Modern Women and Parisian Consumer Culture in Impressionist Painting

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Cambridge University Press
2007

The Impressionists' Chic Parisienne

Monet's early paintings of the second half of the 1860s, such as *Camille* (Fig. 80), *Women in the Garden* (Fig. 2), and *Déjeuner sur l'herbe* (The Pushkin Museum of Fine Arts, Moscow), demonstrate that representations of the modern woman as a chic Parisienne in a fashionable toilette played a prominent role in the birth of Impressionist painting. Manet and the Impressionists continued to depict the Parisienne in her up-to-date clothes during the 1870s and 1880s. She appears strolling in the country accompanied by her small son in Monet's 1875 *Woman with Parasol* (Fig. 81), standing gazing at the spectator wearing a fashionable blue outfit in Renoir's 1874 *La Parisienne* (Fig. 83), parading her fashionability near a park in Manet's *Spring*, 1882 (Fig. 88), walking forward in an elegant evening gown in Morisot's *Before the Theater*, 1875–76 (Fig. 87), or seated in a stylish afternoon outfit in Cassatt's *The Cup of Tea*, 1879 (Fig. 85) and in Manet's *In the Conservatory*, 1879 (Fig. 92). The chic Parisienne who populated the paintings of Manet and most of the Impressionists represented a French metropolitan femininity defined by Parisian fashion and became indispensable to the representation of modern life.

For the Impressionists (excluding Pissarro), the chic Parisienne replaced the earlier interest of Realist painters in rural working women. She also played a central role in the shift from academic to modern painting led by Manet and the Impressionists, replacing nude or draped mythological figures with modern Parisiennes in contemporary fashions.[59] Before the modern Parisienne became a common figure in avant-garde painting, some critics had detected unintended traces of the contemporary lower-class woman who was a real-life model posing

for a nymph or a Venus in academic paintings. Jules Castagnary, for example, recognized the looks of a Parisian *modiste* in Paul Baudry's nude reclining near a sea-wave in *La Perle et la vague*, exhibited in the Salon of 1863, and suggested that painting her on a sofa would have suited her better than painful pebbles and sharp-pointed shells. Her posture and rolling eyes made her look like a "Venus of the seaside resort" who was "lying in wait for a millionaire."[60] Such traces of the Parisienne, which found their way into Salon paintings of timeless nudes or mythological Venuses, obviously do not represent the chic Parisienne in her fashionable outfit and modern context. In contrast to these kinds of images, Baudelaire and Edmond Duranty, who championed a new painting of modern life, urged that painters depict Parisiennes recognizable by their typical physiognomy and fashionability.

Discussion of modernist painting has long stressed the shift from mythological, biblical, or historical subject matter to the representation of modern life, entailing contemporary men and women. It has, however, not paid much attention to the fact that this shift involved replacing the ancient Greek woman (as she was imagined) by the contemporary French, and specifically Parisian woman. This was exactly what the Realist writer and critic (who was a friend of Degas's), Edmond Duranty, called for in *La nouvelle peinture* (*The New Painting*), a pamphlet published in 1876 in conjunction with the second Impressionist exhibition.[61] *La nouvelle peinture* was the first attempt to define at some length the characteristics of Impressionist painting. Duranty's comment on the representation of women also throws light on the national overtones of this shift.

Duranty's essay includes a sometimes-overlooked section, which declares the real-life contemporary French woman to be an important component of the new painting (*la nouvelle peinture*). Quoting from a letter he received from an artist, Duranty advocates that rather than "returning to Greece" and painting "women who are somber, severe, and strong as horses,"[62] modern painters should paint "the French woman" ("*la femme française*"),[63] who is "the absolute opposite of the feminine ideal that he [the academic artist] insists on putting into his paintings and statues."[64] The modern painter should paint women like his own wife or mistress, "a woman with a turned-up nose, small eyes, who is slim, light, and lively, . . . this woman – who is the ideal of this artist's heart and mind, who has aroused and brought into play his true taste, sensibility, and imagination."[65] Duranty expresses the hope that "someday, perhaps, the living French woman with her turned-up nose will evict that Greek woman in marble with her straight nose and heavy chin."[66] He predicts that it is only when the Greek woman is no longer embedded in the artist's brain "like debris from an ancient frieze," that the real artist will come to life.[67]

Baudelaire in "The Painter of Modern Life" also includes some comments on the importance of portraying a modern physiognomy. He criticizes Ingres's portraits for imposing on "every type of sitter . . . a more or less despotic, form of

perfection, borrowed from the repertory of classical ideas."[68] Baudelaire alludes to national, class and other historically specific factors as affecting physiognomies:

> Within that unity which we call a Nation, the various professions and classes and the passing centuries all introduce variety, not only in manners and gesture, but even in the actual form of the face. Certain types of nose, mouth and brow will be found to dominate the scene for a period. . . .[69]

Baudelaire pays elaborate attention to the importance of depicting contemporary fashions and praises women's use of cosmetics, from rice powder and rouge to the "artificial black with which the eye is outlined."[70] Instead of an eternal, timeless beauty, the painter of modern life must paint up-to-date fashions, because, like modernity itself, they are "transitory and contingent," the "fugitive element, whose metamorphoses are so rapid."[71] In the passages discussing the "artifice and trickery" of cosmetics and advocating that painters represent women wearing the latest fashions, the poet clearly had Parisiennes in mind.[72] He stresses the importance of never portraying clothes "as dead things" but rather as "vitalized and animated by the beautiful women who wore them."[73] The poet recognizes that only by depicting women wearing new fashions and paying attention to their comportment can painters portray the contemporary age: "the gesture and the bearing of the woman of today give to her dress a life and a special character which are not those of the woman of the past."[74]

Baudelaire, who says in the opening pages of "The Painter of Modern Life" that he was looking at fashion plates while writing, admires these plates for representing the historical moment of their period. Fashion plates express "the moral and aesthetic feeling of their time" and thus are important for painters of modern life. He warns painters against becoming too deeply steeped in studying museum masterpieces, because although this helps them to learn to paint, it is "a waste of labour if your aim is to understand the special nature of present-day beauty."[75] Articulating how the painter of modern life could represent modernity, the poet says that fashion plates establish a historically grounded beauty "in contrast to the academic theory of an unique and absolute beauty."[76] For example,

> The draperies of Rubens or Veronese will in no way teach you how to depict *moiré antique, satin à la reine* or any other fabric of modern manufacture, which we see supported and hung over crinoline or starched muslin petticoat. . . . Furthermore the cut of skirt and bodice is by no means similar; the pleats are arranged according to a new system.[77]

Claude Monet, who was in his twenties during the mid-1860s, appears to have taken Baudelaire's message very much to heart.[78] Early in his career, a few

years after the publication of Baudelaire's essay, Monet undertook to portray fashionable Parisiennes clad in the latest fashions in several large paintings, dating from the mid- to late 1860s. The scale of these works reveals the young Monet's level of ambition and suggests that the paintings were intended as major statements for the Salon. *Women in the Garden*, 1866–67 (256×208 cm) (Fig. 2), *Déjeuner sur l'herbe,* 1865 (130×181 cm) (Pushkin Museum, Moscow), and *Camille*, 1866 (231×151 cm) (Fig. 80), depict elaborate fashionable toilettes in great detail, treating the costumes as the primary focus of attention. Discussions of these paintings often observe that Monet used certain fashion-plate conventions. Mark Roskill points out that these works, like fashion plates, maximize the view of the costumes through the arrangement of the figures and a composition that keeps the costumes detached from the background. He notes additional common points, "the attention paid to the pattern, texture and sheer attractiveness of the materials," and "the stiff, artificial character of the poses and the psychological disconnections between the figures" in *Women in the Garden.*[79] Robert Herbert notes that like fashion plates, the women are "on display, and engage only in the perfunctory actions associated with fashion pages";[80] Paul Hayes Tucker points out that Camille's pose was a typical fashion-plate view displaying the toilette seen from the back, while Virginia Spate proposes that Monet was more likely to find large commercial posters of interest than small fashion plates.[81] As I will suggest, *Camille* also embodied the new role of the live model in department stores and elite fashion establishments.

Camille's attitude of distance and detachment embodies the stance of a model modeling an outfit. During this period, the role of the live model demonstrating fashionable clothes was just beginning to evolve. Saleswomen working in elite fashion houses and in department stores also were modeling outfits for the more important women customers. Zola describes the poverty-stricken Denise, who is working as a saleswoman in a department store, being called "to play the well-dressed girl" when "some well-known customers came in."[82] The live model learned to adopt the poses of the Parisienne in fashion plates. Zola describes Denise as posing "with the stiff graces of a fashion-plate . . . ," putting on the cloak the customer was considering "so that the lady may judge."[83] If alienation characterized the live mannequin whose role was to display fashion commodities, the objectification was magnified in the inanimate mannequins used in department store displays. Zola describes these dummy figures on the staircase inside the department store, "strongly fixed, displaying some garment: a costume, cloak, or dressing-gown; and it was like a double row of soldiers for some triumphant march-past. . . ."[84] Describing the department store window display, Zola observes that the mannequin was an objectified image of the woman for sale: "The well-rounded neck and graceful figures of the dummies exaggerated the slimness of the waist, the absent head being replaced by a large price-ticket pinned on the neck."[85] Monet's *Camille* represents a live rather than inanimate model whose pose reminds one of fashion-plate Parisiennes, blurring the boundaries between

the fashion plate and the emerging practice of using models. Monet's Camille assumes the professional pose of the fashion model while also acting as the artist's model. This was probably the first time a modern woman was portrayed in high art in the role of a mannequin, although some of Manet's critics found that the artist's female figures resembled mannequins more than live figures.

