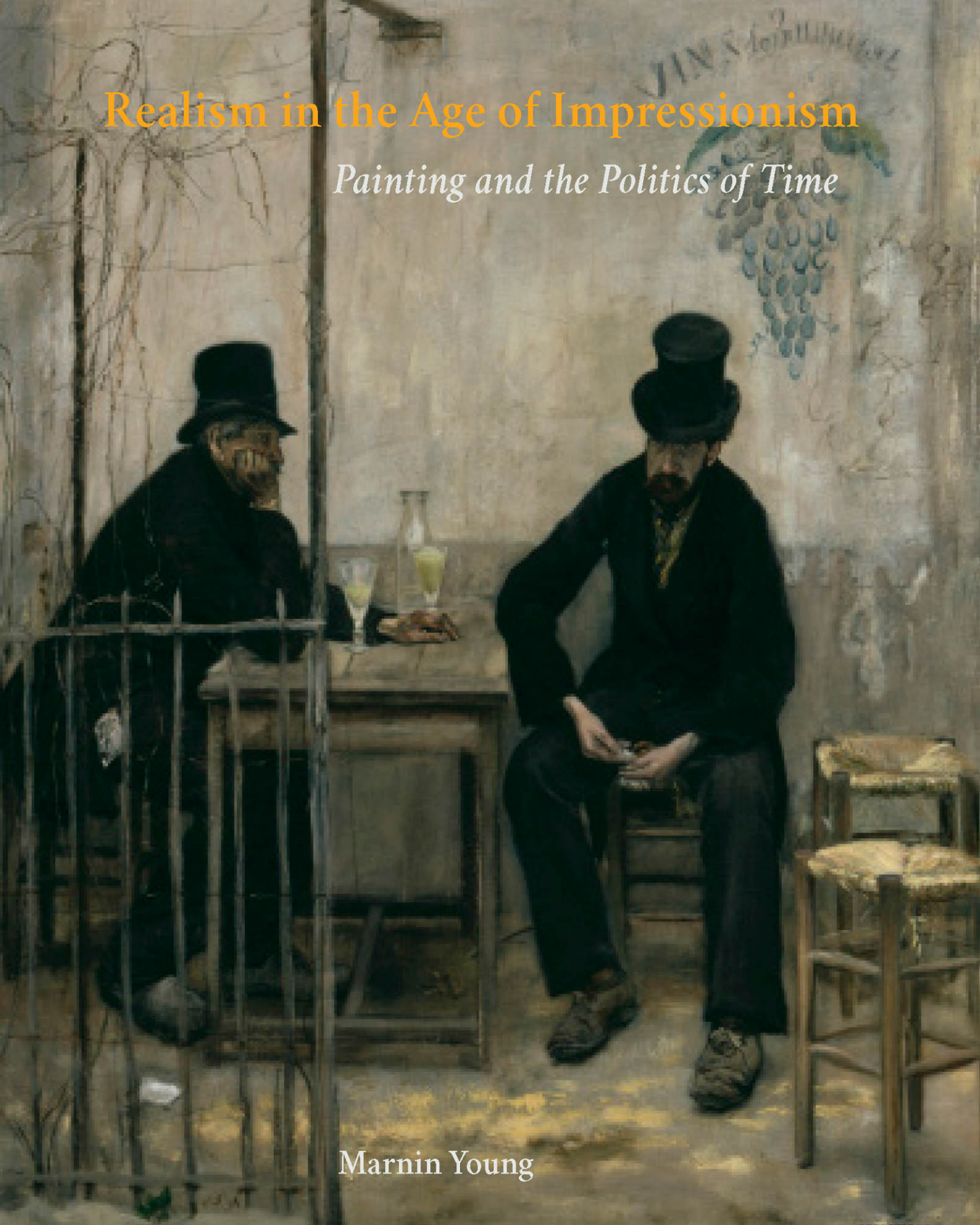

Realism in the Age of Impressionism

Painting and the Politics of Time

Marnin Young

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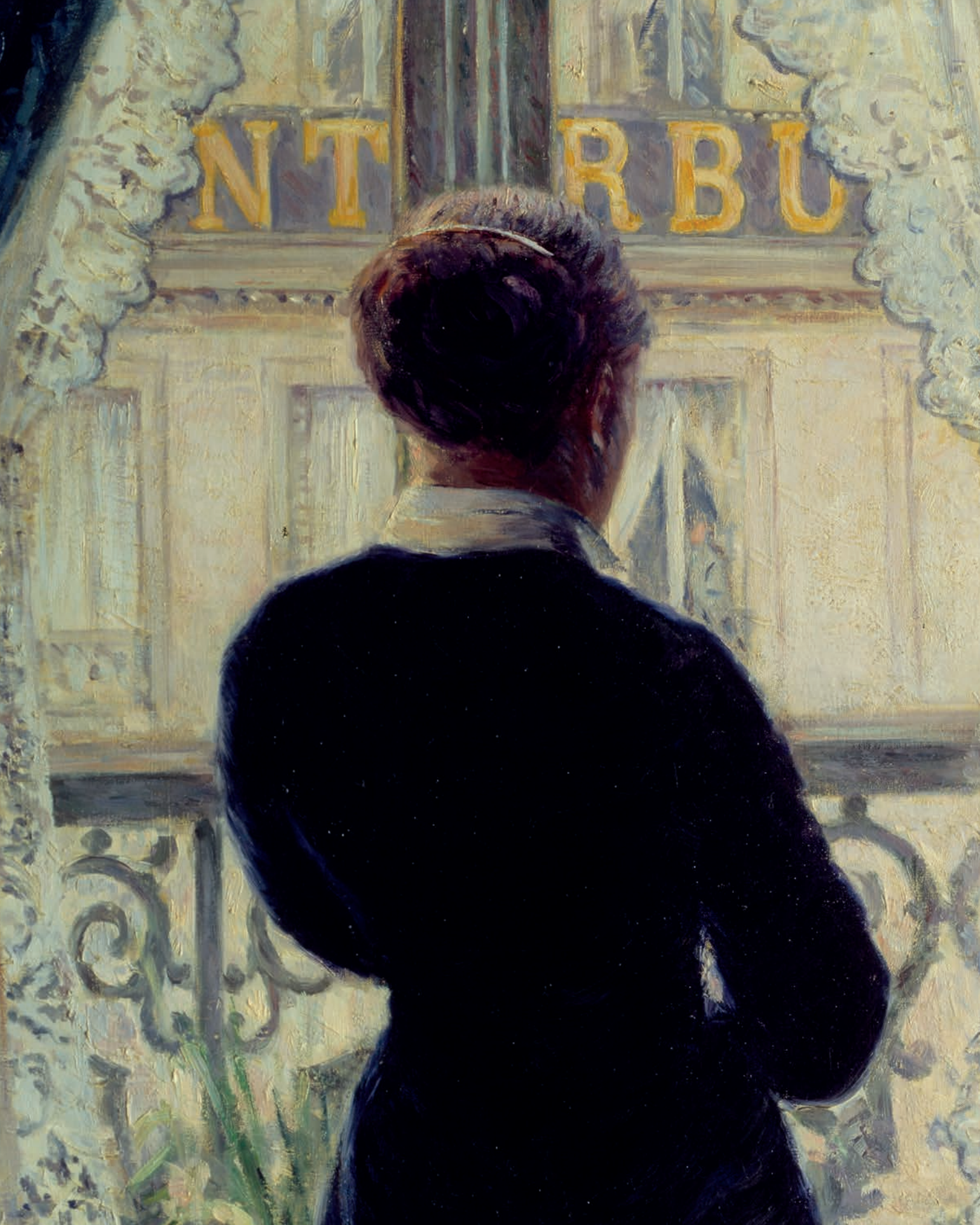
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Painting and the Politics of Time

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Yale University Press New Haven and London

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Jacket illustrations: (*front*) Jean-François Raffaëlli, *The Absinthe Drinkers* (*Les Déclassés*), 1881 (detail of fig. 81); (*back*) Jules Bastien-Lepage, *October* (*Saison d'octobre, récolte des pommes de terre*), 1878 (detail of fig. 30).
Frontispiece: Gustave Caillebotte, *Interior, Woman at the Window* (*Intérieur, femme à la fenêtre*), 1880 (detail of fig. 123).

For Gabrielle

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ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

The origins of this book can be traced to a question posed one day long ago at the University of California, Berkeley. "Why," one of my professors asked, "doesn't anyone write about Realism anymore?" My name quickly appeared to fill the gap, and a thesis gradually followed. From start to finish, Tim Clark unstintingly supported my work, and I doubt anyone will be surprised to hear the depth of his engagement as a supervisor. The page after page of handwritten commentary on my dissertation, for example, would constitute an independent article. The substance of his response to my argument has guided my research and writing ever since, and his own work continues to serve as a model of art historical scholarship.

In the writing of any book, debts accumulate, and this one is no exception. Thanks are owed, most notably, to all those generous enough to offer help along the way. Ann Banfield and Anne Wagner both read my dissertation with seriousness and attention. They pushed me to refine both my logic and my rhetoric. Many other friends and colleagues from Berkeley—Jennifer Bethke, J. P. Daughton, Whitney Davis, André Dombrowski, Strefan Fauble, Amy Freund, Darcy Grimaldo Grigsby, Sabine Kriebel, Katherine Kuenzli, Amy Lyford, Heather MacDonald, Jessica May, Mark Rosen, Michael Schreyach, and Josh Shannon, among others—have given feedback, support, and advice. Elsewhere, Sarah Betzer, Bonnie Blackwell, Jane Block, Babette Bohn, Michel Draguet, Jeffrey Freedman, Anne Frey, André Gunthert, Robert Hoozee, John House, Sura Levine, Seamus O'Malley, Charles Palermo, Mark Thistlethwaite, Martha Ward, Malcolm Warner, Gabriel Weisberg, and Jacob Wisse have all taken an interest in my work and assisted in various ways. At Yeshiva University, I would like to thank Dean Karen Bacon, who provided funds to aid with the acquisition of reproductions. A generous grant from the Millard Meiss Publication Fund made it possible to obtain the remaining images.

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38–67; chapter 4 was published in slightly different form as "Heroic Indolence: Realism and the Politics of Time in Raffaëlli's *Absinthe Drinkers*" in *The Art Bulletin* 90, no. 2 (June 2008): 235–59. The readers for both journals provided insightful commentary that greatly improved my analysis. Likewise the peer review at Yale University Press helped enormously with a later stage of revision.

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I owe several of my colleagues a special debt of gratitude. Kevin Chua and Todd Cronan have been my key interlocutors during the genesis and realization of this book, and both of them have offered bountiful friendship and intellectual camaraderie. Kevin and I published reviews of Fredric Jameson's *Antinomies of Realism* at *nonsite.org* 11 (14 March 2014), and I would like to thank Todd for organizing the "Tank" on this subject and for facilitating Jameson's response. The opportunity helped me refine some thoughts about Realism and time, and elements of my review consequently reappear in the introduction of this book. Very generously, Bridget Alsdorf took time to read the entire manuscript at a late stage and gave extremely productive and insightful remarks when it mattered most. Her subtlety of thought and keen eyes have made me look afresh at each of the paintings I treat in this book.

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Finally, the contributions of my family have proved to be foundational and enduring. My grandmother, Frances Young, read parts of the text and provided essential support. My parents, Kristin Wilson and Frank Young, took me to museums before I could walk, and we continue the art historical conversation today. In the past few years, my own children have provided delight and distraction in equal share. Last, but not least, my wife, Gabrielle Larocque, has given unending help in the realization of this project. This book is for her.

Introduction

> Le Réalisme, c'était Courbet . . .
>
> —Charles Timbal, "Gustave Courbet et le Réalisme," 1878

At the Exposition Universelle of 1878, a single painting by Gustave Courbet hung in the officially sanctioned Galerie des Beaux-Arts in Paris (fig. 1). *The Wave*, as it was then called, had first appeared before the public at the Salon of 1870, but the French state purchased it—for 20,000 francs from the dealer Étienne-François Haro—only two months before the fair opened in May.[1] To the numerous fairgoers who stopped in front of the canvas over the next half year, the painter's representation of a wave cresting before a pebbly beach and a pair of fishing boats on the blustery Norman coast must have seemed all but inexplicable amid the drove of slick, academic productions signed William-Adolphe Bouguereau and Jean-Léon Gérôme.[2] Viewers could only have turned away in puzzlement. What kind of painting was this? And what kind of tribute did it offer to the recently deceased Realist, the "Master of Ornans," the infamous painter of *The Stonebreakers*? Almost nothing in the art galleries seemed to explain or contextualize, let alone commemorate, an artist whose death some months before had made international news.[3] Small wonder, then, that foreign visitors expressed astonishment upon learning that the painter once occupied an elevated place in French art.[4]

The absence of Courbet's earlier works was felt in 1878. For Émile Zola, it was nothing less than scandalous. "They should have given Courbet an entire room at the Exposition Universelle," he wrote in his review of the fair, "as they did for Delacroix and Ingres at the Exposition in 1855."[5] To show only *The Wave*, a work that did no justice at all to the full range of the artist's accomplishment and his place in the history of French art, served as a backhanded compliment at best, as if they wished "to bury him under a fistful of dirt."[6] For Zola, the rationale of the attempted exclusion was clear-cut, and it had almost nothing to do with the art: "we know very well what it goes back to: Courbet participated in the Commune of 1871."[7] Although the man was dead, his art still stood for the radical politics of the Paris Commune, the three-month working-class revolution in which the painter served as an elected official.[8] The reactionary right-wing coalition that had ruled France since the brutal suppression of the Commune was on its way out—the conservative de Broglie

Detail of Figure 1

FIGURE 1
Gustave Courbet, *The Wave (La Vague)*, 1870. Oil on canvas, 46 × 63¼ in. (117 × 160.5 cm). Musée d'Orsay, Paris.

ministry had given way to Dufaure's moderates in December 1877—but the president of the Third Republic, Patrice de MacMahon, was still a monarchist, and a "zone of silence" reigned over the Exposition Universelle.[9] A limited amnesty of former Communards did not emerge on the political horizon until well after the fair had closed, and no painting whose content or history breathed even a whiff of political controversy would have been allowed on the Champ de Mars. A Courbet retrospective would have to wait until 1882.[10]

In the absence of any further knowledge of Realism and its political associations, a sophisticated fairgoer might well have assimilated her viewing of Courbet to other, more topical frames of reference. "Clouds zoom by rapidly in the evening sky: in a few minutes, color and form will change. Three or four brushstrokes must suffice to fix the fugitive image"—this is Paul Mantz seeking to define Impressionism in 1877, but it might just as well describe *The Wave*.[11] Clouds do indeed zoom by in the upper-half of the canvas. The storm passes, driven up the English Channel by cold westerly winds; the sea surges and pounds onto the coast at Étretat. Dark cumulus rain clouds scuttle on the horizon, lightening and breaking up in the stratosphere. The sky clears in the west. Two fishing boats sit precariously on the rocky beach. A frothy undertow whips back toward the cresting waves, battling and suspending their force, if only momentarily. A small reddish sail peeks above the whitecaps: a boat tacking against the wind or pulling hard for Fécamp. Brushstrokes alone do not quite convey the mix of pounding surf and whipping wind in this "fugitive image," but Courbet's palette knife, laden with white oil, unhesitatingly smeared across the middle ground of the canvas, serves to indicate the passing moment. And though it only incidentally concerns the "rapid phenomena of light, so difficult to

grasp in their incessant movement," the painting could be said to meet Charles Ephrussi's contemporaneous demand that to "best render these instantaneous impressions so dear to the new school, one needs procedures less summary than they use, a more dependable hand, a more knowing execution, a more conscientious work."[12]

When *The Wave* had first been shown, however, the one consistent criticism leveled at it was that it precisely did not capture the movement of waves, but rather, as Paul de Saint-Victor put it, had a "petrified" appearance.[13] Part of this critique at the time had to do with the artist's paint handling: the heavy impasto and the palette-knife encrustation of the surface. The work itself had a solidity that stood at odds with the liquidity of its depicted subject. The Belgian critic Camille Lemonnier sought to defend the painting's luminous effects, but even he was forced to admit its sedimentation and crystallization: "Do not think that seascapes resembling incrustations of marble and metal end up crushed under their own opacity," he declared. "Nothing is as exquisite as the delicacy spread throughout and the transparencies which bathe the ground plane. The sky has fluidity and freshness like the clearest crystal, and the tips of the wave in their stalactite-like facets become iridescent with a heavenly light where the face of the Napaeae show themselves at a glimpse."[14] Although less inclined to such poetic flights, critics in 1870 typically agreed that Realism simply could not render such a fugitive and ephemeral subject. Even Edmond Duranty, arguably the greatest defender of the style at the time, had only one real insight about *The Wave* in his Salon review of 1870, but it was cutting. "The best piece at the Salon," he wrote of Courbet's painting, "it is only a piece, a *fragment* [*morceau*]. The thing is restrained and does not lend itself to long contemplation."[15]

When Duranty returned to *The Wave* in 1878, he opted to do so through a review of Lemonnier's newly published book on Courbet, and half the article is simply a quote of the section on the painting then hanging at the Exposition Universelle. "At certain times," Lemonnier conceded, "these splendid seascapes admittedly resemble incrustations of marble and metal, the waves rearing up like horses, and the froth that flattens at their peaks crumbles like shards of marble sculpted by the blows of a mallet. But the sky still has an admirable fluidity and the tips of the wave, no bigger than fingernails, contain a heavenly light in their crystal-clear facets."[16] An obvious revision of his earlier Salon criticism, Lemonnier's second reading of *The Wave* more crisply divides the canvas between its "frozen" and "fluid" elements, that is, between a Realism incapable of capturing continuous motion and a more nimble painting of light, but it also transmutes the "petrified" forms into rearing, flattening, shattering movement.

Responding in turn to Lemonnier's book, Mantz likewise admitted, in an extended treatment of Courbet in the *Gazette des beaux-arts*, that *The Wave* ultimately took on the appearance of "basalt." The significance of the painting nonetheless lay in Courbet's imaginative attempt to "fix on canvas the moving image" and to "render such moving spectacles, so fugitive in their insistently changed shape."[17] In other words, "the fugitive image" of Impressionism can be traced to Courbet's failed representation of an ever-changing and fluid seascape—an instant rendered as if in extended time. Whether or not this artistic ambition originated in Courbet's appreciation of photographs such as those of Gustave

Le Gray—from Walter Benjamin to Dominique de Font-Réaulx this has been presumed to be the case—the logic of the painting's temporality became more and more inextricably tied to photographic image-making.[18] For Mantz in 1878, anyway, the contradiction in the Realist project lay precisely in the incompatibility of the "strict truth of photography" and the "subjective ideal" necessary to realize the "synthesis of a wave."[19] Adherence to the former is Realism's defining characteristic and weakness, but the latter can surely be found to best advantage in the work of the Impressionists who, following the well-known definition of Jules-Antoine Castagnary, "leave reality and enter into full idealism."[20]

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Even as *The Wave* was revealed to the public at the opening of the Exposition Universelle, a very different painting by Courbet could be found, not three miles away. *The Stream (Le Ruisseau du Puits-Noirs; vallée de la Loue)*, 1855, then hung on the walls of a mansion on the avenue de Madrid in Neuilly (fig. 2). In the run-up to the auction of the Laurent-Richard collection—an impressive array of works by Eugène Delacroix, Jean-François Millet, and others—the entire household had been opened to the public. On 24 May, at the Hôtel Drouot, the painting sold for 13,100 francs to none other than Haro, the very dealer who had sold *The Wave* to the French state earlier in the year.[21] The rationale for the substitution of one for the other seems to have been clear enough to Haro, and for any viewer who might have strolled from the Champ de Mars across the 16th arrondissement and the Bois de Boulogne to see the Laurent-Richard painting, two opposing conceptions of the viewing of art, of Courbet, and of Realism might very well have emerged.

The critic Alfred de Lostalot almost certainly saw both paintings, and his reading of *The Stream* proves instructive. Also writing in the *Gazette des beaux-arts*, he argued that to see a real painting (*tableau)* when looking at Courbet's landscape, it was necessary "to take time, to make a choice, to pinpoint attention."[22] In fact, Lostalot worried that in Courbet's case it was the viewer more than the painter who ended up taking the time, but either way he insisted on the necessity of extended time for viewing and for producing landscape painting. That the critic came to this conclusion upon seeing *The Stream* is revelatory. As much as *The Wave* might suggest a passing instant—the wave held in suspension, its imminent crash held for a brief second—*The Stream* suggests time slowed: the almost imperceptible movement of water in the stream, the shadows of the leafy trees obscuring and screening the shifting position of the sun and passing clouds, the blue sky only peeking in at top, the rocks themselves even unfolding the very magnitude of sedimentary time. As Thomas Galifot has argued, this landscape can be understood as a "counterpoint" to *The Wave*, "a veritable laboratory for his research into the art of the Realist, anti-illusionist, and atemporal landscape."[23] At bare minimum it presents a remarkably and identifiably slow painting. In Michael Fried's assessment the painting is, in fact, exceptionally slow. "There may be," he claims, "no *slower* painting in all Western art."[24]

Such "slow" temporality has, according to Fried, formed an integral part of the entire realist tradition. "Pictorial realism in the West," he writes, "has often involved a

FIGURE 2
Gustave Courbet, *The Stream (Le Ruisseau du Puits-Noirs; vallée de la Loue)*, 1855. Oil on canvas, 41 × 54 in. (104 × 137 cm). National Gallery of Art, Washington D.C. Gift of Mr. and Mrs. P.H.B. Frelinghuysen in memory of her father and mother, Mr. and Mrs. H. O. Havemeyer (1943.15.2).

tacit or implicit illusion of the passage of time, of sheer duration."[25] This tendency has followed one of two means of representing time in painting: that which is "keyed to the persistence, essentially unchanged over time, of easel paintings as material objects."[26] From Jean-Baptiste Greuze in the 1750s to Millet in the 1850s, painters had regularly sought to represent men and women so absorbed in their activities or otherwise so distracted or inattentive that they effectively deny the beholder's presence in front of the canvas. Absorption helped produce the powerful fiction that the representation had not been staged—nor made "theatrical" in Fried's terms—and existed in and for itself.[27] In the nineteenth century, the artistic drive to compel conviction—to make paintings that appear uncontrived, natural, real—led to more and more extreme forms of absorption and duration over the course of the century, culminating ultimately with the "reversing or liquidating" of this tradition in the art of Édouard Manet.[28] With this turn, Fried argues, a second pictorial temporality came to dominate: "instantaneousness." What he also has called "presentness" flows from the perception that the surface of a canvas can be "taken in all at once, 'as a whole,' in a single immeasurably brief *coup d'oeil*."[29] The latter mode has tended to dominate in Modernist aesthetics, but the interrelation of the two has long been understood as complex.[30]

Even Gotthold Ephraim Lessing, whose 1766 *Laocoön* canonized the conventional notion of such temporal limitations—"the single moment in time to which art must confine itself"—was concerned to underline that artworks are "created not merely to be given a glance but to be contemplated—contemplated repeatedly and at length."[31] As Peter Geimer usefully summarizes the analysis, "Lessing's *Laocoon* deals with two different

modes of temporality in pictorial art: the frozen time of a painting or sculpture and the continuous time of its beholder, the instantaneousness of a depicted scene and the unlimitedness of its contemplation."[32] Following Aristotelian theories of unity, however, academic theory in the mid-nineteenth century came to insist that "in painting, the setting is immutable, the time indivisible, and the action instantaneous."[33] As avant-garde painters sought to evade the limitations of such narrative confines, pictorial duration and instantaneousness were, in turn, increasingly intensified.

