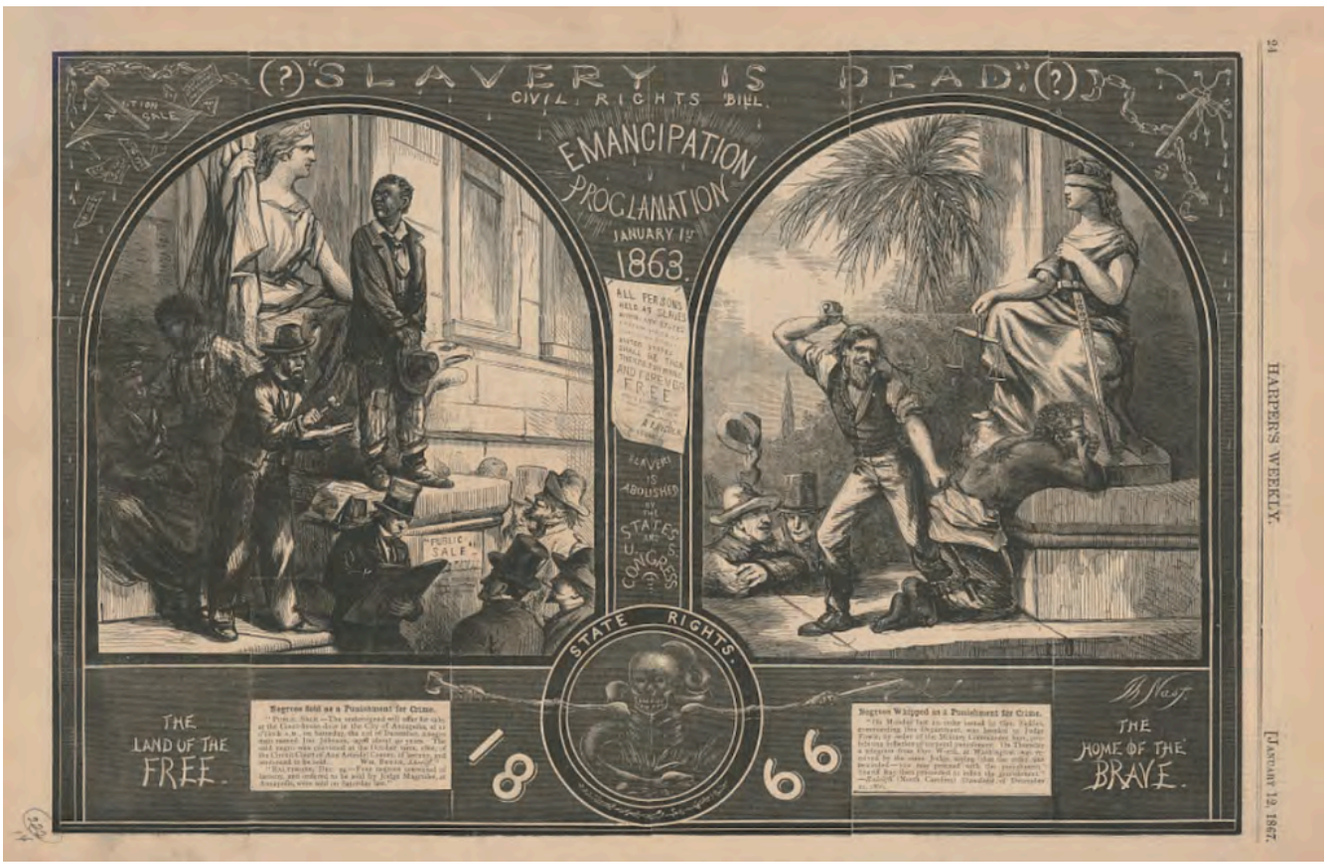
Only a few elements in the *Harper's* article can be independently verified.

...

While Civil War era Americans placed a great deal of faith in the veracity of photographic evidence, they were often skeptical of the accuracy of the illustrated press, whose coverage at times bordered on the sensational. Readers, therefore, would have been much more likely to believe in the images' reliability than in the accompanying text.

...

Recognizing the image's emotional power in dramatizing the brutality of slavery, abolitionists sought to use it to rally public flagging public sentiment ... The appearance of the "scourged back" in *Harper*'s, flanked by images of a separate individual (one of which may have been fabricated) and accompanied by a partially invented narrative, therefore, served the interests of both abolitionists and publishers at a critical moment in the battle for Northern public opinion. Both Vincent Colyer, the presumptive author and illustrator, and the editors at *Harper's* had incentives to create a narrative to accompany the image. It was too powerful an image at too critical a time not to.



Thomas Nast, "Slavery is Dead (?)," *Harper's Weekly,* January 12, 1867. View Source

Lincoln's primary goal during the early months of the war was to preserve the Union. On January 1,1863, when the Emancipation Proclamation declared enslaved people free to join those areas still fighting in the North, it stated nothing about those left behind Union lines.



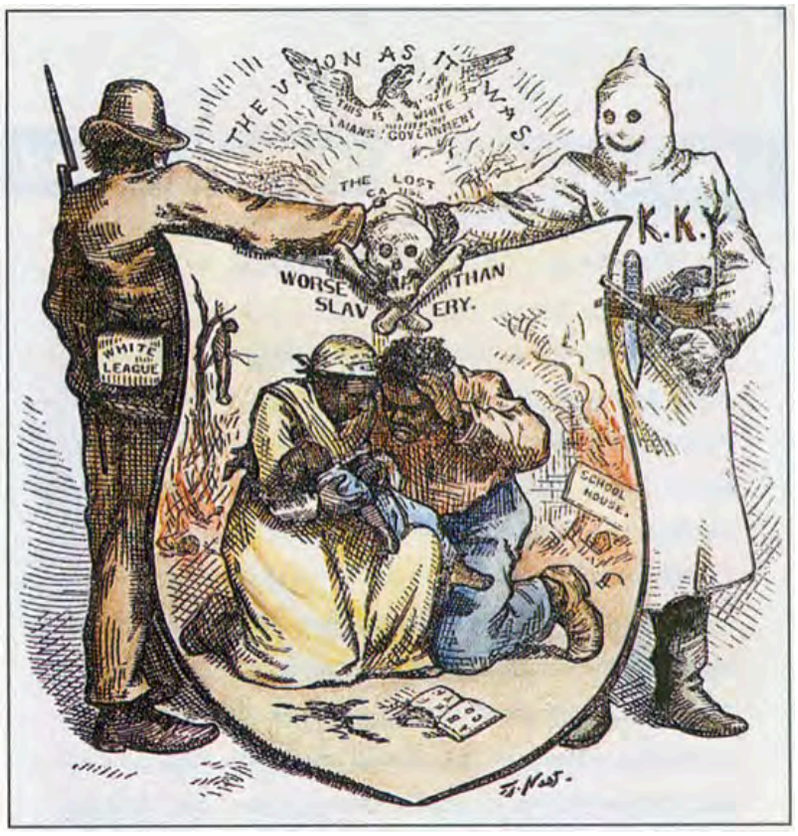
Frank Vizetelly, "The riots in New York: The mob lynching a negro in Clarkson Street," *Illustrated London News*, August 8, 1863. New York Public Library. View Source

More desperate and violent attempts against blacks occurred as they gained legal freedoms through the Emancipation Proclamation. Those fleeing to the North were hunted down with bloodhounds, a practice abetted by the Fugitive Slave Act, which condoned their forced return to the South.

Lynching became a common sight in the South and even New York where former slaves were free.

"Nast and the New York Draft Riots of 1863" (https://thomasnastcartoons.com/irish-catholic-cartoons/new-york-draft-riots-of-1863/) provides an analysis of the image:

> The Draft Riots of 1863 was a public reaction to the United States Congress enactment of legislation to resupply dwindling Civil War volunteers. The new laws included those who voted or intended to become citizens. This particularly affected the Irish who appeared on new voter's lists in great number, thanks to [William Magear] Tweed's efforts to naturalize the Irish quickly so they could vote on pro-Tweed issues.
>
> ...
>
> This picture is not about looting. It is about a horrific murder of an innocent human being. Nast's hazy ambiguity about the mob is curious because, years later, in subsequent images Nast directly implicates the Irish and places them on the scene as lead aggressors in the Draft Riot lynching.



Thomas Nast, "Worse than Slavery," *Harper's Weekly,* October 24, 1874.
View Source

In this cartoon, the phrase "Worse than Slavery" is printed on a coat of arms depicting a grieving black family holding their dead child. In the background, we see a lynching and a schoolhouse in flames. The cartoon links Democrats with white-led organizations that attempted to use violence and intimidation to disenfranchise and suppress former slaves during Reconstruction. Two men, one a member of the Ku Klux Klan and the other a White League representative, shake hands, congratulating themselves on their attacks and killings of black Americans. The White League (also known as the White Man's League, was a paramilitary terrorist organization that began in the Southern United States in 1874. The Ku Klux Klan, also established after American Civil War, had numerous chapters across the Southern United States. Federal law enforcement attempted unsuccessfully to suppress it. Like the White League, often acting in tandem, its objective was to overthrow southern Republican state governments through voter intimidation and violence. Members made their costumes—robes, masks and conical hats—to terrify African-American victims while they remained anonymous.

Nast's political cartoons addressed not only African Americans but also American Indians and Chinese Americans.



Thomas Nast, “Move on! Has the Native American no rights that the naturalized American is bound to respect?” *Harper’s Weekly,* April 22, 1871. Print: wood engraving. Library of Congress, Washington. View Source

1871 Nast cartoon: “Move on! Has the Native American no rights that the naturalized American is bound to respect?” (While naturalized foreigners had the right to vote, Native Americans did not, as they were not considered United States citizens. This was not remedied until 1924).



Thomas Nast, " 'Every Dog' (No distinction of color) 'Has his day,'" *Harper's Weekly,* February 8, 1879. View Source

1879 Nast cartoon: "Red gentleman (Indian) to yellow gentleman (Chinese) "Pale face 'fraid you crowd him out, as he did me." In the left background, an African American remarks, "My day is coming."

Fiona Deans Halloran writes in “The Power of the Pencil: Thomas Nast and American Political Art.” (PhD diss., University of California, Los Angeles, 2005):

> Nast’s cartoon legacy cannot be read in simple terms. Nast’s ambivalence towards a variety of groups – notably the Irish, African Americans, Native Americans and the Chinese – was both representative and reflective of a more general American ambivalence about race, ethnicity, and culture in the Gilded Age. Nast’s work is an ideal source for historians interested in demonstrating the ways that nineteenth century Americans simultaneously adopted radically new ideas and clung to older ways. Likewise, Nast makes visual the limits of nineteenth century flexibility on questions of race, gender, ethnicity, class, and politics.

9.7
| Winslow Homer: Bearing Witness

In a lengthy review of the 1880 exhibition at the National Academy of Design, Winslow Homer was extolled “as one of the few artists who have the boldness and originality to make something out of the negro for artistic purposes.” In a review of the *Twelfth Annual Exhibition of the Water Colour Society* held a year earlier, another proclaimed that “a hundred years from now those pictures (of Blacks) alone will have kept him famous.”

Homer affectionately called them his “darkey pictures.” But the fact that he entered several of them into some of his more celebrated exhibitions suggests his awareness of their importance in an artistic and historical context. During an era of extreme civil unrest, economic inflation and political upheaval, Homer reflected America’s complex, changing attitudes toward black citizens. His works were not typical representations, proffering more psychological and emotional depth at a time when African Americans, leaving behind the violence of enslavement, were uncertainly positioned in America. Up to then, the visual imagery employed by abolitionists to tell their stories had mainly centred on scenes of whipping and torture.

Homer began his career as a commercial printmaker, first in Boston and then in New York, where he settled in the late 1850s. In 1859, he opened a studio, and until 1863, he attended classes at the National Academy of Design, where he briefly studied with Frédéric Rondel in 1861. In October of the same year, he was sent to the front in Virginia as an artist-correspondent for the new illustrated journal *Harper’s Weekly*. Homer visited the Union front twice during the American Civil War, honing his ability to detail real places and people and bear witness to events.



Winslow Homer, "A Bivouac Fire on the Potomac," *Harper's Weekly,* December 21, 1861. Wood engraving in black ink on newsprint paper. 38.8 x 55.8 cm. Cooper Hewitt, Smithsonian Design Museum, New York. View Source

Black refugee communities were springing up near Union camps during the Civil War. This development sparked heated controversy in both the Union and the Confederacy. Images of people identified as "contrabands"—sometimes portrayed in a positive light, other times rendered as insulting caricatures— began appearing in political cartoons, on envelopes, and in pieces of music.

The intense public interest in the contraband experiences provided the impetus for the double-page engraving, which appeared shortly after Homer's return to New York. The engraving shows a black man dancing before Union troops gathered around an evening bivouac. The original dancer may have been an army man, for in the sketch, he appears European, even Irish, and wears boots. In the completed image, however, Homer has darkened his complexion and depicted him as hatless and unshod.

Campfire scenes were commonplace throughout the war, as were images of blacks performing for a white audience. Arguably, one positive aspect of the havoc of war was the interaction between different class structures, what may be described as the beginnings of an enormous social melting pot.

While Homer assigns the dancer central status amongst dozens of white men, an unusual decision for the time, Ethan Lasser, curator of the exhibition *Winslow Homer: Eyewitness* has noted, "Homer as witness suffered from the biases of his time." In "*A Bivouac Fire on the Potomac,*" he said, "The image of a freed slave who crossed Union lines and is dancing for others is a very stereotyped image; he is not working, he is not a soldier, he is entertainment for the troops." (Colleen Walsh, "Winslow Homer as Eyewitness," *The Harvard Gazette*, September 13, 2019, https://news.harvard.edu/gazette/story/2019/09/winslow-homers-work-as-civil-war-art-correspondent-focus-of-eyewitness-exhibit-at-harvard/)

Regarded as property by some, only half free by others, his face is partially obscured, enigmatic, like the rising face of the full moon. On the bottom right, a small note reads IOU, perhaps a sign of the stakes of a card game between white soldiers. It is located between the audience and the fire, at a spot where a viewer might enter the pictured circle, a reminder of the human debt attached to generations of slavery.



Winslow Homer, *Campaign sketches: Our jolly cook,* 1863. Lithograph. Cleveland Museum of Art. View Source

Numerous works of Americans of African descent dancing appeared throughout those transformational years, Homer's *Our Jolly Cook* from his campaign sketches among them. The frantically dancing black man seems to be performing at the behest of the watching white soldiers.



Winslow Homer, *Defiance: Inviting a Shot Before Petersburg,* 1864. Oil on panel. 30.5 x 45.7 cm. Detroit Institute of Arts. View Source

Homer spent time in Virginia in the 1860s and again 1870s. He was there during some of the Civil War's worst battles, including the siege of Petersburg in mid-June 1864 when the tired armies were dug into a trench war. Stuck in a face-off for weeks, they stared and swore at one another as frustrations and desolation mounted.

Homer's depiction of the event shows a Confederate soldier silhouetted against the sky, fists clenched, taunting the Union sharpshooters across the field. A black enslaved man playing the banjo sits in the dugout below him. Nearby puffs of smoke suggest the warfare has begun. The significance of the black figure informs the meaning of the entire picture.

On the morning of 30 July, Union forces detonated a charge beneath Confederate defence lines. The soldier is standing on 320 kegs of dynamite; the long stick on the left and the bayonets and banjo on the right all seem to point to that location below his feet.

The painting speaks to the explosive charge of the institution of slavery. Homer evokes that proposition by placing the black man below the ground upon which the rebel has taken his stand. The stereotypical black figure performs several additional functions. He is located in what will become the Crater, and for Northern viewers, this would evoke immediate thoughts of blacks who fought and died in the Civil War.



Winslow Homer, *Army Boots*, 1865. Oil on canvas. 35.5 x 45.7 cm. Hirshhorn Museum and Sculpture Garden, Washington. View Source

As Northern public opinion accepted the role in combat of blacks in uniform and the government edged toward a policy of equal pay, Homer's images began to change. He turned to subjects of everyday life and the chores for which African Americans were now compensated. The Union's Army of the Potomac in eastern Virginia employed hundreds of contrabands as cooks, laundrymen, valets, and teamsters.

Army Boots is a record of this aspect of black life. Two youths are pictured playing cards in a tent. They have been shining army boots. Their role has complex associations, mainly as related to the object of the black army boot. For one, a "boot" was a boot-black that shined shoes. A boot was also a fresh military recruit in "boot camp." However, what counteracts the metaphor, and provides new meaning, is that Homer's whole subject is the young men, and he has situated them in the centre of the composition accordingly. They are not marginalized as in *A Bivouac Fire*; instead, they are afforded new value, a parallel perhaps to their changed status as wage earners.



Winslow Homer, *The Bright Side,* 1865. Oil on canvas. 32.3 x 43.1 cm. M. H. de Young Memorial Museum, San Francisco. View Source

Painted during the last year of the Civil War, Homer's *The Bright Side* was another realistic depiction of mundane aspects of army life. During the Civil War, free blacks from the North and Southern contrabands worked as mule drivers in the Union Army. Their work involved moving battle supplies and the materials needed to set up camp. They are pictured here as they wait for their orders between missions. Notably, Homer chose to paint them as they stay, not as they drive through enemy gunfire, knowing full well of the stereotypes he was engaging with and that all soldiers on both sides spent considerable amounts of time just waiting for something to do happen.

Jennifer A. Greenhill discusses aspects of the trope and its relationship to humour in "Winslow Homer and the Mechanics of Visual Deadpan" (*Art History* 32, no. 2 (April 2009): 351-386):

> [T]he work makes the familiar antebellum equation between the African-American and laziness – best represented perhaps by *Mount's Farmers Nooning* (1836, Long Island Museum of American Art, History & Carriages) or James Goodwyn Clonney's *Waking Up* (1851, Museum of Fine Arts, Boston). The critic of Watson's *Weekly Art Journal* seems to have recognized the joke: "The lazy sunlight, the lazy, nodding donkeys, the lazy, lolling negroes", he writes, spelling out the work's structuring discursive chain, "make a humorously conceived and truthfully executed picture." But some critics located the work's humour elsewhere, in the "comic old darkey with the pipe, poking his head through the tent-opening." This figure, whose assertive, appraising stare out at the viewer was misread by one critic as "grinning," making him a comic figure, seemed to period writers an exclamation point or final punch line for the joke the composition tells about blackness and laziness. But this punch line counters the stereotype that informs the rest of the composition and might therefore be seen to turn the joke on its head. "Homer's muleteer is the defiantly aware center of the canvas," writes Marc Simpson in his important essay, "*The Bright Side*: Humorously Conceived and Truthfully Executed" (1988). "He challenges the viewer to respond, but provides no clues as to what the nature of that response should be." This inscrutable figure

complicates the easy joke, calling into question the familiar elision between black man and animal. This figure's forthright stare may be unsettling – as it surely was to those viewers who recast it as a familiar smile – but this is how the "emblem of incomprehensibility" works, as the philosopher Ted Cohen reminds us in his short text on jokes. The inscrutable or incomprehensible detail, when woven into the fabric of the joke, invites deeper consideration and may promote a change of view.



Winslow Homer, *Near Andersonville,* ca. 1866. Oil on canvas. 58.4 x 45.7 cm. Newark Museum of Art. View Source

Near Andersonville addresses the realities of war from a different perspective, that of war prisoners specifically and captivity more generally. Andersonville was the desolate stockade where 45,000 Union soldiers faced

confinement and possible death through exposure, disease and malnourishment. A total of 13,000 captives lost their lives in this largest of Civil War prisons.

This painting recounts the capture of six hundred Union prisoners by Southern rebel forces. Homer did not paint the aftermath of their capture. Instead, he chose the moment they were being led to their fate, insinuating an element of transition and uncertainty in the picture, echoing the social and political events underway.

A young black woman, modestly dressed and wearing a white apron, stands in the doorway of a simple dwelling. She is pensively looking off to her side. At the very edge of the painting, we glimpse the captive Yankees she is looking at. Rebel forces are leading them off, the triumphant Confederate flag flying overhead. Homer conveys the stakes of the war without resorting to the depiction of blood and death. He does so through the emotional force emanating from the face of one enslaved woman. Homer's later works often betray his keen eye for the emotional tenor of his black subjects, especially women, affording them a palpable sense of psychic interiority.*Near Andersonville*'s depiction of General Sherman's soldiers moving south to face possible death while the black woman who hopes for freedom poignantly bears witness, cogently puts forward two separate narratives of captivity.

Glenn Robins writes in the review of the book "*Near Andersonville: Winslow Homer's Civil War* by Peter H. Wood [Harvard University Press, 2010"], *The Georgia Historical Quarterly* 95, no. 3 (2011): 408–22):

> Homer's willingness to relate to his black subject, his empathy and effort to understand and express her point of view, is what separated him from other artists of his age and certainly from popular illustrators, trained on stereotypes and prejudiced perceptions. To Wood, one of Homer's greatest gifts was his sensitivity to those held powerless by circumstances beyond their control. That compassionate perspective, which served the artist for the remainder of his career, may have found its first meaningful expression in *Near Andersonville*.

Keven Sharp (in *Journal of the Civil War Era* 1, no. 4 (2011): 565–67), offers another review of *Near Andersonville* by Wood:

> Wood believes Homer's experiences and the trajectory of the war caused the artist to embrace a decidedly emancipationist view of the war, an assessment that serves as the conceptual context for the painting, *Near Andersonville*. Wood considers Homer's painting a statement on "recent events" and suggests that the piece's iconography contains underlying and complex meanings... The red, white, and blue head-piece was "not the black-mammy bandana of popular cartoons. Instead, this bandana hints at what is known as the Phrygian freedom cap" (p. 75), which manumitted slaves wore in ancient Rome "to imply liberty" and that adorned the Goddess of Liberty in revolutionary France. Wood judges the Homer piece "as a revolutionary work of art" (p. 85)..., an African American occupies the foreground of the painting, unusual in that both the Union and Confederate soldiers occupy the background. Thus, Homer forces viewers to "consider an enslaved individual's point of view . . . with her difficult situation and complex thought" (p. 85) as well as the obvious linkage between war and emancipation.

9.8
| Reconstruction and the Remaking of Identity

Homer returned to Virginia when the Civil War ended, so struck was he by the plight of enslaved people during his first sojourn. Images of Reconstruction compelled his attention, and the period was marked by works that interpreted the uncertainties, fears, and challenges facing African Americans after slavery was abolished. Traveling to Petersburg several times through 1875 and 1876, his nuanced paintings hint at the complexities of Reconstruction's new social order.

To understand Homer's paintings of this era, learning about the history of Reconstruction is imperative. Here is a succinct overview by Robert Longley (The Reconstruction Era (1865–1877): An era marked by thwarted progress and racial strife (updated on October 10, 2020) (https://www.thoughtco.com/reconstruction-definition-1773394)

The Reconstruction era was a period of healing and rebuilding in the Southern United States following the American Civil War (1861-1865) that played a critical role in the history of civil rights and racial equality in America. During this tumultuous time, the U.S. government attempted to deal with the reintegration of the 11 Southern states that had seceded from the Union, along with 4 million newly freed enslaved people.

Reconstruction demanded answers to a multitude of difficult questions. On what terms would the Confederate states be accepted back into the Union? How were former Confederate leaders, considered traitors by many in the North, to be dealt with? And perhaps most momentously, did emancipation mean that Black people were to enjoy the same legal and social status as White people?

...

To be accepted back into the Union, the former Confederate states were required to abolish the practice of slavery, renounce their secession, and compensate the federal government for its Civil War expenses. Once these conditions were met, however, the newly restored Southern states were allowed to manage their governments and legislative affairs. Given this opportunity, the Southern states responded by enacting a series of racially discriminatory laws known as the Black Codes.

Enacted during 1865 and 1866, the Black Codes were laws intended to restrict the freedom of Black Americans in the South and ensure their continued availability as a cheap labor force even after the abolishment of slavery during the Civil War.

All Black persons living in the states that enacted Black Code laws were required to sign yearly labor contracts. Those who refused or were otherwise unable to do so could be arrested, fined, and if unable to pay their fines and private debts, forced to perform unpaid labor. Many Black children—especially those without parental support—were arrested and forced into unpaid labor for white planters.

The restrictive nature and ruthless enforcement of the Black Codes drew the outrage and resistance of Black Americans.

...

During the Civil War, Union forces had confiscated vast areas of farmland owned by Southern plantation owners. Known as the "40 acres and a mule" provision, part of Lincoln's Freedmen's Bureau Act authorized the bureau to rent or sell land this land to formerly enslaved persons. However, in the summer of 1865, President Johnson ordered all of this federally controlled land to be returned to its former White owners. Now lacking land, most formerly enslaved persons were forced to return to working on the same plantations where they had toiled for generations. While they now worked for minimal wages or as sharecroppers, they had little hope of achieving the same economic mobility enjoyed by White citizens. For decades, most Southern Black people were forced to remain propertyless and mired in poverty.

...

According to historian Eugene Genovese, over 600,000 formerly enslaved persons stayed with their masters. As Black activists and scholar W.E.B. Du Bois wrote, the "slave went free; stood a brief moment in the sun; then moved back again toward slavery" (Black *Reconstruction in America* (Transaction Publishers, 2013)

...

As a result of Reconstruction, Black citizens in the Southern states gained the right to vote... However, the growing political power of Black people provoked a violent backlash from many White people who struggled to hold on to their supremacy. By implementing racially motivated voter disenfranchisement measures such as poll taxes and literacy tests, Whites in the South succeeded in undermining the very purpose of Reconstruction. The Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments went largely unenforced, setting the stage for the civil rights movement of the 1960s.

...

Though they were repeatedly either ignored or flagrantly violated, the anti-racial discrimination Reconstruction amendments remained in the Constitution. In 1867, U.S. Senator Charles Sumner had prophetically called them "sleeping giants" that would be awakened by future generations of Americans

struggling to at last bring true freedom and equality to the descendants of slavery. Not until the civil rights movement of the 1960s—aptly called the "Second Reconstruction"—did America again attempt to fulfill the political and social promises of Reconstruction.



Winslow Homer, *Weaning the Calf,* 1875. Oil on canvas. 61 x 96.5 cm. North Carolina Museum of Art, Raleigh. View Source

Weaning the Calf is a rural vignette typical of the genre subjects associated with Homer's early oeuvre. While it offers visual respite from the reality of recent catastrophic events, it still suggests battles to come. It depicts a young black boy, wearing tattered clothes struggling to lead a calf from its mother. Two nattily dressed white boys watch on from nearby. They contemplate the tug-of-war with interest but without involvement.

Homer's realism captures the scene with an empathic eye, subtly articulating a narrative through the visual contrasts: the straining black boy, bathed in shadow and alone at his task; the taut, unbending rope he uses to accomplish his job; the brightly lit passive white figures, together provoke the question will he succeed in this struggle? Will he make it on his own?

Seen from another perspective, this narrative may also suggest that black Americans were also being weaned away from the institution that provided them sustenance, severing the ties that linked them to their plantation pasts of forced dependency and perpetual childhood. From Homer's viewpoint, African Americans were not simply being weaned but actively participating in their liberation.



Winslow Homer, *Uncle Ned at Home,* 1875. Oil on canvas. 35.7 x 55.8 cm. Private collection. View Source

Homer's *Uncle Ned at Home* shows a barnyard scene populated by an elderly black man (Ned), a black youth, and white children. He stands at the entrance of a dilapidated plank structure which functions partly as a dovecote and partly as a pigsty. Wooden boxes top the roof, which rises gently from either end toward the center with rectangular openings and perches for nesting birds. The structural elements appear to strike a precarious balance that the slightest shift of wind or weight could wreck. The allusion to the unstable reality of life during the Reconstruction era is implicit.

The overall sense conveyed by the painting is one of domestic hardship, despite the quietude of the scene and the signs of new life within it, as in the kittens. The picture revolves around Ned, white-haired, in a tattered dark suit and brown coat, as he pauses before emptying a bucket. Despite his advanced age and deprivation, his figure reminds us that although Homer may not have regarded African Americans as equals, he was considerate of their humanity, providing them with presence and agency in his imagery.

Behind Ned, three primly dressed small children, apparently white, peer into his hut. They are balancing themselves on two sawhorses of unequal height as if on a teeter-totter, adding another note of instability. Like the young, enslaved female in *Near Andersonville*, Ned's centrality is emphasized by the dark opening against which he is silhouetted, his feet facing one direction, his head and torso another, an ambivalent directionality signifying an uncertain present.



Winslow Homer, *A Visit from the Old Mistress,* 1876. Oil on canvas. 45.7 x 60.9 cm. Smithsonian American Art Museum, Washington. View Source

In *A Visit from the Old Mistress*, Homer quits the out-of-doors for the dark interior of an African American home. It is an arresting genre painting charged with the emotional complexities of an encounter between a former enslaver and the women who were once her property. The old mistress, in funereal garments, is stiff, and the mood is awkward. The three black women dressed in ragged clothing regard her directly. One remains seated on a low stool, a pointed statement.

Within this single interaction, Homer captures the nature of altered relationships. He confronts a history laden with familiarity and enmity. While enslaved servants were frequently friendly with their white charges, particularly within the confines of the domestic world of women, the potential for violence was also more significant behind closed doors. Court records of the mid-19th century suggest that large numbers of enslaved people retaliated against their owners or sabotaged the system of slavery from within, breaking utensils and staging slowdowns. In short, the closeness of domestic life offered the potential for goodwill and harm. Here, the bond has been most clearly severed. The tone of the interaction reminds us that despite a shared history, these formerly enslaved women were never, in any sense, part of the family.



Winslow Homer, *The Busy Bee,* 1875. Watercolour on paper. View Source

Homer addressed the derogatory view, particularly in the South, that enslaved blacks had been as children living under the protection of a benevolent, often indulgent, master. According to this line of reasoning, freedmen were unprepared and perhaps incapable of assuming responsibility for their lives outside of slavery.

This inclination to view African Americans as eternally immature suggests itself in *Busy Bee,* where the figure of a youth, knee-high in wildflowers, is languidly swatting at bees with his straw hat. A substantial beehive is in the background. The symbolism of the industrious bee contrasts with associations of youth, race, and stereotype, paralleling the widely discussed question of whether formerly enslaved workers would fall (back) into a life of indolence.



Winslow Homer, *Taking Sunflower to Teacher,* 1875. Watercolour on paper. 19.4 x 15.7 cm. Georgia Museum of Art, Athens. View Source

In *A Flower for the Teacher,* a black boy in torn, patched clothes sits waiting for his lessons. On the ground beside him, his slate bears only the signature of the artist and the date 1875. He holds a giant, bright sunflower, and a monarch butterfly rests on his shoulder. In Christian iconography, the butterfly signifies the resurrected soul; the caterpillar's life cycle, chrysalis and butterfly symbolize life, death, and resurrection. In this context, the butterfly suggests the metamorphosis of the African American, from enslaved to free, and the blank slate alludes to the promise of literacy.

Karen C. Chambers Dalton writes in "'The Alphabet Is an Abolitionist' Literacy and African Americans in the Emancipation Era" (*The Massachusetts Review* 32, no. 4 (1991): 545–80):

> Black Southerners' faith in education as the path to full citizenship is also expressed by the brilliant flower he grasps. Homer uses the sunflower as the traditional symbol of devotion and patience: just as the flower turns its head to follow the sun, this young scholar will direct his attention toward his teacher and enlightenment. Literacy will provide the seeds for full-fledged independence. Homer here distills into a small image of a black youth the anticipation and hesitation naturally felt at the moment of a fresh beginning. Northern whites and Southern blacks were equally convinced that one of the great promises of Reconstruction was education, that profound differences could be obliterated by literacy.



Winslow Homer, *The Watermelon Boys,* 1876. Brush and oil on canvas. 61.3 x 96.8 cm. Cooper Hewitt, Smithsonian Design Museum, New York. View Source

This theme is continued in other works, such as *The Watermelon Boys*, where the books in the foreground allude to the issue of education during Reconstruction. Homer began to represent white and black children together by the mid-1870s. The veneer of childhood was a means by which he could suggest racial coexistence. Subtle symbolism supports this possibility. The broken fence in the right-hand portion of the painting indicates that systems of separation have been breached. The easy interaction between the white and black children and the bundle of books on the ground speak to assimilation and the contentious education issue for blacks in Reconstruction America. Black literacy was perceived as a significant threat by white communities, and the formal schooling of African Americans was prohibited by law. Their access to education during Reconstruction represented a form of social upheaval.

Margarita Karasoulas discusses Homer's ironic approach to the subject in "Visual Irony and Racial Humor in Winslow Homer's *The Watermelon Boys*" (*Athanor* 33 (2015) 71-80):

> *Watermelon Boys* appears quite serious to our modern-day sensibilities, the painting plays on the popular stereotype of the African American's love of watermelon. The trope of black boys eating watermelon was already well ingrained in American visual culture, and Homer's painting seems to have fit within the broader array of humorous depictions of African Americans in the nineteenth century. Yet, a sustained analysis of the racial significance of this stereotype is absent from the literature on Homer, and the work is seldom discussed in great detail. Moreover, in the context of Reconstruction, *The Watermelon Boys* has been conventionally understood as a racially benign genre scene: the implied scenario is that the boys, engaging in typical mischief, have raided a watermelon patch.

...

This interpretation of Homer's painting demonstrates that the artist's humor is twofold: first, he employed stereotypical humor honed by his exposure to the popular press; second, he enacted racial critique through irony. Visual irony, in this instance, indicates a kind of incongruity between the artist's literal and implied meanings. Homer painted with symbolic complexity, and close formal analysis of *The Watermelon Boys* reveals layers of encoded meanings, each intended to disrupt, and in some cases contradict the racial stereotypes initially brought to bear on the work.

If we are to read the painting in terms of racial humor, the black children provide the first visual cue. The mere representation of black figures in the arts served to generate a comic effect for contemporary viewers who perceived racial difference as a sign of physical and mental inferiority. Viewers steeped in the imagery of black minstrelsy would have also recognized the humor and range of significations inherent in the watermelons themselves. The lazy, carefree, and watermelon-loving black emerged as a character on the minstrel stage beginning in the early nineteenth century. The actor J.W. McAndrews performed a popular skit called "Watermelon Man" between 1856 and 1899, and the racist association between blacks and watermelons persisted as a comic trope in the illustrated press.8 In Homer's scene, the watermelons activate the racial stereotype and serve as a virtual stand-in for the black body. Situated in the immediate foreground, their vibrant red color punctuates the composition, enlivening the muted palette. Given their prominence in the work, they might also be understood as a visual punch line, articulating an easy joke for viewers already well-versed in its meaning.

...

A pentimento shows that he reduced the number of figures from four to three, perhaps to create a more focused composition, with the main black figure singled out for attention. His body is highlighted with greater contours and definition, as opposed to the rest of the work, which is thinly painted. In addition, the black protagonist appears poised and vigilant: his raised eyebrows and crisply painted, almond-shaped eyes signal his alertness to some kind of danger beyond the fence.

...

In most American artist depictions of interracial scenes, blacks are almost always outnumbered or relegated to the margins of the image. If they are depicted as a focal point, it is usually to reaffirm existing racial stereotypes. Here, however, the white youth is outnumbered and situated in a position below the central black figure. In a striking inversion, Homer seems to have displaced the negative physical characteristics associated with the black body onto the white boy. His eyes appear as mere slits, his dirty, bare feet protrude out towards the viewer, and his gaping mouth verges on the grotesque. With these pointed visual contrasts, Homer draws on the satirical potential of incongruity: his sympathetic treatment of the black boy in turn conflicts with and eschews prevailing caricatures of blacks during this time.

The figures' close proximity to one another is also ironic in that it belies any indication of a racial divide. Although the boys do not interact, they appear to be friends, united by their actions and their tight triangular configuration.

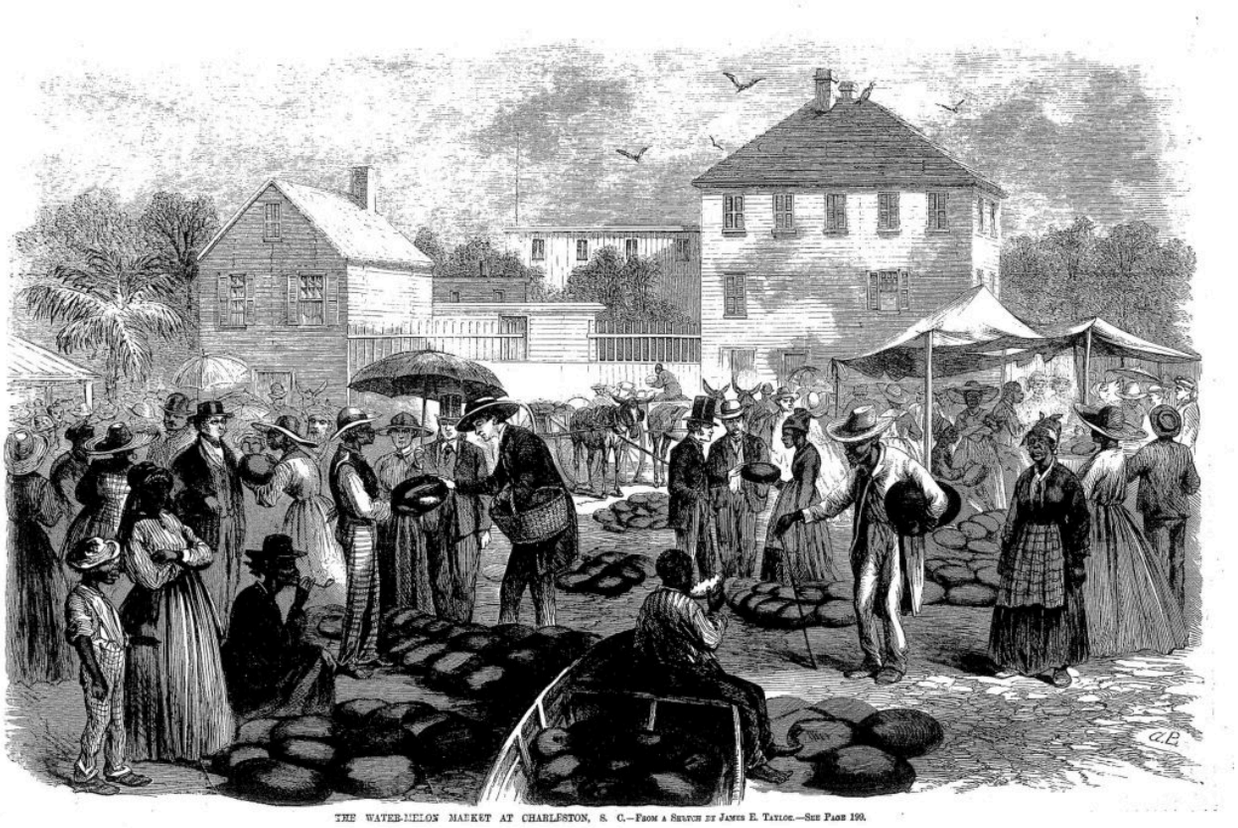
William Black in "How Watermelons Became Black: Emancipation and the Origins of a Racist Trope"(*Journal of the Civil War Era* 8, no. 1 (2018): 64–86) adds another layer to the interpretation of *Watermelon Boys* in his analysis of the symbolic meaning of the watermelon and its association with African Americans during the Reconstruction era:

The watermelon has certain characteristics that have encouraged people to associate it with uncleanliness, laziness, childishness, and unwanted public presence. The fruit connotes uncleanliness because it is so messy to eat, leaving behind seeds, juice, and rind. It connotes laziness because it is so easy to grow; its trailing vines can grow several yards long in search of water, and a single fruit contains up to a thousand seeds. It is also difficult to eat a watermelon while working—you really have to sit down and eat it. The watermelon connotes childishness because it is sweet and colorful, the sort of food a child might find more appealing than a carrot or a beet. Finally, watermelons connote an unwanted public presence because people usually eat them in groups rather than alone. The fruit is easily sliced and

shared; indeed, it is hard to eat a watermelon by yourself. It is an ideal snack for outdoor social gatherings and for breaks from outdoor labor.

...

Above all, African Americans' supposed predilection for watermelons was proof of their chronic short-sightedness. To invest, farm, or vote responsibly—to be a true citizen of the republic—one had to think in the long term and sacrifice for future gains. The former slave, however, as the *New York Tribune* wrote, "lives in the present, thinking little of the past or the future; a bottle of whisky or a watermelon today is more prized by him than a farm or a fortune twenty years hence." The African American's supposed inability to think beyond watermelons became a punchline. A popular joke told of "Old Uncle Tony," who despite his religious piety was glad God had delayed the second coming of Christ "till after watermelon season." There was also the story of a black man who remarked, as he was going to the gallows: "I wish dey had put it off till after watermelon time." These jokes suggested African Americans were too preoccupied with instant gratification to be proper citizens.



THE WATER-MELON MARKET AT CHARLESTON, S. C.—From a Sketch by James E. Taylor.—See Page 199.

"The South.—The Watermelon Season—A Scene on the Savannah Docks," *Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper,* July 5, 1873. Reproduced in William Black, "How Watermelons Became Black," 79. View Source

White Americans bought sheet music with titles like "Gim Me Dat Sweet Watermelon," "Melon Time in Dixie Land," "Dere Aint Gwine to Be No Rine," and "Plant a Watermelon on My Grave and Let the Juice Soak Through." They bought potholders, paperweights, and salt-and-pepper shakers shaped like big-lipped, wide-mouthed, watermelon-eating blacks … As on the antebellum plantation, the sight of African Americans eating watermelon reassured whites that the racial order was intact, and that the worst predicament African Americans faced was an embarrassment of riches.



Richard Felton Outcault, Postcard depicting a caricatured boy eating a slice of watermelon, 1909. Ink on paper. 8.9 x 14 cm. Smithsonian National Museum of African American History and Culture, Washington. View Source



Ashtray in the form of a “picaninny” boy eating a watermelon slice, ca. 1920-29. Ceramic. 10.2 x 12.1 x 14 cm. Smithsonian National Museum of African American History and Culture, Washington. View Source



Sculpture in the form of a caricatured man standing on a watermelon slice, 20th century. Wood, pain, fiber and metal. 83.2 x 52.1 x 11.4 cm. View Source

Indeed, caricatures of African Americans, in particular, those related to the eating of watermelons, were so pervasive and popular that they endured well into the twentieth century.



Josiah Clark Nott, *Types of mankind: or, Ethnological researches, based upon the ancient monuments, paintings, sculptures, and crania of races, and upon their natural, geographical, philological and Biblical history: illustrated by selections from the inedited papers of Samuel George Morton* (Philadelphia: Lippincott, Grambo & Co., 1855), 459). View Source

These negative caricatures of the facial features were supposedly justified by scientific findings. The American surgeon and anthropologist who owned slaves used his scientific influence to defend slavery and to popularize the notion of racial superiority. Nott's *Types of mankind: or, Ethnological researches* … is accompanied by this passage: "nor can it be rationally affirmed, that the Orang-outan and Chimpanzee are more widely separated from certain African and Oceanic Negroes than are the latter from the Teutonic or Pelasgic types."

9.9
| Tools for Freedom



John Rogers, *Uncle Ned's School,* 1866. Painted plaster. Overall: 50.2 x 34.9 x 19.7 cm. New York Historical Society. View Source

In the aftermath of the Civil War, the education and employment of emancipated blacks gained traction. Congress set up the Freedman's Bureau in March 1865, which built or aided in the creation of the first widespread free school system of the South, one of its most significant accomplishments. Only one person in ten among the newly freed could read and write, but they were eager to make every sacrifice for education.

This program represented a fast track to training formerly enslaved people and their children but was far from altruistic. Most white Americans felt antipathy towards equality and experienced forebodings that Americans of African descent would emerge from slavery with numbed moral facilities and vengeful attitudes. Moderates

perceived this effort as a way of socializing blacks and keeping them from roaming Southern roads in desolation and starvation.

During the years after the war, black and white teachers from the North and South, missionary organizations, churches and schools worked tirelessly to allow the emancipated population to learn. Former slaves of every age took advantage of the opportunity to become literate.

The idea of the educated black person was perceived as challenging the myth of white social and cultural superiority. Images such as Uncle Ned, a bootblack, momentarily pausing in his labours to take reading lessons from a young black girl, were popularised. Still, other visual elements subverted the message of learning. Here, in *Uncle Ned's School* by John Rogers, the man's furrowed and puckered lips show him struggling with the pronunciation of the text. At the same time, a young boy seated on the floor beneath Uncle Ned has cast aside his book and is tickling the bottom of Ned's right foot, interrupting his concentration. Viewers could thus be consoled by the implication that change would be slow.

This entry from the New Historical Society suggests the various interpretation of *Uncle Ned's School* (https://emuseum.nyhistory.org/objects/28299/uncle-neds-school):

> Rogers knew that his audience would be familiar with the character of Uncle Ned from the popular 1848 Stephen Foster song of that name. In Foster's song the title character is a docile, obedient, aging slave who is blind. Rogers turned the caricature on its head by showing Uncle Ned perpetrating what would have been a crime in some Southern states when Foster's song was written: teaching a slave to read. However, the figure of the boy who has stopped studying to tease his teacher presents another stereotype that raises questions about Rogers' intentions. Does the boy represent harmless comic relief, or does he allude to concerns that African Americans lacked the determination and persistence to learn? The present-day scholar Kirk Savage has suggested that Rogers may have juxtaposed the boy and girl to pose a subtle question about which stereotype would prevail: the lazy scamp or the earnest pupil. Rogers' sales catalogues noted that the older man was "too much occupied to attend to" the boy's mischief, suggesting that Uncle Ned will not be deterred in his efforts.

Uncle Ned's School was widely praised for its nuanced depiction of a socially significant issue. Rogers himself considered it an important work; he exhibited the sculpture at the National Academy of Design, his first contribution in three years. A Philadelphia writer called it much better than any of his previous groups. Rogers presented a copy to the abolitionist Henry Ward Beecher, who responded, "I am pleased with the complete rendering of the story, with a few means, and without exaggeration. Its simplicity is as agreeable as its errand is noble."

John Rogers created many sculptural genre scenes, mass-produced in cast plaster and extensively sold through mail order.



Winslow Homer, *Sunday Morning in Virginia,* 1877. Oil on canvas. 46.8 x 61 cm. Cincinnati Art Museum. View Source

Sunday Morning in Virginia by Homer offers a glimpse at this aspect of life after emancipation. It shows a young black woman instructing three children to read the Bible. An avid desire for learning among formerly enslaved people is encapsulated in the intense concentration of the older boy. Off-side an elderly grandmother is seated, her weary eyes and furrowed brows betraying a range of buried emotions. This painting stands among the most expressive of Homer's Reconstruction pieces, even as it engages with the electric issues of literacy and religion so controversial in the emancipation era.

The poverty of the close quarters speaks to the existing hostility against black education in Virginia. Although white historians have applauded the efforts of Northerners in advancing access to education, it was former slaves who played a significant role in financing, building, and running new schools, often in dilapidated venues. That said, many brand-new structures were raised through formerly enslaved people's efforts and labour. The black community had a broad-based quest for literacy and a specific desire for Bible instruction. The first schools to be built under the public school system opened as late as 1870, but schoolhouses often lacked windows, desks, tables, maps, and blackboards. Teachers and pupils in black schools were abused and threatened; schoolhouses often burned to the ground. Yet despite the aggressive adversity, blacks in Virginia opened the most day and evening schools in the South.

While Homer's *Sunday Morning in Virginia* does not preach a happy ending, it expresses the active hopes, and anxieties, facing African Americans in their quest for literacy in the mid-1870s and later.

Karen C. Chambers Dalton quotes and comments on this passage from *Harper's Weekly* May 3, 1873 issue in "'The Alphabet is an Abolitionist' Literacy and African Americans in the Emancipation Era" (*The Massachusetts Review* 32, no. 4 (1991): 545–80):

> One of the most remarkable and encouraging features attending the emancipation of the colored race in our Southern States is the eagerness to learn displayed from the earliest moment of freedom. Old and

> young crowded to the schools opened for the benefit of the freedmen; and it was not uncommon to see men and women who had nearly reached the allotted term of their life poring over the spelling book with all the eager interest of children. Slowly and painfully, against every kind of discouragement, they would master the A, B, C, and learn to pick out simple words, until they could read in the book, which thousands of them knew already by heart, the Bible.

This quotation includes three themes that recur frequently in the illustrated press of the period, namely, the broad-based quest for literacy in the black community, the specific desire to read the Bible, and the new role of children as teachers.



Winslow Homer, *1860-1870,* 1870. Wood engraving. Cleveland Museum of Art. View Source

Homer's idealistic vision about the new possibilities for African Americans because of Lincoln's Emancipation declaration changed radically because of what he saw in Virginia. Seven years earlier, in this wood engraving, one of the vignettes scenes he included to exemplify the results of the Emancipation Proclamation is an integrated classroom with a white teacher and a little black girl reading alongside her white classmates.



Winslow Homer, *Upland Cotton,* ca. 1879-95. Oil on canvas. 126.4 x 76.2 cm. Private collection. View Source

After the Civil War, industry in the South remained overwhelmingly agricultural. But while the mechanisms and methods of work were unchanged, relationships between planters and labourers were forever altered. As it had been under slavery, most rural blacks worked on land owned by whites. But they now had agency over their lives and liberty of action. Even so, the work of picking cotton, the ultimate symbol of slavery, was rejected by many freed people. Those who returned to it were forced back for wages during the difficulties of economic depression. Several of Homer's works represent the complexities of returning to a sphere so fraught with history.

Upland Cotton, painted in 1879 and reworked in 1895, depicts two young black women in a field of fully ripened cotton plants. One woman, turbaned and brightly clad bends down at her task while the other stares pensively into space. A writer initially described the work for the *Art Journal* as it hung in New York's National Academy of Design annual exhibition of 1879 as follows:

The cotton-plants are strangling across a footpath, in which are two negro women, with their heavy, Oriental figures clad in strong, rich colours. One woman stands upright, with her turbaned head swung back, outlined against a thin, hot sky. The other woman is stooping over and gathering the cotton-pods, and her rounded back seems to bear the burden of all the toil of her race. Down close into the foreground of the canvas the cotton-plant is painted, and for crispness and delicacy of drawing, and in the variously developed cotton-pods, from where the wool hangs out of the dry pod, to the half-opened and still unclosed buds, each pod is painted as if doing it was all the artist had ever cared for. The picture is a superb piece of decoration, with its deep, queer colours like the Japanese dull greens, dim reds, and strange, neutral blues and pinks" (Lloyd Goodrich, *Record of Works by Winslow Homer, Volume III: 1877 to March 1881*, Abigail Booth Gerdts, ed. (New York: Spanierman Gallery, 2008), 207-8)



Winslow Homer, *The Cotton Pickers,* 1876. Oil on canvas. 61.12 x 96.84 cm. Los Angeles County Museum of Art. View Source

Susanna W. Gold writes in "A Measured Freedom: National Unity and Racial Containment in Winslow Homer's *The Cotton Pickers,* 1876" (*Mississippi Quarterly* 55, no. 2 (Spring 2002): 163-184):

> Most scholarship on *The Cotton Pickers* interprets the artist's rendering of Southern blacks as sympathetic, and perceives an optimistic future for the black situation under the new political and social structures following the Civil War. Public reception of *The Cotton Pickers* was favorable; the painting was purchased immediately at its first exhibition at New York's Century Association in 1877, and a subsequent

exhibition review claimed that “the freshest piece of figure painting that Mr. Winslow Homer has put his name to is his latest work, *The Cotton Pickers*, which provoked the admiration of the artists at the latest reception.” Noted art critic George W. Sheldon acknowledged Homer’s black genre works for their “total freedom from conventionalism and mannerism, in their strong look of life and in their sensitive feeling for character,” and the *New York Times* praised Homer as “one of the few artists who have the boldness and originality to make something of the Negro for artistic purpose.”

…

However, through my analysis of certain powerful elements that Homer includes in the painting—as well as those that he excludes—I offer an interpretation of the work that diverges from traditional academic views. By investigating social and political tensions leading to the conservative recovery of state control in the South following Reconstruction, one can understand the dilemma that the newly freed black American posed to national alliance. I suggest that the resolution of this “Negro Problem” is reflected in Homer’s *The Cotton Pickers*, where the young female laborers can be understood as victims of continued and unending oppression by nationalist sentiment, maintaining their identities as slaves in a recently created free black society.

…

Because *The Cotton Pickers* was painted as many as eleven years after the issue of the Emancipation Proclamation, the youthful appearance of these women suggests they may not have been subjected to slave labor, yet there is nothing in the painting to suggest that their current situation is any different from what it would have been in bondage.

…

The suggestion of a fruitless future for the black American is reinforced in the faces of the two young figures. Homer endows the women with traditional Caucasian features by painting them with light skin and slender facial bone structure. By representing the figures with a combination of both prototypical black and white physical characteristics, Homer portrays them as products of sexual mingling between the races. Although interracial cohabitation had been prevalent since the Colonial era, mulattos born in the period from the mid-eighteenth to the mid-nineteenth centuries were often the result of sexual relations between white males of the planter class and their domestic slaves. Common almost to the point of institutionalization, wealthy Southern planters kept regular concubines and bred entire families of mixed-race children, the result being an unprecedented increase in mulatto slavery during the years 1850-60. Based on the appearance of the two figures in Homer’s 1876 painting, their logical birth dates would fall near the height of interracial procreation, raising the distinct possibility that these women were fathered by the plantation owner.

The mixed-blood heritage of these women posed another problem in the progress of the black American. According to racial mythology advanced by the white population in response to the imagined threat to the purity of the white race, mulattos were doomed to biological eradication and could not reproduce beyond a few generations. Unable to sustain their heritage, the mulatto would be denied a place in America’s future, and the world of the powerless mixed-race individual was understood by whites to be one in which significant progressive change for the black situation could never occur.

…

One might consider that popular response among Northern audiences to *The Cotton Pickers* perhaps lay not in Homer’s sympathy for the plight of the freed black laborer but rather in his ability to translate public opinion concerning the proper place of the black American. Effectively contained in the archetypal role of slave laborer in *The Cotton Pickers*, these free black Southerners no longer posed a threat to white supremacy, and could not stand in the path of a long-pursued reunification of North and South. Instead of majestic or empowered women, Homer’s two young figures seem to be docile, non-threatening and above all, dependant servants contained in the fields, powerless under the Southern patriarchy.

Depicted with heroic stature and monumental form, the figures represent a grand potential in the future of the black American but one that is unattainable. Homer portrays these black women both as heroes and as victims, empowered beings that will never actually assume power. This measured freedom represented a safe solution to the problem of emancipation by allowing blacks to approximate white freedom, while keeping them always removed from true equality.



Winslow Homer, *Dressing for the Carnival,* 1877. Oil on canvas. 50.8 x 76.2 cm. Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York. View Source

Carnival, one of the last paintings of African Americans before Homer left Virginia was painted a year after *The Cotton Pickers*.

The Metropolitan Museum description of the painting is as follows (https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/11116):

> In this Reconstruction-era painting, Homer evokes the dislocation and endurance of African American culture that was a legacy of slavery. The central figure represents a character from a Christmas celebration known as Jonkonnu, once observed by enslaved people in North Carolina and, possibly, eastern Virginia. Rooted in the culture of the British West Indies, the festival blended African and European traditions. After the Civil War, aspects of Jonkonnu were incorporated into Independence Day events; the painting's original title was Sketch—4th of July in Virginia. The theme of independence was particularly relevant in 1877, when emancipated Black Americans in the South saw an end to their brief experience of full civil rights with the final withdrawal of federal troops.

Calo, Mary Ann in "Winslow Homer's Visits to Virginia during Reconstruction" (*American Art Journal*, vol. 12, no. 1 (1980): 5–27) documents why Homer left Virginia after painting *The Carnival*:

> [The] *New York Sun* carried the following anecdote about the origin of *The Carnival*:
>
> "The negroes had taken offense, it is said, at the studies he made of them, for his models were generally poorly clad, and their fellows who were much better dressed took it much to heart that he should choose such subjects. They carried a complaint to the Mayor, and gave him to understand that the sketches in question were of a kind that would reflect little honor on them, and that the artist should be notified

that there were plenty of well-dressed negroes if he would but look for them. In short, there was a very strong feeling of animosity toward him so, by way of re-establishing himself in their favor, he painted this canvas, in which he represented a group of negroes in tawdry costumes of many colors, to their entire satisfaction."

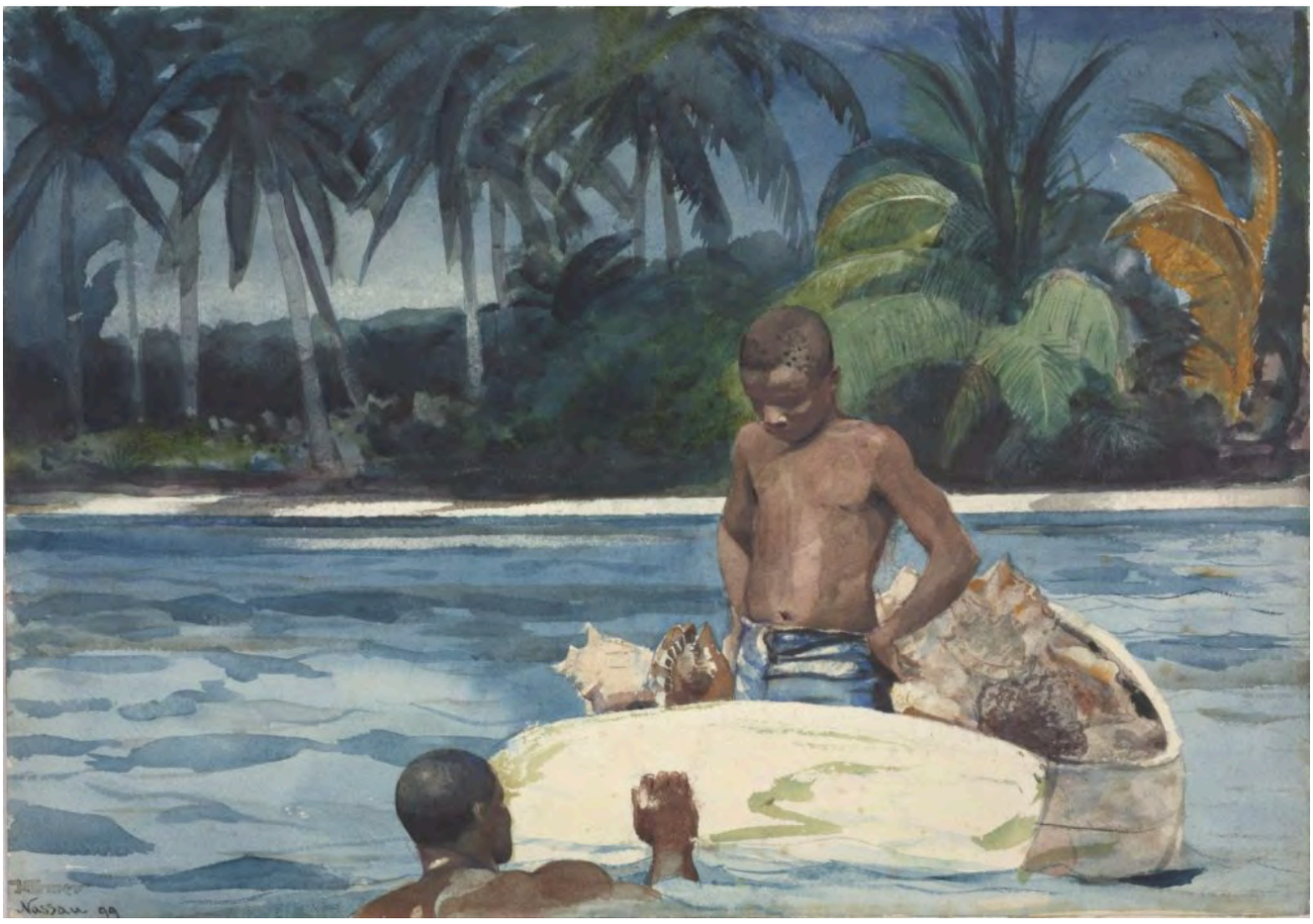
...

A similar version of this story ... appeared in July of that same year, again within the context of an article on Clarke's collection:

"Mr. Homer had been working at Smithtown, Virginia. Like many another artist, he found picturesque subjects in the people of color. He had painted them as he found them, in tatters. So they saw themselves in 'The Old Mistress' and other pictures. At last the models demurred; they objected to this – that such undignified likenesses of themselves should go up to the North. Excitement ran high; they almost mobbed the painter. At length, by way of compromise the latter agreed to paint them in their finery, as they were accustomed to deck themselves for their Christmas festivities."

In all likelihood, the source of this story was Homer, himself, as Clarke had purchased the paintings directly from the artist.

9.10 | Nature as Metaphor



Winslow Homer, *West India Divers,* 1899. Watercolour, scraping and chalk on wove paper. 38.1 x 54.4 cm. Spencer Museum of Art, Lawrence. View Source

Beginning in 1884, Homer traveled south to escape the northern winters, either to Cuba, Nassau, Bermuda or Florida, where he devoted most of his time to fishing and watercolour painting.



Winslow Homer, *The Gulf Stream,* 1899. Oil on canvas. 71.4 x 124.8 cm. Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York. View Source

Gulf Stream, named after the strong Atlantic current, is an iconic work which brings together Homer's major themes, referencing some of the complex issues of the era—the trauma of war, the legacy of slavery, American imperialist ambitions—as well as more universal concerns with human fragility and resilience.

Homer completed the painting at Prouts Neck, in southern Maine, where he lived and worked in a coastal studio from 1883 to 1910. The dramatic scene depicts a black sailor stranded at sea during a catastrophic storm near Key West. The small fishing boat is irreparably damaged, adrift without a rudder or mast while sharks encircle it and a tropical storm forms in the distance. The man appears strong, but the struggle seems insurmountable. Homer later added a schooner to the composition to suggest the possibility of survival.

The endangered fisherman speaks to the struggle of African Americans at the end of the 19th century. *Gulf Stream* was painted shortly after the outbreak of the Spanish-American War in 1898. It coincided with a virulent campaign of racial violence and legal segregation directed at African Americans throughout the South. Louisiana had recently passed its notorious Grandfather Clause, a statutory enactment by seven Southern states between 1895 and 1910 to deny suffrage to African Americans. In Wilmington, South Carolina, two days after the Congressional elections, a race riot broke out in which scores of blacks were killed. Despite new assaults on their civil rights, four black regiments were enlisted to fight in the war.

The painting began with Homer's studies during his first trip to the Bahamas in the winter of 1884-85 and a visit to Nassau in 1898-99. Here are some of these sketches:



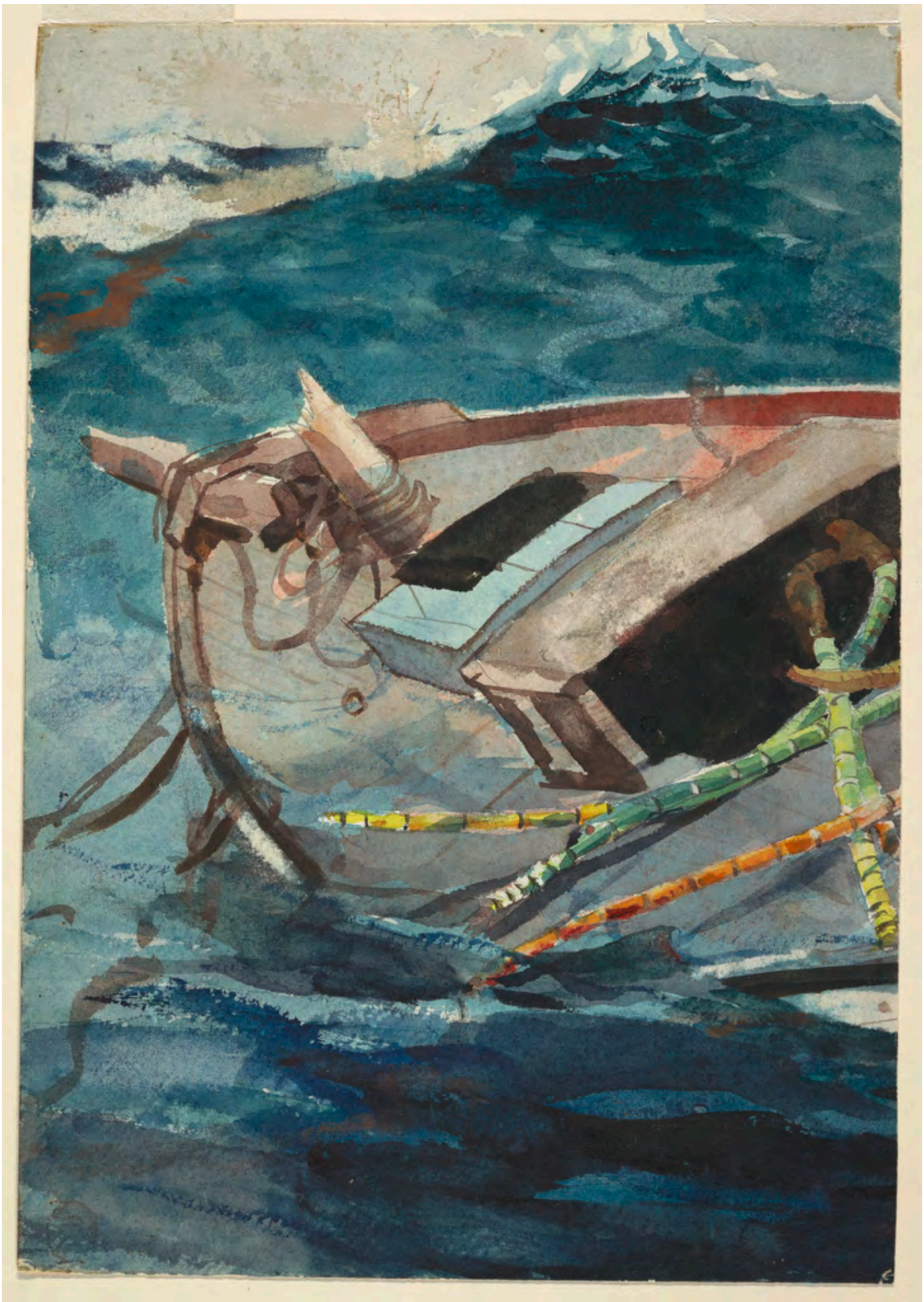
Winslow Homer, *Shark Fishing,* 1885. Watercolour. 35 x 55.3 cm. Private collection. View Source



Winslow Homer, *Sharks; also The Derelict,* 1885. Watercolour over graphite pencil on cream, moderately thick, moderately textured wove paper. 36.8 x 53.2 cm. Brooklyn Museum, New York. View Source



Winslow Homer, *The Gulf Stream,* ca. 1899. Transparent watercolour, with touches of opaque watercolour and traces of blotting, over graphite, on moderately thick, moderately textured, ivory wove paper (lower edge trimmed). 28.8 x 50.9 cm. Art Institute of Chicago. View Source



Winslow Homer, *The Gulf Stream,* ca. 1898-99. Brush, watercolour, and black chalk on white wove paper. 36.8 x 25.6 cm. Cooper Hewitt, Smithsonian Design Museum, New York. View Source

The Metropolitan Museum of Art entry for *The Gulf Stream*, ca. 1898-99 explains the prominence of the sugarcanes in the image.
(https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/829768?&exhibitionId=0&oid=829768&pkgids=756)

> Homer studied details of the bow of *The Gulf Stream*'s boat. Significantly, he indicated the precise arrangement of the brightly colored stalks of sugarcane across the deck. By placing sugarcane at the

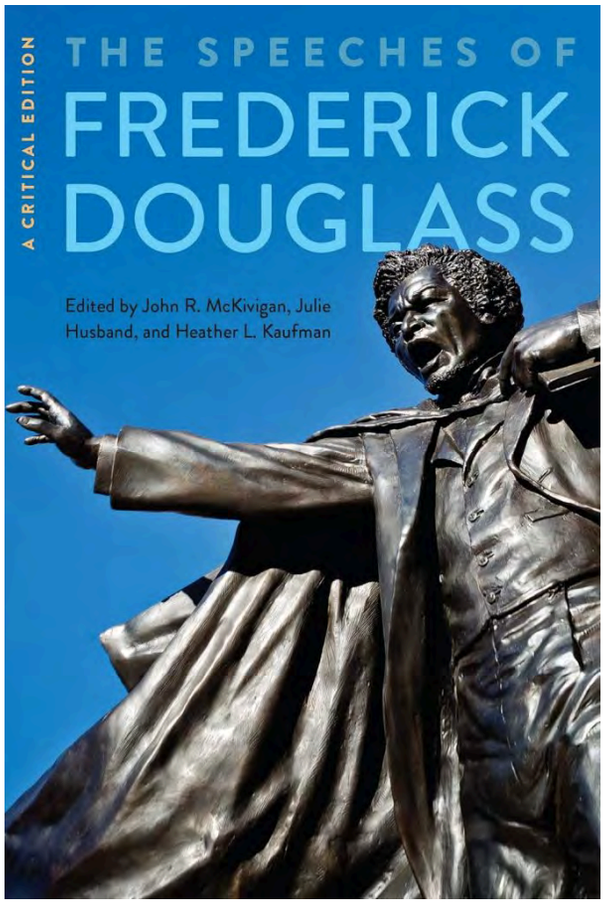
center of his composition and writing that “the subject of this picture is comprised in its title,” Homer made an unequivocal reference to the institution of slavery. Sugar was a central commodity in the triangular trade between Europe, Africa, and the Americas, and the Gulf Stream current played an essential role in both its conveyance and the trafficking of enslaved people. The study also includes the damaged mast and gunwale (the upper edge of the vessel’s side), which he would later edit somewhat in the oil painting.



Winslow Homer, *The Gulf Stream,* 1899. Oil on canvas. 71.4 x 124.8 cm. Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York. View Source

The attacks on African Americans in Congress during the era in which *Gulf Stream* was painted were discussed in this passage by John Sharp Williams of Mississippi on 20 December 1898:

You could ship-wreck 10,000 illiterate white Americans on a desert island and in three weeks they would have a fairly good government, conceived and administered upon fairly democratic lines. You could ship-wreck 10,000 negroes, every one of them of whom was a graduate of Harvard University, and in less than three years, they would have retrograded governmentally; half of the men would have been killed, and the other half would have two wives apiece. (Rayford Logan, *The Betrayal of the Negro: From Rutherford B. Hayes to Woodrow Wilson* (Da Capo Press, 1965), 90)



Frederick Douglass, *The Speeches of Frederick Douglass: A Critical Edition* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2018). View Source

On the other side were the thoughts and writings of Frederick Douglass, a black abolitionist, suffragist, social reformer, orator, writer, and statesman. After Douglass escaped slavery, he became a prominent leader in the abolitionist movement.

Douglass was also fond of using nautical metaphors. In an early address meeting the challenge of racists, he adapted the metaphor of the sea to describe the endurance of black people in the face of every conceivable hardship:

> The history of the Negro race proves them to be wonderfully adapted to all countries, all climates and all conditions. Their tenacity of life, their powers of endurance, their malleable toughness, would almost imply especial interpositions on their behalf. The ten thousand horrors of slavery, striking upon the sensitive soul, have bruised, and battered and stung, but have not killed. The poor bondman lifts a smiling face above the surface of a sea of agonies, hoping on, hoping ever. (cited in Frederick Douglass, *The Speeches of Frederick Douglass: A Critical Edition* (Yale University Press, 2018), 148)

Gulf Stream speaks to the qualities of toughness and tenacity. After experiencing one shock after another, the stranded black man's reaction to his likely demise is calm and courageous. While some commentary described this as resignation, sullen laziness and apathy, a closer inspection of the figure reveals he is very much awake and alert to the dangers. Lying on his back, he props himself up tautly on his elbows to survey the perils, and despite the multiple risks confronting him, he betrays no fright. Nevertheless, the uncertain outcome perplexed critics and made buyers uneasy. When it was exhibited at the Carnegie Institute in Pittsburgh in 1900-1 at a record asking price of $4000, the painting did not sell.

Albert Boime, in "Blacks in Shark-Infested Waters: Visual Encodings of Racism in Copley and Homer" (*Smithsonian Studies in American Art* 3, no. 1 (1989): 19–47), writes: [C]lients pressed Homer's dealer to learn of the eventual fate of the picture's protagonist. Homer responded sarcastically: "You can tell these ladies that the unfortunate negro who now is so dazed and parboiled will be rescued and returned to his friends and home and ever after live happily."

This statement signifies the opposite of what it says, underscoring a suspended reality that echoes the experience of blacks in America through its open-ended narrative and unknowable outcome.



Winslow Homer, "Expulsion of negroes and abolitionists from Tremont Temple, Boston, Massachusetts, on December 3, 1860," *Harper's Weekly,* December 15, 1860. View Source

This print from the *Harper's Weekly* by Homer illustrates the riot that occurred when Frederick Douglass and other abolitionists attempted to commemorate the death of John Brown at Boston's Tremont Temple, one of the places of worship for Boston's Jews.

Brown, a radical abolitionist and Christian evangelical, believed in the equality of the races. In 1855, with five of his sons, he settled in Kansas in an attempt to secure the territory's entry as a free state. Brown planned to liberate the slaves through armed intervention. Eventually, he was captured after a failed slave rebellion at Harpers Ferry, Virginia. On December 2, 1859, Brown was hanged at Charles Town. His dignified conduct during the trial proceedings and his passionate defence led to his being widely regarded as a hero and a martyr.

Although Boston had come to be associated as the seat of the antislavery movement, many of the city's citizens held contrary views. In December 1860, a group of abolitionists, including William Lloyd Garrison and Frederick Douglass, met at Tremont Temple in Boston to commemorate the anniversary of John Brown's execution. The assembled abolitionists considered Brown to be a martyr to their cause, but other Bostonians were not persuaded. Some of the latter interrupted and took over the proceedings, passing resolutions that condemned John Brown's raid and expelling the abolitionists from the hall. (Harpweek, https://blackhistory.harpweek.com/7Illustrations/Slavery/ExpulsionOfNegroesBI.htm)

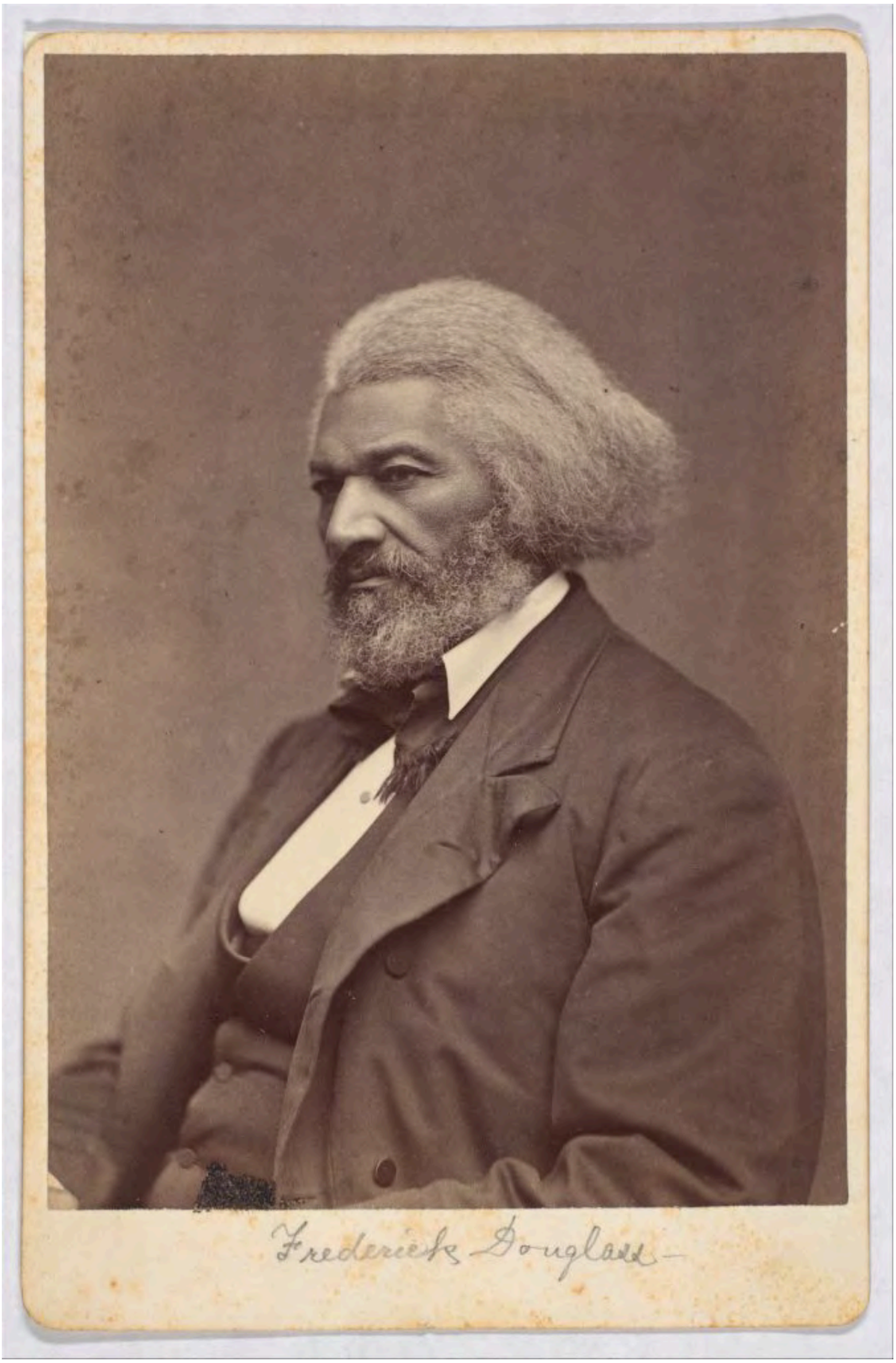
9.11
| Frederick Douglass's "Pictures and Progress": Reclaiming Race



Frederick Douglass, ca. 1855. Daguerreotype. 8.3 x 7 cm. Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York. View Source

Douglass believed that the medium of photography was critical tool in ending slavery and racism because the camera did not lie, even if the photographer was racist. He was convinced that photographic images could counter racist caricatures, particularly blackface cartoons. Douglass, the most photographed American of the 19th century, used his portrait photographs to advance his abolitionist views. He refused to smile because he did not want to be associated with the racist cartoons of the toothy smiling, wide-eyed happy slave. He was insistent on looking directly into the camera, facing the viewer with a serious piercing look.

The early cameras, such as daguerreotypes, tintypes, ambrotypes, and wet-plate collodion cameras, produced photographs with a depth of field. The photos revealed the details of the darker zones of the subject's hair colour and texture, the folds and creases of the clothes, and, probably most important for Douglass and other black abolitionists, the range of skin colours grouped as "black." These qualities were too often missing in photographs of black people that were under-metered or under-exposed.

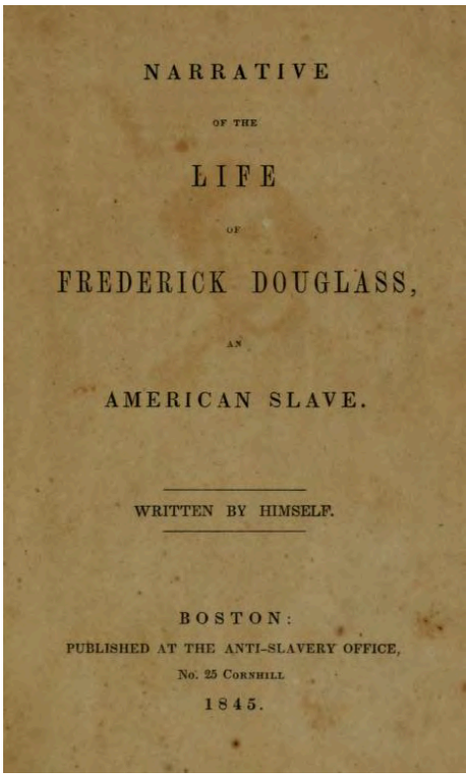


Mathew B. Brady, *Frederick Douglass*, ca. 1880. Albumen silver print from glass negative. 14.7 x 10.2 cm. Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York. View Source

Henry Louis Gates writes in “Frederick Douglass’s Camera Obscura” (*Aperture*, no. 223 (2016): 25–29):

Since he was photographed more than any other American of his time, it shouldn't surprise us that Frederick Douglass not only used photographic images of himself, like he used his oratory, in the battle to end slavery and to insure for the Negro full citizenship rights, but he also theorized about photography, about its nature and its uses. Douglass was, by all accounts, a master orator on his feet, summoning rhetorical tropes and figures seemingly at will to maximum effect. For someone so urgently concerned with effecting immediate political change, he was extraordinarily patient in making his case. One of his favorite tropes was the chiasmus, repeating two or more words or clauses or grammatical constructions, balanced against each other in reverse order, a rhetorical "x," somewhat akin to a linguistic seesaw: "You have seen how a man was made a slave; you shall see how a slave was made a man.

The apparatus of the camera obscura is the optical counterpart of chiasmus, literally the "x" at the back of the box, the mechanism that reproduces, rotates, and reverses a scene, transforming it into an image flipped 180 degrees. Douglass used photography in the same way, registering, through image of himself after image of himself, that "the Negro," "the slave," was as various as any human beings could be, not just in comparison to white people, but even more importantly among and within themselves.





Frederick Douglas, *Narrative of the Life of Frederick Douglas, an American Slave* (Boston: Anti-Slavery Office, 1845). View Source

Douglass wrote three autobiographies, relating his experiences as a slave: *Narrative of the Life of Frederick Douglass, an American Slave* (1845), *My Bondage and My Freedom* (1855), and *Life and Times of Frederick Douglass*. The last book published in 1881 and revised in 1892, three years before Douglass died, covers events during and following the American Civil War.

Here are three quotations from his *Narrative of the Life of Frederick Douglass, an American Slave*:

1. 2

> My father was a white man. He was admitted to be such by all I ever heard speak of my parentage. The opinion was also whispered that my master was my father; but of the correctness of this opinion, I know nothing; the means of knowing was withheld from me. My mother and I were separated when I was but an infant — before I knew her as my mother. It is a common custom, in the part of Maryland from which I ran away, to part children from their mothers at a very early age. Frequently, before the child has reached its twelfth month, its mother is taken from it, and hired out on some farm a considerable distance off, and the child is placed under the care of an old woman, too old for field labor. For what this separation is done, I do not know, unless it be to hinder the development of the child's affection toward its mother, and to blunt and destroy the natural affection of the mother for the child. This is the inevitable result.

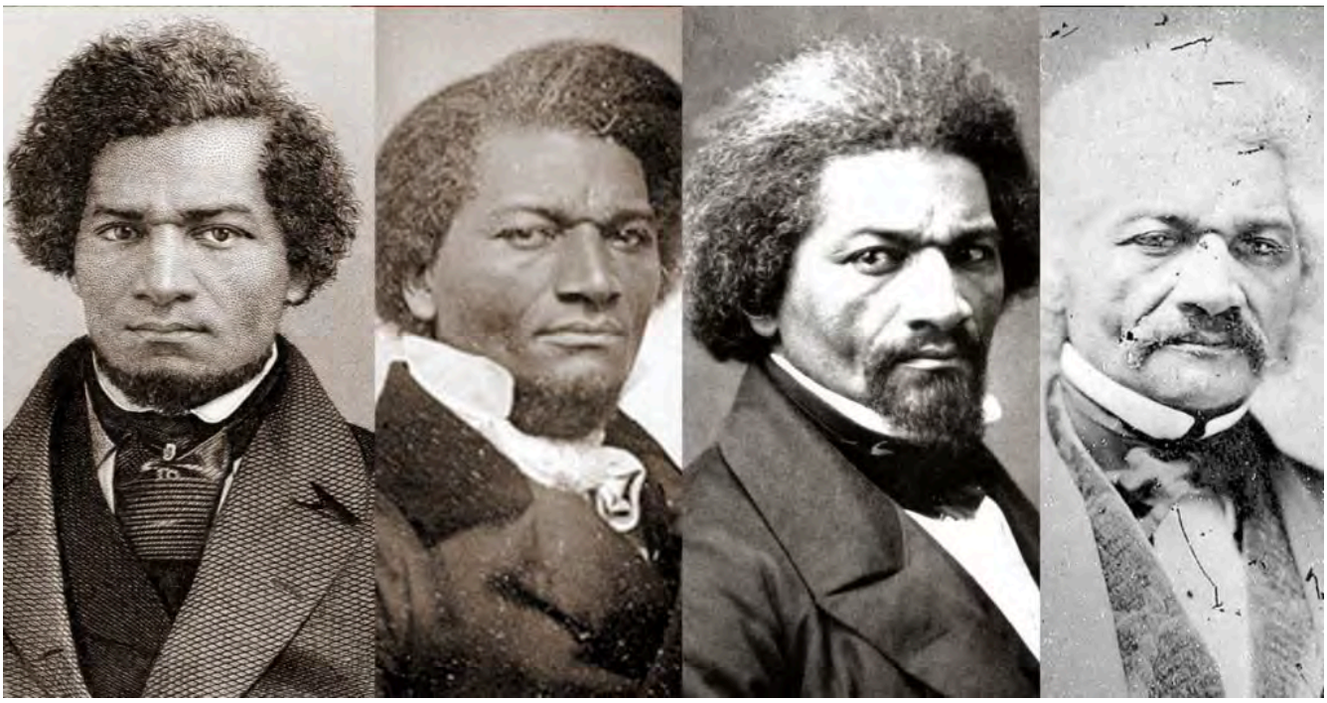
1. 38

> The plan which I adopted, and the one by which I was most successful, was that of making friends of all the little white boys whom I met in the street. As many of these as I could, I converted into teachers. With their kindly aid, obtained at different times and in different places, I finally succeeded in learning to read. When I was sent of errands, I always took my book with me, and by going one part of my errand quickly, I found time to get a lesson before my return. I used also to carry bread with me, enough of which was always in the house, and to which I was always welcome; for I was much better off in this regard than many of the poor white children in our neighborhood. This bread I used to bestow upon the hungry little urchins, who, in return, would give me that more valuable bread of knowledge. I am strongly tempted to give the names of two or three of those little boys, as a testimonial of the gratitude and affection I bear

them; but prudence forbids; — not that it would injure me, but it might embarrass them; for it is almost an unpardonable offence to teach slaves to read in this Christian country.