Monet, Manet and other Impressionists used live models and bought or rented the fashions that they represented in their art, yet they also took into account the way mass-media images represented fashion and the Parisienne. It was not enough to study the cut of the costume, the fabrics, pleats and folds, or how Parisiennes carried themselves in wearing their toilettes. It was also important to study how fashion plates, illustrations and early posters represented fashionable Parisiennes because these media images represented modernity no less than fashion and the Parisienne did. Thus, Monet's adoption of certain stylistic and iconographic characteristics of fashion plates was not merely formal in significance; it had another important implication. The use of fashion plates and posters entailed interest in a "type" of woman developed in the mass media and associated primarily with fashion. This "type" was the chic Parisienne. Monet himself said that in painting *Camille* his intention was to make "a typical Parisienne of the epoch."[86] He noted that this was the case despite the perfect likeness of the figure to Camille Doncieux, his first wife, who modeled for the painting.[87] His declared goal was to portray the type rather than conform to the tradition of the portrait. This meant that Camille, seen mostly from the back, was not individualized and embodied the conventions of the generalized "type" of Parisienne that populated the mass media.

This aim of portraying the typical Parisienne animates other Monet paintings of the second half of the 1860s in which figures displaying feminine fashions play a central role. By consciously referring to the chic Parisienne type of the print media in his 1860s paintings, Monet implied that the Parisienne of the period could not be represented without referring to her "type" as constructed in the print media. Moreover, the very ambition of Monet and the Impressionists to depict the typical contemporary Parisienne was related at least in part to the repeated media appearances of this "type." Yet Monet, Manet and other Impressionists redefined the mass media "type," turning it into a major figure of the painting of modern life.

Monet's *Camille*, exhibited in the Salon, represented the Parisienne and her toilette with the look of the contemporary mannequin and fashion plate while demonstrating the painter's own virtuoso painting of fashion and texture of fur and sensuous silky fabric (Fig. 80). Monet's painting thus transformed the "type" into the avant-garde painting for which he was seeking recognition as high art in the Salon context. Critics praised the work for its painterly achievement as well as for representing the modern woman and fashion. Zola's review, for example, expressed admiration of Monet's depiction of fashion as representing the modern woman: "Look at the dress. It is supple and solid. It trails softly, it lives, it states

clearly who this woman is. It is not the dress of a doll, one of those muslin rags with which one clothes dreams; it is good silk. . . ."[88] Another critic who asserted that Camille's costume was "the most splendid dress of green silk ever rendered by a paintbrush," concluded that "the woman . . . serves as the pretext for this dress."[89] Monet's focus on Camille's clothes, his deviation from the kind of pose and eye contact that characterize portraits and his rendering of her figure with the pronounced quality of a distanced display of fashion, emphasizing her detachment, all constitute her modernity and are present to varying degrees in Impressionist paintings of chic Parisiennes.

The Impressionists painted Parisiennes as contemporary women with their up-to-date fashions and accessories in the countryside as well as in the city. Writing about Monet's paintings of the 1860s, Zola noted that paintings of the Parisienne in nature use fashion to lend nature an urban contemporaneity and a specifically Parisian flavor:

> . . . he loves our women from their parasols, their gloves and their muslins to their false hair and rice powder, everything that makes them the daughters of our civilization. . . . Like a true Parisian he carries Paris into the country, he cannot paint a landscape without including gentlemen and ladies in elegant clothes. He seems to lose interest in nature if it does not show the imprint of our customs.[90]

During the 1870s and 1880s, Monet distanced himself from the more explicit references to fashion plates and focused more on a new mode of sketchy painting associated with Impressionism. His *Woman with Parasol*, depicting Camille and her son, shows the Parisienne as a fashionably attired young mother taking a stroll on a grassy hill on a windy day (Fig. 81). This mid-1870s painting (as well as a later version, *Woman with a Parasol, turned to the left*, 1886, Musée d'Orsay, Paris) glosses over the details of the white summer costume in favor of the free brushstrokes that refer to paint and demonstrate Monet's shift to the new mode of painting that critics often complained was "unfinished." Nonetheless, the painting renders the dynamic silhouette of a Parisienne walking with a bright green open parasol in her hand, accompanied by her child and casting a momentary glance at the spectator through the transparent veil attached to her hat. Her skirt is animated by the stride and the wind, weaving together Parisian fashions with nature and the Impressionist brushstroke. Unlike earlier paintings by Monet that separate the silhouette of the dress from the background, in *Woman with Parasol* the rhythmic lines of the Parisienne's dress and veil echo the animated clouds and even appear to merge with them at certain points. Monet's paintings from the 1870s onward replace his earlier interest in articulating the details of the Parisienne's fashions by abstracting brushstrokes and integrating the figure into a fluid ensemble of nature and paint.

Monet's increased distancing from mass media images is evident when we compare *Woman with Parasol* with Chéret's commercial poster *A la Place Clichy,*

Costume Zéphir, c. 1880 (Fig. 82). The poster shows a Parisienne sporting an open parasol and a fashionable costume with matching bonnet, accompanied by her small daughter in a pink outfit. Unlike Monet's 1870s and 1880s paintings of the Parisienne with parasol taking a stroll in the country, which represent an ephemeral moment in nature, the Chéret poster places the Parisienne and her costume purely on display. The image details the cut, folds, fabric and pattern of the costume. The crisply defined outline of the silhouette highlights the clothes, which are rendered in depth in contrast to the flat background from which they are starkly separated. Unlike Monet's paintings from the 1870s on, which tend to integrate figures with the natural environment, grass, wind and light, the poster presents the figure and costume like a frozen cut-out pasted on a two-dimensional background. The static fashionable figure and the doll-like appearance are present in a monumental painting by Renoir of a fashionable Parisienne.

Renoir portrays the Parisienne type as a modern icon of a mass-media print culture, as Monet did in the 1860s. His large 1874 painting titled *La Parisienne* (163 × 108 cm) shows a fashionably attired woman simply standing in an undefined locale, looking in the direction of the spectator (Fig. 83). Like department-store posters and fashion plates, the painting focuses first and foremost on the fashionable costume, presenting the Parisienne as indivisible from her toilette. The size of the painting approximates that of large department-store posters (Chéret's *A la Place Clichy* was 175 × 123 cm). Renoir's portrayal of the fashionable Parisienne is close to such posters, which often feature a young woman posed in a fashionable outfit, looking at the spectator. Despite an overall similarity, Renoir's chic Parisienne's gaze is reserved in comparison with the more soliciting gaze of the Parisienne in many posters advertising department stores.

In this painting Renoir adopts a characteristic of fashion plates: the diminutive head, hands and feet contrasting with the enlarged toilette. Like fashion plates and some posters, Renoir renders the intricacies of the bright blue outfit with matching blue gloves and hat, and maintains a clear focus on the costume by painting the toilette as determining the silhouette of the figure. Like fashion plates and posters, Renoir's doll-like Parisienne and her toilette are primarily on show. But unlike fashion plates in which women's modest gazes elude the viewer, maintaining a hermetically enclosed two-dimensional world, Renoir's Parisienne makes eye contact with the spectator.

The constructed nature of the representation of the fashionable Parisienne in Renoir's painting can be better appreciated when it is compared to a photograph of Henriette Henriot by Etienne Carjat (Fig. 84). The photograph represents the plain-looking Henriot, a vaudeville actress who frequently modeled for Renoir, as she did for this painting.[91] Of course, Carjat's full-length photograph is no less constructed than the painting since it follows the particular conventions of a portrait pose, and the dress corresponds to the codes of feminine attire of the time. Nonetheless, comparing the photograph with Renoir's painting shows how the painting transforms the model into an icon of the chic Parisienne.[92] It was

82. Jules Chéret, *A La Place Clichy, Costume Zéphir*, c. 1880. Poster, Imprimerie Jules Chéret, Rue Brunel, Paris. 175 × 123. Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris.

83. Auguste Renoir, *La Parisienne*, 1874. 163 × 108, © National Museums and Galleries of Wales.

84. Etienne Carjat, *Henriette Henriot*, n.d. Photograph. Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris.

not merely that the actress was not nearly as beautiful or feminine as she appears in the painting, as far as we can tell from photographs, but that Renoir endowed her with the signs of feminine fashionability that were associated with the chic Parisienne. Reviewing the painting exhibited in the first Impressionist exhibition that coincided with the year it was painted, Jean Prouvaire noted that the hat in *La Parisienne* was "daringly coquettish."[93] He found the ambiguity of the painting's genre problematic. It did not quite appear like a portrait: "Is this painting a portrait? One fears that it is."[94] His discomfort attests the novelty of depicting such a "type" rather than a portrait in a large-scale painting. Henriot functioned as a paid model for Renoir, and as the title *La Parisienne* declares, in this painting Renoir, like Monet, represented her as a "type."