For their part, Realist painters of the 1840s and 1850s endeavored to sustain their representational fictions by harnessing a durational temporality in both form and content. Paradigmatically, the *After Dinner at Ornans* showcases Courbet's "consistent eschewal of instantaneousness in favor of effects of duration, of slow or repetitive or continuous actions, the very perception of which is felt by the viewer to take place over time" (fig. 3).[34] Here the continuous violin playing of Courbet's friend Alphonse Promayet on the right buoys the subdued but persistent absorption of Adolphe Marlet, lighting a pipe with his back to the viewer; Urbain Cuenot on the far side of the table; and the painter's father on the left of the canvas. A dog lies curled beneath Marlet's chair, asleep, unmoving. For many long minutes, the beholder must imagine, the scene has endured exactly like this; nothing indicates it will change anytime soon. The painting calls up "an almost palpable temporal duration."[35]

In the decades that followed, however, the Modernist painting that emerged in the work of Manet, with its "strikingness" and emphatic foregrounding of the flatness of the painted surface, saw a pendulum swing in pictorial temporality. A canvas such as *The Execution of Maximilian*—however much it suggests a contradictory and narrow "temporal extension"—can be said to function within "the framework of a thematics of instantaneousness, keyed to the flame and smoke issuing from the muskets" (fig. 4).[36] In terms that implicitly contrast the painting with Courbet's *Stream*, Fried summarizes the extraordinary temporal self-consciousness of the production: "It's hard to think of another picture in all Western art that so determinedly draws attention to the inevitably aporetic nature of the fiction of instantaneousness even as it appeals to that fiction for its basic structure."[37] That Impressionism could be understood only a few years later to represent "movement's elusive, fugitive, instantaneous quality" or "the impression of the first *coup d'oeil*" flows directly from Manet's innovations.[38] By the late 1870s, when *The Execution of Maximilian* was finally shown in public, the motif, the rendering, and the experience of avant-garde painting all suggested not duration but what was then called, for the first time, "instantaneity."[39] *The Wave* moved to center stage, and *The Stream* moved to the wings.

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The emergence of instantaneity as a norm for the making and viewing of late-nineteenth-century European painting coincided with a larger cultural shift in the conception of temporality. The coordination and synchronization of time in Western Europe has long been understood to reach a turning point in the early 1880s. Most decisively, the 1884 Prime

FIGURE 3
Gustave Courbet, *After Dinner at Ornans (Une après-dînée à Ornans)*, 1848–49. Oil on canvas, 76¾ × 101¼ in. (195 × 257 cm). Musée des Beaux-Arts, Lille.

FIGURE 4
Édouard Manet, *The Execution of Maximilian (L'Exécution de Maximilien)*, 1868–69. Oil on canvas, 8 ft. 3¼ in. × 9 ft. 10⅞ in. (252 × 302 cm). Staedtische Kunsthalle, Mannheim.

Meridian Conference established the division of world-time into twenty-four zones and facilitated the displacement of local time based on the passage of the sun by railroad-time coordinated to the clock. By 1891 this universal clock time took legal form throughout France. Historical accounts of this shift—be they economic, technological, or scientific—have consistently assumed the conclusiveness of this restructuring of temporal self-consciousness over the course of the nineteenth century.[40] Time in 1900 was, everyone seems to agree, more disciplined and measured than could have been imagined a hundred years earlier.

Following Arno Mayer's broad reconsideration of European culture before World War I, Fredric Jameson has on the contrary pointed to the radically "uneven development" of such temporal ordering.[41] In the late nineteenth century, only a small percentage of Europeans felt the rigors of measured time decisively undoing an older, natural view of time. In the provinces of France, for instance, work in both the office and fields continued to operate under what Guy Thuillier has called the "ancien régime du temps."[42] For reasons that remain fully to be explained, Modernism came to embrace the forms of temporality most closely associated with a still-emergent modernity—in the visual arts, instantaneity most obviously—much in advance of society as a whole. The new artistic production of the late nineteenth century thus emerged from a visceral and ongoing cultural tension between older and newer temporalities. As Jameson puts it, "The protagonists of those aesthetic and philosophical revolutions were people who still lived in two distinct worlds simultaneously; born in those agricultural villages we still sometimes characterize as medieval or premodern, they developed their vocations in the new urban agglomerations with their radically distinct and 'modern' spaces and temporalities. The sensitivity to deep time in the moderns then registers this comparatist perception of the two socioeconomic temporalities, which the first modernists had to negotiate in their own lived experience."[43] Within such a revisionist account, the equally evident history of resistance to the new temporalities—be it rural opposition to railroads or industrial strikes in response to work-time discipline—likewise becomes clear.[44]

Something like a temporal bilingualism—experienced time persisting side-by-side with measured time—characterizes the cultural ground from which such artistic forms as Impressionism emerged. In the public exhibitions of the 1870s and 1880s, the "fugitive image" or pictorial "instantaneity," as Claude Monet himself later called it, would have been understood only against the slower time of rural and premodern life.[45] Far from a passive reflection of new temporal modes, Impressionism offered something like a model for future ones. The persistence of the style as the emblem of an art built on the truth of precognitive, saccadic perception only confirms this conjecture. This is one way of restating what was avant-garde about Impressionism; it is also a way of situating the emergence of new aesthetic forms in dialectical relation to the visuality that made them artistically possible and legible to their intended audiences. The concept here of "visuality," as Whitney Davis articulates it, proves useful for an understanding of artistic temporality within a larger visual culture. "When we speak of visuality," Davis explains, "rather than simply vision or visual perception, we address the difference introduced into human seeing by

traditional cultural meaning consolidated and reconfigured in images."[46] The depiction of instantaneity in Impressionism could thus have been seen—it could have entered the perceptual horizon of a historical beholder—only in as much as it was comprehended in distinction from the duration and slowness found not only in earlier paintings, such as those of the Realist generation that preceded, but also within the broader economic and social structures that lagged behind or resisted the larger capitalist reorganization of time.

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This book is about Realist painting in the late 1870s and early 1880s and its place within this broader restructuring and regimentation of time. To present the topic in this way is, of course, to assert two potentially separate problems of historical interpretation. First, the chapters that follow offer an account of the end of a style of painting—and, in turn, an account of what was distinctive about that style. Modernist histories have typically failed to treat the persistence of Realism as dialectically related to Impressionism in the 1870s and 1880s. As an avant-garde endeavor it would seem to tail off in the 1850s or 1860s, returning only later under the false consciousness of Naturalism. The visual and archival evidence confirms, however, that a "later Realism" sat side by side with these styles, offering a mirror reflection of the cultural transformations in the perception of temporality.[47] In no small part, this book offers an attempt to clarify the differences between these stylistic terms. As Richard Thomson has demonstrated, the emergence of Naturalism in the 1880s was understood as continuous with the tradition of Courbet and Manet, but its distinctive concern with the natural sciences and the bourgeois ideology of Third Republic France also marked something of a rupture.[48] Perhaps more usefully for what follows, Realism, Impressionism, and Naturalism can be defined, for heuristic purposes, according to their differing pictorial temporalities.

In an important and largely overlooked essay, Étienne Souriau convincingly divides "time in the visual arts" between the time of the beholder's contemplation and what he calls the "intrinsic time" of the work of art.[49] The time of the action depicted in Courbet's *After Dinner at Ornans* and that in Manet's *Execution of Maximilian* stand apart, regardless of how long any viewer actually looks at either picture. The time represented in one is extended and slow, in the other contracted and fast. For their intended audiences, however, the time of looking was meant to approach the time of the representation. Realist paintings consistently matched depictions of temporally enduring subjects—dozing peasants or repetitive labor—with a rendering designed to sustain looking over time. Impressionism, by contrast, sought to represent the "fugitive image" of street-life or steam with the artistic "instantaneity" of the broken brush mark and striking coloration. Naturalism, in turn, can be understood to combine the representation of instantaneous moments with a rendering even more detailed and finished than its Realist precedents. This is the basis, in large part, of the consistent critical yoking together of Naturalism and instantaneous photography. For a critic like Félix Fénéon, Salon-oriented painters of the 1880s simply failed to see the "absurdity of permanently freezing an anecdotal scene and

more generally all exceptional or transitory spectacles."[50] His critique applied equally to Impressionism, however, and the artistic limitations of instantaneousness were understood by the Neo-Impressionist avant-garde that followed.[51] In addition therefore to the vagaries of iconography and ideology, of audience and context, many of which overlap in these fields of artistic production, the temporal coordinates of pictorial representation help distinguish the key artistic developments of the 1870s and 1880s.

Realism in its final phase faltered and came to a close, this book argues, because artists found it all but impossible to reconcile a manner of painting designed to be viewed carefully, continuously, and slowly with a newer, faster iconography of modern life. For many, the rhythmic patterns of peasant life and the grinding repetition of manual labor were coming to seem things of the past by the 1870s, at least in art, and the hustle and bustle of the rising bourgeoisie was better rendered in the telegraphic brush marks of Impressionism or in the frozen photographic detail of Naturalism. As a consequence, artists concerned to maintain Realism's carefully observed "representation of objects visible and tangible" were increasingly forced to embrace marginal and extreme subjects to make their temporally extended mode of painting compel conviction.[52] This is the problem of later Realist style.

At the same time, each of the chapters in this book treats this same crisis and decline of Realism as taking place within a field of shifting understandings of temporality itself, one that properly belongs to the realm of cultural and real politics. The Realist representation of slow time, in other words, reached its final crisis phase at a historical conjuncture in which the very conceptualization of time also entered a period of radical restructuring. As the "lived time" of premodern and natural cycles oriented to the sun became the "measured time" of the clock and the workday, later Realist paintings came to be understood, both implicitly and allegorically, as not merely recording or reflecting an alternative temporality but as concretely intervening within the newer phenomenology of time, offering models of resistance to its structure and organization within specific social and political circumstances.[53] The force and efficacy of such artistic interventions for the original viewers of such paintings at the Salon, in public exhibitions, and in private homes, is consequently a recurrent question in this book.

Artists of the late 1870s and 1880s who remained in close dialogue with midcentury Realism did so in order to grapple with the puzzling and often frightening acceleration of the advanced urban life they called their own. And if painting offered only one means through which such temporality could be given form and understood, it was specially tasked with the job in these years. "One thing that makes oil painting interesting," T. J. Clark rightly notes, "is that usually it is done slowly. The interest becomes greater the more the surrounding culture puts its stress on speed and immediacy."[54] The most compelling paintings produced in nineteenth-century Europe almost inevitably offer some dialectical to-and-fro between slowness and speed—Manet's work is the obvious case in point—but it is also significant that a distinctive visuality of instantaneousness, produced by the forces of modernity within a culture of vision, entered into pictorial form, became

depictively visible only in the 1870s. Consequently, paintings that can be grouped under the rubric of Realism, with their implicit claims for epistemological truth, demand particularly delicate methods of inquiry to bring together a historical sociology of time perception and its formal configuration within a picture.

The argument that emerges in the following chapters thus recognizes a tension that persists in even the most ambitious art historical accounts of modern European painting, a tension between what can be called, if rather reductively, "a Clarkian social history of art and a Friedian formal history of art."[55] The need to reconcile such seemingly opposed methods continues to weigh on the foundations of the art historical discipline. If from Hegel forward, the "critical historians of art" sought to understand that "the products of art sustain purposes and interests which are both *irreducible* to the conditions of their emergence as well as *inextricable* from them," the history of nineteenth-century art as articulated in the writings of both Clark and Fried likewise recognizes the dialectical relation of the social conditions that frame and condition a work of art's meaning and, at once, the phenomenological persistence and availability of the work to interpretation.[56] As Robert Pippin has argued in his account of the Hegelian underpinnings of the art histories of both Clark and Fried, "These art-historical accounts reflect the fact that any understanding of the historical conditions for the shareable meaningfulness and credibility of easel paintings—now understood as involving a distinct mode of aesthetic intelligibility—must take into account both the 'problem of the beholder,' the question of *what it is like for a beholder* to confront the painting then and there, first-personally, experientially (and so what it is for the painting already to 'presume' anything about such a beholding in its implied address to an audience), and the 'objective' world of convention, social relationships of dependence and attempted independence, distribution of power, and so forth, unavoidably presupposed and always already at work in any such first-personal aesthetic perspective."[57] Such is the working presumption of this book, which takes the histories of Clark and Fried as models.

One thing that emerges from the conjunction of these two kinds of art history is the significance of the public for our broad understanding of nineteenth-century art. In their writings on Manet, for example, Clark and Fried share a deep commitment not only to the documentation and understanding of the critical response to artistic depictions in their historical circumstances—this book closely follows such a commitment—but also to the presumption that an artist (always) works with some intended or imagined audience in mind. As Clark puts it, we seek to understand "what possible collectivity of viewers the artist might have envisaged back then, what horizon of expectation he hoped they shared, what other voices or viewpoints the depiction tried to anticipate or elude."[58] Be it the broad Salon public, sophisticated critics, or "the Happy Few," the "primordial convention that works of art are made to be beheld" can be understood to ground any historical interpretation of painting in the nineteenth century.[59] That the century offers an especially rich archive of the verbalization of such beholding makes the task of historical retrieval in what follows only somewhat easier.

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The art criticism of the 1870s and 1880s offers an especially rich and surprisingly overlooked mine of historical responses to the painting of the period. Of real significance, published reviews of art exhibitions in this period show a consistent, if largely implicit, recognition of pictorial temporality in the work of a younger generation of French and Belgian artists. A selection of such later Realist paintings indeed reveals scenes containing neither academic narrative nor Impressionist instantaneity but pictorial duration, repetition, and slowness. Daydreaming peasants, men fishing on the banks of a river, striking miners, idle drunkards, and bored women in bourgeois interiors filled the carefully observed canvases of Jules Bastien-Lepage (1848–1884), Gustave Caillebotte (1848–1894), Alfred-Philippe Roll (1846–1919), Jean-François Raffaëlli (1850–1924), and James Ensor (1860–1949). Taking such pictures as exemplary, each chapter of this book focuses on one work by one these five painters exhibited in Paris between the death of Courbet in late 1877 and the 1882 retrospective of his work at the École des Beaux-Arts. The study moves year by year from the Salon to the Impressionist exhibitions and back, from paintings of peasant rest and proletarian idleness to bourgeois leisure, consistently pursuing the artistic mediation of the representation, experience, and meaning of time. The central overarching argument, what ties these case studies together, can be easily summarized. In both form and content, style and iconography, these later Realist painters sought to maintain a way of painting and of looking—slowly—that sat at odds with modernity's ever intensifying "speed and immediacy."

When Bastien-Lepage showed *Haymaking* at the Paris Salon of 1878, for example, a critical skirmish over the legacy and meaning of Realism immediately broke out. As chapter 1 makes clear, the debate turned on the painter's troubling representation of an immobile, exhausted haymaker, "absorbed in some vague thought," as Mantz put it. Underlying the critical division, moreover, was the painting's problematic attempt to make an enduring and temporally extended picture—a picture consistent with the midcentury Realism of Courbet and Millet—out of the historically shifting dynamics of rural wage labor in early Third Republic France. In doing so, Bastien-Lepage brought one line of Realist painting to a close and in turn opened a new tradition of artistic Naturalism.

The next chapter focuses on a trio of paintings, now called the *Decorative Triptych*, which Caillebotte produced for the 1879 Impressionist exhibition. Although clearly intended as a manifesto of commitment to the movement and to the style, the paintings were almost entirely ignored. Their lack of traction can be understood as resulting from the failure to harmonize a new Impressionist temporality with the painter's earlier commitment to Realism, to an art concerned with a slower, more enduring pictorial time. These contradictory temporalities came undergirded by the complicated affinities that Caillebotte's art had with both "instantaneous" photography—a kinship critics noted at the time—and the property he owned, the representation of which dominated his early painting. These two aspects of the artist's work—photography and property—or, that is, his

style and iconography, have always been noted, but by intertwining them with an account of their temporal manifestation in painting, this chapter elucidates the arc of Caillebotte's career and the significance of later Realism's eclipse by Impressionism.

At the Salon of 1880, Roll emerged as the obvious heir to Courbet. Through an account of the reception of his *Strike of the Miners*, chapter 3 shows how his work captivated the viewing public with its presentation of a gripping topical subject—the politically charged idling of work—that matched the durational temporality of its Realist style. As such, it offered a viable alternative to Impressionism and its emerging academic counterpart, Naturalism. Because of its perceived artistic success, the work served as a lightning-rod for contemporary debates about the reform of work-time legislation in the wake of major strikes in the north of France. That Paul Lafargue's infamous essay, "The Right to Be Lazy," appeared immediately on the heels of the Salon of 1880 suggests how much Roll's artistic propositions about capitalism's structuring of time harmonized with the emerging campaign for work-time reform.

As if in response to the roiling debates about work and time, Raffaëlli showed *Les Déclassés*, now known as *The Absinthe Drinkers*, at the Impressionist exhibition of 1881. In a detailed account of the correspondence of form and content in his painting, chapter 4 contends that the painting offered a subject matter—the idle time of two drunken social outcasts—that perfectly suited its quasi-sociological rendering of the grim Parisian banlieue. But by virtue of its commitment to the representation of social reality, his picture also brought into play the imagined possibility of the experience of time outside that of the solidifying dialectic of work and leisure. Class, time, alcohol, and the banlieue wove a flammable tapestry on the tenth anniversary of the Commune, and it is hardly surprising that the painting's true significance can only be reconstructed by unthreading its political and artistic strands.

A direct response to French art, Ensor's early paintings of bourgeois interiors—*Russian Music*, shown at the Paris Salon of 1882, is the most prominent—evince the most compelling contemporary meditation on the possible synthesis of Realism and Impressionism, of durational and instantaneous temporalities. Because of his cultural location in Belgium, Ensor was uniquely capable of untangling the deeper logic of later Realism. Ultimately, the last chapter of this book argues, his charged overlapping of contradictory painterly modes and temporalities allowed him to break decisively with the French tradition but also to offer a profound critique of both the Realist nostalgia for duration and the Impressionist illusion of instantaneity.

A brief conclusion to this book treats the official retrospective of Courbet's work at the École des Beaux-Arts as a terminal point in this last phase of nineteenth-century European Realism. The exhibition took place parallel to the Salon in 1882, and it notably included both *The Wave* and *The Stonebreakers*. Where critics had struggled in 1878 to make sense of Courbet's pictorial temporality—in relation not only to "the fugitive image" but also to the politics for which his art then stood—four years later, they came to recognize how much his now-depoliticized painting could be harmonized with an aesthetics of instantaneity.

1 1878 / The Motionless Look of a Painting

Jules Bastien-Lepage, *Haymaking*

> Ainsi vu d'en haut, le paysage tout entier avait l'air immobile comme une peinture.
>
> —Gustave Flaubert, *Madame Bovary*

Jules Bastien-Lepage first showed *Haymaking* (*Les Foins*) at the Paris Salon of 1878 (fig. 5).[1] An immediate popular success, the representation of a fixedly absorbed peasant woman seated in a field of hay quickly came to mark the emergence of a style of art called Naturalism. For a generation of artists working in Third Republic France and within the larger bourgeois culture of the late nineteenth century, the canvas offered a model for the seemingly exact rendering of the visible world—notably that of the peasant—which combined, as Richard Thomson puts it, "scientific accuracy" with "moral truth."[2] In 1883 a critic could claim that "everyone today paints so much like M. Bastien-Lepage that M. Bastien-Lepage appears to paint like everyone else."[3] At the time of its initial appearance, however, the painting seemed less like a template for future production and more like a revival of midcentury Realism.[4] "Since Courbet," Jules-Antoine Castagnary declared in his enthusiastic review, "no one has hit such a true and striking note."[5]

Although keen to place the painter at the forefront of his own Naturalist school, Émile Zola likewise turned back to Realism in order to orient his understanding of Bastien-Lepage's accomplishment. "Of course, we recognize the grandson of Courbet and of Millet," he wrote in 1879, "but the influence of the Impressionists is also plain to see. More surprising, however, is that Bastien-Lepage comes out of Cabanel's studio."[6] With its academic basis, *Les Foins* appeared to overcome the perceived weaknesses of Impressionism, which for Zola frequently failed to transform artistic "impressions" or "sensations" into something equal to the ambition and significance of the great art of the past: "His superiority over the impressionists can be summed up in his ability to realize his impressions."[7] Here the novelist calls to mind Castagnary's own definition of the new style—"They are impressionists in the sense that they render not a landscape but the sensation produced by a landscape"—and he shared the conviction that such painting offered only limited possibilities. "While there are subjects," Castagnary declared, "that lend themselves to the condition of the impression, to the appearance of a sketch, there are others, in much greater number, that demand

Detail of Figure 5

FIGURE 5
Jules Bastien-Lepage, *Haymaking (Les Foins)*, 1877. Oil on canvas, 63 × 73¾ in. (160 × 195 cm). Musée d'Orsay, Paris.

a clear expression, that require a precise execution."[8] Following this very logic, Bastien-Lepage had combined "plein air," "science," and "observation" to produce a "masterpiece."[9] That Zola and Castagnary elected to call this Naturalism rather than Realism results largely from the peculiarities of their own critical vocabulary, but their choice seems nonetheless decisive in the wider understanding of a major shift in French painting after 1878.

Within a few years, as his popularity and influence grew, Bastien-Lepage increasingly came to stand for a certain false usurpation of the values of progressive French art. Joris-Karl Huysmans, still a follower of Zola when he reviewed the Salon of 1880, declared the painter a fraud: "a sly trickster who fakes naturalism in order to please."[10] Joséphin Péladan barely gave him that much credit: "Bastien Lepage has neither ideas, nor style, nor a personal point of view; his vision is ordinary and myopic, his vision is banal, he sticks to reality; there's art here but of the smallest kind."[11] For Camille Pissarro "art" did not enter into it; he showed "skill and nothing more."[12] Nevertheless, Pissarro's own determination to paint the peasant, not least the peasant woman at rest, only intensified in response to the perceived Naturalist co-option of the subject, suggesting a complex, dialectical relation between the two that has yet fully to be explained (fig. 6).[13] Following his death in 1884, Bastien-Lepage's standing among progressive artists continued to sink;

his popular success, however, was sealed when the French state acquired *Les Foins* for 25,000 francs at the posthumous auction of his work.

Even in 1878 critics were sharply split on the merits of Bastien-Lepage's painting. The controversy has been broadly construed as a contest over the legacy and meaning of Realism—understood as "the representation of objects visible and tangible" as opposed to the latent "idealism" of Impressionism—an issue that in many ways came to determine the critical reaction to the artist's work as a whole.[14] Yet, this argument circled around a very specific aspect of *Les Foins*: the representation of the central, seated woman. Was she a humble, earthy, hard-working peasant, the critics asked, or was she a repugnant, slack-jawed beast? What was the relation, that is, between her "brutish loutishness," as William James later put it, and her "infinite unawakenedness"?[15] Realism and the representation of the peasant thus related one to the other, but critics had difficulty establishing their connection. What did it mean to paint the peasant under the sign of Realism, to paint the peasant after the deaths of Jean-François Millet and Gustave Courbet? What was the broader meaning, the "truth," of the peasant at this same moment? These were questions, aesthetically and ideologically dense questions, whose answers came to determine much European artistic production in the years that followed.