1. 99

I have found that, to make a contented slave, it is necessary to make a thoughtless one. It is necessary to darken his moral and mental vision, and, as far as possible, to annihilate the power of reason. He must be able to detect no inconsistencies in slavery; he must be made to feel that slavery is right; and he can be brought to that only when he ceases to be a man.



Photographic portraits of Frederick Douglas. View Source

https://historyhustle.com/frederick-douglass/

Gates continues:

What was Frederick Douglass trying to represent and, just as importantly by contrast, what was he trying, through his over 160 photographic portraits, not to represent? Douglass, through these images of himself, is attempting both to display and displace: he is seeking at once to show in two dimensions the contours of the anti-slave, "God's image in ebony," as the abolitionists like to say, who in essence and in possibility fundamentally, by definition, shares the blood of the blood and flesh of the flesh of every other white human being. Even more directly, however, Douglass was intent on the use of this visual image to erase the astonishingly large storehouse of racist stereotypes that had been accumulated in the American archive of antiblack imagery, the bank of simian and other animal-like caricatures meant to undermine the Negro's claim of a common humanity, and therefore the rights to freedom and citizenship and economic opportunity.

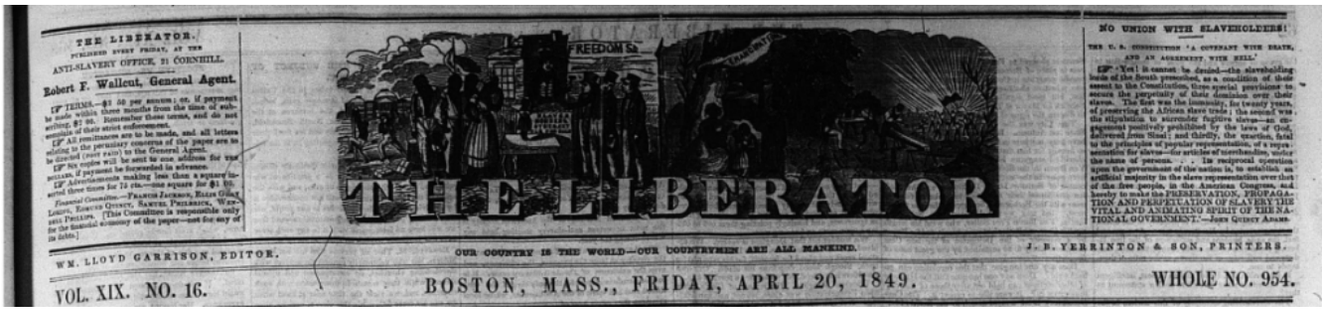
...

Douglass tells us in his 1864 speech "Pictures and Progress" that fate had given him both a mission and a text with which to embark upon that mission: "Now the speech I was sent into the world to make was an abolition speech the Negro is very apt to come with me. I cannot forget him: and you would not if I did." "You" would not, he is saying, because "the Negro" is written on his face at a time when the blackness of that face cannot possibly be erased or be rendered transparent or invisible. Hence, he is engaged – one might even say he is trapped – in a discursive arena in which even a lecture about something as seemingly apolitical as photography or art in the end must, by definition, be engaged within and through Douglass's state of being as a black man in a white society in which one's blackness signifies

negation. In “Pictures and Progress,” Douglass further explains that his other motivation for embracing this new technology with such alacrity, on behalf of the Negro, as representative Negro, as the anti-slave, is to counter the racist stereotypes, “the already read text” of the debased, subhuman Negro fabricated and so profusely distributed by the slave power, by supplanting those images with a proliferation of anti-caricatures. No wonder Douglass emerges as the most frequently photographed American in the nineteenth century. He was a reformer on a mission: he seized upon those long-exposure glimpses of black and majestic human forms, miraculously generated by the chiastic magic of Daguerre’s camera obscura, to fabricate – to picture

– the very images through which, at long last, the Negro as anti-slave could emerge and then progress, “clothed in his own form.”

[NEXT TWO IMAGES ARE PAIRED]



THE LIBERATOR.

PUBLISHED EVERY FRIDAY, AT THE ANTI-SLAVERY OFFICE, 21 CORNHILL.

Robert F. Wallcut, General Agent.

FREEDOM'S

THE LIBERATOR

NO UNION WITH SLAVEHOLDERS!

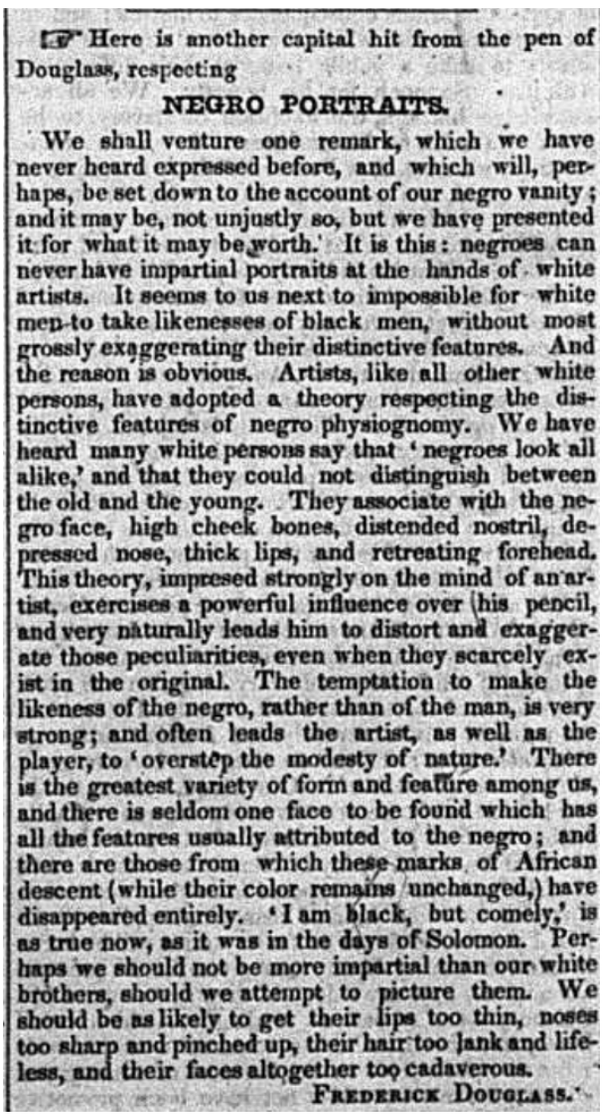
WM. LLOYD GARRISON, EDITOR.

OUR COUNTRY IS THE WORLD—OUR COUNTRYMEN ARE ALL MANKIND.

J. B. YERRINTON & SON, PRINTERS.

VOL. XIX. NO. 16. BOSTON, MASS., FRIDAY, APRIL 20, 1849. WHOLE NO. 954.

The Liberator, April 20, 1849, 2. View Source



☞ Here is another capital hit from the pen of Douglass, respecting

NEGRO PORTRAITS.

We shall venture one remark, which we have never heard expressed before, and which will, perhaps, be set down to the account of our negro vanity; and it may be, not unjustly so, but we have presented it for what it may be worth.' It is this: negroes can never have impartial portraits at the hands of white artists. It seems to us next to impossible for white men to take likenesses of black men, without most grossly exaggerating their distinctive features. And the reason is obvious. Artists, like all other white persons, have adopted a theory respecting the distinctive features of negro physiognomy. We have heard many white persons say that 'negroes look all alike,' and that they could not distinguish between the old and the young. They associate with the negro face, high cheek bones, distended nostril, depressed nose, thick lips, and retreating forehead. This theory, impresed strongly on the mind of an artist, exercises a powerful influence over his pencil, and very naturally leads him to distort and exaggerate those peculiarities, even when they scarcely exist in the original. The temptation to make the likeness of the negro, rather than of the man, is very strong; and often leads the artist, as well as the player, to 'overstep the modesty of nature.' There is the greatest variety of form and feature among us, and there is seldom one face to be found which has all the features usually attributed to the negro; and there are those from which these marks of African descent (while their color remains unchanged,) have disappeared entirely. 'I am black, but comely,' is as true now, as it was in the days of Solomon. Perhaps we should not be more impartial than our white brothers, should we attempt to picture them. We should be as likely to get their lips too thin, noses too sharp and pinched up, their hair too lank and lifeless, and their faces altogether too cadaverous.

FREDERICK DOUGLASS.'

In 1844, Douglass wrote about "Negro Portraits" in the *Liberator,* the most widely circulated anti-slavery newspaper during the antebellum period and throughout the Civil War. He insisted that painted portraits of African Americans could never be "impartial portraits."

> It seems to us next to impossible for white men to take likenesses of black men, without most grossly exaggerating their distinctive features. And the reason is obvious. Artists, like all other white persons, have adopted a theory respecting the distinctive features of negro physiognomy. We have heard many white persons say that 'negroes look all alike', and that they could not distinguish between the old and the young. They associate with the negro face, high cheek bones, distended nostril, depressed nose, thick lips, and retreating forehead. This theory, impressed strongly on the mind of an artist, exercises a powerful influence over his pencil, and very naturally leads him to distort and exaggerate those peculiarities, even when they scarcely exist in the original. The temptation to make the likeness of the negro, rather than of the man, is very strong; and often leads the artist, as well as the player, to 'overstep the modesty of nature.' There is the greatest variety of form and feature among us, and there is seldom one face to be found which has all the features usually attributed to the negro; and there are those from which these marks of African descent (while their color remains unchanged) have disappeared entirely. 'I am black, but comely,' is as true now, as it was in the days of Solomon. Perhaps we should not be more impartial than our white brothers, should we attempt to picture them. We should be as likely to get their lips too thin, noses too sharp and pinched up, their hair too lank and lifeless, and their faces altogether too cadaverous.

Douglass, however, did trust the images of two African American artists, Edmonia Lewis and Henry Ossawa Tanner.

9.12
| Edmonia Lewis and Henry Ossawa Tanner: Breaking Free



Henry Rocher, restored by Adam Cuerden, *Edmonia Lewis,* ca. 1870.
Albumen silver print. 9.2 x 5.2 cm. National Portrait Gallery, Washington.
View Source

Frederick Douglass knew Edmonia Lewis when she was a student at Oberlin College in Ohio in the 1860s. Oberlin College was the first American higher-learning institution to allow women and people of different ethnicities to attend. Douglass encouraged Lewis to go to the East Coast and study abroad. He and his wife, Helen, met with Lewis when they visited her in Rome in 1887, where she had settled in 1866. Lewis did a portrait sculpture of Douglass. Unfortunately, its current location is unknown.

Mary Edmonia Lewis was born a free black woman in ca. 1844. Her mother had black and Ojibwa ancestry, and her father was black. Little is known of Lewis's father beyond his being from the West Indies and his

employment as a gentleman's servant. Lewis's Canadian mother, Catherine, was born to an escaped African slave and a woman of African and Ojibwa [Chippewa] descent. Catherine was denied Indian membership because of her African heritage, which was based on a degree of Indian blood. The family was pushed out of the Reservation where Catherine's mother's family lived.

In January of 1862, three years into her studies at Oberlin College, Lewis was falsely accused of poisoning two white female classmates with Spanish Fly, an aphrodisiac, in the wine she served them. Soon after, with the pending investigation, she was abducted, brutally beaten, stripped naked and left for dead. Then, a year later, in February of 1863, she was falsely accused for a second time, for stealing art material from a classroom. She was cleared both times but had enough of Oberlin and headed to Boston. She then traveled to Europe in 1866, and after a few months in Florence, she left for Rome, where she lived for over twenty years. At the time, many American artists, writers, and intellectuals were living in Rome. Lewis often returned to the United States for exhibitions and to sell her work. Lewis explained in an interview in the *New York Times*, 1878: "I was practically driven to Rome in order to obtain the opportunities for art culture, and to find a social atmosphere where I was not constantly reminded of my color. The land of liberty had no room for a colored sculptor."



Edmonia Lewis, *Forever Free,* 1867. Marble. 104.7 x 27.9 x 43.1 cm. Howard University Gallery of Art, Washington. View Source

In 1867, two years after the Civil War ended, Lewis created the sculpture, *Forever Free*. Lewis was particularly interested in the identity and oppression of African American people. *Forever Free* depicts an African American man standing beside a kneeling African American woman with a fragment of a recently-broken chain still shackled to his wrist.

Susanna W. Gold writes in "The Death of Cleopatra / The Birth of Freedom: Edmonia Lewis at the New World's Fair" (*Biography* 35, no. 2 (2012): 318–41):

In the immediate post-Civil War years, when she first disembarked in Rome, through the 1870s, Lewis asserted her newfound independence by addressing race in a number of her ideal sculptures—large-scale figurative works that illustrated weighty historical, biblical, literary, or mythological moments, and that were inspired by Classical aesthetics for serene physical perfection. In her earliest ideal work, *The Freedwoman on First Hearing of her Liberty (The Freedwoman and Her Child)* (1866, currently unlocated), and its complement, *Forever Free (The Morning of Liberty)* 1867, Lewis engages the noble theme of the emancipated slave. Somewhat similar in composition, both *The Freedwoman* and *Forever Free* feature a kneeling African slave woman, hands clasped and face raised heavenward in gratitude. In *The Freedwoman,* a small, apprehensive boy leans over his mother's knees grasping her waist, while *Forever Free* features a husband standing by her side, his arm protectively around her shoulders. Both compositions include broken manacles clinging to the wrists of these now emancipated slaves, and the remnants of balls and chains lying at their feet. Lewis continued to work with themes relevant to her own heritage through the Reconstruction era, when she would reach the height of her success as a sculptor. In the fall of 1875 John Sartain, Chief of the Bureau of Art of the Centennial Exhibition, circulated among the American sculptors in Rome an invitation to submit work to the Centennial, and Lewis responded with *The Death of Cleopatra*.



Edmonia Lewis, *The Death of Cleopatra,* 1876. Marble 160 x 79.4 x 116.8 cm. Smithsonian American Art Museum, Washington. View Source

Most notable among her contributions to the Centennial art galleries [at the Centennial Exhibition in Philadelphia] was *The Death of Cleopatra* (1876), an over life-size Neoclassical representation of the ancient Egyptian Queen carved from pristine white Italian marble. Depicting the moment in the

narrative popularized by Shakespeare when Cleopatra allows herself to be bitten by a poisonous asp following the loss of her crown, Lewis offers a startling portrayal of a Queen having chosen to suffer death rather than succumb to imprisonment and humiliation at the hands of her Roman conqueror. With her head thrown back in anguish and her slightly parted lips and eyes still registering pain, Cleopatra collapses into her throne just as the last pulse of energy drains from her body. While the asp twists through her motionless right hand, the agitation in her left arm is barely, but notably, perceptible as it falls to her side, resulting in a haunting interpretation of the very moment of death.

...

The Death of Cleopatra responds, too, to the cultural conditions of its time. At a critical moment in the reinvention of national identity, the interest of the African American community in preserving the memory of the Civil War and its consequences of Emancipation was at odds with the mainstream assumption that reproachful memories of the nation's history of slavery and the resultant war must be forgotten or ignored in the process of nation-building. Lewis's conception of the destruction of slavery—veiled under the pretext of historical narrative, the only acceptable means of such expression in the US art galleries—attested that the vindicating memory of Emancipation held firm in African American consciousness, and would not be relinquished with the restructuring of national identity. If *The Death of Cleopatra* served as a visual embodiment of slavery's end, the Centennial viewer was then left to question what would fill this absence in the post-Reconstruction years ahead. While Centennial culture pushed the US public to envision national reunification, Lewis's sculpture begs its audience to consider the terms of that vision. With the broad range of cross-cultural and cross-temporal confluences underpinning the production and exhibition of *The Death of Cleopatra*, Lewis introduces the possibility of a more pluralistic nation, one that acknowledges its own history of creolization, and requires that the diversity of its citizens be acknowledged in the Centennial re-invention of itself.



Frederick Gutekunst, *Henry Ossawa Tanner,* 1907. Black and white photographic print. 15 x 11 cm. Archives of American Art, Washington. View Source

Henry Ossawa Tanner's father, Benjamin Tucker Tanner, an influential African Methodist Episcopal bishop and political activist, befriended Frederick Douglass when the family moved to Philadelphia.

Tanner was born in Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, in 1859. His mother, Isabel, a formerly enslaved person who escaped via the Underground Railroad, believed education was the route to African American progress. When the family moved to Philadelphia, Tanner enrolled in painting classes at the Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts (PAFA), where he studied under Thomas Eakins; he was among the first African American artists to study at the academy. Upon graduating, Tanner quickly discovered that white Americans were unwilling to accept an African American artist on equal terms. He left Philadelphia and moved to Atlanta, where he took up photography. After a patron in Cincinnati purchased all his paintings that were in an exhibition there, he used the funds to travel to Europe in 1891. He studied at the Académie Julian under Benjamin Constant, who confirmed Tanner's potential.

As he came to understand that he was a leading representative of "the race" in art, Tanner painted *The Banjo Lesson* in 1893 and *The Thankful Poor* in 1894. While *The Banjo Lesson* was accepted at the Paris Salon of 1894, it received little recognition from French or American critics. It was then that the artist decided to turn his attention to biblical subjects, and quickly gained recognition as a distinguished painter of religious themes. Tanner remained in France for the rest of his life, because of the repressive racial environment in the United States.



Henry Ossawa Tanner, *The Banjo Lesson*, 1893. Oil on canvas. 124.4 cm x 90.1 cm. View Source

Albert Boime discusses Tanner's genre work in "Henry Ossawa Tanner's Subversion of Genre" (*Art Bulletin* 75, no. 3 (September 1993): 415-42):

> His first major painting of this sort was *The Banjo Lesson*, executed in 1893 from drawings the artist had made in the South prior to his departure for Europe. The crude farmhouse interior and household utensils that form the backdrop of the picture link it to the mainstream of American rural genre, as

does his representation of African-Americans within this setting. They correspond to Tanner's nostalgia for his own far-off childhood, misty recollections of the family hearth that included a great Dutch oven, an image perhaps sparked by the cozy log cabin he had recently rented in Highlands, North Carolina. Further, the motif of the African-American playing a musical instrument-especially the banjo-was so commonplace that it continued to figure in penny postcards as well.

The basic themes of conventional representations however–the cheerful and grinning "coon" or the dancing "darkey" of the minstrel tradition–are noticeably absent in Tanner's painting. Here the theme is not the African American as an object of white entertainment but as the subject of black education. It is an image which encapsulates the creative and intellectual promise of African Americans during the Reconstruction era.

The setting of a small log cabin is enlivened by the lovely glow of a hearth fire which casts its light on grandfather and grandson as they take part in what has been described as a generational torch-passing. The old man is teaching the young boy to play the banjo. While the warmth of the light envelops the young boy, the tone is cooler, the light more subdued surrounding the older man, an evocative contrast between past and future, the darkness of slavery and the light of freedom. The grandson, through his learning, symbolizes new possibilities.

This poignant image speaks of interiority and intimacy, affection and aspiration. It is private, and far removed from the scenes of amusement and spectatorship of popular illustrations or the self-conscious "acting out" typical of a banjo-playing black man. The banjo is not a stereotypical prop, but a metonym for education generally, and also for change.



Henry Ossawa Tanner, *The Thankful Poor,* 1894. Oil on canvas. 90.1 cm x 112.4 cm. Private collection. View Source

A year later, in 1894, Tanner painted *The Thankful Poor*, which represents an analogous exchange between generations. The scene shows an older man and his grandson at mealtime. The young boy emulates the reverence of his grandfather just as he copies his physical gestures. Boime:

> The youth's tilted arm and folded hand echo his elder's gesture, using them to support his head and aid in mental concentration. Tanner brings us close enough to the tabletop to see the scanty food offerings and to point up the contrast between the pair's impoverished condition yet unremitting gratitude to God. The two figures are treated solemnly and with dignity. Unlike the actors in the penny postcards then in circulation, they are provided with sparse fare and yet maintain their decorum. They are shown as devout and sober Christians, a role almost never seen in popular representations, which generally mock African-American religious practices as a throwback to tribal ritual or fanatical superstition.



Henry Ossawa Tanner, *The Raising of Lazarus,* 1896. Oil on canvas. 94.7 cm x 120.5 cm. Musée d'Orsay, Paris. View Source

By the end of the 1890's Tanner was settled in Paris as a professional artist. The biblical themes that became his focus were far removed from the earlier genre works, linked only by their familial psychological aspect. As Boime summarizes,

> Although black people appear in these works, more often than not they are shown as eyewitnesses-as in the *Raising of Lazarus*, for example-to a multicultural and unitary scene. We may speculate that Tanner began to seek a more universal message through his biblical pictures … He deserted overt representations of the economically repressed conditions of African-Americans, and ultimately he reinscribed them in a biblical past to please his father and wealthy patrons.
>
> …
>
> On one level, Tanner's biblical works reverted to the traditional definition and aims of genre. It might be argued, as several scholars do, that Tanner's approach differs from conventional or academicized representations of biblical themes: using members of his family and close friends for models and digging relentlessly into the architecture, accessories, and costumes of ancient Palestine, he tried to make his works as archaeologically accurate as possible. He also humanized the protagonists and

minimized the tendency to sensationalism or sentimentalism so common in renderings of biblical themes of the period.

Over a century after Lewis and Tanner faced racial prejudice at home to make their mark on the international stage, their importance as African American artists active at a historical moment charged by change is now being recognized more fully. Their legacy extends beyond their engagement with new ways of interpreting subjects stylistically to acknowledge their contribution to the subversion of stereotypical representations of black Americans during the late 19th century. That their work was influenced by race and racism is inarguable. But their success is a testament to their will and vision in an era of radical social change. Theirs is a narrative that continues to resonate today.

Chapter Ten

RELIGIOUS AND RACIAL ANTISEMITISM & The Jewish Artist



Moritz Daniel Oppenheim, Lavater and Lessing Visit Moses Mendelssohn, 1856. Oil on canvas. 71.1 x 59.6 cm. The Magnes Collection of Jewish Art and Life, Berkeley. View Source

CONTENTS

Introduction

10.1

A Narrative of Exclusion and Emancipation

10.2

English Expressions of Myth and Faith

10.3

Imaging the Jewess: La belle juive / L'affreuse juive

10.4

Moritz Daniel Oppenheim:"The Rothschild of Painters"

10.5

The Politics of Genre

10.6

Maurycy Gottlieb: Strife and Synthesis

10.7

Meijer Isaac de Haan: Controversy and Escape

10.8

Max Liebermann: Pioneering Change

10.9

Liebermann: Subculture and Identity

10.10

The Dreyfus Affair

10.11

Edgar Degas: Other Impressions

10.12

Camille Pissarro; Outsider Impressionist?

INTRODUCTION

Modernity brought radical change, turmoil, and expansion to Western Europe. Social and political events from the late 18th century forward challenged marginalized populations while providing unprecedented opportunities for economic advancement, civic equality, and cultural innovation. During the 19th century, an ideology of difference fuelled the advancement of the avant-garde. At the same time, a parallel, grimmer engagement with concepts of 'the other', which was largely motivated by ethnoreligious biases, permeated society and culture. For European Jews, negotiating new roles and realities in a rapidly modernizing world was further problematized by a history of racial hatred and exclusion.



Moritz Daniel Oppenheim, *The Return of the Jewish Volunteer from the Wars of Liberation to His Family Still Living in Accordance with Old Customs,* ca. 1833-34. Oil on canvas. 86.2 x 94 cm. View Source.

This chapter will examine the impact of emancipation, assimilation, and acculturation on European Jews within the binary of a Christian/Jewish art world. It will address how Jewish artists, outsiders in every respect, engaged with visual culture in France, Germany, and Britain during the 19th century.

The oeuvre of artists like Moritz Daniel Oppenheim and Max Liebermann in Germany, Maurycy Gottlieb in Poland, Simeon Solomon in England, and Camille Pissarro in France will serve to illuminate the trajectory of Euro-Jewish artists at this pivotal moment in nascent modernity. Looking at individual narratives, the essay explores questions such as the impact of antisemitic attitudes on artistic advancement and aesthetic directions, as well as the relationship between Jewish identity and subject matter, education, and professionalization within the sociocultural context of the late nineteenth century.

The thematization of Judaic and biblical subjects by non-Jewish artists such as William Holman Hunt, William Blake, and Gustave Moreau, the propagation of stereotypes and tropes within the visual culture, and the divisive question of antisemitism in the vanguard, including among Edgar Degas and the Impressionists further expand the discussion around Jewish artists and modernism.

10.1

| A Narrative of Exclusion and Emancipation

A familiar narrative is associated with the European Jew which dates back to the Middle Ages. It is a story of persecution, displacement, resettlement, success and security, followed by renewed oppression, pogroms and exile. Until the Napoleonic era, religious and racial antisemitism restricted Jews from social entry, civil equality, land ownership, many trades, and most professions.

According to the definition of antisemitism in the YAD Vashem Holocaust Museum, Israel's official memorial to the victims of the Holocaust, "Jew-hatred is not a modern phenomenon—it may be traced back to ancient times. Traditional antisemitism is based on religious discrimination against Jews by Christians."



Matthias Grünewald, *The Mocking of Christ*, ca. 1503-05. Oil on panel. 109 x 74.3 cm. Alte Pinakothek, Munich. View Source

Christian doctrine was ingrained with the idea that Jews were responsible for the death of Jesus, and thus deserved to be punished (this is known as the Deicide, or Killing of God Myth). Another concept that provoked hatred of Jews amongst Christians was the Supersession Myth, claiming that Christianity had replaced Judaism, due to the Jewish People's failure in their role as the Chosen People of God—and thus deserving punishment, specifically by the Christian world.



Hartmann Schedel, "Martyrdom of Simon von Trent," *Nuremberg World Chronicle.* Woodcuts by Michel Wolgemut and Wilhelm Pleydenwurff. View Source

At varying points, Jews were accused of using the blood of Christian children as part of the Passover holiday ritual (known as the Blood Libel), as well as of malicious sacrilege against the holy communion, and of causing plagues. Initially propagated by religious fervour prejudice against Jews spread to encompass economic antisemitism.



Portrait of a Jewish Man Smiling at a Denture with a Gold Tooth, ca. 1870. Oil on canvas. 34.29 x 25.72 cm. United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, Washington. View Source

Over the centuries, stereotypes about Jews developed. Individuals were not judged on personal achievement or meritorious deeds but via racialized characterizations of greed, laziness, and depravity. During the medieval era, Christians defined themselves in relation to Jewish Otherness,' creating polarized identities that fuelled the stereotypical representation of the Jew.

In writing about the exhibition *Jews, Money, Myth,* Abigail Morris, the director of the Jewish Museum in London, explains:

> Artists only began to distinguish Jews from Christians from the late 11th century. Initially they can be seen with beards and pointed hats, carrying scrolls. Half a century later, they acquire distorted faces. By the 13th century they are also carrying moneybags, shown clinging to the material world and denying spirituality. As the historian Sara Lipton explains in the publication that accompanies this exhibition, the aim was to encourage Christians to avoid sin rather than hate Jews, but history tells us that this caricature has persisted and inspired murderous hatred.(https://www.theartnewspaper.com/2019/03/19/ancient-antisemitic-tropes-are-resurfacingit-is-time-to-uncover-the-myths)

The 18th century was a watershed moment in European history economically (the Industrial Revolution), culturally (the Enlightenment) and politically (the French Revolution), which sowed the seeds for significant changes in the socio-historic and economic developments of 19th-century Europe.



Louis-François Couché, *Napoleon Grants the Jews Freedom to Worship,* 1806. Engraving. 27.8 x 20.5 cm. Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris. View Source

1806 marked the emancipation of the Jews in France, the first country in modern Europe to grant the approximately 40,000 Jews within its borders equal rights under the law. It set a national precedent and a new standard for Europe as a whole. Jews were emancipated in Germany, England, and other parts of Europe. Napoleon released Jews from the confinement of the shtetls (Jewish ghettos) and guaranteed them full citizens' rights and the opportunity to transcend the negative status ascribed to them since antiquity.

With new freedom, European Jews entered a critical period of transformation with opportunities to participate and prosper in a rapidly changing society. But change also "led to a wave of secularization, assimilation and even conversion to Christianity."(see Ben Weider, Napoleon and the Jews, https://aish.com/48945221/)



Jean-Baptiste Mauzaisse, *Napoleon I, Crowned by the Allegory of Time, Writes the Code Civil,* 1833. Oil on canvas. 131 x 160 cm. Musée national des châteaux de Malmaison et Bois-Préau, Ruel-Malmaison. View Source

Napoleon's enactment of the French Civic Code remains one of his most significant contributions to modern society. It provided a new legal framework with coherent laws addressing property, family affairs and individual rights. All male citizens were granted equal rights under the law, including Jews, Protestants and Freemasons. The Napoleonic Code conversely deprived women of individual rights and reduced the entitlements of illegitimate children.

Jews were emancipated as individuals of the Jewish faith but were discouraged from maintaining group identity. When the Declaration of the Rights of Man and of the Citizen was being debated in 1789, the question of the emancipation of the Jews was on tenuous ground. To secure its success, the Liberal advocate for the Jews Count Clermont-Tonnerre proposed a compromise declaring: "We must refuse everything to the Jews as a nation and accord everything to Jews as individuals. . . . We must refuse legal protection to the maintenance of the so-called laws of their Judaic organization; they should not be allowed to form in the state either a political body or an order. They must be citizens individually."(quoted in Lynn Hunt, *The French Revolution and Human Rights: A Brief Documentary History* (Bedford/St. Martin's, 1996), 86)

Despite emancipation, negative views of the Jew festered as fact throughout the 19th century. Thus, while modernity transformed Jewish life, offering integration and economic and social benefits, it also stimulated negative repercussions. In Christian Europe, they were still 'the Other'. In addition, given their changing social status, Jews experienced new forms of hostility influenced partly by emerging anti-capitalist ideology.

Ironically, the French *Declaration of Human Rights* provided new protections for freedom of speech and the press, which threatened emancipated Jews in more widely damaging ways. The principle of free speech contributed to the appearance of antisemitic publications that influenced public perception and politics. By the end of the 19th century, even Liberal parties began to adopt antisemitic platforms in France.

1.2
| English Expressions of Myth and Faith

In England, Liberals were more tolerant of Anglo-Jews. English philosemitism expressed an interest and respect for the Jewish people, but it was often attached to Christian restorationist beliefs and the notion of Jews' return to the Holy Land. From the 17th century, restorationism centred on a doctrine of conversion of Jews to Christianity linked with the Messiah's second coming. This belief was widespread by the mid-19th century, influencing English politics and cultural expression.



William Blake, *Job and His Family,* ca. 1805-20. Pen and black ink, gray wash, and watercolour over traces of graphite. Morgan Library and Museum, New York. View Source

William Blake's poetry and paintings reflect this generally ambiguous attitude toward Judaism. While he was among those artists with a primarily positive outlook toward Jews , his regard was inconsistent, ranging from mild interest in religious doctrine (particularly as antagonistic to Christianity) to virulent antisemitism as was reflected in his journals.

As Karen Shabetai points out in "The Question of Blake's Hostility toward the Jews" (*ELH* 63, no. 1 (1996): 139–52):

> When Blake mocks Judaism by invoking a stereotype about the Jewish proboscis – "I always thought Jesus Christ was a Snubby or I should not have worship'd him – if I had thought he had been one of those long spindle nosed rascals" he was writing in what he thought was the privacy of a notebook. Blake's most hostile remarks about Jews, in fact, appear where the public presumably was not to be invited. In

> his works intended for the public, he is more subtle, or at least more obscure, which might explain how Blake's seeming antisemitism has managed to fly under critical radar.

Shabatei has interpreted Blake's inconsistent position on the Jews as connected to his critical attitude toward deism and organized religion. In other words, Blake demonized deists generally, including "false" Christians and Jews, suggesting that his seeming antisemitism was a means and not an end. She writes,

> [As] one critic speculates, "the Jews qua Jews were irrelevant to Blake, other than as the antagonists of his personal myth of the Christian dialectic."'
> ...
> Blake wished to deter his readers from interpreting the Old Testament as a narrative of God's dealings with a wayward and fickle nation. In his view, the Bible was a book of revelations, with "seers" emerging from time to time to reveal that the salvation of humanity lay in the recognition of Jesus Christ as the Saviour.

Blake's illustrations for the biblical *Book of Job* reinforce this position. He created two versions, a watercolour series dating 1805 and an engraved set of plates made twenty years later. The first series was produced after Blake experienced a period of Christian regeneration.

A powerful parable about the limits of human faith, Blake's early watercolours contain elements absent from the Old Testament text, and the overall narrative is tinged with Christocentric content. While Blake generally adheres to the story of Job in the Bible, he incorporates several personal motifs. In the beginning, Job and his family attend only to the letter of God rather than the spirit of God's laws. Job falls under a false conception of God and into the hands of Satan, and although he is already an ancient rabbi, a man of prayer, his faith is deepened by suffering. Blake's series culminates in renewed vision and reunion with God in Christ.

The first watercolour depicts Job and his life of peace and plenitude. He is shown seated beneath a large oak tree hung with musical instruments. His family is gathered around him in prayer. All around their tight-knit circle flocks of sheep stretch out into the landscape illuminated by a setting sun on the left and a crescent moon on the right. "Thus did Job continually" is inscribed in the design. But the Lord's prayer also appears around the face of the setting sun, and a Gothic church in the background creates a contrast with the open book of Moses which Job holds, indicating Blake's intention to incorporate both Old and New Testament imagery. The silence of the musical instruments and the setting sun are evocative of the absence of spirituality and, ultimately of God.

As an allegory of true faith, the central motif is suffering and redemption. In Blake's rendition of the *Book of Job*, Job is a Pharisee, a prosperous and pious man whose spiritual journey is incomplete. Through Satan, he undergoes extreme hardship and complete loss but sees the light and is rewarded by God with the restoration of his health, wealth, and family.



William Blake, *Satan Smiting Job with Boils,* 1805. Pen and black ink, gray wash, and watercolour, over traces of graphite. Morgan Library and Museum, New York. View Source

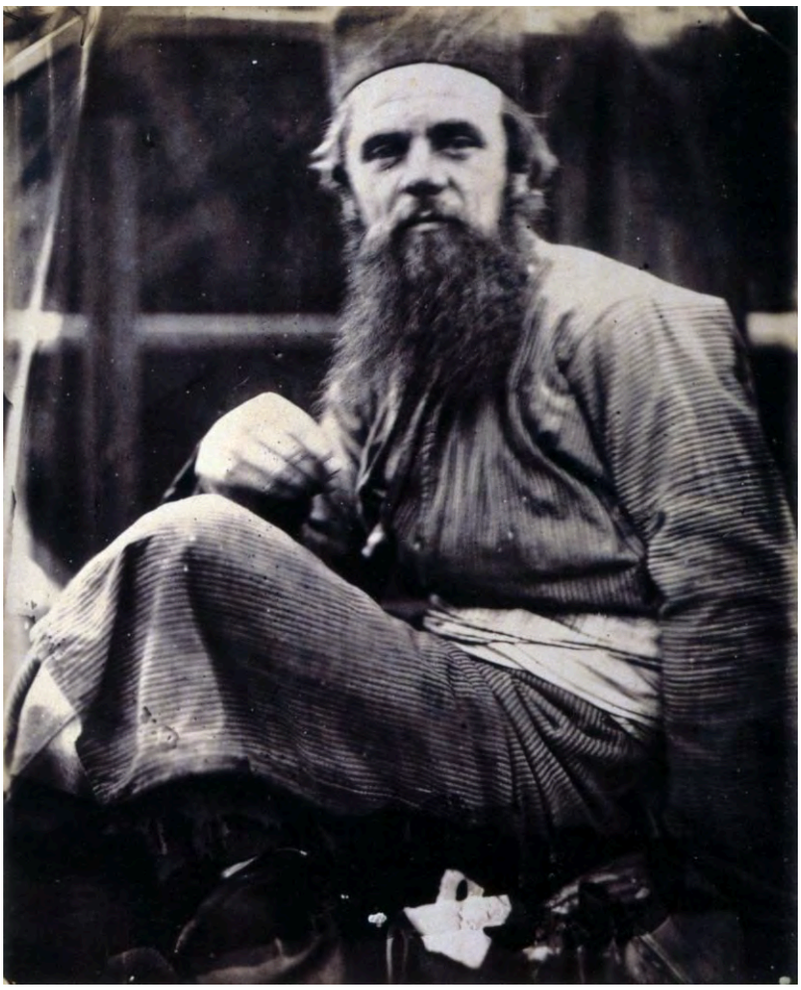
In *Satan Smiting Job with Boils*, the figure of Satan, strong, vigorous, even graceful, dominates Job, pouring fire from a phial to afflict him with sore boils and fill him with sin. Job is now the embodiment of evil, conjuring up the ancient perception of Jews as spiritually diseased. In the distance, a burning sun sinks behind a black sea, suggesting spiritual death.

This perception of Jews as essentially decrepit was rooted in the earliest Modern Christian images, a characterization which came to signify their collective culpability for the Crucifixion.



William Blake, *Job and His Family Restored to Prosperity,* 1805. Pen and black ink, gray wash, and watercolour, over traces of graphite. Morgan Library and Museum, New York. View Source

In *Job and His Family Restored to Prosperity*, the musical instruments are being played to praise God, and the sun is rising, both potent symbols of redemption. The family is reunited in harmony with the synthesis of the Old and New Testaments as they are embodied in the Christian experience.



Julia Margaret Cameron, *William Holman Hunt in His Eastern Dress,* 1864. Albumen print. 25.9 x 20.8 cm. National Museum of Photography, Film and Television, Bradford. View Source

William Holman Hunt was also drawn to biblical subjects. However, unlike the inventive mysticism that characterized Blake's oeuvre, Hunt sought to portray his Christian stories with literal authenticity.

The passion for the Holy Land, which gripped the British cultural imagination during the 19th century, was not just religious but political and economic as well, part of Britain's expanding imperial identity. It opened the doors to the Middle East in unprecedented ways. It was a significant attraction for Holman Hunt and others who believed that personal experience was a fundamental element of faith and whose visualization of the Bible was inextricably linked to the Holy Land.

In 1848, Hunt, along with Dante Gabriel Rossetti and John Everett Millais, founded a society of young artists in London. They called themselves the Pre-Raphaelite Brotherhood (later the Pre-Raphaelites), rebelled against the teachings and orthodoxies of the Royal Academy, and advocated a return to the purity and piety of the medieval era of the art before Raphael. They believed that art should be spiritual in character (as opposed to the materialist realism of Courbet and the French School) and sought to express authentically Christian imagery and ideology by painting religious subjects on a grand scale. Their inspiration lay in the contemporary theories of John Ruskin, who emphasized the connections between nature, art, and society. The Pre-Raphaelites saw themselves as a reform movement and published a periodical, *The Germ*, to promote their ideas.

Holman Hunt traveled several times to the Holy Land for authentic inspiration for his biblical scenes. Hunt's strict adherence to the idea of "truth to nature," that artists should look to the visible world directly when they paint, was part of his investment in the principle of spiritual truth and his belief that the artist's responsibility was to promote and uphold moral integrity.

Hunt's first of four trips to Jerusalem was in 1854. In 1876 he built a house just outside the walls of the Old City of Jerusalem. Hunt's justification for his trips to the Holy Land fit the paradigm of the Orientalist explorer-adventurer-artist-author as defined by Edward Said in *Orientalism* (Pantheon Books, 1978).



William Holman Hunt, *The Finding of the Saviour in the Temple,* ca. 1854-55. Oil on canvas. 85.7 x 55.5 cm. Birmingham Museum and Art Gallery. View Source

The Finding of the Saviour in the Temple portrays the young Jesus in discussion with rabbis in Herod's temple in Jerusalem. The scene refers to the Gospel of Saint Luke (2. 41-52). The twelve-year-old Jesus has become separated from his parents during their annual trip to Jerusalem for Passover. After three days, he is found in the Temple courts engaged in discussion with the rabbis, who are astonished at his wisdom. Mary asks, "Son, why have you treated us like this? Your father and I have been anxiously searching for you?" Jesus' reply is: "How is it that ye sought me? Wist ye not that I must be about my Father's business?" This then is the moment of Christ's self-recognition: his conversion, his first realization of his appointed role on earth, and it is the moment that Hunt significantly addresses.

Despite any underlying agenda, Hunt sought historical and ethnographic precision, studying old Judaic traditions and customs. The architectural details in the painting (the position of the temple in relation to the background landscape and that of the original temple on Mount Moriah) and the costuming are accurate. Jesus wears common Arab garb, while the rabbis wear authentic rabbinical garments. Hunt's failed attempt to find local models for his figures forced him to hire Eastern Jews in England, who were not told they were posing for this subject. Notably, Hunt came away from his close observation of Jewish customs repelled by the undue reverence for the physical material of the Torah. For example, the custom of kissing the scrolls' coverings and bowing struck him as idolatrous. His depiction shows the boy kissing the cloth and keeping the flies away from Torah with a whisk.

When the painting was exhibited in England, the accompanying pamphlet by Frederic George Stephens was markedly disparaging. "Nearest of the rabbis is seated an old priest, the chief, who, blind, imbecile, and decrepit," he writes of the rabbi clutching the Torah to himself "strenuously yet feebly; his sight is gone, his hands seem palsied . . . He is the type of obstinate adherence to the old and decayed doctrine and pertinacious refusal of the new." He goes on to describe each of the rabbis individually. One is "eager, unsatisfied, passionate, and argumentative," another "an envious, acrid individual, a lean man," and yet another a "mere human lump

of dough . . . a huge sensual stomach of a man, who squats upon his own broad base, and indolently lifts his hand in complacent surprise at the interruption."

The work expresses the artist's central concerns: Judaism's rejection of the Messiah whom it professed to await, the embodying of the seven deadly sins (avarice, obesity etc.), and the ultimate betrayal of Christ and Christianity.

Nancy Davenport in "William Holman-Hunt: Layered Belief in the Art of a Pre-Raphaelite Realist" (*Religion and the Arts*, 16, (2012): 29-77) details the historical circumstances of the painting:

> The particular project Hunt came to Jerusalem to paint was *The Finding of the Saviour in the Temple*. He had expected to hire Jewish models for the rabbis who had listened to Jesus preach as a young child in the Temple, and he had wished for the same in finding models for Jesus and his parents. However, he found this to be difficult, proclamations having been sent out to the Jews forbidding them to be models for him. And when some offered themselves as models and were told not to return, he had to start all over with new models, as accurate portraiture was his goal. Frustrated by the recurrence of these difficulties, Hunt decided to complete the painting in London on his return. And so he did, finding Jewish models and using as background his reconstruction of details from the Court of the Lions at the Alhambra and other Islamic buildings available in the 1855 Crystal Palace exhibition to represent the ancient Temple of Solomon rather than either a Palestinian or British synagogue.
> ...
> Christ's wide-eyed expression is prophetic and confrontational, his pose assured with feet squarely on the ground and knees locked .... He is a boy with a job to do, not concerned with the spirit, but with his message to the world. He seems also to be rejecting the motherly gesture of the Virgin and the solicitude of Joseph as he preaches his new and messianic truth to scholars of the ancient religion from which he has emerged as the Messiah. He assertively tightens his belt on which is placed a cross, symbol of his final suffering to which he pays no heed at this early moment in his ministry. Hunt has depicted the self-empowered child as one who is ignoring the past and speaking to the future. He is making ready to confront the world alone, dismissive of his roots. In the background on the right, workers are constructing a building, a new temple for this new religion. This painting reveals no ecumenical spirit, but rather a kind of arrogant assurance about the rectitude and morality of manly Christian virtue with little concealment of the artist's conscious or unconscious antisemitism.



W. Holman Hunt, *Christ Amongst the Doctors* (Photogravure of original drawing). Text beneath image: "Swan Electric Engraving Co. sc" The list of illustrations on p. xi adds "In the possession of J. T. Littlemore." Source: Pre-Raphaelitism, facing II, 242.

Davenport goes on to discuss Hunt's change of attitude towards Jews and Judaism:

> Thus, in the context of this latest and last transformation of Hunt's religious beliefs as expressed in his art, it is useful to compare the appearance of his original *The Finding of Christ in the Temple* with a different version he painted of the same subject in 1887 after the second of his three stays [in Jerusalem]. *Christ Amongst the Doctors*, his one and only religious commission, exists in the form of a gouache done in 1887 for a mosaic, which was never fired, ordered by Archbishop Wilson for the Chapel of Clifton College in Oxford. Rather than a determined and self-motivated Christ child as in the first conception of the work, Hunt represented a gentle and benign young man with graceful curls holding an ancient Hebrew scroll open on his lap to the text from Isaiah prophesying his coming as the Messiah. No longer girding his loins to face the world, Christ touches his forehead with his left hand, pondering the scroll's meaning or conceiving a response to it. And rather than the critical and defensive group of Pharisees as in the earlier painting, Hunt represents the same older men as benign and attentive, their blind patriarch no longer present, awaiting the young Christ's response in relaxed and in no way accusatory postures. Three young boys, in the original conception guarding the scrolls and otherwise concerned with protecting the ancient blind Pharisee, now observe Christ attentively, waiting for his response. Here, members of the two religions are conversing. The faces of the Pharisees are no longer startling caricatures, but gentle and restrained adults in dialogue with a thoughtful, not an assertive adolescent. The ancient and the new religions have merged in this version of Christ in the Temple representing Hunt's transformed sense of Biblical history. Christ and the Pharisees share a place, exchange points of view, and are at peace. This image seems to be a conscious contradiction to *The Finding of the Saviour in the Temple*, even, perhaps, an apology for an earlier and more limited viewpoint. It is a subject not referencing conversion but merely conversation. Hunt was, by this time, acquainted with the leaders of the Jewish community leaders ..., sent there by Sir Moses Montefiore, the influential Jewish MP in London, to promote peace and begin discussion about the possibilities of a Zionist state in Syria. This image, created for an Oxford chapel, is the result of the artist's more ecumenical point of view, distanced from any sense of Christian mysticism and as well from any celebration of Victorian Christian manliness.



Simeon Solomon. *Self-Portrait,* 1859. Graphite on paper. 16.5 x 14.6 cm. Tate Museum, London. View Source

An interesting comparison may be found in the Anglo-Jewish artist Simeon Solomon's biblical subject matter. Solomon was associated with the Pre-Raphaelites, but his controversial lifestyle as a gay man, and possibly his Jewish heritage, aborted his career early on. He was born in London in 1840 to a middle-class, fully assimilated Ashkenazi family. His brother, Abraham, and sister Rebecca, were also practicing artists. For a while, he successfully navigated the modernity of Victorian England, producing works with clear Jewish themes, highly unusual among the generally explicitly Christian movement. He also created a body of work depicting same-sex romantic desire. Overall, his paintings and drawings were informed by a complex mix of Victorian evangelical piety, a Pre-Raphaelite interest in close observation and truth to the subjects and traditions of Judaism.

Solomon was admitted to the Royal Academy at fourteen in 1854. While the Pre-Raphaelite Brotherhood had lost cohesion by this time, their aesthetic influence continued through exhibitions of their works, and their ideas were accessible through *The Germ*. He began working in Pre-Raphaelite circles gaining recognition for his imagination and innovation. The Pre-Raphaelite ideas about art as fundamentally spiritual provided a framework for him to explore his own religion and spirituality. Solomon did not abandon his Jewish world for success. Rather, he used his Jewishness as a source of inspiration and a validation of the vanishing past of pre-emancipation Judaism.



Simeon Solomon, *Dante's First Meeting with Beatrice,* 1859–63. Ink, watercolour and gouache on paper. 19.4 × 22.9 cm. Tate Museum, London. View Source

Solomon's work was influenced by the Pre-Raphaelites stylistically as well as thematically. When he became acquainted with the Rossetti and Burne-Jones circle, he took part in the contemporary revival of book illustration, creating decorative art for William Morris. Here the subject of the drawing derives from Dante's *Vita Nuova,* specifically the moment the poet first meets Beatrice, his idealized love, 'at the beginning of her nineth year almost.' Rossetti, a great admirer of Dante, most likely influenced Solomon's subject choice.



Simeon Solomon. *The Mother of Moses.* 1860. oil on canvas. 59.7 x 48.3cm. Delaware Art Museum. View Source

The Mother of Moses exemplifies Solomon's interest in the authentic representation of historical subjects. It depicts the Old Testament story of Jochebed holding the infant Moses before abandoning him by the Nile in the wicker basket his sister Miriam holds here. Solomon's model was the Jamaican-born Fanny Eaton, a working-class black woman who went on to model for several of the Pre-Raphaelite artists.

Karin Anger describes the significance of Solomon's image sources and his sitter in "Truth To (His) Nature: Judaism in The Art of Simeon Solomon" (*Constellations*, 9 no. 2 (2018) (https://doi.org/10.29173/cons29349)

> The fact Solomon used a model who was obviously not white, a visible other as a model for biblical figures in a time where idealized beauty as white was a given is fascinating. Solomon's Jochaved and Miriam are (to a Victorian eye) visibly Jewish, tightly curled dark hair and all, presenting a clear other to a Victorian audience. The Victorian interest in phrenology, studying the face to understand the ethnic

background and character of a person, comes into play here. For a Victorian audience with this interest in phrenology, there would be no doubt these women were Egyptian Jews. Some of this certainly came out of the interest in truth to nature and historical accuracy Solomon shows in other aspects of his biblical works, but by making this choice to show these figures as Jews, Solomon consciously points out that this painting is not about Christianity. Solomon does not make Jochaved and Miriam stereotypes, but rather they are shown as Jewish and dignified at once. This scene is rather lovely; it is a tender, human moment and at the same time it is overtly, unashamedly Jewish.

Ideas surrounding phrenology informed many artists' depictions of Orientalist subjects during this era, enhanced by literary and visual motifs that entered the cultural imagination.

10.3
| Imaging the Jewess: *La belle juive / L'affreuse juive*

There is a worthwhile comparison to be made between Biblical representations of the female Jew, as seen in the works of Solomon, versus the stereotypical imagery which emerged during the 19th century across Europe, particularly in France.



Charles Steuben, *La Esméralda*, 1839. Oil on canvas. 195.3 x 145.3 cm. Musée d'art de Nantes. View Source



Paul Delaroche, *L'Hémicycle des Beaux-Arts* (central section), ca. 1841-42. Oil and wax on wall. 990.6 x 6273.8 cm. École nationale supérieure des beaux-arts, Paris. View Source

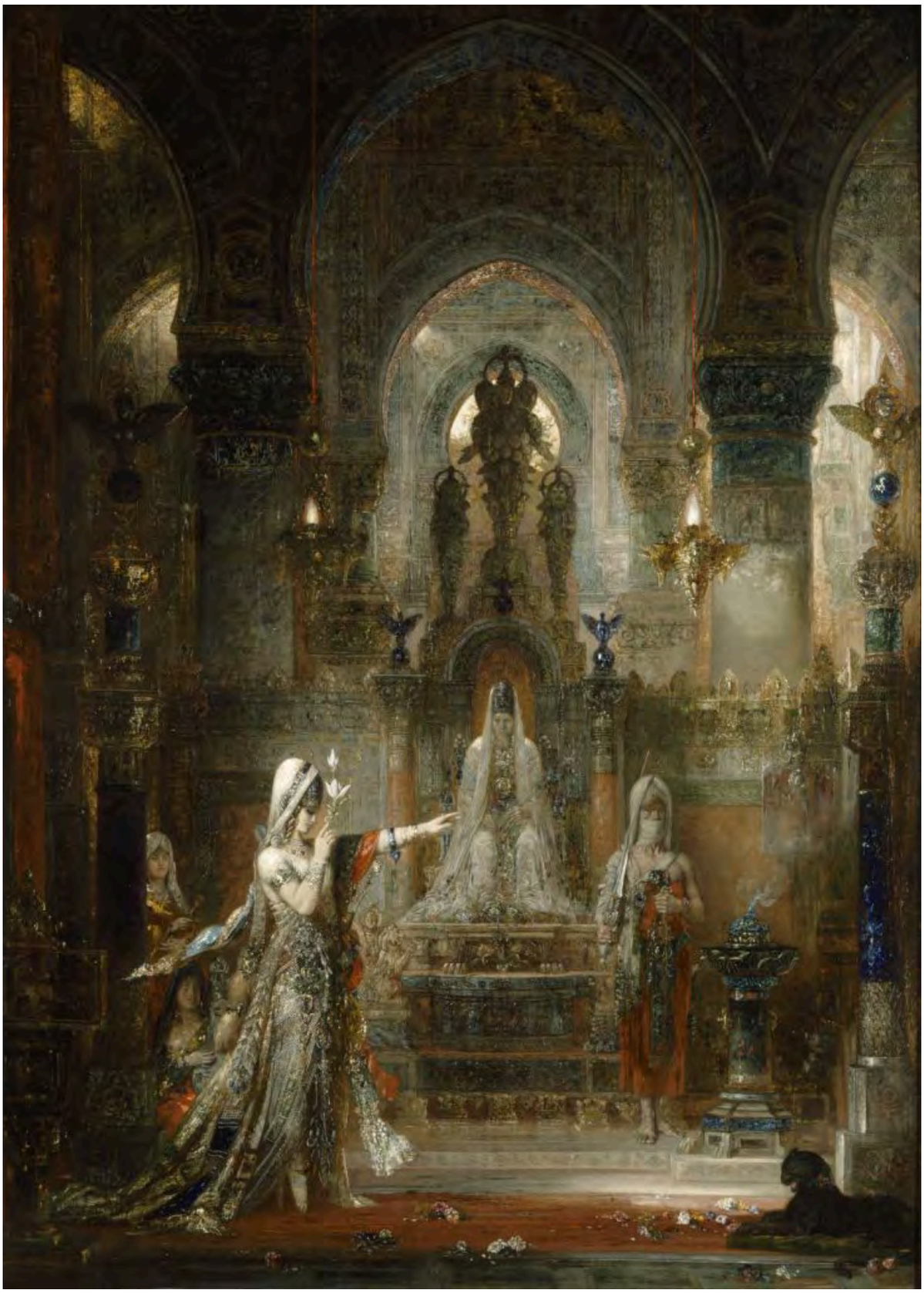
Apart from the biblical popularity of the Holy Land, artists' yearnings for the exotic east in the 19th century extended to an obsession with middle eastern female beauty, providing a place of honour to the Jewess. From Delacroix to Moreau *la belle juive* became an important motif in the Romanticist artistic production of the era.

Often grouping Turks, North Africans and Greeks beneath an orientalist umbrella, some artists traveled to North Africa and the Levant in search of models of this ideal beauty. Others scoured the Marais, the Jewish ghetto outside of Paris for their subjects. Through literary and artistic representations, the "Oriental" beauty of the Jewish female became a cultural emblem in France in the 1830s, 1840s, and the beginning of the 1850s.

As Marie Lathers describes in "Posing the 'Belle Juive': Jewish Models in 19th-Century Paris" (*Woman's Art Journal* 21, no. 1 (2000): 27–32)

> Jewish models were ubiquitous in mid-19th-century Parisian studios, valued for their exotic beauty and a supposedly inherent shamelessness (they do not know they are naked). Louis Leroy explained this preference: "Jewish women have had, and still have, a monopoly on modeling. Their original beauty and a certain disdain for what others think predisposes them very naturally to the model's situation.

The *belle juive* was characterized by dark hair and eyes, an oval face with an olive or ivory tint, arched eyebrows, full lips, and graceful hands. Josephine Marix was a popular Jewish model who embodied the stereotype. Artists from Ingres and Delacroix to Steuben and Paul Delaroches chose her to pose for their narrative and history paintings, . Jules Clarétie, writing in *La vie à Paris*, 1881, described Marix's desirability thus, "This model loves her art, truly collaborates with her painter, shares his fever and his anger."



Gustave Moreau, *Salome,* 1876. Oil on panel. 144 x 103.5 cm. UCLA at the Armand Hammer Museum of Art and Cultural Center, Los Angeles. View Source

While the stereotype of *la belle juive* was a 'positive' characterization in early and mid-19th century France, it was significantly eroded by the next wave of antisemitism that swept the country. Social fears and unrest, compounded by the controversial imagery surrounding the trope of *la femme fatale acutely* altered the symbolism .

Marie Lathers:

> As the century progressed, the Jewish model's relationship to race as a category mutated; as Judaism was increasingly understood in terms of race (or blood), *la juive* was called upon to represent the conjunction of two increasingly suspect bodies—Woman and Jew—and there was less room in her body for the ideal to be posed. A vulgarization of the modeling profession also accompanied the rise of misogyny and antisemitism, and these concurrent phenomena conspired to make of the Jewish female model an "ideal" example of the convergence of three dangerous bodies: Woman, Jew, and model.
>
> Whereas the Jewish woman was tolerated-indeed, celebrated-in Delaroche's atelier (despite the mysterious illnesses that she may have provoked), the atelier of the *fin de siècle* demanded that the Jewish model be erased as ideal—she was now Salome, the incarnation of fin-de-siècle fears of women who were also Jews … the *belle Juive* mutated into the femme fatale and the muse became professional model and then vampire.

Christina Leah Sztajnkrycer in "The Jewish Capital of Europe: Literary Representation from Balzac to Proust of the Societal Place and Architectural Space of Jews in Paris from the July Monarchy to the Belle Epoque" (PhD diss., University of Washington, 2016) elaborates further:

> The transition from *belle juive* to *affreuse juive* is evidence of the changing appreciation of the Jewish population in France, particularly in Paris. The idealized *belle juive* became an image of the early period in which Jews were still working to adopt a more French identity and the *affreuse juive* inaugurated the later period in which Parisians were finding it very difficult to accept the remarkable assimilation of some highly visible and powerful elite Jews.



Gustave Moreau, *The Apparition,* ca. 1876. Watercolour. 72 x 106 cm. Musée d'Orsay, Paris. View Source

The Symbolist artist Gustave Moreau's focus on the Salome theme was part of a large body of visual and literary works that advanced the trope of the Jewish femme fatale in the late 19th century. Here, Moreau chose to cast the Judean princess as a lustful, vengeful murderess.

In *The Apparition*, Salome, having bewitched her stepfather Herod Antipas with her dance of the seven veils, receives her reward: the head of the man who shunned her, John the Baptist. The painting created a sensation at the Paris Salon. Visitors were captivated by Moreau's lush and exotic imagery, and mesmerized by the enigmatic, sensuous female figure. *The Apparition* depicts the head of the prophet hovering above Salome, who stands very still beneath the glowing, radiant light he emanates. An otherworldly energy binds them together as it eclipses the figures of the king, his wife, and the executioner, whose sword still drips with blood.

Moreau drew inspiration from varied sources for his intricately detailed images, including antiquity, Renaissance paintings, and the Near and Far East, the latter informing the decorative elements and the jewellery, for instance, the "magic rings" and "the mirror of Solomon" believed to be employed for divination. Contemporaneous literature further augmented the works' visual resonance, for example, Joris-Karl Huysmans's decadent 1884 novel, *À rebours* (Against Nature), as described in Peter Cooke's "'It isn't a Dance': Gustave Moreau's 'Salome' and 'The Apparition,'"(*Dance Research: The Journal of the Society for Dance Research* 29, no. 2 (2011): 214–32:

> In the perverse smell of perfumes, in the overheated atmosphere of this church, Salome, with her left arm extended, in a gesture of command, and with her right arm folded, holding a large lotus flower level with her face, advances slowly on her toes, to the chords of a guitar whose strings are plucked by a squatting woman. With her meditative, solemn, almost august face, she begins the lubricious dance which is to awaken the slumbering senses of the aged Herod: her breasts undulate and, rubbed by her whirling necklaces, their nipples stand up; on her moist skin the diamonds glitter; her bracelets, her belts, her rings spit out sparks; on her triumphal robe, sewn with pearls, decorated with gold lamé, with silver in leafy patterns, her armour of gold and silverwork, in which each link is a precious stone, goes into combustion, criss-crosses snakes of fire, swarms on her matt flesh, on her tea-rose skin, like splendid insects with dazzling wings, marbled with carmine, spotted with dawn yellow, mottled with steel blue, striped with peacock green. Concentrated, with her gaze fixed, like a sleepwalker, she sees neither the trembling Herod, nor her mother, the ferocious Herodias, who is watching over her, nor the hermaphrodite or eunuch who is standing, with his sword in his hand, at the foot of the throne, a terrible figure, veiled down to the cheeks, and whose castrato's breast hangs, like gourds, under his gaudy orange tunic… Moreau, like Huysmans, has translated the narrative into a metaphor for the seductive power of Woman, and the formidable power of sexual desire.



Aubrey Beardsley, *The Climax,* 1894. Line block prints on Japanese vellum. 34.2 x 27.2 cm. Victoria and Albert Museum, London. View Source

By the end of the nineteenth century, the trope of female seduction based on Salome, the "natural, that is to say abominable" woman (in Baudelaire's words), had become a prevalent motif in France as well as Britain, figuring in the decadent imagination of the day and inspiring painters, poets and novelists. While Cleopatra, Judith, or Delilah equally personified the trope, the biblical Salome, who caused the beheading of the prophet John was the most powerful and charismatic characterization.

Oscar Wilde's play, *Salome* (1893), was one of the most striking interpretations in the history of literature. Cruelty, sacrilege, strangeness, and eroticism comingle in this play which Pierre Loti described as beautiful "and dark like a chapter in the Apocalypse." When Wilde's play *Salome* was first published in February 1893, the *Pall Mall Budget* magazine asked Aubrey Beardsley, a leading figure in the British Aesthetic movement whose drawings embraced decadence and the grotesque, to contribute an illustration. He based the first macabre image around the last scene in the play when Salome embraces the severed head of John the Baptist.

In Oscar Wilde's version of the story, the prophet refuses Salome's kiss, an act which ended his life and which offered up a convoluted analogy to the Judas kiss, the kiss of death, which ended the life of Christ. Both stories speak to the notion that the death of Christ was by Jews.



Aubrey Beardsley, *The Dancer's Reward,* 1894. Line block prints on Japanese vellum. 34.2 x 27.2 cm. Victoria and Albert Museum, London. View Source

Beardsley's drawings of Wilde's play are perhaps his most celebrated for their virtuosity of form and content. They did not, nor were they expected to, faithfully illustrate specific scenes in the play but instead acted as visual commentaries. Executed in stark black and white, they present a world at once lyrical and strange, completely eroticized, and blatantly nonconformist. Beardsley transfigures "sin" into abstracted beauty, effectively conveying degradation as desirable and seductive. The imagery Beardsley went on to produce in all the illustrations for the play addressed a stereotypical Salome, the quintessentially deceptive and dangerous Jewish woman.

Jeffrey Wallen, in "Illustrating Salome: Perverting the Text?" (*Word & Image* 8, no. 2 (1992): 124-132), compares the play to the illustrations:

> Salome, as the interpretative fulcrum of the play, functions therefore very much akin to Beardsley's illustrations. Salome enables us to 'see' that which is rendered obscure by the other characters: the vulnerability of the existing patriarchal order, and the disruptive, revolutionary force of unsublimated desire. Furthermore, Salome herself incarnates that which is being exposed: the spectacle of 'illicit sexual desire.' An emphasis on the interpretative force of gender and female sexuality, although it offers a different ground than attention to the relation between text and image for understanding the oppositions between veiling and exposure, and between an aesthetic and a perverse form of visual desire, still depends on a similar interpretative model of illustration. Both of these lines of interpretation – using the illustrations, or the figure of Salome to explicate the text; privileging the visual, or the sexual – involve a reversal of the traditional aesthetic relationship between the sensual and the supra-sensual. The sensual, and the sexual, rather than leading to the higher truths of the mind and the spirit, are themselves, from this perspective, the truth that is revealed once the rhetorical illusion is dispelled. Moreover, Salome is the play of this reversal – the head of the prophet is severed, and served up on a silver charger, as aesthetic and erotic object.

By the turn of the 19th century, the dangerous femineity of the Jewish woman gained ground, becoming a visual analogue of the German proverb: "God created the Jew in anger, the Jewess in wrath" (that is, the Jewess is even worse than the Jew).



Gustav Klimt, *Judith and the Head of Holofernes,* 1901. Oil and gold on canvas. 84 x 42 cm. Belvedere, Vienna. View Source



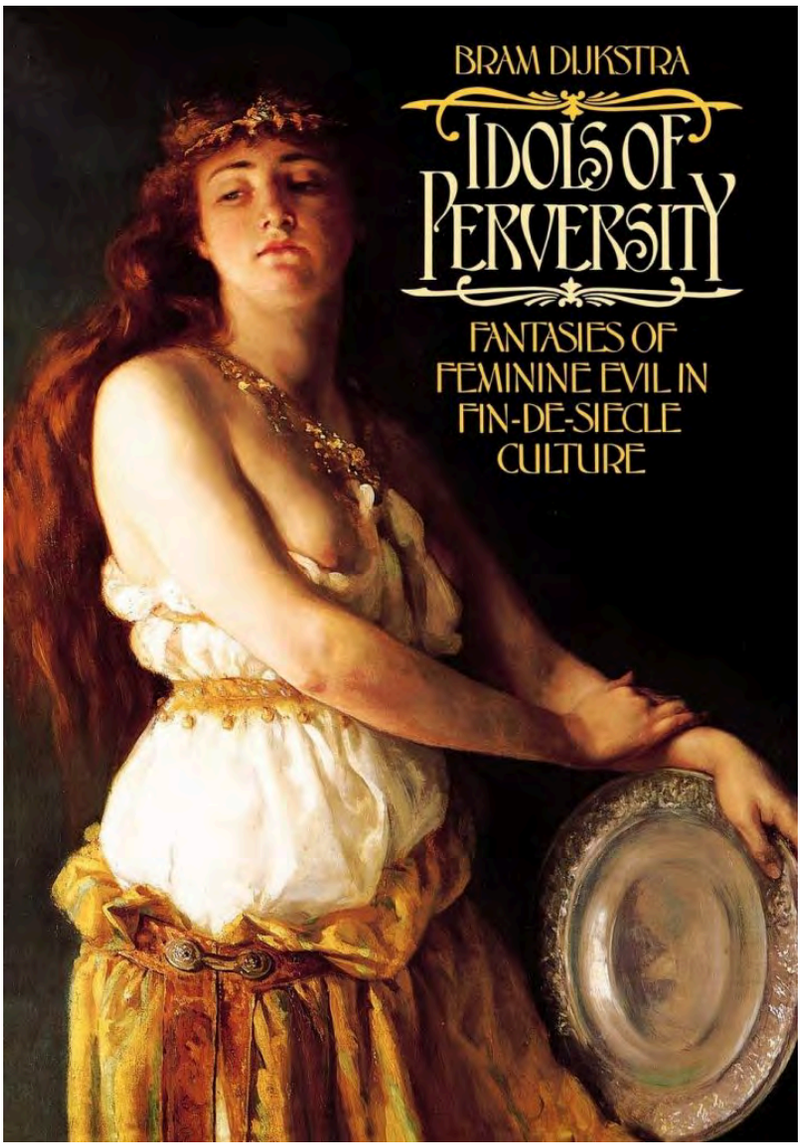
Gustav Klimt, *Salome II,* 1909. Oil on canvas. 178 x 46 cm. Galleria Internazionale d'Arte Moderna, Venice. View Source

Gustav Klimt, a Viennese Modernist, also adhered to traditional portrayals of Salome in the nineteenth century. As well he includes elements of the original biblical story and others adopted from Near and Far Eastern art.

Susanne Kelly, in "Perceptions of Jewish Female Bodies through Gustav Klimt and Peter Altenberg" (*Imaginations Journal* 3, no. 1 (Summer 2012): 109-122), writes:

> Klimt displays many of the elements of the biblical oriental story and inserts elements adopted from Egyptian, Japanese, and Chinese art, but gives his main subject what his contemporaries recognized as distinctly Jewish features. Commenting on Judith I, Felix Salten states, "One often encounters such slender, glittering Jewish women and longs to see these decorative, flirtatious and playful creatures suddenly hurled toward a horrid destiny, to detonate the explosive power that flashes in their eyes."

Klimt's images realized the prevalent fantasy of sex associated with the dangerous Jewess. His representations fused the misogyny and antisemitism that characterized fin-de-siècle thinking. In these Judiths, Kelly emphasizes, "sexuality, Jewishness, and the Oriental merge to convey a powerful and dangerous woman, known for male fatality."



Bram Dijkstra, *Idols of Perversity: Fantasies of Feminine Evil in Fin-de-Siècle Culture* (Oxford University Press, 1998). View Source

Bram Dijkstra, in *Idols of Perversity: Fantasies of Feminine Evil in Fin-de-Siecle Culture* (Oxford University Press, 1998), explains that it was in the late 1870s when Moreau, Beardsley and Klimt were painting Salome, that the term antisemitism surfaced. It originated in the idea that Hebrew is a Semitic language linking Jews to a wide swath of ancient and modern peoples from southwestern Asia, including the Akkadians, Canaanites, Phoenicians, and Arabs, who were themselves not victimized by the hatred and prejudice of antisemitism.

According to Dijkstra, the allure of Salome was rooted in antisemitic assumptions about Jewish sexuality. During the late 19th century and well into the 20th century, society considered Jews, women, and Africans degenerate. Moreau, Beardsley, and Klimt propagated the notion in their visual depictions of a Salome whose appearance displayed her degeneracy.

Accordingly, by the fin de siècle, Salome was guilty not only of the decapitation of John the Baptist but for her violent humiliation and symbolic emasculation of all men. Dijkstra concludes his book by linking gynecide, the killing of women, to genocide. The term genocide means the deliberate killing wholly or in part of a national, ethnic, racial, or religious group. He argues that the violence felt towards the femme fatale at the turn of the century later shifted from the "Woman Question" to the "Jewish Question" and the Holocaust.

At the turn of the century, so-called scientific knowledge about human biology, psychology, genetics, and evolution, was employed by intellectuals and politicians to advance a racialized analysis of the Jew. This analysis was also based on a perversion of evolutionary theory as social Darwinism that popularized notions about the inequality of races and the superiority of the white race. As such, Jews behaved the way they did because of innate racial qualities. Racial eugenics, which contributed to this pseudoscientific discourse, argued that Jews were not only spreading their destructive political and economic influences to weaken nations in Central Europe but were polluting so-called pure Aryan blood by intermarriage and sexual relations with non-Jews. This pernicious perception of the Jews and the belief that this weakening of host nations was part of a secret Jewish plan for world domination led to the Holocaust during the Second World War.

The Holocaust was the systematic murder of six million Jews during the Second World War by Nazi Germany and its collaborators in Austria, Bulgaria, Croatia, Estonia, France, Hungary, Italy, Latvia, Lithuania, Poland, Romania, and Slovakia. Six million Jews across German-occupied Europe and around two-thirds of Europe's Jewish population were murdered between 1941 and 1945. While the vast majority of victims of the Holocaust were Jews, many other minority groups were also targeted. Jehovah's Witnesses, Roma (Gypsies), homosexuals, people with disabilities, and others were imprisoned in concentration camps or killed during the Holocaust. While the Nazi German regime did not have an organized program to eliminate African Germans, the regime discriminated against and persecuted them. Some black people in Germany and German-occupied territories were isolated; an unknown number were sterilized, incarcerated, or murdered.

10.4
| Moritz Daniel Oppenheim: "The Rothschild of Painters"

Two fundamental changes made possible the emergence of the modern Jewish artist in the 19th century. The first was the Haskalah, often termed the Jewish Enlightenment. This was an intellectual movement amongst Jews of Central and Eastern Europe that had two objectives: the cultural and moral renewal of Judaism through ideas that promoted rationalism and freedom of thought and encouraged secular education and literacy in modern languages as well the revival of Hebrew, and Jews' integration into society through participation in occupations previously prohibited, such as the sciences and the arts. *Haskalah* made it possible for 19th century artists of Jewish origin to produce art at all.



Ettore Roesler Franz, *Vicolo Capocciuto in Ghetto (rione Sant'Angelo),* ca. 1880. View Source

Before emancipation, Jewish artists were isolated and confined to ghettos set apart from the mainstream. Often, the ghettos were enclosed by gated walls that were locked at night and during Christian holidays to 'safeguard' against potential evil acts. Impossible to expand laterally, houses were built upwards, becoming congested, unsanitary, and virtual fire hazards. Movement beyond the ghetto, however made Jews susceptible to harm and harassment.

Moritz Daniel Oppenheim, born in Hanau, Germany, in 1800, grew up in a devoutly religious home in the ghetto. Until 1806, he attended heder, a school for Jewish children in which Hebrew and religious knowledge was taught, and Talmud Torah for instruction in Judaism. With Napoleon's conquest of the continent at the end of the eighteenth and beginning of the nineteenth centuries, the concepts of liberty, fraternity and equality spread into Central Europe. German Jews were emancipated, and the ghetto gates were torn down. Oppenheim then went to a secular school. He was the first Jewish painter to receive training at the Hanau Drawing Academy and to study in Frankfurt, Munich, Paris and Rome.



Moritz Daniel Oppenheim, *Self-Portrait*, ca. 1814-16. Oil on canvas. 98.3 x 83.5 cm. Jewish Museum, New York. View Source

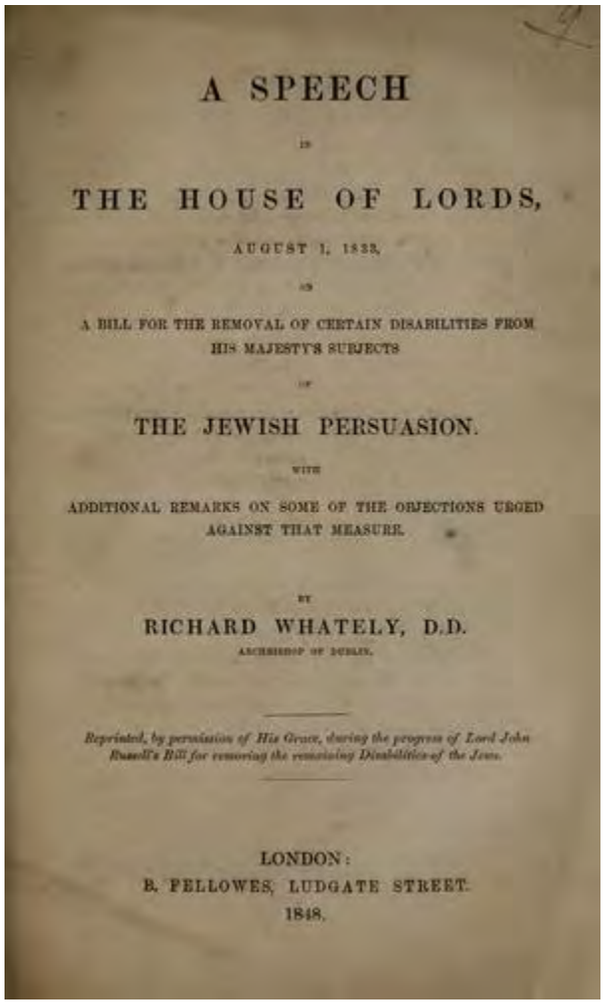
This work, painted at the age of sixteen, is one of the earliest self-portraits by a Jewish artist of the modern era. Oppenheim's self-image is confident and fashionably dressed. He holds a palette and brush in one hand and a mahlstick, a tool placed across a painting to steady a painter's hand, in the other, openly declaring his status as an artist. A plaster cast of an ancient Greek sculpture and a sketch of a cherub resembling a painting by Raphael emphasize the young artist's classical training. His dress, pensive demeanour, and casual pose suggest his prideful creative awareness and understanding of the history of art.



Moritz Daniel Oppenheim, *Lionel Nathan de Rothschild,* 1835. Oil on canvas. 50.2 x 38.1 cm. National Portrait Gallery, London. View Source

When Oppenheim was in Rome, he came under the influence of the Nazarenes, a group of fervently Christian artists who painted biblical scenes. Returning to Frankfurt in 1825, his own biblical paintings were soon widely appreciated. His most loyal patrons were the Rothschilds; he was known as the "painter of the Rothschilds" and, because of his success, as "the Rothschild of painters."

Oppenheim rapidly gained recognition in non-Jewish circles as a portraitist of prominent Jews and gentiles. By his twenties, he was already celebrated as an important portraitist, and between the 1830s and the 1850s, he claimed the title of official portraitist to the Rothschild family.



A SPEECH

IN

THE HOUSE OF LORDS,

AUGUST 1, 1833,

ON

A BILL FOR THE REMOVAL OF CERTAIN DISABILITIES FROM HIS MAJESTY'S SUBJECTS

OF

THE JEWISH PERSUASION.

WITH

ADDITIONAL REMARKS ON SOME OF THE OBJECTIONS URGED AGAINST THAT MEASURE.

BY

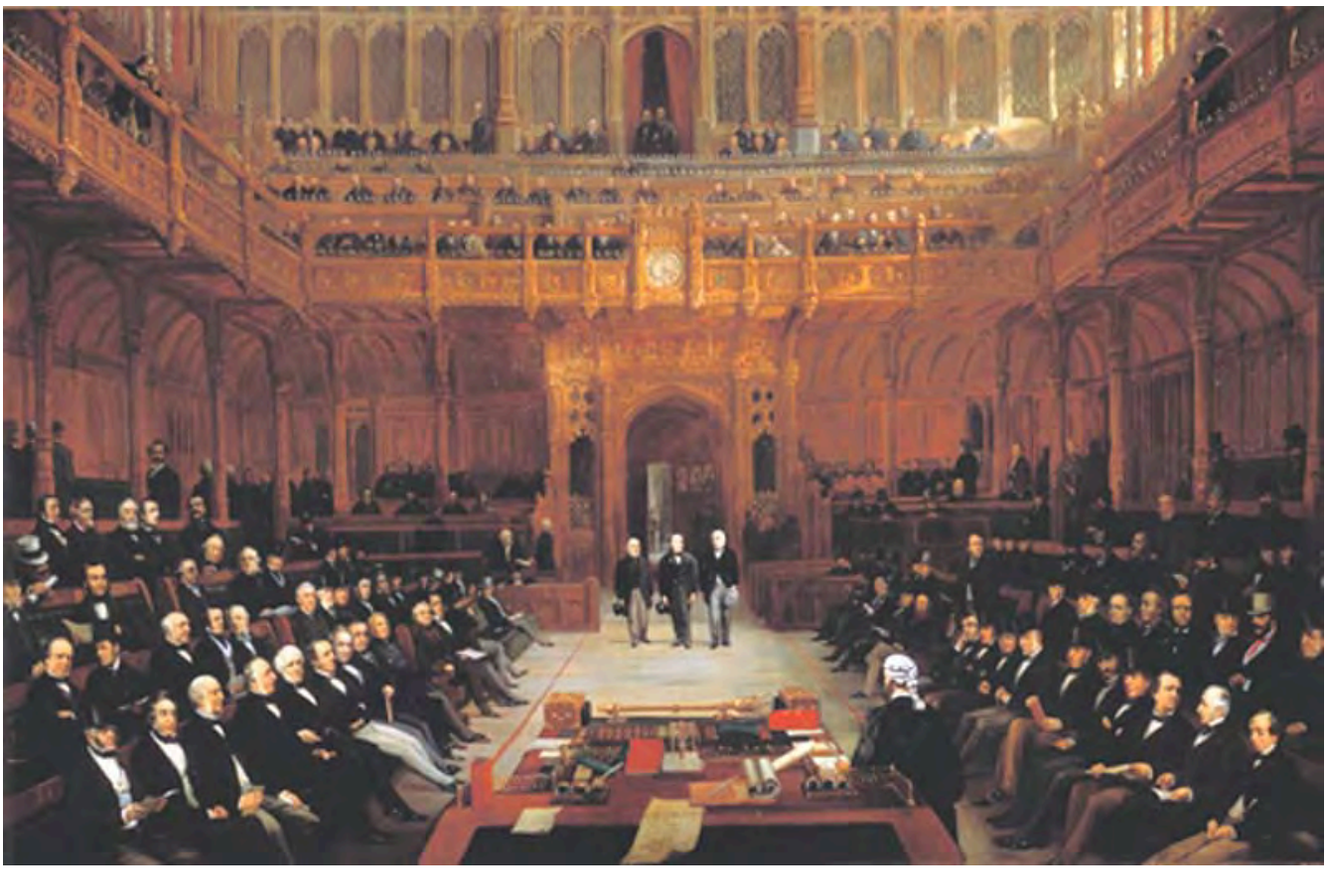
RICHARD WHATELY, D.D.

ARCHBISHOP OF DUBLIN.

Reprinted, by permission of His Grace, during the progress of Lord John Russell's Bill for removing the remaining Disabilities of the Jews.

LONDON:
B. FELLOWES, LUDGATE STREET.
1848.

Richard Whately, *A Speech in the House of Lords, August 1, 1833, On a Bill for the Removal of Certain Disabilities from His Majesty's Subjects of the Jewish Persuasion* (London: B. Fellowes, 1848). View Source



Henry Barraud, *Lionel Nathan de Rothschild (1808-1879) Introduced in the House of Commons on 26 July 1858 by Lord John Russell and Mr. Abel Smith,* 1872. Oil on canvas. View Source

The Rothschilds had risen from the Jewish ghetto in Frankfurt during the 18th century to become a major international banking dynasty in the space of a single generation. Mayer Rothschild and his five sons, pioneered the evolution of international finance, establishing branches in London, Paris, Vienna, and Naples, in addition to their native Frankfurt. Once one of the wealthiest families in the world, they inevitably shaped the world of finance and politics.

In London, Lionel de Rothschild (1808-1879), the grandson of Mayer Rothschild, entered politics and was elected as a Member of Parliament for the City of London in 1847. He would only assume his seat as Liberal Member eleven years later in 1858, as Jews could not take the Christian oath required to be sworn in. Prime Minister Lord John Russell introduced a Jewish Disabilities Bill to resolve the issue. In 1848, the bill was approved by the House of Commons but was twice rejected by the House of Lords. In 1850, he entered the House of Commons to take his seat but requested the Old Testament instead of the Christian Bible for his swearing-in, which was approved. His omission, however, of the phrase "upon the true faith of a Christian" was not.

Rothschild was re-elected in 1852 but did not take the oath until 1858 when Benjamin Disraeli became the Leader of the House of Commons. Disraeli, of Jewish birth, although converted to Christianity, wanted to avoid the position where his Conservative Peers in the Lords should block the Jewish Disabilities Bill. The House of Lords agreed to a proposal whereby each house would decide its oath. On July 26, 1858, Rothschild took the oath with covered head, substituting "so help me, Jehovah," and taking his seat as the first Jewish member of Parliament. An eleven-year struggle thus ended with a simple ritual that nevertheless represented a significant step forward in the long campaign for religious freedom and Jewish assimilation.

Rothschild's political platform embraced several reformative social issues, but he was committed to incorporating Jewish emancipation into the broader Liberal agenda of civil and religious liberty. He served as MP for sixteen years. In 1859, his brother, Mayer, was elected MP for Hythe in Kent. In 1865 his son Nathaniel became MP for Aylesbury in Buckinghamshire, where the Rothschilds owned property. Despite their financial and political success and service, the Rothschilds' struggles for public acceptance illuminate the prejudicial challenges faced by Jews striving for social acceptance in Britain.