Unlike Monet and Renoir, who refer to commercial images of fashion when representing the Parisienne "type," Mary Cassatt tends to portray a fashionable Parisienne who is also a particular individual. *The Cup of Tea*, 1879, which Cassatt exhibited in the sixth Impressionist exhibition in 1881, was a portrait of her sister Lydia (Fig. 85). An American living in Paris, like Cassatt herself, Lydia was acculturated as a fashionable Parisienne. Critics praised Cassatt's painting for its Parisian elegance, as well as for the fashionably dressed woman depicted in it. Wearing a pink dress with a white ruffle and a matching pink bonnet, the stylish

85. Mary Cassatt, *The Cup of Tea*, 1879. 92.4 × 65.4. The Metropolitan Museum of Art. Gift of Dr. Ernest G. Stillman, 1922.22.16.17. All rights reserved, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.

86. Photograph of Mary Cassatt, after 1900, Frederick A. Sweet papers, Archives of American Art, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, DC.

bourgeois woman delicately holds a gold-rimmed porcelain cup and saucer in her white-gloved hands while sitting back in a striped stuffed chair in front of a large bright green stand filled with flowers. Referring to this painting, Gustave Geffroy described the woman in pink as "exquisitely Parisian."[95] In another article Geffroy noted that in Cassatt's paintings, pastels and engravings one finds "a very elegant taste of things."[96] J. K. Huysmans commented that Cassatt's painting "added the fine odor of Parisian elegance to this tender and meditative note."[97] He stated that it was a mark of the "special inherent talent" of the American Cassatt to excel at painting "French women for us."[98]

Cassatt fits the definition of a cosmopolitan Parisienne. She adopted Paris as her city and joined a group of avant-garde artists based in Paris. Growing up as an upper-middle-class woman, she also was known for her own fashionability (Fig. 86). Cassatt's longtime friend, the American Louisine Havemeyer,

who with her husband and Cassatt's guidance formed one of the most important Impressionist collections (today in the Metropolitan Museum), described Cassatt's memorable appearance: "Once having seen her, you could never forget her – from her remarkable small foot to the plumed hat with its inevitable tip upon her head and the Brussels lace veil without which she was never seen."[99] As a photograph shows, Cassatt continued to be remarkably fashionable in her mature years (Fig. 86). She ordered some of her clothes from Charles Frederick Worth and acquired *haute-couture* dresses for her models to wear.[100] Cassatt, who painted women as a major theme throughout her career, considered Parisian fashion an important mark of the bourgeois modern woman. This accounts for her representing women in *haute-couture* fashions in the large mural titled *Modern Woman*, commissioned by the Board of Lady Managers for the central hall of the Woman's Building, an ambitious worldwide exhibition of women's cultural achievements, installed in a building designed by a woman architect on the grounds of the World's Columbian Exposition, Chicago 1893. Cassatt objected to the feminine stereotyping implied in the way a New York newspaper summed up her mural as "The Modern Woman as glorified by Worth! That would hardly describe my idea of course. I have tried to express the modern woman in the fashions of our day and have tried to represent those fashions as accurately and as much in detail as possible."[101]

Berthe Morisot was a fashionable upper bourgeois Parisienne who represented stylishly attired Parisian women in her painting but did not refer to fashion plates directly. Jean Prouvaire, reviewing the 1874 Impressionist exhibition, specifically linked Morisot's work with the fashion of Charles Worth and with fashion plates. He took note of the exaggerated prominence of the Parisienne's fashionability in a painting by Berthe Morisot, saying that it was typical of the Impressionists: "she compares the charming artifice of the Parisienne to the charm of nature. It is one of the tendencies of the new school to confound Worth [the fashion designer] with God, but an eccentric Worth, little concerned with fashion plates, producing dresses that are vaguely chimerical."[102] Anne Higonnet points out that unlike Renoir and Monet who only occasionally cited fashion plates, Morisot kept returning to these images. She may not have used a particular fashion plate, but all her works that depict people "belong to the fashion illustration repertoire" and portray a similar range of topics and settings.[103] However, Higonnet suggests that Morisot invests much less in the details of fashion and represents women who "hold back from us with dignity," whereas in fashion plates "women give little because they have nothing left to give – their personalities have been extruded into their clothing, settings, and accessories."[104] There are further differences in Morisot's transformation of the fashion-plate world into paintings of the life of modern Parisiennes and an avant-garde painting of modern life. Her painting *Before the Theater*, 1875–76 (Fig. 87), is an instructive example.

Morisot represents a fashionable Parisienne walking forward on her way to the theater, wearing a stylish formal black evening gown decorated with flowers whose low cut reveals her shoulders. Her hands and arms are sheathed in long white evening gloves, and she holds binoculars in one hand while lifting her long dress with the other. It is the dynamic pose of a woman on her way to her destination. Her right foot in a black evening shoe steps forward, her ankle out of sight, as required by the mores of the time. This stylishly dressed figure is quite unlike the 1871 fashion-plate Parisiennes in evening gowns represented in a theater loge as static, whose whole *raison d'etre* is to display their toilettes even though one of them is looking through binoculars (Fig. 9). Morisot lends her painted Parisienne mobility, emphasizing her dynamic participation in modern life. The evening gown represented in the painting belonged to Morisot, as shown by a photograph of the artist wearing it.[105] As in her painting of the Parisienne, the artist presents herself in the studio-staged photograph "not as *femme au foyer*, but as *La Parisienne* – worldly, knowing, self-possessed, the epitome of chic and sophistication."[106] The fact that Morisot paints a Parisienne in her own evening dress suggests a degree of identification.[107] It could be said that she enunciates her Parisienne in the first person, directly addressing the spectator toward whom she is walking. This is evident when we compare Morisot's Parisienne with Manet's *Spring*, 1881 (Figs. 87 and 88).

Depicted in profile, Manet's Parisienne is wearing a stylish well-coordinated toilette – a flowery-patterned dress with a matching bonnet and parasol. Manet himself selected this outfit at one of Paris's elite designers for the actress Jeanne Demarsy, who modeled for the painting.[108] By embodying Spring through a fashionable Parisienne, the painter was paraphrasing a mass-media image of a Parisienne type dressed in the latest fashions, which was associated with advertising the new season's wear on the covers of department store catalogues (Fig. 78).[109] Manet's *Spring* represents a high art vanguardist icon of the Parisienne, which refers to media images but invests the character with a far more complex persona marked by an interplay with the Parisian environment of looking and self-display.

Depicted passing by as she would be seen by a flâneur, Manet's Parisienne is no passive image on display. Rather, she possesses some of the flâneur's self-assured aloofness while expertly performing a fashionable feminine public persona for his gaze. Instead of the generic vacant figure with a detached air that characterizes mass-media images of women in fashion plates, Manet's painting depicts a type, yet also a particular Parisienne, a friend, the actress Jeanne Demarsy. The epitome of the chic Parisienne, Demarsy is portrayed as expertly playing the multiple roles of spectacle, choreographer and performer. Conspicuously oblivious to spectators, attracting yet deflecting the gaze of flâneurs, the self-possessed Parisienne strolls past with a cool air of control. She is conscious of her display, exhibiting a blasé attitude. The ruffled bonnet and lace edge of the parasol lend a soft, feminine

87. Berthe Morisot, *Before the Theater,* 1875–76. 57×31. Galerie Schröder und Leisewitz Kunsthandel, Bremen, Germany.

88. Edouard Manet, *Spring*, 1881. 73×51. Private Collection. Photograph Courtesy The Witt Library, London.

frame to the sharp profile. This urban *passante* is armed with a parasol in a way that reminded one critic of a soldier armed with a rifle. Reviewing the painting in 1882, when it was exhibited in the Salon, this critic wrote:

> snub nose, her red lips give away her sensuality while her brown eyes shaded by long lashes denote her indifference. As a soldier carries his rifle, so she shoulders her grey parasol. . . . This woman is a Parisienne of today.[110]

Another critic commented: Mlle Jeanne strolls by "proud and coquettish, in profile, her eyes alight, her nose turned up, her lips parted in a winning air."[111] The mixture of tough urban femininity, coquettish but aloof and self-assured, a comportment communicating control along with an exquisitely stylish toilette, push the limits of the rules of etiquette governing women in public social spaces. Manet's chic Parisienne is a picture of feminine agency under the rule of spectacle.

The painting was exhibited in the 1882 Salon, where it was enthusiastically received, in large measure because it represented the perfect Parisienne. Critics praised Manet's *Spring* for depicting a woman who was "a Parisienne of today."[112] As Herbert points out, some critics wrote about the painting "in words used for 'articles de Paris': 'She is not a woman, she is a bouquet, truly a visual perfume.'"[113] Critics also praised the painting and the Parisienne as if they were one and the same. A review of the painting in *La jeune France* is a good example:

> The nice little pink face under the powder, the snub nose, the pretty eyes sheltered under the poke bonnet, the whole image of the smart Parisienne walking in a garden under a transparent parasol – it's simply exquisite.[114]

Manet's Parisienne met all the qualifications Duranty had advocated six years earlier when he called on painters to represent the contemporary French woman with her turned-up nose. Like the Parisiennes in the paintings of his Impressionist colleagues, Manet's Parisienne has shed all traces of Greek marble sculpture and discarded the physiognomy and costume of women from ancient cultures. She is wholly French and unmistakably Parisian, representing a nationally inflected feminine chic.