The critical division surrounding *Les Foins* ultimately turned, this chapter argues, on the effectiveness of Bastien-Lepage's mobilization of a key pictorial device inherited

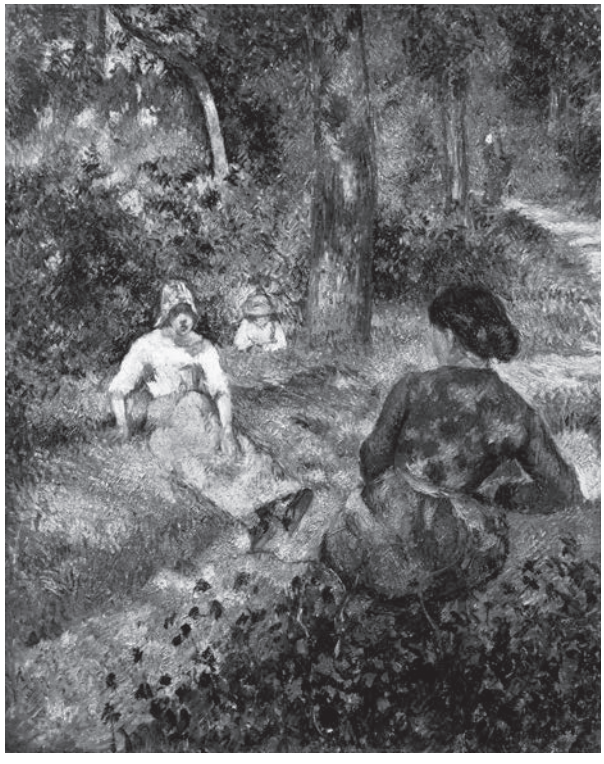


FIGURE 6
Camille Pissarro, *Peasants Resting (Étude de figure en plein air, effet de soleil)*, 1881. Oil on canvas, 32 × 25¾ in. (81 × 65 cm). Toledo Museum of Art. Purchased with funds from the Libbey Endowment, Gift of Edward Drummond Libbey (1935.6).

from midcentury Realism: the depiction of figures in a state of absorption. The account that follows will necessarily situate the work within a broader understanding of the artist's antitheatricality, but it also responds directly to the evaluation of the work in its own time.[16] The peasant woman in the middle of the canvas was indeed understood to be so entranced in her own sensations—"absorbed by some vague thought," as Paul Mantz put it—that she was, as it were, oblivious to the beholder's presence in front of the canvas.[17] As one later account noted, "She is totally unconscious of her surroundings."[18] As much if not more than any detail of rendering or genealogy of production, this was the source of the picture's much-discussed Realism. Those hostile to the painting, however, could only see the motif as staged; the female figure appears merely to be acting. Paul de Saint-Victor thought she showed "pretention" in the pose and "affectation" on the face, terms closely related to this drama critic's negative conception of pictorial "theater."[19] To borrow a closely related charge, it was as if the painting showed a "Parisian worker playing at rustic naturalism."[20]

An equally significant aspect of Bastien-Lepage's attempted revival of the Realist tradition was the implied temporality of *Les Foins*. Its admirers viewed the picture in 1878 as a scene of slow, enduring, extended time. It offered an obvious depiction of rest or inaction, but more importantly the female figure's absorption is, for the beholder, effectively endless. This pictorial time in turn corresponded closely to the perceived nature of the peasant experience of the time of work, especially as distinguished from other, increasingly dominant, work-times in modernity. For the painting's intended audience, then, the truth of the peasant turned on her motionless look. As the artist's greatest defender, Louis de Fourcaud repeatedly put it, she was "immobilized by some blissful stupor."[21] Absorption and the ideology of time in the representation of the peasant structure the painting's twin ambitions and its mixed reception. What follows is an attempt to bring these strands together in a way that makes sense of the meaning of *Les Foins* and its foundational status in the transformation of Realism into Naturalism.

FROM DAMVILLERS TO PARIS

Although Bastien-Lepage claimed a rural origin akin to that of Courbet or Millet—he was born in November 1848 in the small town of Damvillers, Meuse, where his father owned and worked substantial land holdings—his full-blown interest in the naturalistic depiction of peasant life sprang into life rather late. Trained in the studio of Alexandre Cabanel before serving in the Franco-Prussian War of 1870, the painter gained some modest recognition for a portrait of his grandfather at the Salon of 1874. The next year, his *Angels Appearing to the Shepherds* placed a promising second in the competition for the Prix de Rome and later appeared with Courbet's *The Wave* at the Exposition Universelle in 1878. Still hoping to establish himself in the classical tradition, Bastien-Lepage offered a version of *Priam at the Feet of Achilles* for the *concours* in 1876. Even less compelling than the previous year's submission, the painting failed to establish him in the academy. He fled his

FIGURE 7
Jules Bastien-Lepage, *Woman Seated in the Grass near a Sleeping Man (Femme assise dans l'herbe près d'un homme endormi)*, 1875. Pen and brown ink over pencil on paper, 4¾ × 6 in. (12.2 × 15.2 cm). Musée d'Orsay, Paris.

FIGURE 8
Jules Bastien-Lepage, *Sketch for Haymaking (Étude pour Les Foins)*, 1876. Oil on canvas, 13 × 16 in. (33 × 41 cm). Museum Mesdag, The Hague.

Parisian studio in the Impasse du Maine, the biographical accounts tell us, and returned to his home in northeastern France, replacing the classicizing norms in which he had been educated with the study of nature.[22]

Despite this crisp narrative of academic rejection, the origins of *Les Foins* can, in fact, be located in a large series of sketches the artist produced beginning in about 1875. Dominique Lobstein has divided these various preparatory works into two categories.[23] The earliest version of the composition can be found in a small sketch on paper, signed and dated 1875, in the Musée d'Orsay, now called *Woman Seated in the Grass near a Sleeping Man* (fig. 7). Here a female figure sits in the foreground, chin resting on hand, looking to her left, turned away from the picture plane; a resting man turns his back to the viewer. In the right foreground sits a double-sided hand-rake, a tool that marks the specific form of agricultural labor called haymaking. A small oil painting of 1876, now in the Museum Mesdag, exemplifies the second set of preparatory works (fig. 8). The whole composition has been reconfigured in this group. The man has been turned around so that his head is now on the left side of the picture; he lies on his back rather than his side, and his right knee is up in the air. A hat clearly covers his face. Although still seated at an angle from the picture plane, the woman now looks not to her side, but straight in front of her, hands folded in her lap.

As the sketches developed, Bastien-Lepage prioritized the close observation of the figures in natural light and their ultimate placement within an observed landscape. The model for the female figure in *Les Foins* has been identified as Marie-Adèle Robert, a cousin of the artist, who was fifteen in 1876 when she sat for him in the family garden in Damvillers.[24] The artist's grandfather modeled the man. A landscape in the Musée Marmottan likewise shows how Bastien-Lepage rendered the background fields, sometime that same summer, "en plein air" (fig. 9).[25] The dimensions of this small oil sketch exactly match the Mesdag painting indicating their parallel creation. The artist's procedure must

FIGURE 9
Jules Bastien-Lepage, *Summer Landscape (Paysage pour Les Foins)*, c. 1876. Oil on canvas, 13 × 16 in. (33 × 41 cm). Musée Marmottan Monet, Paris.

have consisted then of inserting the posed figures within the directly observed sun-lit fields, of synthesizing and expanding these two pictures. Nothing suggests, however, that the painter ever posed his cousin in a field. For all the emphasis his defenders placed on his adaptation of the new open-air painting, he was very much an academically trained artist, working systematically toward a polished result. For many critics in the years that followed this was more or less obvious.[26]

By the summer of 1877, the final composition of *Les Foins* had taken form. Consistent with the second series of sketches, the peasant woman in the large canvas has been oriented toward the picture plane and looks straight ahead, turned only slightly away from the beholder. Her arms rest limply on her legs, as the man behind her lies on his back, a hat covering his bearded face. The landscape in the background has been filled in with haystacks, trees, and distant hills, and the horizon line on which these details fall has been situated remarkably high in the picture. A similarly high horizon can be found in Gustave Caillebotte's *Floor-Scrapers,* a work Bastien-Lepage almost certainly saw at the second Impressionist exhibit of 1876 (see fig. 35). At the same time, the picture's horizontal plane of projection—what David Summers would call the "optical plane"—appears not to be consistently perpendicular to the picture plane.[27] A close look at the depiction of space shows a slight but evident slope down toward the right foreground. The man's body and legs most obviously bend along this decline, but the metal pot at his feet continues the slant

in that direction. The ground-plane at the feet of the peasant woman is thus lower than that behind her head and perhaps lower still than the horizon, dramatically emphasizing the viewpoint hovering above the scene. At the same time, the painstaking rendering of foreground details—of the nails and dirt on the shoes, of the petals and stems of flowers—positions an alternate position just at the level of the ground. Indeed, the picture can be said to invite two distinctive modes of viewing: at a distance, looking down at the fields; and close up, looking directly at the peasant woman's face and body. As a caricature in *Le Journal amusant* suggested, it can seem as if the peasant woman is, in fact, balancing the man on her shoulders (fig. 10).

The unusual square format of the large painting serves to dramatize these oscillating pictorial effects. As Anthea Callen has argued, partly in relation to *Les Foins*, the "symmetry of the square entails a visual insistence on the framing edges, drawing the spectator's attention to the flat surface of the painting," whereas a rectangular canvas would have more readily "dissolved into the imaged scene in the pictorial world *behind* the picture plane."[28] The painter's decision to expand the initial horizontal format—a seam runs along the upper part of the canvas—in any case places the work outside certain norms of naturalistic peasant painting. The square format seems moreover to have pleased him, as he used it again repeatedly.

The head of the young peasant woman in *Les Foins*, so important to later critical discussions, has been situated very close to the middle of the canvas, thus accentuating its significance. Bastien-Lepage rendered the surface features of this pivot of the composition with layered paint and finely graded tones, but he also undertook to present the psychological condition of the figure as if frozen in self-absorption: her eyes glazed over, her mouth ajar. The rather apparent tension between her fixed and finished appearance and the plein air rendering of the surrounding landscape seems to have been recognized early on. An 1878 reproduction of *Le Foins*, for example, simply eliminated the man and the background altogether (fig. 11). A few years later, Octave Mirbeau noted the persistent extractability of figures and the collage-like effects in the artist's work: "it is rare that his characters truly belong in the landscape where he puts them. It seems that they have been cut out and then pasted onto the canvas."[29] This is something repeated in later analyses of *Les Foins*, which note the peculiar contradiction between the blue sky and the seeming shade in which the figures sit. As an otherwise favourable account puts it, "The conclusion one arrives at is that he must have posed his models in a courtyard where the sun did not reach them, though they are supposed to be in an open field."[30] Indeed, art historians have consistently noted how the painting divides itself between the academically modeled figure of the central woman and the loose brushwork of the man and the landscape.[31] This tension is further played up by the rendering of slim pieces of hay throughout the foreground—most notably in the woman's hair—as single, thin brushstrokes that function as marks acknowledging the technical innovations of recent anti-academic painting. What has only implicitly been understood in this pervasive doubleness is the temporal split between the "labor-intensive and slow" academic procedures and the "spontaneity" of the

FIGURE 10
Stop, *Le Salon de 1878: Bastien-Lepage*, 1878. Illustration from *Le Journal amusant* 1136 (8 June 1878): 5.

FIGURE 11
Charles Kreutzberger, after Jules Bastien-Lepage, *Les Foins*, 1878. Illustration after a drawing from *L'Art: Revue hebdomadaire illustrée* 14 (1878): 75.

impressionist techniques that frame and surround them. Where the painting seems in certain parts to embrace the fleeting or passing moment of Impressionism—the "fugitive image"—the peasant figure at its center suggests an unchanging extension of time.[32]

The emphasis on temporality in *Les Foins* might have been built into the very selection of haymaking as a subject for a major painting, but it likely solidified in response to a poem by the artist's friend André Theuriet. First published in *La Vie littéraire* on 28 June 1877, "Les Foins" offered a prominent dedication to Bastien-Lepage before describing two haymakers in an open field—"Deux robustes faneurs, là-bas, fille et garçon, / Retournent au soleil l'odorante jonchée." (Two hardy tedders, maid and youth nearby, / Turn the sweet strewing sunward, side by side.) It moves soon enough to an allegory of harvesting and the passing of time:

> *Et les herbes tombant au rythme sourd des faux*
> *M'apportent le parfum des lointaines années,*
> *Dont le Temps, ce faucheur marchant à pas égaux,*
> *Eparpille après lui les floraisons fanées.*
>
> (The grasses to the flail's dull rhythm shed
> Bring me the perfume of the distant hours,
> When Time, that reaper with his measured tread,
> Scatters behind him all the faded flowers.)[33]

In a letter written to Theuriet soon after the poem's publication, Bastien-Lepage acknowledged its impact: "Your verses are just the picture I should like to paint. They smell of the

hay and the heat of the meadow. . . . If my hay smells as well as yours I shall be content." He immediately went on to describe the progress of the painting—one month earlier he had reported the "somewhat Japanese appearance" of the landscape, possibly referring to the high horizon line—and he emphasized the significance of the woman's bearing: "My young peasant is sitting with her arms apart, her face hot and red; her fixed eyes seeing nothing; her attitude altogether broken and weary. I think she will give the idea of a true peasant woman." In September, he reported that the local peasants found the picture "alive," as if to confirm his faithful transcription of this "true peasant."[34]

Nothing in these letters would have surprised the poet. In late 1876, Theuriet had published an account of a walking tour of the Argonne forest he shared with Bastien-Lepage. At one point, the painter showed a sketch of a peasant girl of fourteen sitting "motionless" in plein air. Theuriet immediately seized on the unusual veracity of the picture: "Here is the true peasant woman; everything from her look to her bearing to the creased folds of her low-necked shirt and dress, speaks of resignation to work and of bread won day by day, by the sweat of the brow."[35] The painter agreed and pointed out that most representations of peasants in their time are concerned "with surprising the bourgeoisie and not with being true."[36] Although evidence suggests the image in question only loosely relates to the early sketches for *Les Foins*, the basic contention of the interchange parallels the foundational principle of the Salon picture: the commitment to truthful representation based on the direct study of nature and rural life. Two elements of this exchange stand out in this regard, both of which circle around the meaning of the peasant woman's appearance. First, for Bastien-Lepage and for Theuriet, it seems important that the "truth" of the peasant woman is connected to her being "motionless" or "sitting" and not, as might be expected, working. In a related way, they both value the signs of her exhaustion from labor. In other words, in Theuriet's poem and his response to the sketch, as well as in Bastien-Lepage's articulation of his project, the placing of labor in the past tense, of Time's having worn down the figure emerges as the ruling trope in the production of *Les Foins*. This was something critics sought to make sense of when the painting finally entered the public realm.

THE SALON OF 1878

Les Foins proved a sensation at the Salon of 1878. The public flocked around it in the Palais de l'Industrie, and the government quickly sought to purchase it, although the painter rebuffed the offer of 4,000 francs.[37] For the thousands approaching the painting, the Salon *livret* offered the following verses, once again written by Theuriet, as an explication of the scene.

Midi! . . . Les près fauchés sont baignés de lumière.
Sur un tas d'herbe fraîche ayant fait sa litière,
Le faucheur étendu dort en serrant les poings.
Assise auprès de lui, la faneuse hâlée

Rêve, les yeux ouverts, alanguie et grisée
Par l'amoureuse odeur qui s'exhale des foins.

(Noon! . . . The new mown fields lie bathed in light.
With clenched fists a reaper lies sleeping
On a pile of grass that serves as his bed.
The tanned haymaker sitting beside him
Dreams with open eyes, languid and intoxicated
By the sensuous odor that the hay exhales).[38]

This poem quickly emerged as a key to the painting, and it played a role in structuring the work's public reception. Indeed, a critical cliché soon emerged that the painting had been "inspired" by these verses.[39] Bastien-Lepage's portrait of the writer hung nearby, so this assumption was hardly surprising, but in fact this second version of "Les Foins" did not appear until 1878, well after the painting had been completed. While Theuriet's first poem almost certainly gave the painting its name, the second was inspired by the painting, not the other way around. In an important sense, the six lines constitute not the source for the painting, but its first published description; that Bastien-Lepage presents them as harmonious with his work nevertheless guided his audience to certain key aspects of its interpretation.

Virtually everyone thought the artist had recorded in "full light" a "true, sincere" "observation" of "reality."[40] A few thought *Les Foins* "too real" or merely "Realist in intention."[41] Even Philippe Burty, who found the subject matter unconvincing—"[Millet] knew, being a peasant, that it's certainly not at the terrible hour of noon that rugged haymakers 'dream'"—thought the painter's embrace of the "intensity of light" had moved him well ahead of those who still painted in the "glacial light of the studio."[42] Critics in any case discerned numerous concrete details in the painting. It clearly showed a couple of peasants, husband and wife, in the Meuse—the word *Damvillers* appears prominently at bottom left—who have eaten a midday meal and are resting from the heat of the June sun.[43] Following Theuriet, most called them *faucheur* (reaper) and *faneuse* (haymaker), and the specificity of the harvest seems to have been broadly recognized as significant for the meaning of the painting.

Critics certainly recognized the forms of labor involved in haymaking. This knowledge need not have come from direct experience, as an earlier iconography of haymaking can be found stretching from the early fifteenth-century *Très riches heures du Duc Berry* to Courbet's *Siesta at Haymaking Time* of 1867 (fig. 12). Those with somewhat deeper familiarity would have noted the detailed rendering of nineteenth-century agricultural practice. In the middle ground, for instance, Fourcaud identified a "mowed field, strewn with tedded grass."[44] In the Meuse, late June would indeed have been the time for making hay (*faire les foins*). The crop, used mostly for feeding livestock, grew in the meadows that made up half the 1,600 hectares of managed land in and around Damvillers.[45] On harvest days, the faucheurs would have started across the field early in the morning with scythes (*faux*). At midday, with the ringing of the nearby church bell of Saint Maurice, the men would break

FIGURE 12
Gustave Courbet, *Siesta at Haymaking Time (La Sieste pendant la saison des foins, Doubs)*, 1867. Oil on canvas, 6 ft. 11½ in. × 8 ft. 11½ in. (212 × 273 cm). Musée du Petit-Palais, Paris.

for a meal brought back from the farm by the women. The food would probably be thin soup, bread, and maybe cheese. A siesta after lunch, especially on hot days, was inevitable, but in the afternoon work would soon resume. Once the hay had been cut, it would be gathered with double-sided hand-rakes and spread out to dry—"tedded" is our Anglo-Saxon word for this practice—an important step to prevent potentially catastrophic spontaneous combustion of bound hay. The grass would be turned with pitchforks (*fourches*) before being gathered together into stacks (*meules*). Historically, both men and women, *faneurs* and *faneuses*, tedded the hay, but two etchings produced by the artist around the same time as the exhibition of *Les Foins* clearly divide the fieldwork between women and men.[46] The first print depicts a female haymaker returning from the fields holding a rake (fig. 13). The second shows two male reapers sharpening the blades of their scythes (fig. 14). While this marked compartmentalization of gender and labor would not have been inconsistent with the social facts—peasant work did rest on such divisions, by and large—the painting allows not only for the more complex overlap in the shared task of haymaking but also for the ambiguous nature of peasant labor in the late 1870s.[47]

At the moment represented in *Les Foins*, the heavy toil of the morning has ended and tools have been set aside. Some bright red poppies mark the presence of the woman's hand-rake behind the trees on the right, even if the man's scythe remains obscured behind the rake and surrounding hay. The midday break is coming to a close, however, and the two resting peasants will soon return to work. Although several critics enthusiastically described the painting's treatment of the landscape, only Mario Proth, writing sometime after the exhibition, pointed out the haymakers in the background who have already returned to work. Their significance can be situated in the dynamic between work and rest, between the labor completed—the sleeping man had "worked hard"—and the labor to be done.[48] In other words, *Les Foins* turns on the dynamic relation of action and inaction in agricultural production.

FIGURE 13
Jules Bastien-Lepage, *Return from the Fields (Retour des champs)*, 1878. Etching, 11 × 7⅞ in. (28 × 20 cm). From *L'Eau-forte en 1878* (Paris, Cadart, 1878), plate 9.

The finely rendered observation of visual particulars in the painting ultimately serves to confirm this reading. From the worn soles of the woman's shoes to the dirt just visible under her fingernails to the strands of hay in her hair, the details mark her having worked. Such "insignificant notations" can be understood to produce a "reality effect"—the descriptive features of the painting denoting only "this is real"—but they also serve more importantly as subtle and compelling connotations of a narrative of fieldwork.[49] As is typical of Realism as a whole, description in this case functions metonymically: a woman at rest stands in for the totality of a way of life.[50] And whereas the figures in the background remain somewhat ambiguous, to say nothing of the insubstantial sleeping faucheur, this female figure is the sharp focus of the narrative and broader meaning of the picture.

If there was one aspect of the canvas that radically divided critics, however, it was precisely this central faneuse who "dreams with open eyes." Indeed, the entire evaluation of the *Les Foins* hinged on the interpretation of this peasant woman. For those who thought the painting a "triumph," the "most beautiful painting at the Salon," the woman was "living," a "true haymaker," simply a "country woman" and a "field laborer."[51] For other less charitable critics, the figure presented problems. The blank stare indicated her "air of

stupidity," her "ugliness."[52] She was "barely human," showing "the absence of all thought," an "inert brute," "full of vegetative life," like a "cow chewing cud."[53] Still others found that the strange power of the canvas flowed in tandem with "the intense, extraordinary fixity of her almost wild gaze."[54] In seeking to describe Bastien-Lepage's intentions and their failures, Gabriel Monod summed up the contradictory ways of seeing the faneuse: "he wanted to show a work-weary peasant girl plunged into a dull torpor by the odor of hay. In fact, he painted a brute debased only further by fatigue."[55] What was supposed to be the "true peasant" had the look of a semi-conscious animal. For reasons both artistic and ideological, this slippage troubled even would-be admirers at the time.

By and large, critics struggled to make sense of the painter's deliberate attempt to make a persuasive Salon picture out of the debased fatigue of a rural worker. For a few, however, the project made perfect sense. In his widely read review in *Le Temps*, Mantz admitted that the painting, however "strange and powerful," would do little to please the idealists in the crowd. He then proceeded, in one of the most attentive accounts ever written of *Les Foins*, to offer a best-case reading of the much-contested representation of the haymaker:

> The figure of the seated peasant woman is a monument to sincerity, a type we will always remember. She is quite tanned by the sun, she is ugly; her head is stocky and coarse; this is the relentlessly faithful reproduction of a young countrywoman who has never looked at herself in the mirror of the ideal and who could not fix its fugitive reflection on her common features; but in this ugliness is a soul. This haymaker so true in bearing which speaks of the despondently long hours of work and the serenity

FIGURE 14
Jules Bastien-Lepage, *Reapers at Damvillers, Meuse (Faucheurs, Damvillers, Meuse)*, 1878. Etching and drypoint, 7⅞ × 14¼ in. (20 × 36 cm). From *L'Eau-forte en 1879* (Paris: Cadart, 1879), plate 12.