Moritz Daniel Oppenheim, *The Elector of Hesse Entrusting Mayor Amschel Rothschild (1743-1812) with his Treasure,* ca. 1820-82. Oil on canvas. 66 x 81.5 cm. National Trust, Buckinghamshire. View Source

Oppenheim endeavoured to historicize the narrative of the Rothschilds. In *The Elector of Hesse Entrusting Mayer Amschel Rothschild with his Treasure,* Oppenheim presents a realistic, albeit romanticized, depiction of a significant event – delivering the Elector's treasures to the patriarch of the family, Mayer de Rothschild, for safekeeping. Napoleon had annexed the lands of William I of Hesse in 1806. Still, much of his wealth was smuggled out of the electorate, and the Rothschilds successfully managed his assets. The relationship was mutually advantageous. The painting aimed to emphasize the family's integrity in business dealings and legitimize the source of their wealth.

Oppenheim's embrace of genre and emphasis on narrative places him outside the stream of new aesthetic developments. If Oppenheim is referred to as the first modern Jewish artist, it is not because he engaged with contemporary art but because the content of his work was unafraid and original in its embrace of social change, particularly within the framework of Jewish emancipation. Grace Glueck explains in "ART REVIEW; Out of the Jewish Ghetto and Into the Mainstream" (New York Times, April 6, 2001):

> A talented painter with solid grounding in technical skills, Oppenheim was by no means an innovator. More important to him than style was the content of his work, and artistic movements and trends passed him by. He identified with the upper classes, wanting to assert himself on several fronts: as an artist, a citizen and a Jew. Much of his work depicted representatives of the up-and-coming Jewish bourgeoisie: intellectuals, politicians, businessmen and artists. Rooted in Jewish tradition but challenged by political emancipation, they claimed their right to full participation in German society.



Moritz Daniel Oppenheim, *Marriage Portrait of Charlotte von Rothschild,* 1836. Oil on canvas. 120 x 103 cm. Israel Museum, Jerusalem. View Source

The Rothschild family contributed extensively to Oppenheim's success, which he recounted in his memoirs (excerpts, Moritz D. Oppenheim, "Cedars of Lebanon: The Rothschild of the Painters," *Commentary* February 1955, https://www.commentary.org/articles/moritz-oppenheim/cedars-of-lebanon-the-rothschild-of-the-painters/):

> The patricians of Frankfort called on me. Moritz von Bethmann (the father), Jean Noé Dufay, and others came . . . and commissioned pictures. The wife of the Elector of Hesse also favored me with a visit and later wrote me a very gracious letter. All this recognition brought me honor, and numerous commissions. Particularly, I did many portraits for the wealthiest Jewish families, and was well paid for them.



Rothschild Palace, as seen from north, main site of the Jewish Museum Frankfurt, Frankfurt am Main. View Source

Later, the Rothschild family gave me a lot of work to do. The branch that had been in Naples resettled here, and established a princely household, as did Baron Anselm and his art-loving wife, Charlotte. I was invited to the most distinguished and dazzling social gatherings. . . .



Charlotte von Rothschild, *Self-portrait of Charlotte von Rothschild Painting Her Husband Anselm von Rothschild, Two of Their Children, and Their Nanny,* 1838. Oil on canvas. Private collection, London. View Source

Describing his professional relationship as an instructor to Baroness Charlotte, Oppenheim penned that the fact "...she was very satisfied with her teacher was shown by her frequent visits to my studio, and her amiable little letters to me in French. . . . She also had me decorate the cupola of her house. I decorated the eight panels with mythological subjects, presenting her as Psyche, without saying anything to her. She quickly noticed it. I also composed poems for her on special occasions.... But the culmination of my instruction came when she illustrated the Haggadah for her Uncle Amschel."



Charlotte von Rothschild, *Haggadah Frankfurt*, 1842. 20.8 x 19 cm.
Braginsky Collection. View Source

Charlotte von Rothschild's decision to create an illuminated Haggadah for the 70th birthday of her uncle was an innovative step into a realm of male endeavour. In "Charlotte 'Chilly' von Rothschild: Mother, Connoisseur, and Artist," Evelyn M. Cohen points out that it was the earliest Hebrew manuscript documented as having been illuminated by a woman, an illuminated codex that referenced Jewish sources, as well as medieval Christian illuminations, and the latest developments in nineteenth-century art. "As such, Charlotte and the Haggadah she created were not only of her time, but ahead of her time." (*The Rothschild Archive: Review of the Year April 2012 to March 2013*, 26-36. https://www.rothschildarchive.org/materials/review_2012_2013_complete_pdf_reduced.pdf)



Moritz Daniel Oppenheim, *The Return of the Jewish Volunteer from the Wars of Liberation to His Family Still Living in Accordance with Old Customs,* ca. 1833-34. Oil on canvas. 86.2 x 94 cm. Jewish Museum, New York. View Source

Oppenheim's *The Return of the Volunteer* depicts a young soldier in the Wars of Liberation against Napoleon who has defied Sabbath travel prohibitions to visit his family. Showing the emancipated son as he clasps the hand of his tradition-observing father, Oppenheim touches on the conflict between the demands of religion versus new responsibilities of Jews as citizens. It is generally considered the first effort of a known Jewish artist to confront a specifically Jewish subject.

The Return coincides with political turbulence in the wake of the 1830 revolutions and Germany's reimposition of repressive Jewish legislation.



Johann Peter Krafft, *The Militiaman's Return,* 1820. Oil on canvas. 28 x 36 cm. Belvedere, Vienna. View Source

Popular in early-nineteenth-century art, images of departing and returning volunteers served as sources for Oppenheim's work. Oppenheim must have followed the career of his fellow Hanauer Johann Peter Krafft, whose *paintings The Departure of the Militiaman* (1813) and *The Return of the Militiaman* (1820) were bought by the Hapsburg emperor.

10.5
| The Politics of Genre



Moritz Daniel Oppenheim, *The Return of the Jewish Volunteer from the Wars of Liberation to His Family Still Living in Accordance with Old Customs,* ca. 1833-34. Oil on canvas. 86.2 x 94 cm. Jewish Museum, New York. View Source

The Return of the Volunteer is Oppenheim's most overtly political painting, and it is unusual in the context of genre art. It has been interpreted art historically as an image of affirmation of German Jewish patriotism and of the question of assimilation. Hundreds of German Jewish volunteers fought against Napoleon's forces only to lose many of the civil rights they had gained under the French occupation when the French were defeated. From another perspective, the painting may be seen as the Jewish father's ambivalence—pride at the military honour the Iron Cross represents and discomfort with its Christian symbolism.

Lisa Libicki analyzes *The Return of the Volunteer* in A Guide on Narration in Art. (https://s3.amazonaws.com/tjmassets/programs_educator_resources_pdf/JM_NarrativeArt_CurriculumGuide.pdf):

> The soldier's mother and siblings appear in various states of concern and delight. Some direct their attention to the soldier himself while others peer at his uniform and other military accoutrements. The father looks at his son's Iron Cross, a military decoration that is also a Christian symbol. The father's gaze seems to betray an inner struggle to resolve conflicted emotions of pride, concern, and anxiety. *The*

Return of the Volunteer was painted at a time when Jewish civil rights in Germany were in a tenuous state. In the wake of the political unrest following the 1830 revolutions in France and their reverberations in Germany, many German states reimposed repressive legislation that affected rights recently won by Jews. Art historians interpret this painting as a reminder to Germans of the significant role played by Jews in the Wars of Liberation, some twenty years earlier. Beyond the son's military status, the hanging portrait of Frederick the Great, emperor of Prussia, is a visual indicator of the political context of this painting. Oppenheim's painting suggests both a tension between country and religion and between generations—between the traditions of the old and the new ways of the young.

...

The *Return of the Volunteer* is set in a domestic dining room. A table in the center of the composition is draped with two tablecloths, one patterned, the other white. Atop the table are a half-eaten loaf of braided challah and a kiddush cup, details that let the viewer know it is the Jewish Sabbath. In this richly detailed setting, other objects of note are two plaques with Hebrew inscriptions, an open book on the table whose page layout identifies it as a Talmud, the family's cat peering out from underneath the table, and the edge of a doorway at the picture's far left.

...

Warm sunlight filters into the room through a large arched window in the center of the background. The time of day is most likely afternoon. A beam of light guides the viewer's gaze toward the young man. Seated on a chair at the far left of the composition, the man is wearing a blue and gold military uniform, adorned with an Iron Cross, which identifies him as the soldier in the title. The soldier is looking off toward his sister, who leans over him. Standing in the foreground, just right of center, the soldier's mother looks at him; a tear is streaming down her cheek. She wears a red coat and white satin skirt. The soldier's father, sitting behind him and to his left, holds his son's hand and looks intently at the Iron Cross on his chest. In the center of the background, two younger siblings look over at the soldier, though their gazes appear to be fixed more on his uniform than on him. A third sibling on the right is the only character whose gaze is directed away from the soldier. He seems preoccupied with looking at the soldier's accoutrement.

All the men and boys in the picture, with the exception of the soldier, wear traditional Jewish skull caps. The soldier is the focal point of this scene. In addition to the light streaming toward him, which leads the viewer's eye toward him, most of the figures incline and gaze toward him. Through his handling of light, shadow, and patterning, the artist convincingly depicts a variety of textures such as those of the wood floor, the satin dress, and the metal objects. The color palette of the painting includes many neutral colors that convey a sense of the diffused afternoon sunlight, but there are also some bright colors woven into the composition, especially highly saturated reds, that help keep the viewer's eyes moving around the scene.

To pursue his artistic career, young Moritz Oppenheim left Germany in 1820, first for Paris and then for Rome. Only a year before his departure, Frankfurt (close to his native Hanau) and several other cities were affected by the infamous "HepHep" anti-Jewish riots. The riots took place during a time of heightened political and social tension and summed up the post-Napoleonic reactionary wave. Despite enthusiastic voluntary participation of young Jews as soldiers in the German Liberation War, the post-1815 restoration of the "old order" meant for many German Jews partial withdrawal of the freedom and rights bestowed upon them during the earlier period of Enlightenment and French occupation. Caught between the often blatantly anti-Jewish German nationalistic movement opposing Jewish emancipation, on the one hand, and Jewish religious traditionalism and separateness, on the other, young liberal and acculturated Jews struggled to define for themselves a new position in a society from which they expected full recognition as equal citizens.



Moritz Daniel Oppenheim, *Lavater and Lessing Visit Moses Mendelssohn,* 1856. Oil on canvas. 71.1 x 59.6 cm. The Magnes Collection of Jewish Art and Life, Berkeley. View Source

Oppenheim's *Lavater and Lessing Visit Moses Mendelssohn* expands upon a thematic of confrontation and reconciliation in the political and intellectual history of German Jews.

This is an imagined meeting between scholars Moses Mendelsohn (1729-1786), Gotthold Ephraim Lessing (1729-1781) and theologian Johann Kaspar Lavater (1741-1801). It is presented in Mendelssohn's home in Berlin. Oppenheim merges two foundational moments in the history of German-Jewish cultural interactions: the real-life meetings between Mendelssohn and Lavater, which took place in 1763-64, and the subsequent unravelling of the "Lavater affair —or the failed attempt on the part of the theologian to convince Mendelssohn to embrace Christianity—and the much-celebrated friendship between Mendelssohn and Lessing, which in turn became a paradigm of the possibility of harmonious cohabitation between Germans and Jews.

Mendelssohn, wearing a bright red garment and a skull cap, is seated with Lavater at a chess table while Lessing stands at the center behind the two. Above them hangs a brass lamp (combining a Sabbath lamp, or Judenstern, with a four-branched chandelier for everyday use). A woman at right is holding a tray under a door surmounted by an inscription drawn from a Hebrew blessing: "Blessed shalt thou be when thou comest in, and blessed shalt thou be when thou goest out" (ברוך אתה בבואך וברוך אתה בצאתך; Deuteronomy 28: 6). Behind them, on the back wall at the left of the scene, hangs a mizrach (מזרח, Heb. "East," a plaque indicating the direction being faced during prayer).

Here is a brief biography of Moses Mendelssohn
(https://ghdi.ghi- dc.org/sub_document_s.cfm?document_id=3646) :

> Moses Mendelssohn achieved fame and distinction as the father of the Jewish Haskalah or Enlightenment, which entailed reconciling the Jewish religion with the broad universalist principles of the European Enlightenment. Mendelssohn pioneered Jewish engagement in non-Jewish intellectual life in Germany, embracing the philosophical project begun by Leibniz and developed thereafter by Christian Wolff. Mendelssohn remained faithful to Orthodox Judaism, but challenged Jewish traditionalism by translating the Pentateuch into German and by generally advocating the adoption of the High German language and other forms of acculturation into German society.

Gotthold Ephraim Lessing was a German writer, philosopher, dramatist, publicist and art critic during the Enlightenment era. Isidore Singer and M. Friedländer explain Lessing's contribution to a positive recognition of Jews and Judaism in "Gotthold Ephraim Lessing" (the online entry in the *Jewish Encyclopedia*) (https://www.jewishencyclopedia.com/articles/9787-lessing-gotthold-ephraim)

> Toleration and a striving after freedom of thought led him [Lessing] to condemn all positive religions in so far as they laid claim to absolute authority, and to recognize them merely as stages of historical development. A natural consequence of this principle was his sympathetic attitude toward the Jews; for he deemed it inconsistent with the dictates of religious liberty to exclude for religious reasons a whole race from the blessings of European culture.



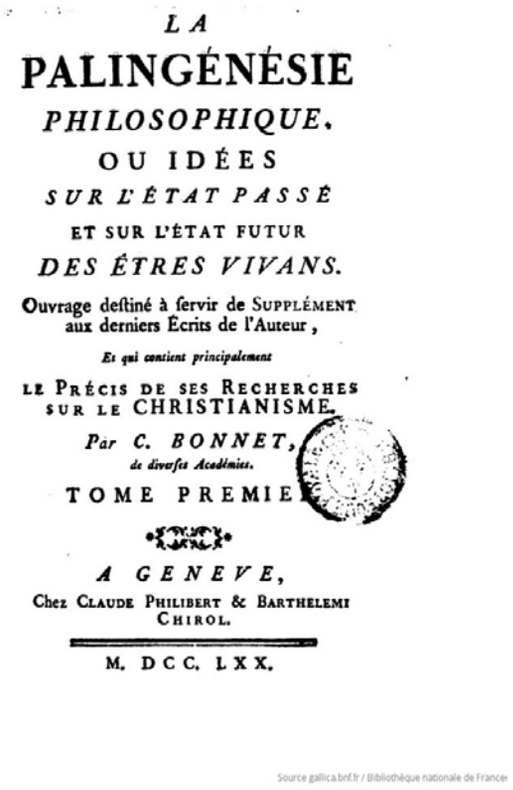
Gotthold Ephraim Lessing, *Nathan the Wise,* 2nd edition (1779). View Source

> In his comedy *Die Juden*, one of his earliest dramatic works, he stigmatized the dislike of the Gentiles for the followers of the Jewish religion as a stupid prejudice. He went herein further than any other apostle of toleration before or after him. The full development and final expression of his views on this problem,

however, are found in his drama and last masterpiece, Nathan *der Weise,* Lessing thus beginning and ending his dramatic career as an advocate of the emancipation of the Jews.

...

Lessing raised Judaism in the esteem of the European nations not only by showing its close connection with Christianity, but also by demonstrating the importance of Mosaism in the general religious evolution of humanity. It was really Lessing who opened the doors of the ghetto and gave the Jews access to European culture. In a certain sense he awakened Moses Mendelssohn to the consciousness of his mission; and through Mendelssohn Lessing liberated Judaism from the most heavy chains of its own forging.



LA
PALINGÉNÉSIE
PHILOSOPHIQUE,
OU IDÉES
SUR L'ÉTAT PASSÉ
ET SUR L'ÉTAT FUTUR
DES ÊTRES VIVANS.
Ouvrage deſtiné à ſervir de SUPPLÉMENT aux derniers Écrits de l'Auteur,
Et qui contient principalement
LE PRÉCIS DE SES RECHERCHES SUR LE CHRISTIANISME.
Par C. BONNET,
de diverſes Académies.
TOME PREMIE
A GENEVE,
Chez CLAUDE PHILIBERT & BARTHELEMI CHIROL.
M. DCC. LXX.

Source gallica.bnf.fr / Bibliothèque nationale de France

Charles Bonnet, *La palingénésie philosophique, ou Idées sur l'état passé et sur l'état futur des êtres vivans,* vol. 1 (Geneva: Claude Philibert & Barthelemi, 1770). View Source

Johann Kaspar (or Caspar) Lavater was a Swiss poet, writer, philosopher, physiognomist and theologian who took Holy Orders in Zurich's Zwinglian Church in 1789. That same year he attempted to convert Moses Mendelssohn to Christianity by sending him his translation of Charles Bonnet's *Palingénésie philosophique*, a treatise on human evolution, and demanding that he either publicly refute Bonnet's arguments or convert. Bonnet was the first to use the term *evolution* in a biological context. Mendelssohn refuted Bonnet and Lavater's arguments and refused to convert.

Katharina Heyden discusses the connection between Bonnet and Lavater in "Dialogue as a Means of Religious Co-Production: Historical Perspectives" (*Religions* 13: 150 (2022): 1-18):

> In this work, the Genevan natural scientist had presented his germ theory and from this had derived the idea that all living beings would develop and perfect themselves towards a harmony of the universe. Based on his plant experiments, Bonnet saw himself confirmed in the assumption that human beings would live on after death in a new soul–body existence, and not only in a mere spiritual way as was asserted by the philosophical doctrine of immortality. Bonnet himself, and the pietist-influenced Lavater to a much greater extent, saw in germ theory a scientific proof of the Christian belief in corporal

resurrection. In his annotations to the book entitled *Untersuchung der Beweise für das Christentum*, Lavater had transferred the idea of germ theory to Jesus Christ as the archetype and model of the new man, to whom mankind must conform in order to contribute to the harmony of the universe.



Hans Holbein, *Judas Iscariot,* ca. 1789. Graphite on paper. Wellcome Collection, London. View Source

Johann Caspar Lavater's *Physiognomische Fragmente zur Beförderung der Menschenkenntnis und Menschenliebe* (published between 1775 and 1778), one of the foundational physiognomic texts of the late eighteenth century, contains his drawing of a hunched-over, hooked-nosed, and miserly looking Jew, a Judas. Lavater believed that a rejection of Christ irrevocably marked the Jewish countenance.



Hans Holbein the Younger, *The Last Supper,* ca. 1524-25. Oil on limewood. 115.5 x 97.3 cm. Kunstmuseum, Basel. View Source

Lavater based his face on Hans Holbein the Younger's characterization of Judas in *The Last Supper*.



Daniel Niklaus Chodowiecki, *Moses Mendelssohn,* 1774. View Source

Oppenheim, like the 18th-century German painter and printmaker Daniel Niklaus Chodowiecki, chose to depict Mendelssohn in profile, accentuating the so-called Jewish features that Lavater detested.



Moritz Daniel Oppenheim, *The Wedding,* 1866. Oil on canvas. 66 x 54.4 cm. Jewish Museum, New York. View Source

From 1865 until he died in 1882, Oppenheim focused on painting scenes of traditional Jewish life. As he wrote in his memoirs, the images reflected the world of his youth. Known collectively as *Pictures of Traditional Jewish Family Life,* they were redone as grisailles (painted in gray to accommodate easy reproduction), producing inexpensive mass-produced albums which found their way into almost every German Jewish home during the 19th century.

While the works may be regarded as overly sentimental, idealized images of a pious Jewish past, their value to German Jewry, whose lived experiences had been ravaged by the extreme events of the modern world, was significant. In addition, the pictures helped disseminate an iconography of domestic life that echoed middle-class German ideals of industriousness, discipline, and family values. By emphasizing these positive qualities in a romanticized view of the ghetto, Oppenheim's *Pictures of Traditional Jewish Family Life* went far

in tempering the negative stereotypes of the ghetto Jew. They provided Jews with a positive self-image to have and share.

The Wedding is set in the courtyard of the old synagogue in the Frankfurt ghetto. Per German Jewish custom, the bride and groom stand with their heads jointly covered with a prayer shawl (tallit) under the marriage canopy (huppah). They wear the traditional bridal belts decorated with gold that they have previously exchanged. The bride extends the index finger of her right hand to receive the wedding ring. Afterward, rather than crushing the wineglass underfoot, the groom throws it at the plaque decorated with the Star of David on the staircase. Standing in readiness for the celebration are a musician and harlequin hired to entertain.

The Frankfurt Ghetto, where Oppenheim was born, was a densely populated, squalid street. The American painter, John Trumbull, visiting Frankfurt in the 1780s, provided the following account in *Autobiography, Reminiscences and Letters of John Trumbull, from 1756 to 1841*(Wiley and Putnam, 1841):

> The Jews' quarter is a very narrow street, or rather lane, impassable for carriages, with the houses very lofty, old-fashioned and filthy, not more than a quarter of a mile long, – no cross avenue or alley, and a strong gate at each end, carefully closed and secured at tattoo-beat, after which no one is allowed to go out or to enter and whoever is found out of the quarter at this time is secured by the city guard and confined. This quarter is said to contain 10,000 of this miserable people; how such a number can exist in such a narrow space is almost incredible, yet here (at one of the entrance gates) I saw them crowded together in filth and wretchedness, calculated to generate disease. And how were they to escape from a fire, after the two only avenues were closed for the night? –men, women and children must be in imminent danger of perishing. The sight of such misery was most painful, and the reflection of the possible, nay probable, consequences appalling.

Oppenheim determinedly portrays the ghettos differently: as clean, warm, and comfortable. Ismar Schorsch explains the artist's intentions in the essay "Art as Social History: Oppenheim and the German Jewish Vision of Emancipation" (in *Moritz Oppenheim (* (Jerusalem: Ben-Zvi Printing Enterprises, 1983). He writes, "Oppenheim's ghettos did not loom as the embodiment of Jewish cultural inferiority, social backwardness, economic sterility, and moral depravity as contended so vehemently by the early opponents of emancipation and the *Maskilim* . . . Oppenheim painted the ghetto as a refuge of civility and sanctity in an uncivilized world, an oasis in which the Jew, forced to seek his livelihood in hostile terrain, returned to restore body and soul."



Gillis van Tilborgh, *Elegant Company,* ca. 1655-75. Oil on canvas. 61 x 78 cm. Private collection. View Source



Carl Joseph Begas, *Portrait of the Begas Family,* 1821. Oil on canvas. 76 x 85.5 cm. Wallraf-Richartz Museum, Cologne. View Source

The article "Moritz Oppenheim (1800-1882) and Jewish Genre Painting" (in *Jewish Heritage Online Magazine*, (https://www.jhom.com/arts/oppenheim/genre_painting.htm) explains the significance of *Pictures of Traditional Jewish Family Life* and the artist's embrace of genre painting, artwork that depicts a scene from everyday life and which Dutch and Flemish painters transformed into a highly desirable style:

> During the nineteenth century, genre painting in Europe became popular among the bourgeoisie; their tastes were conventional and they were comfortable hanging on their walls that art which presented aspects of real life to which they could relate. In the Jewish community, genre painting was especially popular among emancipated Jews.
>
> As restrictions on Jewish activity was lifted and Jews began to live more peaceably among their gentile neighbors, many chose to leave their religious tradition and customs behind. Jewish genre art, with its depictions of Jewish celebrations and worship, provided these Jews with a reminder of their religious heritage and satisfied a craving for nostalgia. As middle-class Jews developed a growing appreciation of art — buying and putting it on their walls — they sought art with a "Jewish motif," for lack of a Jewish painting tradition.



Die Generalpumpe, ca. 19th century. Hand-coloured lithograph. Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York. View Source

In 19th century Germany, as elsewhere, because caricatures of Jews persisted in the cultural domain, as seen in this depiction of Rothschild as a grossly fat and greedy moneylender, Jewish painters, such as Oppenheim, attempted to counteract negative stereotyping in their careful approach to portraiture and genre painting while still touching upon the struggles of the Jewish community trying to assimilate while holding on to their Jewish identities.



Moritz Daniel Oppenheim, *Sabbath Rest,* 1886. Oil on canvas. 51.8 x 61 cm. Jewish Museum, New York. View Source

Sabbath Rest is a case in point. Here, a Jewish family is shown relaxing on a Shabbat afternoon. It is a placid scene, seemingly innocuous, which nonetheless conveys change. The grandmother, hair covered, reads a traditional prayer book for women, while her granddaughter reads a novel, as seen through a doorway that signifies a passage to the future. The portal is conspicuously inscribed with the date 1789, a salute to the French Revolution, which ushered in emancipation. The work underscores notions of family, morality, and literacy in an effort to combat the common stereotype that Jews were uncultured.

10.6
| Maurycy Gottlieb: Strife and Synthesis



Maurycy Gottlieb, ca. 1880. Photograph. National Library of Israel, Jerusalem. View Source

Maurycy Gottlieb was born in Galicia in the Polish segment of the Austro-Hungarian Empire.

Brought up in a spirit of tolerance, the artist received a Christian education by attending a school run by the Basilian Fathers, an unusual occurrence for Jews at the time. Following his initial training at Lemberg/Lvov, he enrolled in the Vienna Art Academy, where he was a student from 1871 to 1873, his last year coinciding with the Vienna World Exhibition, the first of its kind outside Paris or London.

Filled with ambition, Gottlieb decided to leave Vienna to study at the Kraków School of Fine Arts under Jan Matejko, whom he greatly admired. However, an antisemitic incident at the hands of his student-peers shattered his aspirations and caused him to leave Kraków after less than a year. "'Do not forget who you are and

what you are," he was threatened, "a lowly Jew, hated by all, a miserable worm, whom all have trampled on since time immemorial, and even today you can be freely humiliated without having any right to retaliate.'"

The writer Nathan Samuely recorded Gottlieb's recollection: "When I attended the school of art my heart was filled to the brim with love of painting and my soul was overcome with all the things of beauty and loftiness that surrounded me, so much so that I believed, all too hastily, that the wall separating me from all other peoples had fallen, that the whole world was open to me, that I was a brother and friend to all mankind, that nothing distinguishes us from one another; for all of us are the sons of one father, one God has created us all." (cited in Ezra Mendelsohn, *Painting a People: Maurycy Gottlieb and Jewish Art* (Hanover, NH: Brandeis University Press, 2002)



Jan Matejko, *The Fall of Poland,* 1866. Oil on canvas. 28.2 x 48.7 cm. Royal Castle, Warsaw. View Source

Yamina Hovav writes in "The Many Faces of Maurycy Gottlieb" (*Segula: The. Jewish History Magazine* 15 Feb 2017(segulamag.com)):

> He studied under many first-class artists, but it was a picture by Polish master Jan Matejko that truly inspired him. Matejko's *The Fall of Poland* (1866) shows the fateful meeting of the Polish sejm, or parliament, in Warsaw in 1773, in which its members acceded to the first shameful division of Poland – a prelude to the complete loss of Polish independence. Delegate Tadeusz Rejtan has thrown himself to the floor, symbolizing his country's fall into Russian, Prussian, and Austrian hands, while other political leaders look on and the king, impatient and helpless, steps away from his throne.
>
> The emotional power coursing through this romantic, tragic work made an indelible impression on young Maurycy Gottlieb, who even then may have found the Polish nation's fate not unlike that of his own long-suffering people. He stood hypnotized before the painting … There and then, reversing the path trodden by most aspiring Jewish artists of his era, Gottlieb decided to leave Vienna for the relative obscurity of Galicia, studying at the Kraków School of Fine Arts under Matejko himself.



Karl von Piloty, *Seni at the Dead Body of Wallenstein,* 1855. Oil on canvas. 31.2 x 36.5 cm. Neue Pinakothek, Munich. View Source

Gottlieb then went to Munich in 1875 to study under Karl von Piloty, who specialized in historical paintings. This painting by Piloty depicts the death of Albrecht Wenzel Eusebius von Wallenstein (1583-1634), witnessed by Seni, his astrologer. Wallenstein, a Bohemian soldier and politician, became the supreme commander of the armies of the Habsburg Monarchy and one of the major figures of the Thirty Years War. He was assassinated at Eger in Egerland by one of the army's officials, Walter Devereux.



Heinrich Graetz, *Geschichte der Juden*. View Source

Two significant influences shaped Gottlieb's work during his stay at the Munich studio. The first was his introduction to *The History of the Jews, 1853–1875,* by the Jewish historian Heinrich Graetz. Graetz was the first historian to write a comprehensive history of the Jewish people from the perspective of a Jew. The eleven-volume publication, which argued for an ongoing Jewish national identity (in some ways akin to the claims for Polish nationalism), stirred the young artist to devote himself to depicting Jewish history and tradition.



Style of Rembrandt, *Head of Christ,* ca. 1650. Oil on canvas. 47.3 x 37.1 cm. Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York. View Source

Gottlieb also became captivated by the works of the 17th-century Dutch artist Rembrandt, a Calvinist who, while not formally affiliated with any church, was obsessed with biblical subjects. Rembrandt consulted Jewish theologians regarding Old Testament imagery. His interest in Jewish physiognomy, dress, and biblical images of Christ, in particular, inspired Gottlieb to undertake themes related to Jewish history, culture and religion.

The synthesis of two separate strands of his lived experience, that of being Jewish and what it meant to be Jewish in a dominantly Christian world, as well as what it meant to be an artist in the last quarter of the 19th century, was an ongoing issue for Gottlieb. Dualities of Pole and Jew and the divide between Jewish and Christian traditions were ones he attempted to engage with by delving into historical Polish-Jewish relations or presenting Jesus as the "link" between the two religions. He saw his role as creating a new hybrid Jewish history

painting in which sacred scriptures and Jewish identity could be represented to a broad, not exclusively Jewish, viewing public.



Maurycy Gottlieb, *Christ Preaching at Capernaum,* ca. 1878-79. Oil on canvas. 209 x 271.5 cm. National Museum in Warsaw. View Source

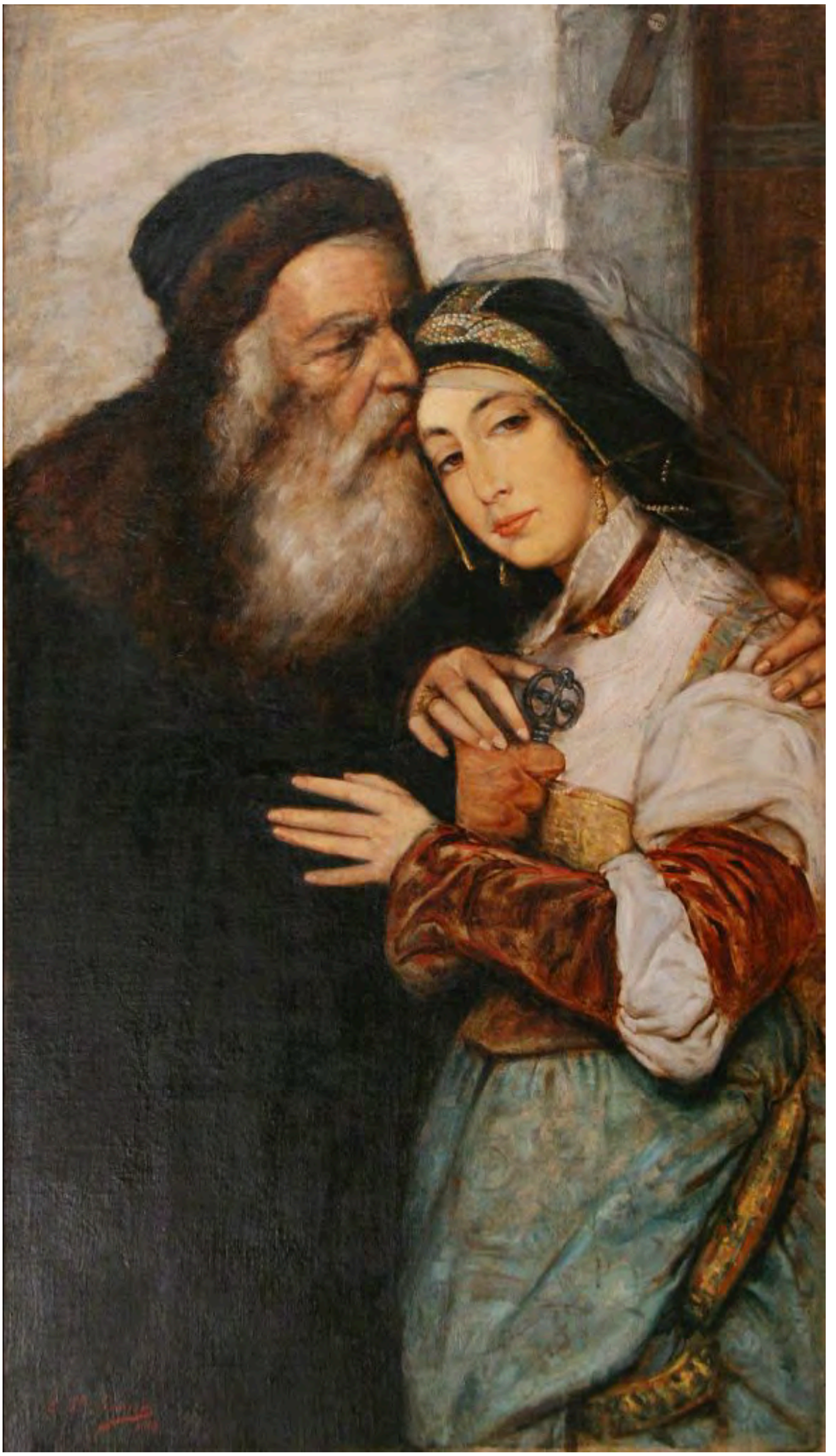
Gottlieb referenced both the Old and New Testaments in his representations. He emphasized the Jewish origins of Jesus Christ, giving him distinct Semitic features in contrast to depictions in western iconography. He reached for motifs from the Jewish-Arab world and often painted himself in 'oriental' costumes.



Maurycy Gottlieb, *Ahasuerus, Wandering Jew,* 1876. Oil on canvas. 63 x 53 cm. National Museum in Kraków.
View Source

In *Ahasuerus, Wandering Jew*, Gottlieb portrays himself as Ahasuerus, the name usually given in German literature to the Wandering Jew, or the "eternal Jew," a character explicitly steeped in Jewishness. Ahasuerus was a legendary figure who taunted Christ on the way to the Calvary. He was subsequently cursed and condemned to wander the world until the Second Coming at the end of time or until he acknowledged Christ as the Messiah.

In his painting, Gottlieb conflates this tragic figure with the non-Jewish king of the Persians from the Book of Esther, bestowing a crown on the bearded youth. The moody self-absorption of the figure presented against a red background evokes the self-consciousness of the drifting Jew. The crown and earrings exoticize the biblical narrative and speak to the power of the Persian monarch, who adopted Jews through marriage and worked for their preservation.



Maurycy Gottlieb, *Shylock and Jessica,* 1876. Oil on canvas. 166.5 x 109.5 cm. Lost during World War II. View Source

In *Shylock and Jessica* Gottlieb presents Shylock, the Jewish protagonist in Shakespeare's 16th-century play, *The Merchant of Venice, as* a loving and doting father. But he also acknowledges his experience as an outsider, a Jew in Christian society.

Placed within its contemporary context, Gottlieb's painting speaks to the experience of Polish Jews who could attain acceptance within a national and broader European culture by converting to the dominant religion of Christianity. Shylock and Jessica serve as perfect vehicles for representing this assimilation/conversion dilemma, for Shakespeare presents us with a daughter ready and easily able to renounce her Jewishness and a father who faces the choice of conversion or death.

Shylock's famous speech resonates beneath the surface:

> Hath not a Jew eyes? Hath not a Jew hands, organs, dimensions, senses, affections, passions? Fed with the same food, hurt with the same weapons, subject to the same means, warmed and cooled by the same winter and summer, as a Christian is? If you prick us, do we not bleed? If you tickle us, do we not laugh? If you poison us, do we not die? And if you wrong us, shall we not revenge? (Act 3, Scene 1, lines 58-66).

In Gottlieb's painting, Shylock has been betrayed by his daughter, who has been seduced by a Christian lover. An averted and preoccupied glance returns his attentive embrace as she accepts his bestowal of keys to the house. The old man's caricatured features, a beaked nose, a white beard and his dark costume associated with the Jewish moneylender augment the contrasts at play. The father and daughter represent a mix of generations in what almost appears to be an ill-matched pair, a lustful old man and a greedy young woman. Gottlieb based Jessica's face on Laura Rosenfeld, who had rejected his marriage proposal and married a Berlin banker instead.

Gottlieb created this work in 1876 at the age of twenty, when he was a student at the Academy of Fine Arts. He would receive a gold medal for this work in 1878 and gain acceptance in both the Jewish and non-Jewish worlds.



Maurycy Gottlieb, *Jews Praying in the Synagogue on Yom Kippur,* 1878. Oil on canvas. 245.1 x 191.8 cm. Tel Aviv Museum of Art. View Source

That same year he painted *Jews Praying in the Synagogue on Yom Kippur,* which, as Larry Silver explains in the essay "Jewish Identity in Art and History: Maurycy Gottlieb as Early Jewish Artist" (in Catherine M. Soussloff, *Jewish Identity in Modern Art History*, Berkeley: University of California Press, 1999, 87-113) held personal significance.

> A sense of community with the Jewish people as well as an "enlightened" religious universalism ... which could reconcile Jews to Gentiles, remained ongoing themes of Gottlieb's later history paintings. The artist oscillated between ambitions to be comfortably assimilated into the dominant culture of Polish Catholics, where his artwork would find its largest potential audience as well as a peer community of other artists, and counter-pressures to be acknowledged—and accepted—as a Jew. On an artistic level,

Gottlieb sought to fuse the idiom of history painting, after the model of Piloty and Matejko, to biblical history, with Jewish ethnography, as exemplified in Oppenheim's widely circulated prints.

...

No other picture more fully displays Gottlieb's discomfort or ambivalence with the problem of being both Jewish and an artist than his own large and ambitious contribution to ethnography, *Jews Praying in the Synagogue on Yom Kippur*. This work is Gottlieb's fullest affirmation of his Judaism as well as his most careful observation of the customs, costumes, and settings of Jewish religious life in the sanctuary (rather than in the home, which Oppenheim had stressed). However, the scene also portrays Gottlieb himself as a pensive outsider (though like the other men he is dressed in tallith and festive hat), standing below the bema and dreamily turning his attention away from the prayers that absorb the rest of the congregation, his reflective pose and averted gaze once more reminiscent of Rembrandt's listeners. In this image the head of Gottlieb's Ahasuerus reappears, again portraying the painter as troubled in the midst of his heritage, once more through the emphatic self-fashioning of a costumed self-portrait. Surely significant too is the painter's decision to document the most solemn Jewish holiday, the Day of Atonement, at its most solemn moment, when the sacred scroll, the Torah, has been removed from the Ark for reading to the congregation. This holiday is the occasion when each individual Jew is most alone with thoughts of his own behavior and relations both to his fellow Jews and to God.

Yom Kippur is also the occasion in the Jewish year when the dead are solemnly commemorated (in the service called Yizkor), and Gottlieb has injected into this picture several prominent self-memorials. Scholars have commented on his morbid sense of his mortality, premonitory of his death at age twenty-three, only a year after completing this picture. The choice of the holiday of Yom Kippur in conjunction with the self-portrait confirms self-memorialization as the very premise of the image. In Hebrew on the decorative cover of the Torah scroll, as though he were its donor, Gottlieb has painted the inscription: "Donated in memory of our late honored teacher and rabbi Moshe Gottlieb of blessed memory 1878."

Moreover, the artist has based the features of the two young boys in the painting on his own, as if recapitulating a deep religious training that he never felt comfortable with. Indeed, the vignette in the lower right corner is of a young boy sharing a prayerbook with an older, bearded man (presumably a likeness of Gottlieb's father) ... Besides his father, the Yom Kippur ensemble features additional portraits of Gottlieb's loved ones, including his mother and possibly his fiancée. Yet this picture examining Gottlieb's personal relationship to Judaism could not serve to reconcile his Jewish identity with his role as an artist in the larger Polish culture. To that end he returned to the dominant idiom of history painting that he had first learned with Matejko and Piloty.



Maurycy Gottlieb, *Christ Before His Judges,* 1877-79. Oil on canvas. 160 x 270 cm. Israel Museum, Jerusalem. View Source

In 1877-78, Gottlieb turned to the vocabulary of history painting to create a pair of ambitious canvases addressing the tensions between Christians and Jews while centring on the Jewish identity of Christ himself. By stressing Christianity's roots in Judaism and deflecting the dominantly antisemitic bias of the Church toward Jews as persecutors of Jesus, Gottlieb aimed to rewrite religious history.

In *Christ before His Judges*, Christ is portrayed as a Jew. He wears a skullcap, sports side curls and is dressed in a robe-like garment with a tallith visible beneath a kittel, a loose white surplice worn on solemn occasions and as a burial garment. The judges are dressed in the traditional robes and jewelled breastplate of Aaron and the high priests of the temple. Behind them, the unfurled scroll is open to the Ten Commandments, to the critical stricture at issue, "Thou shalt have no other gods before me." Gottlieb has focused the scene on the controversial discourse over Christ's teachings. The temple priests are dominant in the scene, but they are accompanied by a secular figure (presumably a Roman magistrate, like Pontius Pilate) seated beneath a canopy of honour bearing the inscription of Roman authority, SPQR.

The source of this richly staged scenario, and for this view of Christ as a good Jew who revered Jewish customs but came into conflict with religious and political authorities, is how Graetz, in his *History of the Jewish People,* placed the punishment of Christ squarely on the heads of the Roman authorities, absolving the Jews as a people.



Rembrandt van Rijn, *Christ Preaching,* called *La Petite Tombe*, ca. 1657. Etching, engraving, and drypoint; first of two states. 15.8 x 21 cm. Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York. View Source

In addition, Rembrandt's prints of Christ-as-teacher provided a precedent for the motif of a Jewish preacher figure. Silver:

> Christ is a humbler, more human figure but elevated on a stone slab and given additional prominence by a halo and vertical masonry that bisects the composition behind him. Here Rembrandt displays some of his favorite costume varieties, including bearded, turbaned figures, as well as figures of all ages, all in rapt attention (except for the foreground child, who is fully absorbed by his own finger drawing in the dirt). This Rembrandt etching is reflected in the staring faces, especially those of the older men in profile.
> ...
> An understated, easily overlooked self-portrait appears in Gottlieb's picture, just behind Christ, shadowed by the crown of thorns, staring intently at the protagonist.
>
> Thus the artist shows himself, like the historical Jewish Christ, caught between two worlds: that of traditional Jewish authority, with which he still felt uncomfortable despite his own best efforts, and that of the Roman state, or — for Gottlieb — the modern Austro-Hungarian political authority, the contemporary incarnation of the Holy Roman Empire, dominated by the religious authority of the Roman Catholic Church. Gottlieb as Ahasuerus still finds himself suffering for his developing yet independent and unconventional beliefs. Only now he seems to wish to identify with Christ — not mock him — and thus to provide the healing synthesis of his heritage as a Polish-Catholic and a Jew.

Gottlieb's fragile universalism did not survive. In the wake of the 1881 assassination of Czar Alexander II, Russia imposed restrictions on Jews in that country and antisemitic parties increasingly controlled political life in Vienna and throughout Germany. While the nationalist identity of Jews began to crystallize around Zionism, namely the establishment and support for a homeland for the Jews in the Land of Israel, Jewish artists increasingly assimilated their Jewish identity into the developing modernist project of artists in the city of Paris.

10.7
| Meijer Isaac de Haan: Controversy and Escape



Meijer Isaac de Haan. *Petrus Franciscus Greive*, ca. 1870-1875. Oil on panel. 14.5 x 11.5 cm. View Source

Meijer Isaac de Haan was a Dutch painter from a wealthy family of bakers and merchants with traditional opinions about religion and art. He apprenticed with Petrus Franciscus Greiveanda in 1874 and was accepted into the Rijksacademie van beeldende kunsten where he was considered a mediocre student.



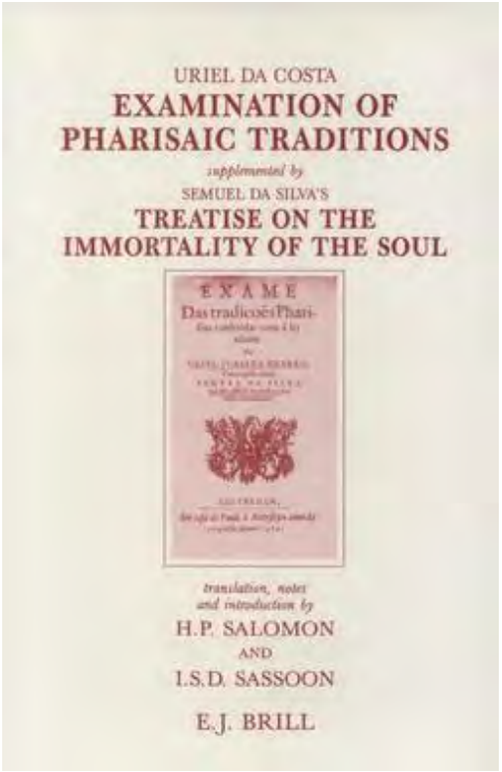
Meijer de Haan, *Old Jewish Woman* , 1880. Oil on canvas, 63 x 52 cm. Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam. View Source



Meijer de Haan, *Talmudic Anatomy,* ca. 1880. Oil on canvas. 68 x 78 cm. Joods Historisch Museum, Amsterdam. View Source

When de Haan started painting, he worked in an academic style reminiscent of Rembrandt, focussing on portraits and Jewish subjects. Rivka Weiss-Blok writes in "'Religiosity' in Dutch Jewish Art in the Nineteenth and the Early Twentieth Century" (*The Religious Cultures of Dutch Jewry* (Brill, 2017), 270-295):

> Traditional ties to Judaism influenced the artist's choice of typical Jewish themes: rabbis learning, Jewish rituals, synagogue interiors, people praying, Jewish historical figures and biblical scenes.



Uriel da Costa, *Examination of Pharisaic Traditions. Supplemented by Semuel da Silva's Treatise on the Immortality of the Soul.* Brill, 1993. View Source

De Haan was deeply disappointed by the negative response to his painting of the Jewish philosopher and skeptic Uriel d'Acosta (1585-1640), which is now lost. The artist had struggled with what he considered his magnum opus for ten years. The work depicted the rabbinical judgment against d'Acosta over his opinion about the soul's immortality. D'Acosta was born a Christian in Portugal but converted to Judaism when he moved to Amsterdam. His ancestors were *Cristãos-novos*, or New Christians, forced by the edict of the Inquisition to convert to Catholicism. During the Spanish and Portuguese Inquisition, which began in 1478 and did not end until 1834, Jews who refused to convert to Christianity and New Christians were accused by religious and state authorities of being heretics and practicing witchcraft. The penalty was usually imprisonment, torture, and death. As d'Acosta learned more, he dared to question the Catholic and rabbinic institutions of his time. His actions resulted in ex-communication from the Jewish faith and punishment at the Portuguese synagogue in Amsterdam. He was whipped thirty-nine times and trampled over by the congregants. D'Acosta ultimately committed suicide.

De Haan, like a good many of the liberal Jews of his generation, came to consider d'Acosta a champion of authentic belief.



Meier de Haan, *Breton Women Scutching Flax: Labour,* 1889. Fresco on canvas. 34 cm x 200 cm. Private collection. View Source

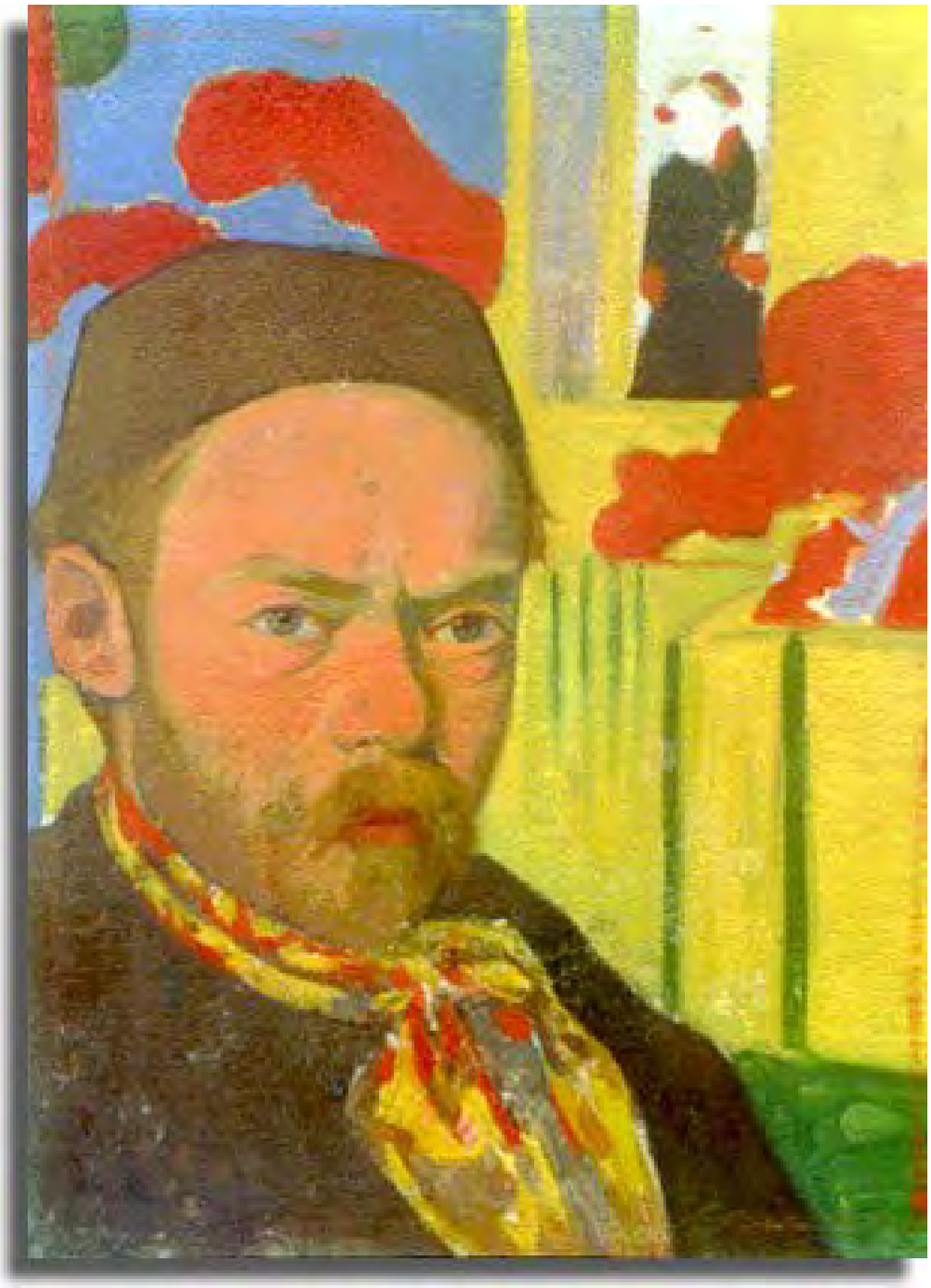
The outrage in orthodox Jewish circles caused by de Haan's painting of d'Acosta forced the artist to leave for Paris in October 1888, living off a monthly allowance from his family. He stayed with the art dealer Theo van Gogh for several months. There he met Pissarro, Theo's brother Vincent, and Gauguin. From April 1889 to October 1890, de Haan painted alongside Gauguin at Le Pouldu and Pont-Aven in Brittany. With the stipend he received from home, de Haan also supported Gauguin in exchange for painting lessons.

De Haan's realistic paintings reminiscent of Rembrandt quickly began to show the influence of Gauguin in their simplification of form and use of flat, bright colour. He also adopted several motifs and arrangements from Gauguin's pictorial repertoire.

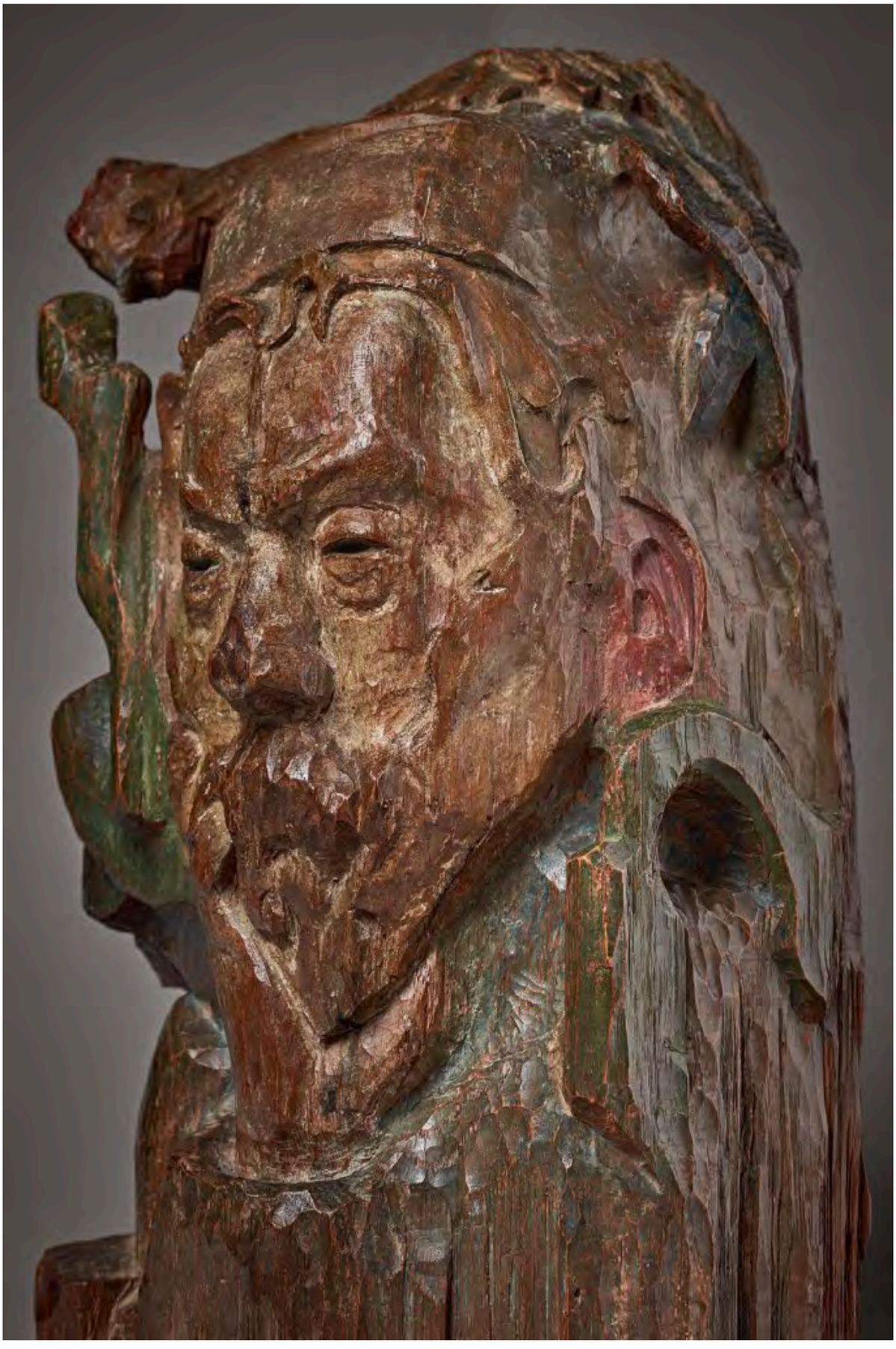


Meier de Haan, *Motherhood: Mary Henry Breastfeeding her Daughter*. 1889. Oil on canvas. 73 cm x 65.1 cm. Private collection. View Source

De Haan returned to Amsterdam when his family withdrew their support. He died at age 43. His paintings were disposed of for trivial sums, except for the ones left in Brittany with his lover, and child's mother, Mary Henry.



Meijer Isaac de Haan, *Self-portrait,* 1889–1890. On October 16, 2012, stolen from the Kunsthal, Rotterdam and presumably destroyed. View Source



Paul Gauguin, *Portrait of Meier de Haan,* 1889–90. Waxed distemper paint and metallic oil paint on oak, 58.4 × 29.8 × 22.8 cm. National Gallery of Canada. View Source

While de Haan's relative obscurity can be attributed to a lack of surviving work, he is known as a frequent subject of Gauguin's paintings. Gauguin's first portraits, depict him as an intelligent, creative force. His approach to his friend's image would alter over time, becoming increasingly antisemitic.



Paul Gauguin. *Portrait of Jacob Meyer de Haan.* 1889. Watercolour, traces of pencil on paper. View Source

In the *Portrait of Jacob Meyer de Haan* of 1889, a contemplative de Haan is shown reflecting upon texts about religion and philosophy, subjects suggested by the books on the table before him: John Milton's epic

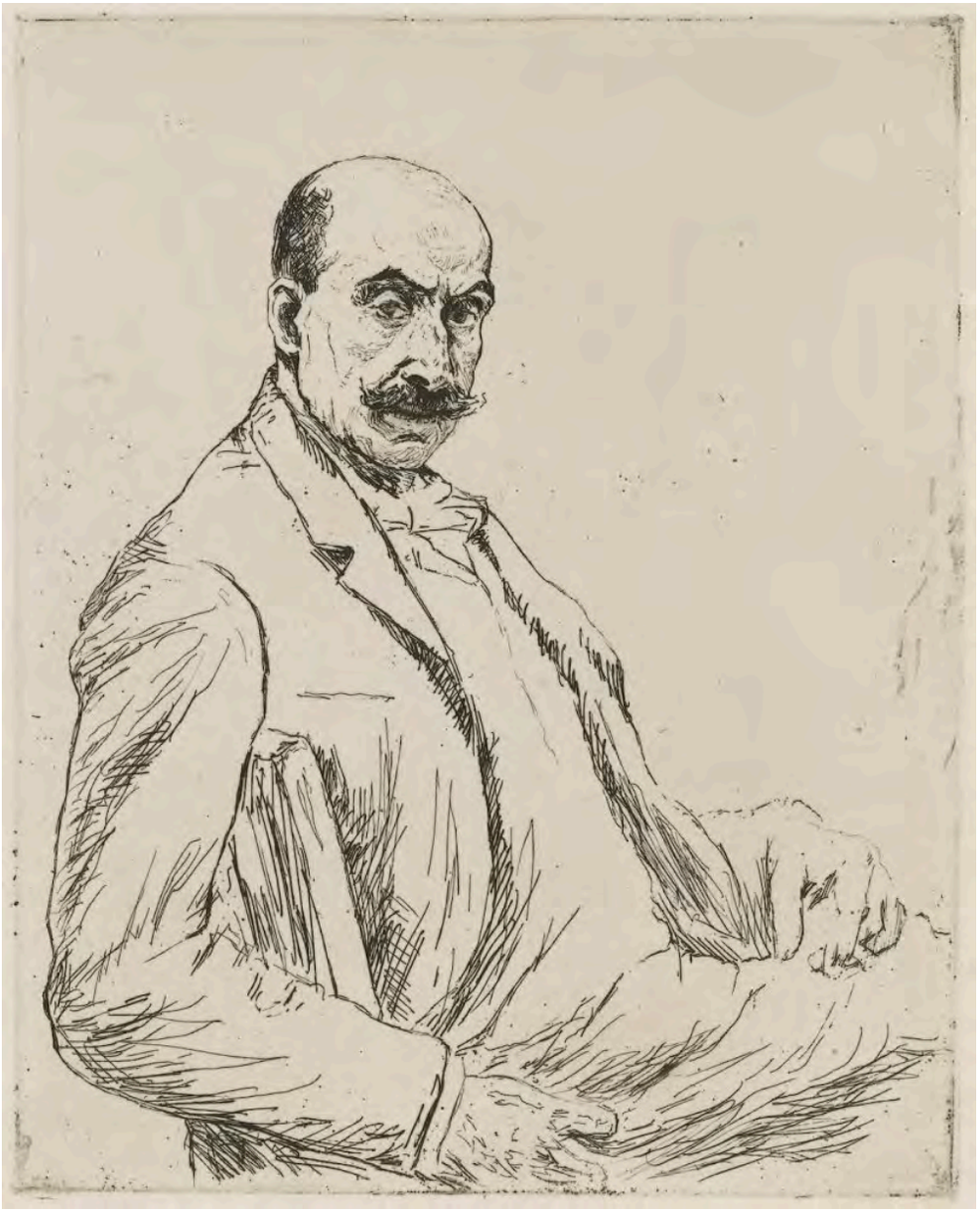
poem *Paradise Lost* (1674) and Thomas Carlyle's novel *Sartor Resartus* (1833–34). The bowl of apples at the forefront may suggest Eve's temptation in the Garden of Eden. The chin of the Jewish artist rests on a hoof-like hand, and his red beard is prominent. The exaggeration is not unusual for Gauguin, but de Haan's features display a devilish quality.



Paul Gauguin. *Nirvana, Portrait of Meyer de Haan,* ca. 1889. Gouache and bronze on cotton fabric. 20.4 x 29.3 cm. Wadsworth Atheneum Museum of Art. View Source

In *Nirvana, Portrait of Meyer de Haan,* painted shortly after, Gauguin's treatment of his sitter is increasingly distorted and animalistic, featuring furrowed brows and a fox's slanting eyes, and hairy ears. The image of de Haan had by then come to symbolize something other than his personage or the close friendship between the artists. He is alien, the 'other.' Laura Morowitz examines the shift and this increasingly antisemitic slant in her "Review of *A Paradise Closer to Home: Gauguin, Le Pouldu and the Search for Nirvana*, by Eric Zafran (*Oxford Art Journal* 27, no. 1 (2004): 117–20). She writes that these portraits of de Haan "emphasise and exaggerate his physical deformities and identity as a Jew. His hunchback form, red hair, demonic features and animal-like visage – have long been associated with anti-Semitic stereotypes."

10.8
| Max Liebermann: Pioneering Change



Max Liebermann, *Self-Portrait,* 1906. Etching on laid paper. 24.5 x 19.6 cm. National Gallery of Art, Washington. View Source

One of the first artists to interpret the modernity of Impressionism in Germany, Max Liebermann's realist images displayed a spontaneity of execution, reduced detail and a lighter palette than seen in the style conventionally. However, his overall adherence to objective reality differentiates his work from the attitude of the French Impressionists. Liebermann founded the Berlin Secession in 1898, an independent exhibition association which championed new modern art styles, and he is regarded as a pioneer of modernism in Germany.

The son of an upper-class Jewish businessman from Berlin, Liebermann initially studied law and philosophy at the University of Berlin. Still, an early interest in art led him to pursue studies first with the artist Carl Steffeck for two years and then at the Weimar Art School in 1868. In 1872 he travelled to Paris, where he lived for a few years, relocating to Munich in 1878.



Max Liebermann, *Women Plucking Geese,* ca. 1871-72. Oil on canvas. 119.5 x 170.5 cm. Alte Nationalgalerie, Berlin. View Source



Ludwig Knaus, *Dance Under the Linden Tree,* 1881. Oil on canvas. 101.6 x 144.78 cm. Milwaukee Art Museum. View Source

The realistic landscapes of his early work contrasted with the romantic and idealized imagery of German paintings at the time, as seen for example, in Ludwig Knaus' lighthearted *Dance Under the Linden Tree*. His first exhibited picture, *Plucking Geese* (1872), earned him the description "disciple of the ugly."



Max Liebermann, *Potato Gatherers* , 1875. Oil on canvas. 108.5 x 172 cm. Museum Kunstpalast, Düsseldorf. View Source

Liebermann's artistic sensibilities evolved during his stay in Paris from 1873 until 1878. He spent the summer of 1873 in the village of Barbizon, near Paris, where he studied the works of Camille Corot, Constant Troyon, and Charles-François Daubigny. While in France, he met Jean-Francois Millet, co-founder of the Barbizon School, whose naturalistic rural scenes and landscapes influenced his independent style. His *Potato Gatherers* echoes Millet in its earthy colours, light brush, and the subject of peasants working a field.



Jean-François Millet, *The Gleaners,* 1857. Oil on canvas. 83.5 x 110 cm. Musée d'Orsay, Paris. View Source

The figures' articulation recalls *The Gleaners,* although Liebermann's painting lacks the idealized grace of Millet's peasant pastorale. He revised his composition, but like *Women Plucking Geese,* the painting's realism was not appreciated by German viewers.



Max Liebermann, *Children's Playground in Tiergarten Park in Berlin,* ca. 1885. Oil on canvas. 17.5 x 30.5 cm. View Source

In the next decade, Liebermann's paintings *en plein air* began to focus on the urban outdoors. For example, he depicted numerous images of Berlin Tiergarten. The picture shows a wooded hall or clearing enclosed by a dense tree wall and a roof of foliage. The loose, melding strokes emphasize the children's informal play and the groupings of mothers and infants. The flickering sunspots are reminiscent of French impressionism, but his exploration of the effects of light and atmosphere is more literal. Yet, like the Impressionists, he has chosen to depict an outdoor scene that is inherently animated and continuously altered by the changing play of light and shadows.



Max Liebermann, *Terrasse of the Restauraunt Jacob in Nienstedten Upon Elbe*, 1902. Oil on canvas. 70 x 100 cm. Hamburger Kuntshalle, Hamburg. View Source



Max Liebermann, *Two Riders on the Beach to the Left,* 1901. Oil on canvas. 71 x 91 cm. Private collection. View Source

After 1890, the influence of French Impressionists such as Édouard Manet and Edgar Degas became more pronounced in his works.



Max Liebermann, *Boys Bathing,* 1898. Oil on canvas. 112.5 x 152 cm. Neue Pinakothek, Munich. View Source

A patron collector, Liebermann started collecting French Impressionist paintings in the 1890s, which influenced his own work's form and content. Increasingly he turned to a lighter palette and chose subjects and interpretations of and for the haute-bourgeoisie. The outdoor images of beaches and riding scenes, country houses and rural landscapes earned him a reputation as one of the leading German Impressionists.



Max Liebermann, *Bürgermeister Carl Friedrich Petersen,* 1891. Oil on canvas. 206 x 119 cm. Hamburger Kunsthalle, Hamburg. View Source

In 1891 Liebermann moved out of his stylistic comfort zone to take on a portrait commission of an important public figure. He was living in Berlin and had been recommended by Alfred Lichtwark, an art historian, museum curator, and art educator in Hamburg. While the clients initially balked at the choice of Liebermann, whom they regarded as a competent genre painter but an unproven portrait painter, Lichtwark refused to withdraw his recommendation; he was a strong supporter of Liebermann and believed in his potential to elevate German portraiture.

Liebermann welcomed the opportunity to paint the octogenarian Burgomaster Carl Friedrich Petersen, who held a powerful position in the city's government and was among the most respected men in Hamburg. In a letter written in 1891, the artist expressed his enthusiasm by referring to a photograph of Petersen and commenting on his excellent head and sturdy legs: "The man appears energetic, could also be a general, does not stand in fear, I think of God or the world, a capital fellow who should appear strong and simply grand; as Fran Hals represented his subjects in the guild paintings, recreated naturally, without tricks and without-glazing. It must be a solid piece of work."

The portrait is a full-length view of Petersen, who stands with his body directed towards the right, as if emerging from the Senate room, but turned slightly to meet the viewer's gaze.



Rudolf Dührkoop, *Carl Friedrich Petersen, Hamburger Bürgermeister,* before 1892. Photograph. View Source

He is dressed in the traditional dress of a Hamburg senator, with buckled shoes, breeches, high ruffle, ornate velvet and fur gown and a large hat, and holding a glove.

In its objective treatment of the figure, the painting offers a modern perspective on portraiture, perplexing an audience accustomed to academic idealization. When it was first shown in April 1892 in Berlin, the work met with scrutiny, and many raised eyebrows and was attacked for its lack of reverence. The work was an unmitigated catastrophe in Hamburg, although it was not without its defendants. Liebermann continued to show the painting despite the negative remarks and finally received positive acknowledgment from one of the children about achieving a successful resemblance to the father.

Marion Deshmukh writes in *Max Liebermann: Modern Art and Modern Germany* (Ashgate, 2015), 153-154):

> The Petersen portrait, the subject of several recent accounts, was commissioned as part of Alfred Lichtwark's conception for a "Collection of Paintings of Hamburg," inviting contemporary artists to portray notables. Petersen was an extremely popular mayor, having been re-elected 12 times to the post between 1876 and his death in 1892.



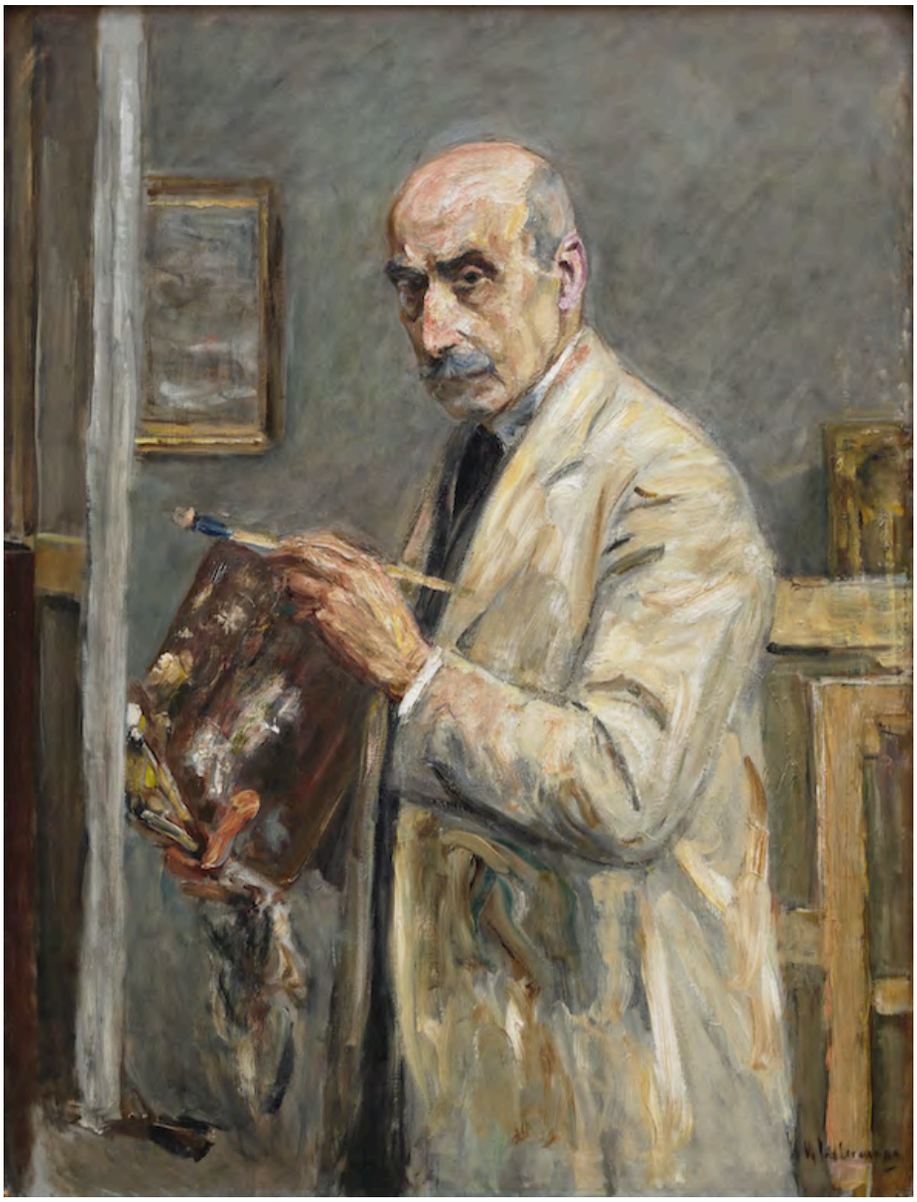
Frans Hals, *Paulus Verschuur,* 1643. Oil on canvas. 118.7 x 94 cm. Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York. View Source

The portrait ultimately showed Petersen standing in the Hamburg mayoral costume, complete with white starched collar, very fluidly painted in the manner of Frans Hals.

To the modern viewers, the portrait shows the obvious leadership abilities in Petersen's personality. Yet the 83-year-old mayor believed that Liebermann portrayed him as weak and infirm. The painting was absolutely detested by the mayor who prohibited it from public viewing at the museum. Only after his death in 1892 could museum visitors view the canvas which had been placed behind a curtain.



Max Liebermann, *The Hamburg Convention of Professors*, 1906. Oil on canvas. 175 x 290 cm. Hamburger Kunsthalle, Hamburg. View Source



Max Liebermann, *Self-Portrait,* ca. 1922. Oil on canvas. 113.5 x 85.2 cm. Neue Pinakothek, Munich. View Source

From this time, Liebermann embarked on a vigorous career as a portrait artist, painting numerous portraits, including many self-portraits over the next 44 years. His paintings focused on professors, literary figures, scientists, politicians, writers, and celebrities. Over time he also became a popular portraitist among fellow Jews.



Wilhelm Schulz, *Berliner Secession,* 1902. Poster. 71.1 x 94.6 cm. View Source

Challenging the artistic norms, he founded the Berlin Secession in 1898, a collective for those interested in modern art. As many as sixty-five artists were part of the Berlin Secession, and Liebermann was president for thirteen years. This independent exhibition association championed new contemporary art styles and aimed to combat traditional teaching practices.

These artists of Jewish origin joined the Berlin Secession:

Charlotte Berend



Charlotte Berend-Corinth, *Max Pallenberg,* ca. 1877-1934. Lithograph. 51 x 37 cm. View Source

Josef Block



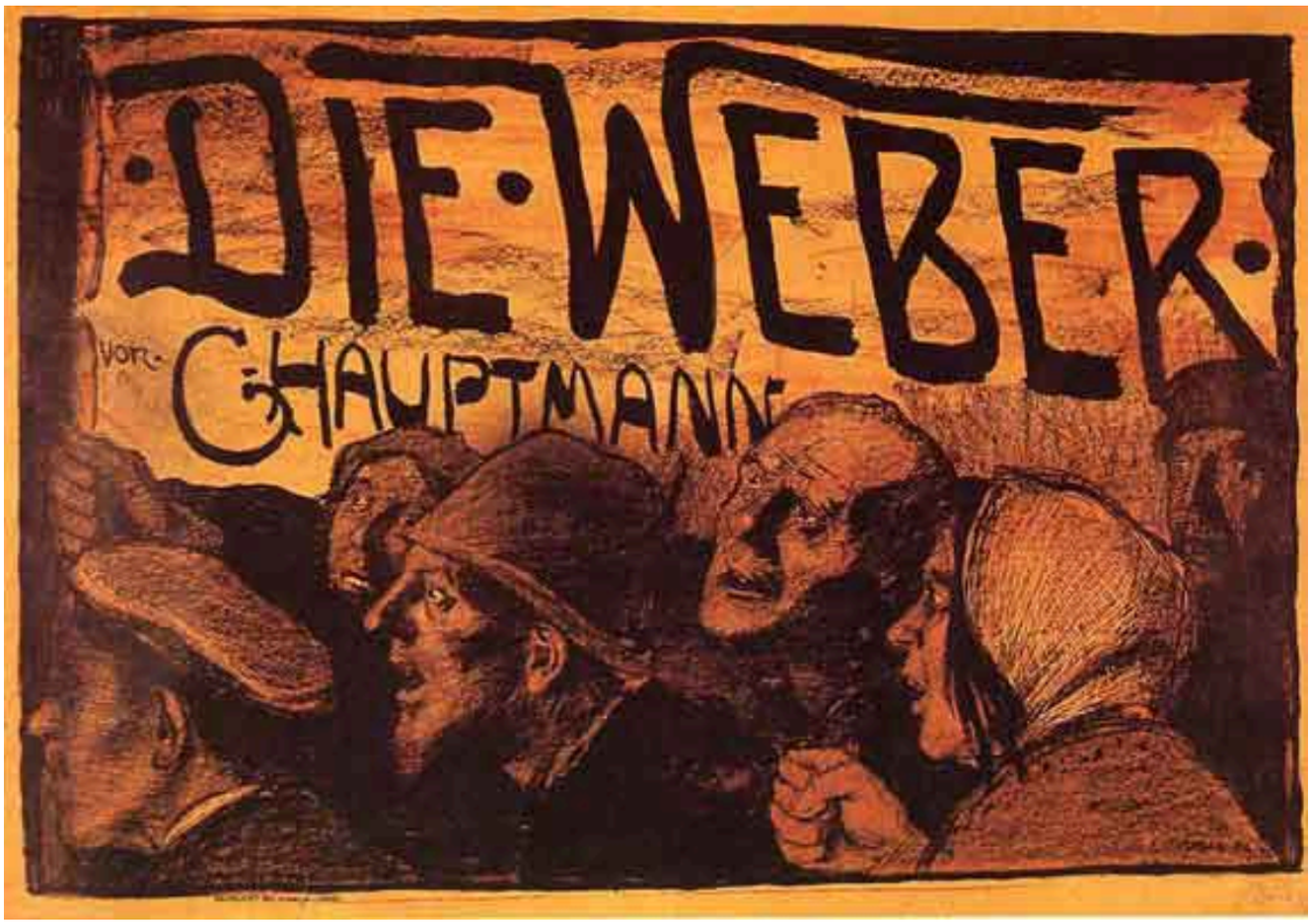
Josef Block, *The Wayward Son*, 1890. Oil on canvas. 102.9 x 139.7 cm. Private collection. View Source

Ernst Oppler



Ernst Oppler, *Three Girls in the Access Balcony*, ca. 1910. Oil on canvas. 55.5 x 85.5 cm. Private collection. View Source

Emil Orlik



Emil Orlik, *The Weavers by G. Hauptmann*, 1897. Lithograph printed in red-brown and black on wove paper mounted on linen. 64.77 x 97.16 cm (image). Los Angeles County Museum of Art. View Source

Eugene Spiro



Eugène Spiro, *Portrait of Dr. Meier-Graefe,* 1913. Oil on canvas. 110.9 x 107.9 cm. Germanisches Nationalmuseum, Nuremberg. View Source

Hermann Struck



Hermann Struck, *Jerusalem X,* ca. 1924. Lithograph; color, ink on paper. 30 x 39 cm. Leo Baeck Institute, New York. View Source

Lesser Ury



Lesser Ury, Reproduction of a landscape painting, 1892. View Source

Julie Wolfthorn



Julie Wolfthorn, *Witch of the Woods*, ca. 1899. Oil on canvas. 39.8 x 32.6 cm. Daulton Collection, Los Altos Hill.
View Source

10.9
| Liebermann: Subculture and Identity



Max Liebermann, *Self Portrait with Kitchen Still Life,* 1873. Oil on canvas. 86 x 139 cm. Kunstmuseum Gelsenkirchen. View Source

Liebermann was a secular Jew, proud of his heritage but thoroughly assimilated, steering away from religious themes. Given the growing antisemitism in Germany, it is unsurprising that only a few of Liebermann's works affirm his Jewish identity.

Self-Portrait in Kitchen with Still Life was painted a year after his graduation. It portrays a smiling Liebermann wearing a chef's cap and peeking over an arrangement of cabbage, cauliflower, carrots, leeks, potatoes, and a chicken bracketed by a large copper pot and a big wicker basket filled with greens. The background is almost entirely black. The artist peeps into the scene as if for a moment, adding a humorous note and disrupting the stillness of the still-life. The work suggests that Liebermann espoused the still-life genre while challenging its conventions, offering a counterpoint to the strict and hierarchical genre rules established by the French Académie Royale de Peinture et de Sculpture in 1648.



Abraham van Beyeren, *Still Life with Lobster and Fruit,* ca. 1650. Oil on wood. 96.5 x 78.7 cm. Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York. View Source

The Académie divided paintings into five categories, ranked according to difficulty and perceptual prestige: history painting, portraiture, genre painting, landscape and, at the bottom of the hierarchy, still life painting. These paintings were regarded as the least inventive as the painter painted what could simply be seen as per seventeenth-century Netherlandish precedent. For example, Abraham van Beyeren in *Still Life with Lobster and Fruit* revels in the dynamic interaction of colours and textures of fruit and fish and the reflective surfaces of the metalwork and glass, luxurious objects of earthly pleasure prominently displayed such as the blue-and-white porcelain bowl imported from China.



Max Liebermann, *Self Portrait with Kitchen Still Life,* 1873. Oil on canvas. 86 x 139 cm. Kunstmuseum Gelsenkirchen. View Source

While recognizing this tradition, Liebermann's still life painting is very different. Romana Rouskova argues in "Max Liebermann's Jewish Heritage" (Master's Thesis, University of Tennessee, 2008) *that Self-Portrait with Kitchen Still-life* is the first painting in which the artist includes references to his Jewish identity:

> There are connections to the artist's Jewish subculture and private Jewish identity. It was probably painted on the occasion of the wedding of Georg Liebermann to Elsbeth Marckwald, and the painting was afterwards never exhibited. It stayed in the possession of his family and after the death of Liebermann's father, the painting was inherited by his brother Felix.
>
> In the article "Max Liebermann als Maler der Seinigen" published in the *Allgemeine Zeitung des Judentum* in 1917, Ludwig Geiger speaks of Liebermann's inclinations towards customs that he saw and practiced in his family's home. In the *Self-Portrait with Kitchen Still-Life*, a happy Max Liebermann, wearing a cook's hat, looks out from behind a table spread with the makings of a beautiful meal, perhaps a soup; there is a cooking pot, cabbage, and an array of vegetables. There is also stewing chicken that reveals an interesting detail. From its neck hangs a slip of paper with a red tag, a sign of kosher slaughter (Schütz 161) … The red tag, therefore, carries its own significance. The painting portrays not only the message of Jewishness, but also a typical bourgeois domestic scene (Schütz 161). Supposedly Liebermann wanted to be depicted as a Jew whose priorities were Jewish traditions carried on through the generations.



Max Liebermann, *Jesus among the Doctors or The 12-year-old Jesus in the Temple with the Scholars,* 1879. Oil on canvas. Hamburger Kuntshalle, Hamburg. View Source

While Liebermann avoided strictly religious subjects, one exception is in an early painting from 1879, *Jesus among the Doctors*.

When Liebermann's *Jesus* was shown during Munich's First International Art Exhibition in 1879, the winds of antisemitism were already stirring in Germany. Reactions to Liebermann's painting sparked a two-day debate in the Bavarian parliament, officially condemning Liebermann's "blasphemous" picture as a lowly and mean rendering of a sublime, divine subject.

Beth Irwin Lewis writes in *Art for All? The Collision of Modern Art and the Public in Late-Nineteenth-Century Germany* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2003), 46-51):

> In its original form, this painting by Max Liebermann produced the greatest art scandal of the Bismarckian era. The trouble began during Munich's First International Art Exhibition in 1879 – that is, when a wave of antisemitic agitation and propaganda was just beginning to break over Germany. The art critic for the Augsburger Allgemeine Zeitung, Friedrich Pecht, declared that Liebermann had painted

“the ugliest, know-it-all Jewish boy imaginable,” adding that the artist had shown the Jewish elders as “a rabble of the filthiest haggling Jews.” German feelings, Pecht believed – and others concurred – had been offended by this blasphemous painting. Not long thereafter, Pecht’s critique was cited in debates in the Bavarian state parliament, where one deputy declared that Liebermann [himself a Jew] should have known better than to paint this scene; and the painting was reviled as a stench in the nostrils of decent people. That Liebermann was not only a Jew but also a Prussian liberal did not sit well either. The antisemitic leader of the Christian Social Party, Court Preacher Adolf Stöcker, directed a hail of invective against the artist, whose nationalist credentials were not enhanced in 1881 when he became the first German artist since the Franco-Prussian War of 1870-71 to receive an award from a great salon of Paris. Liebermann’s painting, which quickly became a cause célèbre, pitted antisemites and traditionalists against other progressive painters of the day, including Wilhelm Leibl, Franz von Lenbach, and Fritz von Uhde (the latter bought and kept the painting until 1911).

If Friedrich Pecht’s description of Liebermann’s Jesus seems ill-suited to the long-haired, slightly effeminate, blond boy featured in the present canvas, then this is because Liebermann, in response to critical outcry, repainted the figure before it was included in a Paris exhibition in 1884.