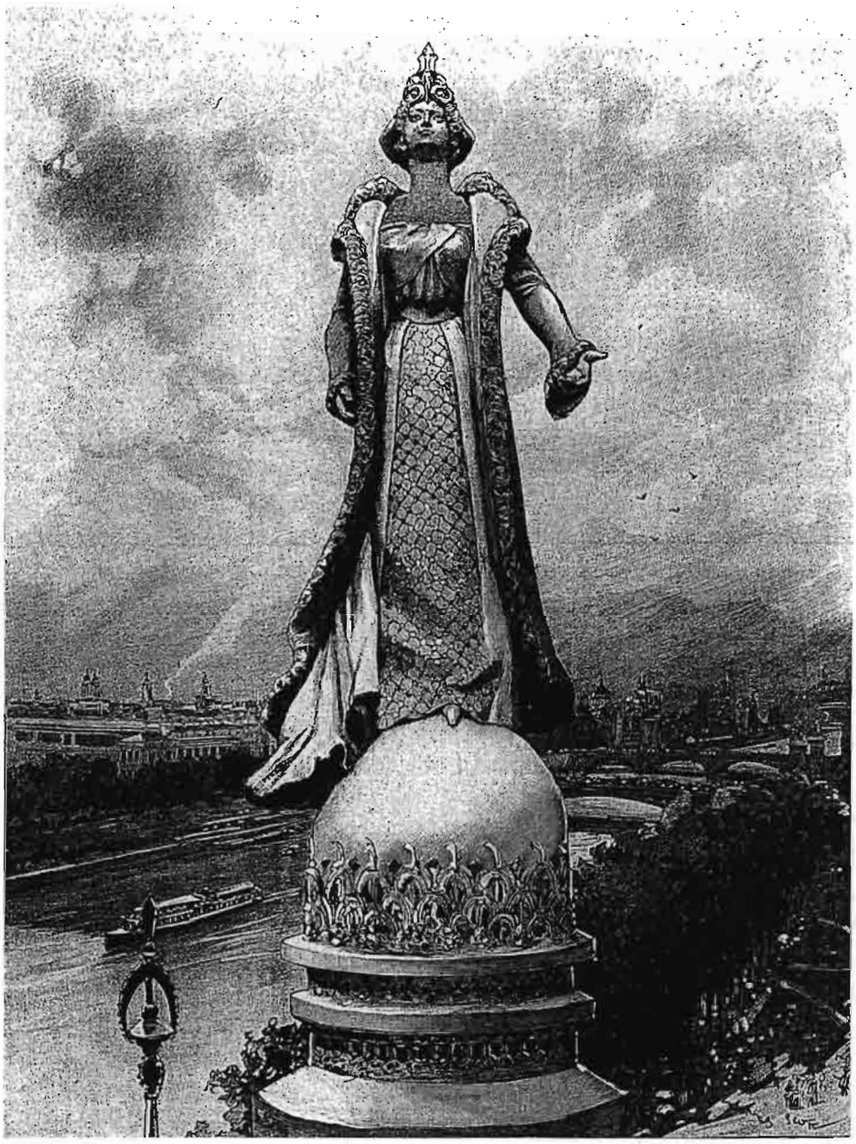
During the later 1880s and the 1890s, the generation that succeeded Impressionism no longer made the Parisienne central to their work. She rarely appears in avant-garde painting of this period, and her presence in some of Seurat's work is an exception.[115] Symbolist painters preferred dreamy feminine figures in timeless robes; Gauguin depicted Breton women in their traditional costumes and later seminaked women of the Polynesian islands in indigenous garb; and Art Nouveau painters stylized feminine figures into decorative objects.[116] Among the

Impressionists working in the 1890s, Renoir opted for nude women in nature, Monet did landscapes without figures, Pissarro continued to paint peasants, Cassatt and Morisot depicted mostly bourgeois women and children in the domestic context, and Degas turned to more abstract figures.[117] Thus, the earlier focus of the Impressionists on painting everyday modern city life, which prominently included chic Parisiennes, shifted. If the Parisienne had nearly disappeared from avant-garde painting by the 1890s, she had gained prominence in the visual culture of consumption in fashion plates, illustrations, posters and photographs. Furthermore, she was the subject of a gigantic monument at the 1900 World Exposition in Paris. The Exposition drew some forty-eight million visitors.[118] Thus, although in terms of medium a sculpture, *La Parisienne* of the 1900 Exposition Universelle played the role of a spectacle for a mass audience of a new scale, far surpassing not only the scope of high art's spectatorship but also that of any contemporary print journals or posters. As I will argue, *La Parisienne* here played a role approximating an official image of the Third Republic, embodying the nation in the figure of the fashionable Parisienne and making explicit the more implicit national identity, represented in the Impressionist painting and visual culture of the preceding decades.

THE *PARISIENNE* MONUMENT OF 1900: A NATIONAL BRAND OF FRENCH FASHION AND FEMININITY

In writing about the sculpture placed over the major entrance to the exhibition, most critics and journalists referred to the monumental work as *La Parisienne* (Fig. 89). The location was the most important site of the exposition, giving the figure the function of greeting millions of visitors from around the world as they entered the exhibition grounds. The sculpture was situated over the principal gate, called Porte Monumentale (and Porte Binet, after the architect who designed it), which opened on the southwest angle of the Place de la Concorde. This polychrome structure was the gateway to the more important events, Sundays and holidays, and was especially spectacular in the evenings. *L'Illustration* reported the impressive nocturnal effect, achieved with some 3,200 incandescent and forty arc lamps.[119] The monument itself puzzled people, for *La Parisienne* did not fit into any earlier tradition of large-scale sculpture. Fully dressed and completely contemporary, it was an anomaly among the classically inspired sculptures of nude women representing mythological figures that filled the grounds of the Exposition. What were the meanings of the five-meter sculpture of *La Parisienne* placed at the height of some thirty-five meters in this international exhibition?

Edmond Neuromm, writing for the *Journal des Voyages*, gives some notion of the reception of the monument. He reported hearing complaints that the gate dishonored the Place de La Concorde because of the *La Parisienne* sculpture. He



89. *La Parisienne*, cover of *L'Illustration*, April 14, 1900. Bibliothèque Forney, Paris. All rights reserved.

suggested that many did not understand the allegory because what was being shown was "a Parisienne and it was a Parisienne of our time," rather than a recognizable allegorical figure like Marianne. To some this was "audacious," but Neuromm himself found *La Parisienne* "pleasing."[120] Maurice Normand, writing

in *L'Illustration*, interpreted the figure as a "grand allegorical sculpture, La Ville de Paris." Paris was not personified here by a Greek or Roman woman in classical draperies, but by a Parisienne, dressed "in the fashion of the day" ("*à la mode du jour*").[121] Another commentator applauded "the unexpected originality, the pretty notion of getting rid of Venus, Mercury and Apollo and of replacing the mythological rubbish with a modern woman, *the* modern woman. . . ."[122] According to one critic, some people complained that because the *Parisienne* was placed so high up, she ceased to please,[123] while another critic opined "The form of her clothing is suited to the occasion for a person residing 35 meters above in the air."[124] This critic concluded, "in her dignified and pleasing attitude, she was a very modern woman."[125] In part, the response to *La Parisienne* was mixed because the choice of the modern "type" was jarring and rightly perceived as evacuating the tradition of Greek inspired allegorical figures. The chic Parisienne type, shaped in the print media and in avant-garde painting, was here pressed into official duty. Why was the Parisienne chosen for this role and whose interests did she serve?

The answers to these questions begin to emerge when we consider the unusual, perhaps unprecedented procedure by which the figure of *La Parisienne* was shaped. The sculpture by Paul Moreau-Vauthier featured a regal woman wearing an elegant evening gown and mantle, which was a one-of-a-kind contemporary outfit designed for the occasion by Jeanne Paquin, a leading Parisian *haute-couture* designer. The thirty-one-year-old couturière was the designer for the House of Paquin, which she co-owned with her husband, Isidore Paquin, responsible for the business side. The Paquins opened their house in 1891, when Jeanne was just twenty-two, on the Rue de la Paix, next door to the well-known house of Worth.[126] Henri Gervex's painting *Cinq heures chez Paquin* features the establishment populated by elegant ladies and represents Jeanne Paquin as an authoritative figure, at once fashionable and businesslike, purposefully walking through the salon on her way to attending some of her elite clientele (Fig. 38).[127]

The reason for choosing the fashionable Parisienne as the figure for the most prominently positioned sculpture in the 1900 Exposition is best understood if we take into account the role that French *haute couture* played there. Jeanne Paquin was elected president of the fashion section of the 1900 exhibition (serving with Gaston Worth and the director of the Bon Marché department store); she organized the displays in the Pavillon de la Mode on the Exposition grounds. This museum of fashion featured some thirty scenes that displayed historical, provincial, and contemporary Parisian fashions worn by life-size wax figures. One scene, *Fitting the Wedding Gown*, represented fashionably dressed wax mannequins in an environment that simulated an elegant Parisian fashion salon, promoting the House of Worth (Fig. 90). In another scene, Jeanne Paquin represented herself as a life-size wax figure seated among other mannequins, clad in a *déshabillé* in front of a dressing table.[128] As the only woman who had reached the highest levels of elite fashion design at that time, she pointed to her own identity as