> of a weary rest, this haymaker, eyes fixed on a mysterious horizon, is absorbed by some vague thought, by a sort of instinctive reverie whose intensity doubles with the drunkenness provoked by the smell of the cut grass. The sound of a bell, the call of the haymakers' boss, will soon enough pull her back from mute contemplation. She will take up her hard work, she will return to the inevitabilities of real life. But during this rough day, the soul will have had its intermission; the infinite will have had its repose.[56]

This extended description brings to the surface almost every significant element in the painting. The absorption of the figure, her rest from "long hours of work," even the temporal structuring of her day: these constitute the vital components of the painting, ones no other critic at the time could quite tie together, but which structured the artistic and ideological reception of the painting in 1878.

THE REPUBLIC OF PEASANTS

It has long been noted that the year *Les Foins* entered the public sphere was a transitional one in the political history of France. Jane Mayo Roos usefully summarizes its significance: "The year 1878 formed a peculiar hiatus in the evolution of the early Third Republic and in many ways epitomized the complexities of the postwar decade."[57] The year 1877 had been marked by the *seize mai* crisis, in which the conservative President Patrice de MacMahon forced the resignation of the moderate premier Jules Simon on 16 May and later dissolved the Chamber of Deputies only to see parliamentary elections deliver a republican majority that October. It was not until January 1879, however, that the Senate shifted to republican control and MacMahon resigned. In the months between reigned a period described by Daniel Halévy as a "zone of silence," in which the political struggle over the nature of the republic receded into the background.[58]

In the shifting voter dynamics of the 1870s, no constituency proved more critical to the demise of the monarchist-dominated *République des Ducs* than the peasantry. Yet, support for the Third Republic had been tepid at first and loyalty was hard won. From the early 1870s Léon Gambetta and the Opportunists had strategized propaganda campaigns to win over a population previously dedicated to the emperor—the date of the October election in 1877, to take one example, was chosen precisely to allow peasants to vote after the autumn harvest.[59] But even in the spring of 1878, some still gave Napoleon III personal credit for the good harvests of the previous decade.[60] This rural devotion to the Second Empire related in large part to the economic expansion of the agricultural sector prior to the 1870s, even though the widely noted declines in prices that hit hardest after 1875 originated in foreign competition and crop infections during the 1860s.[61] In 1871 rural France delivered a majority to the monarchists, but the peasants greatly resented the war—not least in the northeast, where the Prussian occupation lasted well into 1872—and conservatives were given the blame. As a consequence, the republican bloc registered notable gains.

Gambetta and his allies soon targeted the provinces, traveling extensively to sell their vision of order and moderation in the new republic. They published a variety of pamphlets aimed especially at small, rural landowners, emphasizing the economic freedom and opportunity the new order would ensure, seeking more or less to integrate the peasantry into the new social strata (*nouvelles couches sociales*) that formed the foundation of their emerging political hegemony.[62] The peasants bought the Gambettist rhetoric, it would seem, and gave the republicans huge increases in the north and east in 1876, before assuring the Senate majority in 1879. The Freycinet plan subsequently poured money into the modernization of rural France, thus consolidating the political mandate for generations to come.[63] In 1878, however, the peasantry seemed to shuffle its allegiance between the Empire and the Republic. Peasant politics was still contested.

Bastien-Lepage was by no account especially political, but his family appears to have been among a small minority of steadfast republicans in the canton of Damvillers. Only fourteen of 230 votes opposed the Empire in the plebiscite of 1852, and Bastien-Lepage's father was apparently imprisoned not long after for publicly defacing an image of Napoleon III.[64] The painter supported the Third Republic from early on, and his work seems to have impressed Gambetta sufficiently that the politician called on him in early 1879.[65] In a letter recounting the event, Bastien-Lepage immediately followed an account of the visit with a self-congratulatory story about the crowds milling around *Les Foins* at a recent exhibition on l'avenue de l'Opéra, suggesting that the man who had proclaimed the Third Republic had sought the artist out as a result of his admiration for the painting.[66] The previous year, Bastien-Lepage had already articulated the conjunction of the peasantry and the emerging republican consensus in a letter he wrote home regarding the "beautiful spectacle" of the Exposition Universelle. "How far this feels from the bad days of the Empire!" he declared. "If our peasants understood this, we wouldn't have to fear seeing them represented by reactionary fools."[67]

Les Foins could rightly be seen as an attempt to articulate a moderate, Gambettist view of the countryside and the peasantry. It was addressed to an audience that shared an ideologically structured view of peasant society, one that made no distinction, for example, between landowning and dispossessed classes. At the same time, this imagined viewing public no doubt expected such a painting to confirm the essential and enduring differences between Paris and the provinces. While roughly two-thirds of the French population still lived in the countryside, demographic shifts toward the city had become undeniable, and were especially notable in regions like the Meuse.[68] In the thirty years between Bastien-Lepage's birth and the exhibition of *Les Foins*, rural-urban migration had nearly doubled the population of Paris from one to two million. Precisely because this population contained so many former peasants, the Salon-goer in 1878 wished more than ever to see an image of the peasantry that crisply distinguished between urban and rural life. Such paintings certainly existed, and in abundance, but they did little or nothing to reorient the mythological image of the peasant for the needs of the new republic. That task fell to Bastien-Lepage.

THE IMAGE OF THE PEASANT

In the first decade of the Third Republic, *Les Foins* sat at the forefront of an escalating revival of the peasant subject in painting. Among the many younger artists moving to reclaim this midcentury iconographic territory, Léon Lhermitte had won a medal at the Salon of 1874 for his painting of *The Harvest (La Moisson)* and would soon emerge as the key rival to Bastien-Lepage in the 1880s (fig. 15).[69] Daniel Ridgway Knight's *Harvest Scene (Repas pendant la moisson)*, apparently painted under Ernst Meissonier's direct supervision, received positive attention at the Salon of 1876 for its "picturesque and completely natural" rendering of peasant rest (fig. 16).[70] While the works of the recently deceased Courbet and Millet were all but absent at the Exposition Universelle of 1878, eleven pictures by their closest rival, Jules Breton, were shown, including *The Siesta*, a recently completed work depicting the midday break of haymakers (fig. 17).[71] The back-and-forth between labor and rest in such paintings carried forward in the work of a variety of young artists such as Julien Dupré, who had established a small but growing reputation for the naturalness of his Picardy harvest scenes.[72] His contribution to the Salon of 1878, *Sheaf Binders (Lieurs des gerbes)*, was purchased by the French government for 2,000 francs and drew strong praise from Roger-Ballu, one of the most enthusiastic reviewers of *Les Foins* (fig. 18).[73] Perhaps even closer thematically to *Les Foins* was Pierre Cabanel's *Harvesters (Les Moissonneurs)* (fig. 19). More than one critic found the comparison compelling, if only to confirm the originality of Bastien-Lepage's work in contrast to the academic standards of the day.[74]

Les Foins stood apart from these contemporaneous images of rural life in France. To say nothing of the differences between harvesting wheat and hay, between *moisson* and *foins*, such paintings more obviously focus on the social interaction of laboring and resting peasants. In Cabanel, for example, the old-fashioned sickle of the resting harvester lies next to the red poppies of the field, but it is emphatically foregrounded and multiplied across the picture. As an emblem of traditional agriculture the instrument is inescapable. Bastien-Lepage instead pushes the signs of work far into the background and the margins, and he draws out the sitting female figure as a singular presence whose relation to other

FIGURE 15
Léon Lhermitte, *The Harvest (La Moisson)*, 1874. Oil on canvas, 48 × 80¾ in. (122 × 205 cm). Musée des Beaux-Arts, Carcassonne (Inv. D.50).

FIGURE 16
Daniel Ridgway Knight, *Harvest Scene (Repas pendant la moisson)*, 1875. Oil on canvas, 40 × 59½ in. (101.6 × 151.1 cm). Chrysler Museum of Art, Norfolk, Va. Gift of Walter P. Chrysler, Jr. (71.2118).

FIGURE 17
Jules Breton, *The Siesta (La Sieste)*, 1878. Oil on canvas, 43½ × 77 in. (110.5 × 195.5 cm). Private collection.

parts of the scene has to be interpreted carefully. Perhaps the most important pictorial distinction from these alternate images of peasant labor is that the female figure turns toward, but does not quite face, the spectator. In competing images of harvest or rest, the figures are absorbed in their labors or in social interaction, but the figure in *Les Foins* is absorbed in her *sensations*—"intoxicated by the lovely odor," "eyes seeing nothing"—which allows her to face toward the beholder without, apparently, compromising the picture's illusion of a self-contained world.[75]

In various ways, then, the peasant painting of the 1870s sought consistently to maintain if not revive antitheatrical strategies associated with earlier French art. As Michael Fried has argued, absorptive strategies persisted even after the emergence of Impressionism as a full-blown project in the early 1870s—for example, the work of Caillebotte and Jean-François Raffaëlli, among others, demonstrates the continued engagement with such modes of pictorial composition.[76] This later Realist generation nevertheless came to recognize the crisis of absorption occasioned by the rise of Impressionism. For Caillebotte this produced a marked shift in his painting in about 1878. At about the same time, it pushed Raffaëlli toward the adaptation of a frontal address of posed figures in his remarkable 1877 Salon submission, so admired by Edmond Duranty, which depicts a Breton peasant family, half of whom look directly out at the beholder (fig. 20).[77] A few years later he discovered a radically new absorptive thematic in the degraded classes of the Parisian banlieue. Both Caillebotte and Raffaëlli recognized that to compel conviction in the uncontrived, unposed nature of realistically rendered paintings required either extremely new subject matters or the presentation of extreme states of absorption. What distinguishes Bastien-Lepage's *Les Foins*, then, especially when compared with the typical run of Salon peasant painting of his day, is not so much the theme—by 1878 the peasant woman at rest practically constitutes an artistic formula—but precisely the animal-like unconsciousness and the radically contested absorption of the central figure.

The stakes of this project broadly conceived are high, for as Robert Pippin has argued, "There is a great deal of pressure on absorptive strategies in painting because the actions and practices in the emerging modern world (the world of divided and routinized

labor) that *can compel genuine absorption* might now be few and far between (hence the idealization—of some sort—by Pissarro of farmers and peasants and the emerging interest by painters in the primitive as the mark of the genuine). . . . Absorption, as successfully depicted, would be *genuine* indifference to the beholder, and working, modern work, wage labor especially, is by and large working for someone, and usually in repetitive and stultifying ways. (Stultifying mindlessness is not absorption.)"[78] This analysis helps explain why otherwise absorptive pictures depicting sleeping figures, such as Courbet's *Siesta during the Haymaking Season*, which Bastien-Lepage almost certainly saw at the Salon of 1869,

FIGURE 18
Julien Dupré, *Sheaf-Binders (Lieurs des gerbes)*, 1878. Oil on canvas, 42⅛ × 81½ in. (107 × 207 cm). Musée de Tessé, Le Mans.

FIGURE 19
Pierre Cabanel, *The Harvesters (Les Moissonneurs)*, 1878. Oil on canvas, 5 ft. 10½ in. × 8 ft. 10⅝ in. (179 × 271 cm). Musée des Beaux-Arts, Beziers.

FIGURE 20
Jean-François Raffaëlli, *The Family of Jean-le-Boîteux, Peasants from Plougasnou (La Famille de Jean-le-Boîteux, paysans de Plougasnou, Finistère)*, 1876. Oil on canvas, 74¾ × 60⅝ in. (189.7 × 154 cm). Musée d'Orsay, Paris.

increasingly fell from critical favor in the 1870s. The later Realist generation abandoned the depiction of sleep and other mindless states and increasingly turned to more extreme forms of absorption to compel conviction, nevertheless retaining certain somnambulistic, automatic, mechanical, and habitual qualities of Courbet's painting.[79] The unusual forward-facing pose of the peasant woman in *Les Foins*, her "facingness," can thus be explained in part by the painter's attempt, like Raffaëlli, to engage with Édouard Manet's pictorial innovations—both defenders and critics of Bastien-Lepage's work have continuously emphasized the connection between the artists—but at the time, another side of midcentury Realism offered an equally evident and more plausible source for this "strange and powerful" artistic device.[80]

In fact, Millet, not Manet, was the name most frequently placed next to Bastien-Lepage in 1878. Almost half the reviews of *Les Foins* compared the two painters, and some critics sought to defray the widespread assumption that Bastien-Lepage was simply a

follower: "He has not," wrote Fourcaud, "imitated Millet: at the very most he has recalled him—and this is praise."[81] An engraving of Millet's *Mid-Day (Méridienne)* appeared in *L'Illustration* in the summer of 1873, and the picture clearly served as a touchstone for later images of peasant rest and of the natural rhythms of the day (fig. 21). Similarly well known at the time and publicly exhibited in 1875, *Vineyard Laborer Resting (Vigneron au repos)* seemed an even more obvious predecessor for the intense, forward-facing absorption of Bastien-Lepage's female peasant (fig. 22).[82] Tellingly, the only critic in 1878 to juxtapose *Les Foins* with a specific work by Millet chose the *Vineyard Laborer Resting* to crystallize the shared concerns of these two artists.

Writing in *L'Art*, the influential journal that he edited, Eugène Véron sought especially to explain the ways the two painters represent work, rest, and artistic effect. He equated the two moments of repose: "It is obvious that, in the moment chosen by [Bastien-Lepage], the need to rest and to breathe takes precedence and makes everything else fade from view. Nothing here is any more violent or extreme than in Millet's *Vineyard Laborer Resting*."[83] This comparison stems from what the critic saw as a potential flaw in *Les Foins*, one that no doubt structured much of the critical hostility to the painting: "some exaggeration in the stupefaction resulting from excessive fatigue."[84] Ernest Chesneau, for one, blamed the failures of the painting on the artist's mistaken attempt to revive Millet by painting the "absolute reality of the countryside."[85] As Chesneau himself had pointed out only a few years before, Millet watched his figures so patiently and attentively that he had no need to copy what he saw in person; his memory sufficed. The result was the representation of figures in motion or at rest that do not look as if they had been posed or even observed. Notably, the *Vineyard Laborer Resting* shows no trace of awareness that he has been looked at.[86] For Chesneau, the same could not be said of *Les Foins*.

Véron responded to such criticisms by noting that the persuasiveness of the pose only seems to be a problem if Theuriet's poem is understood as identical with the artist's

FIGURE 21
Jacques-Adrien Lavieille, after Jean-François Millet, *Mid-Day (Méridienne*), also known as *La Sieste*, from the series *Four Times of Day (Quatre heures du jour)*, 1860. Wood engraving on chine collée, 5⅞ × 8⅝ in. (15 × 22 cm). New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art. Harris Brisbane Dick Fund, 1926 (26.84.2).

FIGURE 22
Jean-François Millet, *Vineyard Laborer Resting (Le Vigneron au repos)*, c. 1869–70. Pastel and black conté crayon on paper, 27¾ × 33 in. (70.5 × 84 cm). Museum Mesdag, The Hague.

intentions. The faneuse had been mistakenly seen as a poetic figure moved by the smell of the hay, but if the viewer recognized that "the artist is right, not the poet" and looked at the painting on its own terms, the female peasant, her narrative and temporal framing, became clear: "At the hour that Bastien-Lepage captures his haymaker, if she is 'languid and intoxicated,' it is exclusively from weariness, and if she dreams, it is in the manner of sheep, without thinking of anything. The scene is thus perfectly understood and very exactly rendered, with a feeling that is very particular, very naïve and very true to reality."[87] Reversing the critical consensus, this analysis effectively declared that the strength of the painting derives not from its poetic evocation of the countryside but from its representation of an unthinking subject. Far from being a problem, the "brute" character of the central peasant woman seemed necessary to sustain the fiction that the immobile subject offered what Véron had elsewhere called "duration" (*durée*) and "continuity" (*continuité*).[88]

At the time of writing this review, Véron had just published a book, *L'Esthétique*, intervening directly in the roiling debates surrounding contemporary artistic practice.[89] Basing his claims on what Jacqueline Lichtenstein calls a "scientific or experimental aesthetic" derived from the work of Gustav Fechner and Hermann von Helmholtz, he sought to demonstrate the universal centrality of artistic personality, and consequently expression, in the production and appreciation of works of art.[90] An enthusiast for the painting

of Eugène Delacroix and the Barbizon school as well as for the modern novel—those of Flaubert and Zola, among others—he nonetheless rejected what he perceived to be the cold Neoclassicism of Ingres and the excessive Realism of Courbet.

Among other things, Véron criticized the widespread adherence in nineteenth-century art to the representation of "immobility." Building on theories of pictorial temporality dating back to the eighteenth century, he argued that great painters made use of a "multiplex attitude" (*attitude multiple*) in the representation of gestures indicating movement and life.[91] That is—and here he seems to paraphrase G. E. Lessing—in addition to the "moment chosen" (*moment choisi*) the painter gives "something of what has immediately gone before and also something of what is about to follow."[92] For Véron, the poverty of both Ingres and Courbet rested on the failure to provide this multiplex attitude. Instead, they both insist, in different ways, on representing their subjects frozen in a single moment, a single gesture, which fails to animate and enliven the figures sufficiently. Where Véron blamed the immobilization of the Neoclassical school on the emulation of sculpture, it ultimately shared with the Realists an aesthetic ideal indistinguishable from photography. And photography, he noted, "is unable to render movement, simply because it is only able to seize absolutely stationary attitudes."[93] To emphasize this point, Véron pointed to a recent scientific discovery of the retinal retention of imagery confirming the visual truth of durational as opposed to instantaneous imagery: "Gestures, though passing continuously through an unbroken series of changes, for a time, and especially when the movement is rapid, remain unchanged in the eye; and thus succession is transformed into practical simultaneity."[94] Although avoiding any direct discussion of Impressionism, the argument in *L'Esthétique* would have been understood to dismiss the technique on the grounds that it failed to realize such perceptual duration.

For Véron and those who shared his convictions about modern art, great painting would have to emphasize the temperament of the artist but, just as importantly, distinguish itself from the temporal immobility of much nineteenth-century painting and of photography. This is precisely what *Les Foins* seems to have offered. The haymaker's reverie produces a sense of duration just as the narrative of work, rest, and the return to work allows for continuity, a "before" and "after." These presumptions almost certainly undergirded his account of the painting. "Here is realism in the best sense of the word," Véron wrote about Bastien-Lepage a little later in 1878, "an intelligent and sagacious realism that does not content itself with photographing the surface of things, a sincere and true art that grows freely and boldly in the sense of the temperament and the personality of the artist."[95]

This reading of *Les Foins* implies a couple of key corollaries. First is the recognition that to produce an absorptive painting in 1878 demanded a certain extremity in the integration of pose and narrative to compel conviction. Smelling the hay was simply not enough. The painter himself seems to have understood this in 1876 when he turned the central figure around to face the beholder, consequently necessitating her total psychological obliviousness. This is what differentiates the canvas from other peasant paintings of the time

and what, arguably, ties it back to Realism—the "best" kind as Véron and Mantz both put it. Véron also concluded, importantly in his view, that this extreme absorption functions to produce a pictorial temporality outside the model of photography. The implicit accomplishment of *Les Foins*, then, is the persuasiveness of the "moment chosen," a key phrase that he used in both the review and the book. Bastien-Lepage found a way to make his subject matter endure in front of the viewer's eyes, and that was the source of the picture's power. Véron stood alone in bringing this logic to the surface, but his way of thinking about Realism and the peasant subject echoes throughout the critical discourse.[96] It does much, as well, to explain the consistent yoking of Bastien-Lepage's project to the art of Millet.

If there was one painting on public view in 1878 that demonstrated Véron's complex reflections on pictorial temporality and Realism—"in the best sense of the word"—and how it might elucidate the meaning of *Les Foins*, it was Millet's *Angelus* (fig. 23). Although it had been shown publicly several times before, including once at the Galerie Petit in 1865, at the Exposition Universelle of 1867, and in Durand-Ruel's gallery in 1872, it had only barely begun to emerge as the artist's "masterpiece" in the mid-1870s.[97] Beginning in late June 1878, it appeared again in the Durand-Ruel galleries at 16 rue Lafitte as the centerpiece of a "retrospective" exhibition of nineteenth-century French art.[98] In later years, the painting became inextricably intertwined with the cultural and political nostalgia for rural France, but accounts of its iconography in the years immediately following Millet's death were more straightforward. Here, for example, is the description of the scene as it appears in Alfred Sensier's 1881 monograph on the painter: "As the sun sets, two peasants, a man and a woman, hear the pealing of the Angelus. They rise, stop their work, and standing with heads uncovered, eyes cast down, they recite the traditional words: 'Angelus domini nuntiavit Mariae' [the Angel of the Lord declared unto Mary]. The man, a true peasant of the plains, his head covered by a mass of short straight hair like a felt hat, prays in silence; the bowed woman is lost in meditation."[99] Sensier is something of an exception in his emphasis on the details of the prayer, perhaps because it appears to be silent, but his stress on the sound of the ringing bells in the background of the painting—"You can hear the bells"—defines the standard reading of the work.[100]

As Alain Corbin has shown, the relation of ringing church bells to the restructuring of time in the nineteenth century was profound. As "quantitative" clock time became more and more pervasive, the tolling of the bells to mark the natural structure of the day—dawn, midday, and twilight—were replaced by bells at specific hours of the day—6 A.M., noon, 6 P.M. The shift in the social meaning of the church bells from a religious call to prayer to a secular measure of time was widely contested throughout the century. Although the conflict over the control of bell-ringing often played out as a power-struggle between the church and the secular state, Corbin argues the deeper issue had to do with the "control of the community's biorhythms and the management of time allotted to toil and repose."[101] For example, in 1866 the mayor of Autrécourt, a town some fifty kilometers southwest of Damvillers in the Meuse, wanted to ring the midday bell at 11 A.M. during

FIGURE 23
Jean-François Millet, *The Angelus (L'Angélus)*, 1857–59. Oil on canvas, 21⅝ × 25⅝ in. (55 × 65 cm). Musée d'Orsay, Paris.

haymaking and harvest season "to alert all those who are in the fields and need to go home and fetch something for the harvesters to eat." To which the priest responded, "The bells were not solemnly blessed in order to call all the world to soup."[102] By the 1870s secular clock time had largely triumphed, but Millet's painting can be understood, and likely was understood, as a picture of that earlier, religious experience of time, measured by the sun and the bells rather than the clock. But the temporality of the painting is, in fact, complex.

Millet has clearly coordinated the time of the Angelus bell tolling from the church tower on the distant horizon with the setting sun, indicating the "natural" or religious time of the bells. This is likely what the critic in *L'Art* meant in his review of the Durand-Ruel retrospective when he described the "religious slowness with which twilight beats down on the furrows."[103] But Millet has also rendered other kinds of time. As Raymond Boisvert has shown, the picture contains a "series of spans, multiple and variously measured": the

ritual of prayer, the bowing of the heads, the shift from afternoon to evening, and "the periods of planting, cultivation, growth, and harvesting," to say nothing of the experiences of "hunger, fatigue, and hope," register on different temporal levels.[104]

Millet's *Angelus* belongs to a tradition of picture-making that had long grappled with the problem of representing time. Such "protracted temporal effects" in Realist painting were, following Fried, inextricably tied to the larger problem of absorption and theatricality.[105] Millet's own commitment to antitheatricality led him to emphasize with an almost excessive consistency the absorption of his figures. In *The Angelus* this means the peasants should be understood as so completely engaged in their prayers that they are, as it were, oblivious to the beholder looking at the scene. By this late date, however, the device of absorption had become for many an obvious one, and Millet could appear so contrived as to be theatrical. Charles Tardieu felt it necessary to defend the work to the "skeptical spectator" who might see only the artist's cunning tricks. Saint-Victor carried his distaste for Millet's "theater" over into his account of Bastien-Lepage. For a generation of painters in the early 1860s, however, this excessive absorption produced a pleasing intensity that shifted the temporal register from the enduring, absorptive scene represented to the striking, instantaneous one of the painting itself.[106]

Evidence confirms *The Angelus* was understood, however cryptically and belatedly, as an emblem of the painter's excessive absorption. A statement by a Belgian collector in 1880 seems to confirm this reading. Explaining to Tardieu why he had earlier traded away *The Angelus*, Jules van Praet declared, "It's clearly a masterpiece, but in front of these two peasants whose prayers interrupt an instant of work [*un instant de travail*], everyone believes they hear the bell of the neighboring church, and this endless ringing [*éternelle sonnerie*] had ended up bothering me."[107] Even if Van Praet here seems to reverse the more obvious temporal dialectic—enduring prayer and striking peals—he nonetheless points to a notable tension between the bells and the absorbed peasants who cease their work and hold themselves motionless in prayer. The flock of flying birds in the sky only emphasizes this tension in the picture. Instant and duration constitute its limit temporalities.