Max Liebermann, *Study for The Twelve-Year-Old Jesus in the Temple,* 1879. Crayon over pencil. Kupferstichkabinett, Berlin. View Source

Fortunately, a sketch of the untouched 1879 version has been preserved, so we know that Liebermann had originally depicted a barefoot boy with short, unkempt dark hair and a stereotypical Jewish profile. In the sketch, the boy gestures assertively and assumes a provocative stance as he argues with the Jewish elders. In the reworked version, shown here, Liebermann changed the young Jesus’s appearance.

The figure once described as an "urchin" now appears as a serious, intelligent – perhaps slightly deferential – child. Nevertheless, this dramatic change won over virtually none of Liebermann's earlier critics. The painting was not exhibited again until the Berlin Secession exhibition of 1907.



Adolph Menzel, *Infant Christ Surrounded by the Doctors; Joseph and the Virgin Approaching,* 1852. Lithograph printed in two colours on chine collé. 43.5 x 57.7 cm. British Museum, London. View Source

Walter Cahn writes in "Max Liebermann and the Amsterdam Jewish Quarter" (in *The Art of Being Jewish in Modern Times*, Barbara Kirshenblatt-Gimblett and Jonathan Karp, eds. (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2013), 208-227):

> The impulse for Liebermann's painting likely came from … the treatment of the theme by Adolph Menzel in a lithograph of 1851. Menzel, a Berlin artist of an older generation who was highly regarded by Liebermann …and sought to portray the scene instead in some indeterminate yet present time. For this purpose, he gave to the rabbis of the Temple the swarthy complexions, hooked noses, and demonstrative gestures thought to typify the Jewry of Eastern Europe, thus rejecting what one of his biographers calls ''the merely superficial recording of external appearance through the trappings of Oriental costumes'' and attempting instead to reach ''a more authentic historical truth through an immersion into the racial particularities (*Rasseneigentu'mlichkeiten*) of the Jewish people.'' This procedure is criticized by Liebermann in a letter written some thirty years after the execution of his painting on the grounds that Jews seemed to him to be too ''charakteristisch,'' that is, to possess too marked a physical character, thus tending to lend themselves too much to caricature. Thus, although committed, like Menzel, to a portrayal of biblical Jews in the guise of modern ethnic types, Liebermann sharply toned down the outlandish theatrical deportment attributed to them by the older painter, as well as what one might call their ethnic otherness.



Fritz von Uhde, *Last Supper,* 1886. Oil on canvas. 20.6 x 32.4 cm. Staatsgalerie Stuttgart. View Source

Liebermann's depiction was offensive because Liebermann, a Jew, had dared to paint Jesus in a contemporary synagogue setting, thus suggesting that Jesus was a Jew and that Judaism was the precursor of Christianity. The German artist Fritz von Uhde had also painted several scenes of Jesus amongst farmers and other common labourer folk but von Uhde was not Jewish. He was a dedicated Lutheran whose father had been President of the Lutheran Church Council in Wolkenburg, Saxony. Therefore, his paintings were positively acclaimed. As for Liebermann because of the nasty commotion about him and the painting in the newspaper articles he decided to never again paint a biblical subject.



Max Liebermann, *The Synagogue in Amsterdam,* 1876. Oil on canvas. 46 x 58 cm. View Source

At the time that Liebermann began to make sketches for his painting *The Twelve-Year-Old Jesus in the Temple*, he completed *Synagogue in Amsterdam*.

> Executed in an almost monochrome palette of earthen colors and dashing brushwork, the painting is also Liebermann's first work to concern itself explicitly with a Jewish subject, if only through the index of topography. The composition draws the eye obliquely into a space that is at once crowded with incident, yet largely empty, supplying the eye with cut-off parts of the bimah, rows of benches, and an ornamental chandelier. The three men clad in black and engaged in prayer, whose presence in the distance seems almost accidental, tend more to convey a sense of the remoteness of the painter/observer from the event depicted than to alert anyone to its significance. One is led to ponder what attitudes or convictions might be embodied in the artist's arresting pictorial conception.



Max Liebermann, *The Jewish Street in Amsterdam*, 1906. Etching. 19.2 x 24.2 cm. View Source



Max Liebermann, *Amsterdam Jewish Quarter*, ca. 1900-10. Etching. 20 x 14.94 cm. View Source



Max Liebermann, *Jewish Quarter in Amsterdam,* 1905. Oil on cardboard. 31.6 x 43.9 cm. Private collection. View Source

Liebermann's drawings, paintings, and etchings of the Jewish quarter of Amsterdam began in earnest in the summer of 1905. Over the next four years he produced at least eighteen pictures – some being variations of the same subject – of which eight are now lost or unaccounted for. The range is impressive, from rapid freely improvised sketches to fully finished paintings. Often Liebermann made more than one version of a picture, working on a particular motif from one composition to create another work. His focus on this one theme over a period of five years is an exception to his regular practice.



Max Liebermann, after E. Hancke, *Judengasse in Amsterdam,* 1907. Chalk drawing. Private collection. Reproduced in Walter Cahn, "Max Liebermann and the Amsterdam Jewish Quarter," 218. View Source

Liebermann decided to rent space well above ground in a private house to create aerial viewpoints such as this one. Cahn:

> Thus he also obtained plunging views onto the street below, lined on both sides with pushcarts stationed under awnings and filled, as always on Friday afternoon before the Sabbath and on Sundays, with crowds of shoppers. The drawings that record this view, among his finest, now convey more fully the impression of a street rather than a scattering of people among fragments of buildings. In this, the second phase of his works on the Amsterdam Jewish Quarter, the artist focused his attention more insistently on the meandering flow of anonymous ghetto dwellers around the peddlers' carts, which may be registered with an eye for a characteristic detail, or as a dense, more undifferentiated mass.



Camille Pissarro, *The Boulevard Montmartre on a Winter Morning,* 1897. Oil on canvas. 64.8 x 81.3 cm. Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York. View Source

Liebermann, as already noted, had become since the mid-1890s an active proponent of French Impressionism as well as a collector of Impressionist pictures, and it is likely that this new conception of the Judengasse in his work owes much to city views by such painters as Monet and Pissarro. This is made clear by a juxtaposition of Pissarro's *Boulevard Montmartre on a Winter Morning* of 1897 (Metropolitan Museum of Art)—one of a number of compositions of this kind by the artist—with its plunging view onto one of Baron Haussmann's wide new thoroughfares in Paris, and Liebermann's painting, formerly preserved at Magdeburg and dated 1907, with its subject observed from a similar angle. But the comparison also brings out significant differences. While Pissarro's strollers move about unconstrained in airy and spacious surroundings, Liebermann's crowds have little room for maneuver, confined as they are within darkly colored walls that stretch into the distance and offer no prospect of release.



Max Liebermann, *Judengasse in Amsterdam,* 1909. Oil on canvas. 125 x 175 cm. Private collection. View Source

> Liebermann's success with his smaller, rapidly executed, and heavily impastoed canvasses, betokening the increasing prestige of the aesthetics of the sketch, makes the motive that led him to carry out this painstaking exercise difficult to comprehend. Having apparently decided to bring the series of Judengassen to an end, he may have deemed it appropriate to do so with a final, grandiose gesture. The more precise delineation of all the elements of the composition to which the painter committed himself, however, is of more than stylistic or procedural interest, since it affected what could be called the evidence of its Jewish content. Whereas he and the observer of his earlier versions of the subject could rely on the suggestive intimations of his bold brushwork, the last, monumental treatment committed the painter to greater specificity … The men and women depicted in the painting seem to be people of modest means, but they are by no means miserably poor. The men's heads are uniformly covered by hats, caps, or skullcaps. A few have short beards but do not exhibit in their clothes or deportment a pronounced or particularized "Jewish" ethnicity. The title of the painting, once more, contributes a good deal to our perception of the meaning. What of the artist's intentions and the opinions of those, more or less close to him, who sought to explicate them to a broad public?



Max Liebermann, *The Artist's Studio,* 1902. Oil on canvas. 68 x 81 cm. Kunstmuseum St. Gallen. View Source

Mitchell B. Frank in "Max Liebermann: Assimilation and Belonging." (*RACAR: Revue d'art Canadienne / Canadian Art Review* 45, no. 2 (2020): 97–110) writes that

> Liebermann's home on the Pariser Platz, next to the Brandenburg Gate was located in the heart of the city. Diagonally across the square was the Prussian Academy of Arts, where Liebermann served as president from 1920 to 1932. The Pariser Platz was also where the Nazis marched soon after they had gained power in 1933, parades that the artist could have seen through his windows. Liebermann's home thus stood for his integration into German society at one point in time and his expulsion from it at another. In an often-cited letter of February 28, 1934, to Breslau businessman and art collector Carl Sachs, Liebermann lamented his life-long striving for Jewish equality in German society. "We have unfortunately, unfortunately," the eighty-six-year-old artist wrote, "been awoken from the beautiful dream of assimilation." Gershom Scholem later suggested that for assimilated German Jews, "the unending Jewish demand for a home was soon transformed into the ecstatic illusion of being at home." In this paper, I employ Liebermann's Berlin house as a central motif in a discussion of his sense of belonging. Feeling at home for Liebermann, however, involved not only a physical place, but also a socio-cultural position, language, and, especially in his later years, memories of youth.

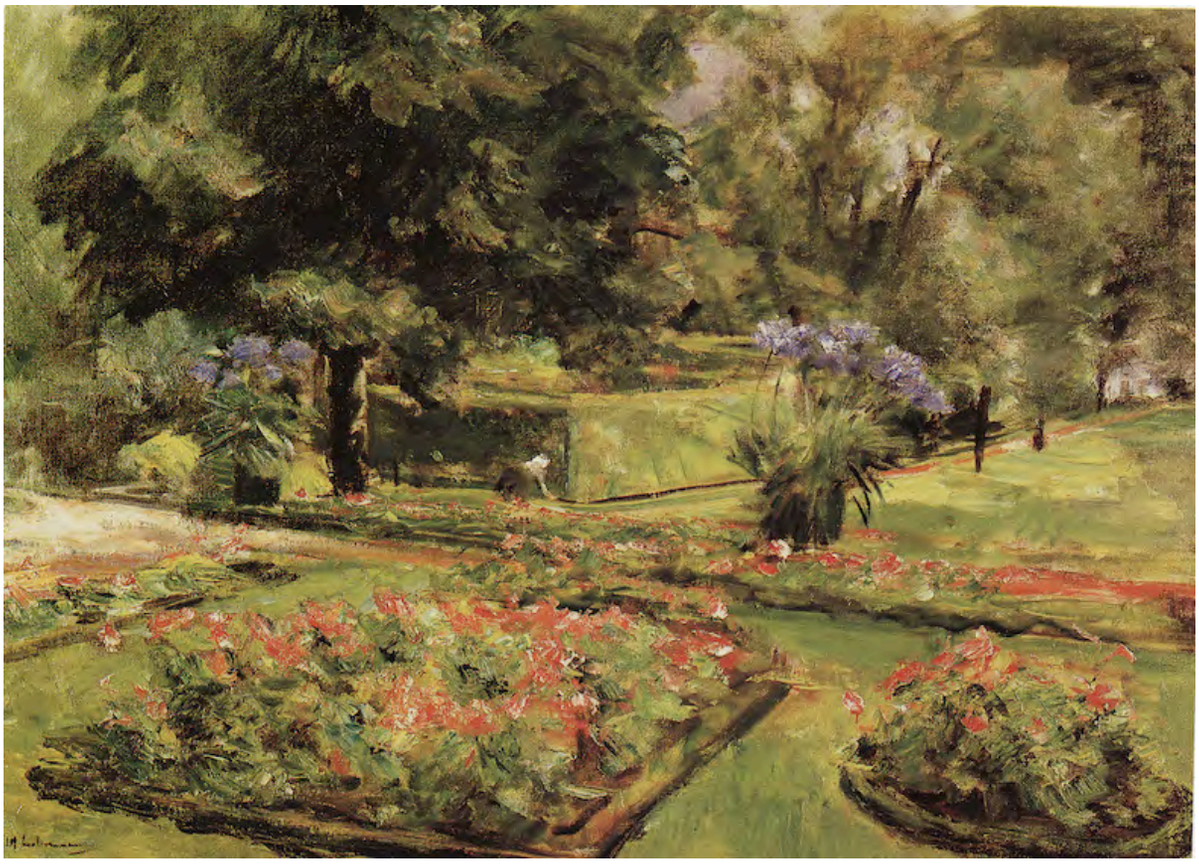
Frank concludes with the following condensed summary of the antisemitic writings about Liebermann, whose critics decided to interpret his artistic production as dangerously Jewish.

> While Liebermann's champions argued for a reading of his painting in German terms, others saw it as explicitly Jewish. Liebermann's realism, which "emanates from purely sensual conditions," according to

anti-Semitic medievalist Josef Strzygowski's 1907 study of modern art, "lies in race." A year earlier, he had stated that "Modern Jewish art, with Liebermann at the head," is "absolutely national" in its development of "this racial characteristic [the Jewish imitation of reality]," .... The link between Liebermann's realism and Judaism was also emphasized by modernist [Jewish] art historian Julius Meier-Graefe in a remarkable passage in the second edition (1915) of his history of modern art. Liebermann's Judaism "has always only helped him," he wrote. "The Jew is a realist out of self-defence ... Take what you have in front of you. Do it alone. You know what you are worth. .. [The Jew] is a brilliant organizer of himself, who always sees the world from where he stands." Meier-Graefe, who may have been thinking as much of his own social and cultural position as Liebermann's, uses a somewhat clichéd representation of Jewish restlessness and cleverness to characterize the painter. The problem for Jewish artists, Meier-Graefe concludes, is that realism is no longer a Jewish doctrine, but has become a "world idea." As such, "it becomes a curse and destroys even the advantage for the Jews. The 'Judaization' becomes just as pernicious to the people, who were originally collaborators with the Jews, as to the Jew himself. With Judaization, racial mixing is of course, not understood. Meier-Graefe's recognition of the problem, or even the impossibility, of assimilation occurred when, as Peter Paret claims, "a new antisemitism openly based on race" was on the rise.



Max Liebermann, *Flower Perennials on Gardener's House,* 1928. Oil on canvas. 53 x 74 cm. Alte Nationalgalerie, Berlin. View Source



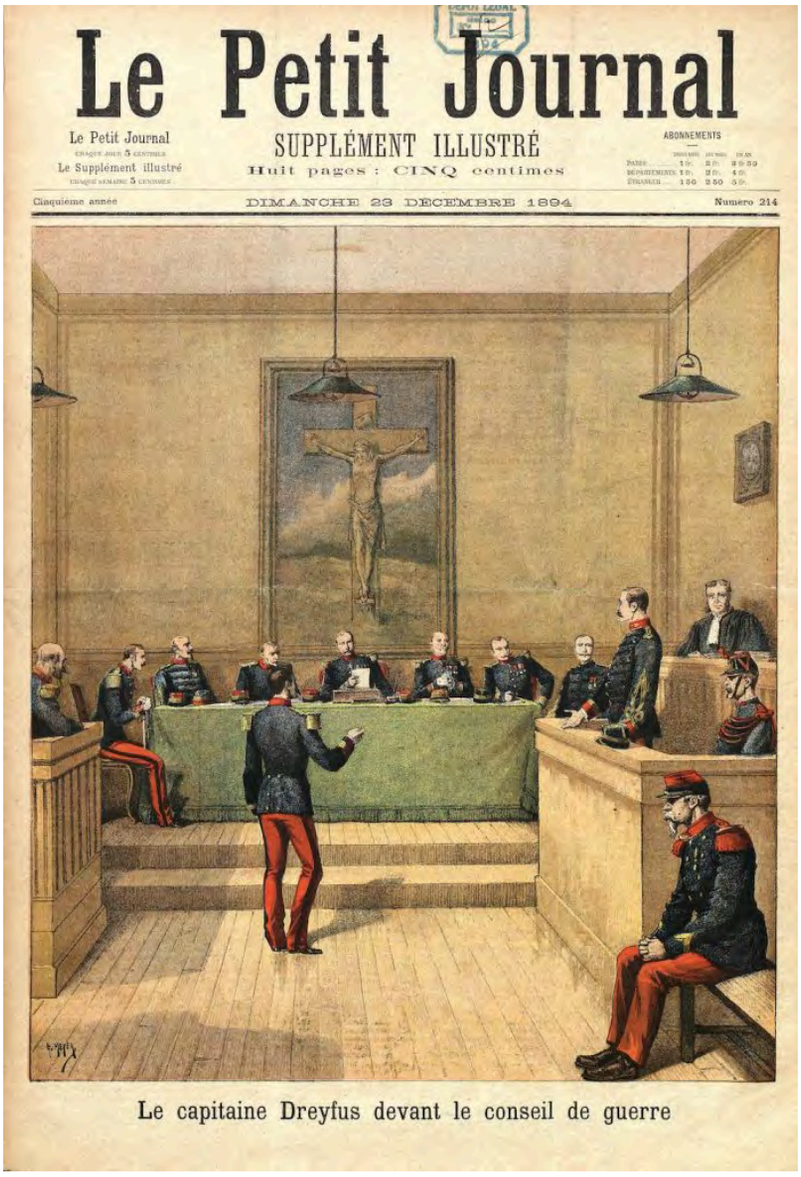
Max Liebermann, *Wannseegarten,* 1926. Oil on canvas. 54 x 75 cm. Kunsthalle in Emden. View Source

In 1933 Hitler was chosen as the German Chancellor. Because of his Jewish background, Liebermann resigned as honorary chairman of the Preußische Akademie der Künste. He then joined the newly established Kulturbund Deutscher Juden which financially supported young Jews who wanted to flee Germany to Palestine. Liebermann was shunned by the German artist community and harassed by the Nazi rulers. He mainly painted his garden in the 1920s and 1930s until his death at 88 in 1935. His wife Martha committed suicide by taking poison at age 85 to avoid being deported to a death camp.

10.10
| The Dreyfus Affair



Aron Gerschel, *Alfred Dreyfus,* ca. 1894. View Source



Henri Meyer, "Le capitaine Dreyfus devant le conseil de guerre," *Le Petit Journal,* December 23, 1894. View Source

On 31 October 1894, the French news agency *Agence* announced the arrest of an officer "suspected of having handed the enemy confidential documents of little importance."

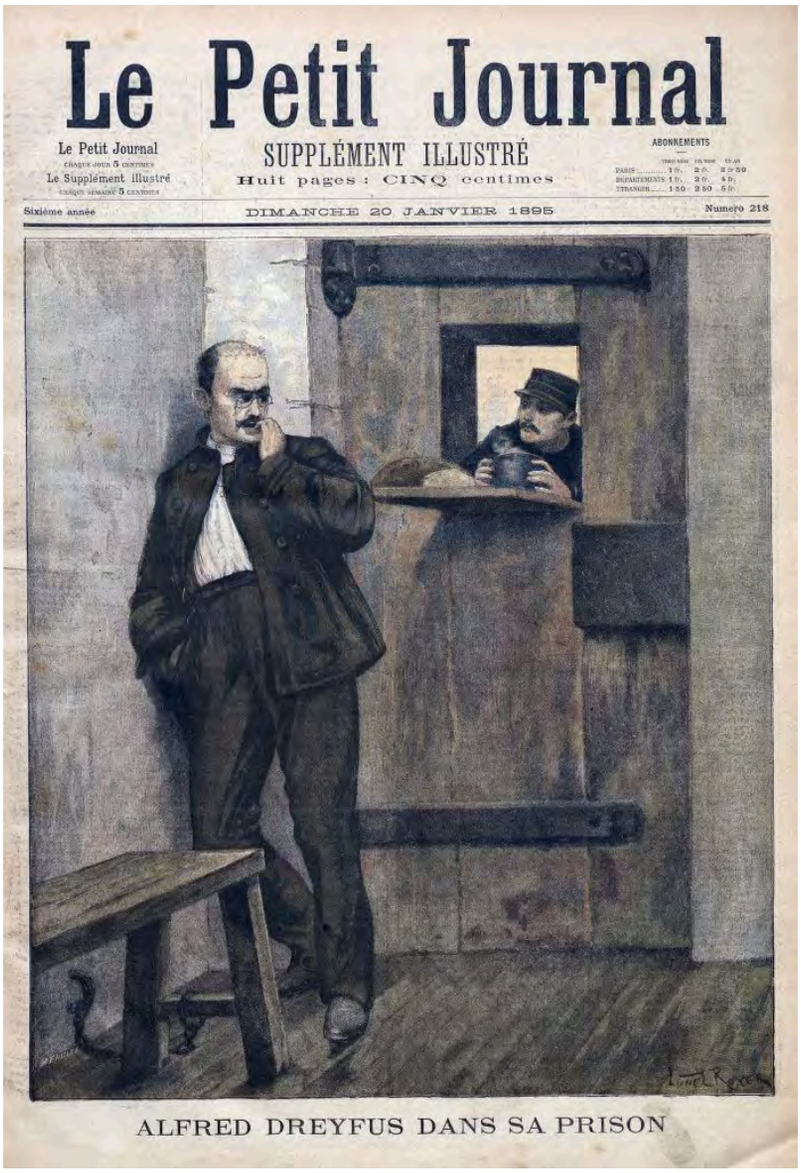


"Le traître, Dégradation d'Alfred Dreyfus," *Le Petit Journal*, January 13, 1895. View Source

The following day, the officer in question was revealed to be Captain Dreyfus, a Jew of Alsatian origin. He was arrested on October 15 on the charge of treason for the crime of dishonouring the French nation by treacherous acts.



Dreyfus on the Devil's Island, 1898. Stereoscopy. View Source



Fortuné Méaulle, after Lionel Royer, "Alfred Dreyfus dans sa prison," *Le Petit Journal,* January 20, 1895. View Source

Tried and found guilty, Dreyfus was condemned to exile in the penal colony known as Devil's Island in February 1895.



Lionel Royer, engraving by Fortuné Méaulle, "La dégradation," *Le Journal Illustré* , 1895. View Source

Sixteen days after condemning Dreyfus as a traitor, a Judas, *La Libre Parole* published a warning to treasonous Jews who "washed in money" that only a bloodbath could expiate their sins. The print caption read: "Jews for us in France, blood alone can get out a stain like that!"

Antisemitism in the 19th century was a rapidly spreading ideology expressed in many forms, ranging from hostile attitudes and stereotypical prejudice to discriminatory acts. This reality was loosely tolerated socially and politically in France, even by Jews, at the end of the century. It was not seen as a dangerous threat.



Cinq Centimes

ERNEST VAUGHAN

L'AURORE

Littéraire, Artistique, Sociale

ERNEST VAUGHAN

J'Accuse...!

LETTRE AU PRÉSIDENT DE LA RÉPUBLIQUE

Par ÉMILE ZOLA

LETTRE
A M. FÉLIX FAURE
Président de la République

Emile Zola, "J'accuse… ! Lettre au Président de la République," *L'Aurore,* January 12, 1898. Musée d'art et d'histoire du Judaïsme, Paris. View Source

Almost two years after Dreyfus' arrest, a trickle of published commentary brought to light the family's repudiation of Dreyfus' guilt. The trickle became a flood.

On 13 January 1898, Emile Zola published "J'accuse," his open letter in the newspaper *L'Aurore* addressed to the president of the Republic. In it, he denounced the injustice committed and accused the French Army of colluding to cover up their mistake. Zola was subsequently tried and found guilty of libel. He fled to England, returning only in January 1899 but "J'accuse" was instrumental in generating public discourse around what became known as the Dreyfus Affair.

Dreyfus was granted a second trial, and although he was once again found guilty the president of the republic pardoned him. He would have to wait until 1906 to be cleared of wrongdoing.



Jean Baptiste Guth, *Caricature of Major Ferdinand Walsin Esterhazy,* 1898. Pencil and watercolour. Vanity Fair, May 26, 1898. View Source

This is even though in 1896 the French army officer Marie-Charles-Ferdinand Walsin Esterhazy was found to be a German spy who had authored the false documents. Esterhazy was tried and acquitted by a military court in January 1898.



Captain Alfred Dreyfus, full-length portrait, standing, facing front, with wife and two children, ca. 1910-1935. Photographic print. Library of Congress, Washington. View Source

The Dreyfus debate was divisive, its tone virulent, antisemitic, scurrilous, and personal. Not all Catholics were anti-Dreyfusards. However, these were the years when the Church conceived of its opponents as literally commanded by Satan, and the devil was now Dreyfus, Cain, who killed his own brother.

Linda Nochlin writes in Degas and the Dreyfus Affair: A Portrait of the Artist as an Anti-semite." (*The Politics of Vision: Essays on Nineteenth-Century Art and Society* (New York: Harper and Row, 1989), 25-50):

> At the time of the Dreyfus affair, many members of the artistic avant-garde took sides: Monet and Pissarro, with their old friend and supporter Zola, were Dreyfusard, or pro-Dreyfus, as were the younger radical artists Luce, Signac, and Vallotton and the American Mary Cassatt; Cézanne, Rodin, Renoir, and Degas were anti-Dreyfusard. Monet, who had been out of touch with Zola for several years, nevertheless wrote to his old friend two days after the appearance of "J'accuse" to congratulate him for his valour and his courage; on 18 January, Monet signed the so-called Manifesto of the Intellectuals on Dreyfus' behalf. Although at the outset of the affair, many anarchists were unfavourably disposed toward Dreyfus—an army officer and wealthy to boot—Pissarro, an ardent anarchist, nevertheless quickly became convinced of his innocence. He, too, wrote to Zola after the appearance of "J'accuse" to congratulate him for his "great courage" and "nobility of … character," signing the letter, "Your old comrade."
>
> Renoir, who managed to keep up with some of his Jewish friends like the Natansons at the height of the affair, nevertheless was both an anti-Dreyfusard and openly anti-Semitic, a position obviously linked to his deep political conservatism and fear of anarchism. Of the Jews, he maintained that there

was a reason for their being kicked out of every country, and asserted that “they shouldn’t be allowed to become so important in France.” He spoke out against his old friend Pissarro, saying that his sons had failed to do their military service because they lacked ties to their country. Earlier, in 1882, he had protested against showing his work with Pissarro, maintaining that “to exhibit with the Jew Pissarro means revolution.”

None of the former Impressionists, however, was as ardently anti-Dreyfusard and, it would seem, as anti-Semitic as Edgar Degas. When a model in Degas’ studio expressed doubt that Dreyfus was guilty, Degas screamed at her “you are Jewish … you are Jewish …” and ordered her to put on her clothes and leave, even though he was told that the woman was actually Protestant. Pissarro, who continued to admire Degas’ work, referred to him in a note to Lucien as “the ferocious anti-Semite.” He later told his friend Signac that since the anti-Semitic incidents of 1898, Degas, and Renoir as well, shunned him.

…

Such anecdotes provide us with a bare indication of the facts concerning vanguard artists and the Dreyfus affair, and they tend to create an oversimplified impression of an extremely complex historical situation. Certainly, there seems to be little evidence in the art of any of these artists, of such essentially political attitudes as antisemitism or Dreyfusard sympathies. Yet there are certain ways of reading the admittedly rather limited visual evidence that can lead to a more sophisticated analysis of the issues involved.

10.11
| Edgar Degas: Other Impressions



Edgar Degas, *At the Stock Exchange,* 1878. Oil on canvas. 100.5 x 81.5 cm. Musée d’Orsay, Paris. View Source

We continue with a summary of Nochlin's article:

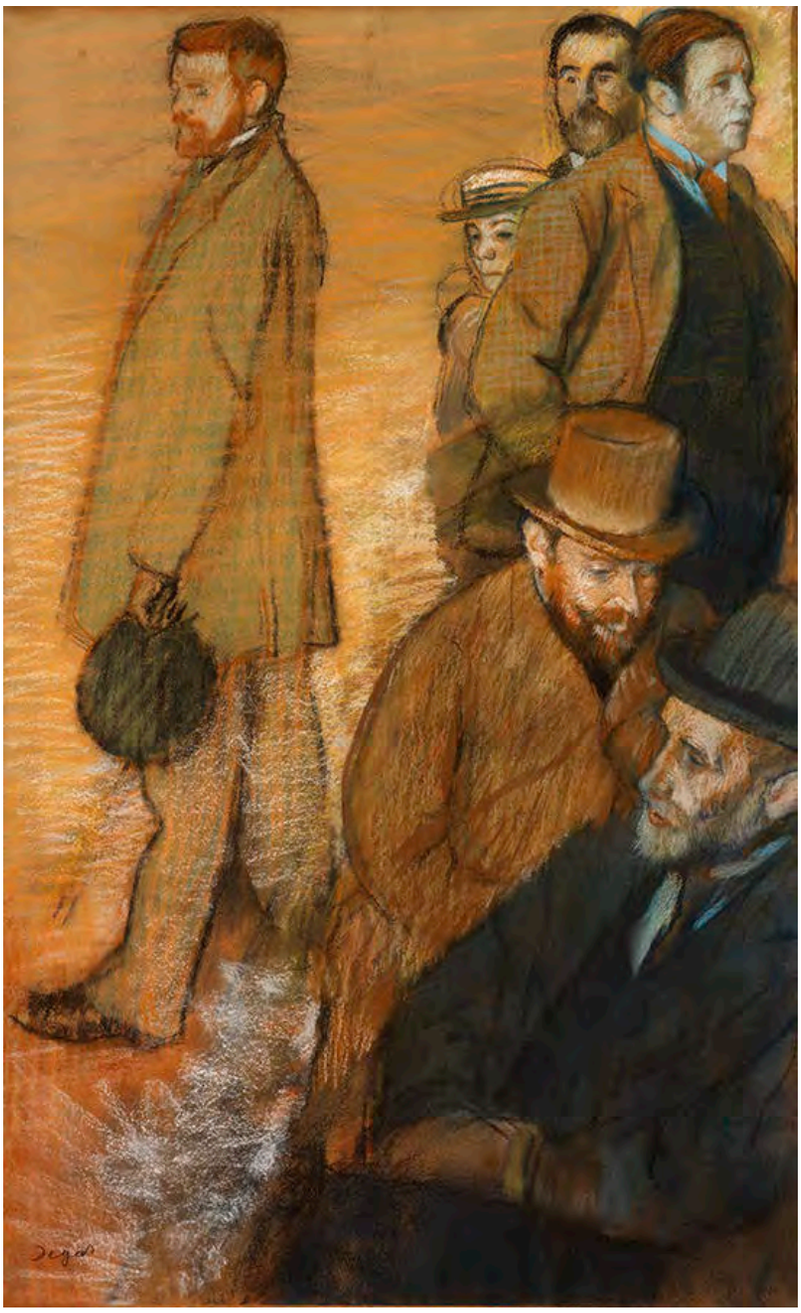
> Degas was an outspoken antisemite, although *At the Bourse* may be the only painting which speaks to his prejudice in its caricaturing. It portrays the Jewish banker, speculator and patron of the arts, Ernest May, on the steps of the stock exchange with another Jewish man. The figures' facial features and gestural articulation suggest their ethnicity in an unflattering way, highlighting the mythology of Jews as financial conspirators.
>
> In the background at the left, an odd couple with "Semitic noses" are pressed together tightly in a narrow space. May's gesture, the half-hidden head tilted to afford greater intimacy, the plump white hand on the slightly raised shoulder, the stiff turn of the head, and the somewhat emphasized ear picking up the tip all suggest the sharing of "insider" information they are privy to, which the spectators (understood to be gentile) are not.
>
> There are echoes of Judas betraying Christ in this connection, except here, both figures signify Judas, and Christ is the French public betrayed by Jewish financial machinations.
>
> Degas's antisemitism, attitudes towards Jews, Jewishness and the Dreyfus Affair are widely documented. Before the Dreyfus affair, Degas displayed tolerance for Jews in his attitude and behaviour; however by 1895, Degas had become a violent nationalist, an uncritical supporter of the army and a vehement and vocal antisemite.



Edgar Degas, *Ludovic Halévy et Albert Boulanger-Cavé dans les coulisses de l'Opéra,* 1878. Pastel and distemper on paper. 79 x 55 cm. Musée d'Orsay, Paris. View Source

The pastel and tempera image of Ludovic Halévy, the artist's boyhood friend and constant companion, writer, librettist, and man about town, depicts him in conversation backstage at the opera. There is an intimacy in the interaction, which centers on Halévy, silhouetted against the brilliance of a yellowish-green backdrop and an easy nonchalance as he leans against his furled umbrella. Degas betrays a sympathetic connection between himself as a middle-aged artist and the equally middle-aged Halévy. Halévy's figure establishes a sense of world-weariness.

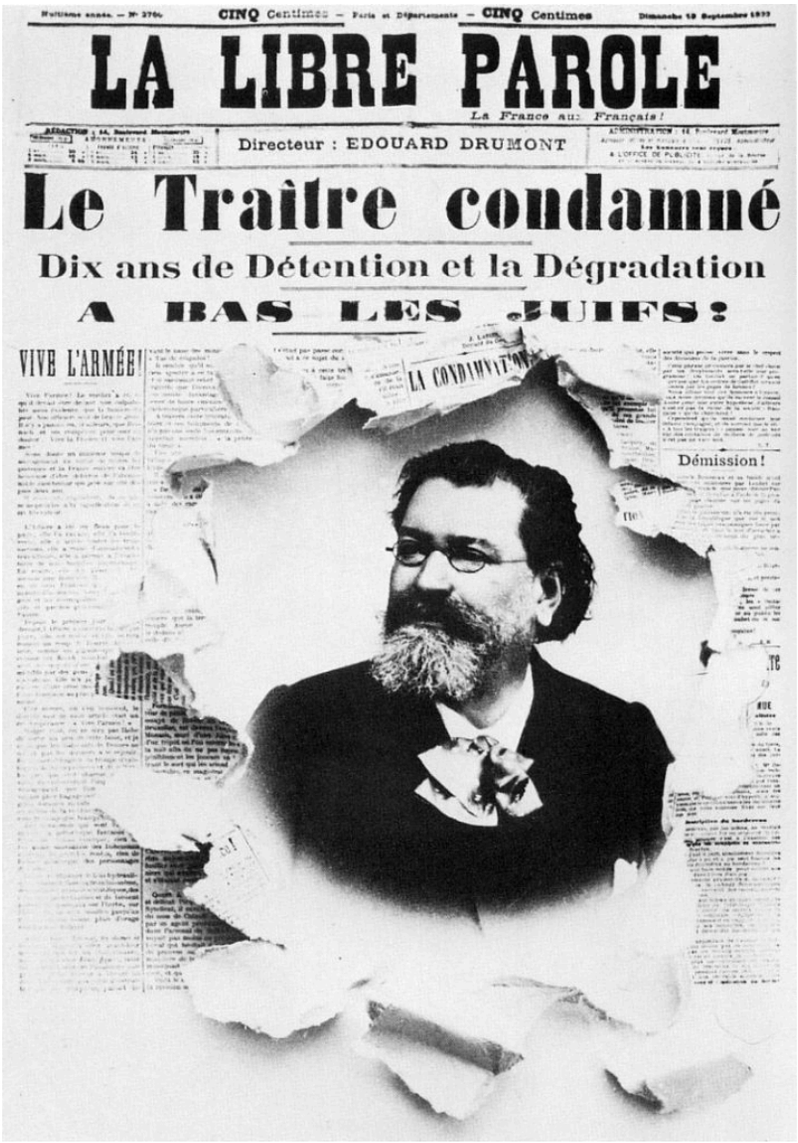
Halévy was a Jew, a convert to Catholicism but still a Jew. No one looking at this sympathetic, indeed empathetic portrait,



Edgar Degas, *Six Friends at Dieppe,* 1885. Pastel on paper (not yellowed) mounted on fabric. 114.9 x 71.1 cm. Rhode Island School of Design Museum, Providence. View Source

or this one, which shows Halévy, among other friends of Degas' at the beach, would guess that Degas was (or would become) an anti-Semite and virulent anti-Dreyfusard. Within ten years, Degas would pay his last visit to Halévy's home, which had been like his own for many years. He would not return except briefly upon Halévy's death.

Degas surrounded himself with extreme anti-Dreyfusards and had his maid Zoé read aloud at the breakfast table from Drumont's La Libre Parole, a newspaper devoted to antisemitism launched by Eduard Drumont, a shy, brooding publicist. The newspaper was buoyed by a tide of anti-Jewish feeling and had reached an unusually high circulation of 200,000 at the time of Dreyfus' arrest

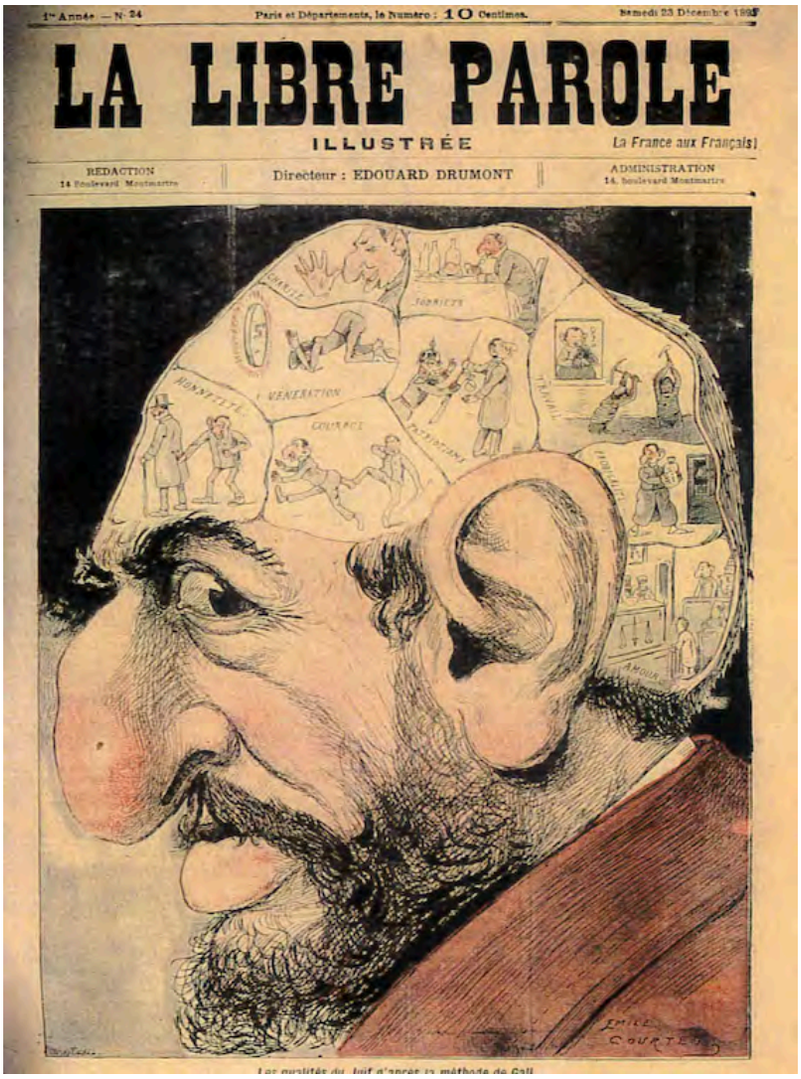


"Le traître condamné. Dix ans de detention et la degradation. À bas les Juifs!" *La Libre Parole,* September 10, 1899. Bibliothèque historique de la ville de Paris. View<



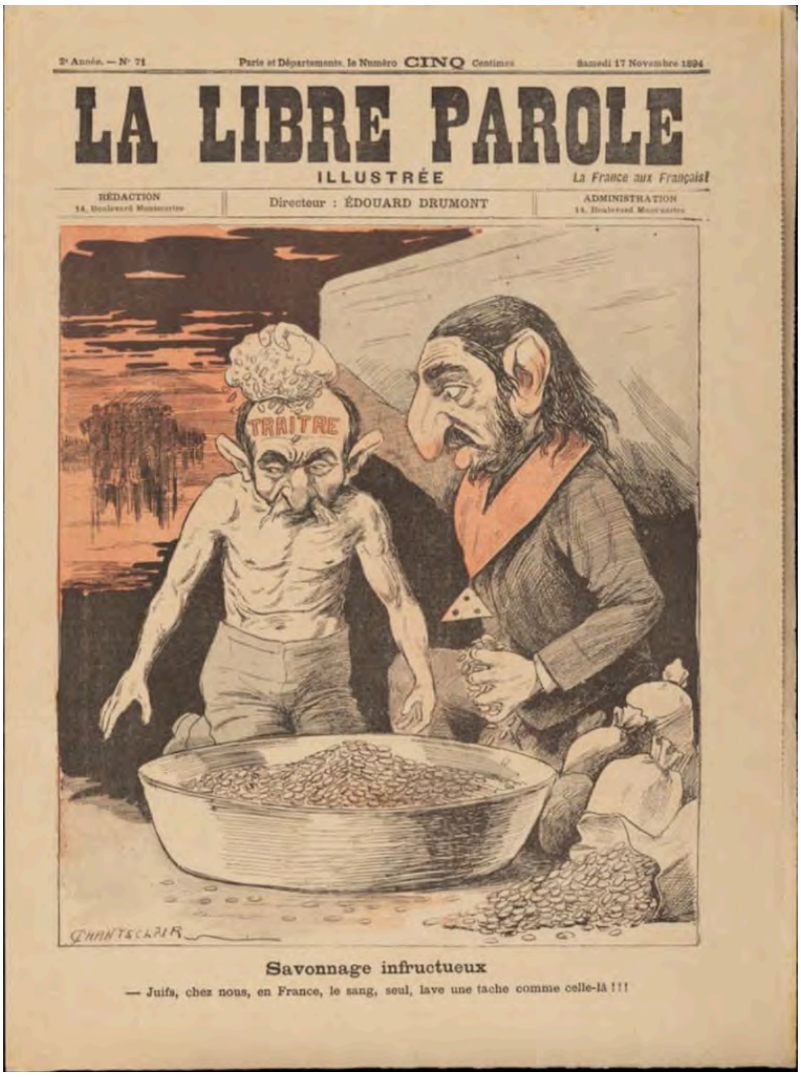
Jules Chéret, *La France juive*, 1886. View Source

A Catholic and republican, Drumont was also the author of a sensational two-volume work called *La France juive* (Jewish France) in 1886. Drumont fervently believed that France's economic recession of the 1880s was owed to the scheming and predatory Jewish race.



Émile Courtet, *Les qualités du Juif d'apès la méthode de Gall (Jewish Virtues According to Gall's Method), La libre parole illustrée,* December 23, 1893. Photomechanical print on paper. Jewish Museum, New York, 1990–189. View Source

In one illustration entitled *Jewish Virtues According to Gall's Method,* the paper claimed to depict Jewish virtues which infest the Jewish mind. Courage to a Jew is kicking another; veneration is money idolatry; work is watching others work; love is prostitution; and charity is none.



Chanteclair. *Fruitless Soaping,* 1894. Photomechanical print, *La libre parole illustré,* November 17, 1894. View Source

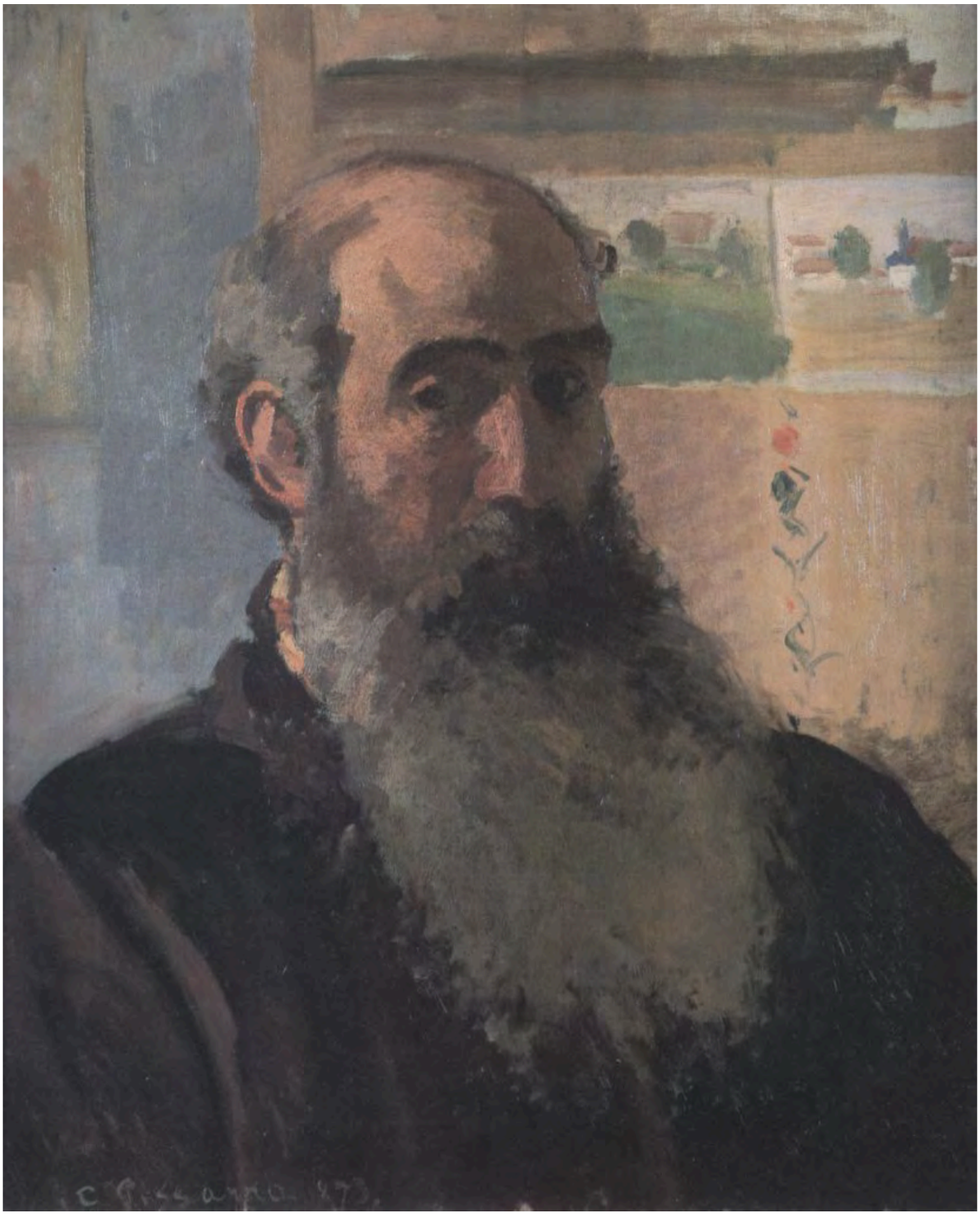
La Libre Parole was overt in its messaging; statements such as "for God, the Nation and the extermination of the Jews,"; "French honour against Jewish gold,"; "do you not wish that vivisection were practised on Jews rather than on harmless rabbits?" were published without restraint. Following its claim that Dreyfus was a traitor, *La Libre Parole* warned other treasonous Jews awash in money that only a bloodbath would expiate their sins. The caption below Chanteclair's illustration, *Fruitless Soaping,* reads: "Jews for us in France, blood alone can get out a stain like that!"



Cham (Amédée de Noé), *La peinture impressionniste,* 1894. Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris. View Source

Before the Dreyfus affair, Degas had what might be called a pro-Jewish attitude. His intimate friends and acquaintances were often Jewish, including Pissarro, with whom he exhibited and whose paintings he was among the first to purchase. In fact, Degas's attitude did not manifest itself in open hostility, nor did it take on a coherent ideology of antisemitism until the Dreyfus Affair.

10.12
| Camille Pissarro. Outsider Impressionist?



Camille Pissarro. *Self-Portrait,* 1873. Oil on canvas. Musée d'Orsay, Paris, France. View Source

Pissarro was a Caribbean Jew, but his work did not ascribe to traditional Jewish iconography like Liebermann. While he would sit shiva when a family member died and observe the holiday of Yom Kippur, his purpose was not to depict Jewish subject matter. Pissarro never denied his Jewish ancestry, but his works never reflected his background, nor did he picture Jewish biblical themes or rituals. He regarded his rejection of academic art for the avant-garde style of Impressionism, and his rejection of Judaism, as expressions of his freethinking progressive philosophy and his commitment to anarchism. In his lifetime, Pissarro succeeded in actively impacting the Parisian avant-garde, forging a path for artists generally who aspired to the democratic ideal and expected their works to be judged on artistic merit alone.



Camille Pissarro, *Two Women Chatting by the Sea, St. Thomas,* 1856. Oil on canvas. 27.7 x 41 cm. National Gallery of Art, Washington. View Source

The roots of Caribbean Jewishness date from the era of plantation slavery when the Sephardic Jews were expelled from Spain and Portugal. Pissarro grew up in Jamaica, in St. Thomas' Jewish community and was educated by Protestant missionaries at the only extant school on the isle. His birth certificate records his name as Jacob Pizarro, son of Abraham Pizarro and Rachel Petit, but he assumed the name of Camille Pissarro, son of Frederic.



Camille Pissarro, *Landscape with Farm Buildings and Palm Trees,* 1856. Oil on cardboard. 24.8 x 32.7 cm. National Art Gallery, Caracas. View Source

Pissarro's drawings and sketches of local life in St Thomas and later Venezuela mark his early interest in art. After his move to France in 1855, he started working these local subjects into finished paintings. Pissarro arrived in Paris when the Universal Exposition was underway, allowing him to engage with contemporary art directly. The following year he began attending private classes at the Ecole des Beaux-Arts, later registering as a copyist at the Louvre. At the free studio of the Académie Suisse, he met the future arists Impressionists with whom he would become affiliated, including Claude Monet and Paul Cezanne.

Stephanie Rachum writes in *Camille Pissarro's Jewish Identity* (in *Camille Pissarro: Impressionist Innovator* (Jerusalem: The Israel Museum, 1994) about his early interactions in Paris within the context of his outsider status as an artist of Jewish descent:

> In the late seventies, the Impressionists' meeting place in Paris was the Cafe ́de la Nouvelle-Atheńes, on the Place Pigalle. The writer George Moore was one of the regulars. Of Pissarro he wrote: "No one was kinder than Pissarro. He would always take the trouble to explain to the students from the Beaux-Arts why Jules Lefebvre was not a great master of drawing. Pissarro was a wise and appreciative Jew, and he looked like Abraham; his beard was white and his hair was white and he was bald, though at the time he could not have been much more than fifty."
>
> Another, less kind reference to Pissarro as the archetype of an Old Testament Jew, was made by Fellicien Champsaur who wrote that he resembled, "with his bald forehead, his spiritual eyes under black eyebrows, Abraham in an opera- bouffe with his long hoary beard." Yet others greeted him with "Hail to Moses" when he arrived.
>
> ...
>
> Pissarro never denied his origins, but there were times when it seemed that being designated an outsider troubled him and his confidence was shaken. During the wrangling over the 1882 Impressionist

> exhibition, Renoir's brother made some unpleasant remarks. In this regard Pissarro wrote to his good friend Claude Monet: "Do you know, my dear Monet, that the younger brother of Renoir is really insufferable, not that his complete nonsense has any effect on me … It seems that I am a prime schemer without talent, a mercenary Jew, playing underhanded tricks … It is so absurd that I pay no attention to it, only the dangerous aspect of it is the dispute he stirs up, the discord he tries to provoke…Is it because I am an intruder in the group?"

Pissarro was a lifelong Impressionist, radical in his views, with a profound belief in human equality. His principles informed his early work, particularly his paintings of the lower classes, whom he imbued with human dignity.

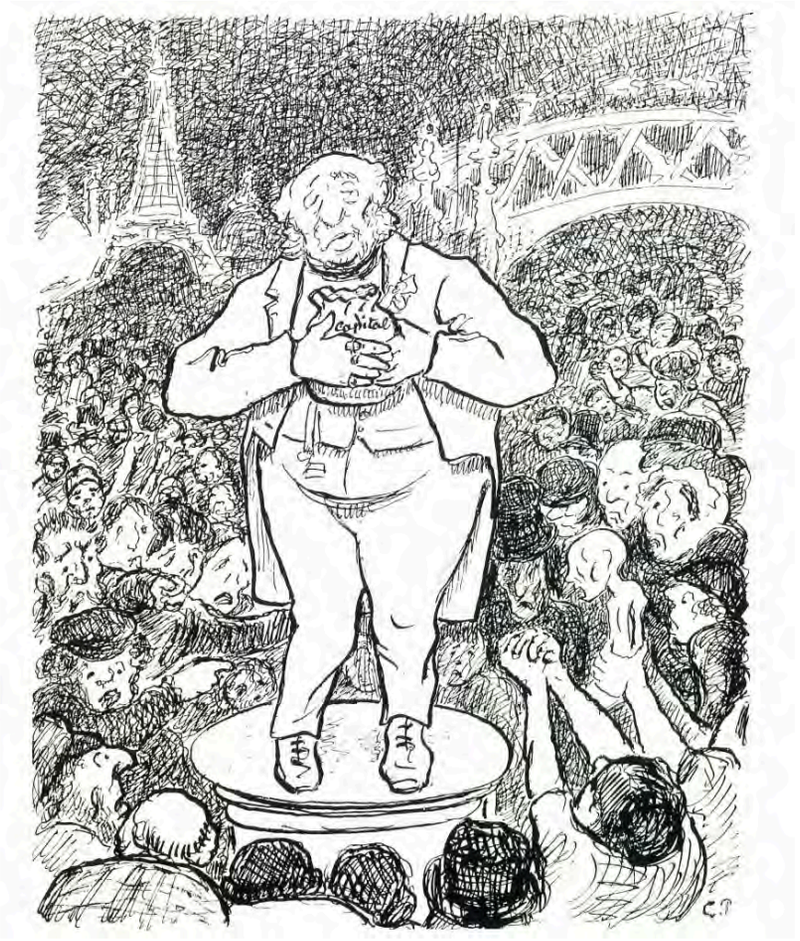
Impressionism, for Pissarro represented social progress, political radicalism, individualism, and a belief in science. He adhered to progressive ideology and believed in innate human goodness and its vulnerability to repressive social regimes and prejudice.



Camille Pissarro, *Poultry Market at Gisors*, 1885. Tempera and pastel on paper mounted on wood. 82.2 x 82.2 cm. Museum of Fine Art, Boston. View Source

Early works such as *Poultry Market at Gisors* demonstrate his interest in ordinary life and themes of labour. The peasant women here are in a busy marketplace; the scene is rife with mundane movement, a sharp

contrast to the topos of peasants labouring in a field. His focus on the country woman as an individuated force in contemporary economic life rather than as a generalized icon of timeless toil. Pissarro objected to the interference of the state and church in the lives of common people and was angered by the rising levels of poverty caused by industrialization. His works reflected his attitude in



Camille Pissarro, *C'est la guerre des dépossédes contre les dépossesseurs, Turpitudes sociales,* 1889-1890. Pen and brown ink over graphite drawings on paper pasted in an album, 12 1/4 x 24 cm. Collection of Jean Bonna, Geneva. View Source

In 1889-90, Pissarro created a series of thirty pen and ink drawings critiquing capitalist society. They were intended for his nieces Esther and Alice Isaacson as a caution about the horrors of modern capitalistic society. The sheets were bound within a cover designed by Pissarro's eldest son, Lucien. Entitled *Turpitudes sociales*—translated roughly as "social disgraces" the works are significant in their overt expression of Pissarro's political beliefs. They also stand out in his oeuvre for their antisemitic imagery.

The drawing entitled *The Capital* represents a highly caricatured statue of a fat Jewish banker, highlighting the prominent nose, protruding ears, thick lips, slack potbelly, and soft hands, and the knock-knees that were stereotypical of a capitalist Jew.



Camille Pissarro, *The New Idolators,* Late 19th Century. Ink on paper. 32.7 × 25.1 cm. Denver Art Museum. *Burlington Magazine* 158, no. 1360 (2016): 550. View Source

In *The Golden Calf*, a crowd in front of the Paris Bourse watches the calf borne along in a procession. It is carried by four top-hatted capitalists, again bearing grotesquely exaggerated Jewish-looking features. Several long-nosed attendants follow behind the cortege. A group of working-class figures with awed expressions observes the scene. Writing to his nieces, Pissarro explains: "the statue is the golden calf, the God Capital. In a word, it represents the divinity of the day in a portrait of a Boschoftheim, of an Oppenheim, of a Rothschild, of a Gould, whatever. It is without distinction, vulgar and ugly."

Richard Thomson in "Camille Pissarro's 'Turpitudes Sociales' Revisited, Part II: Anarchism, Antisemitism and Adolphe Willette" (*The Burlington Magazine* 158, no. 1360 (2016): 547-51) expands upon the series within the context of French antisemitism of the 1880s:

> The *Turpitudes sociales* album was thus more than propaganda for a certain kind of evolutionary anarchism, privately circulated within the Pissarro family. It dealt with topics such as capitalism —for anarchists a corrosive force —and also the role of Jews within capitalism, a less obvious target, given not only the racial identity of both Pissarro and the discrete public of Jewish family and friends for his drawings, but also because of the virulence of antisemitism in populist French nationalism during the late 1880s. This is perhaps not as surprising as it seems. Both the anarchist left and anti-Semitic right could find common cause.

In a letter to his niece Esther Isaacson on May 1, 1889, Pissarro suggested that his lack of acceptance as a painter was related to his ethnicity, "...a matter of race, probably. Until now, no Jew has made art here, or rather no Jew has searched to make a disinterested and truly felt art. I believe that this could be one of the causes of my bad luck."

However, attitudes toward Judaism did impact Pissarro after the Dreyfus Affair. The event created a rift amongst the French Impressionist painters with Monet and Pissarro supporting the falsely accused officer, while Renoir, Degas, and Paul Durand-Ruel, their dealer, expressing their antisemitism publicly and privately.

Saul Jay Singer explains further in the article *The Four Seminal Jewish Events in the Life of Camille Pissarro*. (*Jewish Press* August 3, 2022). (https://www.jewishpress.com/sections/features/features-on-jewish-world/the-four-seminal-jewish-events-in-the-life-of-camille-pissarro/2022/08/03/)

> The Impressionists had always differed in their political and social opinions, but their varying attitudes toward France's Jewish population proved to be the most divisive issue.
>
> Ironically, Pissarro had been estranged from Emile Zola because of the latter's criticism of Impressionism, but he now became a great supporter and frequent correspondent in the wake of the Dreyfus Affair. The first substantive defection from the Impressionist movement occurred when the deeply prejudiced Pierre-Auguste Renoir broke off all contact with Jews, ended his relationships with Jewish patrons, and refused to exhibit his work alongside Pissarro.
>
> Paul Cézanne, who had always referred to himself as "Pissarro's pupil," cut off all relations with his "dear Jewish friend." But the greatest blow came from Edgar Degas, one of his greatest supporters, a savage and cold-blooded antisemite who summarily severed his friendship with him. In a February 11, 1898, diary entry, Paul Signac, a French Neo-Impressionist who was a leading initiator of the pointillist style, confirmed that "'Pissarro tells me that the antisemitic Degas and Renoir shun him and no longer greet him. What can be taking place in the minds of such intelligent men that leads them to become so stupid?"

As Nochlin succinctly put it, "One must conclude that although Degas was indeed an extraordinary artist, a brilliant innovator, and one of the most important figures in the artistic vanguard of the 19th century, he was a perfectly ordinary anti-Semite." She continues,

> To comprehend the mechanisms of Degas' antisemitism, one must conceive of the processes of displacement and condensation taking place on the level of the political unconscious functioning in a manner not dissimilar to those of the dreamwork on the level of the individual psyche, processes in which contradictory elements can be effortlessly amalgamated, painful conflicts torn asunder and safely kept apart. The sleep of reason produces monsters, and "The Jew" was produced in the sleep of Enlightenment ideals of reason and truth and justice, in the minds of 19th-century anti-Semites like Degas, secure in the knowledge that most of their more outrageous aggression-fantasies would be fulfilled on the level of text rather than in practice. Text is the key word here. For it was editors, columnists, and pamphleteers who constructed the anti-Semitic identity of men like Degas. Without the discourse of the popular press books, pamphlets, and journals, some of it to be sure with high claims to "intellectual distinction" and "scientific objectivity," which formulated and stimulated it, Degas' antisemitism would

be unthinkable. It was at the level of the printed word that antisemitism, flowing from, yet at the same time fueling the fantasies of the individual psyche, achieved a social existence and took a collective form.

There was a specific aspect of Degas' situation in the world that might have made him particularly susceptible to the anti-Semitic ideology of his time: what might be called his "status anxiety." According to Stephen Wilson: "The French anti-Semites' attacks on social mobility, and their ideal of a fixed social hierarchy, suggest that such an interpretation applies to them, particularly when these ideological features are set beside the marginal situation of many of the movement's supporters." Degas was precisely such a "marginal" figure in the social world of the late 19th century and had ample reason, by the decade of the '90s, to be worried about his status.



Edgar Degas, *René-Hilaire Degas, Grandfather of the Artist,* ca. 1856-57. Etching and drypoint in blackish-brown on ivory laid paper. 33 x 24.5 cm. Art Institute of Chicago. View Source

Historically, Degas has been regarded as the product of an aristocratic family. In fact, the Degas family fortune derives from agricultural speculation during the Revolution, when food shortages were extreme. His grandfather was also a money changer, first in Paris, later in the Levant, and also a banker and real estate operator in Naples. Nochlin continues," In other words, the Degas family moved up in the world by precisely the same questionable means Jews were accused of employing: speculation and money changing. Neither did Degas possess the "pure" French blood or the age-old roots in the French soil valorized by Drumont, Barres, and the ultranationalists."

Nochlin asks and answers the question, "What effect did Degas' antisemitism have on his art?"

> Little or none. With rare exceptions, one can no more read Degas' political position out of his art, in the sense of pointing to specific signifiers of anti-Jewish feeling within it, than one can read a consistent antisemitism out of Pissarro's use of stereotypically Jewish figures to personify capitalist greed and exploitation in the *Turpitudes Sociales* drawings. In Pissarro's case, it was simply that no other visual signs worked so effectively and with such immediacy to signify capitalism as the hook nose and pot belly of the stereotypical Jew. There is, of course, always something repugnant about such representations, as there is always something suspect in representations in which women are used to signify vices like sin or lust, because in such representations there is inevitably a slippage between signifier and signified, and we tend to read the image as "all Jews are piggish capitalists" or "all women are seductive wantons" instead of reading it in a purely allegorical way.
>
> The representation of antisemitism was a critical issue in the work of neither Pissarro nor Degas. In general, the subjects to which they devoted themselves did not involve the representation of Jews at all. By the time of the Dreyfus affair, Degas had more or less completely abandoned the contemporary themes that had marked his production from the late 1860s through the early 1880s, a period when, of all the Impressionists, he had been "mostly deeply involved in the representation of modern urban life," to borrow the words of Theodore Reff.



Toulouse Lautrec, *La revue blanche,* 1896. Poster. View Source

Degas, in his last years, when the storm of the Dreyfus affair had subsided, seems to have drawn back to some degree from overt antisemitism, although the evidence is equivocal. And according to Thadée Natanson, publisher of *La Revue Blanche*, Degas' voice trembled with emotion whenever he had to pronounce Pissarro's name.

When his old friend Madame Ganderax complimented him in front of one of his paintings, saying "Bravo Degas! This is the Degas we love, not the Degas of the affair," Degas, without blinking an eyelash, replied "Madame, it is the whole Degas who wishes to be loved." He was implying, with a touch of bitter humor, that one could not love the artist without loving the anti-Dreyfusard as well.



Camille Pissarro, *The Cabbage Field, Pontoise,* 1873. Oil on canvas. 60 x 80 cm. Museo Nacional Thyssen-Bornemisza, Madrid. View Source

> This is of course not the case. One can separate the biography from the work, and Degas has made it easy for us by keeping, with rare exceptions, his politics—and his antisemitism—out of his art. Unless, of course, one decides it is impossible to look at his images in the same way once one knows about his politics, feeling that his antisemitism somehow pollutes his pictures, seeping into them in some ineffable way and changing their meaning, their very existence as signifying systems. But this would be to make the same ludicrous error Degas himself did when he maintained that he had only thought Pissarro's "Peasants Planting Cabbage" an excellent painting before the Dreyfus affair; Degas at least had the good grace to laugh at his own lack of logic in that instance.

This comment by Degas touches upon (albeit twistedly) an essential aspect of the study *Creating the Modern*: *Intersections of Art and Society in the Nineteenth Century*, that of context. An examination such as this which surveys aspects of art-making, dissemination and reception within a circumscribed context, inevitably acknowledges the significance of historical and individual perspectives. The nascent ideologies and aesthetic advancements between 1860 and 1900 set art on a path to modernism that cannot be separated from social circumstances. It began a narrative of change and transformation that will continue to evolve and morph through shifting frameworks and political reforms.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Adams, Steven. " 'The fault of being purely French': The Practice and Theory of Landscape Painting in Post-Revolutionary France." *Art History* 36, no. 4 (September 2013): 740–767.

Albert, Nicole G. *Lesbian Decadence: Representations in Art and Literature of Fin-de-Siècle France*. Translated by Nancy Erber, and William Peniston. New York: Harrington Park Press, 2016.

Alexander, Robert L. "Courbet and Assyrian Sculpture." *Art Bulletin* 47, no. 4 (December 1965): 447–452.

Allan, Scott C. " 'A Pretty Piece of Painting': Gauguin's *Arii Matamoe*." *Getty Research Journal*, no. 4 (2012): 75–90.

Alley, Ronald. "Emile Bernard. Amsterdam, Van Gogh Museum." *Burlington Magazine* 133, no. 1056 (1991): 214–16.

Anassoglou-Kallmyer, Nina. " 'Le Grand Tout': Monet on Belle-Île and the Impulse toward Unity." *The Art Bulletin* 97, no. 3 (2015): 323–41.

Anger, Karin. "Truth To (His) Nature: Judaism in The Art of Simeon Solomon." *Constellations*, 9 no. 2 (2018). (https://doi.org/10.29173/cons29349)

Apter, Emily. "The Garden of Scopic Perversion from Monet to Mirbeau." *October* 47 (1988): 91–115.

Armstrong, Carol M. "Facturing Femininity: Manet's *Before the Mirror*." *October* 74 (Autumn 1995): 74–04.

—. *Manet Manette*. Princeton: Yale University Press, 2002.

—. *Odd Man Out: Readings of the Work and Reputation of Edgar Degas*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1991.

Athanassoglou-Kallmyer, Nina. "Géricault's Severed Heads and Limbs: The Politics and Aesthetics of the Scaffold." *Art Bulletin* 74, no. 4 (December 1992): 599–618.

Baas, Jacquelynn. "Edouard Manet and *Civil War*." *Art Journal* 45, no. 1 (Spring 1985): 36–42.

Baas, Jacquelynn. *Smile of the Buddha: Eastern Philosophy and Western Art from Monet to Today*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2005.

Bailey, Colin B. *Renoir, Impressionism, and Full-length Painting*. New York: The Frick Collection; New Haven: in association with Yale University Press, 2012.

Bailey, Martin. "Gauguin's Clogs." *Burlington Magazine* 152, no. 1289 (2010): 540–43.

Bann, Stephen. *Distinguished Images: Prints in the Visual Economy of 19th century France*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2013.

—. *Parallel Lines: Printmakers, Painters and Photographers in Nineteenth-century France*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2001.

—. " 'When I Was a Photographer': Nadar and History." *History and Theory* 48, no. 4 (December 2009): 95–111.

Barbour, Daphne. "Degas's *Little Dancer*: Not Just a Study in the Nude." *Art Journal* 54, no. 2 (Summer 1995): 28–32.

Bareau, Juliet Wilson. *Manet, Monet, and the Gare Saint-Lazare*. Washington: National Gallery of Art; New Haven: Yale University Press, 1998.

Bashkirtseff, Marie. *Marie Bashkirtseff*: *The Journal of a Young Artist: 1860-1884*. London: Virago Press, 1985.

Baudelaire, Charles. “The Modern Public and Photography.” In *Classic Essays in Photography*, edited by Alan Trachtenberg, 83–90. Sedgwick: Leete’s Island Books, 1981.

—. “The Painter of Modern Life.” In *The Painter of Modern Life and Other Essays*. London: Phaidon, 1963. http://www.columbia.edu/itc/architecture/ockman/pdfs/dossier_4/Baudelaire.pdf

—. “The Painter of Modern Life — Modernity. [1863]” Translated excerpt reprinted in *Modern Art and Modernism: A Critical Anthology*, edited by Francis Frascina, and Charles Harrison. New York: Routledge, 1982.

Beaulieu, Jill, and Mary Roberts, eds. *Orientalism’s Interlocutors: Painting, Architecture, Photography.* Durham: Duke University Press, 2002.

Beeny, Emily A. “Christ and the Angels: Manet, the Morgue, and the Death of History Painting?” *Representations* 122, no. 1 (Spring 2013): 51–82.

Benjamin, Roger. “Ingres Chez Les Fauves.” *Art History* 23, no.5 (2000): 743–771.

Berger, Maurice, et al. *Masterworks of The Jewish Museum*. New York: The Jewish Museum, 2004.

Bergman-Carton, Janis. *The Woman of Ideas in French Art, 1830-1848.* New Haven: Yale University Press, 1995.

Berman, Patricia G. “Edvard Munch’s Self-Portrait with Cigarette: Smoking and the Bohemian Persona.” *Art Bulletin* 75, no. 4 (1993): 627–646.

Berman, Russell A. *Cultural Studies of Modern Germany: History, Representation, and Nationhood* . Madison, WI: University of Wisconsin Press, 1993.

Bernardi, Claire. “Iteration and Invention in Gauguin’s Paintings.” In *Gauguin: Artist as Alchemist*, edited by Gloria Groom, 56–63. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2017.

Bernheimer, Charles. “Degas’s Brothels: Voyeurism and Ideology.” *Representations*, no. 20 (Autumn, 1987): 158–186.

Bernier, R.R. “The Subject and Painting: Monet’s ‘Language of the Sketch.’” *Art History* 12, no. 3 (1989): 298–321.

Berrong, Richard M. “The Trials of Love and Art for an Impressionist Painter: Monet and Pierre Loti’s Iceland Fisherman.” *Nineteenth-Century Contexts: An Interdisciplinary Journal* 35, no. 4 (2013): 343–362.

Boggs, Jean S. “Edgar Degas and the Bellellis.” *Art Bulletin* 37, no. 2 (June 1955): 127–136.

Bohrer, Frederick N. “Inventing Assyria: Exoticism and Reception in Nineteenth-Century England and France.” *Art Bulletin* 80, no. 2 (June 1998): 336–356.

Boime, Albert. *The Academy and French Painting in the Nineteenth Century*. London: Phaidon, 1971.

—. *Art and the French Commune: Imagining Paris after War and Revolution.* Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1995.

—. *Art in an Age of Civil Struggle, 1848-1871*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2007.

—. “Portraying Monomaniacs to Service the Alienist’s Monomania: Géricault and Georget.” *Oxford Art Journal* 14, no. 1 (1991): 79–91.

—. *Revelation of Modernism: Responses to Cultural Crises in Fin-de-Siècle Painting*. Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 2008.

Bomford, David. “Rough Manners: Reflections on Courbet and Seventeenth-Century Painting.” Papers from the Symposium *Looking at the Landscapes: Courbet and Modernism*. Held at the J. Paul Getty Museum on March 18, 2006. J. Paul Getty Trust, 2007.

Borowitz, Helen O. “Youth as Metaphor and Image in Wedekind, Kokoschka, and Schiele.” *Art Journal* 33, no. 3 (Spring 1974): 219–225.

Bourdieu, Pierre. *Manet: A Symbolic Revolution.* Cambridge: Polity Press, 2017.

—. *The Rules of Art: Genesis and Structure of the Literary Field.* Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1996.

Bowen, Anne McElroy. "Munch and Agoraphobia: His Art and His Illness." *RACAR: Revue d'art canadienne / Canadian Art Review* 15, no. 1 (1988): 23–50.

Brennecke, Mishoe. "Double Début: Édouard Manet and *The Execution of Maximilian* in New York and Boston, 1879-80," *Nineteenth-Century Art Worldwide* 3, no. 2 (Autumn 2004), http://www.19thc-artworldwide.org/autumn04/
296–double-debut-edouard-manet-and-the-execution-of-maximilian-in-new-york-and-boston-1879-80

Bretell, Richard R. "Gauguin: New York." *Burlington Magazine* 156, no. 1336 (2014): 482–84.

—. *Impression: Painting Quickly in France, 1860-1890.* New Haven: Yale University Press in association with the Sterling and Francine Clark Art Institute, 2000.

—. "Monet's Haystacks Reconsidered." *Art Institute of Chicago Museum Studies* 11, no. 1 (Autumn 1984): 4–21.

Breuer, Karin. *Japanesque: The Japanese Print in the Era of Impressionism*. DelMonico Books; Prestel, 2010.

Brevern, Jan von. "Resemblance after Photography." *Representations* 123, no. 1 (Summer 2013): 1–22.

Brilliant, Richard. *Portraiture*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1991.

Brooks, Peter. *Realist Vision.* New Haven: Yale University Press, 2005.

Broude, Norma. "Edgar Degas and French Feminism, ca. 1880: The Young Spartans, the Brothel Monotypes, and the Bathers Revisited." *Art Bulletin* 70, no. 4 (December 1988): 640–659.

—, ed. *Gauguin's Challenge: New Perspectives After Postmodernism*. London: Bloomsbury Visual Arts, 2018.

—, ed. *Gustave Caillebotte and the Fashioning of Identity in Impressionist Paris.* New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 2002.

—. *Impressionism: A Feminist Reading: The Gendering of Art, Science, and Nature in the Nineteenth Century*. New York: Rizzoli, 1991.

—, ed. "Introduction: Gauguin after Postmodernism." In *Gauguin's Challenge: New Perspectives After Postmodernism*, 1–14. New York: Bloomsbury Visual Arts, 2018.

—. "Mary Cassatt: Modern Woman or the Cult of True Womanhood?" *Woman's Art Journal* 21, no. 2 (October 2000): 36–43.

Brown, Kathryn. "The Aesthetics of Presence: Looking at Degas's Bathers." *Journal of Aesthetics & Art Criticism* 68, no. 4 (Fall 2010): 331–341.

—. *Perspectives on Degas.* New York: Routledge, 2017.

—. *Women Readers in French Painting 1870-1890: A Source for the Imagination.* Surrey: Ashgate, 2012.

Brown, Marilyn R. *A Cotton Office in New Orleans.* University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1994.

—. "'Miss La La's' Teeth: Reflections on Degas and 'Race.'" *Art Bulletin* 89, no. 4 (2007): 738–65.

Buettner, Stewart. "Images of Modern Motherhood in the Art of Morisot, Cassatt, Modersohn-Becker, Kollwitz." *Woman's Art Journal* 7, no. 2 (Autumn 1986 – Winter 1987): 14–21.

Burns, Thea, and Vojtech Jirat-Wasiutynski. "Paul Gauguin's Breton 'Girl by the Sea': Recovering a Gouache for the Artist's Oeuvre." *Artibus et Historiae* 17, no. 33 (1996): 175–85.

Cadava, Eduardo. "Nadar's Photographopolis." *Grey Room*, no. 48 (Summer 2012): 56–77.

Callen, Anthea. “Doubles and Desire: Anatomies of Masculinity in the Later Nineteenth Century.” *Art History* 26, no. 5 (2003): 669–699.

—. *The Spectacular Body: Science, Method, and Meaning in the Work of Degas*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1995.

—. *Techniques of the Impressionists*. London: Orbis, 1982.

Canning, Susan M. “The Ordure of Anarchy: Scatological Signs of Self and Society in the Art of James Ensor.” *Art Journal* 52, no. 3 (1993): 47–53.

Cardinal, Roger. “Gauguin.” *Burlington Magazine* 152, no. 1293 (2010): 805–808.

Carter, Karen L. “The Spectatorship of the ‘Affiche Illustrée’ and the Modern City of Paris, 1880-1900.” *Journal of Design History*, 2012, Vol. 25, No. 1 (2012): 11–31.

Chang, Ting. “Hats and Hierarchy in Gustave Courbet’s *The Meeting*.” *Art Bulletin* 86, no. 4 (December 2004): 719–730.

Charlesworth, Michael. *Landscape and Vision in Nineteenth-century Britain and France*. Aldershot: Ashgate, 2008.

Childs, Elizabeth C. *Vanishing Paradise: Art and Exoticism in Colonial Tahiti*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2013.

Christensen, Carol. “The Painting Materials and Technique of Paul Gauguin.” *Studies in the History of Art* 41 (1993): 62–103.

Chu, Petra Ten-Doesschate. “Gustave Courbet’s *Venus and Psyche*: Uneasy Nudity in Second-Empire France.” *Art Journal* 51, no. 1 (Spring 1992): 38–44.

__. ed. *Letters of Gustave Courbet*. Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 1992.

—. “Public Commemoration and Private Memory: Félix Bracquemond vis-à-vis the Siege of Paris and the Commune.” *Getty Research Journal*, no. 5 (2013): 73–88.

—. “Showing Making in Courbet’s The Painter’s Studio.” In *Hiding Making – Showing Creation: The Studio from Turner to Tacita Dean*, edited by Rachel Esner et al., 62–72. Amsterdam University Press, 2013.

Clarke, David. “Gauguin, Linguistic Opacity, and Cultural Difference.” *Source* 38, no. 2 (2019): 98–107.

Clarke, Jay A. ed. *The Impressionist Line from Degas to Toulouse-Lautrec: Drawings and Prints from the Clark*. Williamstown, Massachusetts: Sterling and Francine Clark Art Institute, 2013.

Clark, T.J. “The Courbet Legend.” In *Image of the People: Gustave Courbet and the 1848 Revolution*, 21–35. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1973.

—. “Gross David with the Swoln Cheek: An Essay on Self-Portraiture.” In *Rediscovering History: Culture, Politics, and the Psyche*, edited by Carl E. Schorske, and Michael S. Roth, 243–307. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1994.

—. *The Painting of Modern Life: Paris in the Art of Manet and his Followers*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1984.

Clayson, Hollis. “The Family and the Father: *The Grande Jatte* and Its Absences.” *Art Institute of Chicago Museum Studies* 14, no. 2 (1989): 154–164, 242–244.

—. *Paris in Despair: Art and Everyday Life under Siege (1870-71)*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2002.

—. “ ‘Some Things Bear Fruit?’ Witnessing the Bonds between Van Gogh and Gauguin.” *Art Bulletin* 84, no. 4 (December 2002): 670–684.

—. “Suspicious Professions.” In *Painted Love: Prostitution in French Art of the Impressionist Era*, 113–131. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1991. http://d2aohiyo3d3idm.cloudfront.net/publications/virtuallibrary/0892367296.pdf.

—. “A Wintry Masculinity: Art, Soldiering, and Gendered Space in Paris under Siege.” *Nineteenth-Century Contexts: An Interdisciplinary Journal* 20, no. 4 (1999): 385–408.

Cole, Thomas B. “Monet Painting in His Garden at Argenteuil.“ *JAMA* 305, no. 23 (2011): 2384.

Collins, John B. “Seeking *l’esprit gaulois*: Renoir’s *Bal du Moulin de la Galette* and Aspects of French Social History and Popular Culture.” PhD diss., McGill University, 2001.

Conlon, James. “Men Reading Women Reading: Interpreting Images of Women Readers.” *Frontiers: A Journal of Women Studies* 26, no. 2 (2005): 37–58.

Cooke, Peter. “Gustave Moreau’s ‘Salome’: The Poetics and Politics of History Painting.” *Burlington Magazine* 149, no. 1253 (August 2007): 528–536.

—. “ ‘It Isn’t a Dance’: Gustave Moreau’s ‘Salome’ and ‘The Apparition.’ ” *Dance Research: The Journal of the Society for Dance Research* 29, no. 2 (2011): 214–32.

Corbin, Alain. “Commercial Sexuality in Nineteenth-Century France: A System of Images and Regulations.” *Representations*, no. 14 (Spring 1986): 209–219.

Courbet, Gustave. “From *Realist Manifesto* 1855.” In *Modernism: An Anthology of Sources and Documents*, edited by Vassiliki Kolocotroni, Jane Goldman, and Olga Taxidou, 169. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1998.

Crimp, Douglas. “Positive/Negative: A Note on Degas’s Photographs.” *October* 5 (Summer 1978): 89–100.

Davenport, Nancy. “William Holman-Hunt: Layered Belief in the Art of a Pre-Raphaelite Realist.” *Religion and the Arts*, 16 (2012): 29–77.

Davis, Shane Adler. “ ‘Fine Cloths on the Altar’: The Commodification of Late-Nineteenth-Century France.” *Art Journal* 48, no. 1 (Spring 1989): 85–89.

Dawkins, Heather. *The Nude in French Art and Culture, 1870-1910*. London: Cambridge University Press, 2002.

De Duve, Thierry and Brian Holmes. “How Manet’s *A Bar at the Folies-Bergère* is Constructed.” *Critical Inquiry* 25, no. 1 (Autumn 1998): 136–168.

DeLue, Rachael Ziady. “Pissarro, Landscape, Vision, and Tradition.” *Art Bulletin* 80, no. 4 (December 1998): 718–36.

Denton, Margaret. “Francis Wey and the Discourse of Photography as Art in France in the Early 1850s: ‘Rien n’est beau que le vrai; mais il faut le choisir’.” *Art History* 25, no. 5 (November 2002): 622–648.

DeVonyar, Jill. *Degas and the Art of Japan.* Reading: Reading Public Museum; New Haven: Yale University Press, 2007.

—, and Richard Kendall. *Degas and the Dance*. New York: Harry N. Abrams, Inc., 2002.

Dixon, Annette, et al. *The Dancer: Degas, Forain, Toulouse-Lautrec.* Portland: Portland Art Museum, 2008.

Dolan, Therese. *Perspectives on Manet*. Farnham, Surrey: Ashgate, 2012.

—. “Skirting the Issue: Manet’s Portrait of *Baudelaire’s Mistress, Reclining*.” *Art Bulletin* 79, no. 4 (December 1997): 611–29.

Dombrowski, André. “History, Memory, and Instantaneity in Edgar Degas’s *Place de la Concorde*.” *Art Bulletin* 93, no. 2 (June 2011): 195–219.

Donahue, Suzanne M. “Exoticism and Androgyny in Gauguin.” *Aurora: The Journal of the History of Art* 1 (November 2000): 103–121.

Dorra, Henri. *The Symbolism of Paul Gauguin: Erotica, Exotica, and the Great Dilemmas of Humanity*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2007.

Downing, Kimberly Freeman. "Géricault, Tennyson, and the Unreliable Narrator: The Medical Case Study as a Rhetorical Model for Nineteenth-Century Literature and Art." *Interdisciplinary Humanities* 26, no. 1 (Spring 2009): 89–100.

Du Preez, Amanda. "Putting on Appearances: Mimetic Representations of Hysteria." *de arte* 39, no. 69 (2004): 47–61.

Easton, Elizabeth W., ed. *Snapshot: Painters and Photography, Bonnard to Vuillard*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2011.

Efterpi, Mitsi. "The Turkish Bath in Women's Travel Writing Private Rituals and Public Selves." In *Inside Out: Women Negotiating, Subverting, Appropriating Public and Private Space*, edited by Reus Gómez, and Aránzazu Usandizaga, 47–63. Amsterdam and New York: Rodopi, 2008.

Eisenman, Stephen F. "Allegory and Anarchism in James Ensor's 'Apparition: Vision Preceding Futurism.'" *Record of the Art Museum, Princeton University* 46, no. 1 (1987): 3–17.

—. *From Corot to Monet: The Ecology of Impressionism*. Milan: Skira, 2010.

—. *Gauguin's Skirt*. New York: Thames and Hudson, 1997.

—. "Nonfiction Painting: Mimesis and Modernism in Manet's *Escape of Rochefort*." *Art Journal* 46, no. 4 (Winter 1987): 278–284.

—, et al. *Paul Gauguin : Artist of Myth and Dream*. Milan: Skira, 2007.

—. *Paul Gauguin*. Barcelona: Ediciones Polígrafa, 2010.

Emery, Elizabeth. "Dornac's 'At Home' Photographs, Relics of French History." *Proceedings of the Western Society for French History* 36 (2008): 209–224.

Evett, Elisa. "The Late Nineteenth- Century European Critical Response to Japanese Art: Primitivist Leanings." *Art History* 6, no. 1 (March 1983): 82–106.

Farr, Margaret Fitzgerald. "Impressionist Portraiture: A Study in Context and Meaning." PhD diss., University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, 1992.

Floyd, Phylis. "Documentary Evidence for the Availability of Japanese Imagery in Europe in Nineteenth-Century Public Collections." *Art Bulletin* 68, no. 1 (March 1986): 105–141.

Ford, Colin. *Julia Margaret Cameron: A Critical Biography*. Los Angeles, J. Paul Getty Museum, 2003.