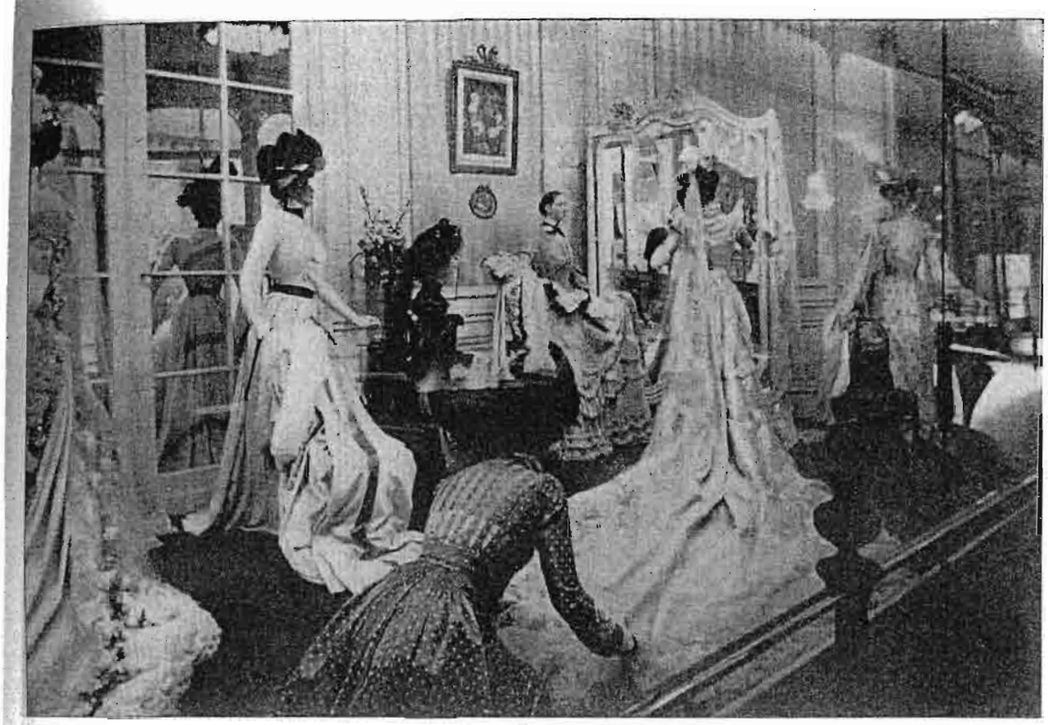
a fashionable Parisienne. The monument *La Parisienne* interacted synergistically with the representation of French fashion on the grounds of the exposition. *La Parisienne,* her body molded by a stone costume synonymous with her evening gown, embodied a promotion of literally monumental proportions for the French fashion industry. Although the high-fashion chic Parisienne excluded the realities of women of the middle and lower classes, she constituted a desired ideal. Writing about the 1900 exhibition in the *Revue des deux mondes,* Eugène-Melchior de Vogüé noted that the displays of elite fashion attracted women from diverse classes and backgrounds, "elegant bourgeois women and women workers, women who like to show off, young women from the country."[129]

The *Parisienne* sculpture was presented as an internationally reigning queen, enforcing the superiority of Parisian fashion. Crowned with the emblem of the Republic, the ship of Paris, her representation of fashion was linked to the French nation.[130] The role of the Parisienne as the epitome of French fashionability served France in the international rivalry that was a prime function of these expositions. Contemporary commentators recognized the competitive function of the world expositions. Charles Hyatt, an English critic visiting the Exposition of 1900, observed:

> The Paris Exhibition is the vastest organization of advertisement which the world has ever seen. It is true that a part of it is devoted to . . . demonstrating what in the arts and inventions is supreme, but this is not the real raison d'être of the great Paris fair. It is, primarily, a colossal contest of advertisement, a context in which not only individuals, but nations and governments, take part. The major rivalry is between nation and nation; the minor between manufacturer and manufacturer or craftsman and craftsman.[131]

La Parisienne bolstered the national image in an intensifying international competition. It was a monument to the superiority of French taste, fashion and femininity. Her position over the main entrance to the venue presented the figure as presiding over the exhibits of the French colonies and of other nations. Moreover, the column-like figure, the crown and the formal pose portrayed her more as a hybrid of superhuman goddess, queen and emblem of the Republic than as an everyday chic Parisienne. Her detached superiority, monumental stature and location high in the sky suited the image of a colonial power that the Third Republic aimed to project.

The figure of *La Parisienne* standing on a globe-like pedestal over a monumental gateway functioned as a symbol of colonial superiority. This major aspect of the meaning attached to the sculpture is closely related to the French discourse regarding the 1900 Exposition. French commentators articulated the important role of the event in educating people about the colonial enterprises of France. For example, in his review for the *Revue des deux mondes,* Eugène-Melchior de Vogüé



90. *House of Worth, Fitting the Wedding Gown,* The Pavillion de la Mode, World Exposition, Paris, 1900. Photograph. Research Library. The Getty Research Institute, Los Angeles.

wrote about "The great effort of colonialist expansion" that "characterizes and ennobles the history of France under the Third Republic. . . ." He associated the colonies specifically with the 1900 Exposition: "Our best hopes for grandeur and fortune are founded on their development. It was necessary that they be a large part of the Jubilee Exposition; it was necessary to abundantly inform our people about these little-known recent acquisitions."[132]

In her elegant fashionability, *La Parisienne* was established as French and superior. She was modern and "civilized" in contrast to "other" cultures, which were presented as archaic or exotic. At its most extreme, the elegant *La Parisienne* represented the opposite of the native Dahomey women, who with men and children were brought to the exhibition grounds to live their daily lives in reconstructed "authentic" villages, forming a spectacle of the "primitive."[133] The Exposition also pointed to some subtler differences between the "real" Parisienne and aspiring "imitators" from the colonies.

Consider a wall painting by M. Thévenot exhibited in the pavilion of the compagnie Française de l'Afrique occidental (Fig. 91). At first glance, it may seem that the painting merely suggests the spread of the stereotype of chic Parisienne as a desired ideal in the colonies. It depicts an African woman sporting the fashion

91. M. Thévenot, wall painting in the Pavilion of the French Company of Western Africa, 1900. Research Library. The Getty Research Institute, Los Angeles.

attributes of a chic Parisienne – a long dress, a decorated hat and a parasol. The fashionably attired woman is seated on a bench near a standing figure of an elegantly dressed black gentleman. The Westernized couple is posed in the luxurious setting of a garden with palm trees and other exotic greenery near their residence in the colonies. The woman is looking at a picture album, possibly images that show her the proper look of the Parisienne. The painting demonstrates the difference between the indigenous "Africaine" dressed à la Parisienne and a "French" chic Parisienne. It depicts the black woman as physically robust and caricatures her African physiognomy, contrasting it with the chic Parisienne's physiognomy,

92. Edouard Manet, *In the Conservatory*, 1879. 115 × 150. Nationalgalerie, Staatliche Preussischer Kulturbesitz/Art Resource, NY, Nationalgalerie, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Berlin, Germany. Photo: Joerg P. Anders.

stereotypical slim figure, and controlled comportment. The text next to a photograph of this painting in a publication about the 1900 Exposition asserts the inferiority of "the indigenous races." It questions whether one should go to the trouble of "elevating them, *en masse* to the European level."[134] The author suggests that "one should not put a barrier" in front of the elite which "can emerge if given the latitude" but does not quite see what "we would gain in producing *les nouvelles couches sociales* resembling the symbolical couple represented in the painting of M. Thévenot." He concludes, "Long centuries are necessary to efface a barbarism as ancient as the world."[135]

Comparing Thévenot's painting with Manet's *In the Conservatory*, 1879 (Fig. 92), is instructive despite the fact that the two have nothing in common in terms of style. Although the Manet was made some twenty-one years earlier, its representation of the chic Parisienne still constituted a contemporary ideal in 1900. Seated on a bench near her standing husband, Jules Guillemet, this chic

Parisienne is depicted as part of a couple in front of exotic plants in a greenhouse. The Guillemets, friends of Manet, owned a fashionable clothing store on 19 Rue du Faubourg Saint-Honoré.[136] Madame Guillemet, American by birth, was one of those cosmopolitan Parisiennes who, having adopted the city, became a perfect exemplar of the "chic Parisienne." She is wearing a tailored gray cotton dress whose silvery pleats are neatly spread out on the bench like the flattened tail of a monochrome peacock. Her toilette is well orchestrated; the pale yellow bonnet decorated with ostrich feathers matches her gloves and parasol. Manet reveals the pale pink flesh only in the delicate ungloved hand and in the face, respectively framed by the white ruffles of the sleeve and the pale yellow ribbon of the bonnet and small white collar of the dress.