This recognition of Millet's pictorial temporality was hardly unique. In a letter of 1873 Gambetta wrote of seeing *The Angelus* in the John W. Wilson collection in Brussels. He explained the painting's "lesson of social and political morality" through a description of the two peasants and their labor at the end of the day: "The task has ended, the day's harvest fills the sitting wheelbarrow, they want to get back to the cottage for the night's rest. The curfew bell rang, and suddenly these two black animals, as La Bruyère would call them, rise to their feet, and, motionless [*immobiles*], they wait for it to end, counting the peals of the bell, as they did yesterday, as they will do tomorrow, in a pose so natural it has to be habitual, to take the path back to the village."[108] The remarkable variety of temporal signification in this description points to the same complexity of pictorial time that later art historians have located in the picture and in Millet's work as a whole.

From 1878 on, comparisons between Millet and Bastien-Lepage become a critical commonplace. Huysmans, for instance, thought the latter was "haunted" by the older

Realist.[109] The painter Marie Bashkirtseff, one of Bastien-Lepage's closest confidants, certainly thought the two belonged on the same page. In her journal in 1884 she wrote admiringly of paintings that took up the challenge of depicting scenes of "motionless" figures. "It is always better," she asserted, "to paint scenes in which the characters do not move."[110] Among the artists she thought demonstrated this quality, the work of Millet sat side by side with *Les Foins*: "The man lying on his back, his face covered with his hat, sleeps; but he is alive! The woman sitting down dreams and is motionless, but we feel that she is living. Only a scene in which the characters are in repose can completely satisfy. This gives us time to become absorbed in it, to enter into it, to see it come to life."[111] To be absorbed, to enter, to see live—*s'absorber*, *pénétrer*, *voir vivre*—the vocabulary here offers an astonishing confirmation of the significance of absorption for the art Bashkirtseff thought mattered. Above all, it was *Les Foins* that mattered to her, and the way the painting seemed to bring its subject to life hinged ultimately on its unfolding in time.

In a slightly later essay, the painter Walter Sickert likewise acknowledged the relation of absorption and time in the work of Millet and Bastien-Lepage. Unlike Bashkirtseff and other earlier critics, however, he sought to demonstrate the relative weakness of the younger painter. For Sickert, the strength of Millet's art stemmed from the fact that he sought to show the "complex difficulties of suggestion of movement" working from memory rather than the "instantaneous camera" that Bastien-Lepage took as his model.[112] Whether operating according to the precepts of photography or Impressionism, an artist painting out of doors finds that the momentary and shifting nature of light demands the restriction of compositions to a single figure "in repose," and inevitably that figure will appear as if posed, "a portrait of a model posing by the hour."[113] Sickert's equation of Naturalism and instantaneous photography was not unique in the critical literature of the fin de siècle, but in Bastien-Lepage's case such claims only began to emerge after the appearance of *Les Foins* in 1878. The Impressionist notion of the passing moment, the "fugitive image," was nevertheless understood from the beginning as part of the artist's conception of the work.[114]

While for Bashkirtseff and others the comparison with Millet is positive, for Sickert it shows the weaknesses of Bastien-Lepage's art. But they both agree that the salient issue in the comparison is the relation of absorption and the representation of temporality. This is something that *Les Foins* seems to present quite prominently. And the critical questions about the female peasant figure can be understood to hinge on the same questions raised by Bashkirtseff and Sickert: does the figure appear convincingly absorbed in her thoughts, and thus slowed, stilled, enduring; or, does she appear as if posed for the camera, held only long enough to be recorded and viewed? Historically, the critical and artistic response to Millet's problematically excessive absorption prompted a move toward instantaneity and strikingness in Manet and the Impressionist painters who followed. What critics seemed to value in Bastien-Lepage, on the other hand, was a renewal of the earlier absorptive-realist effect of durational temporality constructed out of the manifestly forward-facing figure.

FIGURE 24
Gustave Courbet, *The Stonebreakers (Les Casseurs de pierres)*, 1849. Oil on canvas, 6 ft. 2¾ in. × 9 ft. 10⅛ in. (190 × 300 cm). Galerie Neue Meister, Dresden (destroyed 1945).

If comparisons with Millet failed to secure Bastien-Lepage's artistic legitimacy, one obvious alternative, not least in 1878, was Courbet. Although twice as many critics thought Millet the more appropriate reference, only Véron discussed a specific work for the purpose of comparison. While, on the other hand, two critics explicitly compared *Les Foins* with Courbet's *Stonebreakers*, a painting then accessible in the Parisian collection of Alfred-Louis Binant (fig. 24).[115] Both pictures obviously depict a pair of rural laborers, and the tin-plate *gamelle* on the right side of each would have further justified the link, but the comparison suggests another possible, if generally evaded, similarity: politics.

Courbet was much discussed in 1878. Following his death in December 1877, a flush of obituaries and posthumous accounts emerged in France and Belgium. In April, *Young Ladies of the Village* of 1852—from the artist's heroic phase of peasant painting—was sold at auction, and the following month, several landscapes appeared at the presale exhibition of the Laurent-Richard collection (fig. 25). Only *The Wave* hung at the Exposition Universelle, but the absence of a posthumous overview of Courbet's career was widely noted at the time. Durand-Ruel sought to rectify these omissions in his *Exposition retrospective de tableaux et dessins de maîtres modernes*. Alongside Millet's *Angelus* and numerous other works, he showed some thirty Courbets, mostly portraits and minor landscapes—the only major painting on display was the *Young Ladies on the Banks of the Seine* of 1856–57 (fig. 26). No one at the time thought to compare the canvas with *Les Foins*, but the shared representation of

FIGURE 25
Gustave Courbet, *Young Ladies of the Village (Les Demoiselles de village)*, 1852. Oil on canvas, 6 ft. 4¾ in. × 8 ft. 6¾ in. (194.9 × 261 cm). Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York. Gift of Harry Payne Bingham, 1940.

FIGURE 26
Gustave Courbet, *Young Ladies on the Banks of the Seine (Les Demoiselles des bords de la Seine)*, 1856–57. Oil on canvas, 68½ × 81⅛ in. (174 × 206 cm). Musée du Petit Palais, Paris.

"figures in states of lassitude" has not subsequently gone unremarked.[116] What was keenly noted in 1878, however, was the difference between Millet and Courbet. Bertall, for example, explicitly contrasted them: "The peasants of Millet are noble workers when placed next to those of Courbet, beggars, degraded or horrid louts."[117] Two kinds of peasants, two visions of rural society seemed on offer in the work of these two painters.

It was precisely in the 1870s that a distinction between these two midcentury Realists began to gain traction, eventually prying Millet apart from the "socialist" readings of his art that had dominated in earlier decades. Increasingly, his paintings came to function within what T. J. Clark has called the "bourgeois myth of rural society." In this admittedly contradictory and inchoate ideological formation, "rural society is a unity, a one-class society in which peasant and master work in harmony."[118] As Christopher Parsons and Neil McWilliam have argued in relation to Sensier's concerted efforts to reconstruct and reclaim Millet's vision of the peasantry for a conservative urban audience, "Rural France came to symbolize an unchanging society preserving the values of an organic community which had been sacrificed to the atomised environment and decadence of urban life."[119] This myth manifested itself most notably in the view that Millet's peasants, far from demanding radical social change, show a profound resignation, indeed an almost unthinking acceptance of their suffering. In a remarkable piece of criticism from 1859, Chesneau had insisted that the peasant women in Millet's paintings were so completely "occupied" by their work that they were unaware of their own miserable condition, indeed were unaware of anyone being aware of their existence.[120]

Courbet, on the other hand, came to be seen as an explicitly political painter, who had set out to "shock the bourgeoisie." Not only had his involvement in the revolutionary Paris Commune of 1871 confirmed the perception dating to the Second Republic that Courbet's paintings were intended to critique bourgeois society, but the two moments had become conjoined in peculiar ways. A caricature from 1871 depicts Courbet as a

stonebreaker in front of a toppling Vendôme Column (fig. 27). Many seemed to worry that the *Stonebreakers* was indeed an "irony directed against our industrialized civilization," as Pierre-Joseph Proudhon once said, "which is incapable of freeing man from the heaviest, most difficult, most unpleasant tasks, the eternal lot of the poor."[121] Courbet's painting ultimately functioned to deflate the myth of rural society. The artist thus took the place of Millet's opposite, and it is in this sense that *The Stonebreakers* could function as a useful comparison and counterpoint to *Les Foins*. Indeed, Bertall's contrast of Millet's "noble workers" with Courbet's "degraded or horrid louts" serves to characterize the critical division surrounding Bastien-Lepage's painting. The question might be thus rephrased: Does *Les Foins* resemble Millet or Courbet? *The Angelus* or *The Stonebreakers*?

The critic best suited to answer such questions in 1878 was almost certainly Mantz. Only two years younger than Courbet himself, Mantz had been a longtime and prominent advocate for his generation of artists.[122] As Frédéric Elsig has argued, however, he began to adopt a more historicizing view in the 1870s, evaluating "contemporary production in relation to the 'lessons' of past art."[123] As Mantz moved into positions of greater cultural authority—he served on the jury of the Exposition Universelle in 1878 and a few years later became the Director of Fine Arts—his critical assessment of the art of his time increasingly hinged on the ability to place it within a historical tradition. "Bastien-Lepage belongs to

FIGURE 27
Léonce Schérer, *The Man who would one day be called to demolish the Column must have started as a stonebreaker (L'Homme qui était un jour appelé à démolir la Colonnne devait commencer par être casseur de pierres)*, 1871. Lithograph on paper, 10¼ × 6⅝ in. (26 × 16.8 cm). From *Souvenirs de la Commune* (Paris, 1871), plate 12.

tradition," he wrote in October 1878, "and to the best kind."[124] The tradition here, the tradition that mattered to Mantz at this time, was Realism. While reviewing Bastien-Lepage's work, he was in the middle not only of publishing an extended three-part treatment of Courbet in the *Gazette des beaux-arts*, but of editing and revising, if not actually ghostwriting, the monograph on Millet left unfinished when Sensier died in early 1877.[125] When Mantz looked at *Les Foins*, then, it seems fair to say he saw the peasants of *The Stonebreakers* and *The Angelus*.

Although he was coming to the view that *The Angelus* was Millet's "masterpiece," his reference to the painting in the review of the Salon seems to have been limited to a single, cryptic detail: an evocation of the ringing bell that will call the resting faneuse back to work.[126] As Mantz was the only critic, in 1878 or since, to suggest that the church bells would have played an important role in structuring the peasant's day, Sensier's description of *The Angelus*—"you can hear the bells"—echoes in this detail. That Mantz was editing Sensier's words at the same time is telling. The bell in fact would have pealed either at noon or sometime in advance, depending on the extent of secular control, and while the assumption that the bell would have rung after lunch in Damvillers in June 1877 is likely inaccurate, it places Mantz firmly on the side of a secularized understanding of the function of such temporal markers.

Only somewhat less cryptic was Mantz's comparison of *The Stonebreakers* and *Les Foins*. Whether or not it constituted a circuitously vague political reading of the French peasantry, the critic imagined *Les Foins* actually replacing the earlier painting. In his Salon review, he recounts an anecdote from Proudhon's book on Courbet in which a group of peasants undertook to purchase his canvas for their church. "If Proudhon's peasants still existed and they had persisted in their dilettantism," Mantz writes, "they would, more believably, acquire M. Bastien-Lepage's *Les Foins*."[127] It seems highly doubtful that Bastien-Lepage was understood here to offer a Proudhonian and revolutionary critique of "industrialized civilization"; rather more simply, the peasantry in 1878 would have been more inclined to find the truth of their situation in *Les Foins* than in *The Stonebreakers*. For Mantz, the reason was not hard to find: *Les Foins* showed a living figure in time, while *The Stonebreakers* showed only a frozen moment.

Such a distinction becomes clear only in relation to the parallel analysis Mantz published on Courbet in the *Gazette des beaux-arts*. Responding almost directly to Véron's argument in *L'Esthétique*, which he mentions in passing, Mantz sought to make the case for Courbet's centrality within the tradition of French art. He insisted that a painter's eye and hand cannot ever be equated to mechanical devices, and while Courbet might have set out to record the world as objectively as possible, he could not help but infuse his personality, his mind, his temperament into his art. Even so, he conceded that Courbet's Realism failed effectively to render scenes of movement. The "rustic workers" in *The Stonebreakers*, like *The Wave*, appeared as if frozen in place, as if "made of wax": "They take on a motionless pose, an unbestirred bearing. How strange! Courbet, here as elsewhere . . . often posed his models, giving them the line so dear to photographers: 'Don't

move!' Unfortunately, the blow of the hammer cannot break stones without the action of the arms."[128] Mantz and Véron thus came to perfect agreement about the temporal limitations of Courbet's art or at least about the issue at stake in a reading of Realism's temporal ambitions.

What neither critic seemed able to articulate was how these temporal concerns tied into the political associations that Realism so consistently evoked in these years. Yet they both demanded that Bastien-Lepage be linked not only to the broader tradition of midcentury Realism in all its artistic and political complexity. Gambetta, on the other hand, offered one partial and enigmatic case. His description of *The Angelus* implicitly binds together the painting's temporality with its "lesson of social and political morality." Ultimately, *Les Foins* must be understood as a temporally complex representation of a charged subject—an image, like those of Courbet and Millet, of peasant work and rest—grappling with the wider cultural transformations in the meaning and experience of time under modernity. The wider context of the painting's production and reception, in fact, makes clear that Bastien-Lepage took upon himself the task of confronting and managing a very specific aspect of this broader temporal history: the problem of work-time.

PEASANTS AND THE POLITICS OF TIME

Among the most significant and least discussed aspects of *Les Foins* are the social facts that structure its depiction of peasant labor. The man and woman are almost certainly *journaliers*, or seasonal day laborers, hired to work during the harvest.[129] While domestic, annual-contract employees of the farm would have done some of the reaping and tedding, the bulk of the work in June was undertaken by large groups of agricultural laborers paid a wage to harvest the fields. Damvillers had an important population of such workers who supplied essential labor for haymaking, as well as for the harvest of wheat and grapes.[130] Bastien-Lepage's father held interests in each of these three sectors of the rural economy, and the family surely would have been familiar with the seasonal and wage dynamics of such labor. There should have been nothing unusual or controversial about representing such a common sight, so it comes as something of a surprise then to find that absolutely no critic in 1878 mentioned this central detail of the picture.

At midcentury, such seasonal, paid laborers had made up less than half the population engaged in agricultural production.[131] In the decades that followed, small family farms and sharecropping were increasingly displaced by larger agricultural concerns. By 1892 estates over forty hectares controlled almost half the farmland in France.[132] Wages in this sector of the labor market were closely watched, for among other things they had been rising steadily for some time even as the profits in the agricultural sector flattened in the wake of crop infections, international competition, and the general worldwide economic crisis following the stock market crash of 1873. Between 1862 and 1882 the daily pay of an itinerant male laborer in France, such as a faucheur, rose from 2.77 to 3.11 francs.[133]

Although also rising, the wage of a faneuse was much lower: a woman such as the one represented in *Les Foins* would have earned less than two francs a day.[134] The overall inflation in wages largely derived from the declining pool of laborers resulting from migrations to cities and better-paying work in industry and construction. Female laborers were especially drawn to domestic positions and clothing production in the cities.[135] The mechanization of agriculture was one obvious reaction to the reliance on labor, and the Meuse sat at the forefront of such shifts in this period. By 1882, for example, the department claimed over eleven thousand mechanical threshers—the second largest number in the country—512 wheat harvesters and 564 hay harvesters.[136] The mechanical faucheuse—a widely-available, horse-drawn device—offered an obvious alternative to the day laborer and could do the work of nine hired hands (fig. 28). The use of such machines in the late 1870s largely rose in tandem with wages, and the implicit possibility of the replacement of journaliers with machines functioned as something of a persistent psychological threat.[137] In fact, the era of agriculture without manual labor had been long dawning. Two decades earlier, one regional paper had dramatically declared, "The day the first harvesting machine appears in the countryside will herald the independence of the farmer . . . it will mark the end of the despotic stranglehold hitherto exercised by the laboring classes."[138]

In 1878 the wages of such laboring classes still sat in the foreground of political and economic discourse. In March, for instance, an article appeared in the *Le Messager agricole*, entitled, "Les Ouvriers agricoles et les salaires," which presented the maintenance of a sufficiently large workforce in the face of rising pay as the key problem facing agricultural production.[139] The author, a certain François Convert, estimated that salaries took up half

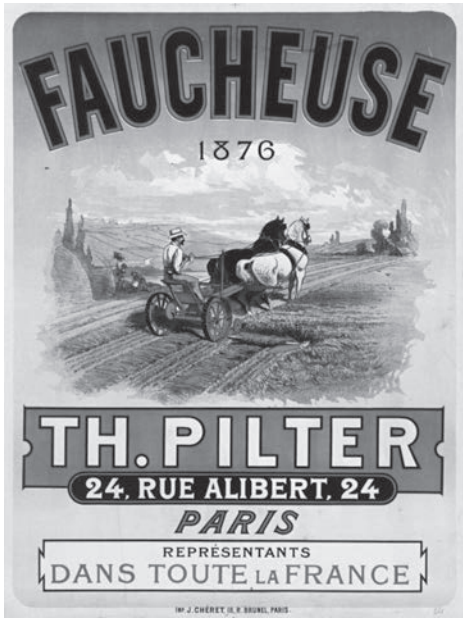


FIGURE 28
Jules Chéret, *Faucheuse 1876. Th. Pilter, 24 rue Alibert, Paris*, 1876. Lithograph, 29⅞ × 21⅝ in. (76 × 55 cm). Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris.

of the production costs in French farming, as compared with only a quarter in England.[140] He also confirmed the standard view that pay increases were the result of inflationary pressures from competing sectors of the economy. A crucial factor in understanding the nature of wages for journaliers was its seasonality—while for three months of the year agricultural workers could expect decent remuneration, for nine months they had to earn a living elsewhere.[141] This meant that such workers were notoriously willing to move from one job to the next in search of higher pay. To the benefit of journaliers, wage inflation resulted as farmers sought, sometimes desperately, to secure the necessary manpower for the harvest months.

Worker mobility did not escape the attention of the government. In a deposition before the Senate, made public in January 1878, the Director of *La Compagnie des chemins de fer des Vosges* was asked if his company might be contributing to the labor shortages in agriculture by stealing workers away. Despite giving an estimate that his own workers earned an average of 3.77 francs a day, M. Fournier insisted that they continued to abandon the rail construction sites for the fields during the two months of haymaking, harvesting, and apple-picking in northeastern France.[142] This absenteeism had concerned the managerial classes for some time, and the rise of worker *cités* was one attempt to keep industrial laborers out of the fields and on the clock. Even if factory owners resented it, this combination of agricultural and industrial work was common in this period—to a certain extent the two were interchangeable: in the fields one day, in the factory the next.[143]

What made this fluid, seasonal shift between different labor activities possible was precisely the equivalency of the system of pay between, say, harvesting and railroad construction. In both instances, the worker was paid a wage in cash for a day's work. While harvesters had once been paid every eleventh bale, more and more they were strictly paid for their time. Meal-breaks and rest were factored into any rate, but the pay was coordinated with a certain increasingly disciplined work-time. This shift in the rural economy has sometimes been attributed to a later date, but it is clear that wage-labor had become the economic norm for much farming by the late 1870s. Lhermitte's celebrated 1882 painting *Paying the Harvesters (La Paye des moissoneurs)*—arguably the only work to match *Les Foins* as an emblematic representation of Third Republic peasantry—unproblematically takes this economic reality for its thematic center, even as it radically transforms the image of peasant labor depicted by the same artist a decade earlier (fig. 29).[144] On the right side of the painting, the owner of the farm dispenses a wage to one of the harvesters—several critics referred to it specifically as a "weekly salary"—while another waits for his pay and a peasant in the middle counts his coins.[145] The older man at left served as the compositional center of the work, and was, like the peasant woman in *Les Foins*, the pivot of critical praise and criticism in 1882. He sits after a day of labor, facing toward but not directly at the picture plane. Criticism of the painting concentrated on the too-obvious posing of this figure, "immobilized" in front of a camera, but the success of the painting likewise hinged on a reading of the old man as exhausted and thus unaware of his being

FIGURE 29
Léon Lhermitte, *Paying the Harvesters (La Paye des moissoneurs)*, 1882. Oil on canvas, 7 ft.⅝ in. × 8 ft. 11 in. (215 × 272 cm). Musée d'Orsay, Paris.

beheld: "he rests as he worked," wrote Fourcaud in an extraordinary extended review of the painting, "without thinking of anything complicated."[146] The myth of the countryside, whether the harmonious binding of man and nature or the eternal biblical grind of peasant existence, has been assimilated here to the structural essence of capitalism: wage labor. A different kind of myth, of course, but that is another matter.

This historical and iconographic shift signals a major reorientation in the perception and experience of temporality, one that eventually pulled the French peasant into the time-frame of modernity. Eugen Weber usefully summarizes the shift: "In the French language, *temps* refers to both weather and duration: two concepts to us but not to the peasant whose longer hours of work came in the fair weather of summer. To the farmer, time is work; life is work; work brings subsistence and independence. In the city, time and work have another meaning: productivity, surplus, profit, comfort, leisure. In late-nineteenth-century France these two notions of time clashed, and one disappeared."[147] Put slightly differently, "measured time" came gradually and decisively to displace "lived time." Increasingly, "One ate, not upon feeling hungry, but when prompted by the clock: one slept, not when one was tired, but when the clock sanctioned it."[148] The harvest would soon be mechanized, peasants would be proletarianized, and the "natural" rhythms of the day would be coordinated to the ticking of the clock. Or more precisely, in *Les Foins*, "the sound of a bell," as Mantz so astutely put it, "the call of the haymakers' boss, will soon enough pull her back from mute contemplation."