Forgione, Nancy. "Everyday Life in Motion: The Art of Walking in Late-Nineteenth-Century Paris." *Art Bulletin* 87, no. 4 (December 2005): 664–687.

Foster, Hal. " 'Primitive' Scenes." *Critical Inquiry* 20, no. 1 (Autumn 1993): 69–102.

Foucault, Michel. *Madness and Civilization: A History of Insanity in the Age of Reason*. Translated by Richard Howard. New York: Vintage Books, 1965.

—. *Manet and the Object of Painting*. Introduction by Nicolas Bourriaud. London: Tate Publishing, 2009.

Frank, Mitchell B. "Max Liebermann: Assimilation and Belonging." *RACAR: Revue d'art Canadienne / Canadian Art Review* 45, no. 2 (2020): 97–110.

Fratello, Bradley. "France Embraces Millet: The Intertwined Fates of The Gleaners and The Angelus." *Art Bulletin* 85, no. 4 (December 2003): 685–701.

Fried, Michael. *Courbet's Realism*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1990.

—. “Manet in His Generation: The Face of Painting in the 1860s.” *Critical Inquiry* 19, no. 1 (Autumn 1992): 22–69.

—. *Manet’s Modernism, or, The Face of Painting in the 1860s*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1996.

—. “Manet’s Sources: Aspects of His Art, 1859-1865.” *Artforum* 7 (March 1969): 28–82.

Gandy, Matthew. “The Paris Sewers and the Rationalization of Urban Space.” *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers* 24, no. 1 (1999): 23–44.

Ganz, James A., and Richard Kendall. *The Unknown Monet: Pastels and Drawings*. Williamstown: Sterling and Francine Clark Art Institute, 2007.

Garb, Tamar. “L’art féminin: The Formation of a Critical Category in Late Nineteenth-century France.” *Art History* 12 (March 1989): 39–65.

—. *The Body in Time: Figures of Femininity in Late Nineteenth-century France*. Lawrence: Spencer Museum of Art, University of Kansas; Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2008.

—. “Renoir and the Natural Woman.” *Oxford Art Journal* 8, no. 2 (1985): 3–15.

—. *Sisters of the Brush: Women’s Artistic Culture in Late Nineteenth-Century Paris*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1994.

Gary, Holly Anne. “’This is a woman speaking’: The Feminist Writing of Three French Journalists.” Master’s Thesis, University of Tennessee, 2017.

Gauguin, Paul. *Letters to his Wife and Friends*, edited and with a preface by Maurice Malingue. Boston: MFA publications, 2003.

—. *Noa*. Translated by Otto Frederick Theis, New York: Nicholas L. Brown, 1920.

Geary-Jones, Hollie. “An Infectious Vessel: The Nineteenth-Century Prostitute Undressed.” Master’s thesis, University of Chester, 2017.

Gedo, Mary M. *Monet and His Muse: Camille Monet in the Artist’s Life*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2010.

Germer, Stefan. “Pleasurable Fear: Gericault and Uncanny Trends at the Opening of the Nineteenth Century.” *Art History* 22, no. 2 (June 1999): 158–183.

Gernsheim, Helmut, and Alison Gernsheim. *The History of Photography: From the Earliest Use of the Camera Obscura in the Eleventh Century Up to 1914*. London: Oxford University Press, 1955.

Gervais, David. “Unified Landscapes: Monet’s Series Paintings.” *The Cambridge Quarterly* 20, no. 3 (1991): 210–22.

Gilman, Sander. *Difference and Pathology: Stereotypes of Sexuality, Race and Madness*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1985.

Goddard, Linda. *Savage Tales: The Writings of Paul Gauguin*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2019.

—. “ ‘Scattered notes’: Authorship and Originality in Paul Gauguin’s Diverses choses.” *Art History* 34, no. 2 (April 2011): 352–369.

—. “ ‘The Writings of a Savage?’ Literary Strategies in Paul Gauguin’s *Noa*.” *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 71 (2008): 277–293.

Goldman, Bernard. “ ‘That Brute’ Courbet and Realism.” *Criticism* 9, no. 1 (1967): 22–41.

Goldstein, Jan. “The Uses of Male Hysteria: Medical and Literary Discourse in Nineteenth-Century France.” *Representations*, no. 34 (Spring 1991): 134–165.

Goodman, Susan. *The Emergence of Jewish Artists in Nineteenth-Century Europe* . New York: The Jewish Museum, 2001.

Gopnik, Adam. “Van Gogh’s Ear.” *New Yorker*, January 4, 2010.

Gouma-Peterson, Thalia, and Patricia Mathews. “The Feminist Critique of Art History.” *Art Bulletin* 69, no. 3 (September 1987): 326–357.

Greenberg, Susan D. “The Face of Impressionism in 1870: Claude Monet’s *Camille on the Beach at Trouville*.” *Yale University Art Gallery Bulletin* (2001): 66–73.

Grigsby, Grimaldo Darcy. “Still Thinking about Olympia’s Maid.” *Art Bulletin* 97, no. 4 (2015): 430–51.

Grodzinski, Veronica. “The Art Dealer and Collector as Visionary: Discovering Vincent van Gogh in Wilhelmine Germany 1900-1914.” *Journal of the History of Collections* 21, no. 2 (2009): 221–228.

—. “French impressionism and German Jews – The Making of Modernist Art Collectors and Art Collections in Imperial Germany, 1896-1914.” PhD diss., University of London, 2005.

Groom, Gloria. *Earthly Paradise from Gauguin Paintings, Sculpture, and Graphic Works at the Art Institute of Chicago*. Chicago: Art Institute of Chicago, 2016.

—, ed. *Impressionism, Fashion and Modernity*. Chicago: Art Institute of Chicago; New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art; Paris: Musée d’Orsay, 2012.

Gross, Jennifer R., ed. *Edgar Degas: Defining the Modernist Edge*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2003.

Guggenbiller, Amanda M. “Compositions of Criticism: A Reinterpretation of Gustave Courbet’s Paintings of Nudes.” MA Thesis, University of West Virginia, 2014.

Hahn, H. Hazel. *Scenes of Parisian Modernity* [electronic resource]: *Culture and Consumption in the Nineteenth Century*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009.

Hajj, Ralph. “Gauguin: The Oscillating Structure of Disguise.” *Journal of Violence, Mimesis, and Culture* 8 (Spring 2001): 167–184.

—. “Savage Strategies: Parisian Avant-garde and ‘Savage’ Brittany in the Definition of Paul Gauguin.” *Third Text* 16, no. 2 (2002): 167–181.

Handler, Sophie Rachel. “Shadows of Childhood: The Emergence of the Child in the Visual and Literary Culture of the French Long-Nineteenth Century.” Durham Theses, Durham University, 2017.

Hargrove, June. “Woman with a Fan: Paul Gauguin’s Heavenly Vairaumati—a Parable of Immortality.” *Art Bulletin* 88, no. 3 (September 2006): 552–566.

Hauptman, William. “Delaroche’s and Gleyre’s Teaching Ateliers and Their Group Portraits.” *Studies in the History of Art* 18 (1985): 79–119.

Havice, Christine. “The Artist in Her Own Words.” *Woman’s Art Journal* 2, no. 2 (Autumn, 1981 – Winter, 1982): 1–7.

Hazard, Alice Maggie. “Renoir’s Children.” *Apollo Magazine* 174, no. 589 (July/August 2011): 50–55.

Heller, Reinhold. “Ferdinand Hodler: A Unique Note in the Birch Bartlett Collection.” *Art Institute of Chicago Museum Studies* 12, no. 2 (1986): 166–187.

Herbert, James D. “Courbet, Incommensurate and Emergent.” *Critical Inquiry* 40, no. 2 (Winter 2014): 339–381.

Herbert, Robert L., et. al. *Seurat and the Making of La Grande Jatte*. Chicago: Art Institute of Chicago, in association with the University of California Press, 2004.

Heuberger, Georg, and Anton Merk, eds. *Moritz Daniel Oppenheim: Jewish Identity In 19th Century Art.* Köln: Wienand, 1999

Higonnet, Anne. *Berthe Morisot*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1995.

—. *Berthe Morisot’s Images of Women*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1992.

—. *Lewis Carroll*. New York: Phaidon, 2008.

—. “Manet and the Multiple.” *Grey Room*, no. 48 (2012): 102–16.

—. *Pictures of Innocence: The History and Crisis of Ideal Childhood*. New York: Thames and Hudson, 1998.

Hodler, Ferdinand. “My Present Tendencies.” In *Ferdinand Hodler*. Translated and excerpted by Peter Selz, 115–116. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1972.

House, John. “Monet’s *Gladioli*.” *Bulletin of the Detroit Institute of Arts* 77, no. 1/2 (2003): 8–17.

—. “New Material on Monet and Pissarro in London in 1870-71.” *Burlington Magazine* 120, no. 907 (1978): 636–42.

Hovav, Yamina. “The Many Faces of Maurycy Gottlieb.” *Segula: The Jewish History Magazine*, February 15, 2017.

Hunter, Mary. “Expert Hands, Infectious Touch: Painting and Pregnancy in Morisot’s *The Mother and Sister of the Artist*.” In *A Companion to Impressionism*, edited by André Dombrowski, 287–303. Hoboken: Wiley-Blackwell, 2021.

Hunton, Christopher. “Falling for the Insane Artist: A Look at Foucault’s *Madness and Civilization*.” *ESSAI* 8 (2010): 63–66. http://dc.cod.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1314&context=essai

Hutton, John. “Camile Pissarro’s *Turpitudes Sociales* and Late Nineteenth-Century French Anarchist Anti-Feminism.” *History Workshop*, no. 24 (Autumn 1987): 32–61.

—. “The Clown at the Ball: Manet’s *Masked Ball of the Opera* and the Collapse of Monarchism in the Early Third Republic.” *Oxford Art Journal* 10, no. 2 (1987): 76–94.

—. “Picking Fruit: Mary Cassatt’s Modern Woman and the Woman’s Building of 1893.” *Feminist Studies* 20 (Summer 1994): 318–348.

Ibsen, Kristine. “Spectacle and Spectator in Édouard Manet’s *Execution of Maximilian*.” *Oxford Art Journal* 29, no. 2 (2006): 213, 215–226.

Igra, Caroline. “Conceiving the Child: British Illustrator Kate Greenaway’s Determining Influence on the Graphic Work of Mary Cassatt.” *Aurora: The Journal of the History of Art* 7 (November 2006): 19–34.

Ilg, Ulrike. “Painted Theory of Art: *Le suicidé* (1877) by Édouard Manet and the Disappearance of Narration.” *Artibus et Historiae* 23, no. 45 (2002): 179–190.

Isaacson, Joel. “Constable, Duranty, Mallarme, Impressionism, Plein Air, and Forgetting.” *Art Bulletin* 76, no. 3 (September 1994): 427–450.

Iskin, Ruth E. “The Degas and Cassatt 1915 Exhibition in Support of Women’s Suffrage.” In *Monographic Exhibitions and the History of Art*, edited by Maia Gahtan, and Donatella Pegazzano, 26–37. London: Routledge, 2018.

—. *Modern Women and Parisian Consumer Culture in Impressionist Painting*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007.

—. “Selling, Seduction, and Soliciting the Eye: Manet’s *Bar at the Folies-Bergère*.” *Art Bulletin* 77, no. 1 (March 1995): 25–44.

Jaworska, Władysława. “ ‘Christ in the Garden of Olive-Trees’ by Gauguin. The Sacred or the Profane?” *Artibus et Historiae* 19, no. 37 (1998): 77–102.

Jayne, Kristie. “The Cultural Roots of Edvard Munch’s Images of Women.” *Woman’s Art Journal* 10, no. 1 (1989): 28–34.

Jirat-Wasiutyński, Vojtech. “Paul Gauguin and Edgar Allan Poe’s ‘Philosophy of Composition.’ ” *RACAR: Revue d’art canadienne / Canadian Art Review* 1, no. 1 (1974): 61–62.

—. “Paul Gauguin’s Paintings, 1886-91 Cloisonism, Synthetism and Symbolism.” *RACAR: Revue d’art Canadienne / Canadian Art Review* 9, no. 1/2 (1982): 35–46.

—. “Paul Gauguin’s ‘Self-Portrait with Halo and Snake’: The Artist as Initiate and Magus.” *Art Journal* 46, no. 1 (1987): 22–28.

—. “Vincent van Gogh’s Paintings of Olive Trees and Cypresses from St.-Rémy.” *Art Bulletin* 75, no. 4 (December 1993): 647–670.

Johnson, Deborah. “Cassatt’s Color Prints of 1891: The Unique Evolution of a Palette.” *Source: Notes in the History of Art* 9, no. 3 (Spring 1990): 31–39.

Johnson, Jerah. “Degas and the Business of Art: A Cotton Office in New Orleans by Marilyn R. Brown.” Review of *Degas and the Business of Art: A Cotton Office in New Orleans*, by Marylin R. Brown. *Louisiana History: The Journal of the Louisiana Historical Association* 36, no. 3 (Summer 1995): 345–347.

Jones, Charlotte. “ ‘This spasm upon canvas’: George Eliot, Gustave Courbet and Realist Aesthetics.” *Journal of Victorian Culture* 26, no. 2 (April 2021): 244–266.

Jones, Kimberly. “Mary Cassatt’s *Little Girl in a Blue Armchair*: Unraveling an Impressionist Puzzle.” *Archives of American Art Journal* 53 no. 1/2 (Spring 2015): 116-12.

Jonsson, Stefan. “Society Degree Zero: Christ, Communism, and the Madness of Crowds in the Art of James Ensor.” *Representations* 75, no. 1 (Summer 2001): 1–32.

Kales, Christina Klotz. “The Myths of Identity: Correcting the Legacy of Berthe Morisot.” PhD diss., Drew University, 2020.

Karp, Diane. “Madness, Mania, Melancholy: The Artist as Observer.” *Philadelphia Museum of Art Bulletin* 80, no. 342 (1984): 1–24

Karthas, Ilyana. “The Politics of Gender and the Revival of Ballet in Early Twentieth Century France.” *Journal of Social History* 45, no. 4 (Summer 2012): 960–989.

Kelley, Susanne. “Perceptions of Jewish Female Bodies through Gustav Klimt and Peter Altenberg.” *Imaginations Journal* 3, no. 1 (Summer 2012): 109–122

Kendall, Richard, and Jill DeVonyar. *Degas and the Ballet: Picturing Movement*. London: Royal Academy of Arts, 2011.

Kenny, Nicolas. “Je Cherche Fortune: Identity, Counterculture, and Profit in Fin-de-siècle Montmartre.” *Urban History Review / Revue d’histoire urbaine* 32, no. 2 (Spring 2004): 21-32.

Kessler, Marni R. *Sheer Presence: The Veil in Manet’s Paris*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2006.

—. “Unmasking Manet’s Morisot.” *Art Bulletin* 81, no. 3 (September 1999): 473–489.

Klein, John. “The Dispersal of the Modernist Series.” *Oxford Art Journal* 21, no. 1 (1998): 121–135.

Klein, Peter K. “Insanity and the Sublime: Aesthetics and Theories of Mental Illness in *Goya’s Yard with Lunatics* and Related Works.” *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 61 (1998): 198–252.

Kōdera, Tsukasa. “Japan as Primitivistic Utopia: Van Gogh’s Japonisme Portraits.” *Simiolus: Netherlands Quarterly for the History of Art* 14, no. 3/4 (1984): 189–208.

Kohon, Gregorio. *Reflections on the Aesthetic Experience: Psychoanalysis and the Uncanny*. London: Routledge, 2015.

Kosinski, Dorothy M. “Gustave Courbet’s *The Sleepers*: The Lesbian Image in Nineteenth-Century French Art and Literature.” *Artibus et Historiae* 9, no. 18 (1988): 187–199.

Kozloff, Max. “Nadar and the Republic of the Mind.” *Artforum* 15, no. 1 (September 1976): 28–39.

Kromm, Jane. “ ‘Marianne’ and the Madwomen.” *Art Journal* 46, no. 4 (Winter 1987): 299–304.

Læssøe, Rolf. Édouard Manet's *Le Déjeuner sur l'herbe* as a Veiled Allegory of Painting." *Artibus et Historiae* 26, no. 51 (2005): 195–220.

Lajer-Burcharth, Ewa. "Modernity and the Condition of Disguise: Manet's *Absinthe Drinker*." *Art Journal* 45, no. 1 (Spring 1985): 18–26.

Lalvani, Suren. "Photography and the Bourgeois Body." In *Photography, Vision and the Production of Modern Bodies*, 43–86. New York: State University of New York Press, 1996.

Langdale, Shelley R. "Edvard Munch: Graphic Revelations in Paris." *Philadelphia Museum of Art Bulletin* 93, no. 393/394 (Summer 2005): 24–47.

Le Bon, Gustave. *Les Lois psychologiques de l'évolution des peuples*, 3rd edition (Paris : Félix Alcan, Éditeur, 1898).

Leja, Michael. "Monet's Modernity in New York in 1886." *American Art* 14, no. 1 (Spring 2000): 50–79.

Lemlein, Rhoda F. "Influence of Tuberculosis on the Work of Visual Artists: Several Prominent Examples." *Leonardo* 14, no. 2 (Spring 1981): 114–117.

Leonard, Mark, and Louise Lippincott. "James Ensor's *Christ's Entry into Brussels in 1889*: Technical Analysis, Restoration, and Reinterpretation." *Art Journal* 54, no. 2 (1995): 18–27.

Leoussi, Athena S. "From Civic to Ethnic Classicism: The Cult of the Greek Body in Late Nineteenth Century French Society and Art." *International Journal of the Classical Tradition* 16, no. 3/4 (September – December 2009): 393–442.

Lerner, Jullian. *Experimental Self-Portraits in Early French Photography.* London: Routledge, 2021.

Lesko, Diane. "James Ensor and Symbolist Literature." *Art Journal* 45, no. 2 (Summer 1985): 99–104.

Levine, Steven Z. "Monet's Series: Repetition, Obsession." *October* 37 (Summer 1986): 65–75.

Levitov, Karen, et. al. *Camille Pissarro: Impressions of City and Country*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2007.

Lewis, Beth Irwin. *Art for All? The Collision of Modern Art and the Public in Late-Nineteenth-Century Germany*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2003.

Lilley, Ed. "Real Light on Impressionism? An Overlooked Review from 1879." *Burlington Magazine* 149, no. 1250 (May 2007): 326–329.

Lipton, Eunice. *Alias Olympia: A Woman's Search for Manet's Notorious model and Her Own Desire*. Toronto: Maxwell Macmillan Canada, 1992.

—. *Looking into Degas: Uneasy Images of Women and Modern Life*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1986.

Locke, Nancy. "The Space of Olympia." In *Manet and the Family Romance*, 88–113. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2001.

—. "Unfinished Homage: Manet's *Burial* and Baudelaire." *Art Bulletin* 82, no. 1 (March 2000): 68–82.

MacLachlan, Graham. "Translating Gauguin's *Maison du Jouir*." *Traduire* 233 (2015): 118–120. http://journals.openedition.org/traduire/769; DOI: https://doi.org/10.4000/traduire.769

Main, V.R. *A Woman With No Clothes On.* London: Delancey, 2008.

Mallarmé, Stephane. "The Impressionists and Edouard Manet." In *The New Painting*, 27–35. http://www.rae.com.pt/mallarme_manet.pdf

Martin, Lisa Simone. "Subversion of the Gaze: Degas and the Social Implications of his Dancers." Master's thesis, University of Missouri, 2011.

Mathews, Mary Gedo, “The Grande Jatte as the Icon of a New Religion: A Psycho-Iconographic Interpretation.” *Art Institute of Chicago Museum Studies* 14, no. 2 (1989): 223–51.

Mathews, Nancy Mowll. “Gauguin, Buffalo Bill, and the Cowboy Hat.” *Transatlantica: Revue d’études américaines / America Studies Journal* 2 (2017). https://journals.openedition.org/transatlantica/10968?lang=en.

Maurer, Emil. “Portraits as Pictures: Degas between Taking a Likeness and Making a Work of Art (Tableau).” In *Degas Portraits*, edited by Felix Baumann, and Marianne Karabelnik, 96–116. London: Merrell Holberton, 1994.

McAuley, James. *The House of Fragile Things.* New Haven: Yale University Press, 2021.

McCauley, Elizabeth Anne. *A. A. E. Disdéri and the Carte de Visite Portrait Photograph*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1985.

McKiernan, Mike. “*Henri de Toulouse–Lautrec*. *Medical Examination*, *Rue des Moulins* (*1894*).” *Occupational Medicine* 59 (2009): 366–368.

McPherson, Heather. *The Modern Portrait in Nineteenth-century France*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2001.

Meller, Peter. “Manet in Italy: Some Newly Identified Sources for His Early Sketchbooks.” *Burlington Magazine* 144, no. 1187 (February 2002): 68–110.

Mesch, Rachel. “Modern Women and Parisian Consumer Culture in Impressionist Painting.” *Nineteenth Century French Studies* 41, no. 1/2 (Winter 2013): 150–152.

Michael, Cora. “Utopian Views of Rural Life in Prints by Camille Pissarro at the Princeton University Art Museum.” *Record Of The Princeton University Art Museum* 68 (June 2009): 38–45

Mitchell, Dolores. “Manet’s *Olympia*: If Looks Could Kill.” *Source: Notes in the History of Art* 13, no. 3 (Spring 1994): 39–46.

Moffit, John M. “Art and Politics: An Underlying Pictorial – Political Topos in Courbet’s *Real Allegory*.” *Artibus et Historiae* 8, no. 15 (1987): 183–193.

—. “Provocative Felinity in Manet’s *Olympia*.” *Notes in the History of Art* 14, no. 1 (Fall 1994): 21–31.

Moran, Claire. “Minor Intimacies and the Art of Berthe Morisot: Impressionism, Female Friendship and Spectatorship.” *Journal of the Society of Dix-Neuviémistes* 25 (2021):137–157.

Morrison, Ann. “Gauguin’s Gambit.” *Smithsonian* 41, no. 11 (March 2011): 62–70.

Morton, Mary G., et al. *Courbet and the Modern Landscape*. Los Angeles: J. Paul Getty Museum, 2006.

—. Review of *Savage Tales: The Writings of Paul Gauguin*, by Linda Goddard. *Nineteenth-Century Art Worldwide* 19, no. 2 (Autumn 2020): 113–115. https://doi.org/10.29411/ncaw.2020.19.2.9

Murrell, Denise M. “Seeing Laure: Race and Modernity from Manet’s Olympia to Matisse, Bearden and Beyond.” Ph.D. diss., Columbia University, 2014.

Muysers, Carola. “Physiology and Photography: The Evolution of Franz von Lenbach’s Portraiture.” *Nineteenth-Century Art Worldwide* 1, no. 2 (Autumn 2002). http://www.19thc-artworldwide.org/autumn02/256-physiology-and-photography-the-evolution-of-franz-von-lenbachs-portraiture

Myers, Jeffrey. “Morisot and Manet.” *New Criterion* 23, no. 5 (January 2005): 26–31.

Napier, Susan Jolliffe. *From Impressionism to Anime: Japan as Fantasy and Fan Cult in the Mind of the West*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007.

Nasatir. A.P. “The Second Incumbency of Jacques A. Moerenhout.” *California Historical Society Quarterly* 27, no. 2 (1948): 141–48.

Nochlin, Linda. *The Body in Pieces: The Fragment as a Metaphor of Modernity*. London: Thames and Hudson, 1994.

—. "Body Politics: Seurat's *Poseuses*." *Art in America* 82, no. 3 (March 1994):70–77, 121, 123.

—. *Courbet.* New York: Thames and Hudson, 2007.

__. "Courbet's Real Allegory: Rereading "The Painter's Studio." In *Courbet Reconsidered*, Sarah Faunce and Linda Nochlin, eds. Brooklyn: Brooklyn Museum, 1988.

—. "The Darwin Effect: Introduction." *Nineteenth-Century Art Worldwide* 2, no. 2 (Spring 2003). http://www.19thc-artworldwide.org/spring03/218-the-darwin-effect-introduction.

—. "Degas and the Dreyfus Affair: A Portrait of the Artist as an Anti-semite." In *The Politics of Vision: Essays on Nineteenth-Century Art and Society*, 25–50. New York: Harper and Row, 1989.

—. "Impressionist Portraits and the Construction of Modern Identity." In *Renoir's Portraits: Impressions of an Age*, 53–75. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1997.

—. *Making It Modern: Essays on the Art of the Now*. New York: Thames and Hudson, 2022.

—. "Mary Cassatt's Modernity." In *Representing Women*, 181–215. London: Thames and Hudson, 1999.

__. *Misère: The Visual Representation of Misery in the 19th Century*. London: Thames & Hudson, 2018.

—. "Morisot's *The Wet Nurse*." In *Expanding Discourse: Feminism and Art History*, edited by Norma Broude and Mary D. Garrard, 231–245. Boulder: Westview Press, 1992.

—. *Representing Women*. London: Thames Hudson, 1999.

—. "The Rhetoric of Realism: Courbet and the Origins of the Avant-Garde." In *Nineteenth Century Art: A Critical History*, edited by Thomas Crow, Brian Lukacher, Linda Nochlin and Frances K. Pohl, 206–224. London: Thames and Hudson, 1994.

—. "Seurat's *Grande Jatte*: An Anti-Utopian Allegory." *Art Institute of Chicago Museum Studies* 14, no. 2 (1989): 132–153, 241–242.

—, and Carol Salus. "Degas's *Young Spartans Exercising*." *Art Bulletin* 68, no. 3 (September 1986): 486–488.

—, and Tamar Garb, ed. *The Jew in the Text: Modernity and the Construction of Identity.* London: Thames and Hudson, 1995.

Nord, Philip. "Manet and Radical Politics." *Journal of Interdisciplinary History* 19, no. 3 (Winter 1989): 447–480.

—. "The New Painting and the Dreyfus Affair." *Historical Reflections / Réflexions Historiques* 24, no. 1 (Spring 1998): 115–136.

Orton, Fred, and Griselda Pollock. "Rooted in the Earth: A Van Gogh Primer." In *Avant-Gardes and Partisans Reviewed*, 3–51. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1996.

Parkinson, Gavin. "Myths and Memories of Brittany: Reviewing Gauguin's Stereotypes." *Art History* 40 (2017): 856–883.

Perry, Gill. "Primitivism and the Modern." In *Primitivism, Cubism, Abstraction: The Early Twentieth Century*, edited by Harrison, Charles, et al., 3–34. New Haven: Yale University Press, in association with the Open University, 1993.

Pfeiffer, Ingrid, and Max Hollein. *Women Impressionists*. Ostfildern: Schirn Kunsthalle Frankfurt, 2008.

Pincus-Witten, Robert. "Ferdinand Hodler: Expressionism Versus Symbolism." *Artforum* 11 (March 1973): 530-560.

Pissarro, Joachim. *Cézanne/Pissarro, Johns/Rauschenberg: Comparative Studies on Intersubjectivity in Modern Art*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006.

Pissarro, Joachim, and Stephanie Rachum. *Camille Pissarro: Impressionist Innovator*. Jerusalem: Israel Museum, 1994.

Pollock, Griselda. *Avant-garde Gambits, 1888-93: Gender and the Colour of Art History*. London: Thames and Hudson, 1992.

—. *Mary Cassatt: Painter of Modern Women*. London: Thames and Hudson, 1998.

—. "Modernity and the Spaces of Femininity." In *Vision and Difference: Femininity, Feminism and the Histories of Art*, 245–267. London: Routledge, 1988.

—. "Stark Encounters: Modern Life and Urban Work in Van Gogh's Drawings of The Hague 1881-1883." *Art History* 6, no. 3 (September 1983): 330–357.

—. "Van Gogh and the Poor Slaves: Images of Rural Labour as Modern Art." *Art History* 11, no. 3 (September 1988): 408–432.

Portulese, Anthony. "A Phenomenology of Display: Monet's L'Orangerie, the Panorama Rotunda, and the History of Proto-Installation." *Rutgers Art Review* 37 (2021): 44–64.

Powers, Edward . "From Eternity to Here: Paul Gauguin and the Word Made Flesh." *Oxford Art Journal* 25, no. 2 (2002): 89–106.

Prendeville, Brendan. "The Features of Insanity, as Seen by Géricault and by Büchner." *Oxford Art Journal* 18, no. 1 (1995): 96–115.

Prose, Francine. "Behind the Green Veil: A Paean to Courbet's *Origin of the World*." *Modern Painters* 20, no. 4 (2008): 64–67.

Przyblyski, Jeannene M. "Courbet, the Commune, and the Meanings of Still Life in 1871." *Art Journal* 55, no. 2 (Summer 1996): 28–37.

—. "Revolution at a Standstill: Photography and the Paris Commune of 1871." *Yale French Studies*, no. 101 (2001): 54–78.

Pusey, Elizabeth. "James Tissot's and Emile Zola's Shopgirl: The Working Girl as La Parisienne." Master's thesis, Brigham Young University, 2016.

Rahmlow, Kurt. "Co-opting the Cooperative: Vincent van Gogh's 'Studio of the South' and Nineteenth-Century Utopian Socialism.' *Utopian Studies* 23, no. 1 (March 2012): 79–112.

Reed, Arden. *Manet, Flaubert, and the Emergence of Modernism: Blurring Genre Boundaries*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003.

Reff, Theodore. "Manet's Portrait of Zola." *Burlington Magazine*, 117 no. 862 (January 1975): 39.

Reilly, Maura. "Le Vice a`la Mode: Gustave Courbet and the Vogue for Lesbianism in Second Empire France." PhD diss., New York University, 2000.

Rey, Jean Dominique. *Berthe Morisot*. Montreal: Flammarion, 2010.

Rishel, Joseph, ed. *Gauguin, Ceźanne, Matisse: Visions of Arcadia*. Philadelphia: Philadelphia Museum of Art, 2012.

Rollins, Mark. "What Monet Meant: Intention and Attention in Understanding Art." *The Journal of Aesthetics and Art Criticism* 62, no. 2 (Spring 2004): 175–188.

Roos, Jane Mayo. "Within The 'Zone Of Silence': Monet and Manet in 1878." *Art History* 11, no. 3 (1988): 374–407.

Roque, Georges. "Chevreul and Impressionism: A Reappraisal." *Art Bulletin* 78, no. 1 (March 1996): 26–39.

Rose, Jordan Marc. "The Spell of The Barricade: Art and Politics in France 1830-1852." PhD diss., University of California, Berkeley, 2013.

Rosenblum, Robert. *Modern Painting and the Northern Romantic Tradition: Friedrich to Rothko*. New York: Harper & Row, 1975.

Ross, Andrew Israel. *Public City/Public Sex: Homosexuality, Prostitution, and Urban Culture in Nineteenth-Century Paris*. Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 2019.

Rouskova, Romana. "Max Liebermann's Jewish Heritage." Master's thesis, University of Tennessee, 2008.

Rubin, James Henry. *Impressionism and the Modern Landscape: Productivity, Technology, and Urbanization from Manet to Van Gogh*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2008.

Said, Edward W. *Orientalism.* New York: Pantheon Books, 1978.

Schade, Sigrid. "Charcot and the Spectacle of the Hysterical Body the 'pathos Formula' as an Aesthetic Staging of Psychiatric Discourse – A Blind Spot in the Reception of Warburg." *Art History* 18, no. 4 (December 1995): 499–517.

Schlossman, Beryl. "The Night of the Poet: Baudelaire, Benjamin, and the Woman in the Street." *MLN* 119, no. 5 (December 2004): 1013–1032.

Secor, Anna. "Orientalism, Gender and Class in Lady Mary Wortley Montagu's Turkish Embassy Letters: to persons of distinction, men of letters and c.'" *Cultural Geographies* (formerly *Ecumene*) 6, no. 4 (1999): 375-398.

Seibert, Margaret Armbrust. "A Political and a Pictorial Tradition Used in Gustave Courbet's Real Allegory." *Art Bulletin* 65, no. 2 (June 1983): 311–316.

Seigel, Jerrold. " 'Spiritualizing the Material' and 'Dematerializing the World' in Modernist and Avant-Garde Practice: On the Wider Import of a Distinction Debora Silverman Develops in Van Gogh and Gauguin." *French Politics, Culture & Society* 24, no. 2 (Summer 2006): 71–80.

Seymour, Howard. "Early Manet and Artful Error: Foundations of Anti-Illusion in Modern Painting." *Art Journal* 37, no. 1 (September 1977): 14–21.

Shaw, Jennifer L. "The Figure of Venus: Rhetoric of the Ideal and the Salon of 1863." *Art History* 14, no. 4 (December 1991): 540–70.

Sidlauskas, Susan. "Contesting Femininity: Vuillard's Family Pictures." *Art Bulletin* 79, no. 1 (March 1997): 85–111.

Silver, Kenneth E. "Matisse at Vence: An Epilogue to Van Gogh and Gauguin: The Search for Sacred Art." *French Politics, Culture & Society* 24, no. 2 (2006): 81–90.

Silver, Larry. "Jewish Identity in Art and History Maurycy Gottlieb as Early Jewish Artist." In *Jewish Identity in Modern Art History* , edited by Catherine M. Soussloff, 87–113. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1999.

Singer, Brian, Trond E. Aslaksby, Biljana Topalova-Casadiego, and Eva Storevik Tveit. "Investigation of Materials Used by Edvard Munch." *Studies in Conservation* 55, no. 4 (2010): 274–92.

Singleton, Suzanne M. "Jacob Wrestling with the Angel: A Theme in Symbolist Art." *Nineteenth-Century French Studies* 32, no. 3/4 (2004): 298–315.

Smalls, James. " 'Race' as Spectacle in Late-Nineteenth-Century French Art and Popular Culture." *French Historical Studies* 26, no. 2 (Spring 2003): 351–382.

Smith, Lindsay. " 'Take back your mink': Lewis Carroll, Child Masquerade and the Age of Consent." *Art History* 16, no. 3 (September 1993): 369–85.

Smith, Paul. " 'Parbleu': Pissarro and the Political Colour of an Original Vision." *Art History* 15, no. 2 (1992): 223–247.

Snay, Cheryl Kathleen. "Renoir and the Charpentiers: The Symbiotic Nature of the Artist/Patron Relationship." M.A. Thesis, Michigan State University, 1991.

Solomon-Godeau, Abigail. *Male Trouble: A Crisis in Representation*. London: Thames and Hudson, 1997.

Spencer, Herbert *Descriptive Sociology; or Groups of Sociological Facts,* parts 1–8, classified and arranged by Spencer, compiled and abstracted by David Duncan, Richard Schepping, and James Collier. London: Williams & Norgate, 1873-1881.

Stammers, Tom. "Gustave Courbet's Love of the Chase." *Apollo*, November 2, 2019. www.apollo-magazine.com/gustave-courbet-hunting-scenes.

Staszak, Jean-François. "Primitivism and the Other. History of Art and Cultural Geography." *GeoJournal* 60, no. 4 (2004): 353–64.

Steinberg, Norma S. "Munch in Color." *Harvard University Art Museums Bulletin* 3, no. 3 (1995): 1–54.

Storm, Gary. "Paradoxes: The Theme and Variations in the Visual Arts — False-Color Cartography and the Grainstacks of Claude Monet." *Material Culture* 40, no. 2 (2008): 45–75.

Sund, Judy. "The Sower and the Sheaf: Biblical Metaphor in the Art of Vincent van Gogh." *Art Bulletin* 70, no. 4 (December 1988): 660–676.

Ter Borg, Marlies, and Dorothée Kasteleijn-Nolst Trenité. "The Cultural Context of Diagnosis: The Case of Vincent van Gogh." *Epilepsy & Behavior* 25, no. 3 (November 2012): 431–439.

Thomson, Belinda, ed. *Gauguin: Maker of Myth*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2010.

Thomson, Richard. *Art of the Actual: Naturalism and Style in Early Third Republic France, 1880-1900*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2012.

—. "Camille Pissarro's 'Turpitudes Sociales' Revisited, Part II: Anarchism, Anti-Semitism and Adolphe Willette." *The Burlington Magazine* 158, no. 1360 (2016): 547–51.

—. "Hodler, Paris." *Burlington Magazine* 150, no. 1259 (February 2008): 126–127.

—. *Right Under the Sun: Landscape in Provence from Classicism to Modernism (1750-1920)*. Montreal: Montreal Museum of Fine Arts in association with Snoeck Publishers, 2005.

—, et. al. *Toulouse-Lautrec and Montmartre*. Washington: National Gallery of Art; Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2006.

Tinterow, Gary, et. al. *Manet/Velázquez: The French Taste for Spanish Painting*. New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art; New Haven: Yale University Press, 2003.

Tseng, Shao-Chien. "Contested Terrain: Gustave Courbet's Hunting Scenes." *Art Bulletin* 90, no. 2 (June 2008): 218–234.

Tucker, Paul. "The First Impressionist Exhibition and Monet's Impression, Sunrise: A Tale of Timing, Commerce and Patriotism." *Art History* 7, no. 4 (December 1984): 465–476.

Varnedoe, Kirk. *A Fine Disregard: What Makes Modern Art Modern*. New York: Abrams, 1990.

Viaud, Jules. *The Marriage of Loti,* 1880.

Waldroup, Heather. "Musée Gauguin Tahiti: Indigenous Places, Colonial Heritage." *International Journal of Heritage Studies* 14, no. 6 (November 2008): 489–505.

Wallen, Jeffrey. "Illustrating Salome: Perverting the Text?" *Word & Image* 8, no. 2 (1992): 124–132.

Waller, Susan. *The Invention of the Model: Artists and Models in Paris, 1830-1870*. Aldershot: Ashgate, 2006.

—. "Professional Poseurs: The Male Model in the Ecole des Beaux-Arts and the Popular Imagination." *Oxford Art Journal* 25, no. 2 (2002): 43–64.

—. "Realist Quandaries: Posing Professional and Proprietary Models in the 1860s." *Art Bulletin* 89, no. 2 (2007): 239–265.

Webster, Sally. *Eve's Daughter/Modern Woman: A Mural by Mary Cassatt*. Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2004.

Wei, Gillian. "Painters of Modernity: A Bourdieusian Analysis of Manet and Degas." Honours Thesis, Colby College, 2018. www.digitalcommons.colby.edu/honorstheses/952.

Weingarden, Lauren S. "Imaging and Imagining the French Peasant: Gustave Courbet and Rural Physiologies." *Nineteenth-Century Art Worldwide* 12, no. 1 (Spring 2013): 1–40.

Weisberg, Gabriel P., et. al. *Illusions of Reality: Naturalist Painting, Photography, Theatre, and Cinema, 1875-1918*. Brussels: Mercatorfonds, 2010.

Werner, Chelsea, "The Barricade, Rue de la Mortellerie, June 1848: A Reflection of Class Tension in Nineteenth-Century Paris," *The Corinthian* 15 (2014): 1–226.

White, Barbara Ehrlich. "The Bathers of 1887 and Renoir's Anti-Impressionism." *Art Bulletin* 55, no. 1 (March 1973): 106–126.

—. "Renoir's Trip to Italy." *Art Bulletin* 51, no. 4 (December 1969): 333–351.

Whitmore, Janet. "Impressionism, Fashion, and Modernity." *Nineteenth-Century Art Worldwide* 13, no. 1 (Spring 2014): 338–359. http://www.19thc-artworldwide.org/spring14/whitmore-reviews-impressionism-fashion-and-modernity .

Wilkin, Karen. "*Bonjour, Monsieur Courbet!*" *New Criterion* 23, no. 1 (September 2004): 41–45.

Wilkin, Karen. "Gauguin at the National Gallery." *New Criterion* 29, no. 9 (May 2011): 43–52.

Willette, Jeanne Willette Baudelaire and "The Painter of Modern Life" *Art History Unstuffed*, August 27, 2010. https://arthistoryunstuffed.com/baudelaire-the-painter-of-modern-life.

Wilson-Bareau, Juliet. "Five Lithographic Stones for Manet in 1873." *Print Quarterly* 28, no. 4 (December 2011): 425–428.

—. "Goya and France." *Manet/Velazquez: The French Taste for Spanish Painting*, 139-160. New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art and Yale University Press, 2003.

—. "The Hidden Face of Manet. An Investigation of the Artist's Working Processes [Exhibition Catalog]." *Burlington Magazine* 128, no. 997 (April 1986): i–v, vii–viii,1–98.

—. "The Salon des Refusés: A New View." *Burlington Magazine* 149, no. 1250 (May 2007): 309–319.

Wright, Alastair. "Mourning, Painting, and the Commune: Maximilien Luce's *A Paris Street in 1871*." *Oxford Art Journal* 32, no. 2 (2009): 223–242.

Yeazell, Ruth Bernard. *Harems of the Mind: Passages of Western Art and Literature*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2000.

Young, Marnin. "Impressionism and Criticism." In *A Companion to Impressionism*. Edited by André Dombrowski, and Dana Arnold, 11-26. Wiley Blackwell, 2021.

—. *Realism in the Age of Impressionism: Painting and the Politics of Time*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2015.

Zarobell, John. "A Year in Paris: Edvard Munch's 'Mermaid'." *Philadelphia Museum of Art Bulletin* 93, no. 393/394 (Summer 2005): 6–23.

Zemel, Carol. "The 'Spook' in the Machine: Van Gogh's Pictures of Weavers in Brabant." *Art Bulletin* 67, no. 1 (March 1985): 123–137.

—. *Van Gogh's Progress: Utopia, Modernity, and Late-Nineteenth-Century Art*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1997.

Zerilli, Linda. “Motionless Idols and Virtuous Mothers: Women, Art and Politics in France 1789-1848.” *Berkeley Journal of Sociology*, 27 (1982): 89–126.

Zola, Emile. “Edouard Manet: A New Style of Painting.” http://www.iub.edu/~paris10/ParisOSS/D6_Impressionism/Zola.pdf

BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCHES

Agostini, Jules (1859-1930)

Agostini was a colonial engineer and amateur photographer who traveled extensively in the Far East. He was an acquaintance of Paul Gauguin's and stayed at the artist's house in Moorea with another photographer, Henri Lemasson. He is known for his photograph of Gauguin's spacious reed and thatch house and studio at Puna'auia near Papeete which he took in 1896. In 2015, a rare photo of Gauguin and some of his Tahitian female models was discovered in Agostini's personal archives.

Antony, Maurice (1883-1963)

Antony was a Belgian photographer whose work provided an eyewitness account of the First World War and subsequent years of the interbellum. With his brother Robert, he created a body of documentary photography of the destruction of Ypres and the surrounding area during the First World War. Maurice's studio became the best known in Ostend in the interwar period; it specialized in news and documentary work and did not operate a portrait studio although he did take some photographs of the artist James Ensor.

Aubert, François (1829-1906)

Aubert, born in Lyons, France, graduated from the local art academy, studied under Hippolyte Flandrin, and by 1864 was active as a photographer in Mexico. In addition to his private work, he also served as court photographer to the Emperor Maximilian. Aubert's most notable work comprises a series of photographs of the execution of Maximilian in 1867, including his executioners, slain body, and bloodied shirt.

Bakhtin, Mikhail Mikhailovich (1895-1975)

Bakhtin was a Russian philosopher whose writings on literature, language, ethics, authorship, carnival, time and the theory of culture have shaped thinking in criticism and the social sciences. His name is identified with the concept of dialogue, which he applied to language and numerous other aspects of culture and the psyche. Bakhtin viewed literary genres as implicit worldviews, concrete renditions of a sense of experience. Strongly objecting to the idea that novelists simply weave narratives around received philosophical ideas, he argued that very often significant discoveries are made first by writers and are then "transcribed", often with considerable loss, into abstract philosophy.

Baldus, Édoaurd-Denis (1813-1889)

Baldus, originally from Prussia. was a French landscape, architectural and railway photographer. He was originally trained as a painter and had also worked as a draughtsman and lithographer before switching to photography in 1849.

Balzac, Honoré de (née Honoré Balssa) (1799–1850)

Balzac was a French novelist and playwright. Owing to his keen observation of detail and his unfiltered representation of society, he is regarded as one of the founders of realism in European literature. Renowned for his multi-faceted characters, even his lesser characters are complex, morally ambiguous, and fully human.

Barraud, Henry (1811–1874)

Barraud was a British Victorian artist known for his portraits, animal paintings, and genre scenes. He collaborated with his brother William on a book entitled *Sketches of Figures and Animals* published by H. Graves and Co. in 1850. He exhibited his portraits of horses and dogs and historical scenes at the Royal Academy and was also commissioned to paint several royal portraits.

Baudelaire, Charles Pierre (1821–1867)

Buadelaire was a French poet, essayist, and art critic, known for his controversial and groundbreaking writing. A leading figure in the French literary scene, his most famous work, "Les Fleurs du Mal" (The Flowers of Evil), challenged conventional morality as it explored themes of beauty, desire, and decadence. His poems exhibit mastery in the handling of rhyme and rhythm and contain an exoticism inherited from the Romantics, but are based on observations of real life. As an art critic, he championed the work of artists such as Eugène Delacroix and Constantin Guys.

Bazille, Jean Frédéric (1841–1870)

Bazille came from a family of art patrons who supported early avant-garde artists, including the Impressionists with whom Bazille would become affiliated. He studied at the Gleyre studio in Paris, where he met Claude Monet and Pierre-Auguste Renoir. Monet introduced him to outdoor painting, first in the Fontainebleau Forest, following in the footsteps of the Barbizon painters, and then in Normandy. Many of Bazille's major works are plein air paintings of figures set within luminous landscapes.

Beardsley, Aubrey Vincent (1872–1898)

Beardsley was an English illustrator and author whose black ink drawings, influenced by Japanese woodcuts, depicted the grotesque, the decadent, and the erotic. He was a leading figure in the aesthetic movement alongside Oscar Wilde and James McNeil Whistler. Beardsley's contribution to the development of Art Nouveau and poster styles was significant.

Begas, Carl Joseph (1794–1854)

Begas was a German painter who played an important role in the transition from Romanticism to Realism. He traveled to Paris in 1812 where he studied in the atelier of Antoine Jean Gros. He was known for historical works and representations of scenes from the Bible, but his main focus was portraiture. He was the first in a multi-generational 'dynasty' of artists.

Bell, Charles (1774–1842)

Bell was a Scottish surgeon, anatomist, physiologist, neurologist, artist, and philosophical theologian. He is noted for discovering the difference between the spinal cord's sensory and motor nerves. Bell published detailed studies of the nervous system in 1811, in his privately circulated book *An Idea of a New Anatomy of the Brain*. His research into nerve disorders and their impact on facial expression and paralysis (palsy) now bears his name.

Bell, Currer (nom de plume of Charlotte Bronte) (1816–1855)

Bronte was an English novelist and poet, the eldest of the three Bronte sisters whose novels became classics of English literature. The Bronte sisters admitted to their pseudonyms in 1848 and were celebrated in London literary circles. Of the decision to use the pseudonym Currer Bell, Bronte said, "Averse to personal publicity, we veiled our own names under those of Currer, Ellis and Acton Bell; the ambiguous choice being dictated by a sort of conscientious scruple at assuming Christian names positively masculine, while we did not like to declare ourselves women, because – without at that time suspecting that our mode of writing and thinking was not what is called 'feminine' – we had a vague impression that authoresses are liable to be looked on with prejudice; we had noticed how critics sometimes use for their chastisement the weapon of personality, and for their reward, a flattery, which is not true praise."

Benoist, Philippe (1813–1905)

Benoit, born in Geneva, was a painter, draughtsman, and lithographer, especially of landscapes and buildings. He worked in Paris where he was a pupil of Louis-Jacques-Mandé Daguerre and was best known as a lithographer, specializing in topographical views.

Béraud, Jean (1849–1935)

Béraud was a French painter renowned for his numerous paintings depicting the life of Paris and the nightlife of Paris society. Pictures of the Champs-Élysées, cafés, Montmartre and the banks of the Seine are precisely detailed illustrations of everyday Parisian life during the Belle Époque. He also painted religious subjects in contemporary settings.

Berend-Corinth, Charlotte (1880–1967)

Berend-Corinth was a German painter and one of only two female artists in the Berliner Secession. Her work demonstrates modern, radical subject matter. In her early work she captured the permissive mood of the Berlin art and theatre scene during the 1910s and 1920s. Her later works comprise self-portraits, still lifes, and landscape scenes. In 1933 she was compelled to leave Germany and emigrate to the United States due to her Jewish ancestry.

Bernard, Émile Henri (1868–1941)

Bernard was a French Post-Impressionist painter and writer who trained in Paris at the Atelier Cormon where he developed friendships with Vincent van Gogh, Paul Gauguin and Eugène Boch, and at a later time, Paul Cézanne. Most of his notable work was accomplished at a young age, in the years 1886 through 1897. He

is associated with Cloisonnism and Synthetism, two markedly innovative and anti-traditional styles which emphasized flat shapes, dark outlines and the use of emotionally expressive, non-naturalistic color.

Bernhardt, Sarah (née Henriette-Rosine) (1844-1923)

Bernhardt, the greatest French actress of the later 19th century, is one of the best-known figures in the history of the stage. She was an expressive actress with a wide emotional range who was capable of great subtlety in her interpretations and the grace, beauty, and charisma of her commanding stage presence. Her career was helped by her relentless self-promotion and her unconventional behaviour both on and off the stage. In 1880 Bernhardt formed her own traveling company and soon became an international idol who spent her time acting with her own company, managing the theatres it used, and going on long international tours.

"Bertall" (née Charles Constant Albert Nicolas) (1820-1882)

Bertall was the pseudonym of the draughtsman, wood engraver, lithographer and illustrator Vicomte Albert d'Arnoux, Comte de Limoges-Saint-Saëns. He took the name – an approximate anagram of his forename – at the suggestion of Honoré de Balzac with whom he collaborated from 1842 to 1855 on illustrating Balzac's complete works. In April 1871, during the Paris Commune, he founded the satirical journal *Le Grelot*, which attacked the Communards and further expressed his reactionary views in the illustrated *Types de la Commune* (Paris, 1871).

Beyeren, Abraham Hendriksz van (c. 1620-1690)

Beyerem, a Dutch Baroque painter of still lifes, little recognized in his day, was initially active as a marine painter. He is now considered one of the most important painters of still lifes of fish and pronkstillevens, distinguished by large, complex compositions and elaborate colouring.

Biard, François-Auguste (née François Thérèse Biard) (1799-1882)

Biard was a French painter known for his adventurous travels and the works depicting his experiences. He was among the first European painters to meet and depict the native populations of the Amazon and is also known for his representations of the Atlantic slave trade. In 1862, he published the travelogue *Deux Années au Brésil* with Hachette.

Blanc, Charles (1813-1882)

Blanc was a critic and historian of French and Italian art; chair in the history of art at the Collège de France (1878); and first editor of the *Gazette des beaux-arts*. He began writing a fourteen-volume history of painters, entitled *Histoire des peintres de toutes les écoles* (1849–69), which was translated into English and German. While continuing to publish his *Histoire*, Blanc issued *Grammaire des arts du dessin* in 1867, a book that merged developments in science with aesthetics that influenced Vincent Van Gogh and the Neo-Impressionists.

Blake, William (1757-1827)

Blake was an English engraver, artist, poet, and visionary and author of lyrics and "prophecies," writings he etched, printed, coloured, stitched, and sold, with the assistance of his wife, Catherine. His life and works were

intensely spiritual and he produced a diverse and symbolically rich collection of works, which embraced the imagination as the “body of God” or “human existence itself.”

Block, Josef (1863–1943)

Block was a German painter who founded the Society of Visual Artists of Munich in 1892, which became the basis of the Munich Secession. This was a movement of artists who felt that art was not sufficiently contemporary and open. This happened in preparation for the World Columbian Exposition 1893 in Chicago.

Bonaparte, Charles Louis-Napoléon (1808–1873)

Bonaparte was the first President of France from 1848-1852 and the last monarch of France as Emperor of the French from 1852-1870. Napoleon III commissioned Baron Haussmann’s renovation of Paris, expanded and consolidated the French railway system, modernized the banking system, promoted the building of the Suez Canal, established modern agriculture in France, and negotiated free trade agreements with European trading partners. Social reforms included giving French workers the right to strike and organize, and women the right to higher education.

Bonheur, Marie-Rosalie “Rosa” (1822–1899)

Bonheur was a French painter and sculptor famed for the remarkable accuracy and detail of her pictures featuring animals. By the time Bonheur was in her teens, her talent for sketching live animals had manifested itself, and—rejecting training as a seamstress—she began studying animal motion and forms on farms, in stockyards, and at animal markets, horse fairs, and slaughterhouses, observing and sketching them and gaining an intimate knowledge of animal anatomy. Her sketching visits to those public places that were largely the domain of men, as well as her work in the studio, prompted her in the early 1850s to eschew traditional female clothing for the trousers and loose blouse of a male peasant; and she continued to dress in masculine attire for the rest of her life. In the 1870s she began to study and sketch lions and to master the characteristics of their movement as she had horses and many other animals; as an aid to her observation and in appreciation of their spirit, she even raised some lions on her estate. Bonheur, cited as ‘the first lesbian artist’, was someone who defied gender conventions for the time and saw themselves as occupying a masculine role, so it is also possible that Bonheur may have understood themselves to be trans, non-binary, or genderqueer.

Bonnet, Charles (1720–1793)

Bonnet, a Swiss naturalist and philosophical writer, discovered parthenogenesis (reproduction without fertilization) and developed the catastrophe theory of evolution. In *Philosophical Palingesis, or Ideas on the Past and Future States of Living Beings* (1770), he argued that females carry within them all future generations in a miniature form. He believed these miniature beings, sometimes called homonculi, would be able to survive even great cataclysms such as the biblical Flood; he predicted, moreover, that these catastrophes brought about evolutionary change, and that after the next disaster, men would become angels, and mammals would gain intelligence.

Bosch, Hieronymus (née Jheronimus van Aken) (ca. 1450–1516)

Bosch was a prolific painter who straddled the period from the late Middle Ages to the Protestant Reformation. Drawing from the religious beliefs, language and folklore of the day, his disturbingly vivid, dream-like paintings depict a pessimistic view of human folly and sin, particularly the vices of promiscuity, gluttony, drunkenness

and laziness. His work influenced Pieter Brueghel the Elder and is considered to have inspired 20th century Surrealism.

Botticelli, Sandro, née Alessandro di Mariano di Vanni Filipepi (1445-1510)

Botticelli was an Italian painter of the Early Renaissance whose paintings represent the pinnacle of the cultural flourishing of the Medici's Florence, a prosperous society that encouraged the progress of art, philosophy and literature. Throughout his long career he was commissioned to paint different subjects, but at the heart of his work he always strove towards beauty and virtue, the qualities represented by the goddess Venus, who is the subject of many of his most famous paintings.

Boucher, François (1703-1770)

Boucher, a French artist, is associated with the formulation of the mature Rococo style and its dissemination throughout Europe. Among the most prolific of his generation, he is known for his idyllic and voluptuous paintings of Classical themes, decorative allegories, and pastoral scenes which he worked in virtually every medium and every genre, creating a personal idiom that found wide reproduction in print form.

Boudin, Eugène Louis (1824-1898)

Boudin was one of the first French landscape painters to paint outdoors. Largely self-taught, he was influenced by the Barbizon painters and followed Camille Corot's example in his preference for working directly from nature. His best-known paintings are small landscapes of the harbours and beaches along the northern French coast which reflected his sharp eye for social detail. In 1858 he met Claude Monet and persuaded him to become a landscape painter, helping to instill in him a love of bright hues and the play of light on water evident in Monet's Impressionist paintings.

Bouguereau, William-Adolphe (1825-1905)

Bouguereau, working predominantly within the academic tradition, earned a strong reputation in his lifetime as a painter of classic subjects, primarily that of the female nude. He attracted a wide following with his mythological and allegorical paintings, characterized by a highly finished, technically impeccable realism and a sentimental interpretation of his subject matter. As the quintessential salon painter of his generation, he was reviled by the Impressionist avant-garde.

Boulanger, Gustave Clarence Rodolphe (1824-1888)

Boulanger was a noted French painter, recognized for his paintings of historical subjects, as well as compositions taken from Greek and Roman mythology, Neoclassism and Oriental (particularly Middle-Eastern) subjects.

Boutet de Monvel, Louis-Maurice (1850-1913)

Boutet de Monvel was a French painter and illustrator best known for his watercolours for children's books. He was a major figure in children's book illustration.

Brady, Mathew B. (1822-1896)

Brady was a well-known 19th-century American photographer who was celebrated for his portraits of politicians and his photographs of the American Civil War. In 1845 at Brady's first New York portrait studio he attempted to photograph as many famous people of his time as he could, including Daniel Webster, Edgar Allan Poe, and James Fenimore Cooper, and compiled such portraits in *A Gallery of Illustrious Americans* (1850), an album of lithographs based on his daguerreotypes. At the outbreak of the American Civil War in 1861, he decided to make a complete record of that conflict. He hired g a staff of about twenty photographers, the best known of whom were Alexander Gardner and Timothy H. O'Sullivan, and dispatched them throughout the war zones. Brady's main activities in the endeavour involved organizing and supervising the operation of his employees and studios; he himself probably photographed only occasionally on such battlefields as Bull Run, Antietam, and Gettysburg.

Breton, Jules Adolphe Aimé Louis (1827-1906)

Breton was a French naturalist painter who had a respect for tradition and love for his native province of Artois. *The Gleaners* (1854) a work inspired by seasonal field labor and the plight of the less fortunate who were left to gather what remained in the field after the harvest received a third class medal at the Paris Salon, which launched Breton's career. His numerous subjects may be divided generally into four classes: labour, rest, rural festivals and religious festivals. His poetic renderings of single peasant female figures in a landscape, posed against the setting sun, were very popular, especially in the United States.

Brouillet, Pierre Aristide André (1857-1914)

Brouillet was a French academic painter specializing in genre painting, portraits and landscapes. He is best known for his painting *A Clinical Lesson at the Salpêtrière* (1887) which represents the neurologist Jean Martin Charcot examining the hysterical patient Marie Wittman, during one of these famous "Tuesday lessons". Charcot is represented with a large number of his students and collaborators, including Théodule-Armand Ribot, Paul Richer and Gilles de La Tourette and the neurologist Joseph Babinski. Influenced by Jean-Léon Gérôme, he devoted himself to Orientalist painting, thanks also to the discovery that his wife, Emma Isaac was daughter of a rich Constantine Jewish merchant.

Brücke, Ernst Wilhelm Ritter (1819-1892)

Brücke, a German physician and physiologist, is credited with contributions made in many facets of physiology. In 1845 he founded the Physikalische Gesellschaft (Physical Society) in Berlin, together with Emil Du Bois-Reymond, Hermann von Helmholtz and others, in the house of physicist Heinrich Gustav Magnus. Later on, this became known as the Deutsche Physikalische Gesellschaft (German Society of Physics).

Bruegel "the Elder", Pieter (ca. 1525-1530-1569)

Bruegel "the Elder" had a formative influence on Dutch Golden Age painting as one of the first generation of artists to grow up when religious subjects had ceased to be the natural subject matter of painting. His art reinvigorated medieval subjects such as marginal drolleries of ordinary life in illuminated manuscripts, and the calendar scenes of agricultural labours set in landscape backgrounds, and put these on a much larger scale, and in expensive medium of oil painting. He did the same with the fantastic and anarchic world developed in Renaissance prints and book illustrations.

Cabanel, Alexandre (1823-1889)

Cabanel, a French painter of historical, Classical and religious subjects in the academic style was also well known as a portrait painter. His important commissions included works for Napoleon III and Ludwig II, the King of Bavaria. He was a bitter opponent of the Impressionists and represented exactly the kind of academic art that they despised.

Caillebotte, Gustave (1848-1894)

Caillebotte was a French painter who combined aspects of the academic and Impressionist styles in a unique synthesis. He met Pierre-Auguste Renoir and Claude Monet in 1874 and showed his works at the Impressionist exhibition of 1876 and its successors. He became the chief organizer, promoter, and financial backer of the Impressionist exhibitions for the next six years, and he used his wealth to purchase works by avant-garde artists, notably Claude Monet, Pierre-Auguste Renoir, Camille Pissarro, Paul Cézanne, Edgar Degas, Alfred Sisley, and Berthe Morisot.

Cameron, Julia Margaret (née Pattle) (1815-1879)

Cameron, a British photographer, is considered one of the greatest portrait photographers of the 19th century. Cameron made allegorical and illustrative studio photographs, posing and costuming family members and servants in imitation of the popular Romantic and Pre-Raphaelite paintings of the day. She is known for soft-focus close-ups of famous Victorian men and women, illustrative images depicting characters from mythology, Christianity and literature, and sensitive portraits of men, women and children.

Canova, Antonio (1757-1822)

Canova was an Italian Neoclassical sculptor famous for his marble sculptures. Often regarded as the greatest of the Neoclassical artists, his work was inspired by the Baroque and the Classical Revival, and has been characterized as having avoided the melodramatics of the former, and the cold artificiality of the latter.

Carabin, François-Rupert (1862-1932)

Carabin was a French cabinetmaker, photographer and sculptor. Between 1889 and 1919, Carabin sculpted many furniture pieces, mainly constructed from oak, pear, or walnut wood. His sculptures and designs of the female form tended towards the Decadent style. He worked in the artistic milieu of Montmartre and made a series of photographic studies of prostitutes.

Carlyle, Thomas (1795-1881)

Carlyle, a leading Scottish writer of the Victorian era, profoundly influenced 19th-century art, literature and philosophy. His innovative writing style, known as Carlylese, helped shape Victorian literature and anticipated techniques of postmodern literature. While not adhering to any formal religion, he asserted the importance of belief and developed his own philosophy of religion. He preached “Natural Supernaturalism,” the idea that all things are “Clothes” which at once reveal and conceal the divine, that “a mystic bond of brotherhood makes all men one,” and that duty, work and silence are essential. He postulated the Great Man theory, a philosophy of history which contends that exceptional individuals shape history.

Cassatt, Mary Stevenson (1844-1926)

Cassatt, an American painter and printmaker living in Paris, was part of the group of Impressionists. She took as her subjects almost exclusively the intimate lives of contemporary women, especially in their roles as the caretakers of children. She particularly admired the work of Degas, based on their common visual sensibilities, including an interest in bold compositional structure, asymmetry high vantage point of Japanese prints, and contemporary subject matter.

Castagnary, Jules-Antoine (1830-1888)

Castagnary, a French liberal politician, journalist and progressive and influential art critic, embraced the new term “Impressionist” in his positive and perceptive review of the first Impressionist show, in *Le Siècle*, April 29, 1874.

Cézanne, Paul (1839-1906)

Cézanne was a French painter whose works and ideas were influential in the aesthetic development of 20th-century artists and art movements, especially Cubism. His art, misunderstood and discredited by the public during most of his life, grew out of Impressionism and eventually challenged conventional values of painting in the 19th century because of his insistence on personal expression and on the integrity of the painting itself, regardless of subject matter.

Cicéri, Étienne Eugène (1813-1890)

Cicéri, a French painter, illustrator, engraver, theatrical designer, presented scenes in the Realist style. A few of his works were done in North Africa, gaining him a reputation as an Orientalist.

“Cham” (née Charles Amédée de Noé) (1818-1879)

Cham was a French caricaturist and lithographer for *Le Charivari,* a satirical magazine. He was known for his racist portrayal of people of colour, specifically targeting Black women.

Champaigne, Philippe de (1602-1674)

Champaigne, a French Baroque era painter, was a major exponent of the French school. He was a founding member of the Académie de peinture et de sculpture in Paris, the premier art institution in France in the eighteenth century.

“Champfleury” (née Jules-François-Félix Fleury-Husson) (1821-1889)

Champfleury was a French art critic, novelist, and prominent supporter of the Realist movement in painting and fiction. He was one of the first to promote the work of Gustave Courbet, in an article appearing in an issue of *Le Pamphlet* in 1848. His novels, of which the best known is *Les Bourgeois de Molinchart* (1854), were among the earliest Realist literary works.

“Chanteclair” (née Lucien Émery) (1874–1965)

Chanteclair was a French cartoonist and the principal caricaturist of the antisemitic journal *La Libre Parole Illustrée*.

Charcot, Jean-Martin (1825–1893)

Charcot was a French neurologist and professor of anatomical pathology who was interested in hypnosis and hysteria, particularly with his hysteric patient Louise Augustine Gleizes.

Chéret, Jules (1836–1932)

Chéret was a French Art Nouveau painter and lithographer who became a master of Belle Époque poster art. His success inspired an industry that saw the emergence of a new generation of poster designers and painters such as Charles Gesmar and Henri de Toulouse-Lautrec.

Chevreul, Michel Eugène (1786–1889)

Chevreul was a French chemist whose work influenced several areas of science, medicine, and art. As the director of dyes at the national Gobelins textile factory in Paris, he identified a fundamental law of the simultaneous contrast of colors which detailed the effects that proximity between two colors has on what the eye sees. His colour model represented the complete range of shades, tones and tints of every hue, but his concept of tone confounded lightness (value) and saturation.

Chodowiecki, Daniel Niklaus (1726–1801)

Chodowiecki, a German painter and printmaker of Huguenot and Polish ancestry, is well known as an etcher. He spent most of his life in Berlin and became the director of the Berlin Academy of Art.

Christiani, Henri (18– –1921)

Christiani was a French composer and author of *Petits Rats* (Durand, 1907).

Clairin, George Jules Victor (1843–1919)

Clairin, a French Orientalist painter and illustrator, was influenced by Eastern imagery and Moorish architecture, which he saw in his many visits to North Africa, particularly Algeria, Morocco and Egypt. In Paris he befriended the actress Sarah Bernhardt, his friend for fifty years. Today he is best known for his ‘in costume’ and informal, intimate portraits of her.

Clarkson, Thomas (1760–1846)

Clarkson was an English abolitionist, and a leading campaigner against the slave trade in the British Empire. He helped to found The Society for Effecting the Abolition of the Slave Trade and to achieve passage of the Slave Trade Act of 1807, which ended British trade in enslaved people.

Clonney, James Goodwyn (1812-1867)

Clonney was an English-born American genre painter and lithographer who focused on rural subjects. Several of Clonney's paintings are subtle political and social commentaries, notably those showing white and black men interacting as equals and friends.

Coleridge, Samuel Taylor (1772-1834)

Coleridge was an English poet, literary critic, philosopher, and theologian who, with his friend William Wordsworth, was a founder of the Romantic Movement in England and a member of the Lake Poets. His critical work, especially on William Shakespeare, was highly influential, and he also helped introduce German idealist philosophy to English-speaking cultures. Coleridge who coined many familiar words and phrases, including the "suspension of disbelief" had a significant influence on Ralph Waldo Emerson and American transcendentalism.

Colin, Héloïse Suzanne Leloir (1819-1873)

Colin was a painter and fashion illustrator during the Second French Empire who painted watercolours, miniatures, and illustrations for novels. She and her sisters Anaïs Toudouze and Laure Noël were best known for their work as illustrators of Parisian fashion of the mid-nineteenth century.

Constable, John (1776-1837)

Constable, a major figure in English landscape painting in the early 19th century, is best known for his paintings of the English countryside, particularly those representing his native valley of the River Stour, an area that came to be known as "Constable country." His oeuvre was unique in that he usually did not elect to paint places popular with the touring public or other artists, but rather concentrated on sites with which he had family connections, or where, for personal reasons, he happened to be. His landscapes represent a sometimes astonishing capacity to represent natural appearances—particularly, in his later years, the fleeting and dramatic effects of stormy skies—as well as a profound and prolonged meditation on the rural realities of a Britain undergoing a bewildering socioeconomic transformation.

Corréard, Alexandre (1788-1857)

Corréard was a French engineer and geographer. He is famous for escaping the Medusa shipwreck and describing his experience to Théodore Géricault whose most well-known painting is *The Raft of the Medusa* (1819).

Corot, Jean-Baptise-Camille (1796-1875)

Corot, a French painter, noted primarily for his landscapes, inspired and to some extent anticipated the landscape painting of the Impressionists. His oil sketches, remarkable for their technical freedom and clear colour, have come to be as highly regarded as the finished pictures that were based upon them. Corot preferred to sit outdoors, rather than in studios, sketching what he saw and learning by firsthand experience. In 1825 Corot went to Italy for three years where he painted scenes of Rome and the Campagna, the countryside around Rome. He was made a trip to Naples and Ischia and returned to Paris by way of Venice.

Costa (Acosta), Uriel da (1585–1640)

Acosta was a Portuguese philosopher and skeptic who became an example among Jews of one martyred by the intolerance of his own religious community. The son of an aristocratic family of Marranos (Spanish and Portuguese Jews forcibly converted to Roman Catholicism), he returned to Judaism and after converting his mother and brothers to his beliefs, he and the family fled to Amsterdam and embraced Judaism. Acosta soon discovered, however, that the prevailing form of Judaism was not a biblical one but, rather, an elaborate structure based on rabbinic legislation. He was excommunicated and humiliated, and, after writing a short autobiography, *Exemplar Humanae Vitae* (1687; "Example of a Human Life"), he shot himself. Acosta's *Exemplar* depicted religion as disruptive of natural law and a source of hatred and superstition; in contrast, he advocated a faith based on natural law and reason.

Couché, François-Louis (1782–1849)

Couché was a French illustrator and engraver who captured the Napoleonic legend. He created a series of portraits of Napoleon and his brothers, battle scenes of the First Empire, and illustrations for *L'Histoire de Napoléon* by Jacques de Norvins (1827).

Courbet, Jean Désiré Gustave (1819–1877)

Courbet was a French painter who led the Realism movement in 19th-century French painting and who as a socialist, was active in French politics. Committed to painting only what he could see, he rejected academic convention and the Romanticism of the previous generation of visual artists. His paintings of the late 1840s and early 1850s challenged convention by depicting unidealized peasants and workers, often on a grand scale traditionally reserved for paintings of religious or historical subjects.

Cranach "the Elder", Lucas Maler (1472–1553)

Cranach was a German Renaissance painter and printmaker specializing in woodcut prints and engravings. He was court painter to the Electors of Saxony for most of his career and is known for his portraits of German princes as well as of leaders of the Protestant Reformation, whose cause he embraced. He was a close friend of Martin Luther.

Daguerre, Louis-Jacques-Mandé (1787–1851)

Daguerre was a French artist and photographer recognized for his invention of the eponymous daguerreotype process of photography. Though he is most famous for his contributions to photography, he was also an accomplished painter, scenic designer, and developer of the diorama theatre.

Darwin, Charles Robert (1809–1882)

Darwin was an English naturalist, geologist and biologist widely known for his contributions to evolutionary biology. His proposition that all species of life have descended from a common ancestor is now generally accepted and considered a fundamental scientific concept.

Daubigny, Charles-François (1817-1878)

Daubigny was a French painter of the Barbizon landscape school who is considered an important precursor of Impressionism. A prolific printmaker, mostly in etching, he was one of the leading artists to use cliché verre, also known as the glass print technique.

Daumier, Honoré-Victorin (1808-1879)

Daumier was a prolific French caricaturist, painter, and sculptor especially renowned for his cartoons and drawings satirizing 19th-century French politics and society. After working briefly for several short-lived journals, Daumier in 1831 was engaged by a publicist, Charles Philipon, as cartoonist for a newly founded journal of political satire, *La Caricature*. The initial target of his attacks was the government of King Louis-Philippe, which he ridiculed with a corrosive wit that brought him to the notice of the press police and earned him a jail term of six months in 1832. When a tightening of censorship in 1835 put an end to *La Caricature*, Daumier shifted to politically unobjectionable social satire for Philipon's other journal, *Le Charivari*; in hundreds of lithographs, published serially, two or three a week, he turned a sharp eye on the characteristic look and demeanor of every segment of Parisian society, ranging from attitudes of the urban middle class with which he fondly empathized (*Les Bons Bourgeois*), to the frauds of speculators (*Robert Macaire*), the pomposities of lawyers (*Gens de justice*), the self-delusions of artists, the rapacity of landlords, and the vanity of bluestockings.

David, Jacques-Louis (1748-1825)

David, a French painter in the Neoclassical style, is considered to be the preeminent painter of the era. In the 1780s his cerebral brand of history painting marked a change in taste away from Rococo frivolity toward Classical austerity and severity and heightened feeling, harmonizing with the moral climate of the final years of the Ancien Régime. He later became an active supporter of the French Revolution but after Robespierre's fall from power, he aligned himself with Napoleon I and developed his Empire style, notable for its use of warm Venetian colours.

Degas, Hilaire-Germain-Edgar (1834-1917)

Degas was a French Impressionist painter, sculptor, and printmaker, renowned for his images of Parisian life which centered on the human figure. He explored the female figure in representations of laundresses, cabaret singers, milliners, prostitutes, and ballet dancers. His also painted portraits, noted for their psychological complexity. Degas experimented with a wide variety of media, from oil and pastel to lithographs, etchings and photography.

Delacroix, Ferdinand Victor Eugène (1798-1863)

Delacroix, a French Romantic artist, was regarded from the outset of his career as a leading figure of the Romantic movement in France. In contrast to the Neoclassical perfectionism of his chief rival Ingres, he found inspiration in the art of Rubens and painters of the Venetian Renaissance, which emphasized colour and movement rather than clarity of outline and carefully modelled form.

Delaroche, Hippolyte-Paul (1797-1856)

Delaroche was a French painter who achieved his more significant successes painting historical scenes. He became famous in Europe for his melodramatic depictions that often portrayed subjects from English and French history. The emotions emphasized in Delaroche's paintings appeal to Romanticism while the detail of his work, along with the deglorified portrayal of historic figures, follow the trends of Academicism and Neoclassicism. Delaroche aimed to depict his subjects and history with pragmatic realism, painting all his subjects the same whether they were historical figures or people of his time.

Demachy, Pierre-Antoine (1723-1807)

Demachy, a French Rococo artist, was one of the leading exponents of architectural painting during the Ancien Régime. He specialized in painting ruins, trompe-l'œil architectural decorations and imaginative scenes of Paris.

Derussy, Philippe (DOB unknown, active 1845-1852)

Derussy was a 19th-century French photographer.

Dewhurst, Wynford (1864-1941)

Dewhurst was an English Impressionist painter and notable art theorist. He spent considerable time in France and Claude Monet profoundly influenced his work.

Dickens, Charles John Huffam (1812-1870)

Dickens was an English writer and social critic who created some of the world's best-known fictional characters and is regarded by many as the greatest novelist of the Victorian era. He left school at twelve to work in a boot-blacking factory when his father was incarcerated in a debtors' prison. He campaigned vigorously for children's rights, education, and other social reforms. His works enjoyed unprecedented popularity during his lifetime.

Diderot, Denis (1713-1784)

Diderot was a French philosopher, art critic, and writer, best known as co-founder, chief editor, and contributor of ca. 7000 articles to the *Encyclopédie, ou dictionnaire raisonné des sciences, des arts et des métiers* (*Encyclopedia, or a Systematic Dictionary of the Sciences, Arts, and Crafts*). Better known as *Encyclopédie*, this was a general encyclopedia published between 1751 and 1772, with later supplements, revised editions, and translations. In the article "Encyclopédie", Didreot wrote that the *Encyclopédie*'s aim was "to change the way people think" and for people (bourgeoisie) to be able to inform themselves and to know things. He and the other contributors, representing the thought of the Enlightenment, advocated for the secularization of learning and the democratization of knowledge.

Disdéri, André-Adolphe-Eugène (1819-1889)

Disdéri was a French photographer who started his photographic career as a daguerreotypist but gained greater fame for patenting and promoting his version of the carte de visite, a small photographic image which

was mounted on a card. Each photograph, the size of a visiting card, were commonly traded among friends and visitors in the 1860s, and albums for the collection of these cards became a common fixture in Victorian parlors. The immense popularity of these card photographs led to the publication of photographs of prominent persons.

Dollingen, Zacharias (1808-1878)

Dollingen was a 19th-century French editor who collaborated with Disdéri on *Galerie des Contemporains* (1860-1862). For two francs a week, subscribers would receive two mounted carte-de-visite (cdv) portraits of celebrities with short, four-page biographies by writers hired by Dollingen. Disdéri eventually produced some 125 cdvs in this series, including images of the Imperial family and court, Sir Robert Peel, Benjamin Disraeli, the Baron de Rothschild, Giuseppe Verdi, the Italian patriot Count Cavour, and various members of the aristocratic and artistic world in Europe during the Second Empire.

Dornac, Paul Marsan (Pol Marsan), née Paul François Arnold Cardon (1858-1941)

Dornac was a French photographer, specializing in portraits of personalities photographed at home or work. He was the artist of a series of photographic portraits from 1887 to 1917 entitled *Nos contemporains chez eux* ('Our contemporaries at home') which appeared in *Le Monde,* either as engravings after his photographs or directly reproduced. Tired of making portraits in the traditional manner in his photography studio, as Nadar had done before him for several of the same subjects, he decided instead to visit them, *chez eux,* with his camera.

Douglass, Frederick Augustus Washington Bailey (1817-1895)

Douglass was an American social reformer, abolitionist, orator, writer and statesman. After escaping from slavery in Maryland, he became a national leader of the abolitionist movement in Massachusetts and New York, famous for his oratory and incisive anti-slavery writings. He considered photography very important in ending slavery and racism, and believed that the camera would not lie, even in the hands of a racist white person, as photographs were an excellent counter to many racist caricatures, particularly in blackface minstrelsy. Douglass was the most photographed American of the 19th century, consciously using photography to advance his political views.

Dubourg (Fantin-Latour), Victoria (1840-1926)

Dubourg was a French Realist still-life painter. She married the painter Henri Fantin-Latour in 1876, whom she collaborated with on floral paintings but she also produced works under her own name that she signed "V. Dubourg."

Ducreux, Joseph (1735-1802)

Ducreux was a French noble, portrait painter, pastelist, miniaturist, and engraver. He was a portraitist at the court of Louis XVI of France and resumed his career after the French Revolution. His less formal portraits reflect his fascination with physiognomy and show an interest in expanding the range of facial expressions beyond those of conventional portraiture.

Dührkoop, Rudolf Johannes (1848-1918)

Dührkoop, a German portrait photographer, was one of the leading early representatives of Pictorialism.

Duncanson, Robert Seldon (1821-1872)

Duncanson was an American landscapist of African and European ancestry. Inspired by American landscape artists like Thomas Cole, he created renowned landscape paintings and is considered a second-generation Hudson River School artist.

Durand-Ruel, Paul (1831-1922)

Durand-Ruel was a French art dealer associated with the Impressionists and the Barbizon School. Being the first to support artists such as Claude Monet, Camille Pissarro, and Pierre-Auguste Renoir, he is known for his innovations in modernizing art markets. Considered the most important art dealer of the 19th century, he played a role in the decentralization of art markets in France, which the Salon system dominated before the mid-19th century.

Duranty, Louis Edmond (1833-1880)

Duranty was a prolific French novelist and art critic who supported the Realist cause and later the Impressionists. In 1876, he wrote a thirty-eight page pamphlet on the second group show of the Impressionist painters, *La nouvelle peinture: à propos du groupe dàrtistes qui expose dans les galeries Durand-Ruel*, the first serious attempt to write an insightful analysis of Impressionism. Duranty avoided the term "Impressionism" popularized by the press and initially a satirical term, preferring to call it the "new painting."

Duval, Eugène Emmanuel Amaury Pineux (Amaury-Duval) (1808-1885)

Duval, a French painter, was one of the first students in Jean Auguste Dominique Ingres's studio. He began his career as a portraitist and was later inspired by Italian Renaissance art.

"El Greco" (née Domẽnikos Theotokópoulos) (1541-1614)

El Greco was a painter, sculptor, and architect in Toledo, Spain. Influenced by Mannerism and Venetian Renaissance art, his expressive style and haunting, exaggerated forms, which privileged subjectivity over realism, dramatically reflected the passion of Counter-Reformation Spain. El Greco is regarded as one of the precursors of Expressionism and Cubism.

Emmett, Daniel Decateur (1815-1904)

Emmett was an American songwriter, entertainer, and founder of the first troupe of the blackface minstrel tradition, the Virginia Minstrels. He is most remembered as the composer of the song "Dixie," which was adopted as the de facto national anthem of the Confederacy during the American Civil War.

Ensor, James Sidney (1860-1949)

Ensor was a Belgian painter and printmaker whose works are known for their bizarre fantasy and sardonic social commentary. When Ensor's works were rejected by the Brussels Salon in 1883, he joined a group of progressive artists called Les Vingt (The Twenty). During this period, in such works as his *Scandalized Masks* (1883), he began to depict images of grotesque fantasy—skeletons, phantoms, and hideous masks. Ensor's interest in masks probably began in his mother's curio shop. His *Entry of Christ into Brussels* (1888), filled with carnival masks painted in smeared, garish colours, provoked such indignation that he was expelled from Les Vingt. As criticism increased his paintings became more abusive, cynical and misanthropic with nightmarish visions as in *Masks (Intrigues)* (1890) and *Skeletons Fighting for the Body of a Hanged Man* (1891).

Expilly, Jean-Charles-Marie (1814-1886)

Expilly, a French novelist and historian, spent much time in South America. He wrote *The Truth concerning the Conflict involving Brazil, Buenos Ayres, Montevideo, and Paraguay in Presence of Civilization* (1866); *The Political and Commercial Consequences of the Opening of the Amazon* (869); and several novels, including *The Black Pirate* (1838) and *The Sword of Damocles* (1843).

Fairchild MacMonnies Low, Mary (1858-1946)

Fairchild was an American painter who specialized in landscapes, genre paintings, and portraits. In 1885, she won a three-year scholarship to study in Paris, where she enrolled in the Académie Julian and was a leading figure among American women artists in Paris. She was commissioned to paint the mural, *Primitive Women*, which adorned one tympanum in the Women's Building of the 1893 World's Columbian Exposition in Chicago.

Fantin-Latour, Ignace Henri Jean Théodore (1836-1904)

Fantin-Latour was a French painter and lithographer best known for his flower paintings and group portraits of Parisian artists and writers. He shared some of the Impressionists' ideals, but specialized in still lifes and quasi-Symbolist works rather than contemporary subjects. He also produced a number of imaginative, often mythological scenes inspired by music and opera, many reproduced as lithographs; much of his later career was devoted to this medium.

Feyen, Jacques-Eugène (1815-1908)

Feye, a French artist had a notable career at the Paris Salon from 1841 to 1882. He set up studio and settled in the summer in the town of Cancale. He spent several months every year painting views of Cancale, the oyster-picking Cancalaises and the bay of Mont Saint-Michel.

Foster, Stephen Collins (1826-1864)

Foster, known as "the father of American music", was an American composer known primarily for his parlour and minstrel music. He wrote more than 200 songs, including "Oh! Susanna", "Hard Times Come Again No More", "Camptown Races", "Old Folks at Home" ("Swanee River"), "My Old Kentucky Home", "Jeanie with the Light Brown Hair", "Old Black Joe", and "Beautiful Dreamer". Mmany of his compositions remain popular today.

Franz, Ettore Roesler (1845–1907)

Franz was an Italian watercolour painter and photographer. His most well-known work is a series of 120 aquarelles (watercolours) titled *Roma Sparita* (disappeared Rome), which realistically depict parts of Rome that were in danger of disappearing as the city became more urbanized and modern. He was also one of the first artists to paint scenes in the Roman Ghetto.

Gallicelo, Louis (1860–1915)

Gallicelo was a French lithographic artist.

Garnier, Jean-Louis Charles (1825–1898)

Garnier was a French architect who won the competition for the new Paris Opera House in 1860. One of the most famous buildings of the century, the Opéra, completed in 1875, became a symbol of Second Empire taste, and its eclectic neo-Baroque style became characteristic of late 19th-century Beaux-Arts design. He also influenced the style of resort architecture for the wealthy with his small theatre for the casino of Monte-Carlo (1878), the casino and baths at Vittel, and the villas he built in Bordighera, notably his own.

Gauguin, Eugène Henri Paul (1848–1903)

Gauguin, a French artist, was an important figure in the Symbolist movement as a painter, sculptor, printmaker, ceramist, and writer. His expression of the inherent meaning of the subjects in his paintings paved the way for Primitivism and the return to the pastoral. He is well known for his relationship with Vincent and Theo van Gogh. His work influenced French avant-garde and many modern artists, such as Pablo Picasso and Henri Matisse. In the 21st century, Gauguin's Primitivist representations of Polynesian cultures and peoples, the artist's sexual relationships with teenage Tahitian girls, and the legacy of European colonialism in his work have been a subject of renewed scholarly debate and controversy.

Georget, Étienne-Jean (1795–1828)

Georget was a pioneer in psychiatric medicine, with an enlightened view of patients as individuals. In the early 1820s, he commissioned Théodore Géricault, a former patient, to paint a series of portraits so that his students could study the facial traits of "monomaniacs", as he preferred using such images to having patients in the classroom. He distinguished several types of monomania such as "theomania" (religious obsession), "erotomania" (sexual obsession), "demonomania" (obsession with evil) and "homicidal monomania" (obsession with murder).