Although Madame Guillemet is on display, she is also an agent in her self-display. Her erect comportment and vacant stare communicate distance and nonchalance. J. K. Huysmans notes that she appears cramped, even uncomfortable in her clothes ("*engoncée*"), and lost in her thoughts ("*rêvante*").[137] Manet gives her the air of a detached Parisienne whose fashionable outfit is her social armor. She seems invulnerable in the tight-fitting outfit that encases her body. Herbert suggests that the reserve of this upper-middle-class couple may show "the detachment of the artist-flâneur."[138] If so, it is noteworthy that Manet invested this chic Parisienne with a more extreme form of detachment compared to the softer expression of her husband. Although neither Madame Guillemet nor the African Parisienne was born in Paris, one is presented as a picture-perfect chic Parisienne, the other as an aspiring, but failed, attempt. One is the epitome of French taste and femininity despite her non-French origin; the other illustrates the claim that French culture is superior and only "long centuries" can efface signs of deep-seated barbarity. In these different ways, both paintings affirm the superiority of French fashion, taste, and femininity.

Conclusion

The choice of the *Parisienne* monument for the most prominent location in the exposition suited her role as a symbol of the nation and the trademark of the French fashion industry. The chic Parisienne who had been central to publicizing French fashion in fashion plates, illustrations and posters, became a monument representing French fashion, femininity and national identity. Whereas, as Pierre Nora points out, the French Revolution established "the abstract principle of 'national' sovereignty, which assumed an impersonality of power,"[139] at the 1900 Exposition the French nation was represented by the crowned figure of a fashionable Parisienne embodying the glory of France and its civilization through the superiority of its fashionable women. The monument signified the superiority of the French over other nations and over the colonies. In the context of the international competition of the 1900 exhibition and the importance to the

French economy of exporting French fashion, the chic Parisienne functioned as a national brand.

The historical conditions for the rise of the chic Parisienne were a convergence of mass-production, consumption and the spread of a visual culture promoting consumption. The stereotype of the chic Parisienne played an important role in the shaping of femininity as integral to modernity and the nation. The historically specific relationship between modernity and femininity linked the identity of modern women not only to their role as displayers of French fashion but also to their role as consumers. Thus, the chic Parisienne's national role was both as a symbolic icon and as a consumer of French goods. The insights of historians Debora L. Silverman, Leora Auslander and Lisa Tiersten about the nation-building role assigned to French women under the Third Republic in consuming French goods for the home are relevant also for women's consumption of fashion.[140] The Republican feminist Madame M. Pégard, who prepared a report for the Central Union's National Congress for the Decorative Arts, sponsored by the Ministère des Beaux-Arts at the Ecole des Beaux-Arts in Paris in 1894, asserted women's roles in "the cause of national prosperity" and their collaboration with men on the "'national defense' of France's decorative arts."[141] Pégard argued for women's participation in working "for a common goal, the primacy of our arts . . . the grandeur of our *patrie*" by claiming women's contribution as consumers of French goods: "do not forget that she is the buyer of your arts products."[142] Although women could not vote or participate in politics, "they could, through their taste, participate in the making of the nation."[143] Thus, the myth of French taste was mobilized to promote consumption in France, where "aesthetics was a central component of national identity," and the late-nineteenth-century type of the chic Parisienne was transformed into that of "the consumer-citizen," allowing for new forms of feminine citizenship.[144] Auslander's comment that through style the nation "could be made manifest in the everyday lives of the nation's inhabitants,"[145] is particularly relevant to the chic Parisienne, who not only consumed French goods but also displayed them on her body, constituting herself an emblem of modern French femininity and serving, as Emmeline Raymond had once observed, as a missionary of French fashion. The chic Parisienne's role was not merely a matter of display, nor was it reduced to passive consumption. It demanded the acquisition of specialized and detailed knowledge about materials, patterns, accessories and the latest fashion trends as well as a constantly developing taste and a skill in orchestrating the ensemble.

The chic Parisienne became the typical woman of the Third Republic. In a discussion reported by Antonin Proust (Manet's childhood friend, chronicler and minister of the arts in Gambetta's short-lived government), Manet said that there was no painting of the woman of the Second Empire equal to Jean-Auguste-Dominique Ingres's portrait of Louis-François Bertin (Louvre Museum, Paris). Manet saw *Bertin* as summing up an epoch by representing the triumphant bourgeoisie of the Second Empire.[146] Manet stated that he did not paint the woman of

the Second Empire but the woman of the Third Republic.[147] When *Spring* was exhibited again in 1902, it was described in the catalogue as "The actress Jeanne Demarsy, a well known beauty in the early years of the Third Republic, who is a delicious type of Parisienne."[148] Manet's *Spring* can be seen as constituting an image of the woman of the Third Republic, summing up an epoch. With other Impressionist representations of the chic Parisienne, she not only replaced Greek drapery by fashionable Parisian toilettes, but also the ancient Greek woman by the contemporary French woman. In French culture of the second half of the nineteenth century, the chic Parisienne became the modern (stereo)type of French femininity, who by 1900 had come to function as a national brand. It was around this time, after part of Caillebotte's legacy was accepted by the state and exhibited in the Luxembourg museum (at that time the national museum for living artists),[149] that the art of Manet and the Impressionists was being redefined from intransigence to acceptable innovation, a new school of French painting.

to 120,000." *A Century of Fashion*, Ruth Scott Miller, trans. (Boston: Little Brown, 1928) 44. On the textile industry see William A. Reddy, *The Rise of Market Culture: The Textile Trade and French Society, 1750–1900* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984).

23 Octave Uzanne, *The Modern Parisienne*, Baroness Von Hutten, intro. (London: W. Heinemann, 1912) 27.

24 Zeldin, *France*, vol. II, 1977, 436.

25 Worth, *A Century*, 32.

26 The Bon Marché was selling through mail order by 1871 and may have begun a decade earlier. By the 1890s, the store was shipping hundreds of thousands of catalogues each season, some of which were printed in the language of the country to which they were sent. Miller, *The Bon Marché*, 61–62.

27 "Histoire de la Mode," *Magasin des Demoiselles*, no. 21 (1864–65) 145.

28 "On peut naître d'instinct et de goûts Parisienne sur tous les points du territoire, voire même en différentes villes ou contrées du globe." Octave Uzanne, *La femme à Paris, nos contemporaines; notes successives sur les parisiennes de ce temps dans leurs divers milieux, états et conditions* (Paris: Ancienne Maison Quantin, 1894) 1; and idem, *The French Woman of the Century: Fashions, Manners, Usages* (London: John C. Nimmo, 1886) 261.

29 Uzanne, *La femme à Paris,*, 1.

30 Ibid.

31 "Paris est pour la femme une ville d'adoption." Georges Montorgueil, *La Parisienne* (Paris: Librairie L. Conquet, 1897).

32 "La Parisienne est de partout, mais elle ne devient qu'à Paris la Parisienne." Ibid.

33 "Un génie qui repose sur le don de l'observation, inné ou acquis et développé par le séjour de Paris." Raymond, "La mode et la Parisienne," 928.

34 Frivoline, "Art et Chiffons," *Art et la mode*, October 10, 1885, 528. Cited in Tiersten, *Marianne in the Market*, 134, translation slightly altered.

35 Miller, *The Bon Marché*, 1981, 34–35.

36 On ready-made clothes see Philippe Perrot, *Fashioning the Bourgeoisie: A History of Clothing in the Nineteenth Century*, Richard Bienvenu, trans. (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1994) [Paris, 1981]; Miller, *The Bon Marché*; and Nord, *Paris Shopkeepers*, 1986. Ready-to-wear clothes for men gained a substantial portion of the market several decades before women's fashions, see Farid Chenoune, *A History of Men's Fashion*, Deke Dusinberre, trans., Richard Martin, pref. (Paris: Flammarion, 1993) note 15, p. 321.

37 Emile Zola, *The Belly of Paris*, Ernest Alfred Vizetelly, trans. (Los Angeles: Sun and Moon Press, 1996) 245.

38 Ibid., 243.

39 For example, Jeanne Paquin, who was considered a leading designer of the late nineteenth century and who invented the evening toilette of the *La Parisienne* monument at the 1900 World Exposition, had a range of clients, from European queens, royal mistresses, and leading courtesans to wealthy upper-middle-class women.

40 Eugen Weber, *Peasants into Frenchmen: The Modernization of Rural France, 1870–1914* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1976) 486.

41 Ibid.

42 Miller, *The Bon Marché*, 183.

43 Ibid.

44 Ibid.

45 My emphasis. "C'est une femme sans goût," "elle porte des choses que nous ne voudrions pas porter en France," "ici, il faut être de bon goût." Louise d'Alq, *La Science de la vie: Conseils et Réflexions à l'usage pour tout* (Paris, Francois Ebhart, 1877) 270.

46 "L'une, Parisienne de race, l'autre, Française, ce qui n'est pas la même chose, la troisième étrangère," Louise d'Alq, *Le nouveau Savoir-vivre universel*, Paris (n.d., before 1885) 189.

47 "La mode vulgaire qui court les rues . . . tout était sombre mais du meilleur goût." Ibid., 195.

48 L'étrangère était vêtue un peu selon l'uniforme." Ibid., 195.

49 "des femmes très comme il faut," "le cachet parisien." Ibid.