Les Foins emerged at the cusp of this transformation of rural work and its temporal order. The picture was built out of the fluctuating economic circumstances of peasant labor, something the painter knew firsthand, but it remained determined to contain these changes within the Salon-oriented tradition of peasant painting. Ultimately, the canvas represented an attempt to confront and allay through various artistic devices the shifting meaning of peasant labor at a moment of its historical transformation. It is an image of journaliers, of harvesters paid a wage, in other words, workers all but indistinguishable from factory or construction workers in and around Paris. No one wanted to recognize this in 1878, but the various negative reactions to the painting, usually couched in broad stylistic terms, indicate a deeper dissatisfaction with the representation of the peasant as such. The painting failed or succeeded on a single score. If the female figure could be understood as absorbed, the painting compelled conviction as a representation of the "true peasant." This is what enthusiasts from Mantz to Bashkirtseff explicitly appreciated about Bastien-Lepage's painting. And if the state of absorption did compel conviction, the "moment chosen," as Véron put it, became an enduring one that not only allowed the painter to "realize his impressions" but also allowed the peasant woman and her world to persist outside the "measured time" of modernity. *Les Foins* would thus remain within the realm of mythologized peasantry and the tradition of its representation.

If, on the other hand, the painting's absorptive strategy failed to compel conviction, as it increasingly did, especially after 1878, the scene registered as a mere moment of perception, a quasi-mechanical copy of visual reality. And as such, the attempt to revive or maintain the myth of the countryside, the premodern world of the peasant, became all but irrelevant to the interpretation of the picture. What kind of worker appears in *Les Foins* would be beside the point, as the woman could only be a model posing, playing at being a peasant. While Sickert and other later critics of Bastien-Lepage saw this as his fatal flaw, this reading took form only in the wake of his subsequent production.

AFTER REALISM

When the painter's next major painting, *October* (*Saison d'octobre, récolte des pommes de terre*), appeared at the Salon of 1879, critics began, for the first time, to accuse Bastien-Lepage of approaching too close to photography (fig. 30). Saint-Victor was only the first to suggest that the two peasant women in the picture demonstrate a certain "photographic movement."[149] William Feldman summarizes such negative reactions to the figures in the canvas: "By freezing them midway in vigorous physical activity in the manner of stop-action photography, the artist has actually negated, rather than enhanced, their lifelike quality."[150] Geneviève Lacambre and others have seen the photographic as a typical characteristic of the painting that followed *Les Foins*: "What finally distinguishes these naturalist works is that they show their subjects as if caught—frozen—in a specific, characteristic instant, akin to the photography of the period in their attitude, though not in their scale."[151]

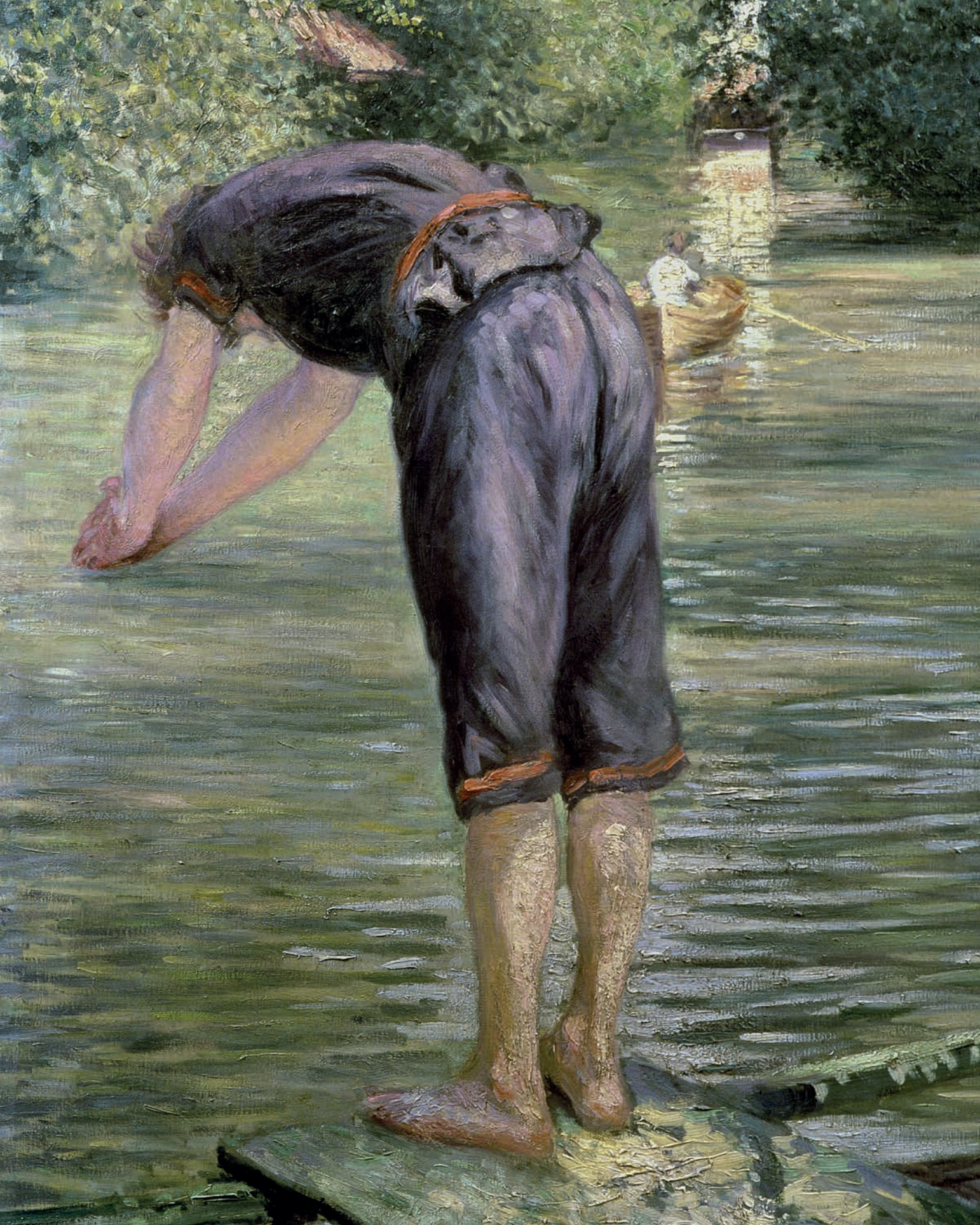
FIGURE 30
Jules Bastien-Lepage, *October (Saison d'octobre, récolte des pommes de terre)*, 1878. Oil on canvas, 71⅛ × 73¼ in (180.7 × 196 cm). National Gallery of Victoria, Melbourne. Felton Bequest, 1928.

Ville Lukkarinen has taken this analysis further, arguing that international Naturalism in the fin de siècle manifested a certain "photographicality," by which he means not so much the use of actual photographs—Gabriel Weisberg has long suggested that Bastien-Lepage based his work on photographs—but rather the evocation in painting of certain qualities such as the poses and self-presentation typical of individuals having their picture taken.[152] For Lukkarinen, however, the earliest example of this quality is not *Les Foins* but *October*, where "the women," he writes, "stand as though arrested on the canvas by an innocent camera working without memory and without academic training."[153]

It is perhaps a historic coincidence that an "instantaneous photography" adequate to capture such frozen moments appeared for the first time in the months between the exhibition of Bastien-Lepage's two paintings.[154] In fact, *October* had been completed well before a French public could have known Eadweard Muybridge's famous photographs of horses in motion, but critical reactions to the painting at the Salon of 1879 were nonetheless framed by certain conceptual understandings of the possibilities and limitations of photographic realism. Indeed, the "pursuit of photographic exactitude" had emerged as a notable aspect of the broader naturalistic tendencies in art at precisely this time.[155] As if in

response, defenders of Bastien-Lepage struggled mightily to extract his art from its association with the mechanical recording of the world, but to little avail.

After 1878, and subsequent to *Les Foins*, paintings of the peasantry in France instead came to embrace a photographic model of the representation of the experience and visualization of reality. As such, the Naturalism of painters like Pascal-Adolphe-Jean Dagnan-Bouveret and Jules-Alexis Muenier fit perfectly within a certain positivist understanding of art, social reality, and time that rose to prominence in France and elsewhere in the 1880s.[156] Painters seeking to keep an earlier Realist tradition alive turned away from the countryside, pursuing subjects that might still compel conviction, that might still bring together politics and pictorial time. Even as Bastien-Lepage himself persisted in certain absorptive strategies, they became less and less persuasive when understood as temporally bounded, photographically as it were, by the instant of perception. Partly this had to do with the perceived disjunction between the academic finish of his paintings and the putative instantaneousness of the subject matter, a problem effectively put to rest by Impressionism. But it also had to do with his failure to compel conviction that the figures depicted in *October* and later works were in fact oblivious to the beholder's presence in front of the canvas. For some, the fiction held. But just as Millet and Courbet increasingly faded as legitimate models for avant-garde art, Bastien-Lepage's ambitions for a revival of absorption and Realism likewise vanished from critical view.



2 1879 / The Impressionist Moment

Gustave Caillebotte, *Decorative Triptych*

> Impressionnistes, réalistes, naturalistes ou indépendants, au fond le nom importe peu.
>
> —Henry Havard, *Le Siècle*, 27 April 1879

Gustave Caillebotte first presented his *Decorative Triptych* at the fourth exhibition of "independent artists" in the spring of 1879 (figs. 31–33).[1] The show has been called "the single most important one of his lifetime," and the three paintings served as something of a capstone.[2] Indeed, if a caricature by Draner can be taken as reliable evidence, they hung at the very end of the galleries, the last works among a very large number on display (fig. 34). While their ambition should consequently have been clear, the critical reaction indicates they more or less sank from view. Only one critic mentioned them directly, incorrectly describing their subject matter and mockingly recommending them as a laughing-cure for depression.[3] Louis Leroy made passing reference to the "whitish gleams on the water" in the right-hand canvas, a picture of two men rowing their flat-bottomed skiffs along a river, but the presentation of several other similarly themed boating pictures of arguably greater artistic interest likely undercut the attention Caillebotte must have thought the triptych deserved.[4] It is equally probable, however, that the unexceptional style and technical production of these works, most notably their sun-dappled depictions of water, turned them into indistinguishable wallpaper in the rooms at 28, avenue de l'Opéra. For the public they were simply too typically Impressionist. Leroy, for one, took Caillebotte's "whitish gleams" as the defining marks of the movement. Referring to the famous revolutionary song of 1790, he jokingly asserted that "these triumphant daubings sing in broad touches the *Ça ira* of the young school."[5]

Critics rightly noted that his works that year—he exhibited twenty-five or so, a few *hors catalogue*—included the first authentically Impressionist paintings Caillebotte had ever produced. As such they seemed a kind of manifesto of commitment to the movement he had, somewhat surprisingly, come to lead. Indeed, far from being "an Impressionist in name only," as critics once designated him, he emerged in 1879 as the "revered chief" of the group.[6] More than one reviewer that year placed him side by side with Claude Monet

Detail of Figure 32

FIGURE 31
Gustave Caillebotte, *Fishing (Pêche à la ligne)*, 1878. Oil on canvas, 61¾ × 44½ in. (157 × 113 cm). Private collection.

and Camille Pissarro, and everyone acknowledged that he had undergone "something of a change in style."[7]

What motivated Caillebotte's change of style has long remained an open question. Kirk Varnedoe once speculated that he turned to "scenes of boaters and bathers, rendered in far brighter, less modulated blues, greens, and yellows" precisely to move his work more closely to the Argenteuil paintings of Monet, Pierre-Auguste Renoir, and the similarly transformed painting of Édouard Manet.[8] Anne-Birgitte Fonsmark has more recently

FIGURE 32
Gustave Caillebotte, *Bathers (Baigneurs)*, 1878. Oil on canvas, 61¾ × 46 in. (157 × 117 cm). Private collection.

insisted on the necessary relation between iconography and the style: "These scenes of outdoor life stimulated Caillebotte to move toward the aesthetic of his Impressionist friends. His colors grew brighter and his brushstrokes more segmented."[9] The shift certainly brought Caillebotte to the forefront of the group—he bore the brunt of the critical mockery, for instance—but it also seemed to send him down a path to what Michael Fried has called the "dead end" of his art in about 1882, after which he exhibited almost no new works in France.[10] Varnedoe's own assessment of the paintings on show in 1879 offered

FIGURE 33
Gustave Caillebotte, *Périssoires*, 1878. Oil on canvas, 61¾ × 44½ in. (157 × 113 cm). Musée des Beaux-Arts, Rennes.

one of the most biting remarks about the painter whom he more or less had put on the art historical map. "To the degree that they seem more genuinely Impressionist," he wrote, "these pictures seem less authentically personal. Loose brushwork and bolder colors were not a vocabulary he adopted with natural ease, and many of the pictures are awkward. Only the enduring eccentricities of perspective give these images a distinctly original character, occasionally bizarre or semi-comic."[11] Caillebotte's contributions to the fourth Impressionist exhibition thus simultaneously mark the painter's triumphant move to the

FIGURE 34
Draner, *Chez MM. Les Peintres impressionnistes*, 1879. Illustration from *Le Charivari*, 23 April 1879.

head of the avant-garde and the beginning of his terminal decline, a doubleness reflected in the critical reception that year.

This chapter seeks to explain the failure of Caillebotte's maneuver in 1879. Why, it asks, was the *Decorative Triptych*, and by extension the artist's wider turn to Impressionism, so unsuccessful in finding or holding a public in 1879? An answer can be found in the painter's attempted synthesis of certain shifting temporal modes. The works he had shown in 1876 and 1877 had tied Caillebotte back to an earlier concern with figures "absorbed" in their tasks, as the astute critic Louis de Fourcaud put it, one that offered the beholder a compelling depiction of slow, extended, or repetitive time.[12] In fact, critics explicitly and repeatedly compared *The Floor-Scrapers* with the work of Gustave Courbet, whose painting offered an obvious precedent for the temporality of such later Realism (fig. 35).[13] Despite the frontal orientation and high horizon of Caillebotte's picture, the extended and repetitive actions of his laboring figures immediately call to mind *The Stonebreakers* (see fig. 24). The compositional placement of their wine bottle exactly where Courbet had set his workers' *gamelle* likewise secures the antecedence. The dramatic turn to Impressionism in 1879 therefore carried with it a decisively new embrace of what Paul Mantz called the "fugitive image."[14] The earlier mode fit within a broader generational concern with the effects of temporal duration—Jules Bastien-Lepage and Caillebotte were born the same year—and can be understood as belonging to an artistic tradition of rendering objects and spaces that endured in time, moments that were held still for close observation. In 1879, however, the fixed or frozen moments of his earlier works gave way to an ephemeral and passing moment.

The dynamic interplay between pictorial temporalities is typical of later Realism, but Caillebotte's case opens up broader critical issues in the changing culture of time. The shift can be summed up in two telling coincidences that unfolded in the months between the painting of the *Decorative Triptych* and its exhibition. In October of 1878, Caillebotte's mother died, leaving him and his brothers in complete control of their vast inheritance, including the land that the trio of paintings depicts; two months later, the scientific journal

FIGURE 35
Gustave Caillebotte, *The Floor-Scrapers (Raboteurs de parquets)*, 1875. Oil on canvas, 40⅛ × 57⅝ in. (102 × 146.5 cm). Musée d'Orsay, Paris.

La Nature published its famous series of images documenting the new "instantaneous" photography of Eadweard Muybridge.[15] These pictures ultimately served to reorient prior conceptions of Realism and time, but they also indicate that the new works of 1879 should be understood within a wider attempt—by Caillebotte, Bastien-Lepage, and others—to disentangle Realism and photography at a moment when Impressionism offered an obvious artistic alternative. The shifting meaning of "instantaneity" in 1878 or 1879 seems to have been a crucial pivot for an artist seeking to escape the critical accusations of an excessive emulation of photography. At exactly the same moment, the representation of property—the artist's inherited property—became a pressing issue, not only as Caillebotte's ownership of land underwent important modifications, but as the broader economic frame of wealth-production and management came to be dominated by a more temporally evanescent finance capitalism. The success and failure of *The Decorative Triptych* thus turned on its ability to make sense both pictorially and ideologically of the painter's chosen iconography—land—in such a way that his enduring possession of that property could be harmonized with the fugitive moment of Impressionism.

CAILLEBOTTE'S IMPRESSIONISM

The three canvases that constitute the *Decorative Triptych* were all painted in the summer of 1878 at the Caillebotte family estate along the river Yerres, a tributary of the Seine, just

southeast of Paris. They are of roughly equal size—a little over five feet tall and a little under four feet wide—and each renders in bright-keyed, broken brushstrokes a scene of riverside leisure. The leftmost painting, now called *Fishing (Pêche à la ligne)*, shows a seated man in a straw hat and a young girl standing behind him. Both of them hold fishing rods whose lines dangle into the still surface of the river. The center painting, *Bathers (Baigneurs)*, depicts a man diving into what is presumably also the Yerres—an identifiable roof of a structure on the opposite bank appears in both pictures—while another man climbs out of the water, a man swims in the middleground, and a boater approaches from upstream. The right-hand painting, *Périssoires*, shows two men rowing flat-bottomed skiffs—the *périssoires* of the title—an activity Caillebotte knew quite well (fig. 36). Within the limited critical reaction to these works in 1879, these new subjects were largely ignored or dismissed as a mere "pretext for painting spirited and lively figures, swashing water and foliage inundated with light or bathed in transparent shade."[16]

The standard view ever since has been that each of the three paintings depicts a passing moment of time, an instant, a "fugitive image." Certainly, Caillebotte's concern with light reflecting off water, rendered in broken brush strokes, puts these works within an Impressionist orbit. The facture in *Fishing* is especially notable—the rendering of leaves on the trees and their reflection in the river is handled almost identically, producing a consistent surface pattern of yellow and green all across the left-hand side of the canvas. Yet, this reading rests on a kind of quick viewing that had only just come to be normalized at these very Impressionist exhibits. A closer, more sustained viewing of the works—something that the facture admittedly and importantly undercuts—opens up a more complex pictorial structure.

The representation of space in each of the three paintings, for instance, produces a recessive movement between foreground and background. Diagonals cutting across and away from the picture plane, implying motion into the space depicted, dominate the compositions. In *Fishing*, the riverbank moves from bottom left to top right. The line is subtle, but the more one looks at the painting, the stronger the indication that the river flows at an angle consistent with the orthogonals of perspectival space. The diving board in the bottom foreground of the central picture—in a sense the ground and spring for the trio of pictures—can take on the appearance of a palette covered with smeared marks, but it also serves to funnel the implied trajectory of the diver leftward and back into the depicted space of the painting.[17] The board and the diver sit perpendicular to the riverbank, but both lie at an angle to the flow of the river, indicated by the oncoming boat, moving directly toward the picture plane. Of the three works, *Périssoires* gives the most direct indication of spatial recession, the two boaters rhythmically, alternately placing their oars in the water as they glide upstream, away from the picture plane. The space is so radically foreshortened in the third painting that the legs of the figures appear absurdly small in their boats. The recognition of this sharp recession of space makes the tension between the flattening effects of light, water, and leaves, on the one hand, and the movements of the river, diver, and boats, on the other, ever more vivid.

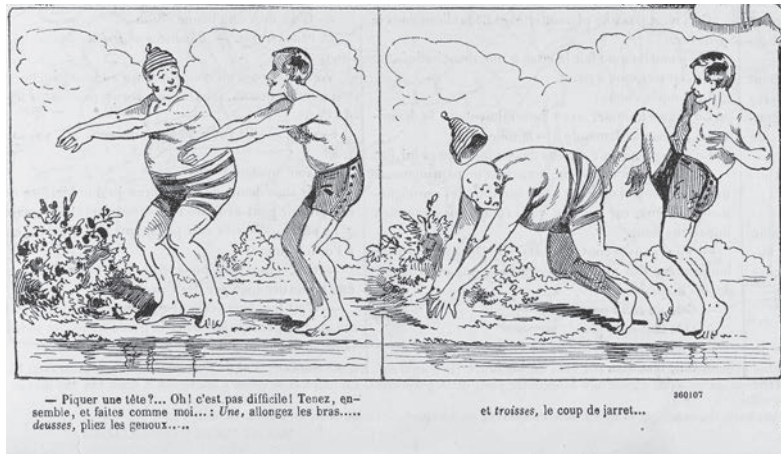


FIGURE 36
Gustave Caillebotte with boating friends, c. 1877. Photograph. Private collection.

FIGURE 37
G. Lafosse, *Swimming (Baignades)*, 1877. Illustration from *Le Journal amusant* 1092 (4 August 1877): 5.

Each of the paintings, then, depicts a specific kind of motion in space, each with its own temporal frame. *Fishing* is a painting that represents the slow, idle time of waiting that had obvious associations with the activity depicted—fishing simply was doing nothing. The only depicted movement is the flickering of light and the slow motion of the river itself, and the painting thus rests on the tension between two temporal orders, between the passing moment of light hitting water and the stillness of the figures and the slowness of their surroundings. *Périssoires*, conversely, is about nothing if not a rhythmic, repetitive motion—"swashing water"—and it seems important that Caillebotte emphasizes the back and forth of left and right paddles in the two boats. One then the other, moving into space: not exactly fast, but continuously unfolding.

The central painting, however, is more evidently concerned with different moments, different instants in time. There are four figures in the picture, arranged in an almost circular pattern. Clockwise from top, at some distance a rowboat—notably not a périssoire—approaches directly from upstream; in the middleground, the head of a swimmer bobs in the water; on the right, a swimmer climbs out of the river; and, at center left, a diver prepares to "take a header." In the nineteenth century, diving headfirst—*piquer une tête*—involved a specific, and now quaint, method of entering the water. Georges Lafosse provides a comic illustration of the three-step technique (fig. 37). "First, extend the arms . . . second, bend the knees . . . and three," explains the helpful instructor, with a kick to his student's rear, "one continuous thrust." Tellingly, the Littré dictionary in the early 1870s gives two meanings for *piquer une tête*: "throw oneself into the water head first, or to

fall in head first."[18] Significantly, then, for the proper understanding of Caillebotte's painting, the diver is not exactly in the motion of diving; he is positioning himself to dive, but is in fact holding himself still to obtain the proper pose. In a moment, his knees will bend and he will dive from the bank—the matching swimsuits of the two men implies a quasi-narrative unfolding—but at the instant depicted, the diver merely bends forward in this frozen position.

Although the three paintings can be, and likely were, understood as offering a straightforward "Impressionist" temporality, they in fact consist of various interwoven times: flow, repetition, stillness, freezing, and the passing moment. These various temporalities have never been properly recognized, perhaps in large part because the relation of the subjects remains so difficult to pin down. Few critics have ever bothered to look at them as of a piece. The only one in 1879 who explicitly grouped them together, for example, identified the three subjects as "a diving bather, another who swims, and a third who floats on his back."[19] Such a description fancifully elaborates the central painting into three different paintings, and the error suggests no one actually thought very hard about how the subjects interlocked or why they would be grouped together. That the same critic nonetheless insisted—tongue firmly in cheek—that the pictures offered exceptionally good "decorative subjects," suggests that one important clue for the proper understanding of the interrelation of these three paintings and their claims for pictorial temporality can be found in their status as *panneaux décoratifs*.