Goethe, Johann Wolfgang von (1749–1832)

Goethe was a German poet, playwright, novelist, scientist, statesman, theatre director, and critic whose works include plays, poetry, literature, aesthetic criticism, and treatises on botany, anatomy, and colour. In 1810, he published his *Theory of Colours*, wherein he characterized colour as arising from the dynamic interplay of light and darkness through the mediation of a turbid medium. After being translated into English by Charles Eastlake in 1840, his theory became widely adopted by the art world, most notably Turner. In France, however, Goethe's theory of colors remained unknown for a long time, even though the technical and scientific point of view, faithful to Isaac Newton, predominated through Michel-Eugène Chevreul. French painters, from

Impressionists to Robert Delaunay, continued to make reference to Chevreul and his disciples, while never mentioning Goethe.

Gérard, François Pascal Simon (1770-1837)

Gérard was a French Neoclassical painter best known for his portraits of celebrated European personalities, particularly the leading figures of the First Empire and Restoration periods. A favourite of the revolutionaries, he was also acclaimed by Napoleon I and his circle, executing portraits (e.g., *Josephine Bonaparte*, 1799) and historical pieces (e.g., *Battle of Austerlitz*, 1808). After Napoleon's fall he became court painter to Louis XVIII and later, patronized by Charles X, painted the ceiling murals for the Panthéon in Paris (1830).

Géricault, Jean-Louis André Théodore (1791-1824)

Géricault, a French painter and lithographer, exerted a seminal influence on the development of Romantic art in France. His masterpiece is the large painting entitled *The Raft of the Medusa* (ca. 1819) which depicts the aftermath of a contemporary French shipwreck, whose survivors embarked on a raft and were decimated by starvation before being rescued at sea. The portrayal of the dead and dying, developed within a dramatic, carefully constructed composition, addressed a contemporary subject with unprecedented passion.

Gérôme Ferris, Jean Léon (1863-1930)

Gérôme was a French painter and sculptor in the style now known as Academicism. His paintings were so widely reproduced that he was arguably the world's most famous living artist by 1880. The range of his oeuvre included historical painting, Greek mythology, Orientalism, portraits and other subjects, bringing the academic painting tradition to an artistic climax.

Gerschel, Aron (1832-1907)

Gerschel was a French portrait photographer.

Gibson, James F. (1828-1905)

Gibson, one of the lesser-known Civil War photographers, is recognized for images of General McClellan's Peninsula Campaign, Seven Days Battles, Battles of Gaines' Mill and Battle of Malvern Hill.

Gill, André (née Louis-Alexandre Gosset de Guînes) (1840-1885)

Gill was a French caricaturist who adopted the pseudonym "André Gill" in homage to his hero, British caricaturist James Gillray. His style, subsequently much imitated, was noted for the enlargement of his subjects' heads, which sat upon undersized bodies. His caricatures, in the form of large hand-colored, lithographic portraits, were considered very accurate and not very cruel.

“Giorgione” (née Giorgio da Castelfranco) (1477–1510)

Giorgine, an Italian painter, is known for the elusive poetic quality of his work, though only about six surviving paintings are firmly attributed to him. He was a key artist of the Venetian School which emphasized *colorito*, or using color to create forms, in contrast to the Florentine Renaissance emphasis on *disegno*, or drawing the forms and filling them in the colour.

Giraud, Sébastien-Charles (1819–1892)

Giraud, a French painter and draughtsman, took part in the military expedition that King Louis Philippe sent to Tahiti in 1846, in order to support Queen Pōmare IV. He participated in military operations but above all he took the time and the care to make many sketches of the island: the vegetation, the people, and their homes.

Goltzius, Hendrick (1558–1617)

Goltzius, a German-born Dutch printmaker, draughtsman and painter, was the leading Dutch engraver of the early Baroque period, or Northern Mannerism. He was lauded for his sophisticated technique, technical mastership and elaborate composition. He brought to an unprecedented level the use of the “swelling line”, where the burin is manipulated to make lines thicker or thinner to create a tonal effect from a distance. He was also a pioneer of “dot and lozenge” technique, where dots are placed in the middle of lozenge shaped spaces created by cross-hatching to further refine tonal shading.

Gonin, Guido (1833–1906)

Gonin was a French painter and illustrator. Most of his known works display contemporary women’s fashion of the late 19th century.

Gottlieb, Maurycy (1856–1879)

Gottlieb was an Orthodox Polish Jewish realist painter of the Romantic period. Inspired by the dramatic national historical paintings of Jan Matejko, he depicted scenes from Poland’s past and also executed several paintings in the popular Orientalist fashion. He also painted a number of works with overtly Jewish subject matter, including a scene of a Jewish wedding, two paintings of the Jewish heterodox philosopher Uriel da Costa, illustrations to Gotthold Lessing’s play *Nathan der Weise* (Nathan the Wise), portraits of several prominent contemporary Jewish figures, and depictions of famous Jewish literary figures (Shylock and his daughter Jessica from William Shakespeare’s *Merchant of Venice*, and Jankiel the musician from Adam Mickiewicz’s *Pan Tadeusz*).

Goya y Lucientes, Francisco José de (1746–1828)

Goya was a Spanish artist whose paintings, drawings, and engravings influenced important 19th- and 20th-century painters such as Édouard Manet, Pablo Picasso and Salvador Dali. From 1775 to 1792 he was engaged in producing more than 60 cartoons (preparatory paintings) of contemporary life scenes and aristocratic and popular pastimes for the Royal Tapestry Factory of Santa Bárbara. In response to the Napoleonic invasion of Spain his series of etchings *The Disasters of War* (1810–14) rejected the bombastic heroics of most previous Spanish war art to record the horrific effect of conflict on individuals.

Graetz, Heinrich (1817–1891)

Graetz was a German historian and professor and among the first historians to write a comprehensive history of the Jewish people from a Jewish perspective. He became a teacher at the Breslau (now Wrocław, Poland) seminary in 1854 where Conservative Judaism compatible with his belief that a Jewish theology should attempt to moderate between Orthodox literalism and Reform liberalism was emphasized. His influential and widely translated *Geschichte der Juden von den ältesten Zeiten bis auf die Gegenwart* (1853–76) (*History of the Jews*) presents a picturesque and heroic account of the entire history of the Jewish people, emphasizing Jewish suffering and nationalistic aspirations.

Grandville, Jean-Jacques (née Jean Ignace Isidore Gerard) (1803–1847)

Grandville was a French illustrator, designer, and caricaturist. He became well known with *Les Métamorphoses du jour* (1829), a series of seventy-five scenes which portray characters with human bodies and animal faces. Along with Honoré Daumier and Paul Gavarni, he illustrated *Les Français peints par eux-mêmes* (180-1842), a moral encyclopedia, with texts by Honoré de Balzac, Alphonse Karr, and Charles Nodier.

Grünewald, Matthias (ca. 1470–1528)

Grünewald was a German Renaissance painter of religious works. Some of his works include *The Mocking of Christ* (1503), the *Isenheim Altarpiece* (1512- 1516), *Stuppach Madonna* (1514 – 1519), and *Christ Carrying the Cross* (1523 – 1524). The angst-laden expressionism and vivid colours of his paintings appealed to both German nationalists and modernists.

Guibert, Maurice (1856–1922)

Guilbert was a French photographer known today as a friend of Henri de Toulouse-Lautrec. Little is known of him other than his self-portraits and photograph of Toulouse-Lautrec's *At the Café La Mie* (1891) based on a staged photograph in which Guibert played the role of a sleazy low-life type in the company of an unidentified woman.

Gutekunst, Frederick (1831–1917)

Gutekunst was an American photographer from Philadelphia who grew to national prominence during the American Civil War. He is known as the "Dean of American Photographers" due to his high-quality portraits of dignitaries and celebrities. He gained international recognition for his photographs of the Gettysburg battlefield.

Guth, Jean-Baptiste (1855–1922)

Guth, a French portrait artist, worked primarily in watercolour and pastel. Much of his work was as an illustrator of magazines, especially *L'Illustration* and *Vanity Fair*.

Haan, Meijer (Meyer) Isaac de (1852–1895)

Haan was a Dutch painter of Jewish genre works. He remained in Amsterdam until 1888, where he produced chiefly portraits and representations of working class Jew inspired by Dutch masters David Teniers and Rembrandt. In 1888, De Haan left for Paris and from 1889 to 1890 painted alongside Paul Gauguin in Brittany and under his influence produced Impressionist works.

Hahn, Karl (c. 19th century)

Hahn, a German professional photographer, was frequently hired by Franz von Lenbach to photograph Lenbach's portrait sitters in the studio.

Halévy, Léon (1802–1883)

Halévy was a French civil servant, historian, and dramatist, of Jewish descent, but brought up Protestant. He wrote a book, *Degas parle*.... (*My Friend Degas,* published in English in 1964), based on his journal notes as a teenager and man in his 20s. Degas was a close friend of his father Ludovic and also a family friend.

Halévy, Ludovic (1834–1908)

Halévy was a French author and playwright best known for his collaborations with Henri Meilhac on Georges Bizet's *Carmen* and on the works of Jacques Offenbach. Ludovic was known for his parodies and light comedies of Parisian life. Degas, an anti-Semite and virulent anti-Dreyfusard, terminated his long friendship with Halévy during the Dreyfus Affair.

Hals, Frans (the Elder) (1582–1666)

Hals was a Dutch Golden Age painter, chiefly of individual and group portraits and genre works, He lived and worked in Haarlemwhere he played an important role in the evolution of 17th-century portraiture. His portraits,known for their loose painterly brushworkare not idealized but clearly distinguishable, with personalities revealed in a variety of poses and facial expressions.

Hawker, Henry Samuel (DOB Unknown–1889)

Hawker, a watercolourist, was a member of the British Royal Navy and colonel of the 3rd Dragoon Guards. He was a lieutenant on the H.M. Sloop Pearl when the slave ship Diligente with 600 slaves on board was seized in 1838 for engaging in the illegal slave trade.

Helmholtz, Hermann Ludwig Ferdinand (1821–1894)

Helmholtz was a German physicist and physician known for his mathematics concerning the eye, theories of vision, ideas on the visual perception of space, colour vision research, and perception of sounds. Helmholtz, turning to the intricate problems of colour vision in 1852, demonstrated the important distinction between additive and subtractive colour mixtures.

Hetzel, Pierre-Jules (1814-1886)

Hetzel, a leading republican, was a French editor and publisher of Honoré de Balzac, Victor Hugo and Émile Zola. He founded the *Nouveau magazine des enfants* ("New Children's Magazine") and the *Bibliothèque illustrée des Familles* (The Family Illustrated Library), which was renamed *Le Magasin d'éducation et de récréation* (Education and Entertainment Magazine) in 1864. His first major success was the *Scènes de la vie privée et publique des animaux* (1842) with numerous illustrations of animals by J.J. Grandville, and writings by Hetzel, Balzac, George Sand, Charles Nodier, and Louis Viardot which offered a witty and telling commentary on contemporary politics and personalities. His fame comes mostly for his editions of the *Voyages extraordinaires* (Extraordinary Journeys) by Jules Verne, originally published in biweekly chapters as a series in his *Le Magasin*.

Hiroshige I, Utagawa (née Ando Tokutaro) (1797-1858)

Hiroshige, a Japanese ukiyo-e artist, is considered the last great master of that tradition. He is best known for his horizontal-format landscape series *The Fifty-three Stations of the Tōkaidō* and his vertical-format landscape series *One Hundred Famous Views of Edo*. The subjects of his work were atypical of the ukiyo-e genre, whose focus was on beautiful women, popular actors, and other scenes of the urban pleasure districts of Japan's Edo period. Subtle use of colour was essential in Hiroshige's prints, often printed with multiple impressions in the same area and with extensive use of *bokashi* (colour gradation).

Hodler, Ferdinand (1853-1918)

Hodler was a Swiss Symbolist painter whose figural compositions and landscapes focused on the symmetric unity of nature and mystery of human life. By the mid-1880s, a tendency to self-conscious linear stylization was visible in his subject pictures, which dealt increasingly with the symbolism of youth and age, solitude, and contemplation. These pictures are notable for their strong linear and compositional rhythms and their clear, flat, decorative presentation. His firmly drawn nudes express Hodler's mystical philosophy through grave, ritualized gestures.

Hoffbauer, Theodor Josef Hubert "Feodor/Fédor" (1839-1922)

Hoffbauer was a German-born French architectural historian and painter who created several historic city plans depicting Medieval and Renaissance urban layouts. Notably, he was responsible for multiple dioramas and booklets on the historical development of Paris.

Hogarth, William (1697-1764)

Hogarth was an English painter, engraver, pictorial satirist, social critic, editorial cartoonist and occasional writer on art. His work ranges from realistic portraiture to comic strip-like series of pictures which he called "modern moral subjects." He created a series of paintings satirising contemporary customs, of which the first was *The Harlot's Progress* (1731), and perhaps the most famous *The Rake's Progress* (1732-1774).

Hogg, James (1770-1835)

Hogg was a Scottish engraver, poet, novelist and essayist who wrote in Scots and English. As a young man, Hogg worked as a shepherd and a farmhand and was largely self-educated through reading. He became widely known as the "Ettrick Shepherd," a nickname under which some of his works were published.

Hokusai, Katsushika (1760–1849)

Hokusai was a Japanese ukiyo-e artist of the Edo period, active as a painter and printmaker. Innovative in his compositions and exceptional in his drawing technique, he is best known for the woodblock print series *Thirty-Six Views of Mount Fuji*, which includes the iconic print *The Great Wave off Kanagawa*. Hokusai was instrumental in developing ukiyo-e from a style of portraiture primarily focused on courtesans and actors into a much broader style of art focused on landscapes, plants, and animals.

Holbein "the Younger," Hans (1497–1543)

Holbein was a German-Swiss painter and printmaker renowned for the precise rendering of his drawings and the compelling realism of his portraits. He also produced religious art, satire and Reformation propaganda, and significantly contributed to the history of book design in his woodcuts for title pages and illustrations.

Homer, Winslow (1836–1910)

Homer was an American landscape painter and illustrator, best known for his marine subjects. As a commercial illustrator working for *Harper's Weekly* he was sent to the front lines of the American Civil War, where he sketched battle scenes and camp life. Homer's paintings of Blacks during the Civil War and the Reconstruction years are invested with sympathy, tension, and ambiguity, and the same realism he displayed in painting white subjects.

Humbert, Alphonse Jean Joseph (1844–1922)

Humbert was a French journalist and political activist. An active member in the Paris Commune, a revolutionary working-class government that seized power in Paris from 18 March to 28 May 1871, he was exiled to New Caledonia after "La semaine sanglante" (The Bloody Week).

Hunt, William Wolman (1827–1910)

Hunt was an English painter and one of the founders of the Pre-Raphaelite Brotherhood whose paintings were notable for their attention to detail, vivid colour and elaborate symbolism. A man of strong, some would say pious, Christian beliefs, Hunt was fastidious in his attention to detail. He used actual locations – many in the middle-East – to restage biblical parables and rituals in his canvases. Falling under the influence of the writings of John Ruskin, Hunt was invested in the principle of a spiritual truth and, like Ruskin, he believed that the duty of the artist was to depict things truthfully while using art to promote and uphold moral integrity.

Ingres, Jean-Auguste-Dominique (1780–1867)

Ingres, French painter and icon of cultural conservatism, was the principal proponent of French Neoclassical painting after the death of his mentor, Jacques-Louis David. His cool, meticulously drawn works constituted the stylistic antithesis of the emotionalism and colourism of the contemporary Romantic school. As a monumental history painter, Ingres sought to perpetuate the Classical tradition of Raphael and Nicolas Poussin.

Jackson, William Henry (1843-1942)

Jackson, an American photographer, was a Civil War veteran, painter, and explorer famous for his images of the American West.

Janet, Ange-Louis (1815-1872)

Janet, also known under the pseudonym Janet-Lange, was a French painter, illustrator, lithographer and engraver.

Jeanron, Philippe-Auguste (1809-1877)

Jeanron was a French painter, curator, and writer, and passionate Republican. His genre pictures typically depicted common people. When the provisional government took power after the February Revolution of 1848, Jeanron became head of National Museums and Director of the Louvre from 1848 to 1850 where he introduced important innovations in the preservation, classification and arrangement of the collection.

Jiang, Yuan (1644-1746)

Jiang was a Chinese landscape painter who served at the imperial palace during the Yongzheng era (1722–1735). He painted landscapes and garrets, as well as bird-and-flower paintings and paintings of beasts.

Johnson, Jonathan Eastman (1824-1906)

Johnson, an American artist, was a Unionist whose art addressed the civil war, the abolition of slavery, and scenes of rural life in New England. He is best known for his genre paintings and portraits of both ordinary people and prominent Americans. He was also an active board member on progressive arts institutions, including New York's Metropolitan Museum of Art, which he co-founded,

Jouvin, Hippolyte (1825-1889)

Jouvin was a French photographer who pioneered street photography in Paris and produced stereoscopic images. His work included photographs from the Paris Commune.

Jumeau, Émile-Louis (1843-1910)

Jumeau was a French doll-maker and son of doll-maker Pierre-François Jumeau. He won a bronze medal at the Paris Exhibition of 1849, and was invited to take part in the London World's Fair in 1851, where he won a gold medal, mainly due to the dolls' dresses. In 1877, he created the "Unbreakable Baby", with a girl's face and a fully articulated body. The Jumeau dolls often had mature forms and a line of clothing and accessories that followed the latest fashion.

Klimt, Gustav (1862-1918)

Klimt was an Austrian symbolist painter and one of the most prominent members of the Vienna Secession movement. His primary subject was the female body, marked by frank eroticism. He was strongly influenced by Japanese art and its methods.

Knaus, Ludwig (1829-1910)

Knaus was a German genre painter of the Dusseldorf school of painting. Engravings of his work were especially popular among the German peasantry.

Krafft, Johann Peter (1780-1856)

Krafft was a German-born Austrian painter specializing in portraits, history subjects and genre scenes. He was also employed as an expert on the preservation of monuments.

Kuniaki II, Utagawa (1835-1888)

Kuniaki II was a Japanese ukiyo-e artist. He was the younger brother of, or perhaps the same person as, the artist known as Utagawa Kuniaki I and prints are sometimes attributed to one or the other. His genre included images of wrestlers (*sumo-e*), actors (*yakusha-e*), beauties (*bijin-ga*) and westerners (*Yokohama-e*). While considered a minor artist of his time, his print *The Wrestler Onaruto Nadaemon of Awa Province* became famous, as it is pictured in Manet's 1868 portrait of Emile Zola.

Latour-Marliac, Joseph Bory (1830-1911)

Latour-Marliac was a French lawyer and horticulturist noted for breeding water lily hybrids. He founded a water lily nursery at Le Temple-sur-Lot in 1875. A display of his plants in 1898 at the Universal Exhibition in Paris attracted the attention of the painter Claude Monet who purchased water lilies for his garden in Giverny from him.

Launay "le Jeune", Robert de (1749-1814)

Launay was a French engraver practicing intaglio. His works include portraits, vignettes, interpretive genre pieces and illustrations. He frequently signed his prints "Delaunay le J. [eune]" to distinguish him from his older brother.

Lavater, Johann Kaspar (Jean Gaspar) (1741-1801)

Lavater was a Swiss poet, writer, philosopher, physiognomist and theologian. In 1769 he took Holy Orders in Zurich's Zwinglian Church, officiating until his death as deacon or pastor in churches in his native city. Lavater introduced the idea that physiognomy (a field of study by which one could judge character from facial characteristics) related to the specific character traits of individuals rather than general types. Lavater used about 150 silhouettes among the illustrations in his monumental work *Physiognomische Fragmente* (Zurich, 1775 -76) and is credited with developing the silhouette machine.

Le Bon, Charles-Marie Gustave (1841-1931)

Le Bon was a leading French polymath whose areas of interest included anthropology, psychology, sociology, medicine, invention, and physics. He is best known for his 1895 work *The Crowd: A Study of the Popular Mind*, considered one of the seminal works of crowd psychology. He was ignored or maligned by sections of the French academic and scientific establishment during his life due to his politically conservative and reactionary views. Le Bon was critical of democracy and socialism.

Le Brun, Charles (1619-1690)

Le Brun, a French painter, physiognomist, art theorist, and director of several art schools of his time, became the arbiter of artistic production in France during the last half of the 17th century. Possessing both technical facility and the capacity to organize and carry out many vast projects, Le Brun personally created or supervised the production of most of the paintings, sculptures, and decorative objects commissioned by the French government for three decades during the reign of Louis XIV. Under his direction French artists created a homogeneous style that came to be accepted throughout Europe as the paragon of academic and propagandistic art.

Le Gray, Jean-Baptiste Gustave (1820-1884)

Le Gray, a French painter, draughtsman, sculptor, print-maker, and photographer is known as one of the most important French photographer of the nineteenth century because of his technical innovations and his instruction of other noted photographers such as Charles Nègre, Henri Le Secq, Nadar, Olympe Aguado, and Maxime Du Camp. His first daguerreotypes included portraits, scenes of nature such as Fontainebleau Forest and buildings such as châteaux of the Loire Valley. In 1851, he became one of the first five photographers hired for the Missions Héliographiques to document French monuments and buildings. He helped found the Société Héliographique, the first photographic organization in the world, and published a treatise on photography, which went through four editions, in 1850, 1851, 1852, and 1854.

Le Nain, Louis (ca. 1603-1648)

Louis Le Nain, a French artist, was one of three painter brothers, along with Antoine Le Nain (ca. 1600-1648) and Mathieu Le Nain (1607-1677), in 17th century France. They produced genre works, portraits and portrait miniatures. Because of their similarity in style and the difficulty of distinguishing works by each brother, who all signed their paintings only with their surname, they are commonly referred to as a single entity, Le Nain.

Le Nôtre, André (1613-1700)

Le Nôtre, a French landscape architect and the principal gardener of King Louis XIV of France, designed the gardens of the Palace of Versailles which represents the height of the French formal garden style, or *jardin à la française*. Prior to working on Versailles, he collaborated with Louis Le Vau and Charles Le Brun on the park at Vaux-le-Vicomte. His other works include the design of gardens and parks at Chantilly, Fontainebleau, Saint-Cloud and Saint-Germain. His contribution to planning was also significant: at the Tuileries he extended the westward vista, which later became the avenue of the Champs-Élysées.

Le Petit, Alfred (1841–1909)

Le Petit, also known under the pseudonyms “Alfred Le Grand,” “Caporal” and “Zut” was a French caricaturist, painter, and photographer who lampooned and criticized political figures of his time. After studying drawing, painting and photography, he began cartooning in Rouen, then in Paris contributing to *La Lune* and *L’Éclipse*. In 1870, he founded *La Charge*, a periodical that attacked Napoleon III with ferocity; later he also founded the publications *Le Pétard* and *Le Sans-Culotte* which also focused on political commentary of the ruling powers.

Le Vau, Louis (1612–1670)

Louis Le Vau was part of a trio of Baroque architects – the others being Jules Hardouin Mansart and André Le Notre – who, along with the decorator Charles Le Brun. He helped to create the Louis XIV style of architecture at the Palace of Versailles, where he transformed a hunting lodge into the most celebrated royal palace in the world. Among his other contributions to Baroque architecture are the Chateau of Vaux-le-Vicomte, the Palais du Louvre (with Claude Perrault), the Church of Saint-Sulpice and the Hotel Lambert.

Lefèvre, Camille (1853–1933)

Lefèvre was a French sculptor. In 1878 won the second Prix de Rome in sculpture, in 1893 he exhibited at the Chicago World Fair, in 1900 he became a member of the New Society of Painters and Sculptors and in 1901 he was made a Knight of the Legion of Honour. From 1903 to 1906 he was professor at the National School of Decorative Arts. Throughout his career, Lefevre remained concerned with social issues, participating in charitable works and maintaining relations with the middle left-liberals such as the artist Eugène Carrière and journalist Jules Lermina.

Lefebvre, Jules Joseph (1836–1911)

Lefebvre, a French figure painter, educator and theorist, combined a modern, scientific concern for recording physical reality with a knowledge of traditional techniques of the European masters. Between 1855 and 1898, he exhibited seventy-two portraits in the Paris Salon. Many of his paintings are single figures of beautiful women; he also excelled at painting female nudes.

Lemaire (née Coll), Madeleine (1845–1928)

Lemaire was a French painter who specialized in elegant genre works and flowers. She exhibited her work at the Palace of Fine Arts and The Woman’s Building at the 1893 World’s Columbian Exposition in Chicago.

Lenbach, Ritter von (née Franz von Lenbach) (1836–1904)

Lenbach was a German painter, known primarily for his portraits of prominent personalities from the nobility, the arts, and industry. He changed his approach to portrait painting after 1876, eliminating the formal atelier pose in favor of the artist’s observation of the model seated informally and even moving slightly around the studio. What distinguished Lenbach’s method was his use of photographs of movement and his decision to “flesh out” these photographs rather than slavishly copy them. By the early 1880s he regularly hired professional photographers such as Friedrich Wendling, Adolf Baumann, and Karl Hahn to photograph his sitters, an effort made easier by the dry plates that had recently come on the market, and by the box camera.

Lessing, Gotthold Ephraim (1729–1781)

Lessing, a German philosopher, dramatist, publicist and art critic was a representative of the Enlightenment era whose plays and theoretical writings substantially influenced the development of German literature. He is widely considered by theatre historians to be the first dramaturg in his role at Abel Seyler's Hamburg National Theatre. Lessing's friendship with German Jewish philosopher Moses Mendelssohn sparked his interest in popular religious debates of the time. He began publishing heated pamphlets on his beliefs which were eventually banned; it was this banishment that inspired him to return to theatre to portray his views and to write *Nathan the Wise* (1779) a fervent plea for religious tolerance, never performed during Lessing's lifetime.

Lévy, Émile (1826–1890)

Lévy was a French genre and portrait painter. He won the Grand Prix de Rome in 1854 and on his return from Italy he settled in Paris, devoted himself to mainly to portrait painting. Among the more important of his genre works are: *Noah Cursing Canaan* (1855); *Supper of the Martyrs* (1859); *Death of Orpheus* (1866); *Love and Folly* (1874); and *Infancy* (1885).

Lewis, Mary Edmonia (aka "Wildfire") (1844–1907)

Lewis was an American sculptor who worked for most of her career in Rome. She is the first woman of African-American and Native American heritage to achieve international fame and recognition as a sculptor; and by the end of the 19th century was the only black woman who had participated in and been recognized to any degree by the American artistic mainstream. Her work is known for incorporating themes relating to black and American Indian people into Neoclassical style sculpture.

Lewis, John Frederick (1804–1876)

Lewis was an English Orientalist painter who specialized in Oriental and Mediterranean scenes in detailed watercolours or oils, often repeating the same composition in a version in each medium. His careful representation of Islamic architecture, furnishings, screens, and costumes set new standards of realism, which influenced other artists, including the leading French Orientalist painter Jean-Léon Gérôme in his later works. Unlike many other Orientalist painters who took a salacious interest in the women of the Middle East, he did not paint nudes, and his wife modelled for several of his harem scenes.

Lhullier, Charles Marie (1824–1898)

Lhullier was a French painter and caricaturist. He taught at the École des beaux-arts du Havre, and was head of the commission for the purchase of works of art for the city's museums.

Liebermann, Max (1847–1935)

Liebermann, German painter and printmaker and foremost proponent of Impressionism in Germany, is known for his naturalistic studies of the life and labour of the poor. In 1899 Liebermann founded the Berliner Sezession, a group of artists who supported the academically unpopular styles of Impressionism and Art Nouveau. Despite his association with the anti-establishment Sezession, he became a member of the Berlin Academy, and in 1920 he was elected its president. In 1932 the Nazis forced him to resign from his position because he was Jewish.

Lombroso, Cesare Ezechia Marco (1835–1909)

Lombroso was an Italian criminologist, phrenologist, physician and founder of the Italian School of Positive Criminology. He rejected the established Classical school which held that crime was a characteristic trait of human nature. Instead, using concepts drawn from physiognomy, degeneration theory, psychiatry, and Social Darwinism, Lombroso's theory of anthropological criminology essentially stated that criminality was inherited, and that someone "born criminal" could be identified by physical (congenital) defects, which confirmed a criminal as savage or atavistic.

Lorrain, Claude (1600–1682)

Lorrain, a French artist, was best known for, and one of the greatest masters of, ideal landscape painting. His landscapes which often contains Classical ruins and pastoral figures in Classical dress, was inspired by the countryside around Rome—the Roman Campagna—a countryside haunted with remains and associations of antiquity. His special contribution, the poetic rendering of light, was influential, not only during his lifetime but from the mid-18th to the mid-19th century.

Loti, Pierre (1850–1923)

Pierre Loti, pseudonym of Louis-marie-julien Viaud, was a French naval officer and novelist, known for his exotic novels and short stories. His career as a naval officer took him to the Middle and Far East, thus providing him with the alluring settings of his novels and reminiscences. Gauguin's romantic image of Tahiti as an untouched paradise derived in part from Loti's novel *Le Mariage de Loti* (1880).

Louÿs, Pierre Félix (1870–1925)

Louÿs was a French poet and writer, most renowned for lesbian and Classical themes. He had an early literary friendship with the poet Paul Valéry; both young men were also members of the poet Stéphane Mallarmé's circle. In 1895 he published what is today his best-known work, *Les chansons de Bilitis* (1895), which exemplifies the type of eroticism that his work is noted for.

Manet, Édouard (1832–1883)

Manet was a French painter who broke new ground by defying traditional techniques of representation and by choosing subjects from the events and circumstances of his own time. His *Le Déjeuner sur l'herbe* (*Luncheon on the Grass*), exhibited in 1863 at the Salon des Refusés, aroused the hostility of critics and the enthusiasm of the young painters who later formed the nucleus of the Impressionist group. His critics were offended by the presence of a naked woman in the company of two young men clothed in contemporary dress. Rather than seeming a remote allegorical figure, the woman's modernity made her nudity seem vulgar and even threatening. Other notable works include *Olympia* (1863) and *A Bar at the Folies-Bergère* (1882). Although he was friendly with Claude Monet and the other Impressionists, Manet would not participate in their independent exhibitions.

Mann, Sally (1951–Present)

Mann is an American photographer whose powerful images of childhood, sexuality, and death were often deemed controversial. Her photographs created a stir because they focused on her three children, who often

appeared nude and in postures, situations, and settings that some viewers found disturbing. Some questioned whether Mann had exploited her children, while others debated whether the images constituted a variety of child pornography; still others lavishly praised the collection as an honest exploration of the complexities of childhood.

Manuel, Henri (1874–1947)

Manuel was a French photographer renowned for his photographer of people from the worlds of politics, arts, and sports. He was also a photographer of art and architecture.

Marville, Charles François Bossu (1813–1879)

Marville was a French photographer who mainly photographed architecture, landscapes and the urban environment. He is best known for taking pictures of Parisian quarters before they were destroyed and rebuilt during the "Haussmannization" of Paris, a vast public works program commissioned by Emperor Napoleon III to modernize Paris, under the direction of his prefect of Seine George-Eugene Haussman, between 1853 and 1870.

Marx, Karl Heinrich (1818–1883)

Marx was a German philosopher, economist, historian, sociologist, political theorist, journalist, critic of political economy, and social revolutionary. The main themes of his writings include his philosophical anthropology, his theory of history, his economic analysis, his critical engagement with contemporary capitalist society (raising issues about morality, ideology, and politics), and his prediction of a communist future. His best-known titles are the 1848 pamphlet *The Communist Manifesto* and the four-volume *Das Kapital* (1867-1883). Marx's political and philosophical thought enormously influenced subsequent intellectual, economic, and political history.

Matejko, Jan Alojzy (1838–1893)

Matejko, a Polish painter, was a leading exponent of history painting, known for depicting nodal events from Polish history. He also painted numerous portraits, a gallery of Polish monarchs in book form, and murals in St. Mary's Basilica, Kraków. He is considered by many as the most celebrated Polish painter, and sometimes as the national painter of Poland.

Maupassant, Henri René Albert Guy de (1850–1893)

Maupassant was French author, remembered as a master of the short story form and a representative of the naturalist school, who depicted human lives, destinies and social forces in disillusioned and often pessimistic terms. His stories are characterized by an economy of style and efficient, seemingly effortless denouements. Many are set during the Franco-Prussian War (July 19, 1870- January 28, 1871), describing the futility of war and the innocent civilians who, caught up in events beyond their control, are permanently changed by their experiences.

Mauve, Anthonij "Anton" Rudolf (1838-1888)

Mauve, a Dutch realist painter, was a leading member of the Hague School. His best-known paintings depict peasants working in the fields. He had a significant early influence on his cousin-in-law Vincent van Gogh.

Mauzaisse, Jean-Baptiste (1784-1844)

Mauzaisse was a French painter and lithographer known for his military and royalty portraiture, as well as his decorative fresco painting. Among his larger commissions were paintings for cathedrals in Nantes and Bourges, and a portrait of Napoleon Bonaparte done first in oils and then in a lithographic edition published by the Galerie du Palais Royal in 1825.

Mayer, Louis Frédéric (1822-1913)

Mayer was a French photographer and artist whose focus was society and theatrical portraits. Pierre Pierson and Léopold and Ernest Mayer joined forces in Paris in 1855 and became the Mayer & Pierson firm. Previously, the Mayer brothers had produced coloured photographs for which they received awards and exhibited numerous portraits and cartes-de visite at the Great Exhibition in London in 1851.

McPherson (1833-1867) & Oliver, J. (DOD unknown -DOD unknown)

McPherson and Oliver were southern photographers, active in New Orleans and Baton Rouge, Louisiana in the 1860s, whose business was exclusively Confederate, until Union forces occupied Baton Rouge in May 1862. They are probably best known for "The Scourged Back", their sensational, widely published portrait of "Gordon", an escaped slave from a Louisiana plantation, who came into the Union lines at Baton Rouge.

Méaulle, Fortuné Louis (1844-1916)

Méaulle was a French wood-engraver for numerous newspapers and journals including *France L'Illustration*, *Le Tour du monde*, *Le Magasin picturesque*, *L'Univers illustré, Harper's Magazine* and *The Graphic*.

Meissonier, Jean-Louis-Ernest (1815-1891)

Meissonier was a French painter and illustrator of military and historical subjects, especially of Napoleonic battles. Meissonier's minute and scrupulous technique was largely derived from the study of Dutch painters of the 17th century, but the documentary approach of his preparatory studies of costume and armour and his detailed observation of nature (such as his systematic analysis of the movements of horses) links him with the 19th century. Among his major works are *Napoleon III at Solferino* (1863) and *1814* (1864), both of which celebrate heroic military campaigns. He also captured the horrors of conflict in works such as *Remembrance of Civil War* (1848–49), which depicts the moment when the Parisian insurgents of 1848 were slaughtered on barracades by the Republican Guard.

Mélandri, Achille (1845-1905)

Mélandri was a French photographer, writer, and journalist. He photographed the actress Sarah Bernhardt and the artist Auguste Renoir.

Meurent, Victorine-Louise (1844-1927)

Meurent was a French painter and a model for painters. Although she is best known as the favourite model of Édouard Manet, modelling for his famous *Olympia* and *Déjeuner sur l'herbe*, she was an artist in her own right. At the age of thirty-one she decided to become a painter, took art classes, and regularly exhibited at the Paris Salon. Critics of her time described her as poor woman who descended into alcoholism, yet the truth is that Meurent kept painting and teaching guitar until the age of eighty-four. Unlike other successful women painters of her time, such as Berthe MORISOT, MARY Cassatt, and Rosa Bonheur, whose families helped to support them, Meurent had no moral or financial support.

Mesmer, Franz Anton (1734-1815)

Mesmer was a German physician whose system of therapeutics, known as mesmerism, was the forerunner of the modern practice of hypnotism. Mesmer's dissertation at the University of Vienna (M.D., 1766), which borrowed heavily from the work of the British physician Richard Mead, suggested that the gravitational attraction of the planets affected human health by affecting an invisible fluid found in the human body and throughout nature. In 1775 Mesmer revised his theory of "animal gravitation" to one of "animal magnetism," wherein the invisible fluid in the body acted according to the laws of magnetism and then devised various therapeutic treatments to achieve a harmonious fluid flow.

Meyer, Jacques (known as Henri Meyer and Reyem) (1841-1899)

Meyer was a French caricaturist and illustrator best known for his work with the publishing firm Hetzel, where he produced engravings for the works of Jules Verne. He also designed numerous illustrations for periodicals including a large number of covers for the *Supplément illustré* of *Le Petit Journal*, which were engraved by Fortuné Méaulle.

Millet, Jean-François (1814-1875)

Millet was a French painter renowned for his peasant subjects which made their first appearance at the Salon of 1848 with *The Winnower*, later destroyed by fire. In 1849, Millet left Paris to settle in Barbizon, a small hamlet in the forest of Fontainebleau where he became one of the leaders of the Barbizon School. While most artists of the Barbizon school concentrated on landscapes, Millet preferred to depict the life of ceaseless toil required of the peasant class, in the same manner that earlier artists reserved for more exalted subjects. As a result, his shepherds and farm laborers occupied large spaces on the canvas formerly occupied by historic or Biblical figures, or mythological heroes. His paintings of peasants resulted in him periodically facing the charge of being a socialist despite his letters which defended the fundamental Classical nature of his approach to painting.

Modersohn-Becker, Paula (1876-1907)

Modersohn-Becker was a German painter who helped introduce into modern German art the French artists who inspired her, namely Paul Cézanne, Paul Gauguin, and Vincent van Gogh. A prolific artist in her short life producing more than 700 paintings and over 1000 drawings, she is recognized as the first known woman painter to paint nude self-portraits, including nude images of herself pregnant. She is the first female artist to have a museum devoted exclusively to her art.

Monet, Oscar-Claude (1840-1926)

Monet was a French painter and key figure in the Impressionist movement. His paintings are known for their vibrant colors, naturalistic style, and bold, short brushstrokes which he employed to spontaneously capture the essence of everyday scenes. His series of water lilies, haystacks, and Rouen Cathedral paintings are experiments in the transformative pictorial power of light and colour. Inspired by the natural world, he often painted en plein air as he experienced the changing light and atmosphere. The term "Impressionism" is derived from the title of his painting *Impression, soleil levant*, which he showed in the exhibition of the Société Anonyme des Artistes, Peintres, Sculpteurs, Graveurs, (an alternative to the Paris Salon) in 1874.

Montméja, Arthur de (1841-DOD unknown)

De Montméja was a French ophthalmologist at Paris Hospital Saint Louis who began photographing patients in 1865. The first photographic surgical textbook, *Traité des Operations qui se Pratiquent sur l'Oeil* (1871) by Edouard Meyer and de Montméja concluded with an atlas of 22 photographs and photo-montages, taken by Montméja as prints on albumen paper from collodion glass negative. A. Hardy and de Montméja's *Clinique Photographique des Maladies de la Peau* (1872, second edition) was illustrated with sixty images, some of them coloured, on letterpress pages showing different skin diseases.

Moreau, Gustave (1826-1898)

Moreau was a French Symbolist painter known for his erotic paintings of mythological and religious subjects. Moreau's *Oedipus and the Sphinx* (1864), *The Apparition (Dance of Salome*) (ca. 1876) and *Dance of Salome (*ca. 1876) show his work becoming increasingly concerned with exotic eroticism and violence. These richly crowded canvases were made with greater use of dramatic lighting to heighten the brilliant, jewel-like colours. He painted nonfigurative works, done in a loose manner with thick impasto, have led him to be called a herald of Abstract Expressionism.

Morisot, Berthe Marie Pauline (1841-1895)

Morisot was a French painter and printmaker who exhibited regularly with the Impressionists. Morisot's insistence on design aligns her work closer to Édouard Manet than to that of her fellow Impressionists, whose interests in colour-optical experimentation she never assumed. Her paintings, delicate, subtle, and exquisite in colour, often with a subdued emerald glow, frequently depicted private moments (e.g., *Woman at Her Toilette*, 1875/80) and included members of her family, particularly her sister, Edma (e.g., *Reading*, 1873; and *The Artist's Sister Edma and Their Mother,*1870).

Moronobu, also called Kichibē, Hishikawa (1618-1694)

Moronobu was a Japanese artist, the first great master of ukiyo-e ("pictures of the floating world"), a genre depicting entertainment districts and other scenes of urban life. About the middle of the 17th century he moved to Edo, where he became an illustrator of storybooks using wood-block prints, and developed a technique for the mass reproduction of paintings to make them accessible to a large public. Both his paintings and prints depicted the customs and manners of the Edo people, especially of courtesans and Kabuki theatre actors, and like his fellow ukiyo-e painters, he also drew many pictures of pornographic scenes known as *shun-ga*.

Morse, Samuel Finley Breese (1791-1872)

Morse was an American painter and inventor who developed an electric telegraph (1832–35); and with friend Alfred Vail developed the Morse Code (1838). After graduating from Yale in 1810, Morse became a clerk for a Boston book publisher but painting continued to be his main interest, and in 1811 his parents helped him go to England in order to study art with American painter Washington Allston. When, on his return home in 1815, Morse found that Americans did not appreciate his historical canvases, he reluctantly took up portraiture, combining technical competence and a bold rendering of his subjects' character with a touch of the Romanticism he had imbibed in England.

Mount, William Sidney (1807-1868)

Mount was an American genre painter who mainly depicted rustic life in his native Long Island. His paintings often commented on American social and political issues, as seen in his exploration of temperance and slavery. The recognizable situations and detailed, representational character of Mount's paintings struck a responsive chord in Victorian America and now serve as a valuable record of a bygone, agrarian age.

Munch, Edvard (1863-1944)

Munch was a Norwegian painter and printmaker whose flowing, tortuous use of line was similar to that of contemporary Art Nouveau, but he used line not as decoration but as a vehicle for profound psychological revelation. The violent emotion and unconventional imagery of his paintings, especially their daringly frank representations of sexuality, created a bitter controversy. Critics were also offended by his innovative technique, which to most appeared unfinished.

"Nadar" (née Gaspard-Félix Tournachon) (1820-1910)

Nadar was a French writer, caricaturist, and photographer is mainly remembered for his photographic portraits. By 1853, although he still considered himself primarily a caricaturist, Nadar had become an expert photographer and had opened a portrait studio in Paris which he lent in 1874 to the painters later known as Impressionists for their first exhibition. He was a tireless innovator; in 1858 he made a successful aerial photograph—the world's first—from a balloon and began to photograph by electric light, making a series of photographs of Paris sewers.

Nadar (née Tournachon), Paul (1856-1939)

Paul Nadar, son of celebrated photographer Nadar, became manager of his father's Paris studio in 1874. The father and son collaborated on what scholars believe to be the first photo-interview; it was of the 101-year old chemist and color theorist Michel-Eugène Chevreul. That same year, Paul Nadar began experimenting with photographing from a hot-air balloon and presented his results at the Société française de la photographie. An innovative experimenter throughout his career, Paul Nadar investigated artificial lighting and patented a projection system for animating still pictures.

Nast, Thomas (1840-1902)

Nast was a German-born American caricaturist and editorial cartoonist often considered to be the "Father of the American Cartoon." With the outbreak of the American Civil War, Nast vigorously supported the cause of the Union and opposed slavery from his drawing board at *Harper's Weekly*. His cartoons *After the Battle* (1862),

attacking Northerners opposed to an energetic prosecution of the war, and *Emancipation* (1863), showing the evils of slavery and the benefits of its abolition, were so effective that President Abraham Lincoln called him "our best recruiting sergeant." During Reconstruction, Nast's cartoons portrayed President Andrew Johnson as a repressive autocrat and characterized Southerners as vicious exploiters of helpless blacks, revealing his bitter disappointment in postwar politics.

Nicolay, Nicolas de (1517–1583)

Nicolay was a French soldier and geographer. *Quatre premiers livres des navigations* (*Travels in Turkey)* (1567) recorded Nicolay's observations about the Ottoman court and peoples from his 1551 mission to Istanbul on behalf of the French government. The book served as the first comprehensive survey of customs and costumes in the Ottoman world, and is hailed as one of the earliest and most accurate depictions of the Islamic world to appear in Europe. The widespread popularity of the book contributed to the proliferation of costume books throughout Europe at the end of the 16th century, and continued to influence Orientalist artists well into the 19th century, such as Eugène Delacroix and Jean-Auguste-Dominique Ingres.

Oppenheim, Moritz Daniel (1800–1882)

Oppenheim, a German Jewish painter and printmaker, is considered the first Jewish painter to gain acceptance in the non-Jewish German society. From the 1830s to the 1850s, Oppenheim was the official portraitist of the Rothschild family, thus he is sometimes referred to as the "Painter of the Rothschilds and the Rothschild of Painters." His later work explored the encounter between Jewish traditions and the modern world, as experienced by post-emancipation German Jewry.

Oppler, Ernst (1867–1929)

Oppler was a German Jewish painter and etcher who joined the Berlin Secession, a group of artists championing the new German Impressionist style. He gained renown as a portraitist and chronicler of daily life through his drawings, etchings, painted cityscapes and genre scenes. He stopped participating in exhibitions of the Berlin Secession when controversies around expressionism erupted, but remained a prominent member of the avant-garde.

Orlik, Emil (1870–1932)

Orlik was an Austro-Hungarian painter, etcher, and lithographer who experimented with various printmaking processes. He spent most of 1898 travelling through Europe, visiting the Netherlands, Great Britain, Belgium, and Paris. During this time he became aware of Japanese art, and the impact it was having in Europe, and visited Japan to learn woodcut techniques.

Pao, Adrienne Keahi (DOB Unknown–Present)

Paol is an American photographer. From installations to portraiture, she creates imagery that explores identity, culture, and society, and communicates with a sense of humor.

Parent du Châtelet, Alexandre Jean-Baptiste (Parent-Duchâtelet) (1790–1836)

Parent du Châtelet**,** a French medical hygienist, gained recognition in 1824 with the publication of *Essai sur les cloaques ou égouts de la ville de Paris*, a book about his experiments in waste dump sites, and his quest to define the extent to which the fumes from open dump sites could be harmful to health. He is best known for a monumental work published posthumously in 1836, entitled *Distribution des prostituées dans chacun des 48 quartiers de la Ville de Paris.* The book, a result of nearly eight years of investigation of documents taken from police archives as well as field interviews and statistical measurements, is considered a major work on the history of prostitution and one of the first examples of empirical sociology in that it is based on observed and measured phenomena and derives knowledge from actual experience rather than from theory or belief.

Parmigianino (née Girolamo Francesco Maria Mazzola) (1503–1540)

Parmigianino was an Italian painter who was one of the first artists to develop the elegant and sophisticated version of Mannerist style that became a formative influence on the post-High Renaissance generation. After the summer of 1524 Parmigianino moved from Parma to Rome, taking with him three specimens of his work to impress the Pope, including the famous self-portrait that he had painted on a convex panel from his reflection in a convex mirror. He is also well known for *Vision of St. Jerome* (1527) and the *Madonna of the Long Neck* (1534), which are characterized by his distinctive elongated figures and use of light and shadow.

Passmore, John (1914–2004)

Passmore was an Australian philosopher and historian of ideas. He contributed widely to topics in the history of philosophy, philosophy of education, philosophy of science and philosophy of the environment, and was one of the pioneers of what has come to be called applied philosophy. Passmore argued that there is an urgent need to change our attitude to the environment, and that humans cannot continue unconstrained exploitation of the biosphere.

Pesme, Paul-Émile (1826–1877)

Pesme was a French photographer who primarily depicted full-length portraits.

Petit, Léonce Justin Alexandre (1839–1884)

Petit was a French caricaturist, engraver, illustrator and painter. He drew caricatures for *Journal amusant, Hanneton*, *L'Éclipse*, and *Bouffon*. He is best remembered for his comic serial *Les Mésaventures de M. Bêton* (1867-1868), which led to comparisons with the Swiss cartoonist Rodolphe Topffer.

Petit, Pierre Lanith (1832–1909)

Petit, a French photographer, was the official photographer of the International Exposition of 1867. He also went to New York City several times to report on the construction of the Statue of Liberty, made many photographs of the Siege of Paris (1870–71), and in 1898 attempted underwater photography. He is known for his *Galerie des hommes de jour* (1861), a series of photographs of famous French men of his day, *and l'Episcopat français, clergé de Paris*, a series of photographs of the clergy of Paris, which he began in 1860.

Pierson, Pierre-Louis (1822–1913)

Pierson, a portrait photographer, became interested in photography while the medium was in its infancy in the early 1840s. Initially using the daguerreotype, the Pierson & Mayer firm, established in 1855 by combining the interests of Pierson with those of Léopold Ernest Mayer and his brother Louis Frédéric, specialized in portraiture. The firm became the most sought-after studio of the Second Empire and people of all types came to have their pictures taken there, including the imperial court, the aristocracy, powerful businessmen, actresses and musicians.

Piloty, Karl Theodor von (1826–1886)

Piloty was German painter noted for his historical subjects and recognized as the foremost representative of the realistic school in Germany. The painter gained membership in the Munich Academy with his *Seni at the Dead Body of Wallenstein* (1855) and became a professor at the academy in 1856. Piloty executed a number of mural paintings for the royal palace in Munich.

Pinel, Philippe (1745–1826)

Pinel was a French physician who pioneered the humane treatment of the mentally ill. Discarding the long-popular equation of mental illness with demoniacal possession, Pinel regarded mental illness as the result of excessive exposure to social and psychological stresses and, in some measure, of heredity and physiological damage. In *Nosographie philosophique* (1798; *Philosophical Classification of Diseases*) he distinguished various psychoses and described, among other phenomena, hallucination, and withdrawal. In his *Traité médico-philosophique sur l'aliénation mentale ou la manie* (1801) and *Medico-Philosophical Treatise on Mental Alienation or Mania* he discussed his psychologically oriented approach.

Pissarro, Jacob Abraham Camille (1830–1903)

Pissarro, a Danish-French painter and printmaker, born in St. Thomas in the Danish West Indies (now the US Virgin Islands), was a key figure in the history of Impressionism. In his early years in France, he painted scenes of the West Indies from memory; then his paintings often depicted the French countryside and urban landscapes. Pissarro experimented with many styles, including a period when he adopted Georges Seurat's pointillist approach. A supportive friend and mentor to influential artists such as Paul Cézanne and Paul Gauguin, he was described by many who knew him as "Father Pissarro."

Pleydenwurff, Wilhem (1460–1494)

Pleydenwurff was a German painter, woodcutter, and illustrator who co-owned a large workshop in Nuremburg with his stepfather, Michael Wolgemut. In 1493 the workshop of Wolgemut and Pleydenwurff illustrated the *Nuremberg Chronicle* at a time when the new industry of book printing reached its zenith in Nuremberg. This book, written, by Hartmann Schedel, recounts the history of the world from Creation to the early 1490s with lessons in religion and geography intermingled with unusual and interesting facts and phenomena. The 1,500 copies of the book in Latin and an additional 1,000 in German contained 1809 prints taken from 645 woodcuts.

Poe, Edgar Allan (1809–1849)

Edgar Allan Poe was an American short-story writer, poet, critic, and editor who is famous for his cultivation of mystery and the macabre. His tale “The Murders in the Rue Morgue” (1841) initiated the modern detective story, and the atmosphere in his tales of horror is considered to be unrivaled in American fiction. His “The Raven” (1845) numbers among the best-known poems in American literature.

Pontillon (Morisot), Edma (1839–1921)

Pontillon was a French artist and Berthe Morisot’s elder sister. They trained together, receiving private instruction and sharing a studio space. In 1864 they were both admitted to the Paris Salon. Pontillon exhibited there each year until 1868 when a year later she married a marine officer and subsequently moved to a small village on the Atlantic coast. She ceased artistic activity, but she regularly corresponded with Berthe and modeled for a number of her paintings.

Pradier, James (née Jean-Jacques) (1790–1852)

Pradier was a Genevan-born French sculptor whose career began with two works exhibited at the Salon in 1819, that he executed in Rome, the plaster *Bacchante and Centaur* (lost) and the marble *Bacchante*, which earned him the gold medal for sculpture that year. He garnered some of the most important public commissions of the Restoration and July Monarchy. He executed portrait statues, busts, and statuettes of the royal family and many contemporary luminaries in the political and cultural arenas.

Proudhon, Pierre-Joseph (1809–1865)

Proudhon was a French libertarian socialist and journalist whose doctrines became the basis for later radical and anarchist theory. In his first significant book, *Qu’est-ce que la propriété?* (1840; *What Is Property?*, 1876) he did not attack property in the generally accepted sense but only the kind of property by which one man exploits the labour of another, which he regarded as essential for the preservation of liberty. His principal criticism of Communism, whether of the utopian or the Marxist variety, was that it destroyed freedom by taking away from the individual control over his means of production. In 1846 when Proudhon published his *Système des contradictions économiques, ou Philosophie de la misère* (1846; *System of Economic Contradictions: or, The Philosophy of Poverty,* 1888), Karl Marx attacked him bitterly in a book-length polemic *La misère de la philosophie* (1847; *The Poverty of Philosophy,* 1910). This was the beginning of a historic rift between libertarian and authoritarian Socialists and between anarchists and Marxists which, after Proudhon’s death, was to rend Socialism’s First International apart in the feud between Marx and Proudhon’s disciple Mikhail Bakunin and which has lasted to this day.

Puvis de Chavannes, Pierre Cécile (1824–1898)

Puvis de Chavannes was the leading French mural painter of the later 19th century. He was largely independent of the major artistic currents of his time and was much admired by a diverse group of artists and critics, including Georges Seurat, Paul Gauguin, Charles Baudelaire, and Théophile Gautier. Although he exhibited regularly at the Paris Salons from the 1860s on, Puvis is best remembered for the huge canvases he painted for the walls of city halls and other public buildings throughout France. He developed a style characterized by simplified forms, rhythmic line, and pale, flat, fresco-like colouring for allegorical pieces and idealizations of themes from antiquity.

Raimondi, Marcantonio (1470–1534)

Raimondi was an Italian Renaissance master of engraving whose production of more than 300 prints did much to disseminate the style of the High Renaissance throughout Europe. Raimondi profited from studies of Albrecht Dürer's energetic line and his use of crosshatching in modeling. He copied more than seventy of Dürer's woodcuts and engravings, causing Dürer to bring a suit against him in 1506. In about 1510 Raimondi went to Rome where his activity was almost entirely limited to reproducing works of Raphael, Michelangelo, and their followers.

"Raphael" (née Raffaelo Sanzio da Urbino) (1483–1520)

Raphael, an Italian painter and architect, though influenced by Leonardo da Vinci's chiaroscuro and sfumato in his early works developed figure types that were his own creation, as in his Madonnas' round, gentle faces that reveal human sentiments raised to a sublime serenity. The frescoes in the Stanza della Segnatura in the Vatican are probably his greatest work; the most famous, *The School of Athens* (1510–11), is a complex allegory of secular knowledge showing Greek philosophers in an architectural setting. The Madonnas he painted in Rome show him turning away from his earlier work's serenity to emphasize movement and grandeur, partly under Michelangelo's High Renaissance influence. He became the most important portraitist in Rome, designed ten large tapestries to hang in the Sistine Chapel, assumed the direction of work on St. Peter's Basilica at the death of Donato Bramante, and took charge of virtually all the papacy's projects in architecture, painting, and the preservation of antiquities.

Regnault, Alexandre Georges Henri (1843–1871)

Regnualt, a French Orientalist painter, came into contact with the modern Hispano-Italian school, a school highly materialistic and inclined to regard even the human subject only as one amongst many sources of visual amusement. The vital, if narrow, energy of this school took hold on Regnault with ever-increasing force during the few remaining years of his life.

"Rembrandt," (née Rembrandt Harmenszoon van Rijn) (1606–1669)

Rembrandt was a Dutch Baroque painter and printmaker, one of the greatest storytellers in the history of art, possessing an exceptional ability to render people in their various moods and dramatic guises. Rembrandt is also known as a painter of light and shade and as an artist who favoured an uncompromising realism that would lead some critics to claim that he preferred ugliness to beauty. Early in his career and for some time, Rembrandt painted mainly portraits but the core of his oeuvre, consists of biblical and—to a much lesser extent—historical, mythological, and allegorical history pieces, which he painted, etched, or sketched in pen and ink or chalk.

Renard, Édouard-Antoine (1802-1857)

Renard was a French Romantic painter and illustrator. He specialized in architectural views and depictions of interiors. He produced illustrations with lithographer Adrien Provost for *Le Paris romantique : panorama des grands boulevards* (1845) and contributed to periodicals such as *L'Illustration* and *Musée des familles*.

Renoir, Pierre-Auguste (1841–1919)

Renoir was a French painter originally associated with the Impressionist movement whose early works were typically snapshots of real life, full of sparkling colour and light. By using small, multi-coloured strokes, he evoked the vibration of the atmosphere, the sparkling effect of foliage, and especially the luminosity of a

young woman's skin in the outdoors. By the mid-1880s he had broken with the movement to apply a more disciplined, formal technique. Renoir obtained several orders for portraits and was introduced, thanks to the publisher Georges Charpentier and his wife Marguerite, to upper-middle-class society, from whom he obtained commissions for portraits, most notably of women and children.

Reutlinger, Charles (1816–1898)

Reutlinger, a German Jewish photographer who lived in Paris, founded one of the most prominent Parisian photographic establishments, Reutlinger Studios, which operated from 1850 to 1937. The studio became famous for its portraits of actors, artists, musicians, composers, opera singers and ballet dancers of the period. In 1880, Charles handed over the studio to his brother, Emile Reutlinger.

Reutlinger, Léopold-Émile (1863–1937)

Reutlinger was a French photographer who came from a successful German Jewish family of photographers. His uncle Charles Reutlinger founded the family's photography business; his father was the photographer Émile Reutlinger; and his son Jean Reutlinger was also a prominent photographer. Like his uncle he took photos of popular actresses and opera singers. He also took fashion and advertising photos and photographed stars of the entertainment venues like the Moulin Rouge and the Folies Bergère which were either sold to magazines and newspapers or reproduced as postcards.

Reynolds, Joshua (1723–1792)

Reynolds was a portrait painter and aesthetician who dominated English artistic life in the middle and late 18th century. Through his art and teaching, he attempted to lead British painting away from the indigenous anecdotal pictures of the early 18th century toward the formal rhetoric of the continental Grand Style. With the founding of the Royal Academy in 1768, Reynolds was elected its first president and knighted by King George III. Reynolds's *Discourses Delivered at the Royal Academy* (1769–91), among the most important art criticism of the time, outlined the essence of grandeur in art and suggested the means of achieving it through rigorous academic training and study of the old masters of art.

Rimbaud, Jean Nicolas Arthur (1854–1891)

Rimbaud was French poet and adventurer who won renown in the Symbolist movement and markedly influenced modern poetry. The Franco-German War which began in July 1870 served to intensify Rimbaud's rebelliousness; the elements of blasphemy and scatology in his poetry grew more intense, the tone more strident, and the images more grotesque and even hallucinatory. In his attempts to communicate his visions to the reader, Rimbaud became one of the first modern poets to shatter the constraints of traditional metric forms and rules of versification, letting his visions determine the form of his poems, and if the visions were formless, then the poems would be too.

Rivière, Georges Eugène (1855–1943)

Rivière was a painter and art critic whose collaboration with artists from the French Impressionist circle developed when he founded the newspaper *L'Impressionniste* on the occasion of the third Impressionist exhibition in 1874. He wrote several monographs devoted to the main representatives of the Impressionist and Post-Impressionist movements, including those on Paul Cézanne, Pierre-Auguste Renoir and Edgar Degas. Rivière, a close friend of the Renoir, whom he met at the first Impressionist exhibition in 1874.

Robert-Fleury, Tony (1837-1911)

Robert-Fleury was a French painter and prominent art teacher, known primarily for historical scenes. He painted *Pinel, Releasing Lunatics from their Chains at the Salptêtrière Asylum in Paris in 1795* (1876) which depicts the famed "Father of Modern Psychiatry" among the inmates of the asylum. Philippe Pinel had been named chief doctor at the asylum in 1795, and had instituted more charitable and rational treatments.

Rocher, Henry (1826-1887)

Rocher was a German-American photographer in Chicago who originally learned photography in Germany. Like others who aspired to the title artistic photographer, he generated pastels and crayons as well as portraits on albumin paper. A versatile photographer who did scenic views, celebrity portraiture, and genre pictures, he took a central part in the consolidation of a national community of photographers and in 1880 was one of the founders of the Photographers Association of America.

Rogers, John (1829-1904)

Rogers was an American sculptor who produced very popular, relatively inexpensive figurines. He became famous for his mass-produced small genre sculptures, popularly termed Rogers Groups, which at the height of their popularity, graced the parlors of American homes. Instead of working in bronze and marble, he sculpted in more affordable plaster, painted the color of putty. Rogers was inspired by popular novels, poems and prints as well as the scenes he saw around him.

Rothschild, Charlotte von (1819-1884)

Charlottte von Rothschild, a German-born British socialite, philanthropist and artist, was a member of the Rothschild banking family of Naples. Because endogamy within the Rothschild family was an essential part of their strategy to ensure that control of their wealth remained in family hands, she married Lionel Freiherr de Rothschild, her first cousin from the English branch of the family. She was instrumental in developing their art collection and because she had the resources to develop her artistic talents, was probably the first female Jewish artist.

Rousseau, Étienne Pierre Théodore (1812-1867)

Rousseau, a French painter, was a leader of the Barbizon school of landscape painters whose direct observation of nature made him an important figure in the development of landscape painting. He first visited the Fontainebleau area in 1833 and, in the following decade, finally settled in the village of Barbizon, where he worked with a group of landscape painters, including Jean-François Millet, Jules Dupré, Narcisse-Virgile Diaz de La Peña, and Charles-François Daubigny. Rousseau's paintings represent in part a reaction against the calmly idealized landscapes of Neoclassicism; his small, highly textured brushstrokes presaged those of the Impressionists.

Rousseau, Jean-Jacques (John James) (1712-1778)

Rousseau, a Swiss philosopher, writer and composer, was one of the most influential thinkers during the Enlightenment. His first major philosophical work, *A Discourse on the Sciences and Arts* (1750) argues that the progression of the sciences and arts has caused the corruption of virtue and morality. The central claim

of *The Discourse on the Origin of Inequality* (1754) is that human beings are basically good by nature, but were corrupted by the complex historical events that resulted in present day civil society. Rousseau's praise of nature is a theme that continues throughout his later works as well, the most significant of which include his comprehensive work on the philosophy of education, *On Emile* and his major work on political philosophy, *The Social Contract*, both published in 1762.

Royer, Lionel-Noel (1852–1926)

Royer was a portraitist and painter of historical scenes whose best-known works are *Vercingétorix Throwing his Weapons at the Feet of Caesar* (1899), and the decoration of the Basilica of Domrémy dedicated to Joan of Arc. In illustrated supplements of newspapers of the era, he was a commentator on current affairs, in particular supplying drawings of Alfred Dreyfus in his prison.

Runge, Phillipp Otto (1777–1810)

Runge was a German Romantic painter, draftsman, and art theorist known for his expressive portraits and symbolic landscapes and for his groundbreaking colour theory, expounded in *Farben-Kugel* (1810; *Colour Sphere*). Runge was influenced by Romantic ideals of subjectivity and emotional expression and actively ventured away from the more rational and harmonious Neoclassical style in which he had been trained. He was particularly impressed by Ludwig Tieck's ideas on mysticism and the divine energy found in nature, and with that in mind he began working on his cycle of drawings titled *Times of Day* in 1803, a series of four allegorical works that represent morning, midday, evening, and night as well as the four seasons and the life cycle—birth, maturity, decline, death.

Sabatier-Blot, Jean-Baptiste (1801–1881)

Sabatier-Blot was a French miniaturist and photographer who was among the most sought after Parisian portraitists of the daguerreotype. He was at first a miniaturist, exhibiting at the Salon on several occasions, always showing portraits of women. From the early 1840s, after studying with Louis Daguerre, he became one of many painters of miniature attracted by the new medium of daguerreotype.

Saenredam Jan Pieterszoon (1565–1607)

Saenredam was a Dutch Northern Mannerist painter, printmaker in engraving, and cartographer. He is noted for the many allegorical images he created from Classical mythology and the Bible. He produced prints after Hendrick Goltzius, Abraham Bloemaert, Cornelis van Haarlem, Polidoro da Caravaggio, and his own invention.

Saint-Simon, Claude Henri de Rouvroy (1760–1825)

Saint-Simon was a French social theorist and one of the chief founders of Christian socialism. In his major work, *Nouveau Christianisme* (1825), he proclaimed that a brotherhood of man must accompany the scientific organization of industry and society. Before the publication of *Nouveau Christianisme,* Saint-Simon had not concerned himself with theology, but in this work, beginning with a belief in God, he tries to resolve Christianity into its essential elements, and he finally propounds this precept: that religion "should guide the community toward the great aim of improving as quickly as possible the conditions of the poorest class." During the July 1830 revolution the Saint-Simonians in France issued a proclamation demanding the ownership of goods in common, the abolition of the right of inheritance, and the enfranchisement of women.

Sarto, Andrea del (1486-1530)

Sarto was an Italian painter and draftsman whose interest in effects of colour and atmosphere, sophisticated informality, natural expression of emotion and craftmanship were instrumental in the development of Florentine Mannerism. Sarto's art, rooted in traditional Quattrocento (15th-century) painting, combined Leonardo's sfumato with Raphael's compositional harmony in a style that was typical of the Cinquecento (16th century). His work which include the series of frescoes on the life of St. John the Baptist in the Chiostro dello Scalzo (ca. 1515–1526) consist chiefly of altarpieces (*Madonna of the Harpies*, 1517), small religious paintings and an occasional portrait.

Savigny, Jean-Baptiste Henri (1793-1843)

Savigny was a French surgeon, botanist, naturalist, and professor of botany at the University of Montpellier. He was aboard the frigate Medusa, which ran aground off the coast of Mauritania on July 2,1816 and on the raft which inspired Gericault's *Raft of the Medusa* (1818-1819) painting. One of the fifteen survivors he would later testify about the atrocities committed on the drifting raft, including acts of anthropophagy. He wrote *Narrative of a Voyage to Senegal in 1816: Undertaken by Order of the French Government, Comprising an Account of the Shipwreck of the Medusa, the Sufferings of the Crew, And the Various Occurrences On Board the Raft, In the Desert of Zaara, At St. Louis, And At the Camp of Daccard. To Which Are Subjoined Observations Respecting the Agriculture of the Western Coast of Africa, From Cape Blanco to the Mouth of the Gambia* (London: H. Colburn, 1818), first published in French in 1817.

Schedel, Hartmann (1440-1514)

Schedel was a German historian, physician, humanist, and one of the first cartographers to use the printing press. He is best known for writing the text for the *Nuremberg Chronicle*, known as *Schedelsche Weltchronik* (English: *Schedel's World Chronicle*), published in 1493 in Nuremberg. Maps in the *Chronicle* were the first ever illustrations of many cities and countries. With the invention of the printing press by Johannes Gutenberg in 1447, it became feasible to print books and maps for a larger customer basis; because they had to be handwritten, books had previously been rare and very expensive.

Schelling (née Schelling), Frederich Wilhelm Joseph von (1775-1854)

Schelling was a German philosopher and educator, a major figure of German idealism, in the post-Kantian development of German philosophy. Schelling believed that art mediates between the natural and physical spheres insofar as in artistic creation the natural (or unconscious) and the spiritual (or conscious) productions are united. This philosophy of nature, the first independent philosophical accomplishment of Schelling, made him known in the circles of the Romanticists.

Schongauer, Martin (1448-1491)

Schongauer, a painter and printmaker, was the finest German engraver before Albrecht Dürer. According to contemporary sources, Schongauer was a prolific painter whose panels were sought in many countries but few paintings by his hand survive and it is as an engraver that he stands without rival in northern Europe in his time. The artist's engraved work, consisting of about 115 plates, all signed with his monogram, is a highly refined and sensitive manifestation of the late Gothic spirit. Technically he brought the art of engraving to maturity by expanding its range of contrasts and textures, thus introducing a painter's viewpoint into an art that had been primarily the domain of the goldsmith.

Schopenhauer, Arthur (1788–1860)

Schopenhauer, a German philosopher, often called the "philosopher of pessimism," was primarily important as the exponent of a metaphysical doctrine of the will in immediate reaction against Hegelian idealism. His writings influenced later existential philosophy and Freudian psychology. The fundamental idea of his main work, *Die Welt als Wille und Vorstellung* (1819; *The World as Will and Idea*) is developed in four books composed of two comprehensive series of reflections that include successively the theory of knowledge and the philosophy of nature, aesthetics, and ethics.

Schuffenecker, Claude-Émile (1851–1934)

Schuffenecker was a French Post-Impressionist artist, painter, art teacher and art collector. A friend of Paul Gauguin and Odilon Redon, and one of the first collectors of works by Vincent van Gogh, Schuffenecker was instrumental in establishing the Volpini Exhibition in 1889. Jean de Rotonchamp, Gauguin's first biographer, described Schuffenecker's collection at 14, rue Durand-Claye, in 1906: "Besides paintings by Gauguin such as *The Yellow Christ* and some of his ceramics, there were works by Cézanne, including a female portrait, and several works by Vincent van Gogh, a *Postman*, an *Olive Orchard in Provence*, *The Good Samaritan*, an *Arlésienne* and a version of the *Sunflowers*, some works by Redon and ukiyo-e prints."

Schulz, Wilhelm (1865–1952)

Schulz was a German painter and caricaturist who was part of the Berliner Secession art movement (Lithographische Anstalt Berlin). He was a contributor to magazines like *Jugend* and *Simplicissimus*, for which he mainly contributed political cartoons.

Seurat, Georges Pierre (1859–1891)

Seurat was painter and founder of the French school of Neo-Impressionism whose technique for portraying the play of light using tiny brushstrokes of contrasting colours became known as Pointillism. Using this technique, he created huge compositions with tiny, detached strokes of pure colour too small to be distinguished when looking at the entire work but making his paintings shimmer with brilliance. Works in this style include *Bathers at Asnières* (1883-84) and *A Sunday on La Grande Jatte—1884* (1884-86).

Sher-Gil, Amrita (1913–1941)

Sher-Gil was a Hungarian-Indian artist who concentrated on self-portraits, portraits of friends and classmates, still life, nudes, and Parisian life from 1929 to1934. Conscious of the limits of her art, she questioned her identity and decided to go back to South India in 1937 to discover and explore her Indian roots. Inspired by the people and the scenery, especially the wall paintings of the Ajanta Caves, she began to meld her Western techniques with the Indian aesthetic, and explored the sadness felt by people, especially women, in 1930s India, giving voice and validity to their experiences.

Sloane, Thomas O'Conor (1851–1940)

Sloane was an American scientist, inventor, author, editor, educator, and linguist, perhaps best known for writing *The Standard Electrical Dictionary* and as the editor of *Scientific American*, from 1886 to 1896, and of the first science fiction magazine, *Amazing Stories*, from 1929 to 1938. Sloane's best known invention, introduced

in 1878, was the self-recording photometer for gas power — the first instrument to mechanically register the illuminating power of natural gas.

Spencer, Herbert (1820–1903)

Spencer, an English sociologist and philosopher, was an early advocate of the theory of evolution, who advocated for the preeminence of the individual over society and of science over religion. His magnum opus, *The Synthetic Philosophy* (1896), was a comprehensive work containing volumes on the principles of biology, psychology, morality, and sociology. He is best remembered for his doctrine of social Darwinism, according to which the principles of evolution, including natural selection, apply to human societies, social classes, and individuals as well as to biological species developing over geologic time. In Spencer's day social Darwinism was invoked to justify laissez-faire economics and the minimal state, which were thought to best promote unfettered competition between individuals and the gradual improvement of society through the "survival of the fittest," a term that Spencer introduced.

Spiro, Eugene (1874–1972)

Spiro, a German American Jewish painter was a member of Secessionist groups in Munich and Berlin. He lived for many years in Paris until the outbreak of the First World War which forced him to return to Germany, where from 1915 to 1933 he had a prolific career as a portrait painter, teacher, gallerist, and member of the board of the Berlin Secession. After the Nazi takeover, the sixty-one-year-old Spiro fled to Paris, where he was involved in the founding of the Union des Artistes Allemands Libres, a federation of exiled German artists whose work was defamed by the Nazis. After the German occupation of France in 1940, Spiro emigrated to the United States where he worked as an art teacher at the Wayman Adams School in Elizabethtown, New York, and remained an active painter until his late years, with several exhibitions in New York as well as Europe.

Solomon, Simeon (1840–1905)

Solomon was a British painter associated with the Pre-Raphaelites who was noted for his depictions of Jewish life and same-sex desire. In addition to the literary paintings favoured by the Pre-Raphaelite school, Solomon's subjects often included scenes from the Hebrew Bible and genre paintings depicting Jewish life and rituals. His career was cut short as a result of public scandal following his arrests and convictions for attempted sodomy in 1873 and 1874.

Stanton, Edwin McMasters (1814–1869)

Stanton, an American lawyer and politician who served as U.S. Secretary of War under the Lincoln Administration during most of the American Civil War, was an early advocate for an emancipation proclamation. Stanton wanted black soldiers not just because he needed more soldiers; he understood the ways in which serving in the Union Army would change the lives of the former slaves. Stanton also pressed Congress for legislation, ultimately passed in early 1865, to create within the War Department a Freedmen's Bureau, because he believed that the federal government could not just free the slaves and leave them on their own to cope, without resources and without education.

Steichen, Edward Jean (1879–1973)

Steichen, an American photographer, utilized his training as a painter, to persuade the public that photography was a fine art by producing photographs that emulated the mood, manner, or attitude of paintings and prints.

In his early photographs in a strategy known as Pictorialism he frequently used the gum-bichromate process in conjunction with platinum or iron-based emulsions, which allowed him a very high degree of control over the image and tended to produce pictures with a superficial resemblance to mezzotints, wash drawings, and other traditional media. He went on to gain fame as a commercial photographer in the 1920s and 1930s, when he created stylish and convincing portraits of artists and celebrities, and was also a prominent curator, organizing the hugely influential *Family of Man* exhibition in 1955.

Steuben, Charles Auguste Guillaume (1788–1856)

Steuben was a German-born French Romantic painter and lithographer active during the Napoleonic Era. He was a close friend to Eugène Delacroix, the leader of the French Romantic school of painting which replaced Classicism in French painting. He was praised for his deliberate compositions, excellent brush stroke and impressive colour effects but his dramatic approach was criticized at times for his pronounced tendency toward the histrionic.

Stevens, Alfred Émile Léopold (1823–1906)

Stevens was a Belgian painter in Paris, known for his paintings of elegant modern women. In their realistic style and careful finish, his works reveal the influence of 17th-century Dutch genre painting. After gaining attention early in his career with *Ce qu'on appelle le vagabondage (What is called vagrancy)* (1854), a social realist painting depicting the plight of a vagrant mother and her children, he achieved critical and popular success with his scenes of upper-middle class Parisian life**.**

Stieglitz, Alfred (1864–1946)

Alfred Stieglitz, an American living in New York, was an art dealer, publisher, advocate for the modernist movement in the arts, and, arguably, the most important photographer of his time. From 1892 to 1902 he was editor of *Camera Notes*, the publication of the Camera Club of New York, a position that allowed him to advance the photographers and policies he favoured. In 1902 Stieglitz announced the existence of a new organization called the Photo-Secession, a group whose name was an allusion to the secessionist artist groups formed in Germany and in Austria in the 1890s and that, like its European counterparts, was designed to break away from stodgy and conventional ideas. Photo-Secessionist photographers were committed in greater or lesser degrees to what was called the Pictorialist style, meaning they favoured traditional genre subjects that had been sanctified by generations of conventional painters and techniques that tended to hide the intrinsic factuality of photography behind a softening mist.

Stowe, Harriet Elisabeth Beecher (1811–1896)

Stowe, an American writer and philanthropist, was the author of the novel *Uncle Tom's Cabin; or, Life Among the Lowly* (1852) which contributed so much to popular feeling against slavery that it is cited among the causes of the American Civil War. Stowe lived for eighteen years in Cincinnati, separated only by the Ohio River from a slave-holding community. She came in contact with fugitive slaves and learned about life in the South from friends and from her own visits there. *Uncle Tom's Cabin*, an immediate sensation was taken up eagerly by abolitionists while, along with its author, it was vehemently denounced in the South, where reading or possessing the book became an extremely dangerous enterprise. In 1853 she published *A Key to Uncle Tom's Cabin*, a compilation of documents and testimonies in support of disputed details of her indictment of slavery and in 1856 she published *Dred: A Tale of the Great Dismal Swamp*, in which she depicted the deterioration of a society resting on a slave basis.

Struck, Hermann (1876–1944)

Struck, a German Jewish artist, known for his etchings, joined the Berlin Secession in 1902. In 1908 he published *Die Kunst des Radierens* (The Art of Etching), a seminal work on the subject that offered both theory and practical instruction. A Zionist, Jewish activist and founder of the Mizrachi Religious Zionist movement, he was at the same time a German patriot who volunteered for military service in World War I serving as a translator, liaison officer and military artist. Struck immigrated to Palestine in 1922, taught at Bezalel Academy and helped establish the Tel Aviv Museum of Art but visited Berlin every summer until the Nazis rose to power.

Tanner, Henry Ossawa (1859–1937)

Tanner was an expatriate American painter, living in Paris, who gained international acclaim for his depiction of landscapes and biblical themes. In 1880 Tanner began two years of study under Thomas Eakins at Philadelphia's Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts, where he was the only African American and in 1891 he traveled to Paris in 1891 to enroll at the Académie Julian. After touring the Holy Land in 1897–1898, Tanner painted *Nicodemus Visiting Jesus* (*c.* 1898), *The Annunciation* (1898), *Abraham's Oak* (1905), and *The Two Disciples at the Tomb* (*c.* 1905). In 1923 the French government made Tanner a chevalier of the Legion of Honour, and in 1927 he became the first African American to be granted full membership in the National Academy of Design in New York.

Tarnowsky, Pauline (ca. 19th century)

Tarnowsky, one of the first female medical doctors in Russia, was well-known for her work in psychiatry and craniology. She published two books, *Étude anthropométrique sur les prostituées et les voleuses* (Anthropological Study of Prostitutes and Female Thieves, 1889) and *Les Femmes homicides* (Women Who Kill, 1908), never translated into English, which documented the facial anomalies of prostitutes with photographs, and studied what she called atavistic regression as a kind of fall down the evolutionary ladder. Today she is known mainly through Cesare Lombroso's book, *La donna delinquente* (*Criminal Woman, the Prostitute, and the Normal Woman*) originally published in Italian in 1893, the first and most influential book ever written on women and crime, to which Tarnowsky contributed data and photographs of female offenders.

Temple, William (1628–1699)

Temple was an English statesman and diplomat who formulated the pro-Dutch foreign policy employed intermittently during the reign of King Charles II. Temple's thought and prose style in his essays had a significant influence on many 18th-century writers, particularly Jonathan Swift who was employed as his secretary. Upon retiring to the country and occupying himself with gardening and writing he wrote *Upon the Gardens of Epicurus* where he describes sharawadgi or sharawaggi, a style of landscape gardening or architecture in which rigid lines and symmetry are avoided to give the scene an organic, naturalistic appearance. Supposedly this was a concept in the Chinese garden that he had never actually seen and which may have been influential in English landscape gardening in the 18th century.

Thibault, Charles François (19th century)

Thibault a photographer, on Sunday June 25, between 7 am and 8 am, took what are considered the first two photos of an insurrectionary barricade. In June 1848, a workers' revolt broke out in Paris following the decision taken by the government to close the National Workshops, a state organization which provided work for the unemployed. The Faubourg-du-Temple, where workers and peasants came to seek their fortune in new industries had dozens of barricades including what is seen in Thibault's photo.

Tilborgh, Gillis van (ca. 1625-ca. 1678)

Van Tilborgh was a Flemish painter whose works encompassed portraits, tavern scenes, village feasts, merry companies, picture galleries and guardroom scenes. He became the keeper of the picture collection of the governor of the Habsburg family in Netherlands and travelled in England where he painted group portraits.

Tinayre, Louis (1861-1942)

Tinayre was a French illustrator and painter who began his career as an illustrator for the French press. He did panoramas and dioramas of Madagascar and paintings of Albert I, Prince of Monaco, on his hunts around the world.

Tissot, Jacques Joseph (James) (1836-1902)

Tissot was a French painter, engraver, and enameler noted for modern genre paintings and stylish portraits of late Victorian society. In the aftermath of the Paris Commune he fled to London (May 1871) and during that period until 1882 when he returned to Paris he made many etchings, dry-points, and mezzotints, as well as paintings; and also became interested in the craft of cloisonné enameling. In 1885, after a mystical experience, determined to illustrate a life of Christ, he took several trips to the Holy Land and produced some 350 watercolours of New Testament subjects, which were published in two volumes.

"Titian" (née Tiziano Vecelli/Vecellio) (1488-1576)

Titian, an Italian Renaissance painter of the Venetian school, was one of the most versatile of Italian painters, equally adept with portraits, landscape backgrounds, and mythological and religious subjects. His painting methods, particularly in the application and use of colour, exercised a profound influence not only on painters of the late Italian Renaissance, but on future generations of Western artists. In his portraits he searched and penetrated human character and recorded it in canvases of pictorial brilliance; in his religious compositions he covered the full range of emotion from the charm of his youthful Madonnas to the tragic depths of the late *Crucifixion* (1558) and the *Entombment* (1559); in his mythological pictures he captured the gaiety and abandon of the pagan world of antiquity; and in his paintings of the nude Venus (*Venus and Adonis*, 1550s) and Danae (*Danae with Nursemaid*, 1553-1554) he set a standard for physical beauty and sumptuous eroticism.

Toudouze, Adele-Anaïs Colin (1822-1899)

Toudouze was a French fashion illustrator for magazines, journals, and books. She worked closely with her sister Héloïse on many projects but the majority of her work was for *La Mode Illustrée* which was distributed weekly and highlighted Victorian fashion trends of the time including accessories to go with the piece. All of the prints for the magazine were hand-colored – the artist would either etch, engrave, or lithograph the image and then colour it in by hand- and were then inserted with text descriptions explaining the fashions being showcased.

Toulouse-Lautrec, Henri Marie Raymond de (1864-1901)

Toulouse-Lautrec was a French painter, printmaker, draughtsman, caricaturist, and illustrator whose immersion in the colourful and theatrical life of Paris in the late 19th century allowed him to produce a collection of enticing, elegant, and provocative images of the cabaret performers, dancers, and prostitutes, capturing the energy and decadence of Parisian bohemian culture. His use of free-flowing expressive line, often becoming pure

arabesque, resulted in highly rhythmical compositions while the simplification in outline and movement and the use of large colour areas make his posters of Moulin Rouge and other Parisian nightclubs some of his most powerful works. He also created about a hundred drawings and fifty paintings inspired by the life of women in brothels.

Tristàn y Moscoso, Flore (Flora) Célestine Thérèse (1803-1844)

Tristán y Moscoso better known as Flora Tristan was a French-Peruvian socialist writer and activist. She made important contributions to early feminist theory, and argued that the progress of women's rights was directly related with the progress of the working class. She wrote several works, the best known of which are *Peregrinations of a Pariah* (1838), *Promenades in London* (1840), and *The Workers' Union* (1843). Tristan was the grandmother of the painter Paul Gauguin.

Tuke, Samuel (1784-1857)

Tuke was an English Quaker philanthropist and mental-health reformer who greatly advanced the cause of the amelioration of the condition of the insane. Devoting himself largely to the York Retreat he described the methods of treatment pursued there in his *Description of the Retreat near York* (1813). In this work Tuke referred to the Retreat's methods as moral treatment, borrowed from the French "traitement moral" being used to describe the work of Jean-Baptiste Poussin and Philippe Pinel in France. Tuke also published *Practical Hints on the Construction and Economy of Pauper Lunatic Asylums* (1815).

Turner, Joseph Mallord William (1775-1851)

Turner was an English Romantic landscape painter whose expressionistic studies of light, colour, and atmosphere were unmatched in their range and sublimity. Turner was elected an associate of the Royal Academy, and in 1802 he became a full academician, a dignity he marked by a series of large pictures in which he emulated the achievements of the Old Masters, especially the 17th-century painters Nicolas Poussin, Claude Lorrain, Aelbert Cuyp, and Willem van de Velde the Younger. *The Shipwreck* (1805) suggests that at this time Turner was developing his original approach to landscape—emphasizing luminosity, atmosphere, and Romantic, dramatic subjects. Turner's travels in Italy in 1819 resulted in drawings and paintings advanced in the matter of colour, which became purer and more prismatic, with a general heightening of key and an iridescent treatment resembling the transparency of a watercolour.