50 Cited in Chenoune, *A History*, 74.

51 Roqueplan, *Parisine* (Paris, [1865] 1869), 90–91, cited ibid.

52 Octave Uzanne, *Fashion in Paris: The Various Phases of Feminine Taste and Aesthetics from the Revolution to the End of the XIXth Century*, Lady Mary Loyd, trans. (London: W. Heinemann, 1901) 169.

53 Chenoune suggests that the German word may have originated in tailor's lingo, in *A History*.

54 "mais la surface est si plaisante!" d'Alq, *La Science de la vie*, 273.

55 "Le style, le chic parisien, soit dans la beauté d'une femme, soit dans ses ajustements, soit dans ces petits articles de fantaisie que l'on ne fabrique qu'à Paris." Ibid.

56 Ibid.

57 "de choquant, de marquant, attirant les regards." Ibid.

58 Uzanne, *Fashion in Paris*, 169–70.

59 More conservative painters known for their illustrative style, such as Jean Béraud, James Tissot and Alfred Stevens, also represented the Parisienne. On Tissot see Tamar Garb, "James Tissot's 'Parisienne' and the Making of the Modern Woman" in *Bodies of Modernity, Figure and Flesh in Fin-de-Siècle France* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1998) 80–113.

60 Jules Antoine Castagnary, *Salons 1857–79*, vol. I, 113–14 (Paris, 1892), cited in T. J. Clark, *The Painting of Modern Life: Paris in the Art of Manet and His Followers* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1986) 121 and n. 127, 295.

61 Louis Emile Edmond Duranty, *La nouvelle peinture à propos du groupe d'artistes qui expose dans les galeries Durand-Ruel* (Paris: E. Dentu, 1876). Repr. of French, and English trans., "The New Painting: Concerning the Group of Artists Exhibiting at the Durand-Ruel

Galleries," in *The New Painting, Impressionism 1874–1886*; exh. cat, Charles S. Moffett, ed. (San Francisco: The Fine Arts Museum of san Francisco, 1986) 477–84, 37–49.

62 "femmes sombres, sévère, fortes comme des chevaux." Duranty, in *The New Painting*, 1986, 479, English trans. 40. The artist may have been Degas, whom Duranty credits elsewhere in the pamphlet without explicitly mentioning his name (in the published version), as "a draftsman, one of our own kind, one of those who exhibit in these rooms, a man of the rarest talent and intelligence," and "the source from which so many painters have drawn their inspiration." Ibid., 44; see also *Degas Letters*, Marcel Guerin, ed., Marguerite Kay, trans. (Oxford: Bruno Cassirer, 1947) 262. Duranty indicated Degas's name in this paragraph in an annotated copy he sent to Diego Martelli. See Theodore Reff, *Degas, the Artist's Mind* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1987) 163, n. 66, p. 321; and Charles S. Moffett, *The New Painting*, 31 and n. 1, 48.

63 The word "French" is omitted from the English translation (40). French version repr. ibid., 479.

64 "Est absolument le contraire du *féminin* qu'ils s'obstinent à mettre dans leurs tableaux et leurs statues." Ibid.

65 "une femme qui a un nez retroussé, des petits yeux. qui est mince, légère, vive.... cette femme qui est l'idéal de leur coeur et de leur esprit, qui a éveillé et fait jouer la vérité de leur goût, de leur sensibilité et de leur invention." ibid., 479, translation adapted, ibid., 40.

66 "Peut-être, quelque jour, la femme française vivante, au nez retroussé délogera-t-elle la femme grecque en marbre au nez droit, au menton épais...." Ibid., 479, translation adapted, ibid., 40.

67 Ibid., 40.

68 "The Painter of Modern Life," 14.

69 Ibid.

70 Ibid., 13.

71 Ibid.

72 Ibid., 33.

73 Ibid.

74 Ibid., 13.

75 Ibid., 1–2, 13.

76 Ibid., 3.

77 Ibid., 13.

78 Virginia Spate suggests that Monet's 1860s paintings were influenced by Baudelaire, in *Claude Monet, Life and Work* (New York: Rizzoli, 1992) 35.

79 Mark Roskill, "Early Impressionism and the Fashion Print," *Burlington Magazine*, 112 (June 1970) 391–95, at 392. For discussions of fashion plates and Impressionism, see also Robert Herbert, *Impressionism: Art, Leisure and Parisian Society* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1988); Valerie Steele, *Paris Fashion: A Cultural History* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1988); Anne Higonnet, *Berthe Morisot, Images of Women* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1992), Marie Simon, *Fashion in Art*. On Monet's early work see John House, *Monet, Nature into Art* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1986); Spate, *Monet*, 1992; and Paul Hayes Tucker, *Claude Monet: Life and Art* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1995).

80 Herbert, *Impressionism*, 1988, 178.

81 Tucker, *Monet*, 24; Spate, *Monet*, 37, 40.

82 Emile Zola, *The Ladies' Paradise*, Kristin Ross, intro. (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1992) 112.

83 Ibid.

84 Ibid., 225.

85 Ibid., 8.

86 "une figure Parisienne de l'époque." Letter to Gustave Pauli, May 7, 1906, cited in Gary Tinterow and Henri Loyrette, *Origins of Impressionism*; exh. cat. (New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1994) 194, translation adapted.

87 "C'est bien Mme. Monet ma première femme, qui m'a servie de modèle et, bien que je n'aie pas eu l'intention d'en faire absolument un portrait mais seulement une figure parisienne de l'époque, la ressemblance on est complète." Ibid.

88 "Voyez la robe. Elle est souple et solide. Elle traîne mollement, elle vit, elle dit tout haut qui est cette femme. Ce n'est pas là une robe de poupée, un de ces chiffons de mousseline dont on habille les rêves; c'est de la bonne soie...." Emile Zola, "Les réalistes du Salon," fifth article, May 11, 1866, repr. in *Le Bon Combat, de Courbet aux Impressionnistes*, Gaëten Picon, ed. and intro. (Paris: Hermann, 1974) 66.

89 Léon Ballot, *Journal du Havre*, October 9, 1868, "Fine Arts Exhibition," cited in *Monet: A Retrospective*, Charles F. Stuckey, ed. (New York: Hugh Lauter Levin, distributed by Scribner Book Companies, 1985) 40. Fashionable costumes appear in some works by popular Salon painters such as Carlous-Duran, see Tinterow and Loyrette, *Origins*, 343. The discussion of Salon painters' representations of fashionable Parisiennes is outside the scope of this chapter.

90 "Il aime nos femmes, leur ombrelle, leurs gants, leur chiffons, jusqu'a leurs faux cheveux et leur poudre de riz, tout ce qui les rend filles de notre civilisation.... Comme un vrai Parisien, il emmène Paris à la campagne, il ne peut peindre un paysage sans y mettre des messieurs et des dames en toilette. La nature paraît perdre de son intérêt pour lui, dès qu'elle ne porte pas l'empreinte de nos moeurs." Zola, "Les actualistes," *L'Evénement illustré*, 24 mai, 1868, repr. in Emile Zola, *Mon Salon, Manet, Ecrits sur l'art* (Paris: Garnier Flammarion, 1970) 151–56, at 152, trans. in Spate, *Monet*, 39.

91 See Colin B. Bailey (fig. 151) in *Renoir's Portraits* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1997) 136.

92 Bailey states that "Renoir's endless capacity for romance performs an alchemy of sorts" when compared with photographs of Henriette Henriot, which reveal that "the actress was far from actually possessing the elegance or charm attributed to her by Renoir." Ibid.

93 "Coquetterie téméraire." Jean Prouvaire, "L'Exposition du boulevard des Capucines." *Le Rappel*, 20 Avril 20, 1874, repr. in Hélène Adhémar, ed. *L'exposition de 1874 chez Nadar (rétrospective documentaire)*; exh. cat. (Paris: Réunion des musées nationaux, n.d.) unpaginated.

94 Est-ce un portrait, ce tableau? Cela est à craindre." Ibid.

95 Geffroy, *La Justice*, April 19, 1881, in Moffett, ed., *The New Painting*, 357.

96 "Un goût très elegant des choses," Gustave Geffroy, "Mary Cassatt," *La vie artistique* (Paris: Dentu, 1894) 275–81, at 275.

97 "Ajoutent encore à cette note tendre et recuellie une fine odeur d'élégance parisiennes." Huysmans refers to *The Cup of Tea* along with another painting titled *The Garden*, which portrays Lydia sitting in the garden. "L'Exposition des Indépendants," in *L'Art moderne* (Paris: Stock, 1903 [1883]) 258.

98 "Et c'est là une marque inhérente spéciale à son talent, Mlle. Cassatt qui est Americaine, je crois, nous peint des Françaises." Ibid. James Stillman (a retired American banker who lived part of the time in Paris, a collector and friend of Cassatt's whom the artist attempted to stir toward modernist painting) bought *The Cup of Tea*. Stillman was most likely particularly interested in this painting in part because of his passion for Parisian *haute couture*. See the discussion on Stillman in Chapter 3.

99 Louisine W. Havemeyer, *Sixteen to Sixty, Memoirs of a Collector*, Susan Alyson Stein, ed., Gary Tinterow, intro. (New York: Ursus Press, 1993) 274.