MOVABLE DECORATION

While *Decorative Triptych* is a modern title, each of the three paintings was originally exhibited with the indication that it was a "decorative panel."[20] Caillebotte's choice of words was not unusual at the time. In 1879 Edgar Degas also showed a work with "decorative" in the title, and Manet sent a proposal to the city of Paris for a series of decorative paintings depicting various aspects of city life. The use of the word *décoratif* at and around the Impressionist exhibitions can, of course, be understood within a broader strategy to deflect criticisms of the lack of finish, for, as Anne Distel has pointed out, "summary handling was traditionally sanctioned in 'decorative' painting."[21] When in 1893 Caillebotte painted flowers onto a set of doors, this was surely the kind of decorative painting he had in mind, and the loose rendering constituted one part of this *décoration fixe*, or ornamentation, of the dining room in his house in Petit Gennevilliers, where he lived from 1881 until his death in 1894.[22] The three paintings from 1879, however, would surely have been understood within the category of *décoration mobile*, or, as Henry Havard later defined it, "art objects, chairs, armoires, wall hangings, curtains—in a word, everything that could be considered furnishings."[23]

The work of Monet offered the most obvious precedent for this sort of decorative work. Easel paintings with a "decorative" theme had appeared at the two previous exhibits

of the Impressionists: in 1876 *The Luncheon*—a work purchased by Caillebotte in 1878—was shown simply as *Panneau décoratif*; and, in 1877, *Turkeys* was shown with the subtitle "unfinished decoration" (fig. 38). The latter canvas formed part of a commission from the department store owner Ernest Hoschedé for four paintings, alongside *Corner of the Garden at Montgeron*, *The Pond at Montgeron*, and *The Hunt*, intended to decorate the dining room of his newly purchased estate in Montgeron—the Château Rottembourg is visible in the background of *Turkeys*.[24] As has long been noted, this location was just downstream on the Yerres from the Caillebotte estate—a half hour walk at most—and it is surely possible that the idea for placing together the three paintings was derived from Monet, if not from visits to the Hoschedé home itself.

The four paintings propose a certain relation to traditional representations of seasons, or simply to the four walls of a room, but they also seek to map out a range of territorial concerns in the estate—ponds and animals and human activities. They are, in other words, paintings that obviously depict the Montgeron estate. That Hoschedé went bankrupt in June 1878, before he could install the quartet, does not undercut the intent of the "decorative" series.[25] The paintings in the *Decorative Triptych* likewise were intended to function as "movable decoration" within an interior, but unlike Monet's decorative paintings they limit their depiction to one season and one location, whose relation to the Caillebotte estate is less evident. The trio of paintings instead seems to explore various aspects of a single motif, from different angles, over time.

If Monet was the model, then, the more pertinent comparison might very well have been his series of paintings of the Gare Saint-Lazare produced in early 1877—immediately

FIGURE 38
Claude Monet, *Turkeys (unfinished decoration) (Les Dindons [décoration non terminée])*, 1877. Oil on canvas, 68⅞ × 68⅛ (174.5 × 172.5 cm). Musée d'Orsay, Paris.

FIGURE 39
Claude Monet, *Gare Saint-Lazare (La Gare Saint-Lazare)*, 1877. Oil on canvas, 29¾ × 41 in. (75.5 × 104 cm). Musée d'Orsay, Paris.

FIGURE 40
Claude Monet, *Gare Saint-Lazare: Exterior (The Signal) (La Gare Saint-Lazare, à l'extérieur [Le Signal])*, 1877. Oil on canvas, 25⅝ × 31⅞ in. (65 × 81 cm). Niedersächsisches Landesmuseum, Hannover.

FIGURE 41
Claude Monet, *La Gare Saint-Lazare: Exterior View (La Gare Saint-Lazare, vue extérieure)*, 1877. Oil on canvas, 25¼ × 31⅞ in. (64 × 81 cm). Private collection.

following his sojourn in Montgeron—and shown in part at the third Impressionist exhibit in the spring. That Caillebotte actually paid the rent for Monet's apartment during this campaign suggests intimate familiarity with the project.[26] That he purchased three of the resulting works in March 1878 only confirms it. These paintings might thus have functioned as a kind of template for a group of three paintings of a similar subject showing the unfolding of a place in time (figs. 39–41). What is distinctive is the temporality of the series as it was coming to be defined: many paintings done at different times showing the same location under different vantages and different effects of light. The series of three paintings that Caillebotte selected to purchase from Monet seems especially oriented toward this durational unfolding between the individual spaces and moments represented in each picture. Depending on their arrangement—and here the exact hanging of these works within the space of the interior would be fascinating to know—the series gives a

FIGURE 42
The "Casin" of the former Caillebotte property, Yerres, c. 1900. Photograph. Album Dubois-Chaslin.

sense of movement in or out of the Saint-Lazare train station, past and under the girders of the Pont de l'Europe. With Monet as a model, then, Caillebotte's own *Triptych* can be understood as an attempt to synthesize a fairly conventional decorative group with the more radical innovation of the series paintings. Given the broad repetition of boating and swimming motifs in the works shown in 1879, the three paintings at the end of the exhibit should have served to punctuate this nascent rethinking of Impressionist temporality.

That the seriality of the *Decorative Triptych*, and its implied relation to Monet's *Gare Saint-Lazare* project, has never been appreciated likely derives from the situation of its public display. The Hoschedé precedent makes clear that the *Decorative Triptych* was designed to be seen not only in the art galleries on avenue de l'Opéra but also in the Italianate villa, called the *casin*, on the Caillebotte estate at Yerres (fig. 42). This is something the critic Paul Sébillot seems to have intuited when criticizing the painter's work: "Certain of his compositions used as decoration in an apartment, isolated, calmed down somewhat by surroundings of gilded paneling, would lose the crude and violent aspect they have in the light in which they are presently exhibited."[27] Where the paintings did in fact hang after May 1879 has never been clearly established—if they were installed at Yerres it was before the Impressionist exhibition, as the property was sold before the closing of the galleries. Still, it is significant that the artist created them with this location in mind. Caillebotte's own family estate was to have provided the proper surrounding, the imagined frame, for his panneaux décoratifs.

YERRES

The property at Yerres constitutes the single largest iconographic reference in Caillebotte's entire oeuvre. About eighty paintings were produced on the grounds of the estate, including some of the painter's earliest artistic endeavors, and the vast majority

of works at the exhibition in 1879 depict some aspect of the property. Pierre Wittmer has convincingly demonstrated the topographical locations of these various paintings.[28] The three pictures that form the *Decorative Triptych* were painted along the same stretch of the river, just downstream from the new bridge, completed in about 1870, which connected the Caillebotte property to the main town. In some of the paintings, the roofs and tiles of the public bathing house are visible through the leaves. A period postcard gives a sense of the area upstream from these three pictures (fig. 43). The fishing picture is set farthest downstream, according to Wittmer, near the entrance to the family pond, with the diving and the boating progressively farther upstream toward the bridge. In this account, the three work as a kind of punctuated panorama moving—one, two, three—from left to right, along the riverbank of the Caillebotte property. And while both the fishing picture and the diving picture show the roof of the so-called "gazebo" on the right bank of the river—a landmark that situates their locations with a fair amount of precision—the boating picture offers only vague reflections upstream to mark the location of the bridge or bathing house. On its own, the third painting could be set anywhere. Within the ensemble, however, it makes perfect sense to see the boating picture as the third in a series that overlaps the others and completes an expansive view of a continuous geographic location.

Despite the evidence for the setting of these representations of Yerres, there is nothing in the titles or the critical reception of the works that indicates that Caillebotte intended anyone to understand these works as the record of a particular place. Critics never acknowledged the status of Yerres as his family estate in 1879. The catalogue of the exhibition simply listed his address as 31, boulevard Haussmann, an apartment he had only

FIGURE 43
Mulard, *Yerres, Le Lavoir et les Bains*, c. 1900. Postcard. Private collection.

just purchased with his brother Martial sometime after the death of his mother the previous October. There are also telling indications that the specificity of the locations depicted in these paintings was mutable, and perhaps deliberately so. In the issue of 17 July 1880, *La Vie moderne* reproduced a pencil sketch for *Bathing* with the title "Paris in Summer: At La Grenouillère" (fig. 44). Such a reconfiguration of subject matter thus shifted *Bathing* and its cognates from the previous year's exhibit firmly into an iconographic orbit increasingly associated with Impressionism (fig. 45). The journal had in fact only just mounted Monet's first private exhibition the previous month, and the show included at least one work that Caillebotte later bequeathed to the French state.[29] By the time he moved to Petit Gennevilliers just across the river from Argenteuil, Caillebotte was understood to occupy the same territory as Monet and Renoir. The fact that Caillebotte can be identified in the right foreground of Renoir's *Luncheon of the Boating Party*, a work painted around this same time depicting the Restaurant Fournaise in Chatou—located only a few miles downriver from his new home—simply verifies these overlapping social and geographic spheres (fig. 46). It is thus significant that while the Yerres works are now firmly understood as belonging to, emerging out of, and representing Caillebotte's family property—something he had only tenuous hold over in 1878, but had liquidated by the close of the

FIGURE 44
Gustave Caillebotte, *À la Grenouillère*, c. 1878. From *La Vie moderne* 29 (17 July 1880): 464.

FIGURE 45
Yon, *Les Environs de Paris: La Grenouillère*, 1873. Illustration from *L'Illustration* 1590 (16 August 1873): 112–13.

FIGURE 46
Pierre-Auguste Renoir, *Luncheon of the Boating Party (Le Déjeuner des canotiers)*, 1880–81. Oil on canvas, 50⅜ × 68⅛ in. (128 × 173 cm). Phillips Collection, Washington D.C. Acquired 1923.

exhibition in 1879—for the nineteenth-century public, the paintings functioned as general markers of summer leisure, bourgeois pleasures, and the temporality these activities implied. Moreover, the subtle retitling of *Bathers* as *La Grenouillère* more likely than not took place with Caillebotte's full knowledge and consent. Indeed, it seems quite probable that he initiated it. This serves to suggest that one task involved in the move from the production of the painting to its public reception had to do with making harmonious the subject matter and the style; that is, Yerres had to become the Seine. That Caillebotte had in fact sold the property in the months between the painting of *Bathers* and the publication of the drawing in *La Vie moderne* only confirms the suspicion that the painter was working hard to obscure the public perception of his iconography, or rather to manage the shifting nature of its referent: his property.

CAILLEBOTTE'S PROPERTY

When the estate at Yerres was sold in early 1879, it had been in the family for almost twenty years. It was not the first, nor the last, such property acquired and sold. When Gustave Caillebotte was born in August 1848 on the rue du Faubourg Saint-Denis, his father was already quite rich. Some years before, Martial Caillebotte had expanded his textile business from Normandy into Paris—the painter's childhood home sat across a garden from the manufacturing center—and would soon make a fortune supplying bedding to the French army. From the profits of the business, he purchased a large farm in Puisieux, northeast of Paris, for 365,000 francs in 1852. In 1860 he acquired the estate at Yerres, including various buildings and their furnishings, for 136,000 francs. Six years later, a lot at 77, rue de Miromesnil on the corner of the rue de Lisbonne in Paris was purchased in cash for 148,700 francs directly from the city of Paris.[30] A luxurious *hôtel particulier*, valued at 350,000 francs, then went up amid the wider Haussmann-era construction boom in the area.[31] In the fall of 1867 the family moved in, and the old home in the 10th Arrondissement was soon demolished to allow for the development of a block of buildings—Martial was a key investor—that stretched along the new rue des Deux-Gares.[32] On the rue de Lisbonne construction of an extension to the Caillebotte home was completed in 1874, and rental properties nearby also appear on the list of buildings owned by the family. Having thus transferred the profits from a huge government contract to the acquisition of property in the capital and the countryside, as well as stocks and bonds, the fortune of Caillebotte *père* was valued at about two million francs upon the final settlement of his estate.[33]

The history of Gustave Caillebotte's inheritance of this wealth is complicated. As Michael Marrinan has shown, the distribution of the estate at the time of Martial's death in late 1873 to his four surviving sons—Gustave had one older half-brother, Alfred, and two younger brothers: René, who died in late 1876, and Martial, the youngest—was likely delayed because his will stipulated that his sons fully support his wife until her death.[34] So although Gustave had money of his own in 1874—from the two properties he inherited on the rue des Deux-Gares, Caillebotte earned revenue in 1875 of 20,265 francs in rents—it was not until after the death of his mother in October 1878 that he came into his own fortune.[35]

None of this financial history is especially distinctive. Many investors gained large returns on property investments during the Second Empire and, over the course of the nineteenth century, inherited wealth—what Thomas Piketty calls "inheritance flow"—constituted an astonishing 20 to 25 percent of national income in France, reaching an all-time peak in about 1880 and declining only in the years around World War I.[36] Caillebotte thus belonged to a large, distinctive class of *héritiers* within the broader economy. He also entered it at an opportune moment. The transfer of his father's commercial profit into rent-earning investments had been fully completed by the time of his death, a moment that coincided with the beginning of a twenty-year period of economic slowdown.

Financial panics in Vienna and New York in 1873 led to world-wide economic stagnation, from which the French economy fully recovered only in the 1890s. Trade and manufacturing declined worldwide, as did prices of key commodities. With the fall in prices, the cost of living leveled or declined in every industrialized country, even as fixed returns from investments stayed steady. By some accounts, this period of deflation doubled or even tripled the purchasing power of fixed income.[37] In other words, Caillebotte and his brothers had even greater real wealth than their father, precisely because the broader economy had entered into a period of contraction while their income stayed steady.[38] It is thus not surprising that references to the artist's wealth in his lifetime consistently overstate his fortune. Where a generous estimate of his annual income might top out at 50,000 francs, and the market value of his entire "portfolio" probably totaled no more than 700,000 francs, critics called him a "millionaire" and claimed, in 1879, that he had an income of "about one hundred thousand francs in rents."[39]

However inflated such numbers might have been, the critics got the source of income right. The man who exhibited the *Decorative Triptych* in April 1879 was, as at least one critic pointed out at the time, a *rentier*.[40] In its broadest sense, this term meant, as the *Littré* dictionary put it at the time, a "bourgeois who lives off returns [from possessions, pensions, or rents], with neither a trade nor industry."[41] Thus the mother of the artist could be listed at the time of her death as "Mme Caillebotte, rentière," even if her son wished to be known as "M. Caillebotte, artiste, peintre."[42] As Eugen Weber points out, this distinctive class of rentiers was especially large in the late nineteenth century, a period when "money retained its value and inflation scarcely counted."[43] Indeed, the Third Republic before 1914 can be understood as a "society of rentiers."[44] In the art historical literature, however, the word, if and when it appears, serves merely as a synonym for *haut bourgeois*. Indeed, it has seemed sufficient since the revival of Caillebotte's fame in the 1970s to acknowledge that the painter was "deeply and continually wealthy" or that he was from the "Parisian upper-middle class."[45] Even Marrinan, who has given us the only extended account of the relation of Caillebotte's money and his art, stops short of situating the family's wealth, which he usefully details with archival precision, within the larger history of capitalist economy.[46] In fact, Caillebotte's fortune was quite ordinary in his own time, but the notion that returns from capital investment would outstrip actual economic growth has until very recently been seen as a historical aberration characteristic of a primitive phase of capital accumulation. As Piketty has dramatically demonstrated, however, it is the historic norm in France and elsewhere since at least 1700. Nonetheless, in what he calls the "clash of temporalities," the long-term expansion of fortunes such as Caillebotte's can be very difficult to perceive from the shorter-term perspective of the wage-earner.[47] For the rentier class of the nineteenth century, and consistent with the broader persistence of agrarian and quasi-feudal *mentalités* among the elite of Europe, wealth continued to derive primarily from the uninterrupted, stable, and long-run return on investments. The time of the rentier was, in other words, cognate with the slower, extended time of Realism.

THE TIME OF FINANCE CAPITALISM

Unlike Caillebotte, most of the key patrons of Impressionism, as Robert Herbert points out, "were not long-established members of high society, but wielders of new money: the financier Ernest May, the banker Albert Hecht, the retailer and speculator Ernest Hoschedé."[48] Herbert suggests, but does not fully explain, the relation between this new capitalism and the temporal "moment" associated with the new painting. In Caillebotte's case, however, this involved the recognition of the distinction between the rentier class to which he belonged and the world of finance capitalism coming to dominate the French economy, and with which Impressionism was increasingly associated. "With the rapid and easy circulation of money," as Michel Melot argues, "capitalist philosophy underwent a profound change. The belief in the value of lasting equilibrium and the well-defined object [gold, land, commodities] gave way to such values as mobility, flexibility, and a capacity to invent and adapt."[49] These new "social-economic conditions" brought forth a significant "revision of the notion of time," leaving behind the "permanence" of an older order for wealth "associated with the value and movement of time."[50] For the landowner as for the financier, then, as Georg Simmel puts it, "time is governed in a particular way and form," but these temporalities are different, and those differences can be given representational form in the temporality of painting.[51]

There was one work at the Impressionist exhibition of 1879 that might have indicated to the careful observer some of the dynamic shifts in finance then underpinning not only the French economy but also the new painting itself. In the catalogue of the show, *Portraits at the Stock Exchange* by Degas appeared two pages after Caillebotte's *Decorative Triptych* (fig. 47). Monsieur "E.M.," or Ernest May, was already listed as the owner of the work, and the canvas was almost certainly designed to show him in his typical work environment, the Paris Bourse. The banker had been introduced to Degas through Caillebotte, and the three appear to have had dinner about a month before the opening of the exhibition in 1879. May had only recently become interested in acquiring Impressionist paintings, and the commission for the picture is in part a result of his growing collection, which then included a canvas by Caillebotte.[52] Although only 33 at the time the work was completed—three years older than Caillebotte—he had already made a successful career for himself: a key international agent of the Franco-Egyptian Bank, he would soon occupy a major role in French finance, including notably the successful negotiations for the backing of the construction of the Eiffel Tower. He later ran the Comptoir National d'Escompte de Paris—the bank that eventually became BNP Parisbas, now the third largest bank in the world.[53]

None of this is made clear in Degas's picture. Even the action of the figures has always been a matter of speculation—the left-hand figure appears to whisper something into May's ear, but what he might be saying is deliberately unknowable. The rendering of faces and bodies is equally vague; the crowd of brokers appears bustling with business, but remains inscrutable as well. Even the setting is ambiguous. Typically, it has been

FIGURE 47
Edgar Degas, *Portraits at the Stock Exchange (Portraits, à la Bourse)*, c. 1878–79. Oil on canvas, 39⅜ × 32¼ in. (100 × 82 cm). Musée d'Orsay, Paris.

understood to be the exterior portico of the stock exchange.[54] It is, however, quite evident from period illustrations that the setting of *Portraits at the Stock Exchange* is the interior of the Bourse, and that it depicts a corner of the trading hall, at some distance from the famous *corbeille*, where trades were handled by the *agents de change* (fig. 48). The distinction is telling and crucial for the understanding of the work as a picture of finance capitalism in 1879. As a banker, not a stockbroker, May would have bought and sold securities through his own agents—likely the men who immediately surround him in the picture—who would in turn have taken the trades to the agents de change. Under the portico, by contrast, the so-called "outside bankers," or *coulissiers*, traded in an unregulated market of

FIGURE 48
Roux, *A Circle of Stockbrokers at the Paris Stock Exchange (La Corbeille des agents de change à la Bourse de Paris)*, 1865. Illustration from *L'Univers illustré* 495 (20 December 1865): 805.

derivatives and futures.[55] Of equal significance, at the time that Degas produced *Portraits at the Stock Exchange*, this murkier financial world was rising to prominence, as the sale of shares in the Union Générale bank and the new Panama Canal Company initiated a decade of frenzied speculation followed by stunning bankruptcies that came to emblematize the fin-de-siècle French economy.[56]

Degas was, of course, familiar with these financial dynamics and this particular location. He came from a banking family, albeit one whose fortunes had faltered by the 1870s, and his brother Achille had been the victim of an assault on the steps of the Bourse in 1875.[57] But he was not the only member of the Impressionist circle with connections to the world of finance in 1879. Paul Gauguin, who contributed a fairly conventional bust of his son to the group show that year, was working as a coulissier for the firm of André Bourdon at 21, rue Le Peletier, having moved on from the more tedious work as a *liquidateur* for Paul Bertin in the early 1870s.[58] In this earlier position, he earned only two hundred francs a month (by comparison, a female faneuse at the same time might have earned sixty

francs), but with an annual bonus of about three thousand. In 1879, however, while working as a coulissier outside the Bourse, Gauguin earned about thirty thousand, more or less matching Caillebotte's income. The difference, of course, is that the former's money came from speculative trades, futures, and quick, profitable turnarounds, while the latter simply had to collect money owed to him. And when the stock market turned—after the Union Générale crash in 1882, notably—Gauguin had nothing, while Caillebotte sailed straight on.

Degas's *Portraits at the Stock Exchange* is a picture of the stock exchange, then, but it suggests the blurring of the interior space of the agent de change and the murkier world of the coulissier outside. Critics mentioned nothing of this. Indeed, there is only the sparsest evidence that anyone said anything about Degas's painting in 1879. It is certainly possible that he failed to show it that year, or that he brought it to the exhibition very late. Degas was instrumental in choosing the actual location of the exhibit on the avenue de l'Opéra, and he and Caillebotte worked in tandem to hang the exhibit. Regardless, the *Portraits at the Stock Exchange* was painted at about the same time, and thus gives a sense of what finance capitalism was perceived to be—or rather how unknowable, secretive, and chaotic it was. It is, as Carol Armstrong so nicely puts it, "a picture of clandestine commerce, depicting the exchange of market information as a species of covert operations conducted through furtive whispers and spying glances."[59] For the old-school bankers and for the rentiers it offered a picture of a fundamentally different and largely disturbing new world of money.

Meyer Schapiro once claimed that both the "rentier leisure class in modern capitalist society" and the "active businessmen and wealthy professionals" served to determine the "conception of art as purely aesthetic and individual," but he stopped short of elaborating the differences between these two kinds of artistic patrons.[60] As should now be clear, one key difference is the time of economy: permanent, durable, and fixed, on the one hand, and dynamic, flexible, and evanescent on the other. In the 1870s such temporal divisions—not coincidentally—correspond to the artistic productions known as Realism and Impressionism. Caillebotte's career as a painter illustrates perhaps better than any the shifting and problematic interrelation of economic and aesthetic temporalities. Nowhere is this clearer than in the representation of his property.

PICTURING PROPERTY

The fact that Caillebotte almost always depicted the land from which his wealth derived would seem to situate the "millionaire who paints" within a slightly older economic temporal order, one that could only imagine profit flowing from the continuous ownership of property.[61] It should come as no surprise, in fact, to recognize that the entire history of Caillebotte's painting can be inscribed within the confines of his property. The home at 77, rue de Mirosmesnil, to take an obvious example, is the setting of many of Caillebotte's early interior paintings. The *Floor-Scrapers* almost certainly depicts a room in the Caillebotte *hôtel*. Indeed, it is quite possibly the room that had been converted into the

FIGURE 49
Gustave Caillebotte, *Young Man at His Window (Jeune homme à sa fenêtre)*, 1875. Oil on canvas, 46 × 32¼ in. (117 × 82 cm). Private collection.

artist's studio.[62] Other prominent works on display in 1876 likewise situate the painter's primary motifs within his home. In addition to *Floor-Scrapers* and its variant, four other works in the exhibition catalogue of 1876 show the interior of the building: *Young Man at the Piano*, *Luncheon*, an unidentified variant on the latter entitled *After Luncheon*, and *Young Man at His Window* (fig. 49). Caillebotte produced each of these paintings—that is, all the paintings known to have been shown in 1876—within the Miromesnil property in the years immediately following the death of its first owner, his father. When they were painted, the house was, ostensibly, legally owned by the four brothers, but they deferred acting on this inheritance to allow their father's widow to reside in the manner in which she was accustomed.[63] Her three sons shared that comfort. René, the second, lived beyond his means and died young and in debt in 1876. Much speculation no doubt could be generated regarding

the family dynamics, the psychology of this cloistered world—something that James Ensor's early work obviously circles round as well. For now, it suffices to say that one of the things Caillebotte's early work does is manufacture a peculiar viewing position that simultaneously includes the beholder within the interior and at the same time effectively denies the beholder a place within it. As Fried puts it in his discussion of the street scene depicting the intersection of the rue de Lisbonne and the boulevard Malesherbes in the background of *Young Man at His Window*: "Our perception of the scene through the open window is in the end associated *neither* with the point of view of the young man, as if we are meant to forget our separateness from him in our involvement with the scene, *nor* with a distinct point of view that includes him and the scene, as if the relative positions of the young man and woman, carriage, and horses were strictly a function of our situatedness further back in the apartment."[64] The wider argument in Fried's analysis here concerns the "effects of dislocation and spatial vertigo that belong to a bodily register, in opposition to the ocular register of the reflections or dazzle."[65] At the same time, such effects can be understood as an attempt by the artist simultaneously to own and to acknowledge lack of ownership—occupying, as it were, the space within the home, and yet remaining excluded from it.