Uhde, Friedrich 'Fritz' Hermann Carl von (1848-1911)

Uhde, a German painter of genre and religious subjects, once known as the outstanding Impressionist of Germany, became one of the first painters to introduce plein air painting in his country. Uhde along with Max Slevogt, Ludwig Dill and Lovis Corinth, was one of the founding members of the Verein Bildender Künstler (Society of Fine Artists), better known as the Munich Secession; later he also joined the Berlin Secession. In his indoor and outdoor settings, Uhde often depicted the ordinary lives of peasants, fishermen, seamstresses, children, and women. He frequently depicted Jesus Christ as visiting families in country settings.

Ury, Leo Lesser (1861-1931)

Ury was a German Jewish Impressionist painter and printmaker. One of the first artists in Germany to depict modern city life, his favoured subjects, associated with the city of Berlin, were diverse: rainy street scenes, bustling cafes, theatres, horse-drawn carriages, automobiles, women sewing, and floral still-lifes. Ury also

painted landscapes, including a series of pastoral scenes from the Dutch countryside and Italy and quite a few works with Old Testament subjects. Much of Ury's art because he was Jewish was destroyed during the Third Reich.

Utamaro I, Kitagawa (1753-1806)

Utamaro, Japanese woodblock printmaker and painter, was one of the greatest artists of the ukiyo-e ("pictures of the floating world") movement; he is known especially for his masterfully composed portraits of sensuous female beauties. In about 1791 Utamaro gave up designing prints for books and concentrated on making half-length single portraits of women rather than prints of women in groups as favoured by other ukiyo-e artists. Among his best known works are his *bijin ōkubi-e,* "large-headed pictures of beautiful women," and his three print series, *Fu ninsōgaku jittai* (*Ten Physiognomies of Women), Seirō jūni-toki (Twelve Hours at the Gay Quarters), Seirō nanakomachi (The Seven Beauties of the Gay Quarters), and Kasen koi no fu (Women in Love)*.

Valenciennes, Pierre-Henri de (1750-1819)

Valenciennes, a French painter, was influential in elevating the status of plein air painting. He worked in Rome from 1778 to 1782, where he made a number of landscape studies directly from nature, sometimes painting the same set of trees or house at different times of day. He theorized on this idea in his 1800 treatise *Reflections and Advice to a Student on Painting, Particularly on Landscape*, developing a concept of a "landscape portrait" in which the artist paints a landscape directly while looking upon it, taking care to capture its particular details such as the scene's architecture, the dress of the people, the agriculture, and so on. He encouraged artists to paint directly onto canvas within the landscape, and to paint the same view at multiple times of day, to capture the fleeting changes of a landscape due to light and weather.

Valentine, George Dobson (1852-1890)

Valentine was a Scottish photographer who emigrated to New Zealand in 1884 with the hope that the climate would improve his health. Beginning with views of Nelson where he initially settled, he then turned his attention to views of the Pink and White Terraces and Lake Rotomahana, and the pre and post- eruption of the Mount Tarawera volcano in 1886. Moving to Auckland he broadened his coverage, making a series photographs of Tahiti, Tonga and the Cook Islands based on a summer cruise in the Pacific Islands. Valentine produced many of what were to become the classic iconic images of early New Zealand, including geyser studies in the thermal region and studies of New Zealand bush and waterfalls.

Vallou de Villeneuve, Julien (1795-1866)

Vallou de Villeneuve was a French painter, lithographer and photographer. He opened a photographic studio where his subjects were 'academic studies', small prints of nudes as models for artists. Gustave Courbet was introduced to his photographs by Alfred Bruyas and used them as source material for his paintings, in particular *L'Atelier* (1855) and *Les Baigneuses* (1853).

Van Gogh, Vincent Willem (1853-1890)

Van Gogh, a Dutch painter, considered the greatest Dutch painter since Rembrandt, in a short career of ten years, created about 2,100 artworks, including around 860 oil paintings, most of which date from the last two years of his life. They include landscapes, still lifes, portraits and self-portraits, and are characterized by bold colours and dramatic, impulsive and expressive brushwork that contributed to the foundations of modern art.

In 1886, upon joining his brother Theo, an art dealer in Paris, he met members of the avant-garde, including Henri de Toulouse-Lautrec, Georges Seurat, and Paul Gauguin, who were reacting against the Impressionist sensibility. Not commercially successful in his career, he struggled with severe depression and poverty, which eventually led to his suicide at age thirty-seven.

Velàzquez, Diego Rodríguez de Silva (1599-1660)

Velázquez was the most important Spanish painter of the 17th century. Inspired by the study of 16th-century Venetian painting, he developed from a master of faithful likeness and characterization into the creator of masterpieces of visual impression unique in his time.

Vermersch, Eugène (1845-1878)

Vermersch, a socialist polemicist and pamphlet-maker, was a prominent figure in the Paris Commune. He collaborated on *La Marsellaise* (1870), a song that spread patriotism to the French people during the Franco-Prussian War of 1870 and became France's national anthem in 1879. After the Semaine sanglante (Bloody Week), a weeklong battle in Paris from 21 to 28 May 1871, during which the French Army recaptured the city from the Paris Commune, he sought refuge in Belgium before eventually settling in London, where he joined the French federalist section of L'Internationale, which aimed at uniting a variety of different left-wing socialist, communist and anarchist groups and trade unions that were based on the working class and class struggle. Caricatures of Gustave Courbet appear in several of his publications, for example, Léonce Petit, *Courbet* from Eugène Vermersch, *Les Binettes rimées* (Paris, 1868).

Vigée le Brun, Élisabeth Louise (1755-1842)

Vigée-Lebrun, a French portrait painter, was renowned for the freshness, charm, and sensitivity of her portraits of women. In 1779 when she was summoned to Versailles to paint a portrait of Queen Marie-Antoinette the two women became friends, and in subsequent years she painted more than twenty portraits of Marie-Antoinette in a variety of poses and costumes. She also painted a number of self-portraits, in the style of various artists whose work she admired. On the outbreak of the Revolution in 1789, she left France and lived in Rome, Naples, Vienna, Berlin, St. Petersburg, Moscow, London and Switzerland, where she painted portraits and played a leading role in society; she finally returned to Paris ca. 1810.

Vizetelly, Frank (1830-disappeared 1883)

Vizetelly, a British journalist, was employed as a war correspondent and artist by the *Illustrated London News*, founded by his older brother, Henry. He traveled to Italy, Spain, and America, where he reported from both sides of the Civil War, and Egypt. He disappeared, presumed killed, during the massacre of Hicks Pasha's army in Sudan.

Vuillaume, Maxime Marie Abel Joseph (1844-1925)

Vuillaume was a French engineer, journalist and pamphleteer. He was involved in the Paris Commune of 1871, on the fall of which he was forced to go into exile. He wrote detailed memoirs of the Commune in *Mes cahiers rouges* (preface by Lucien Descaves), a series of ten separate publications, originally published in the journal *Cahiers de la Quinzaine* (Paris, 1908–1914).

Watteau, Jean-Antoine (1684-1721)

Watteau was a French painter who typified the lyrically charming and graceful style of the Rococo which was a reaction against the Classicism of the preceding era. He was accepted by the Académie as a painter of *fêtes galantes*—outdoor entertainments in gardens in which the courtiers often dressed in rural costumes. One major influence on his art was the commedia dell'arte, in which words count significantly less than gestures, in a theatre linked to the actor, who brings his own routines with him; another was the opéra ballet, with its grand display of fleeting images embodied by dance, singing, costumes, and decorations. The 19th century marked a resurgence of interest in Watteau, among the French poets, namely Victor Hugo, Gérard de Nerval, Théophile Gautier and especially Baudelaire who presented a profound and precise interpretation of the artist, placing him among the "beacons" of mankind in one of his most famous poems ("Les Phares," 1855).

Watts, George Frederic (1817-1904)

Watts was a British painter and sculptor associated with the Symbolist movement. His paintings such as *Hope* (1886, further versions 1886–1895) were meant to form part of an epic symbolic cycle called the "House of Life", in which the emotions and aspirations of life would all be represented in a universal symbolic language. In the 1860s, Watts's paintings, influenced by Dante Gabriel Rossetti and the Aesthetic movement often emphasized sensuous pleasure and rich colour. His work, altered during the 1870s, as he increasingly combined Classical traditions with a deliberately agitated and troubled surface to suggest the dynamic energies of life and evolution as well as the tentative and transitory qualities of life. His portraits of the most important men and women of the day, which evoke a tension between disciplined stability and the power of action, were intended to form a "House of Fame".

Whately, Richard (1787-1863)

Whately, an Anglican archbishop of Dublin, was an educator, logician, and social reformer. In 1829 he supported the removal of political disabilities suffered by English Catholics, and together with the Catholic archbishop of Dublin attempted to devise a nonsectarian program of religious instruction as part of an Irish national school curriculum for both Protestant and Roman Catholic children. He took an interest in social questions and served as president (1835–36) of the royal commission on the Irish poor, which called for major improvements in agriculture rather than the introduction of workhouses for the impoverished. He also spoke out in favour of granting civil rights to Jews.

Wheatley, Francis (1747-1801)

Wheatley was an English portrait and landscape painter who produced mainly small landscapes, portraits, and street scenes, in imitation of the French painter Jean-Baptiste Greuze. He painted *The Dublin Volunteers on College Green, 4th November 1779*, the basis for a print bought by numerous Irish Patriot supporters, the best-known interior of the Irish House of Commons (1780) and several subjects for Boydell's Shakespeare Gallery.

Wiertz, Antoine Joseph (1806-1865)

Wiertz was a Belgian painter, sculptor, lithographer and art writer. He is known for his religious, historical, and allegorical works and portraits. Many of his works from the 1850s have a social or philosophical message, often translated in delirious imagery, like *Hunger, Madness and Crime* (1853), *The Reader of Novels* (1853), *Suicide* (1854), *The Premature Burial* (1854) and *The Last Gun* (1855). Some of his works are erotic and macabre and presage Belgian Symbolism.

Willson Peale, Charles (1741-1827)

Peale was an American painter, patriot, scientist, inventor, politician, and naturalist. In 1775, inspired by the American Revolution, Peale moved from his native Maryland to Philadelphia and set up a painting studio. He joined the Sons of Liberty, the Pennsylvania militia, and ultimately the Continental Army under the command of General George Washington, where he participated in active combat against the British Army during the American Revolutionary War. While in combat, he painted miniature portraits of various officers in the Continental Army which he produced as enlarged versions in later years. In 1801, Peale founded what today is the Pennsylvania Academy of Fine Arts in Philadelphia, one of the first American museums.

Winterhalter, Franz Xaver (1805-1873)

Winterhalter was a German painter and lithographer who painted German, Austrian, French and British royalty and leading aristocracy. His style was somewhat conservative at first, producing a smooth, enamel-like surface; he then developed a freedom of brushwork that engendered Romantic charm. In later works he often painted directly on the canvas, without making preliminary studies.

Wolfthorn, Julie (née Wolff) (1864-1944)

Wolfthorn, a German Jewish painter, was a co-founder of the Berlin Secession and the Association of Artists and Art Lovers Berlin. She and over 200 female artists petitioned in 1905 to be allowed to join the Prussian Academy of Arts, but their petition was rejected. She was a founder, with Kathe Kollwitz, of the exhibition cooperation Verbindung Bildender Künstlerinnen. Both artists were elected as directors of the “Secession” in 1912, until Wolfthorn was removed in 1933 because she was Jewish. She continued to work in Berlin with the Cultural Association of German Jews until the Nazis declared the group illegal in 1941. Iin 1942, the 78-year-old Wolfthorn and her sister Luise Wolff were transported to the Theresienstadt concentration camp, where she is said to have continued drawing until she was murdered in 1944.

Wolgemut, Michael (1434-1519)

Wolgemut, a German painter and printmaker, who ran a workshop in Nuremberg, is best known as having taught the young Albrecht Dürer. In his atelier large altar-pieces and other sacred paintings were executed, and also elaborate carved painted wood retables, consisting of crowded subjects in high relief, richly decorated with gold and colour. Wolgemut’s production of woodcuts was a large part of the work of the workshop, the blocks being cut from Wolgemut’s designs to supply the many publishers in Nuremberg with book illustrations, with the most attractive also being sold separately.

Woodbury, David B. (1839-1866)

Woodbury was arguably the best of the American photographers who stayed with Matthew Brady through the war. In March 1862, Mathew Brady sent Woodbury and Edward Whitney to photograph the 1st Bull Run battlefield and in May, views of the Peninsula Campaign. In July 1863, Woodbury and Anthony Berger photographed the Gettysburg battlefield for Brady, returning on November 19 to take photographs of the crowd and procession..

Zola, Émile Édouard Charles Antoine (1840–1902)

Zola, French novelist, critic, and political activist, was the most prominent French novelist of the late 19th century. He was noted for his theories of naturalism, which underlie his monumental 20-novel series *Les Rougon-Macquart*, and for his intervention in the Dreyfus Affair through his famous open letter, "J'accuse" in 1898 which accused the French government of antisemitism in the Dreyfus Affair.

In the 1860s and 1870s Zola also defended the art of Cézanne, Manet, and the Impressionists Claude Monet, Edgar Degas, and Pierre-Auguste Renoir in newspaper articles and was a constant presence at weekly gatherings of the painters at various studios and cafés, where theories about the arts and their potential interrelationships were vociferously debated.

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

Chapter 1
Gustave Courbet and Revolutionary Realism

Gustave Courbet, Le Désespéré, 1843-45.

Gustave Courbet, *The Stone Breakers*, 1849.

1.1 Revolution and Reform

Franz Xaver Winterhalter, *Louis-Philippe I, King of the French from 1830 to 1848,* 1841.

Karl Marx, *The Class Struggles in France, 1848-1850.* With an introduction by Frederick Engels. Translated from German by Henry Kuhn. National Executive Committee, Socialist Labour Party, first printing, 1924; online edition, 2018.

Honoré Daumier, *The Uprising*, ca. 1848

Ange-Louis Janet, *Louis-Eugène Cavaignac,* ca. 1872.

Charles François Thibault, *Barricades rue Saint-Maur-Popincourt avant l'attaque par les troupes du général Lamoricière, le dimanche 25 juin 1848,* 1848.

Charles François Thibault, *Barricades rue Saint-Maur-Popincourt après l'attaque par les troupes du général Lamoricière, le lundi 26 juin 1848,* 1848.

Charles François Thibault, *La barricade de la rue Saint-Maur-Popincourt le Dimanche matin, d'après un planchet daguerréotypée par M. Thibeault,* 1848.

1.2 Capturing Contemporary History: The Artist as Witness

Ernest Meissonier, *The Barricade,* 1848.

Ernest Meissonier, *The Barricade, Rue de la Mortellerie, June 1848,* also known as*, Remembrance of the Civil War,* ca. 1850-51.

Ernest Meissonier, *Study for The Barricade,* 1848.

Ernest Meissonier, *Study of an Insurgent*, ca. 1848-50.

Jean-Louis-Ernest Meissoner, *Napoleon III at the Battle of Solferino,* 1863.

1.3 Caricature and Social Critique

Honoré Daumier, *Gargantua*, 1831.

Honoré Daumier, *The Uprising*, ca. 1848.

Honoré Daumier, *The Third-Class Carriage,* ca. 1863-65.

1.4 Realism and the Democratization of Art

François Gérard, *Portrait de Juliette Récamier, née Bernard (1777-1849),* ca. 1802-1805.

Léon Halévy and Henri Saint-Simon, Opinions littéraires, philosophiques et industrielles (Paris: Galerie de Bossange Père, 1825).

Gustave Courbet, *Self-Portrait with Pipe*, ca. 1848-1849.

Gustave Courbet, *Self-Portrait with Black Dog,* 1842.

Parmigianino, *Self-Portrait in a Convex Mirror,* ca. 1523-24.

Gustave Courbet, *Self-Portrait with Black Dog,* ca. 1842-44.

Gustave Courbet, From *Ralist Manifesto 1855.* In *Modernism: An Anthology of Sources and Documents,* eds. Vassiliki Kolocotroni, Jane Goldman and Olga Taxidou, (Edinburgh: University of Edinburgh Press, 1998).

Samuel F.B. Morse, *Gallery of the Louvre,* ca. 1831-33.

1.5 Radical Realists: The Advent of the Avant-Garde

Gustave Courbet, *Cabaret Andler-Keller,* 1862.

Gustave Courbet, *Portrait de Baudelaire,* 1848-49.

Gustave Courbet, *Proudhon and his Children,* 1865.

Gustave Courbet, *Portrait de Champfleury, écrivain*, 1855.

1.6 Courting Scandal, Creating Sensation: Courbet and the Paris Salon

Theodor Josef Hubert Hoffbauer, *Salon de 1849, aux Tuileries*, ca. 1875-82.

Gustave Courbet, *After Dinner at Ornans,* 1849.

Dirck Hals, *Merry Company at Table,* ca. 1627-29.

1.7 Painting Ordinary People: Elevating the Humble Hero

Gustave Courbet, *The Stone Breakers,* 1849.

Gustave Courbet, *A Burial at Ornans*, 1849-50.

Detail of Gustave Courbet, *A Burial at Ornans,* 1849-50.

Detail of Gustave Courbet, *A Burial at Ornans,* 1849-50.

Detail of Gustave Courbet, *A Burial at Ornans,* 1849-50.

Detail of Gustave Courbet, *A Burial at Ornans,* 1849-50.

El Greco, *The Burial of the Count of Orgaz*, ca. 1586-88.

Jacques-Louis David, *Oath of the Horatii,* 1784.

Gustave Courbet, *The Peasants of Flagey Returning from the Fair,* ca. 1850-55.

Gustave Courbet, *The Wheat Sifters,* 1854.

Jean-François Millet, *The Gleaners,* 1857.

Jean-François Millet, *Man with a Hoe*, ca. 1860-62.

Louis Le Nain, *Happy Family,* 1642.

Philippe-Auguste Jeanron, *Scène de Paris*, 1833.

Philippe Derussy, *Portrait of a Young Girl, Standing, Sitting on the Right of a Balustrade and a Drapery*, 1846.

Champfleury, *Le réalisme* (Paris: Michel Lévy Frères, Libraires-Éditeurs, 1857).

Champfleury, *Le réalisme* (Paris: Michel Lévy Frères, Libraires-Éditeurs, 1857), 274-275.

Champfleury, *Le réalisme* (Paris: Michel Lévy Frères, Libraires-Éditeurs, 1857), 272-273.

Jules-Antoine Castagnary, *Philosophie du Salon de 1857* (Paris: Poulet-Malassis et De Broise, 1858).

Jules-Antoine Castagnary, *Philosophie du Salon de 1857* (Paris: Poulet Malassis et De Broise, 1858), 8.

1.8 A Class in Transition: Courbet's *Young Ladies of the Village* and *Young Ladies on the Banks of the Seine*

Gustave Courbet, *Young Ladies of the Village,* 1851-52.

Bertall, *Caricature of Young Ladies of the Village, Le journal pour rire,* April 16, 1852.

Detail of Gustave Courbet, *Young Ladies of the Village,* 1851-52.

Walking dresses, Petit courrier des dames, journal des modes, September 1837.

Gustave Courbet, *Portrait of Zélie*, 1847.

Detail of Gustave Courbet, *Young Ladies of the Village,* 1851-52.

Jean-Antoine Watteau, *The Fortune Teller,* ca. 1710 (copy).

Louis-Napoléon, *The Extinction of Pauperism* (London: Cleave, 1844).

Linda Nochlin, *Misère: The Visual Representation of Misery in the 19th Century* (London: Thames & Hudson, 2018).

Gustave Courbet, *Young Ladies on the Banks of the Seine,* 1857.

Gustave Courbet, *The Bathers,* ca. 1853.

1.9 Art, Patronage and the Outsider Artist

Gustave Courbet, *Portrait of Alfred Bruyas,* 1853.

Gustave Courbet, *The Meeting or Good Day, Monsieur Courbet*, 1854.

Human-headed winged lion (Lamassu), ca. 883-859 BCE.

1.10 Inside *The Artist's Studio*

Gustave Courbet, *The Artist's Studio: A Real Allegory Summing Up Seven Years of My Artistic and Moral Life,* 1854.

Detail of Gustave Courbet, *The Artist's Studio: A Real Allegory Summing Up Seven Years of My Artistic and Moral Life,* 1854.

Jan Saenredam, after Hendrick Goltzius, *Allegory of Sight and of the Art of Painting (An Artist and His Model),* 1616.

Champfleury, *Les chats: Histoire, mœurs, observations, anecdotes* (Paris: J. Rothschild, 1869.)

Detail of Gustave Courbet, *The Artist's Studio: A Real Allegory Summing Up Seven Years of My Artistic and Moral Life,* 1854.

Julien Vallou de Villeneuve, *Nude Study,* registered 1853.

Detail of Gustave Courbet, *The Artist's Studio: A Real Allegory Summing Up Seven Years of My Artistic and Moral Life,* 1854.

Gustave Courbet, *The Artist's Studio: A Real Allegory Summing Up Seven Years of My Artistic and Moral Life,* 1854.

Detail of Gustave Courbet, *The Artist's Studio: A Real Allegory Summing Up Seven Years of My Artistic and Moral Life,* 1854.

Gustave Courbet, *Source of the Lison,* ca. 1864-66.

Eugène Feyen, *Gustave Courbet's studio in Ornans, showing a lay figure,* 1864.

Eugène Vermersch, Maxime Vuillaume and Alphonse Humbert, 'Le Citoyen Courbet', Père Duchêne, 1871.

Gustave Courbet, *Self-Portrait at Sainte-Pelagie,* 1872.

Gustave Courbet, *Portrait of Jules-Antoine Castagnary,* 1870.

Gustave Courbet, *Landscape with a Hunter,* 1873.

Chapter 2
Manet and Modern Life

Édouard Manet*, Le Dejeuner sur l'herbe* (*Luncheon on the Grass*), 1863.

Introduction

Artist Unknown, *Paris, Île de la Cité, A map based on the 1771 Robert de Vaugondy plan.*

James Farley/Getty Images, *Aerial view of Paris.*

Gustave Caillebotte, *Le Pont de L'Europe,* 1876.

Henri Fantin-Latour, *Portrait d'Édouard Manet,* 1867.

2.1 The Challenge of the New: Modernist Attitudes and the Académie

Édouard Baldus, *Palais de l'Industrie*, ca. 1850-1860.

Jean Léon Gerôme, *Death of Caesar,* ca. 1859-1867.

Gustave Moreau, *Salome Dancing Before Herod,* 1876.

Théodore Rousseau, *Forest of Fontainebleau, Cluster of Tall Trees Overlooking the Clair-Bois at the Edge of Bas-Bréau,* ca. 1849-52.

Jules Breton, *Erecting a Calvary,* 1858.

Rosa Bonheur, *Ploughing in Nevers,* 1849.

Rosa Bonheur, *The Horse Fair,* 1853-55.

Cavalcade, Block II from the West frieze of the Parthenon, ca. 447-433 BCE.

Rosa Bonheur, *Study for the Horse Fair*, ca. 1853-55.

Rosa Bonheur, wearing the Legion of Honour, 1865.

2.2 Enter Édouard Manet: The Paris Salon, 1859

Nadar, "Close-up photograph of artist Édouard Manet, before 1870," (enlargement by Paul Nadar), 1870.

Édouard Manet, *The Absinthe Drinker,* 1859 (reworked 1868-72).

Charles Baudelaire, "The Wine of the Ragpickers," in *Poems of Baudelaire,* translated by Campbell (New York: Pantheon Books, 1925).

Diego Velàzquez, *Aesop,* ca. 1638.

2.3 The Perfect Storm: *Le Déjeuner sur l'herbe*, the Paris Salon and the Salon des Refusés

Theodor Josef Hubert Hoffbauer, *Salon de 1849*, *aux Tuileries,* ca. 1875-82.

Édouard Manet, *Luncheon on the Grass,* 1863.

Giorgione and/or his disciple Titian, *The Pastoral Concert,* 1509.

Marcantonio Raimondi, after Raphael, *The Judgment of Paris,* ca. 1514-18.

Antoine Watteau, *Pleasures of Love,* ca. 1716.

Pierre Alexandre Aveline, after Antoine Watteau, *La Villageoise,* 18th century.

Édouard Manet, *Jesus Mocked by the Soldiers,* ca. 1864-65.

2.4 *Olympia* in Context

Édouard Manet, *Olympia*, 1863.

Jean-Léon Gérôme, *The Slave Market,* 1866.

Detail of Édouard Manet, *Olympia*, 1863.

Charles Expilly, *Les femmes et les mœurs du Brésil* (Paris: Charlieu et Huillery, 1863).

Édouard Manet, *Children in the Tuileries Gardens*, 1861-62.

Édouard Manet, *Portrait of Laure,* 1862.

Detail of Édouard Manet, *Olympia,* 1863.

Eunice Lipton, *Alias Olympia: A Woman's Search for Manet's Notorious Model and Her Own Desire* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1992).

Édouard Manet, *Mademoiselle V... in the Costume of an Espada,* 1862.

Édouard Manet, *Portrait of Victorine Meurent,* 1862.

Victorine Meurent, *Self-Portrait,* 1876.

Victorine Meurent, *Palm Sunday,* ca. 1880.

V.R. Main, *A Woman With No Clothes On* (London: Delancey, 2008).

Victorine Meurent, ca. 1862.

Victorine Meurent, ca. 1865.

Titian, *Venus of Urbino* (also known as *Reclining Venus*), 1538.

Édouard Manet, *Olympia*, 1863.

Francisco de Goya, *The Naked Maja,* ca. 1795-1800.

Édouard Manet, *Olympia,* 1863.

Édouard Manet, *Young Woman Reclining in Spanish Costume,* ca. 1862-63.

Francisco de Goya, *The Clothed Maja,* ca. 1800-1807.

Gustave Courbet, *Woman with a Parrot,* 1866.

Alexandre Cabanel, *The Birth of Venus,* 1863.

Honoré Daumier, "Partons madame… ces nudités sont révoltantes… (à part) je reviendrai tout seul!", *Le Charivari,* May 15, 1866.

2.5 The International Exposition of 1867

Eugène Cicéri and Philippe Benoist, *Official bird's eye view of Exposition Universelle,* 1867,

Photograph of the building called Exposition Courbet on the front, built Place de l'Alma, during the International Exhibition, Paris, 1867.

André Gill, "Courbet, Peint par lui-même- et par Gill," *La Lune,* 9 June, 1867.

Léonce Petit, "*G. Courbet*, par L. Petit," *Le Hanneton,* June 13, 18677.

Catalogue des Tableaux de M. Édouard Manet: exposés Avenue de L'Alma en 1867 (Paris: Imprimerie L. Poupart-Davyl, 1867).

Édouard Manet, *View of the 1867 Exposition Universelle,* 1867.

2.6 The Political Manet: *The Execution of Emperor Maximilian*

Édouard Manet, *The Execution of the Emperor Maximilian,* 1868.

Édouard Manet, *The Execution of the Emperor Maximilian,* 1867.

Édouard Manet, *The Execution of Emperor Maximilian of Mexico,* 1868.

Édouard Manet, *The Execution of Maximilian of Mexico,* 1867.

François Aubert, *Emperor Maximilian's Firing Squad,* 1867.

Édouard Manet, *The Execution of the Emperor Maximilian*, 1868.

Francisco de Goya, *The Third of May,* 1814.

Jean-Louis-Ernest Meissonier, *The Barricade, Rue de la Mortellerie, June 1848,* also known as *Remembrance of Civil War,* ca. 1850.

Édouard Manet, *The Dead Christ with Angels,* 1864.

Édouard Manet, *Jesus Mocked by the Soldiers,* ca. 1864-65.

Édouard Manet, *The Execution of Emperor Maximilian of Mexico,* 1868.

2.7 *Portrait of Émile Zola*: Japonisme and the Influence of the Multiple

Édouard Manet, *Portrait of Émile Zola,* 1868.

Detail of Édouard Manet, *Portrait of Émile Zola,* 1868.

Utagawa Kuniaki, *Sumô Wrestler Ônaruto Nadaemon of Awa Province (Ashû Ônaruto Madaemon),* 1860.

Detail of Édouard Manet, *Portrait of Émile Zola,* 1868.

Types nationaux à l'Exposition universelle. – Japon. – Intérieur de la maison du gouverneur de Satzouma. (D'après le dessin de M. Montani)" *Le Monde Illustré*, September 28, 1867.

"Exposition universelle. – Section orientale. – Vue Générale de l'exposition japonaise dans le parc." *Le Monde Illustré,* August 31, 1867.

"Les ateliers Goupil & Cie d'Asnières", *L'Illustration,* 12 April, 1873.

Gazette des Beaux-Arts, 1 July, 1859.

Charles Blanc et al., *Histoire des Peintres de Toutes les Écoles: École Espagnole* (Paris: Librairie Renouard, 1865).

Charles Blanc, *Histoire des Peintres de Toutes le Écoles: École Française* (Paris: Librairie Renouard, 1862).

Edgar Degas, *The Collector of Prints,* 1866.

2.8 Manet's Entourage

Frédéric Bazille, *Bazille's Studio,* 1870.

Henri Fantin-Latour, *A Studio at Les Batignolles,* 1870.

Édouard Manet, *At the Café,* 1869.

2.9 Paris Commune, 1871

"Bombardement de Paris. – Habitants réfugiés dans leurs caves." *L'Illustration, Journal Universel*, 4 February, 1871.

Édouard Manet, *The Barricade,* 1871.

Alfred le Petit, "On n'entre pas! Par Alfred le Petit: Comédie en un acte (ridicule) et deux tableaux (médiocres)", *Le Grelot*, 28 April 1872.

2.10 Impressionism and its Contexts

Nadar, *Atelier Nadar 35 Boulevard des Capucines,* 1860.

Claude Monet, *Impression, Sunrise*, 1872.

Paul Cézanne, *The Hanged Man's House, Auvers-sur-Oise*, ca. 1873.

Edgar Degas, *At the Races in the Countryside,* ca. 1872.

Claude Monet, *Boulevard des Capucines*, 1873.

Berthe Morisot, *The Cradle,* 1873.

Camille Pissarro, *The Cabbage Field, Pontoise,* 1873.

Pierre-August Renoir, *The Dancer,* 1874.

Pierre-Auguste Renoir, *Claude Monet Painting in his Garden at Argenteuil,* 1873.

Chapter 3
Female Labour and Prostitution in Paris

Georges Seurat, *Models*, ca. 1886-88.

Introduction

Splendeurs et misères: Images de la prostitution, 1850-1910, 22 September 2015-17 January 2016.

Nicole Canet*, The Hindi Room*, Au Bonheur du Jour, Gallery.

Nicole Canet, *The Grotto Entrance,* Au Bonheur du Jour, Gallery.

3.1 Framing the Female Figure: Debauchery and Decorum in Nineteenth-Century Art

Gustave Courbet, *Young Ladies Beside the Seine,* 1857.

Pierre-Joseph Proudhon, Eds. A. Lacroix & Cie, *La Pornocracie ou Les Femmes dans les temps modernes (Pornocracy of Women in Modern Times)* (Paris: Libraire International, 1875).

Alfred Stevens, *Family Scene* or *Domestic Happiness* or *All the Joys*, ca. 1880.

3.2 Avant-Garde Painters and the Subject of Prostitution

Édouard Manet, *Olympia,* 1863.

Paul Cézanne, *The Eternal Feminine,* ca. 1877.

Paul Cézanne, *A Modern Olympia,* ca. 1873-74.

Jules Lefebvre, *Odalisque,* 1874.

3.3 Fashion and the Courtesan

Édouard Manet, *Nana,* 1877.

Gallicelo, "Le corset sans gêne, c'est le Corset Parfait," ca. 1910.

3.4 Anonymity, Identity and the Parisian Prostitute

Gustave Courbet, *The Origin of the World,* 1866.

André Adolphe-Eugène Disderi, *Constance Quénioux*, n.d.

Paul Émile Pesme, *Constance Quénioux,* 1861.

The Pretty Women of Paris: Their Names and Addresses, Qualities and Faults; Being a Complete Directory; Or Guide to Pleasure for Visitors to the Gay City (Privately printed at the Press of the Prefecture de Police, 1883).

Charles Reutlinger, *Portrait of Latour Amélie,* ca. 1860-90.

Nadar, *Portrait of Henriette de Barras (actress at the Théâtre de la Renaissance),* ca. 1870-90.

3.5 Female Spectacle: Photography, Theatre and the French Courtesan

Léopold Reutlinger, *La Belle Otéro,* ca. 1877-1917.

François-Rupert Carabin, *Groupe de Quatre femmes nues, assises,* ca. 1895-1910.

Georges Clairin, *Portrait of Sarah Bernhardt,* 1876.

Sarah Bernardt, *My Double Life: Memoirs of Sarah Bernhardt; With many portraits and illustrations* (London: Willian Heinemann, 1907).

Sarah Bernhardt, *My Double Life: Memoirs of Sarah Bernhardt; With many portraits and Illustrations* (London: Willian Heinemann, 1907), 90-91.

Sarah Bernhardt, *My Double Life: Memoirs of Sarah Bernhardt; With many portraits and Illustrations* (London: Willian Heinemann, 1907), 342-343.

Melandri, *Sarah Bernhardt*, 1879.

3.6 The Brothel as Modern Subject

Edgar Degas, *The Client,* 1879.

Edgar Degas, *In the Salon,* ca. 1876-77 or 1879-80.

Edgar Degas, *The Fireside,* ca. 1876-77.

Edgar Degas, *Woman Reading,* ca. 1885.

Guy de Maupassant, *La Maison Tellier: Illustration d'Edgar Degas* (Paris: Éditions Ambroise Vollard, 1934).

Pierre Louys, *Mimes des courtisanes: Illustrations d'Edgar Degas* (Paris: Éditions Ambroise Vollard, 1935).

Edgar Degas, *Waiting,* 1879.

3.7 Deviance, Lesbianism, Racism and the Other

Alexandre Jean-Baptiste Parent du Châtelet (Parent-Duchâtelet), *De la Prostitution dans la ville de Paris, considérée sous le rapport de l'hygiène publique, de la moral de l'administration; Ouvrage appuyé de documents statistiques, puisés dans les archives de la Préfecture de la police* (Paris: J-B Baillière et Fils. 1836).

Alexandre Jean-Baptiste Parent du Châtelet (Parent-Duchâtelet), *Distribution des prostituées dans chacun des 48 quartiers de la Ville de Paris*, 1836.

Nicole G. Albert, trans. Nancy Erber and William Peniston, *Lesbian Decadence: Representations in Art and Literature of Fin-de-Siècle France* (New York: Harrington Park Press, 2016).

Charles Baudelaire, *Les fleurs du Mal* (Paris: Charles Meunier, 1900). Illustration, Carlos Schwabe.

Pauline Tarnowsky, "Anomalies of the Face and the Ear in Prostitutes," in *Étude anthropométrique sur les prostituées et les voleuses* (Paris: E. Lecrosnier et Bébé, 1889).

Gustave Courbet, *The Sleepers,* 1866.

Jean-Léon Gérôme, *Pool in a Harem,* 1876.

Édouard Debat-Ponsan, *The Massage*, 1883.

Ingres, *The Turkish Bath,* 1862.

Nicolas de Nicolay, *Les navigation, pérégrinations et voyages, faicts en la Turquie* (Antwerp: Guillaume Silvius, 1577).

Edgar Degas, *Two Women (Scene from a Brothel)*, ca. 1877-79.

Charles Williams, *Love and Beauty- Sartjee the Hottentot Venus,* 1822.

3.8 Edgar Degas's Bathers

Edgar Degas, *Leaving the Bath,* ca. 1879-80.

Edgar Degas, *Woman in a Tub,* 1886.

Edgar Degas, *Woman in a Tub,* ca. 1883.

Edgar Degas, *Woman Bathing in a Shallow Tub,* 1885.

Pierre-Auguste Renoir, *Blonde Bather,* 1882.

Pierre-Auguste Renoir, *Study Torso Sunlight Effect,* ca. 1876.

Edgar Degas, *After the Bath, Woman Drying Herself,* ca. 1890-95.

Edgar Degas, *Woman Combing Her Hair,* ca. 1887-90.

3.9 Henri de Toulouse-Lautrec: The Travails and Tragedies of the Ordinary Prostitute

Henri de Toulouse-Lautrec, *At the Salon of the Rue des Moulins,* 1894.

Maurice Guibert, *Toulouse-Lautrec in his workshop with a nude model,* 1895.

Henri de Toulouse-Lautrec, *The Ladies in the Brother Dining-Room,* 1893.

Henri de Toulouse-Lautrec, *The Two Girlfriends,* 1894.

Henri de Toulouse-Lautrec, *The Bed,* 1893.

Kitagawa Utamaro I, *The Hour of the Ox (1 A.M. – 3 A.M.),* ca. 1794.

Kitagawa Utamaro I, *The Hour of the Horse,* ca. 1794.

Kitagawa Utamaro I, *Courtesan with Child Attendant,* ca. 1789-1806.

Henri de Toulouse-Lautrec, *At the Salon of the Rue des Moulins,* 1894.

Henri de Toulouse-Lautrec, *Rue des Moulins,* 1894.

M.A. Hardy and A. de Montméja, "Syphilide pigmentaire," *Clinique photographique de l'hôpital Saint-Louis* (Paris: Chamerot et Lauwereyns, 1868).

Reproduced from G. Tilles, "Le Musée de l'hôpital Saint-Louis, The Museum of the Hôpital Saint-Louis," *Annales de Dermatologie et de Vénéréologie* 145, no. 4, September 2018.

Cherry Chapman, "Two Very Unusual Medical Museums in Paris," *A Psychotherapist in Paris*, 22 September 2014.

3.10 Covert Prostitution: Shopgirls and *Serveuses*

View of Paris in 1878, during the World Fair, 1878.

Charles Marville, *Rue du Jardinet (du passage Hautefeuille),* ca. 1853-70.

Pierre-Auguste Renoir, *Pont-Neuf,* 1872.

Pierre Petit, *Portrait of Julie-Victoire Daubié*, 1861.

"PARIS. – Les magasins de nouveautés. – LE BON MARCHÉ. Intérieur. – (Dessin de MM. Clerget et Vierge)." *Le Monde Illustré,* 30 March 1872.

Au Bon Marché: Comptoir des Modes, Chapeaux de Dentelles et de Crêpe, Été 1891, 1891.

James Tissot, *The Shop Girl,* ca. 1883-85.

Pierre-Auguste Renoir, *At the Milliner's*, 1878,

Edgar Degas, *The Little Milliners,* 1882.

Edgar Degas, *At the Milliner's,* 1881.

Edgar Degas, *At the Milliner,* ca. 1882-85.

Edgar Degas, *The Milliner*, ca. 1882.

Edgar Degas, *At the Milliner's,* 1883.

Edgar Degas, *The Milliners,* ca. 1898.

Edgar Degas, *At the Milliner's,* 1882.

Gonin, "Chapeau Jolie Miss, en feutre flamand bleu marine. Les bords sont rétroussés et des belles plumes *amazone* garnissent tout le chapeau. – Modèle de Mme. Hélène (31, rue Caumartin)," *La Modiste Universelle,* 1 January 1882.

Edgar Degas, *At the Milliner's,* 1882.

Topical Press Agency, "A South African ostrich farm," ca. 1900.

Ostrich feathers for sale at the Cutler Street Warehouses in London, 1896.

Edgar Degas, *At the Milliner's,* 1882.

Édouard Manet, *Waitress Serving Beer,* 1879.

Édouard Manet, *A Bar at the Folies-Bergère,* 1882.

Detail of Édouard Manet, *A Bar at the Folies-Bergère,* 1882.

Liqueurs Supérieures, 1879.

Émile Lévy, "Folies-Bergère," 1874.

3.11 The Paris Opéra: "The Brothel of France"

Edgar Degas, *Little Dancer Aged Fourteen,* 1878-81.

Henri Christiani, *Petits Rats: Polka* (Paris: Durand et Fils, 1907).

Charles Garnier, *Elevation sketch of the 'Foyer de Danse' (located behind the stage house at the first loge level) in the Paris Opera's Palais Garnier,* ca. 1863.

Edgar Degas, *The Star*, ca. 1876-78.

Jean Béraud, *The Wings at the Opéra,* 1889.

Ludovic Halevy, *La famille Cardinal* (Paris: Calmann Lévy, 1883).

Rita Sangalli. Paris-Théâtre, 59 July 1874.

Edgar Degas, *Dancers Backstage,* ca. 1876-83.

Edgar Degas, *Waiting,* 1882.

Edgar Degas, *The Dance Class,* 1874.

Edgar Degas, *The Rehearsal,* 1873.

Edgar Degas, *Two Dancers Entering the Stage,* ca. 1877-78.

Edgar Degas, *Dancers, Pink and Green,* ca. 1890.

3.12 Georges Seurat, *Poseuses* and Pictorial Politics

Georges Seurat, *A Sunday Afternoon on the Island of La Grande Jatte*, ca. 1884-86.

Georges Seurat, *A Woman Fishing,* 1884.

Georges Seurat, *Models,* ca. 1886-84.

Raphael, *The Three Graces,* 1504.

Antonio Canova, *The Three Graces,* ca. 1814-17.

Georges Seurat, *Models,* ca. 1886-88.

Georges Seurat, *A Sunday Afternoon on the Island of La Grande Jatte,* ca. 1884-86.

Hollis Clayson, *Painted Love: Prostitution in French Art of the Impressionist Era* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1991).

Chapter 4
Berthe Morisot and Mary Cassatt: Women Artists of the Impressionist Circle

Berthe Morisot, *The Psyche Mirror*, 1876.

Introduction

Berthe Morisot, *Self-Portrait,* 1885.

Mary Cassatt, *Self-Portrait,* ca. 1880.

Griselda Pollock, *Vision and Difference: Femininity, Feminism and the Histories of Art* (London and New York: Routledge, 1988.)

Berthe Morisot, *The Harbor at Lorient,* 1869.

Mary Cassatt, *Woman with a Pearl Necklace in a Loge,* 1879.

Berthe Morisot

4.1 Public Debut

Berthe Morisot, ca. 1841-95.

Édouard Manet, *The Balcony,* ca. 1868-69.

Édouard Manet, *Berthe Morisot with a Bouquet of Violets,* 1872.

Édouard Manet, *Repose,* 1871.

4..2 Fashionable Subjects

Berthe Morisot, *Two Sisters*, 1869.

Berthe Morisot, *The Pink Dress (Albertie – Marguerite Carré, Later Madame Ferdinand – Henri Himmes)*, 1870.

Berthe Morisot, *The Butterfly Hunt*, 1874.

"Toilettes de Mme. Bréant-Castet, 6, rue Gluck," *La Mode Illustrée,* no. 3, 1882.

La famille: Voyages, Romans, Modes, Musique, Beaux-Arts, Actualités, etc., 9 February 1890.

"Costume Parisien: Coiffure ornée d'une flèche et d'un peigne renversé," *Journal des dames et des modes* (Year 11, 6 November 1807) 69.

"Les Modes de la Saison," *Journal Illustré de la Famille,* no. 22, 1880.

Héloïse Colin and Adele-Anaïs Toudouze, *Portraits d'Héloïse Colin et Adele-Anaïs Toudouze, par Elles-Mêmes*, 1836.

Héloïse Leloir, *Illustration for a French Fashion Magazine,* ca. 1862.

Adele-Anaïs Toudouze, "Toilettes de Mme. Bréant-Castel, 28, r. Nve des Pts. Champs," *La Mode Illustrée*, no. 51, 1869.

4.3 Sisterhood

Edma Morisot, *Berthe Morisot,* ca. 1865.

4.4 Familiar Subjects

Berthe Morisot, *Portrait of the Artist's Mother and Sister, ca. 1869-70.*

Émile Zola, *Au bonheur des dames* (Paris: G. Charpentier, 1883).

Berthe Morisot, *Portrait of the Artist's Mother and Sister, ca. 1869-70.*

Detail of Berthe Morisot, *Portrait of the Artist's Mother and Sister,* ca. 1869-70.

Berthe Morisot, *Portrait of Madame Edma Pontillon,* 1871.

4..5 The Space In Between

Berthe Morisot, *Woman and Child on a Balcony,* 1872.

Édouard Manet, *The Railway,* 1873.

4..6 Painting *en plein air*

Berthe Morisot, *Reading,* 1873.

Camille Corot, *Forest of Fontainebleau,* 1834.

Pierre-Henri de Valenciennes, *View of the Palace of Nemi,* ca. 1780.

Berthe Morisot, *In a Park,* ca. 1874.

Berthe Morisot, *Summer-day*, 1879.

4.7 *Les Liseuses*

Berthe Morisot, *Reading,* 1873.

Kathryn Brown, *Women Readers in French Panting, 1870-90.*

Antoine Wiertz, *La liseuse de romans (The Reader of Novels)*, 1853.

Janis Bergman-Carton, *The Woman of Ideas in French Art, 1830-48* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1995)

La Voix des Femmes, 20 April 1848.

La Femme Libre, 1st edition, August 1832.

Honoré Daumier, "Moeurs conjugales no. 6," *Le Charivari,* 30 June 1839.

Honoré Daumier, *Voilà une femme qui a l'heure solennelle...,* 1848.

Honoré Daumier, *Citoyennes on fait courir le bruit...,* 1848.

P.-J. Stahl et al., *La vie publique et privée des animaux: Vignettes par Grandville* (Paris: J. Hetzel et Paulin, Éditeurs, 1842).

4.8 Motherhood

Berthe Morisot, *The Cradle,* 1872.

William Bouguereau, *Young Mother Gazing at her Child,* 1871.

William Bouguereau, *Breton Brother and Sister,* 1871.

Berthe Morisot, *The Wet Nurse Feeding Julie Manet,* 1880.

Detail of Berthe Morisot, *The Wet Nurse Feeding Julie Manet,* 1880.

Edgar Degas, *At the Races in the Countryside,* ca. 1872.

Wet Nurses in a public park, reproduced from Linda Nochlin, "Morisot's *Wet Nurse:* The Construction of Work and Leisure in Impressionist Painting," in *Women, Art and Power, and Other Essays* (London: Routledge, 1988).

A nourrice from Morvan in Paris, date unknown.

Berthe Morisot, *Eugène Manet and His Daughter at Bougival,* 1881.

Berthe Morisot, *Julie and her Greyhound Laerte*, 1893.

Berthe Morisot, *Portrait of Berthe Morisot and Her Daughter,* 1885.

4.9 Looking Female

Berthe Morisot, *The Psyche Mirror,* 1876.

Berthe Morisot, *Young Woman Powdering Her Face*, 1877.

Berthe Morisot, *The Artist's Daughter, Julie, With Her Nanny,* ca. 1884.

Berthe Morisot, *Julie Playing a Violin,* 1893.

Mary Cassatt

4.10 An American in Paris

Mary Cassatt, *Portrait of the Artist,* 1878.

Marie Bashkirtseff, *In the Studio*, 1881.

Mary Cassatt, *The Mandolin Player,* ca. 1868.

Paul Durand, *Ruel in his gallery in 1910*.

4.11 Modern Attitudes

Mary Cassatt, *Afternoon Tea Party,* 1891.

Mary Cassatt, *Lady at the Tea Table,* ca. 1883-85.

Edgar Degas, *Mary Cassatt,* ca. 1880-84.

Mary Cassatt, *Reading "Le Figaro",* 1878.

Mary Cassatt, *Mrs. Robert S. Cassatt, the Artist's Mother,* ca. 1889.

4.12 Femininity and the Gaze

Mary Cassatt. *In the Loge,* 1878.

Pierre-Auguste Renoir, *A Box at the Theater (At the Concert),* 1880.

Mary Cassatt, *The Loge,* 1882.

4.13 Mother and Child

Mary Cassatt, *Mother and Child,* 1890.

Mary Cassatt, *Mother About to Wash Her Sleepy Child,*, 1880.

Raphael, *Madonna and Child with the Book,* 1503.

Vincent Van Gogh, *Mother Roulin with Her Baby,* 1888.

William Bouguereau, *Rest,* 1879.

Mary Cassatt, *After the Bath,* ca. 1901.

Mary Cassatt, *Reine Lefebvre Holding a Nude Baby (Mother and Child)*, ca. 1902-03.

Joshua Reynolds, *Lady Cockburn and Her Three Eldest Sons,* ca. 1773-75.

Élisabeth Louise Vigée Le Brun, *Self-Portrait with Her Daughter, Julie*, 1786.

Daughters of Charity with orphan girls in a park, date unknown.

Couturier, "Les Filles-Mères," *L'Assiette au Beurre,* no. 89, December 1902.

Alfred Stevens, *The Hunters of Vincennes or, What is Called Vagrancy*, 1854.

4.14 New Perspectives

Mary Cassatt, *The Child's Bath,* 1893.

Edgar Degas, *Woman in a Tub,* ca. 1883.

Kitagawa Utamaro I, *Mother and Child, ca.* 1797.

Mary Cassatt, *The Bath,* ca. 1890-91.

Kitagawa Utamaro I, *A Mother Bathing Her Son,* ca. 1753-1806.

Mary Cassatt, *The Bath*, ca. 1890-91.

4.15 World of Children

Mary Cassatt, *Little Girl in a Blue Armchair,* 1878.

Pierre-Auguste Renoir, *A Girl with a Watering Can,* 1876.

Émile Jumeau (manufacturer), *Poupée Bébé Jumeau*, ca. 1850-1915.

Pierre-Auguste Renoir, *Madame Georges Charpentier and Her Children,* 1878.

Mary Cassatt, *Little Girl in a Blue Armchair,* 1878.

Mary Cassatt, *A Woman and a Girl Driving,* 1881.

Mary Cassatt, *Baby Reaching for an Apple,* 1893.

Mary Cassatt, *Mother and Child,* ca. 1905.

Lewis Carroll, *Beatrice Hatch, 30 July 1873*, 1873.

Sally Mann, *Virginia at 3,* 1988.

4.16 The Language of Prints

Mary Cassatt, *Mother's Kiss,* ca. 1890-91.

Mary Cassatt, *Maternal Caress,* ca. 1890-91.

Mary Cassatt, *The Coiffure,* 1890-91.

Mary Cassatt, *The Fitting,* ca. 1890-91.

Kitagawa Utamaro I, *Yahoo of the Matsubaya, from the series Selections from Six Houses in Yoshiwara (Seiro rokkasen) (Matsubaya Yosooi)*, ca. 1801-02.

Mary Cassatt, *The Letter,* ca. 1890-91.

Mary Cassatt, *The Bath* ca. 1890-91.

John Fiorillo, "Color Changes (Fading in *Ukiyo-e*)," Viewing Japanese Prints, date unknown.

Mary Cassatt, *The Letter,* ca. 1890-91.

4.17 "Modern Woman"

Woman's Building, 1893.

Mary Cassatt, *Modern Woman,* 1893.

Coloured engraving after Mary Cassatt, *Modern Woman,* 1893, published in William Walton, *World's Columbian Exposition*, *Art and Architecture, Volume I* (Philadelphia: George Barrie & Son, 1893), opp. P. xxxvi.

Mary Fairchild MacMonnies, *Primitive Woman,* 1893.

Mary Cassatt, *Modern Woman,* 1893.

Mary Cassatt, *Modern Woman,* 1893, taken from a photo in *Harper's New Monthly Magazine* (May 1893), inset with a colour detail printed by George Barrie.

James Tissot, *The Bunch of Lilacs,* ca. 1875.

Coloured engraving after Mary Cassatt, *Modern Woman,* 1893.

Pierre Puvis de Chavannes, *Inter Artes et Naturam (Between Art and Nature),* ca. 1890-95.

Office of Board of Lady Managers, portraits of 10 women, 1896.

Madeleine Lemaire, *Art and Handicraft in the Woman's Building,* 1893.

William Henry Jackson, Interior of the Woman's Building, 1893.

4.18 The Suffrage Exhibition

Mary Cassatt, *Louisine Havemeyer,* 1896.

Mary Cassatt, *Mother and Child,* ca. 1905.

We Want to Vote for President in 1904, ca. 1904.

Durand-Ruel, *Cassatt seated in a chair with an umbrella,* 1913.

Photograph of the Suffrage Loan Exhibition at Knoedler Gallery, 1915.

Académie Julian, Paris, group of art students, ca. 1885.

Chapter 5
The Modern Portrait in Photography and Impressionist Painting

Julia Margaret Cameron, *Portrait of Julia Stephen born Julia Jackson, Mother of Virginia Woolf*, 1867.

Edgar Degas, *Place de la Concorde*, 1875.

5.1 The Advent of Photography

Jean-Baptiste Sabatier-Blot, *Portrait of Louis Daguerre,* 1844.

Louis Daguerre, *Historique et description des procédés de daguerréotype et du diorama* (Paris: Alphonse Giroux et cie., 1839).

Le Daguerréotype, *The Daguerre-Giroux Camera*, date unknown.

Portrait of a Daguerreotypist Displaying Daguerreotypes and Cases, 1845.

Staff at William Henry Fox Talbot's commercial calotype establishment in Reading, Berkshire, 1846.

5.2 Early Photographic Portraiture

André-Adolphe-Eugène Disdéri, *Prince Lobkowitz,* 1858.

André-Adolphe-Eugène Disdéri, *Demi-Monde II 57,* ca. 1858-68.

Scovill Manufacturing Co., *Wet-plate camera with nine Darlot no. 2 lenses,* ca. 1860.

Charles Willson Peale, *Mrs. Charles Wilson Peale (Rachel Brewer) and Baby Eleanor,* 1790.

Helmut Gernsheim and Alison Gernsheim, *The History of Photography: From the Earliest Use of the Camera Obscura in the Eleventh Century Up to 1914* (London: Oxford University Press, 1955).

André-Adolphe-Eugène Disdéri, *Emperor Napoléon III and his family,* ca. 1858.

Elizabeth Anne McCauley, *A. A. E. Disdéri and the Carte de Visite Portrait Photograph* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1985).

Dolligen, and André-Adolphe-Eugène Disdéri, *Galerie des contemporains,* vol. 1 (Paris, 1862).

Mayer & Pierson, *Carte-de-visite Album of Prominent Personages*, ca. 1860-70.

Honoré Daumier, "Croquis parisiens: 'Pose de l'homme de la nature,' 'Pose de l'homme civilisé'," *Le Charivari,* 31 March 1853.

André-Adolphe-Eugène Disdéri, *Fiocre Nemea,* ca. 1862-65.

André-Adolphe-Eugène Disdéri, *Soeurs Marchisio,* 1862.

André-Adolphe-Eugène Disdéri, *L'art de la photographie* (Paris: Chez l'auteur, 1862).

André-Adolphe-Eugène Disdéri, *Self-portrait,* ca. 1860-65.

André-Adolphe-Eugène Disdéri, *L'art de la photographie* (Paris: Chez l'auteur, 1862).

5.3 Portrait Photography, Art and Aesthetics

Gustave Le Gray, *Self-portrait*, ca. 1850-55.

Gustave Le Gray, *Eugénie, Empress of the French,* 1856.

Gustave Le Gray, *Forest of Fontainebleau,* 1855.

Gustave Le Gray, *View of the Seine, Paris,* 1857.

Gustave Le Gray, *The Ramparts of Carcassonne,* 1851.

"Salons de l'établissement photographique de M. Le Gray, Boulevard des Capucines, no. 35," *L'Illustration, Journal Universel*, 21 April 1856.

5.4 Beyond the Documentary Portrait: Félix Nadar

Félix Nadar, *Nadar (demonstration photograph),* ca. 1890-1910.

Nadar, *Panthéon Nadar,* 1854.

Detail of Nadar, *Panthéon Nadar,* 1854.

Nadar, *Nadar, Les Binettes contemporaines,* ca. 1854.

Nadar, *Atelier Nadar, 35 Boulevard des Capucines,* 1860.

Nadar, *Interior of the studio at 35 Boulevard des Capucines,* ca. 1861.

Nadar, *View of the interior of the studio at 35 Boulevard des Capucines, with Nadar's Panthéon,* ca. 1861.

Nadar, *Gustave Doré's Portrait,* ca. 1883.

Nadar, *Édouard Manet,* ca. 1867-70.

Paul Nadar, "Photographs of his father Félix Nadar with Michel-Eugène Chevreul, taken on August 18, 1886," *Le Journal Illustré,* 5 September 1886.

Étienne-Jules Marey, *Chronophotographie du saut en longueur,* ca. 1882-83.

Eadweard Muybridge, *The Horse in Motion. "Sallie Gardner," owned by Leland Stanford; running at a 1:40 gait over the Palo Alto track, 19th June 1878*, ca. 1878.

Nadar, *Sarah Bernhardt*, ca. 1864.

Paul Nadar, *View of the terrace of the studio on Rue d'Anjou, on the Rue des Mathurins*, ca. 1910.

Nadar, *Nadar in a Balloon,* ca. 1860-70.

Nadar, *Aerial view of Paris, Arc de Triomphe,* 1868.

Édoaurd Manet, *View of the 1867 Exposition Universelle,* 1867.

Nadar, *Catacombs of Paris,* 1861.

Félix Nadar, *When I was a Photographer,* trans. Eduardo Cadava and Liana Theoduratou (Cambridge: MIT Press, 2015; first published: Paris: Flammarion, 1899).

Walter Benjamin, *Selected Writings, Volume 2: 1927-34*, ed. Michael W. Jennings, Howard Eiland and Gary Smith (Cambridge: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1999).

Nadar, *M. Zola, écrivain,* ca. 1893-94.

Dornac, *Émile Zola,* ca. 1887-1917.

5.5 Julia Margaret Cameron: Art Photography and Pictorialism

George Frederic Watts, *Julia Margaret Cameron,* ca. 1850-1852.

Julia Margaret Cameron, *Sir John F. W. Herschel,* 1867.

Julia Margaret Cameron, *Annie Wilhelmina Philpot*, January 29, 1864.

Julia Margaret Cameron, *Alfred Lord Tennyson,* 1869.

Julia Margaret Cameron, *Photographic Study "Pomona" (Alice Lidell as a young woman),* 1872.

Julia Margaret Cameron, *Portrait of Julia Stephen born Julia Jackson, mother of Virginia Woolf,* April 1867.

Edward Steichen, *Auguste Rodin seen in a parallel pose with Le Penseur (The Thinker),* 1905.

Alfred Stieglitz, *"Miss S.R.",* 1904.

5.6 Modern Impressionist Portrait Paintings and the Impact of Photographic Techniques

Gustave Courbet, *Proudhon and His Children,* 1865.

Nadar, *Pierre-Joseph Proudhon,* ca. 1860.

Franz von Lenbach, *Portrait of Richard Wagner,* ca. 1878.

Louis Figuier, “Fig. 79- Effect de l’appareil de M. Monckhoven pour l’agrandissement des épreuves photographiques,” *Les Merveilles de la science ou description Populaire des inventions modernes*, vol. 3 (Paris: Librairie Furne, Jouvet et cie, 1869), 123.

Karl Hahn, *Four Portrait Studies of Georg Ebers, ca.* 1895.

Franz von Lenbach, *Self-portrait,* ca. 1902-03.

5.7 Edgar Degas

Edgar Degas, *Edmond Duranty*, 1879.

Edmond Duranty, *La Nouvelle Peinture: À propos du groupe d’artistes qui expose dans les galeries Durand-Ruel* (Paris: E. Dentu, 1876).

Johann Kaspar Lavater, “Phlegmatic,” “Choleric,” “Sanguine,” and “Melancholic,” *Physiognomische Fragmente zur Beförderung der Menschenkenntnis und Menschenliebe* (Leipzig: Weidmanns Erben und Reich, 1778).

Jean Gaspard Lavater (Johann Kaspar Lavater), *Essai sur la physiognomonie, destiné à faire connaître l’Homme & à le faire aimer,* trans Antoine-Bernard Caillard, and Marie-Élisabeth de la Fite, vol. 2 (La Have, 1783).

Edgar Degas, *Diego Martelli,* 1879.

Edgar Degas, *Edmont Duranty,* 1879.

Edgar Degas, *Victoria Dubourg,* ca. 1868-69.

Winslow Homer, “Art-Students and Copyists in the Louvre Gallery, Paris,” *Harper’s Weekly XII*, 11 January, 1868.

Victoria Dubourg, Henri Fantin-Latour, *Still Life with Pink and White Stock,* unknown date.

Jean-Baptiste-Siméon Chardin, *A Vase of Flowers,* 1750.

Victoria Dubourg, *Flowers,* unknown date.

Henri Fantin-Latour, *Summer Flowers,* 1880.

Edgar Degas, *Mary Cassatt at the Louvre: The Etruscan Gallery*, ca. 1879-80.

Edgar Degas, *Mary Cassatt at the Louvre: The Etruscan Gallery,* ca. 1879-80.

Edgar Degas, *Mary Cassatt at the Louvre,* ca. 1880.

Edgar Degas, *Mary Cassatt at the Louvre: The Paintings Gallery,* 1885.

Edgar Degas, *Madame Camus,* ca. 1869-70.

Edgar Degas, *Madame Camus with a Fan,* ca. 1870.

Edgar Degas, *Madame Camus at the Piano,* 1869.

Edgar Degas, *Degas’s Father Listening to Lorenzo Pagans Playing the Guitar,* ca. 1869-72.

Edgar Degas, *Édouard Manet and his Wife,* ca. 1865-69.

Edgar Degas, *Hélène Rouart in her Father’s Study,* ca. 1886.

Edgar Degas, *Henri Rouart in front of his Factory,* ca. 1875.

Edgar Degas, *Hélène Rouart in her Father’s Study,* ca. 1886.

Edgar Degas, *The Belleli Family,* ca. 1858-69.

Edgar Degas, *A Cotton Office in New Orleans,* 1873.

Marylin R. Brown, *Degas and the Business of Art: A Cotton Office in New Orleans* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1994).

Edgar Degas, *Place de la Concorde*, 1875.

Hippolyte Jouvin, *Le Pont-Neuf, vu du quai des Grands Augustins,* ca. 1860-70.

Richard, *Lenticular or "Brewster" stereoscope,* ca. 1910-30.

Edgar Degas, *Place de la Concorde*, 1875.

Gustave Boulanger, *Battle in Place de la Concorde in Paris, during the last days of the Commune*, 1871.

James Pradier, *The Statue of Strasbourg,* 1838.

Pierre-Antoine Demachy, *An Execution, Place de la Révolution,* ca. 1793.

Edgar Degas, *Place de la Concorde*, 1875.

Hilaire-Germain-Edgar Degas, *Jules Taschereau, Edgar Degas and Jacques-Émile Blanche,* 1895.

Edgar Degas, *Portrait of Ludovic Halévy*, 1895.

5.8 Impressionist Portraits of Colleagues and Friends

Frédéric Bazille, *Portrait of Pierre-Auguste Renoir,* 1867.

Pierre-Auguste Renoir, *Claude Monet Reading,* 1872.

Édouard Manet, *Repose,* 1871.

Edgar Degas, *Mary Cassatt,* ca. 1880-84.

Mary Cassatt, *Self-portrait,* ca. 1878.

Jean-Auguste-Dominique Ingres, *Madame Moitessier,* 1856.

5.9 Frédéric Bazille

Frédéric Bazille, *Self-portrait,* ca. 1865-66.

Frédéric Bazille, *Self-portrait at Saint-Sauveur,* 1864.

Frédéric Bazille, *The Family Reunion,* 1868.

André-Adolphe-Eugène Disdéri, *(Family Portrait),* ca. 1855-65.

Frans Hals, *Family Group in a Landscape,* ca. 1645-48.

Philippe de Champaigne (attrib.), *Portrait of the family of Habert de Montmor,* ca. 1600-50.

Henri Fantin-Latour, *A Studio at Les Batignolles,* 1870.

Frédéric Bazille, *Bazille's Studio,* 1870.

Frédéric Bazille, *Bazille's Studio,* 1870.

Frédéric Bazille, *View of the Village,* 1868.

Frédéric Bazille, *The Fisherman with a Net,* 1868.

5.10 Pierre-Auguste Renoir and the Group Portrait

Édouard Manet, *The Monet Family in Their Garden at Argenteuil,* 1874.

Pierre-Auguste Renoir, *Madame Monet and Her Son,* 1874.

Pierre-Auguste Renoir, *Luncheon of the Boating Party,* ca. 1880-81.

Pierre-Auguste Renoir, *Dance at Le Moulin de la Galette,* 1876.

The Moulin de la Galette and Montmartre's Rural character, ca. 1900.

Georges Rivière, *Renoir et ses amis* (Paris: H. Floury, 1921).

Pierre-Auguste Renoir, *Dance at Le Moulin de la Galette,* 1876.

Pierre-Auguste Renoir, *Dance at the Moulin de la Galette,* 1876.

Édouard Manet, *Masked Ball at the Opera,* 1873.

Pierre-Auguste Renoir, *Madame Georges Charpentier and her Children,* 1878.

François Boucher, *Portrait of Madame de Pompadour,* 1756.

Jean-Auguste-Dominique Ingres, *Portrait of Marie-Françoise Rivière,* 1805.

5.11 Renoir's Images of Children

Pierre-Auguste Renoir, *On the Terrasse,* 1881.

Pierre-Auguste Renoir, *Marguerite-Thérèse (Margot) Berard,* 1879.

Pierre-Auguste Renoir, *Sketches of Heads (The Berard Children)*, 1881.

Pierre-Auguste Renoir, *The Daughters of Catulle Mendès, Huguette (1871-1904), Claudine (1876-1937), and Helyonne (1879-1955)*, 1888.

Auguste Renoir, *Pink and Blue- The Cahen d'Anvers Girls,* 1881.

Raphael, *Madonna of the Pinks,* ca. 1506-07.

Raphael, *Psyche Brings a Vessel up to Venus,* ca. 1517-18.

Pierre-Auguste Renoir, *Mother Nursing her Child,* 1885.

Raphael, *Madonna della Seggiola,* ca. 1513-14.

Pierre-Auguste Renoir, *Claude Renoir, Playing,* ca. 1905.

Chapter 6
Claude Monet and the Impressionist Landscape

Claude Monet, *Poppy Field in a Hollow near Giverny*, 1885. Oil on canvas. 65.1 x 81.3 cm. Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.

6.1 Beyond the Atelier

Claude Monet, *A Corner of the Studio,* 1861.

Detail of Claude Monet, *A Corner of the Studio,* 1861.

Detail of Claude Monet, *A Corner of the Studio,* 1861.

Detail of Claude Monet, *A Corner of the Studio,* 1861.

Édouard-Antoine Renard, *Atelier d'Eugène Delacroix,* 1852.

Eugène Delacroix, *Combat of the Giaour and the Pasha,* 1835.

Charles Lhullier, *Portrait of Claude Monet in Uniform,* 1861.

Gustave Courbet, *The Artist's Studio, a Real Allegory Summing Up Seven Years of my Artistic and Moral Life,* 1854.

Claude Monet, *Luncheon on the Grass,* 1866.

Édouard Manet, *Luncheon on the Grass,* 1863.

Claude Monet, *Luncheon on the Grass* (right section), ca. 1865-66.

Claude Monet, *Luncheon on the Grass,* 1866.

Claude Monet, *Pavé de Chailly in the Fontainebleau Forest,* 1865.

6.2 Controversial Style

Claude Monet, *Camille*, 1866.

Claude Monet, *Madame Monet Wearing a Kimono,* 1875.

Hishikawa Moronobu, *Dancer,* ca. 1618-94.

Detail of Claude Monet, *Madame Monet Wearing a Kimono,* 1875.

Installation in Gallery 2, "Monet's Camille: Re-imagining the Full-Length Portrait": Promenade dress, 1865-68.

Claude Monet, *Camille,* 1866.

Gloria Groom, ed., *Impressionism, Fashion, and Modernity* (Chicago: Art Institute of Chicago, 2012).

Claude Monet, *Madame Louis Joachim Gaudibert,* 1868.

6.3 Claude Monet, Eugène Boudin and Normandy

Claude Monet, *Camille on the Beach in Trouville,* 1870.

Claude Monet, *The Beach at Trouville,* 1870.

Eugène Louis Boudin, *Beach Scene in Trouville,* ca. 1870-74.

6.4 Argenteuil and the Advent of Impressionism

Claude Monet, *The Highway Bridge Under Repair,* 1872.

Pierre-Auguste Renoir, *Claude Monet Painting in His Garden at Argenteuil,* 1873.

Claude Monet, *The Artist's Garden in Argenteuil (A Corner of the Garden with Dahlias),* 1873.

Claude Monet, *Springtime,* 1872.

Claude Monet, *Gladioli,* ca. 1876.

Detail of Claude Monet, *Gladioli*, ca. 1876.

Detail of Claude Monet, *Gladioli,* ca. 1876.

Claude Monet, *Gladioli,* ca. 1876.

James Tissot, *Spring Morning,* ca. 1875.

Paul Hayes Tucker, *The Impressionists at Argenteuil* (Washington: National Gallery of Art; Harford: Wadsworth Atheneum Museum of Art, 2000).

Claude Monet, *The Studio Boat,* 1876.

Claude Monet, *Landscape: The Parc Monceau,* 1876.

Claude Monet, *The Parc Monceau,* 1878.

Claude Monet, *The Parc Monceau,* 1878.

6.5 Impressionism: A Critical Concept

Claude Monet, *Impression, Sunrise,* 1872.

Pierre-Henri de Valenciennes, *Landscape with Ruins,* ca. 1782-85.

Camille Pisarro, *Hoarfrost at Ennery,* 1873.

Claude Monet, *Boulevard des Capucines*, 1873.

Paul Cézanne, *The Hanged Man's House,* ca. 1874.

Berthe Morisot, *The Harbor at Cherbourg,* 1871.

Pierre-Auguste Renoir, *La loge,* 1874.

Claude Monet, *Impression, Sunrise*, 1872.

Joseph Mallord William Turner, *Landscape with Water,* ca. 1840.

Joseph Mallord William Turner, *Norham Castle, Sunrise,* 1845.

John Constable, *Weymouth Bay: Bowleaze Cove and Jordon Hill,* ca. 1816.

Joseph Mallord William Turner, *The Lake, Petworth, Sunset; Sample Study,* ca. 1827.

Claude Lorrain, *Sunrise,* ca. 1646-47.

6.6 Landscape and the Legacy of Romanticism

Jean-Baptiste-Camille Corot, *The Bridge at Narni,* 1826.

Camille Pissarro, *Jalais Hill, Pontoise,* 1867.

Claude Monet, *Impressionism, Sunrise*, 1872.

Arthur Rimbaud, *Lettre Du Voyant & Other Writings.* Translated and edited by J.J. Loe (Moonlight Books, n.d.)

John Constable, *The Hay Wain,* 1821.

Joseph Mallord William Turner, *The Fighting Temeraire Tugged to her Last Berth to be Broken Up, 1838*, 1839.

Caspar David Friedrich, *Rocky Ravine in the Elbe Sandstone Mountains,* 1822.

Caspar David Friedrich, *Two Men Contemplating the Moon,* ca. 1825-30.

Jean-Baptiste-Camille Corot, *Forest of Fontainebleau,* 1834.

Charles-François Daubigny, *The Pond at Gylieu,* 1853.

Théodore Rousseau, *The Village of Becquigny,* ca. 1857.

Jean-François Millet, *Autumn Landscape with a Flock of Turkeys,* ca. 1872-73.

Théodore Géricault, *Riderless Racers at Rome*, 1817.

Eugène Delacroix, *Death of Sardanapalus*, 1844.

Claude Monet, *A Corner of the Studio,* 1861.

Claude Monet, *Poppy Field in a Hollow near Giverny*, 1885.

6.7 Serial Subjects

Claude Monet, *Poplars,* 1891.

Claude Monet, *The Four Trees,* 1891.

Claude Monet, *Stacks of Wheat (End of Summer),* ca. 1890-91.

Claude Monet, *Grainstack, White Forest Effect,* ca. 1890-91.

Claude Monet, *Haystack, End of Summer,* ca. 1890-91.

Claude Monet, *Stacks of Wheat, (End of Summer),* ca. 1890-91.

Claude Monet, *Wheatstacks, Snow Effect, Morning*, 1891.

Claude Monet, *Rouen Cathedral Portal, Front View,* 1892.

Claude Monet, *Rouen Cathedral, Façade,* ca. 1892-94.

6.8 Colour Theory, Paint Tubes and Portable Easels: Monet's Modern Palette

Frederich Wilhelm Joseph von Schelling, *Einleitung zu seinem Entwurf eines Systems der Naturphilosophie* (Jena and Leipzig: Christian Ernst Gabler, 1799).

1. Brücke and H. Helmholtz, *Principes scientifiques des Beaux-Arts, essais et fragments de théorie, suivis de L'Optique de la peinture* (Paris: Librairie Germer Baillière et cie, 1878).
2. Brücke and H. Helmholtz, *Principes scientifiques des Beaux-Arts, essais et fragments de théorie, suivis de L'Optique de la peinture* (Paris: Librairie Germer Baillière et cie, 1878), 62.

Claude Monet, *Vétheuil,* 1901.

Johann Wolfgang von Goethe, Goethe's symmetric colour wheel with associated symbolic qualities, 1809.

Michel-Eugène Chevreul, *De la loi du contraste simultané des couleurs et de l'assortiment des objets colorés* (...) (Paris: Pitois-Levrault et cie, libraires, 1839).

Michel-Eugène Chevreul, "Construction chromatique hemisphérique de Mr. Chevreuil, Fig 15," in *De la loi du contraste simultané des couleurs* (Paris: Pitois-Levrault et cie, libraires, 1839).

Michel-Eugène Chevreul, "Assortiments des couleurs simples et binaires des artistes avec le blanc, le noir et le gris," in *De la loi du contraste simultané des couleurs* (Paris: Pitois-Levrault et cie, libraires, 1839), pl. 7.

Claude Monet, *The Artist's Garden at Vétheuil,* 1881.

Grumbacher (Manufacturer), *Vintage French Metamorphic Traveling Painters Box Easel*, ca. 1930-40.

The Windsor & Newton paint tube, ca. 1840-1911.

Claude Monet, *Poppy Field in a Hollow near Giverny,* 1885.

Claude Monet, *Camille Monet on Her Deathbed,* 1879.

Henri Regnault, *Portrait of Madame Mazois on Her Deathbed,* 1866.

Claude Monet, *Camille Monet on Her Deathbed,* 1879.

6.9 Impressionism and Music

Claude Monet, *Water Lilies,* 1906.

Claude Monet, *The Path Through the Irises,* ca. 1914-17.

Claude Monet, *Water Lilies,* 1906.

Claude Monet, *Port-Goulphar, Belle-Île,* 1887.

Claude Monet, *Weeping Willow,* ca. 1918.

Jean-Jacques Grandville et al., *Les fleurs animées,* (Paris: Garnier Frères, Libraires-Éditeurs, 1867).

6.10 Landscape and the Female Form

Claude Monet, *Poppy Field in Argenteuil,* 1873.

Claude Monet, *Camille Monet in the Garden at Argenteuil,* 1876.

Claude Monet, *Woman with a Parasol- Madame Monet and Her Son,* 1875.

Claude Monet, *Woman with a Parasol, facing left,* 1886.

Claude Monet, *Study of a Figure Outdoors,* 1886.

Claude Monet, *Boating on the River Epte,* 1890.

Claude Monet, *The Bark at Giverny,* ca. 1887.

Claude Monet, *Water Lilies,* ca. 1915.

Jean-Baptiste-Camille Corot, *A Morning. The Dance of the Nymphs,* ca. 1850.

Sandro Botticelli, *The Birth of Venus,* ca. 1484-86.

Alexandre Cabanel, *The Birth of Venus,* 1875.

Sandro Botticelli, *Spring,* ca. 1480.

Phillipp Otto Runge, *The Morning,* 1808.

Phillip Otto Runge, *Red Currant,* ca. Late 18th, early 19th century.

Phillip Otto Runge, *A Stalk of Lilies with Six Blooms,* 1808.

Phillip Otto Runge, *The Morning,* 1808.

Claude Monet, *Nympheas,* 1907.

6.11 The Garden at Giverny: Influence of the Orient

Janine Marsh, Monet's House at Giverny Normandy, *The Good Life France,* date unknown.

Claude Monet, *The House Among the Roses,* 1925.

"Claude Monet's Garden, Our Tour of Giverny and his Water Pond," *Frame to frame- Bob and Jean: Discovering the World Through our Lens,* 31 August 2022.

Ritsurin Koen, Takamatsu, Japan.

Ritsurin Garden, Takamatsu, Japan.

Stone Bridge, Rikugien.

Yuan Jiang, *The Palace of Nine Perfections,* 1691.

Garden, *Château de Vaux-le Vicomte,* Maincy.

Louis le Vau, André le Nôtre, and Charles le Brun, Palace of Versailles, 1664-1710.

John Passmore, *Man's Responsibility for Nature* (New York: Scribner, 1974).

"Types nationaux à l'Exposition universelle.- Japon.- Intérieur de la maison du gouverneur de Satzouma. (D'après le dessin de M. Montani)," *Le Monde Illustré,* 28 September 1867.

Le Japon Artistique, no. 3, July 1888.

Claude Lorrain (Claude Gellée), *Pastoral Landscape: The Roman Campagna,* ca. 1639.

Sir William Temple, *Upon the Gardens of Epicurus, with Other XVIIth Century Garden Essays* (London: Chatto and Windus, 1908)

Samuel Taylor Coleridge, *Kubla Khan,* ca. 1797-1816.

Map of Giverny showing Monet's property, "M. Claude Monet. Jardin, Village de Giverny," Archives Départementales de l'Eure, Évreux.

Utagawa Hiroshige I, *The Plum Garden at Kameido Shrine,* 1857.

Utagawa Hiroshige I, *Sumida River, the Wood of the Water God,* at *Masaki,* ca. 1856-58.

6.12 Water Landscapes

Claude Monet, *Water Lilies, Evening Effect*, 1897.

Claude Monet, *Water Lilies,* ca. 1898.

Claude Monet, *Water Lilies,* ca. 1897-98.

Claude Monet, *Bridge Over a Pond of Water Lilies,* 1899.

Claude Monet, *Japanese Footbridge and the Water Lily Pool, Giverny,* 1899.

Nymphaea Mexicana (Yellow Water Lily).

Joseph Bory Latour-Marliac, *Water Lily Ponds*.

A gardener cleaning out the pond near the Japanese Bridge, Giverny.

Utagawa Hiroshige, *69 Stations of the Kisokaido- Moon at Seba,* ca. 1797-1858.

Claude Monet, *Water Lily Pond and Weeping Willow,* 1916.

6.13 The *Water Lilies* Installation: Monet and Immersive Experience

Claude Monet, *Reflections of Cloud on the Water-Lily Pond,* ca. 1920.

Claude Monet, *Green Reflections,* ca. 1914-26.

Claude Monet, *The Water Lilies- Setting Sun,* ca. 1914-26.

Henri Manuel, *Claude Monet in His Studio,* ca. 1920.

Photograph of Claude Monet in his studio at Giverny.

Claude Monet and Camille Lefebvre (architect), *Nymphéas (Water Lilies) Gallery, first room, facing east wall,* ca. 1914-26.

Camille Lefebvre, *Water Lilies Gallery Floorplan for the Orangerie des Tuileries,* 1922.

Claude Monet and Camille Lefebvre (architect), *Water Lilies Gallery beneath Vellum Canopy and Skylight, first room, facing west wall,* ca. 1914-26.

Detail of Claude Monet, *Les nuages (Clouds)*, ca. 1914-26.

Detail of Claude Monet, *Le Matin clair aux saules (Clear Morning with Willows),* ca. 1914-26.

Claude Monet and Camille Lefebvre (architect), *Water Lilies Gallery, second room, facing east wall,* ca. 1914-26.

Chapter 7
Paul Gauguin and the Colonial Myth of Primitivism

Paul Gauguin, *Nevermore*, 1897.

7.1 Early Influences

Louis-Maurice Boutet de Movel, *Paul Gauguin Wearing a Breton Jacket,* 1891.

Paul Gauguin, *Working the Land,* 1873.

Camille Pissarro, *The Harvest, Pontoise*, 1881.

Paul Gauguin, *Suzanne Sewing,* 1880.

Paul Gauguin, *Portrait of Clovis and Pola Gauguin,* 1885.

Paul Gauguin, *Double-Necked Vase Joined by Stirrup-Shaped Handle,* ca. 1886-87.

Paul Gauguin, *Vessel with Women and Goats,* ca. 1887-89.

Ernest Chaplet, *Vase,* ca. 1881-1887.

7.2 Brittany and the Path to Primitivism

Paul Gauguin, *Bonjour Monsieur Gauguin,* 1889.

Gustave Courbet, *The Meeting, or Bonjour, Monsieur Courbet!,* 1854.

Artist Unknown, *The Calvary of Notre-Dame de Tronoën,* 15th century.

Paul Gauguin, *Vision after the Sermon (Jacob Wrestling with the Angel),* 1888.

Katsushika Hokusai, *Sumo Wrestlers, Denshin kaishu Hokusai manga,* ca. 19th century.

Paul Gauguin, *Vision after the Sermon (Jacob Wrestling with the Angel),* 1888.

Paul Gauguin, *Four Breton Women,* 1886.

Paul Gauguin, *Breton Woman,* 1886.

Paul Gauguin, *Bretonne de profil à droite,* 1886.

Paul Gauguin, *Four Studies of Breton Women; Shapes and Vases [Verso],* ca. 1884-88.

Paul Gauguin, *Four Breton Women*, 1886.

Paul Gauguin, *Christmas Night (The Blessing of the Oxen),* ca. 1894-98.

Camille Pissarro, *Place du Théâtre Français, Paris: Rain,* 1898.

Paul Cézanne, *Mont Sainte-Victoire,* ca. 1887.

7.3 Émile Bernard and Synthetism

Émile Bernard, *Two Breton Women in a Meadow,* 1886.

Émile Bernard, *Breton Women in the Meadow (Le Pardon de Pont-Aven)*, 1888.

Vincent Van Gogh (Copy after Émile Bernard), *Breton Women and Children,* 1888.

Émile Bernard, *Self-Portrait with Portrait of Gauguin,* 1888.

Émile Bernard, *Breton Women in the Meadow (Le Pardon de Pont-Aven),* 1888.

Émile Bernard, *Buckwheat Harvesters at Pont-Aven,* 1888.

Émile Bernard, *Yellow Christ,* 1889.

Paul Gauguin, *The Yellow Christ,* 1889.

Paul Gauguin, *The Green Christ,* 1889.

7.4 The Studio of the South and the Volpini Exhibition

Paul Gauguin, *Van Gogh Painting Sunflowers,* 1888.

Gauguin in his Studio, from the Noa-Noa album, ca. 1893-94.

7.5 Portraits of the Artist as Other

Paul Gauguin, *Christ on the Mount of Olives,* 1889.

Paul Gauguin, *Self-Portrait with Portrait of Émile Bernard (Les Misérables),* 1888.

Paul Gauguin, *Christ on the Mount of Olives,* 1889.

Paul Gauguin, *Portrait of the Artist with the Yellow Christ,* 1891.

Paul Gauguin, *Jug in the Form of a Head,* 1889.

Paul Gauguin, *Self-Portrait,* ca. 1889.

Paul Gauguin, *Portrait of the Artist with the Idol,* ca. 1893.

Paul Gauguin, *Beach at Le Pouldu,* 1889.

Paul Gauguin, *Haymaking Season, or Harvest: Le Pouldu,* 1890.

7.6 'Savage' Influences: Tahiti 1891

Jules Agnostini, *Gauguin House at Tahiti,* 1905.

Sébastien Charles Giraud, *Prise du fort de Fautahua à Tahiti,* 1857.

George Dobson Valentine, *Port of Papeete, Tahiti,* 1887.

A conference of all church members in French Polynesia held on the atoll of Faaite, January 6, 1893.

Jean-Léon Gérôme, *Dance of the Aimeh,* 1863.

Edward W. Said, *Orientalism* (Pantheon Books, 1978).

Jean-Auguste-Dominique Ingres, *The Valpinçon Bather,* 1808.

John Frederick Lewis, *The Harem- Introduction of an Abyssinian Slave,* ca. 1860.

Pierre Loti, *The Marriage of Loti* (1880).

Gustave Le Bon, *Lois Psychologiques de l'évolution des peuples,* 3rd ed. (Paris: Félix Alcan, éditeur, 1898).

Herbert Spencer, *Descriptive Sociology; or Groups of Sociological Facts,* parts 1-8, classified and arranged by Spencer, compiled and abstracted by David Duncan, Richard Schepping, and James Collier (London, Williams & Norgate, 1873-1881).