100 Nancy Mowll Mathews, ed., *Cassatt and Her Circle: Selected Letters* (New York: Abbeville Press, 1984) 239.

101 Letter from Mary Cassatt to Mrs. Palmer (the President of the Board of Lady Managers who commissioned the mural), Oct. 11 [1892], Mathews, *Cassatt and Her Circle*, 237–38.

102 "Elle confronte l'artifice charmant de la Parisienne au charme de la nature. C'est une des tendances de l'école qui naît, de mêler Worth au bon Dieu mais un Worth excentrique, assez peu soucieux des gravures de modes, et produisant des robes vaguement chimériques." Jean Prouvaire, repr. in Hélène Adhémar, ed., *L'Exposition de 1874*, unpaginated.

103 Anne Higonnet, *Berthe Morisot, Images of Women* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1992) 104.

104 Ibid., 116.

105 Ann Schirmeister, "La Dernière Mode: Berthe Morisot and Costume" in *Perspectives on Morisot* (New York: Hudson Hills Press for Mount Holyoke College Art Museum, 1990) 103–15, figs. 7–9, at 113.

106 Ibid., 113 and 114.

107 Schirmeister suggests that the fact that Morisot posed the model in her own dress may indicate that the painting was "a self-portrait with the dress functioning as surrogate of the artist." Ibid., 114.

108 Antonin Proust, *Edouard Manet: Souvenirs* (Paris: L'Échoppe, 1996 [1897]) 58. The painting was one of four representing the seasons that Proust had commissioned from Manet, of which only two were painted.

109 Stevens and Morisot also represented the seasons through fashionably dressed women. Herbert, *Impressionism*, 184–86.

110 L. de Fourcaud, *Le Gaulois*, May 4, 1884, cited in Eric Darragon, *Manet* (Paris: Hachette, 1989) 390.

111 Maurice Du Seigneur, *L'Artiste*, June 1, cited in George Heard Hamilton, *Manet and His Critics* (New York: Norton, 1969) 249.

112 de Fourcaud, *Le Gaulois*, May 4, 1884, cited in Darragon, 390.

113 Maurice Du Seigneur, *L'Artiste*, June 1, in Herbert, *Impressionism*, 186.

114 Demery, *La jeune France*, June 1, 1882, cited in Darragon, *Manet*, 281.

115 On Seurat's painting in relation to ready-made fashion, see Leila Kinney, "Fashion and Figuration in Modern Life Painting," *Architecture in Fashion*, Deborah Fausch, Paulette Singley, Rodolphe El-Khoury, and Zvi Efrat, eds. (New York: Princeton Architectural Press, 1994) 270–313.

116 On the stylization of women in Art Nouveau, see Debora L. Silverman, *Art Nouveau in Fin-de-Siècle France: Politics, Psychology and Style* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1989).

117 On changes in Degas's late work see Chapter 3.

118 Paul Greenhalgh, *Ephemeral Vistas: The Expositions Universelles, Great Exhibitions and World Fairs, 1851–1939* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1988) 37.

119 Maurice Normand, "Coup d'Oeil sur l'exposition," *L'Illustration*, 1900, repr. in *L'Illustration, Années 1899–1903: Histoire d'un Siècle 1843–1944*, Eric Baschet, ed., Claude Ducourtial-Rey, préf. (Paris: Le livre de Paris, 1985) 66.

120 Edmond Neuromm, "Le Journal des Voyages 1900, à l'exposition universelle," *Journal des Voyages* no. 180 (May 13, 1900) 387–88, at 387.

121 Maurice Normand, "Coup d'Oeil sur l'exposition," 66.

122 F. Jourdain, 1900, cited in Silverman, *Art Nouveau*, 291. See Silverman's extensive discussion of the *La Parisienne* monument as symbolizing the decorative woman in the context of a wider analysis of the 1900 World Exposition as an apotheosis of the Art Nouveau style related to the craft movement, in contrast to a modern style of technological innovation that culminated with the Eiffel Tower at the 1889 World Exposition, ibid., 284–314. For comments on the *La Parisienne* monument see also Rosalind H. Williams, *Dream Worlds: Mass Consumption in Late Nineteenth-Century France* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1982) and Valerie Steele, *Paris Fashion*.

123 Maurice Normand, "Coup d'Oeil sur l'exposition," 66.

124 "La forme du vêtement même était de circonstance pour une personne qui habitait à 35 mètres dans l'airs." Ibid.

125 En somme, dans une attitude avenante et digne, c'etait une femme bien moderne." A. Quantin, *L'Exposition du Siècle* (Paris: Le Monde Moderne, 1900) 2.

126 Valerie Steele notes that fashion histories have tended to neglect Jeanne Paquin, in contrast to Charles Worth's enduring fame, perhaps because she was a woman, and when "Paquin" is mentioned, the designer's first name is sometimes omitted, obscuring Jeanne Paquin's contribution, *Paris Fashion*, 257. On Jeanne Paquin see *Paquin: une retrospective de soixante ans de haute couture;* exh. cat. (Lyons: Musée Historique des Tissus, Decembre 1989–Mars 1990); Dominique Sirop, *Paquin* (Paris: Adam Biro, 1989); Steele, *Paris Fashion*, 257–59; and Nancy J. Troy, *Couture Culture: A Study in Modern Art and Fashion* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2003).

127 See the discussion of this painting in Chapter 3.

128 *Paquin, une Rétrospective de 60 ans*, 9.

129 "La défunte exposition," *Revue des deux mondes* vol. 162 no. 6 (1900) 380–99, at 391.

130 Silverman notes that "her crown was shaped like the prow of the ship, emblem of *Fluctuat nec mergitur* and the city of Paris" in *Art Nouveau*, 291.

131 "Paris Exhibition Notes," *The Poster* vol. 5 no. 26, (September–December 1900) 3–7, at 3.

132 "Le grand effort de l'expansion coloniale caractérise et ennoblit l'histoire extérieure de la France sous la troisième République. L'héroïsme de la race se dépense actuellement dans ces nouveaux empires; nous fondons sur leur développement nos meilleures espérances de grandeur et de fortune. Il fallait leur faire la part très large dans l'Exposition jubilaire; il fallait renseigner abondamment notre peuple sur ses acquisitions récentes et trop peu connues." de Vogüé, "La défunte Exposition," 388.

133 On "Human Showcases" see Greenhalgh, *Ephemeral Vistas*, 82–111.

134 A. Quantin, *L'Exposition*, 187.

135 Ibid.

136 Françoise Cachin, Charles S. Moffett, and Juliet Wilson-Bareau, *Manet 1832–1883;* exh. cat. (Paris/New York: Galeries nationales du Grand Palais, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1983) 435.

137 J. K. Huysmans, in his review of the Salon of 1879 reprinted in *L'Art Moderne*, 1903, 44. In the same review Huysmans criticizes the Salon painter as nothing but a *"couturier"* who, under the pretext of modernity dresses a mannequin in various silks, stating that the Impressionists' talent is superior. Ibid., 43. For an extensive discussion of Manet's *In the Conservatory*, see Jonathan Crary, who includes some comments on fashion within his larger theme of the dispersion of vision and instability of modern subjectivity, in *Suspensions of Perception: Attention, Spectacle and Modern Culture* (Cambridge, MA: The MIT Press, 1999) 81–148.

138 Herbert, *Impressionism*, 1988, 182.

139 Pierre Nora, "Nation" in *A Critical Dictionary of the French Revolution*, François Furet and Mona Ozouf, eds., Arthur Goldhammer, trans. (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1989) 742–53, at 751.

140 Silverman, *Art Nouveau*; Auslander, "The Gendering of Consumer Practices," in *The Sex of Things* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1996) 79–112, and *Taste and Power, Furnishing Modern France* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1996); Tiersten in *Marianne in the Market*, 2001.

141 Silverman, *Art Nouveau*, 195, citing from Mme. Pégard, "Mémoire," *in Congrès des arts décoratifs*, tenu à l'Ecole Nationale des Beaux-Arts du 18 au 30 mai 1894, comptes-rendus sténographiques (Paris: Lahure, 1894) 221–24, 236–37.

142 Ibid., 196, citing Pégard, "Mémoire," 223–24.

143 Auslander, "The Gendering," 95. Auslander argues that under the Third Republic women's consumption of French consumer goods, along with the French language, were "seen as means of integrating an influx of foreigners into the French nation, as well as a means of unifying the diverse regions of the hexagon itself." Ibid., 93.

144 Tiersten, *Marianne in the Market*, 2001, 10 and 235.

145 Auslander, "The Gendering," 82.

146 Proust, *Souvenirs*, 50.

147 Ibid., 51.

148 A. Tabarant, *Manet et ses oeuvres* (Paris: Gallimard, 1947) 442.

149 The Impressionist collection was exhibited from 1897. On the Caillebotte bequest see Jeanne Laurent, *Arts et pouvoirs en France de 1793 à 1981* (St. Etienne: Université de Saint-Etienne, 1982) 84–99, 175–77; Marie Berhaut, "Le Legs Caillebotte: Verités et contre verités," *Bulletin de la Société de l'Histoire de l'Art français* (1983) 209–23; Pierre Vaisse, *La Troisième République et Les Peintres* (Paris: Flammarion, 1995); Varnedoe, *Gustave Caillebotte*, 197–204.