Charles Darwin, *On the Origin of Species* (London: John Murray, 1859).

John James Rousseau [Jean-Jacques Rousseau], *Discourse upon the Origin and Foundation of the Inequality Among Mankind* (London: R. and J.D. in Pall Mall, 1761).

Denis Diderot, *Supplément au Voyage de Bougainville* (Paris: NRF, 1921 [1771]).

Joseph Ducreux, *Louis-Antoine, Comte de Bougainville,* 1790.

The Trocadéro Palace, home of the Musée d'Ethnographie du Trocadéro, in the 1890s.

"Musée d'Ethnographie du Trocadéro. Salle d'Asie B1. Vitrine Indochine, moï," 1934.

Paul Gauguin, *Woman with Mango Fruits,* ca. 1889.

7.7 Fantastical Figures, Scandalous Subjects

Paul Gauguin, *The Delightful Land,* 1892.

Paul Gauguin, *Paul Gauguin's Intimate Journals* (New York: Crown Publishers, 1936).

Eugène Emmanuel Amaury Duval, *Birth of Venus,* 1862.

Pierre Loti, *Rarahu*, date unknown.

Paul Gauguin, *Tehamana Has Many Parents, or, The Ancestors of Tehamana,* 1893.

Tahitian Girls wearing Mother Hubbard dress, ca. 1860-79.

Paul Gauguin, *Spirit of the Dead Watching [Spectre Watches Over Her. Mano Tupapau],* 1892.

Pierre Puvis de Chavannes, *The Dream,* 1883.

Émile Bernard, *Madeleine in the Bois d'Amour,* 1888.

Paul Gauguin, *The Loss of Virginity,* ca. 1890-91.

Édouard Manet, *Olympia,* 1863.

Paul Gauguin, *Spirit of the Dead Watching [Spectre Watches Over Her, Mano Tupapau],* 1892.

7.8 *Noa Noa*

Linda Goddard, *Savage Tales: The Writings of Paul Gauguin* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2019).

Paul Gauguin, *Noa Noa,* trans. O.F. Theis (New York: Nicholas L. Brown, 1920).

Paul Gauguin, *Le Sourire* (Caricature of Governor Gallet), ca. 1899-1900.

Paul Gauguin, *Femmes et déesses polynésiennes,* Album Noa Noa, folio 30 recto, ca. 1893.

Paul Gauguin, *Portrait with Hat,* 1893.

7.9 Existential Manifesto: *Where do we come from? Who are we? Where are we going?*

Paul Gauguin, *Where do we come from? Who are we? Where are we going?* 1897.

Pierre Puvis de Chavannes, *The Sacred Groves, Beloved of the Arts and the Muses,* ca. 1884-89.

Pierre Puvis de Chavannes, *Hope,* 1872.

Paul Gauguin, *Where do we come from? Who are we? Where are we going?* 1897.

Thomas Carlyle, *Sartor Resartus,* ed. Archibald MacMechan (Boston: Ginn & Company, Publishers, 1897).

7.10 Exoticism, Eroticism and the Spirituality

Paul Gauguin, *Tehamana Has Many Parents, or, The Ancestors of Tehamana,* 1893.

Paul Gauguin, *Spirit of the Dead Watching [Spectre Watches Over Her. Mano Tupapau],* 1892.

Paul Gauguin, *Nevermore,* 1897.

Edgar Poe, *Le corbeau (...) avec illustrations par Édouard Manet,* trans. Stéphane Mallarmé (Paris: Richard Lesclide, Éditeur, 1875).

Édouard Manet, *The Flying Raven, Ex Libris for the Raven by Edgar Allan Poe,* 1875.

7.11 Critical Conversations

Norma Broude, ed. *New Perspectives: After Postmodernism* (Bloomsbury Visual Arts, 2018).

Paul Gauguin, *Two Tahihitan Women,* 1899.

Buy My Apples, anonymous, ca. 19th century.

Linda Nochlin, *Buy My Bananas,* 1972.

Paul Gauguin, Collaged images and text, date unknown.

Paul Gauguin, “Chapitre IV, Le conteur parle,” from the *Noa Noa* album, 1894.

Paul Gauguin, *Self-Portrait with Hat,* 1893.

Paul Gauguin., *Self-Portrait with Palette,* 1894.

Paul Gauguin, *Self-Portrait (Near Golgotha),* 1896.

Flora Tristan, *The Worker’s Union,* trans. Beverly Livingston (Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1983 [1843]).

Paul Gauguin, *Idol in the Shell,* ca. 1900-15.

Paul Gauguin, *Head of a Young Girl,* ca. 1893-94.

Paul Gauguin, *Oviri,* 1894.

Paul Gauguin, *Vase,* ca. 1887-88.

Paul Gauguin, *Noa Noa,* ca. 1893-94.

Paul Gauguin, *The Delightful Land,* 1892.

Paul Gauguin, *Delightful Land,* 1893-94.

Paul Gauguin, *Vision after the Sermon (Jacob Wrestling with the Angel),* 1888.

Paul Gauguin, *Bathers,* 1902.

Paul Gauguin, *The Sorceror of Hiva Oa. Marquesan Man in the Red Cape,* 1902.

Paul Gauguin, *Tehamana Has Many Parents, or, The Ancestors of Tehamana,* 1893.

Paula Modersohn-Becker, *Child with Goldfish Bowl,* ca. 1906-07.

Paula Modersohn-Becker, *Self-Portrait Nude with Amber Necklace,* 1906.

Amrita Sher-Gil, *Bride's Toilet,* 1937.

Amrita Sher-Girl, *Self-Portrait,* 1930.

Kay George, *Exhibition 103.*

Tyla Vaeau Ta'ufo'ou, *When Will You Marry?* (Dee and Dallas Do Gauguin Series), 2009.

Debra Drexler, *Gauguin Zombie* (installation view), 2002.

Adrienne Pao, *Hula Girl Dress Tent,* 2017.

Chapter 8
Madness and Modernity

Edvard Munch, *Evening on Karl Johan Street*, 1892.

Francisco José de Goya

8.1 Goya's Demons

Francisco de Goya, *The Sleep of Reason Produces Monsters (No. 43), from Los Caprichos,* 1799.

Francisco de Goya, *Courtyard with Lunatics*, or, *Yard with Madmen,* 1794.

Francisco de Goya, *The Madhouse,* ca. 1808-12.

Francisco de Goya, *Cannibals Chopping up Victims,* ca. 1808-14.

Francisco de Goya, *Saturn Devouring His Son,* ca. 1819-23.

8.2 Goya's *Disasters of War*

Francisco de Goya, *The Same (The Disasters of War)*, ca. 1810-14.

Francisco de Goya, *They do not want to (The Disasters of War)*, ca. 1810-14.

8.3 Psychic Malaise

James Ensor, *Ensor and his Easel,* ca. 1890.

James Ensor, *The Beach at Ostende,* 1890.

Michel Foucault, *Folie et déraison: Histoire de la folie à l'âge classique* (Paris: Plon, 1961).

James Ensor, *Afternoon in Ostend,* 1881.

James Ensor, *Russian Music,* 1881.

James Ensor, *Afternoon in Ostend,* 1881.

James Ensor, *The Bourgeois Salon,* 1881.

8.4 The Painter of Masks

James Ensor, *Scandalized Mask,* 1883.

James Ensor, *Skeleton Looking at Chinoiseries,* 1885.

James Ensor, *Skeletons Warming Themselves,* 1889.

James Ensor, *Self-Portrait with Masks,* 1899.

Mikhail Bakhtin, *Rabelais and his World,* trans. Hélène Iswolsky (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1965).

James Ensor, *Old Lady with Masks,* 1889.

James Ensor, *Portrait of the Artist's Niece in Chinese Costume,* 1899.

8.5 The Carnivalesque: Images of Social Morbidity and Spiritual Crisis

Louis Tinayre, "Roux- Les chasseurs du 3e régiment, sous les ordres du Capitaine Bulot, dispersant par la force les émeutiers qui viennent d'incendier la Verrerie du Hainaut,", *Le Monde Illustré,* April 10, 1886.

James Ensor, *Christ's Entry into Brussels in 1889,* 1888.

Pieter Bruegel the Elder, *The Fight Between Carnival and Lent,* 1559.

Detail of Pieter Bruegel the Elder, *The Fight Between Carnival and Lent,* 1559.

Detail of Pieter Bruegel the Elder, *The Fight Between Carnival and Lent,* 1559.

James Ensor, *Christ's Entry into Brussels in 1889,* 1888.

James Ensor, *The Strike,* 1888.

James Ensor, *Doctrinal Nourishment, second plate,* 1889.

James Ensor, *Christ's Entry into Brussels in 1889,* 1888.

James Ensor, *Christ's Entry into Jerusalem,* 1885.

Detail of James Ensor, *Christ's Entry into Brussels in 1889,* 1888.

Hieronymous Bosch, *The Ship of Fools,* ca. 1490-1500.

8.6 Madness, Mania, Melancholy: The Artist as Observer

James Ensor, *Demons Taunting Me,* 1895.

Martin Schongauer, *Saint Anthony Tormented by Demons,* ca. 1470-74.

Lucas Cranach the Elder, *The Temptation of St. Anthony,* 1506.

Vincent Van Gogh

8.7 Finding the Spiritual in Art

Vincent Van Gogh, *Coalmine in the Borinage,* 1879.

Vincent Van Gogh, *Miners' Wives Carrying Sacks of Coal,* 1882.

Jules Breton, *The Weeders,* 1860.

Letter from Vincent Van Gogh to his brother Théo, 1881.

8.8 Van Gogh's Empathetic Eye

Vincent van Gogh, *Sorrow,* ca. 1882.

Anton Mauve, *A Dutch Road,* ca. 1880

Vincent van Gogh, *Weaver,* 1884.

Vincent van Gogh, *Weaver at the Loom,* 1884.

Vincent van Gogh. *Weaver at the Loom,* 1884.

Vincent van Gogh, *Weber Near an Open Window,* 1884.

Vincent van Gogh, *Weaver Facing Right (Half-Figure),* 1884.

Charles Dickens, "Hard Times," *Household Words,* no. 210, Saturday, April 1, 1854.

Currer Bell, *Shirley: A Tale,* vol. 1 (London: Smith, Elder and Co., 1849)

Vincent van Gogh, *A Weaver's Cottage,* 1884.

Vincent van Gogh, *Weaver Facing Left,* 1884.

Vincent van Gogh, *The Potato Eaters,* April 1885.

Vincent van Gogh, A letter from Vincent van Gogh to His brother Théo van Gogh, sketch of *The Potato Eaters,* 1885.

Katsushika Hokusai, *Chrysanthemums and Bee,* from and untitled series of large flowers, ca. 1833-34.

Vincent van Gogh, *Still Life with Meadow Flowers and Roses,* 1886.

Vincent van Gogh, *Small Bottle with Peonies and Blue Delphiniums,* 1886.

Charles Blanc, *Colour Star (etoile des couleurs),* 1867.

8.9 Arles: Aesthetic Advances and Visions of Madness

Vincent van Gogh, *The Sower,* 1888.

Vincent van Gogh, *The Sower III (version 1),* 1888.

Vincent van Gogh, *The Sower III (version 2),* 1888.

Vincent van Gogh, *The Sower (after Millet),* 1889.

Vincent van Gogh, *Sower with Setting Sun (*in Letter 501a*),* 1888.

Vincent van Gogh, *Sower with Setting Sun* (in Letter B7, to Émile Bernard), 1888.

Vincent van Gogh, *Sower with Setting Sun* (in Letter 558a, to Théo van Gogh), 1888.

Vincent van Gogh, *The Sower,* 1888.

Jean-Francois Millet, *The Sower,* 1850.

Vincent van Gogh, *The Sower III (version 1)*, 1888.

Vincent van Gogh, *Still Life: Vase with Fourteen Sunflowers,* 1888.

Vincent van Gogh, *Self-Portrait with a Bandaged Ear,* 1889.

Vincent van Gogh, *The Courtyard of the Hospital at Arles*, 1889.

Vincent van Gogh, *Orchards in Blossom, View of Arles,* 1889.

Vincent van Gogh, *Ravine with a Small Stream,* 1889.

Vincent van Gogh, *Mountainous Landscape Behind Saint-Paul Hospital,* 1889.

Vincent van Gogh, *The Starry Night,* 1889.

Vincent van Gogh, *Cypresses,* 1889.

Vincent van Gogh, *Dormitory in the Hospital in Arles,* 1889.

8.10 Asylum

Jeffrey A. Lieberman with Ogi Ogas, *Shrinks: The Untold Story of Psychiatry* (Boston: Little Brown, 2015).

James Hogg after Francis Wheatley, *John Howard Visiting a Prisoner: a group of inmates sitting or lying on the floor,* 1787.

John Howard, *The States of Prisons in England and Wales with Preliminary Observations, and An Account of Some Foreign Prisons* (Warrington: William Eyres, 1777).

William Hogarth, *The Orgy,* ca. 1732-35.

William Hogarth, *The Arrest,* ca. 1732-35.

William Hogarth, *The Gaming House,* ca. 1732-35.

William Hogarth, *The Madhouse,* ca. 1732-35.

William Hogarth, *In the Madhouse,* 1735 (Retouches by Hogarth in 1763, adding Britannia).

Francisco de Goya, *The Madhouse,* ca. 1808-1812.

William Blake, *Nebuchadnezzar,* ca. 1795-1805.

Charles Bell, *Essays on the Anatomy and Philosophy of Expression* (London: John Murray, 1824), 121.

Charles Bell, *Essays on the Anatomy of Expression in Painting* (London: Longman, Hurst, Rees and Orne, 1806), 151.

Arnaud, *James Norris, Bethlem Patient*, ca. 1814-1815.

Samuel Tuke, *Description of the Retreat, an Institution Near York for Insane Persons of the Society of Friends* (…) (York: Darton, Harvey and Co., 1813).

Tony Robert-Fleury, *Pinel, Releasing Lunatics from their Chains at the Salptêtrière Asylum in Paris in 1795*, 1876.

Philippe Pinel, *A Treatise on Insanity* (…), trans. D. D. Davis (Sheffield: Cadell and Davies, Strand, London, 1806).

1. [Étienne-Jean Georget], *De la folie: considérations sur cette maladie; son siège et ses symptômes; la nature et le mode d'action de ses causes; sa march et ses terminaisons; les différences qui la distinguent du délire aigu; les moyens de traitement qui lui conviennent; suivies de recherches cadavériques* (Paris: Chez Crevot, 1820).

8.11 Portraits of Madness and Soulful Self-Images

Théodore Géricault, *Portrait of a Demented Woman,* ca. 1819-1822.

Théodore Géricault, *A Madwoman and Compulsive Gambler,* ca. 1820.

Théodore Géricault, *Man with Delusions of Military Command,* ca. 1819-1822.

Théodore Géricault, *Portrait of A Kleptomaniac or The Mad Assassin,* 1822.

A Chronological list of self-portraits painted by van Gogh during his stay in Paris between 1886 and 1888.

Johan Kaspar [Caspar] Lavater, "Phlegmatic," "Choleric," "Sanguine," and "Melancholic," in *Physiognomische Fragmente zur Beförderung der Menschenkennt und Menschenliebe* (Leipzig: Weidmanns Erben und Reich, 1778).

Johann Caspar [Kaspar] Lavater, *A man with a nose indicating reflectiveness,* according to Lavater, ca. 1794.

Thomas O'Conor Sloane, *Lavater's Apparatus for Taking Silhouettes* (from an ancient engraving of 1783), 1895.

Johann Caspar Lavater, *Two eyes, expressing a character of genius, according to Lavater,* ca. 1794.

Vincent van Gogh, *Self-Portrait as a Painter,* ca. 1887-88.

Vincent van Gogh, *Self-Portrait,* 1887.

Vincent van Gogh, *Self-Portrait with Pipe and Straw Hat,* 1887.

Vincent van Gogh, *Self-Portrait, Dedicated to Paul Gauguin,* 1888.

Cesare Lombroso, *L'homme de genie,* trad. Colonna D'Istria (Paris: Félic Alcan, éditeur, 1889).

Cesare Lombroso, *L'homme de genie,* trad. Colonna D'Istria (Paris: Félic Alcan, éditeur, 1889), 122.

Vincent van Gogh, *Self-Portrait, Dedicated to Paul Gauguin,* 1888.

Artist Unknown, *Fazang Buddhist Monk,* 13th century.

Vincent van Gogh, *Self-Portrait with a Bandaged Ear,* 1889.

Vincent van Gogh, *Self-Portrait,* 1889.

Vincent van Gogh, *Self-Portrait,* 1889.

Vincent van Gogh, *Self-Portrait,* 1889.

Vincent van Gogh, *Self-Portrait*, late August 1889.

Vincent van Gogh, *Self-Portrait,* September 1889.

Vincent van Gogh, *Wheatfield with Crows,* 1890.

Edvard Munch

8.12 Death and Life

Edvard Munch, *Self-Portrait,* 1882.

Edvard Munch, *Death and Spring,* 1893.

Edvard Munch, *The Sick Child,* ca. 1885-1886.

Edvard Munch, *The Sick Child I,* 1896.

Edvard Munch, *The Sick Girl I,* 1896.

8.13 The Frieze of Life

Edvard Munch, *Death in the Sickroom,* 1893.

Edvard Munch, *The Scream,* 1893.

Edvard Munch, *The Vampire,* 1893.

Edvard Munch, *Madonna,* 1894.

Edvard Munch, *Anxiety,* 1894.

Edvard Munch, *Melancholy,* 1894.

Edvard Munch, *Death in the Sickroom,* 1893.

Edvard Munch, *The Scream,* 1893.

Edvard Munch, *The Vampire,* 1893.

8.14 Female Representations: Halos and Hysteria

Edvard Munch, *Madonna,* 1894.

Franz Anton Mesmer, *Mesmerism: The Discovery of Animal Magnetism: English Translation of Mesmer's historic Mémoire sur la découverte du Magnétisme* (Soul Care Publishing, 2016).

Arnold Schopenhauer, *The Essential Philosopher* (Allen and Unwin, 1962).

André Brouillet, *A Clinical Lesson at the Salpêtrière,* 1887.

Andrea del Sarto, *Liberation of the Woman Possessed by the Devil,* ca. 1509-1510.

Detail of Andrea del Sarto, *Liberation of the Woman Possessed by the Devil*, ca. 1509-1510.

Jean-Martin Charcot, *Iconographie photographique de la Salpêtrière*, 1878.

Edvard Munch, *Madonna,* ca. 1895-1902.

8.15 Alienation, Angst and Collective Despair

Edvard Munch, *Anxiety,* 1894.

Edvard Munch, *Evening on Karl Johan Street,* 1892.

Edvard Munch, *The Scream,* 1893.

Edvard Munch, *Anxiety,* 1894.

Edvard Munch, *Anxiety,* 1896.

Edvard Munch, *Melancholy*, 1894.

Edvard Munch, *Despair,* 1894.

Edvard Munch, *Evening. Melancholy,* 1891.

Edvard Munch, *Melancholy,* presumably 1892.

Edvard Munch, *Jealousy,* 1895.

Edvard Munch, *The Kiss,* 1897.

Edvard Munch, *Munch in the Open Air Studio,* ca. 1927.

Edvard Munch, *The Scream,* 1893.

Edvard Munch, *Edvard Munch in the open-air studio at Ekely*, 1933.

Edvard Munch, *The Sun,* 1911.

The Aula at the University in Oslo.

Ferdinand Hodler

8.16 "Always a Corpse in the House": The Search for Constancy

Ferdinand Hodler, *Self-Portrait,* 1912.

Barthélemey Menn, *Lakeside near Bellerive (Lac Léman)*, ca. 1860.

Ferdinand Hodler, *Landscape Near Madrid*, 1878.

Ferdinand Hodler, *Watchmakers' Workshop in Madrid*, 1879.

Ferdinand Hodler, *Self-Portrait with Wing Collar,* 1879.

8.17 Symbolic Expressionism

Ferdinand Hodler, *The Night,* ca. 1889-90.

8.18 Disillusion and Psychic Despair

Ferdinand Hodler, *The Disillusioned One,* 1892.

Ferdinand Hodler, *Eurythmy,* 1895.

Ferdinand Hodler, *Eurythmie*, 1895.

8.19 Hodler's Parallelism

Ferdinand Hodler, *The Day,* ca. 1904-1906.

Ferdinand Hodler, *The Grand Muveran,* ca. 1912.

Chapter 9
Black **SLAVERY, RACISM** and Modernity

Henry Ossawa Tanner, *The Thankful Poor,* 1894.

9.1 The Atlantic Slave Trade: Records and Reverberations

Théodore Géricault, *The Raft of the Medusa,* 1819.

Théodore Géricault, *Boxers,* 1818.

J.B. Henry Savigny and Alexander Corréard, *Narrative of a Voyage to Senegal in 1816; Undertaken by the Order of the French Government, Comprising an Account of the Shipwreck of the Medusa, the Sufferings of the Crew, and the Various Occurences on Board of the Raft, in the Desert of Zaara, at St. Louis, and At the Camp of Daccard. To Which are Subjoined Observations Respecting the Agriculture of the Western Coast of Africa, From Cape Blanco to the Mouth of the Gambia* (London: Printed for Henry Colburn, 1818).

Théodore Géricault, *A Young Negro Woman,* ca. 1810.

Théodore Géricault, *Head of a Black Man,* ca. 1818-1819.

Théodore Géricault, *The Raft of the Medusa,* 1819.

Detail of Théodore Géricault, *The Raft of the Medusa,* 1819.

Théodore Géricault, *The Slave Market,* ca. 1823.

Théodore Géricault, *The Slave Trade,* 1823.

Théodore Géricault, *The Raft of the Medusa,* 1819.

Michelangelo, *The Last Judgment,* ca. 1534-41.

Michelangelo, detail from *The Last Judgment,* ca 1534-41.

9.2 The Atlantic Slave Trade: Records and Reverberations

Joseph Mallord William Turner, *The Slave Ship,* 1840.

Blunt, *Meeting of the Society for the Extinction of the Slave Trade & For the Civilization of Africa,* 1840.

Triangle Trade.

9.3 Abolition and Aesthetics in Britain: J. M. W. Turner's *Slave Ship*

Joseph Mallord William Turner, *The Slave Ship,* 1840.

Thomas Clarkson, *The History of the Rise, Progress, and Accomplishment of the Abolition of the African Slave-Trade by the British Parliament,* vol. 1 (New York: John S. Taylor, 1836).

Joseph Mallord William Turner, *The Slave Ship,* 1840.

Lieutenant Henri Samuel Hawker, *The Portuguese Slaver Diligenté captured by H.M. Sloop Pearl with 600 slaves on board, taken in charge to Nassau,* 1838.

Detail of Joseph Mallord William Turner, *The Slave Ship,* 1840.

Detail of Joseph Mallord William Turner, *The Slave Ship,* 1840.

Francois-Auguste Biard, *The Slave Trade (Slaves on the West Coast of Africa),* ca. 1833.

9.4 Picturing Enslavement: Genre, Race and Stereotype in Antebellum America

William Sidney Mount, *Farmers Nooning,* 1836.

William Sidney Mount, *Farmers Nooning,* 1836.

James Goodwyn Clonney, *Waking Up,* 1851.

Harriet Beecher Stowe, *Uncle Tom's Cabin* (London: H.G. Bohn, 1852).

Robert Seldon Duncanson, *Uncle Tom and Little Eva,* 1853.

Edwin M. Stanton, "Report of the Secretary of War, communicating, in compliance with a resolution of the Senate of the 26th of May, a copy of the preliminary report, and also of the final report of the American Freedman's Inquire Commission," 1864.

William Sidney Mount, *The Power of Music,* 1847.

William Sidney Mount, *The Bone Player,* 1856.

Dan D. Emmett, *Dandy Jim from Caroline* (London: Delmaine & Co., ca. 1844).

Photograph of Dan Emmett in blackface, ca. 1860.

J.W. Turner, *Songs of the Virginia Serenaders* (Boston: Keith's Music Publishing House, 1844).

Eastman Johnson, *Negro Life at the South,* 1859.

Stephen Foster, "My Old Kentucky Home" (Baltimore: Thomas G. Doyle, 1853).

American Anti-Slavery Society, "Slave Market of America" (New York: American Anti-Slavery Society, 1836).

9.5 Civil War

Eastman Johnson, *A Ride for Liberty- The Fugitive Slaves,* ca. 1862.

Mary Armstrong, ex-slave, Houston, 1937.

Abigail Cooper, Map of contraband camps on a relief map compiled from historical imagery data from 1930, reproduced from "Lord, Until I Reach My Home": Inside the Refugee Camps of the American Civil War," PhD dissertation, University of Pennsylvania, 2015.

James F. Gibson, Cumberland Landing, Va. Group of "contrabands" at Foller's house, 1862.

David B. Woodbury, Arrival of Negro family in the lines, 1863.

"Negroes Leaving their Home," *Harper's Weekly,* April 9, 1864.

"Heavy Weights- Arrival of a Party at League Island," 1872.

Slabtown, a refugee camp in Hampton, Virginia, now the site of Hampton University.

Timothy H. O'Sullivan, Culpeper, Va. "Contrabands," 1863.

A contraband school, ca. 1860-65.

Eastman Johnson, *The Lord is My Shepherd,* 1863.

9.6 Emancipation, Black Civil Rights and Social Reform

Thomas Nast, "The emancipation of the Negroes, January 1863- The past and the future," *Harper's Weekly,* January 24, 1863.

Detail of Thomas Nast, "The emancipation of the Negroes, January 1863- The past and the future," *Harper's Weekly,* January 24, 1863.

Detail of Thomas Nast, "The emancipation of the Negroes, January 1863- The past and the future," *Harper's Weekly,* January 24, 1863.

Detail of Thomas Nast, "The emancipation of the Negroes, January 1863- The past and the future," *Harper's Weekly,* January 24, 1863.

Detail of Thomas Nast, "The emancipation of the Negroes, January 1863- The past and the future," *Harper's Weekly,* January 24, 1863.

Detail of Thomas Nast, "The emancipation of the Negroes, January 1863- The past and the future," *Harper's Weekly,* January 24, 1863.

Detail of Thomas Nast, "The emancipation of the Negroes, January 1863- The past and the future," *Harper's Weekly,* January 24, 1863.

Thomas Nast, *Emancipation,* ca. 1865.

"Gordon under medical inspection," *Harper's Weekly,* July 4, 1863.

Martin Benjamin Brady, *Gordon, Scourged Back,* 1863.

William D. McPherson, and Mr. Oliver, Civil War CDV of Gordon (slave) upon arrival at the Baton Rouge Union camp, 1863.

Thomas Nast, "Slavery is Dead(?)," *Harper's Weekly,* January 12, 1867.

Frank Vizetelly, "The riots in New York: The mob lynching a negro in Clarkson Street," *Illustrated London News,* August 8, 1863.

Thomas Nast, "Worse than Slavery," *Harper's Weekly,* October 24, 1874.

Thomas Nast, "Move on! Has the Native American no rights that the naturalized American is bound to respect?" *Harper's Weekly,* April 22, 1871.

Thomas Nast, "'Every Dog' (No distinction of color) 'Has his day'," *Harper's Weekly,* February 8, 1879.

9.7 Winslow Homer: Bearing Witness

Winslow Homer, "A Bivouac Fire on the Potomac," *Harper's Weekly,* December 21, 1861.

Winslow Homer, *Campaign sketches: Our jolly cook,* 1863.

Winslow Homer, *Defiance: Inviting a Shot Before Petersburg,* 1864.

Winslow Homer, *Army Boots,* 1865.

Winslow Homer, *The Bright Side,* 1865.

Winslow Homer, *Near Andersonville,* ca. 1866.

9.8 Reconstruction and the Remaking of Identity

Winslow Homer, *Weaning the Calf,* 1875.

Winslow Homer, *Uncle Ned at Home,* 1875.

Winslow Homer, *A Visit from the Old Mistress,* 1876.

Winslow Homer, *The Busy Bee,* 1875.

Winslow Homer, *Taking Sunflower to Teacher,* 1875.

Winslow Homer, *The Watermelon Boys,* 1876.

"The South.- The Watermelon Season- A Scene on the Savannah Docks," *Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper,* July 5, 1873.

Richard Felton Outcault, Postcard depicting a caricatured boy eating a slice of watermelon, 1909.

Ashtray in the form of a "picaninny" boy eating a watermelon slice, ca. 1920-29.

Sculpture in the form of a caricatured man standing on a watermelon slice, 20th century.

Josiah Clark Nott, *Types of mankind: or, Ethnological researches, based upon the ancient monuments, paintings, sculptures, and crania of races, and upon their natural, geographical, philological and Biblical history: illustrated by selections from the inedited papers of Samuel George Morton* (Philadelphia: Lippincott, Grambo & Co., 1855), 459.

9.9 The Tools of Freedom

John Roger, *Uncle Ned's School*, 1866.

Winslow Homer, *Sunday Morning in Virginia,* 1877.

Winslow Homer *1860-1870,* 1870.

Winslow Homer, *Upland Cotton,* ca. 1879-95.

Winslow Homer, *The Cotton Pickers,* 1876.

Winslow Homer, *Dressing for the Carnival,* 1877.

9.10 Nature as Metaphor

Winslow Homer, *West India Divers,* 1899.

Winslow Homer, *The Gulf Stream,* 1899.

Winslow Homer, *Shark Fishing,* 1885.

Winslow Homer, *Sharks;* also, *The Derelict,* 1885.

Winslow Homer, *The Gulf Stream,* ca. 1899.

Winslow Homer, *The Gulf Stream,* ca. 1898-1899.

Winslow Homer, *The Gulf Stream,* 1899.

Frederick Douglass, *The Speeches of Frederick Douglass: A Critical Edition* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2018).

Winslow Homer, "Expulsion of negroes and abolitionists from Tremont Temple, Boston, Massachusetts, on December 3, 1860," *Harper's Weekly,* December 15, 1860.

9.11 Frederick Douglass's "Pictures and Progress": Reclaiming Race

Frederick Douglass, ca. 1855.

Mathew B. Brady, *Frederick Douglass,* ca. 1880.

Frederick Douglass, *Narrative of the Life of Frederick Douglass, and American Slave* (Boston: Anti-Slavery Office, 1845).

Photographic portraits of Frederick Douglass.

The Liberator, April 20, 1849, 2.

9.12 Edmonia Lewis and Henry Ossawa Tanner: Breaking Free

Henry Rocher, restored by Adam Cuerden, "Edmonia Lewis," ca. 1870.

Edmonia Lewis, *Forever Free,* 1867.

Edmonia Lewis, *The Death of Cleopatra,* 1876.

Frederick Gutekunst, *Henry Ossawa Tanner,* 1907.

Henry Ossawa Tanner, *The Banjo Lesson,* 1893.

Henry Ossawa Tanner, *The Thankful Poor,* 1894.

Henry Ossawa Tanner, *The Raising of Lazarus,* 1896.

Chapter 10
Religious and Racial Antisemitism and the Jewish Artist

Moritz Daniel Oppenheim, *Lavater and Lessing visit Moses Mendelssohn,* 1856.

Moritz Daniel Oppenheim, *The Return of the Jewish Volunteer from the Wars of Liberation to his Family Still Living in Accordance with Old Customs,* 1833-34.

10.1 A Narrative of Exclusion and Emancipation

Matthias Grünewald, *The Mocking of Christ,* ca. 1503-05.

Hartmann Schedel, "Martyrdom of Simon von Trent," *Nuremberg World Chronicle,* 1493. Woodcuts by Michael Wolgemut and Wilhelm Pleydenwurff.

Portrait of a Jewish Man Smiling at a Denture with a Gold Tooth, ca. 1870.

Louis-François Couché, *Napoleon Grants the Jews Freedom to Worship,* 1806.

Jean-Baptiste Mauzaisse, *Napoleon I, Crowned by the Allegory of Time, Writes the Code Civil,* 1833.

10.2 England: Expressions of Myth and Faith

William Blake, *Job and His Family,* ca. 1805-20.

William Blake, *Satan Smiting Job with Boils,* 1805.

William Blake, *Job and His Family Restored to Prosperity,* 1805.

Julia Margaret Cameron, *William Holman Hunt in His Eastern Dress,* 1864.

William Holman Hunt, *The Finding of the Saviour in the Temple,* ca. 1854-55.

William Holman Hunt, *Christ Amongst the Doctors,* 1886-87, 1890.

Simeon Solomon, *Self-Portrait,* 1859.

Simeon Solomon, *Dante's First Meeting with Beatrice,* 1859-63.

Simeon Solomon, *The Mother of Moses,* 1860.

10.3 Imaging the Jewess: *La belle juive / L'affreuse juive*

Charles Steuben, *La Esméralda,* 1839.

Paul Delaroche, *L'Hémicycle des Beaux-Arts* (central section), ca. 1841-42.

Gustave Moreau, *Salome,* 1876.

Gustave Moreau, *The Apparition,* ca. 1876.

Aubrey Beardsley, *The Climax,* 1894.

Aubrey Beardsley, *The Dancer's Reward,* 1894.

Gustav Klimt, *Judith and the Head of Holofernes,* 1901.

Gustav Klimt, *Salomé II,* 1909.

Bram Dijkstra, *Idols of Perversity: Fantasies of Feminine Evil in Fin-de-Siècle Culture* (Oxford University Press, 1998).

10.4 Moritz Daniel Oppenheim: "The Rothschild of Painters"

Ettore Roesler Franz, *Vicolo Capocciuto in Ghetto (rione Sant'Angelo),* ca. 1880.

Moritz Daniel Oppenheim, *Self-Portrait,* ca. 1814-16.

Moritz Daniel Oppenheim, *Lionel Nathan de Rothschild,* 1835.

Richard Whately, *A Speech in the House of Lords, August 1, 1833, On a Bill for the Removal of Certain Disabilities from His Majesty's Subjects of the Jewish Persuasion* (London: B. Fellowes, 1848).

Henry Barraud, *Lionel Nathan de Rothschild (1808-1879) Introduced in the House of Commons on 26 July 1858 by Lord John Russell and Mr. Abel Smith,* 1872.

Moritz Daniel Oppenheim, *The Elector of Hesse Entrusting Mayor Armschel Rothschild (1743-1812) with his Treasure,* ca. 1820-82.

Moritz Daniel Oppenheim, *Marriage Portrait of Charlotte von Rothschild,* 1836.

Rothschild Palace, as seen from north, main site of the Jewish Museum Frankfurt, Frankfurt am Main, date unknown.

Charlotte von Rothschild, *Self-Portrait of Charlotte von Rothschild Painting Her Husband Anselm von Rothchild, Two of Their Children, and Their Nanny,* 1838.

Charlotte Von Rothschild, *Haggadah Frankfurt,* 1842.

Moritz Daniel Oppenheim, *The Return of the Jewish Volunteer from the Wars of Liberation to His Family Still Living in Accordance with Old Customs,* ca. 1833-34.

Johann Peter Krafft, *The Militiaman's Return,* 1820.

10.5 The Politics of Genre

Moritz Daniel Oppenheim, *The Return of the Jewish Volunteer from the Wars of Liberation to His Family Still Living in Accordance with Old Customs,* ca. 1833-34.

Moritz Daniel Oppenheim, *Lavater and Lessing Visit Moses Mendelssohn,* 1856.

Gotthold Ephraim Lessing, *Nathan the Wise,* 2nd Edition (1779).

Charles Bonnet, *La palingénésie philosophique, ou Idées sur l'etat passe et sur l'état futur des êtres vivants,* Vol. 1 (Geneva: Claude Philibert & Barthelemi, 1770).

Hans Holbein, *Judas Iscariot,* ca. 1789.

Hans Holbein the Younger, *The Last Supper,* ca. 1524-25.

Daniel Niklaus Chodowiecki, *Moses Mendelssohn,* 1774.

Moritz Daniel Oppenheim, *The Wedding,* 1866.

Gillis van Tilborgh, *Elegant Company,* ca. 1655-75.

Carl Joseph Begas, *Portrait of the Begas Family,* 1821.

Die Generalpumpe, ca. 19th century.

Moritz Daniel Oppenheim, *Sabbath Rest,* 1886.

10.6 Maurycy Gottlieb: Strife and Synthesis

Maurycy Gottlieb, ca 1880.

Jan Matejko, *The Fall of Poland,* 1866.

Karl von Piloty, *Seni at the Dead Body of Wallenstein,* 1855.

Heinrich Graetz, *Geschichte der Juden,* 1891.

Style of Rembrandt, *Head of Christ,* ca. 1650.

Maurycy Gottlieb, *Christ Preaching at Capernaum,* ca. 1878-79.

Maurycy Gottlieb, *Ahasuerus, Wandering Jew,* 1876.

Maurycy Gottlieb, *Shylock and Jessica,* 1876.

Maurycy Gottlieb, *Jews Praying in the Synagogue on Yom Kippur,* 1878.

Maurycy Gottlieb, *Christ Before His Judges,* 1877-79.

Rembrandt van Rijn, *Christ Preaching,* called *La Petite Tombe,* ca. 1657.

10.7 Meijer Isaac de Haan: Controversy and Escape

Meijer Isaac de Haan. *Petrus Franciscus Greive,* ca. 1870-1875.

Meijer de Haan *Old Jewish Woman,* 1880.

Meijer de Haan, *Talmudic Anatomy,* ca. 1880.

Uriel da Costa, *Examination of Phraisaic Traditions.* Supplemented by Semuel da Silva's *Treatise on the Immortality of the Soul,* 1993.

Meijer de Haan, *Breton Women Scrutching Flax: Labour*, 1889.

Meiijer de Haan, *Motherhood: Mary Henry Breastfeeding her Daughter,* 1889.

Meijer Isaac de Haan, *Self-Portrait,* 1889-1890.

Paul Gauguin, *Portrait of Meijer de Haan,* 1889-1890.

Paul Gauguin, *Portrait of Jacob Meyer de Haan,* 1889.

Paul Gauguin, *Nirvana, Portrait of Meijer de Haan,* ca. 1889.

10.8 Max Liebermann: Pioneering Change

Max Liebermann, *Self-Portrait,* 1906.

Max Liebermann, *Women Plucking Geese,* ca. 1871-72.

Ludwig Knaus, *Dance Under the Linden Tree,* 1881.

Max Liebermann, *Potato Gatherers*, 1875.

Jean-François Millet, *The Gleaners,* 1857.

Max Liebermann, *Children's Playground in Tiergarten Park in Berlin,* ca. 1885.

Max Liebermann, *Terrasse of the Restaurant Jacob in Nienstedten Upon Elbe,* 1902.

Max Liebermann, *Two Riders on the Beach to the Left,* 1901.

Max Liebermann, *Boys Bathing,* 1898.

Max Liebermann, *Bürgermeister Carl Friedrich Petersen,* 1891.

Rudolf Dührkoop, *Carl Friedrich Petersen, Hamburger Bürgermeister*, before 1892.

Frans Hals, *Paulus Verschuur,* 1643.

Max Liebermann, *The Hamburg Convention of Professors,* 1906.

Max Liebermann, *Self-Portrait,* ca. 1922.

Wilhelm Schulz, *Berliner Secession,* 1902.

Charlotte Berend-Corinth, *Max Pallenberg,* ca. 1877-1934.

Josef Block, *The Wayward Son,* 1890.

Ernst Oppler, *Three Girls in the Access Balcony,* ca. 1910.

Emil Orlik, *The Weavers by G. Hauptmann,* 1897.

Eugene Spiro, *Portrait of Dr. Meier-Graefe*, 1913.

Hermann Struck, *Jerusalem X,* ca. 1924.

Lesser Ury, *Reproduction of a Landscape Painting,* 1892.

Julie Wolfthorn, *Witch of the Woods,* ca. 1899.

10.9 Liebermann: Subculture and Identity

Max Liebermann, *Self-Portrait with Kitchen Still Life,* 1873.

Abraham van Beyeren, *Still Life with Lobster and Fruit,* ca. 1650.

Max Liebermann, *Self-Portrait with Kitchen Still Life,* 1873.

Max Liebermann, *Jesus among the Doctors,* or *The 12-Year-Old Jesus in the Temple with the Scholars,* 1879.

Max Liebermann, Study for *The Twelve-Year-Old Jesus in the Temple,* 1879.

Adolph Menzel, *Infant Christ Surrounded by the Doctors; Joseph and the Virgin Approaching,* 1852.

Fritz von Uhde, *Last Supper,* 1886.

Max Liebermann, *The Synagogue in Amsterdam,* 1876.

Max Liebermann, *The Jewish Street in Amsterdam,* 1906.

Max Liebermann, *Amsterdam Jewish Quarter,* ca. 1900-10.

Max Liebermann, *Jewish Quarter in Amsterdam,* 1905.

Max Liebermann, after E. Hancke, *Judengasse in Amsterdam,* 1907.

Camille Pissarro, *The Boulevard Montmartre on a Winter Morning,* 1897.

Max Liebermann, *Judengasse in Amsterdam,* 1909.

Max Liebermann, *The Artist's Studio,* 1902.

Max Liebermann, *Flower Perennials on Gardener's House,* 1928.

Max Liebermann, *Wanseegarten,* 1926.

10.10 The Dreyfus Affair

Aron Gerschel, *Alfred Dreyfus,* ca. 1894.

Henri Meyer, "Le capitaine Dreyfus devant le conseil de guerre," *Le Petit Journal,* December 23, 1894.

"Le traître, Dégradation d'Alfred Dreyfus," *Le Petit Journal,* January 13, 1895.

Dreyfus on the Devil's Island, 1898.

Fortuné Méaulle, After Lionel Royer, "Alfred Dreyfus dans sa prison," *Le Petit Journal,* January 20, 1895.

Lionel Royer, engraving by Fortuné Méaulle, "La dégradation," *Le Journal Illustré,* 1895.

Emile Zola, "J'accuse...! Lettre au Président de la République," *L'Aurore,* January 12, 1898.

Jean Baptiste Guth, *Caricature of Major Ferdinand Walsin Esterhazy,* 1898.

Captain Alfred Dreyfus, full-length portrait, standing, facing front, with wife and two children, ca. 1910-1935.

10.11 Edgar Degas: Other Impressions

Edgar Degas, *At the Stock Exchange,* 1878.

Edgar Degas, *Ludovic Halévy et Albert Boulanger-Cavé dans les coulisses de l'Opéra,* 1878.

Edgar Degas, *Six Friends at Dieppe,* 1885.

“Le traître condamné. Dix ans de détention et la dégradation. À bas les Juifs!” *La Libre Parole,* September 10, 1899.

Jules Chéret, *La France juive,* 1886.

Émile Courtet, *Les qualités du Juif d’après la méthode de Gall (Jewish Virtues According to Gall’s Method), La libre parole illustrée,* December 23, 1893.

Chanteclair, *Fruitless Soaping,* 1894.

Cham (Amédée de Noé), *La peinture impressionniste,* 1894.

10.12 Camille Pissarro; Outsider Impressionist?

Camille Pissarro, *Self-Portrait,* 1873.

Camile Pissarro, *Two Women Chatting by the Sea, St. Thomas,* 1856.

Camille Pissarro, *Landscape with Farm Buildings and Palm Trees,* 1856.

Camille Pissarro, *Poultry Market at Gisors,* 1885.

Camille Pissarro, *C’est la guerre des dépossédés contres les dépossesseurs. Turpitudes sociales,* 1889-1890.

Camille Pissarro, *The New Idolators,* 1889.

Edgar Degas, *René-Hilaire Degas, Grandfather of the Artist,* ca. 1856-57.

Toulouse Lautrec, *La revue blanche,* 1896.

Camille Pissarro, *The Cabbage Field, Pontoise,* 1873.

YouTube VIDEOS

Chapter 1: Courbet and Revolutionary Realism

The Avant-Garde:

Bergdoll, Barry (Columbia University, Institute of Classical Art and Architecture: Romantic Revolt: Challenges to Neoclassicism and the Birth of the Avant-Garde in France and Germany c. 1830 (1:22:02)

"Curious Muse" (Artincontext.org): European Avant-Garde in 7 Minutes: Non-Western Art Influence (00:06:53)

Mycompasstv: Impressionism in the age of industry: Monet, Pissarro & more @ AGO (00:04:18)

National Galleries Scotland: What is the Avant-Garde? Art Movements & Styles (00:03:50)

Gustave Courbet:

Paul Galvez for Barnes Foundation: Paul Galvez | "Courbet's Landscapes: The Origins of Modern Painting" (1:11:16)

Fondation Beyeler: Tour Through the Gustave Courbet Exhibition with Curator Ulf Kuster (00:06:35)

Fondation Beyeler: Conférence de presse à la Fondation Beyeler: Gustave Courbet – Dominique de Font-Réaulx (00:21:19)

Khan Academy: Courbet, A Burial at Ornans, 1849-50 (00:05:43)

Khan Academy: Courbet, The Artist's Studio, a real allegory summing up seven years of my artistic and moral life (00:08:14)

French Revolution:

Couteaux, A.L.: Le printemps des peuples (00:03:41)

Dolan, Julia, Portland Art Museum: The Mirror with a Memory: 19th Century French Photography (1:09:19)

Historically Adequate: The War of the First Coalition and the Journee of June 20th (00:57:31)

History Episodes: How did the French Revolution of February 1848 shake up the whole of Europe? (00:12:35)

Lund, Sarah, Harvard Art Museums: Art Talk- Liberty, Equality, Sorority? A Woman Printmaker in the French Revolution (00:31:00)

Merriman, John, Columbia College: Maximilien Robespierre and the French Revolution (00:49:57)

Ohayon, M., Riquet Histoire TV: 1848 printemps des peuples 1 (00:05:29)

RetronewsBnFL: A la Une – Chronologie de la "revolution de Fevrier" 1848 dans la presse (00:02:49)

TeleSUR English: The French 1848 Revolution (00:02:02)

Jean-Louis Ernest Meissonier:

Sagona, Syliva, University of Australia: Famous, Feted and Forgotten – Lecture 2 – Meissonier and Forgotten Masterpieces (1:29:28)

WikiAudio: Jean-Louis-Ernest Meissonier (00:14:08)

Chapter 2: Manet and Modern Life

Edouard Manet:

The Art Institute of Chicago: Manet and Modern Beauty (00:6:00)

Columbia University: Posing Modernity | Columbia's Wallach Art Gallery (00:04:08)

The Frick Collection: Emily A. Beeny: "Edouard Manet and the Illusion of Effortlessness" (00:53:28)

Memorial ACTe: Denise Murrell, a l'origine de de l'exposition "Le modele noir" (00:03:10)

The MET: 1867, 1990 | From the Vaults (00:12:43)

The National Gallery: Manet's 'Execution of Manet' in 10 minutes | National Gallery (00:13:34)

Smarthistory: Edouard Manet, Olympia (and now, with Laure) (00:08:02)

Smarthistory: Manet, Le Dejeuner sur l'herbe (00:06:13)

Study.com: Reception of Manet's Olympia and Dejeuner sur l'Herbe (00:07:08)

Japonisme:

The Canvas: How Japan influenced Van Gogh, the Impressionists and Modern European Art (00:09:51)

Impressionism:

The Art Story: Impressionism (00:01:30)

Museum of Fine Arts, Boston: A New Look at Impressionism: Five New Faces of Impressionism (00:55:59)

Museum of Fine Arts, Boston: A New Look at Impressionism: Surface and Depth (01:17:48)

University of Shed: An Introduction to Impressionism (00:04:36)

Modernists, the Académie and the Salon des Refusés:

Art History with Travis Lee Clark: Lecture 10: French Realism (01:48:11)

Dartmouth: Paris in the Age of Revolution: There's More to French Art than Impressionism (00:57:39)

Laura Fernandez: The Salon des Refusés and the Revolutionary Movement that Gave the World Impressionism (00:09:51)

Study.com: Role of the Salon in 19th-Century France (00:01:55)

Paris Commune:

Cambridge University Library: Caricatures of the Franco-Prussian War and the Paris Commune (00:06:20)

Matthe Siegfried: Harvey Goldberg Lectures! Marxism and History: The Paris Commune (01:35:40)

WikiAudio: Siege of Paris (1870-1871) (00:16:36)

YaleCourses: The Paris Commune and its Legacy (00:44:47)

YaleUniversity: John Merriman: Paris Commune of 1871 (00:17:29)

Rosa Bonheur:

France24: A forgotten French icon: the life and art of animal painter Rosa Bonheur – FRANCE24 English (00:11:48)

French History Society: Rosa Bonheur and the Chateau de By (01:22:14)

The National Gallery: Rosa Bonheur: "As far as males go, I only like the bulls I paint" | National Gallery (00:05:13)

Smarthistory: Bonheur, A Sheep in the Highlands (00:02:24)

Chapter 3: Female Labour and Prostitution in Paris

Courbet's *The Origin of the World*:

FondationBeyeler: Marina Abramovic: Gustave Courbet's The Origin of the World (00:00:55)

Depictions of Women, Prostitution and the Parisian Nightlife:

Art d'Histoire: Manet et Seurat, Spectacle et ironie de la vie Parisienne (00:49:27)

Yoshitome, Niro: Why are there so many prostitutes in modern art? (00:09:36)

Edgar Degas:

Getty Museum: Degas' Milliners (00:02:45)

Saint Louis Art Museum: Degas, Impressionism, and the Paris Millinery Trade (00:03:15)

Savatier, Thierry: Conférence de Thierry Savatier sur l'Origine du Monde, un tableau de Gustave Courbet (00:56:02)

Edouard Manet:

Museum TV: #ANW407 / Galerie – Laure, le modele noir derrière l'Olympia de Manet (00:04:08)

Pollock, Griselda, HENI Talks: A Bar at the Folies Bergere (00:07:51)

Smarthistory: Edouard Manet, Olympia (and now, with Laure) (00:07:13)

Georges Seurat:

The Courtauld: In Detail: ‘Young Woman Powdering Herself” by Georges Seurat (00:06:07)

The National Gallery: Seurat | Courtauld’s Impressionists | National Gallery (00:02:27)

Obrist, Hans Ulrich, Musee d’Orsay: Hans Ulrich Obrist – “Les poseuses” de Georges Seurat

Henri de Toulouse-Lautrec:

Nationalgalleries: Henri de Toulouse-Lautrec (00:04:40)

National Gallery of Australia: Toulouse Lautrec: Paris and the Moulin Rouge (00:11:31)

Orientalism, Fetishism, Racism:

Artspace: Orientalism and Art History – Edward Said’s Theory (00:10:18)

Artspace: Orientalism in European Art – Belly Dance by Gerome (00:03:16)

The Canvas: The Turkish Bath (00:04:02)

Paul Cezanne:

The National Gallery: Paul Cezanne: The father of modern art | National Gallery (00:25:01)

Sarah Bernhardt:

British Pathe: Sarah Bernhardt (1905) (00:01:30)

The History Guy: Sarah Bernhardt: The World’s First Celebrity (00:14:38)

Sharon Koskoff / Public Arts & Architecture: Sarah Bernhardt, Artist & Muse by Dr. Terryl Lawrence / Art Deco 2nd Wednesday Lecture Series (01:15:16)

Chapter 4: Berthe Morisot and Mary Cassatt and the Affluent Woman’s World

Berthe Morisot

ArtFundUK: Berthe Morisot: Inventing Impressionism (00:02:46)

Aurisch, Dr. Helga Kessler, MFAH Docent: Berthe Morisot: Impressionist Original (00:38:08)

The Canvas: The Impressionist You Didn’t Know (00:06:54)

Museum of Fine Arts, St. Petersburg: MFA’s Erin Wilson on Berthe Morisot’s ‘La Lecture (Reading)’ (00:01:10)

National Gallery of Canada: Berthe Morisot’s Woman with a Fan in Depth (00:01:32)

Philadelphia Museum of Art: “Young Girl with Basket” by Berthe Morisot (00:01:23)

Smarthistory: Morisot, The Cradle (00:04:26)

Fashion Illustration:

Nead, Dr. Lynda, Gresham College: Fashion and Visual Culture in the 19th Century: The Girl of the Period – Professor Lynda Nead (00:53:05)

SHAMJISTUDIOS: Fashion Illustration History: Art Nouveau Period, 1890-1910 (00:17:00)

The Modern Woman, Women's Rights and Gender Roles in the 19th Century:

Grossman, Atina, Guggenheim Museum: Chaos and Classicism: The New Woman (00:06:20)

Hughes, Kathryn, The British Library: Gender in 19th Century Britain (00:07:38)

Lund, Sarah, Harvard Art Museums: Liberty, Equality, Sorority? A Woman Printmaker in the French Revolution (00:31:00)

Musee McCord Stewart Museum: The Cult of Domesticity (00:03:02)

PBS: History in a Nutshell: Women's Suffrage Movement (00:17:12)

Seattle Channel: Untold Story of Black Women in the Suffrage Movement (00:09:09)

Mary Cassatt

Art History School: Mary Cassatt: The Life of an Artist: Art History School (00:16:00)

Exhibition on Screen: "A Radical Honesty" | Mary Cassatt: Painting the Modern Woman | Exhibition on Screen (00:02:35)

Smarthistory: Cassatt, In the Loge (00:04:32)

Stadelman, Felicia Zavarella, Hudson Library and Historical Society: Through the Eyes of the Artist: Mary Cassatt (00:59:59)

Standring, Timothy J., Denver Art Museum: 'Whistler to Cassatt' | Mary Cassatt (00:01:51)

Wallace, Dr. Miranda, NGV Melbourne: The Influence of Mary Cassatt (00:00:54)

Women Impressionist Artists:

Corey, Laura D.: Impressionist Women and Pastels: A conversation with Laura D. Corey (00:58:25) https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=i0YICtfIcwQ

Dixon, Fred, Phoenixville Public Library: Berthe Morist and Mary Cassatt: The Woman's Touch to Impressionism (00:51:12)

Chapter 5: The Modern Portrait in Photography and Impressionist Painting

Andre Adolphe Eugene Disderi:

Vasilis Stathis: Masters of Photography Andre Adoplhe Eugene Disderi (00:02:59)

Carte-de-visites:

Art Gallery of NSW: Carte de Visite (00:01:00)

Emancipation Monument: What is a Carte de Visite? (00:05:26)

Peoria Riverfront Museum: Objectively Speaking | Carte-de-visite (00:01:56)

The Daguerreotype and 19th Century Photography:

Canterbury Museum: Women and Photography in the Nineteenth Century (00:42:49)

George Eastman Museum: The Daguerreotype – Photographic Processes Series – Chapter 2 of 12 (00:06:18)

Getty Museum: Early Photography: Making Daguerreotypes (00:05:44)

Portland Art Museum: The Mirror with a Memory: 19th-Century French Photography (01:09:19)

Victoria & Albert Museum: How was it made? The Daguerreotype | V&A (00:03:22)

Early Portrait Photography:

Barsness, Sarah: Race, Representation and Portrait Photography in the 19th Century (00:18:53)

Behind the Camera Japan: Women and Portrait Photography in the Late 19th and Early 20th Century Japan (00:19:47)

Los Angeles Center of Photography: History of Portrait Photography with Mark Edward Harris (01:24:51)
19th century portrait photography

Eadweard Muybridge:

Johnson, Zach: Meet the Art – Eadweard Muybridge Photographs of Motion (00:03:10)

San Francisco Museum of Modern Art: Slices of Time: Eadweard Muybridge's Cinematic Legacy (00:03:51)

Sotheby's: Eadweard Muybridge: Studies in Motion (00:01:58)

Edgar Degas:

Euronews.com: Manet and Degas: Musee d'Orsay explores the friendship and rivalry between the two artistic giants (00:01:45)

National Gallery of Art: Degas/Cassatt at the National Gallery of Art (00:04:52)

Felix Nadar:

The Canvas: The Best Portrait Photographer? The Intrepid Nadar (00:10:00)

Magical media museum: 1865 Nadar – "Autoportrait tournant" (turning self-portrait) (00:00:27)

Frederic Bazille:

Judith Benhamou Reports: Paul Perrin speaks about Frederic Bazille @ Musee d'Orsay (00:02:39)

National Gallery of Art: Introduction to the Exhibition: Frederic Bazille and the Birth of Impressionism (01:00:27)

Julia Margaret Cameron:

Ashmolean Museum: The Photography of Julia Margaret Cameron – Part of Photo Oxford 2020 (00:03:30)

DimbolaMuseum: Julia Margaret Cameron: Close Up (00:10:16)

San Francisco Museum of Modern Art: Pictures from a glass house: Julia Margaret Cameron's Portraits (00:04:02)

Victoria & Albert Museum: Julia Margaret Cameron's Working Methods (00:02:05)

Victoria & Albert Museum: Meet the photographer / Julia Margaret Cameron (00:02:38)

Wellcome Collection: Early photography pioneer Julia Margaret Cameron: art and chemistry (00:03:35)

Louis Daguerre:

DK Books: Tom Ang on 'Boulevard du Temple, Paris' by Louis-Jacques Mande Daguerre 1838 (00:02:33)

Musée d'Orsay: Louis Daguerre (00:03:05)

Photography and Impressionist Painting:

Museum Barberini: A New Art: Photography and Impressionism- Expert Talks (00:20:21)

Showcase: The Impressionists and Photography (00:03:45)

Pierre-Auguste Renoir: Art History Online: Pierre-Auguste Renoir – Bal du Moulin de la Galette (1876) (00:10:32)

The Frick Collection: Renoir, "La Promenade" (00:01:49)

Musings on Art by Cathy Locke: Renoir's Techniques and Color (00:25:14)

Royal Academy of Arts: In 60 seconds: Renoir's 'Le Moulin de la Galette' (00:01:00)

Seeing Art History: Pierre-Auguste Renoir: Dance at the Moulin de la Galette, simultaneous contrast (00:04:59)

Chapter 6: Claude Monet and the Impressionist Landscape

Argenteuil and the Advent of Impressionism:

Little Art Talks: How En Plein Air Changed Art | Art Terms | Little Art Talks (00:02:56)

Nationalgalleries: Impressionism | 'en plein air' (00:08:09)

National Gallery of Canada: Monet: A Bridge to Modernity (00:02:33)

NowYouKnowAbout: Claude Monet and painting 'en plein air' (00:01:49)

Plein Air Magazine: "Outside The Lines" Plein Air Painting Documentary, Plein Air Force (00:38:12)

Smarthistory: How to recognize Monet: The Basin at Argenteuil (00:04:02)

Smarthistory: Monet, The Argenteuil Bridge (00:03:25)

Beyond the Atelier: Édouard Manet and Claude Monet's *Déjeuner sur l'herbe*

ArtAnalyzer: [EN] Claude Monet – Déjeuner sur l'herbe (1865) [Analysis] (00:04:19)

LadyKFlo: Luncheon on the Grass – Déjeuner sur l'herbe – Analysis – Edouard Manet (00:01:03)

Mads: The Significance of Manet's "Luncheon on the Grass" (00:06:51)

Smarthistory: Manet, Le Déjeuner sur l'herbe (00:06:13)

Camille Doncieux and Claude Monet:

The Canvas: Camille and Claude Monet (00:07:53)

Museum of Fine Arts, Boston: Monet's "La Japonaise (Camille Monet in Japanese Costume)" (00:04:13)

Wisdomphile: The muse who escaped oblivion | Camille Monet (00:06:00)

Camille Pissarro:

ArtVirtual Gallery: Camille Pissarro – Impressionist (00:08:50)

Betapicts: Paul Cezanne. Landscapes, Camille Pissarro – Origins of Modern Art 5 (00:15:27)

ClarkArtInstitute: Dana Ward | Pissarro's Politics in Context (00:24:12)

ClarkArtInstitute: Karen Levitov – Pissarro's Politics in Context (00:16:09)

Kunstmuseum Basel: Curator Josef Helfenstein on the exhibition 'Camille Pissarro' (00:01:56)

Kunstmuseum Basel: The Impressionist Revolution of Camille Pissarro (00:28:26)

Mineraud, Jean: Camille Pissarro (2): Rien que la sensation (00:04:36)

Caspar David Friedrich:

Armenikus, Vashik: Tragic Existentialism of Caspar David Friedrich (How to Read a Painting) (00:09:42)

The Art Tourist: Know the Artist: Caspar David Friedrich (00:14:00)

The Canvas: What Friedrich Can Teach Us About The Sublime (00:09:09)

Puschak, Evan, Nerdwriter1: The Painter Who Revolutionized Landscapes (00:06:54)

Reimers, Lars: Art in Romanticism: Caspar David Friedrich (00:06:51)

The School of Life: ART/ARCHITECTURE – Caspar David Friedrich (0:06:02)

Eugène Louis Boudin and Claude Monet:

Artandcode: Eugene Boudin : Marine and landscape painter + Claude Monet's teacher / Le prof du Claude Monet (00:03:05)

Museo Nacional Thyssen-Bornemisza: Monet/Boudin (00:08:06)

Showcase: Monet and Boudin | Exhibitions | Showcase (00:10:20)

Colour Theory, Paint Tubes and Portable Easels:

Art Gallery of South Australia: Colours of Impressionism: Colour Science (00:00:37)

Articulate with Jim Cotter: The History of Paint Tubes (00:02:24)

Cooper, Ed: Understanding Light and Colour in Impressionist Painting (00:32:56)

Henze, Julia: The history of colour theory and its importance in art and sketching (00:06:36)

University of Rochester: The Science Behind Monet's Color (00:03:29)

Winsor & Newton: Windsor & Newton In Collaboration With The Royal Academy of Arts (multiple videos)

Yalumba: Yalumba | Colours of Impressionism (00:05:52)

The Garden at Giverny: Influence of the Orient:

Anita Louise Art: How Japanese Art Influenced Claude Monet (00:06:00)

Asian Art Museum: Looking East: How Japan inspired Monet, Van Gogh and Other Western Artists (00:04:38)

Entrée Libre: Impressionisme : La nouvelle vague japonaise (00:05:40)

National Gallery of Art: Monet's Water Lily Garden and Japanese Footbridge (00:03:40)

Royal Academy of Arts: A Visit to Claude Monet's Garden at Giverny (00:02:52)

Sotheby's: How Monet's Garden Inspired His Greatest Achievement (00:02:32)

John Constable:

The National Gallery: Constable's Iconic Hay Wain in 10 minutes or less | National Gallery (00:07:50)

The National Gallery: John Constable: The radical landscape of The Hay Wain | National Gallery (00:31:01)

Smarthistory: The Hay Wain, Constable and the English countryside (00:05:29)

Two Minute Museum: The Hay Wain – John Constable (00:02:03)

Joseph Mallard William Turner:

Art Documentaries: ¼ The Genius of Turner : Painting the Industrial Revolution (00:15:02)

Bomboy, Robb: J.M.W. Turner: Prophet Aganst Empire III (00:09:44)

Frist Art Museum: J.M.W. Turner's Southern Landscape with an Aqueduct and a Waterfall (00:02:13)

Kimbell Art Museum: Who is Turner? | "Turner's Modern World" (00:01:44)

The Met: J.M.W. Turner – Turner and the Romance of Britain – Part 1 of 8 (00:09:19)

The National Gallery: Turner: Painting the Fighting Temeraire | National Gallery (00:25:55)

Smarthistory: Turner, Rain, steam and speed – the great western railway (00:04:25)

Smarthistory: Turner, Slave Ship (00:04:02)

Tate: Olafur Eliasson on JMW Turner | TateShots (00:03:19)

Impressionism and Music:

ClassicalWGUC: Classical Music 101: What is Impressionism? (00:02:41)

PBS.org: Arts District: Music of Monet (00:06:33)

PBS.org: Introduction to Impressionism/Post-Impressionism | Music Arts Toolkit (00:11:20)

Landscape and the Female Form:

1st Art Gallery: A STROLL INTERRUPTED: Woman With a Parasol by Oscar-Claude Monet (00:03:01)

Amuze Art Lectures: Woman with a Parasol (00:06:01)

Great Art Explained: Monet's Water Lilies: Great Art Explained (00:15:37)

Smarthistory: A celebration of beauty and love: Botticelli's Birth of Venus (00:04:55)

Smarthistory: Monet, Water Lilies (00:06:21)

Sotheby's: Claude Monet's 'Nympheas' (00:03:06)

Sotheby's: Claude Monet – Nympheas (00:01:02)

Sotheby's: The Original Blond Bombshell: Botticelli's The Birth of Venus (00:03:49)

Claude Monet's Serial Subjects:

Amuze Art Lectures: Rouen Cathedral Series (00:05:23)

Art Meets Geoff: Monet – Haystacks (00:05:47)

Christie's: Claude Monet's Grainstack Paintings (00:03:52)

Khan Academy: Monet, Poplars (00:03:55)

Khan Academy: Monet, Rouen Cathedral Series (00:03:53)

The National Gallery: Monet's Poplars | The National Gallery, London (00:04:03)

Philadelphia Art Museum: Monet's Groundbreaking "Poplar" Series (00:01:27)

Puschak, Evan, Nerdwriter1: Why Monet Painted the Same Haystacks 25 Times (00:07:55)

Claude Monet's Technique and Style:

The Art Institute of Chicago: Beyond the Surface | Discovering Monet (0:07:39)

Biography: Claude Monet: Father of French Impressionist Painting | Mini Bio | Biography (00:04:25)

The Frick Pittsburgh: A Minute on Monet (00:01:07)

National Gallery of Art: Monet's Palette and Technique (00:08:53)

National Gallery of Australia: Monet Impression Sunrise Marianne Mathieu (00:02:03)

Claude Monet's Water Landscapes:

Great Art Explained: Monet's Water Lilies: Great Art Explained (00:15:37)

Museum of Fine Arts, Boston: Monet's "Water Lilies" (00:03:02)

Smarthistory: Monet, Water Lilies (00:06:21)

Romanticism and the Sublime:

CBC.ca: Beautiful terror: why witnessing 'the sublime' in art gives you that awestruck feeling (00:04:23)

Centre for Philosophy and Art: The Sublime (00:09:06)

Gibbons, E.: Understanding the styles of art: Romanticism (00:02:57)

Martinson, Steven, Humanities Seminars Program: A Cultural History of German Romanticism (00:02:45)

Otis College of Art and Design: Romanticism | Art History | Otis College of Art and Design (00:04:37)

The School of Life: HISTORY OF IDEAS – Romanticism (00:09:43)

Chapter 7: Paul Gauguin and the Colonial Myth of Primitivism

Paul Gauguin: Early Influences:

The National Gallery: Paul Gauguin | Lessons from Delacroix with Christopher Riopelle | The National Gallery (00:01:24)

Sotheby's: The Early Gauguin with Two Hidden Treasures (00:02:04)

Sotheby's: Magicians of Light: Bruce Munro on Sisley, Pissarro and Gauguin (00:03:13)

Gauguin in Brittany:

LadyKFlo: Bonjour Monsieur Courbet (The Meeting) – Analysis – Gustave Courbet (00:00:58)

Musée d'Orsay: "Vision après le sermon" de Paul Gauguin (00:02:48)

Narodni galerie Praha (Prague National Gallery): Paul Gauguin, Bonjour Monsieur Gauguin, 1889 (00:1:00)

Nationalgalleries: John Burnside on Gauguin's Vision of the Sermon (00:02:30)

Smarthistory: Paul Gauguin, Vision After the Sermon, or Jacob Wrestling with the Angel (00:03:38)

Ville de Quimper: Bonjour Monsieur Gauguin, un histoire des peintres au Pouldu (00:10:22)

Spencer's Painting of the Week: Yellow Christ (Gauguin) (00:07:08)

Émile Bernard and Synthetism:

Nationalgalleries: What is Symbolism? Art Movements & Styles (00:04:24)

Spencer's Painting of the Week: Yellow Christ (Gauguin) (00:07:08)

Paul Gauguin and Representations of Eroticism, Myth and Exoticism:

Beaumont, Nathan: Hugo Nathan – Paul Gauguin, Nevermore (1897) (00:06:27)

Smarthistory: Paul Gauguin, Nevermore, 1897 (00:05:02)

Williams, Patience, mswp1003: Art in a Day Video – Spirit of the Dead Watching by Paul Gauguin (00:06:04)

Paul Gauguin and Tahiti:

Christie's: How Tahiti transformed Gauguin's art | Christie's (00:01:46)

Gerspacher, Arnaud: Primitivism I (00:36:36)

Grand Palais: Gauguin : l'arrivee a Tahiti (extrait du documentaire <<Gauguin – Je suis un sauvage>>) (00:01:56)

Grand Palais: Gauguin: The inner journey in 360 (00:03:47)

INA.fr: "Noa Noa", un manuscrit de Paul Gauguin (00:01:14)

Navarro, Carlos, ExpertVillage Leaf Group: What is Primitivism? (00:01:49)

Open College of the Arts: Primitivism and the Unconscious (00:05:04)

Otis College of Art and Design: Myth and Primitivism | Post-Impressionism and Gauguin | Otis College of Art and Design (00:20:36)

Tate Modern, The Guardian: The Art and Letters of Gauguin (00:13:56)

Paul Gauguin, Vincent Van Gogh and the Volpini Suite:

Homburg, Cornelia, The Phillips Collection: A Closer Look: Van Gogh and Gauguin (00:03:33)

Lemonedes, Dr. Heather, Newfields: Gauguin as Printmaker: The Volpini Suite (00:47:05)

PBS.org: Secrets of the Dead: The Sunflowers and Paul Gauguin (00:03:18)

Paul Gauguin, *Where Do We Come From? What Are We? Where Are We Going?:*

Neal, Rome, CBS News: Gauguin's Vision of Paradise (00:10:19)

PUC Art: Gauguin's Where Do We Come From? What Are We? Where Are We Going? (00:06:53)

Two Minute Art: Where Do We Come From?, What Are We?, Where Are We Going? (00:02:57)

Portraits of the Artist as 'Other':

FondationBeyeler: Paul Gauguin: Autoportrait au Christ Jaune, 1890-91 (00:02:38) (German, subtitles available)

The National Gallery: Gauguin's Portraits | The Credit Suisse Exhibition: Gauguin Portraits | National Gallery (00:04:23)

Smarthistory: Paul Gauguin, Self-Portrait with Portrait of Emile Bernard (Les miserables) (00:05:31)

Paul Gauguin, Critical Conversations:

Art History Shorts: Paula Modersohn-Becker | Self-Portrait Nude With Amber Necklace (00:06:06)

Feminism in India: Amrita Sher-Girl: Painter, Artist and Pioneer in Modern Indian Art | India's Frida Kahlo (00:03:58)

France Culture: Flora Tristan, de paria a icone du feminisme (00:00:50)

Culture: Flora Tristan, pionnière du féminisme et du syndicalisme (00:05:53)

Lasser, Robin: Edible Garden Dress Tent by Robin Lasser + Adrienne Pao (00:03:23)

McMaster Museum: Paula Modersohn-Becker (00:01:32)

Media India Group: Amrita Sher-Girl: India's revolutionary woman artist (00:02:30)

The National Gallery: How are contemporary artists in the Pacific responding to the art of Gauguin? (00:43:52)

Pollock, Griselda: A Woman's View of Modern Art (00:04:40)

Sotheby's: Amrita Sher-Gil's "Untitled (Self-Portrait)" (00:02:42)

Tautai Arts: Artist Spotlight: Tyla Vaueau (00:02:10)

Chapter 8: Madness and Modernity

Francisco Jose de Goya

The Art Tourist: Know The Artist: Francisco de Goya (00:16:57)

Brooklyn Museum: Proof: Francisco Goya (00:01:58)

The Canvas: Full Presentation of: Los Caprichos by Francisco de Goya (00:22:30)

Great Art Explained: Dark Goya (Full Length): The later works (00:51:10)

LearnFromMasters: Francisco de Goya: A collection of 224 etchings (00:18:54)

LearnFromMasters: Francisco de Goya: A collection of 289 paintings (00:24:19)

The Met: Goya's Graphic Imagination Virtual Opening (00:16:42)

Smarthistory: Goya, Saturn Devouring His Sun (00:03:24)

Smarthistory: Goya, The Family of Charles IV (00:03:29)

James Ensor

Psychic Malaise:

Getty Museum: "Long Live Free, Free Art!": James Ensor and the French Avant-Garde (00:44:46)

Royal Academy of Arts: James Ensor's 'Adam and Eve Expelled from Paradise' (00:02:27)

Royal Academy of Arts: James Ensor's World (00:02:17)

VISITFLANDERS: Ensor and Ostend (00:18:36)

VISITFLANDERS/The Getty Museum: The "Stay At Home Museum" – Episode 4: Ensor (00:17:29)

The Painter of Masks:

The Canvas: How Masks Influenced James Ensor's Art (00:08:02)

Friends of the Fine Arts Museum of Belgium: CONFINED VISITS. Episode 20: Scandalized Masks by James Ensor (00:06:58)

KMSKA: James Ensor in bird's-eye view – off with the masks! (00:04:23)

Royal Academy of Arts: James Ensor's 'The Skeleton Painter' (00:03:26)

Royal Museums of Fine Arts of Belgium: Hareng-saur or Art Ensor? | Artsy Speed-Date with James Ensor (00:01:28)

The Carnivalesque: Images of Social Morbidity and Spiritual Crisis:

Art in details: James Ensor – Christ's Entry into Brussels in 1889 (00:02:57)

Los Angeles County Museum of Art: Mimi Lauter on James Ensor (00:05:30)

Royal Academy of Arts: James Ensor's 'The Intrigue' (00:02:17)

Madness, Mania, and Melancholy: The Artist as Observer:
LearnFromMasters: James Ensor: A collection of 148 works (00:15:13)

Royal Academy of Arts: James Ensor's 'The Artist Surrounded by Evil Spirits' (00:02:13)

Vincent Van Gogh

Finding the Spiritual in Art:

LearnFromMasters: Vincent van Gogh: A collection of 825 paintings (01:08:57)

LearnFromMasters: Vincent van Gogh: A collection of 1185 etchings (01:38:57)

The National Gallery and Lucrezia Walker: Van Gogh: Sunflowers, Letters & Life (00:53:29)

Perspective: Waldemar On The Life Of Vincent Van Gogh | Vincent: The Full Story (Full Series) (02:25:27)

Van Gogh Museum: Van Gogh Museum 4K Virtual Tour || Compilation (00:13:39)

Van Gogh's Empathetic Eye:

Museum of Fine Arts, Boston: Van Gogh: Techniques and Methods (01:27:03)

Smarthistory: Think you know van Gogh? The Potato Eaters (00:06:55)

Van Gogh Museum: What about The Potato Eaters? (00:04:20)

Arles: Aesthetic Advances and Visions of Madness:

The National Gallery: Vincent van Gogh: The colour and vitality of his works (00:29:32)

Smarthistory: Van Gogh's Irises: Getty Conversations (00:07:42)

Smarthistory: Van Gogh, The Bedroom (00:04:43)

Smarthistory: Vincent van Gogh, The Starry Night (00:05:07)

Tate: Van Gogh – Challenging the 'Tortured Genius' Myth (00:03:48)

Asylum:

BBC/Seven Ages of Britain: A Rake's Progress By William Hogarth (00:03:16) S1 Ep5

Paul Mellon Centre for Studies in British Art: The Sequel: Hogarth's "A Rake's Progress" (1734–5)

Portraits of Madness and Soulful Self-Images:

The Canvas: Portraits of the Insane (00:05:12)

The Courtauld: Discover Van Gogh's self-portraits with Dr Karen Serres at The Courtauld Gallery (00:04:12)

Musee d'Orsay: Julian Schnabel – "Portrait of the Artist" by Vincent van Gogh (00:08:18)

Smarthistory: Van Gogh, Self-Portrait Dedicated to Paul Gaugin (00:02:48)

Van Gogh Museum: Vincent's self-portraits (00:02:41)

Van Gogh Museum: Wheatfield with Crows by Vincent van Gogh (00:02:05)

Van Gogh Museum: Why did Van Gogh make so many self-portraits? (00:03:44)

Edvard Munch

Death and Life:

Art History School: Exploring the Mind of Edvard Munch; a Journey into Angst and Expressionism (00:18:04)

The Art Tourist: Know the Artist: Edvard Munch (00:17:05)

LearnFromMasters: Edvard Munch: A collection of 1640 works (02:44:34)

Sotheby's: A Painter's Painter: Eric Fischl on Edvard Munch

Thielska Galleriet: The Sick Child, Edvard Munch (00:01:40)

***The Frieze of Life*:**

The Canvas: Munch's Silent Scream (00:06:30)

The Courtauld: Curator Tour of Edvard Munch: Masterpieces from Bergen (00:03:44)

The Courtauld: In Detail: Edvard Munch, Melancholy (1894-1896) (00:01:12)

Great Art Explained: The Scream: Great Art Explained (00:17:32)

Smarthistory: Munch, The Storm (00:04:00)

Sotheby's: Sotheby's Spotlight: Simon Shaw on Edvard Munch's Dance on the Beach (00:04:58)

Tate: Edvard Munch (00:04:15)

Female Representations: Halos and Hysteria:

Nasjonalmuseet: Close Encounters: Edvard Munch's "Madonna" (01:03:25)

Alienation, Angst, and Collective Despair:

Albertina Museum: Edvard Munch | Printmaking Experience (00:03:15)

MUNCH: Discover Edvard Munch's Monumental works (00:08:52)

Ferdinand Hodler

Art History School: Visions of Nature and Humanity: The Artistic Legacy of Ferdinand Hodler (00:06:55)

FondationBeyeler: Ferdinand Hodler: Walkthrough WIth Curator Ulf Küster (00:22:59)

Kunst Museum Winterthur EN: Ferdinand Hodler | The Grand Muveran, 1912 (00:02:01)

Jean Mineraud: Ferdinand Hodler – Le chant du monde (00:04:42)

LearnFromMasters: Ferdinand Hodler: A collection of 192 paintings (00:18:27)

Neue Galerie New York: Ferdinand Hodler at the Neue Galerie New York: Interview with Curator Jill Lloyd Part 1 (00:05:30)

Neue Galerie New York: Ferdinand Hodler, Symbolist Painter: An Interview with Curator Jill Lloyd Part 2 (00:05:23)

Chapter 9: Black **SLAVERY, RACISM** and Modernity

Théodore Géricault:

The Canvas: How A Black Man Was Immortalized In The Raft Of The Medusa (00:07:03)

The Canvas: Raft of the Medusa (00:05:05)

Great Art Explained: The Raft of the Medusa by Théodore Géricault (00:15:01)

Harvard Art Museums: Curator Edouard Kopp on Théodore Géricault (00:01:26)

LearnFromMasters: Theodore Gericault: A collection of 92 paintings (00:07:54)

Smarthistory: Gericault, Raft of the Medusa (00:06:36)

The Atlantic Slave Trade: Record and Reverberations:

CrashCourse: The Transtlantic Slave Trade: Crash Course Black American History #1 (00:13:08)

HistoryHit: Why Did Britain Abolish Slavery in 1833? (Pt 1) (00:31:41)

HistoryHit: Why Did Britain Abolish Slavery in 1833? (Pt 2) (00:52:09)

Joseph Mallord William Turner:

Kelly Bagdanov: JMW Turner – The Slave Ship (00:17:45)

LearnFromMasters: Willia Turner: A collection of 1530 paintings (02:07:42)

Smarthistory: Turner, Slave Ship (00:04:02)

Picturing Enslavement: Genre, Race and Stereotype in Antebellum America:

The Gilder Lehrman Center for the Study of Slavery, Resistance, and Abolition: Rachel Stephens on Slavery and Suppression in Antebellum American Art (00:36:24)

Civil War:

Smarthistory: A dangerous escape to freedom: Eastman Johnson, A Ride for Liberty — The Fugitive Slaves (00:03:57)

Smithsonian American Art Museum: Episode 4 – Podcast: The Civil War and American Art (00:03:04)

Virginia Museum of Fine Arts: Paul Mellon Lecture: Seeing and Not Seeing the Civil War: Eastman Johnson's Ride for Liberty (00:53:32)

Emancipation, Black Civil Rights and Social Reform:

Smarthistory: Nast and Reconstruction, understanding a political cartoon final (00:08:48)

Norman Rockwell Museum: An introduction to Thomas Nast, by Steve Brodner (00:04:40)

Winslow Homer:

ASHP CML: Blacks in the Civil War through the Eyes of Winslow Homer (00:48:40)

Duke University: Portrayals of the Civil War (00:02:07)

LearnFromMasters: Winslow Homer: A collection of 534 paintings (00:50:48)

The National Gallery: An introduction to Winslow Homer (00:14:29)

Smarthistory: Winslow Homer, Army Teamsters (00:05:41)

US National Archives: Peter Wood Speaks About Winslow Homer's "Near Andersonville" (00:04:16)

Smarthistory: Winslow Homer, Taking Sunflower to Teacher (00:04:50)

Smithsonian American Art Museum: Episode 5 – Podcast: The Civil War and American Art (00:02:36)

The National Gallery: Curator's Introduction | Winslow Homer: Force of Nature (00:44:18)

Frederick Douglass:

Black History in Two Minutes or so: Frederick Douglass | The Most Photographed American of the 19th Century (00:02:42)

Henry Ossawa Tanner:

The Canvas: Henry Ossawa Tanner's Banjo Lesson (00:07:30)

LearnFromMasters: Henry Ossawa Tanner: A collection of 153 paintings (00:15:43)

Seeing Art History: A History of African American Art: Henry Ossawa Tanner—The Thankful Poor (00:05:29)

Edmonia Lewis:

Sheen Center: Forever Free: A Presentation on the Life and Legacy of Sculptor Edmonia Lewis (01:09:32)

Sinclair College: The Banjo Lesson: Black History Moment (00:04:14)

Smarthistory: Edmonia Lewis and the complexity of identity (00:05:43)

Chapter 10: Religious and Racial Antisemitism and the Jewish Artist

A Narrative of Exclusion and Emancipation:

Henry Abramson: All Jewish History in Under 18 Minutes (00:16:24)

Henry Abramson: Crash Course in Jewish History 1. Ancient Israel (00:57:43)

Henry Abramson: Crash Course in Jewish History 2. Medieval Period (01:03:25)

Henry Abramson: Crash Course in Jewish History 3. Modern History (01:06:19)

England: Expressions of Myth and Faith:

The Art Institute of Chicago: Virtual Conversation: The Pre-Raphaelites and William Holman Hunt's The Shadow

of Death (00:46:47)

The Art Tourist: Know the Artist: William Blake Revisited (00:19:47)

LearnFromMasters: William Blake: A collection of 392 illustrations [HD] (00:39:57)

LearnFromMasters: William Holman Hunt: A collection of 89 works [HD] (00:09:19)

Mark Vernon: Of Selfhood and Awakening. William Blake and the Book of Job (01:02:19)

National Museums Liverpool: The Pre-Raphaelites: Simeon Solomon (00:02:17)

Wightwick Manor and Gardens NT: Simeon Solomon: The Forgotten Pre-Raphaelite – Part 1 – His Life (00:04:48)

Wightwick Manor and Gardens NT: Simeon Solomon: The Forgotten Pre-Raphaelite – Part 2 – His Art (00:04:52)

Wightwick Manor and Gardens NT: Simeon Solomon: The Forgotten Pre-Raphaelite – Part 3 – Night (00:03:01)

Imaging the Jewess: La belle juive / L'affreuse juive:

Amuze Art Lectures: The Apparition (1877) by Gustave Moreau (00:06:42)

The Art Tourist: Know the Artist: Aubrey Beardsley (00:17:25)

Stories of Art: The Story of Judith and Holofernes by Gustav Klimt (00:11:11)

UR Humanities Project and Grace Seiberling: From Dancing Daughter to Femme Fatale: Salome in Western Art (00:46:15)

Emergence of the Modern Jewish Artist:

Henry Abramson: The Haskalah (00:29:28)

Moritz Daniel Oppenheim:

Jewish International Film Festival: Moritz Daniel Oppenheim – the First Jewish Painter trailer (00:01:20)

Henry Abramson: Moses Mendelssohn Jewish History Lecture (00:52:14)

Maurycy Gottlieb:

Muzeum POLIN: Dr. Renata Piątkowska about the Gottlieb's masterpiece (00:05:04)

Max Liebermann:
LearnFromMasters: Max Liebermann: A collection of 238 paintings (00:24:14)

Leo Baeck Institute and Marion Deshmukh: Max Liebermann: Modern Art and Modern Germany (01:09:48)

Camille Pissarro:

Kunstmuseum Basel: The Impressionist Revolution of Camille Pissarro (00:28:26)

LearnFromMasters: Camille Pissarro: A collection of 978 paintings (01:21:48)

NGV Melbourne: CAMILLE PISSARO'S BOULEVARD MONTMARTRE, MORNING, CLOUDY WEATHER (00:02:48)

St. Paul Gallery: Camille Pissarro – The Life of an Artist (00:25:02)