The works are too intimate, too suggestive of identification, of belonging, of the artist's presence within these spaces to fully exclude the viewer; they are simultaneously too unusual in their perspectival construction—not only are the horizons high, the perspective falls away on the sides in very peculiar ways—to allow the viewer to position herself relative to the scene. It is almost as if the artist is posited within this world, but the beholder is excluded. And what is the beholder excluded from? Caillebotte's property, of which in fact, he himself was only tentatively the possessor. It hardly seems accidental, then, that the world depicted in these works is Caillebotte's world, his home, his family, his property, but presented to public view. The management of the distinction drives in some sense the doubleness of his artistic project at this moment.

At the third exhibition of the Impressionists in 1877, Caillebotte seemed to break out of or move beyond the impasse of the works of 1875 and 1876. Although half the paintings explicitly depicted his family within the space of their property (two interiors, and one image of his female relatives outdoors at the Yerres estate), the rest show the streets of Paris. By moving his iconography into public space, the painter no longer faced, it would seem, the inherent double-bind of private property presented for public consumption as an image. The city depicted in *Paris Street, Rainy Day* and *The Pont de l'Europe*—they both represent the new neighborhood northwest of the Gare Saint-Lazare—was already an image, a "spectacle," to be consumed by a public (figs. 50, 51).[66] This was ultimately an atomized public, of course, made of presumably bourgeois, presumably male spectators not unlike the central figures in these paintings, and at least one critic identified the painter with these *flâneurs*, declaring that the "principal character" in *The Pont de l'Europe* "is the painter himself."[67] It is not necessary to posit quite this level of identification to understand

FIGURE 50
Gustave Caillebotte, *Paris Street, Rainy Day (Rue de Paris; Temps de pluie)*, 1877. Oil on canvas, 6 ft. 11½ in. × 9 ft.¾ in. (212.2 × 276.2 cm). Art Institute of Chicago. Charles H. and Mary F. S. Worcester Collection (1964.336).

that Caillebotte is indeed representing his city, the city of the bourgeois property-owner. The *quartier de l'Europe* depicted in these paintings adjoins his own neighborhood—the house on the rue de Miromesnil is a stone's throw away in the same 8th Arrondissement—but its very existence in this form at this moment closely corresponds to the painter's own, rent-producing property on the other side of town. As Marni Kessler has argued, the streets depicted in *The Pont de l'Europe*, with their "regularity and coherence," can be understood to function as "synecdoches for the other renovated parts of Paris."[68] Importantly, the new neighborhood around the place de l'Europe appeared as part of a major rebuilding project, including the expansion of the Gare Saint-Lazare and the completion of the railroad bridge in 1868, at exactly the same moment as the Caillebotte family relocation and the beginning of the development of the rue des Deux-Gares. A late-Haussmann-era real-estate scheme near a major train station thus constitutes not only the subject of Caillebotte's major paintings at the third Impressionist exhibition of 1877, but also the key source of wealth—at least 20,000 francs in rent—for that same painter. The

FIGURE 51
Gustave Caillebotte, *The Pont de l'Europe (Le Pont de l'Europe)*, c. 1876. Oil on canvas, 49 × 71⅛ in. (125 × 181 cm). Petit Palais, Musée d'Art Moderne, Geneva.

depiction of property here has arguably been shifted into a quasi-public register, and it is represented tangentially, cryptically, and perhaps unconsciously, but the fact remains: the city of Paris in *The Pont de l'Europe* was not merely the painter's own city, it was the city he owned. To assert that the painter had deep, complicated relations, both personal and aesthetic, to the urbanization of the 1860s and 1870s should hardly shock—these paintings have come to stand for Haussmannization—but the extent and nature of those ties does undercut the temptation to see him as Impressionism's most "perspicacious critic of the capitalist edifice that Haussmann's city was."[69]

Caillebotte's decision, possibly unwitting and entirely unrecognized, to cycle round the theme of his own property in the works displayed in 1876 and 1877 can be situated in relation to his chosen style of painting. Far from simply constituting a revival of Courbet's Realism—although it was certainly that as well—his art was understood at the time as part of a larger "photographic" turn in French painting. As such, Caillebotte's means of possessing property and occupying space in and through representation becomes much more apparent. At the same time, the temporal contradictions in the practice of what could be called *photo-peinture*, or "photo-painting," came to the surface in ways that ultimately forced the painter to abandon his early style.[70]

PHOTO-PAINTING

Among the very earliest critical assessments of Caillebotte's work was a dismissive and somewhat surprising passage in the review of the 1876 exhibition of the Impressionists written by Émile Zola. Addressing an audience largely removed from Paris—one version of the review appeared in Marseilles and another in Saint Petersburg, Russia—he declared that the *Floor-Scrapers* and *Young Man at His Window* constituted a kind of painting that was "quite anti-artistic, a painting clear as glass, bourgeois, by dint of exactitude. The photography of reality, when it isn't elevated by the original mark of artistic talent, is something to be pitied."[71] For Zola, Caillebotte's bourgeois exactitude and lack of overt artistic stylization made his painting equivalent to a photographic document.

The next year, several other critics noted the conjunction of photography and painting in Caillebotte's *Pont de l'Europe* and *Paris Street, Rainy Day*. Many seemed to agree that he was only nominally an Impressionist, which largely meant that he could "draw" better than his peers.[72] But in one of the earliest reviews of the 1877 exhibition, Sébillot declared that Caillebotte's work "gives an idea of what photography will be like when the means have been found to reproduce the intensity and delicacy of color."[73] Mario Proth went even further to assert that Caillebotte needed little else for his works to "resemble instantaneous photographs, photochromes playing rather skillfully at painting."[74] Lamenting the artist's absence from the Exposition Universelle the following year, Camille Lemonnier compared his work to "unretouched photographs."[75]

Although references to photography in the critical literature on Caillebotte's painting completely evaporate after 1878, art historians have come to view the relation as an obvious one. Several recent exhibitions and books have directly addressed the question, and some evidence exists that Caillebotte held a sizable collection of photographs, and that his teacher Léon Bonnat taught him how to use photographs in the production of Salon-oriented paintings.[76] That his brother Martial later emerged as an amateur photographer of some limited talent has fueled speculation of their possible shared interest in the medium.[77] Peter Galassi was only the first to point out that the size of the initial drawings for several key paintings—*The Pont de l'Europe* and *Paris Street, Rainy Day* among others—matches that of standard large glass-plate photographs.[78] Subsequently, art historians have generally assumed either that Caillebotte copied directly from photographs, or that he emulated the appearance of photographs.[79] By contrast, Varnedoe skeptically insists on the absence of direct photographic models for Caillebotte's pictorial innovations, and he consequently proposes to see the painter's work "not as indebted to photographs, but as rejecting and triumphing over the kind of realism photography offered them."[80] What no art historian has explained, however, is the contemporary critical insistence on the significance of photography for an understanding of later Realist painting.

Given the extremely limited knowledge that exists regarding how Caillebotte might have worked from or with photographs, as well as the limited correspondence between his work and actual photographs at the time, what were critics seeking to convey about

FIGURE 52
Jean Béraud, *Sunday at the Church of Saint-Philippe-du-Roule, Paris (Le Dimanche, près de Saint-Philippe-du Roule)*, 1877. Oil on canvas, 23⅜ × 31⅞ in. (59 × 81 cm). Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York. Gift of Mr. and Mrs. William B. Jaffe, 1955.

the relation of Caillebotte's painting and photography in 1876 and 1877? What did it mean to compare his paintings to photographs? Though it is almost inevitably ignored in the current literature—precisely because he has been situated in such close proximity to Impressionism and not to the wider artistic culture of his day—no one at the time thought him particularly unusual in his evocation of photographic naturalism. Indeed, it was a commonplace in the 1870s to evoke such comparisons. At the Salon of 1875, for example, a critic presciently suggested that the two works on show by Thomas Eakins "resemble photographic prints covered with light watercolor tint."[81] Two years later Proth more or less reiterated his comments about Caillebotte in an account of Jean Béraud's contribution to the Salon of 1877, *Sunday at the Church of Saint-Philippe-du-Roule, Paris* (fig. 52). "It's a pretty thing," he wrote, "well composed, well observed, but much too photographic."[82] At the same Salon, Edmond Duranty, in his praise for Raffaëlli's "extraordinary" *Family of Jean-Le-Boîteux, Peasants from Plougasnou*, acknowledged that the figures were "arranged, grouped, you might say, by a village photographer" (see fig. 20).[83] The next year, Eugène Véron dismissed Realism altogether precisely because it sought to depict "objects as faithfully as photography would do if it could reproduce color as well as form."[84] By 1879 a consensus emerged that the "mechanical reproduction of nature" had become the model for virtually all new art at the Salon.[85] Landscape painting, Victor Champier complained, "seems to have been tarnished by a general vice, a vice which is the unfortunate overuse of an otherwise good quality: it is the exaggerated love of absolute truth, of literalism [*textuel*], it is the search for photographic exactitude."[86] The relation of photography and painting became so common in the conception of contemporary painting around this time that an influential drawing instructor, Horace Lecoq de Boisbaudran, introduced a warning against it in his revised art manual of 1879: "The truth of art is not that of photography, as is too often believed in our time."[87] Like Sébillot and Véron, he asked the reader to imagine what would become of painting once photographers had mastered the reproduction of color—would it not make all the minutiae of this excessive naturalism completely redundant?

The year 1879 marked a turn in the critical tide against the painterly emulation of photography. As is clear from the negative reception of Bastien-Lepage's *October* at the Salon of 1879—Paul de Saint-Victor remarked on the "photographic movement" of the key figures—the comparison of painting and photography emerged as a critical shorthand to criticize the failings of a still-emerging Naturalism (see fig. 30).[88] Bastien-Lepage was simply and frequently singled out as typical of the problem that characterized his entire generation. Although the same age as the painter of *Les Foins*, Caillebotte's more immediate peers in the early to mid-1870s were the likes of Béraud and Giuseppe de Nittis. All three were enrolled in Bonnat's studio around 1872—as was Alfred-Philippe Roll—and correspondence shows that they continued to interact into 1876 if not later.[89] Caillebotte almost certainly met Degas, and thus entered the Impressionist social circle, through de Nittis, who had showed his work at the 1874 exhibition, and whose *Place de la Concorde* was widely praised for its "modernity" at the Salon of 1875.[90] The critic Fourcaud, insightful as ever, explicitly compared the two painters in his review of the 1877 show.[91] There is evidence, in fact, that Caillebotte's initial engagement with the interestingly distortive effects of amateur photography may have emerged side by side with the work of this Italo-French painter.

In his analysis of the common ground between de Nittis and Caillebotte, Marrinan seeks to explain what it might have been that they and their generation sought in photography. He writes, "Caillebotte seems not to have been drawn to photography as a technology to record fleeting instants—the photographic *instantané* that fascinated Degas—but because of the camera's panoptic power to see completely and uniformly across space. It is as an appreciation of the camera as a scientific instrument rather than an amateur's plaything, one that values photographs for their richness of data rather than their arrest of time: in short, as documents rather than snapshots."[92] Marrinan further asserts in a footnote, following Varnedoe's sweeping critique, that the "snapshot" (*instantané*) did not function conceptually within the practice of photography until the late 1880s and thus could have had little relevance to Caillebotte's interest in photography.[93] Although William Herschel first used the English term in 1860 to mean "securing a picture in a tenth of a second of time"—the *Oxford English Dictionary* defines "snapshot" as "an instantaneous photograph"—it is certainly the case that such photographs did not become the norm until much later.[94] According to André Gunthert, however, the words "instantaneous" (*instantané*) and "instantaneity" (*instantanéité*) entered the photographic discourse in France as early as 1840.[95] The terms were also used in Salon criticism of the 1870s, and as such they offer a period-specific concept of pictorial temporality, one that is best indicated by Proth's review of Caillebotte's painting in 1877.

PHOTOGRAPHISME

Although rarely discussed in the Caillebotte literature, Proth's analysis and its terms of description—"instantaneous photographs" and "photochromes"—give a rich and

FIGURE 53
Léon Vidal, Cassette de Saint Louis (1226–1270), 1876. Photomechanical print (photochrome), pasted on cardboard, 9½ × 13¾ in. (24 × 35 cm). Musée d'Orsay, Paris.

provocative sense of what the photographic aspects of a painter's work might consist of in the mid-1870s. Once unpacked, his critical language points to a doubleness or tension within the generational concern with "photo-painting," something that might be understood, looking back to Courbet, as the emergent contradiction between the "tangible" and the "visible," between the permanent and the ephemeral.[96] That Courbet's *Burial at Ornans* had been analogized to "a gigantic, colored daguerreotype" as early as 1851 demonstrates that the critical understanding of the relation of Realism and photography constituted a persistent problematic in midcentury France.[97] What had changed by the time of Caillebotte's artistic maturity was, evidently, photography itself.

Take, for instance, the photochrome. Perfected by Léon Vidal in the early 1870s, the photochrome was a print technique for colorized ink-based photolithographic reproductions of black-and-white photographs. Examples of the process were shown at the Palais de l'Industrie in 1874, and detailed written accounts began to appear the next year.[98] Today the earliest surviving specimens, executed by Vidal himself in 1876, can be found in a sumptuous book called *Le Trésor artistique de la France* (fig. 53).[99] The process became hugely popular in the following decades and photochrome postcards are legion (fig. 54).

Even if the photochrome was what Proth had precisely in mind, the 1870s saw the emergence of a number of related processes intended to realize the longstanding dream of color photography.[100] At a meeting of the French Photographic Society in the spring of 1869, both Charles Cros and Louis Ducos du Haron separately proposed the use of three color-separation negatives.[101] Making use of "carbon process" photography—*photographie au*

charbon, or photosensitive bichromated gelatin—Ducos du Hauron successfully produced heliochrome photographs, such as the astonishing picture of Agen in 1877 (fig. 55).[102] Although well known at the time, these techniques were ultimately displaced and largely forgotten with the appearance of the commercially viable Autochrome in the early twentieth century.

One of the remarkable qualities of early color photography is its intensification of the almost sensuous presence of the things and the spaces recorded. It returns the mechanical process of photography briefly to a new primitive phase that makes the documented quality of the picture ever more vivid. Proth's suggestion that Caillebotte's paintings approach the photochromes of his day was no doubt cryptic even at the time—and since 1877 the meaning of the reference has been altogether lost—but one powerful aspect of the suggestion is that Proth meant to emphasize the sense of things reproduced, represented, documented and made sensuously available to the spectator in ways that are not merely illusionistic but that approximate objects in real space. That is, color photography sought to produce a certain delight in an imagistic reappearance of things—a "life-likeness."[103] In this respect, Marrinan is quite right, therefore, to note the documentary "richness of data" in Caillebotte's alleged emulation of color photography. Such exactitude maintains the illusion of the permanence and stability of physical, "tangible" reality. And yet, Proth's simultaneous evocation of "instantaneous photographs"—Marrinan's "arrested time"—would evidently sit in some tension with this photochromatic effect. What, then, did the critic mean by proposing that Caillebotte put them together?

To speak of instantaneous photography in 1877 was also not unusual. From the 1860s onward, exposure times had become short enough that photographers could capture pedestrians in mid-stride. The desire to capture ever-shorter spans of time was widespread and some early limited results appear to have been achieved by 1873.[104] Gustave Tissandier published a book on the history of photography in 1874 in which he confidently predicted the imminent arrival of "instantaneous photography."[105] When Proth used the same term,

FIGURE 54
Place de la Concorde, Paris, c. 1890–1900. Photomechanical print (photochrome). Library of Congress, Prints and Photographs Division, Washington, D.C.

FIGURE 55
Louis Ducos du Hauron, Panoramic view of the town of Agen in Aquitaine, and the twelfth-century cathedral of Saint Caprais, 1877. Color print, assembly process, 5½ × 7⅞ (14 × 20 cm). George Eastman House, Rochester.

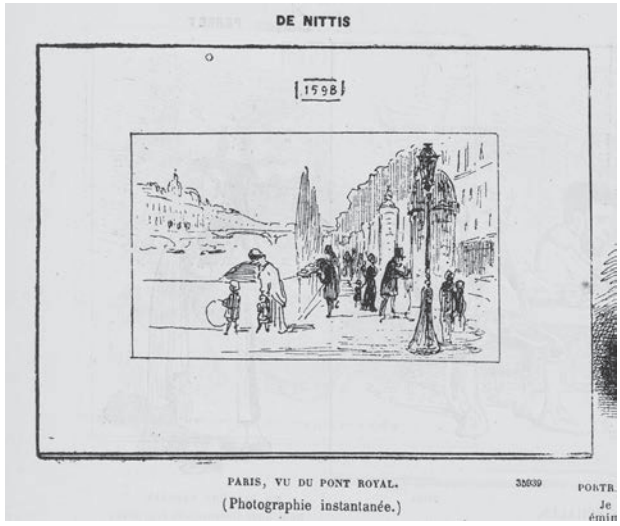


FIGURE 56
Stop, *De Nittis. Paris, vu du Pont Royal (Photographie instantanée)*, 1877. Illustration from *Le Journal amusant* 1085 (16 June 1877): 4.

his readers would have understood the meaning. A reference to Caillebotte's friend de Nittis at the Salon of 1877 offers one telling instance of its legibility. In a caricature of the now lost *Paris, vu du Pont Royal*, Stop jokingly refers to the work as a "photographie instantanée" (fig. 56). The following year, Charles Blanc reiterated the same analysis of de Nittis, whom he tied closely to Impressionism: "His paintings give the idea of a group of objects and figures, randomly composed, taken by instantaneous photography."[106] In each of these cases, the moment suggested, the "instant" in "instantaneous," seems merely to denote a brief, compressed temporal segment. While photographs recording walking figures did exist—Michel Frizot is perhaps right to focus on this aspect of Caillebotte's "photographic" concern—images recording movement faster than the human eye became widely known only after the revelation of Muybridge's photographs in late 1878.[107] By 1884 Albert Londe could define the snapshot (*instantanée)* as "every photograph taken in a fraction of a second that our senses do not allow us to perceive."[108] Yet, this does not seem to match what Proth means by the term. Rather more simply, "instantaneous" photography before 1878 meant a very fast exposure, but the notion that it was faster than the eye had yet to emerge.

To call a painting "instantaneous" in 1877, then, was to allow it to remain within the fully visible world, the world that the senses perceive. And yet, the threshold of the "visible" and the emergence of the "optical unconscious," a temporality faster than a tenth of a second, was both imagined and imminent.[109] Once that threshold had been breached, photography could no longer be understood as offering both the visible and the tangible, and a painting that emulated it could no longer be called Realist. Or, to put it in terms more directly relevant to Caillebotte's situation after 1877: the colored exactitude of his "photographic" Realism made the spaces and things he depicted vivid, and the freezing or arresting of them in paint was, up to a point, consistent with a desire to make them permanent. In response, no doubt, to the criticism of Proth and others, Caillebotte came

to realize—even before Muybridge's discoveries were made public in 1878—that the ever-increasing speed of the camera would soon pry apart the world depicted from the artist's ability to see it. For a painter like Ernst Meissonier, the frozen split-second of the snapshot would soon force him, as Marc Gotlieb puts it, "to ignore what he could see in favor of what he could not."[110] This was not a choice Caillebotte ever wanted to face, but the tension between the visual and the recorded, between the moment of perception and the instant of transcription, was something that confronted his entire generation.

Perhaps the most telling indication of the crisis into which photography seems to have thrown naturalistic painting, even before the full impact of Muybridge's photographs was felt, can be found in an extended section of a review of the Salon of 1879 written by Eugène Guillaume. A liberal reformer under the Second Empire, he had run the École des Beaux-Arts since the early 1860s and had served in the short-lived ministerial position of Director General of Fine Arts in 1878.[111] His greatest influence on the arts came just a few years later when Jules Ferry introduced Guillaume's radically "nonretinal" geometric drawing program into French primary education.[112] His cultural power was exceptional, then, and in a sense his assessment of the art's overreliance on visual data likely fueled his insistence that pedagogic training in the arts must move away from the observation of nature. His absence from the art-historical literature on painting, photography, and instantaneousness is thus notable. In his review, he notes that photography had at least undone conventionality and encouraged artists to become more attentive and more sincere, but it had also suppressed thought and spirit in favor of a lazy servitude. The combination of these two aspects had brought an entirely new element into modern art, what he called "photographisme." Painting's unaltered emulation of photography's "instantaneous image" offered only a "somber specter of things, the exact but dim trace of reality."[113] At the same time, however, the younger generation of artists, the Impressionists, also wished to "fix the rapid and shiny effects of color and light that nature gives in all their instantaneity."[114] Remarkably, this appears to be the first use of the word "instantaneity" (*instantanéité*) to define Impressionist temporality, although its wider purchase was no doubt undercut by Guillaume's doubts that anyone could actually record the observation of the "movement" of nature without specialized training in memory such as that offered by Lecoq de Boisbaudran. Nonetheless, he specifically sets up Impressionism as the only legitimate alternative to the photographisme that had come to dominate the younger generation of academic artists.

Caillebotte's paintings in 1876 and 1877, the works that defined his career, were understood—by Zola and others—as falling into a trap then ensnaring a whole generation, a trap that can be defined as taking photography too excessively as a model for art. It is thus significant that the promise or threat of photography in Caillebotte's art—the perception that he derived his painting from photography—was something that only came to be comprehended gradually. In the years up to 1878, Caillebotte properly belongs to the ranks of artists beginning to work out their version of photographisme. He was an obvious contender for the front ranks of the generation. But he balked. And in the work produced for

the next Impressionist exhibit, he turned decisively away from photography, away from photographisme. Ultimately, what Caillebotte was after in the paintings on show in 1879 was an Impressionism that would put an end to the merely photographic associations his previous work had provoked and the temporal crisis they engendered.

THE IMPRESSIONIST MOMENT

Caillebotte's rejection of a photographic model, or rather his attempted evasion of the misreading of his Realism as photographic, pivoted on a temporal analogy. What is clear from a close analysis of the critical literature is that the language of photographic time—*instantané*, *instantanéité*—had only begun to enter the language describing Impressionism as Caillebotte turned away from photographic realism. His embrace of a new style at this juncture thus depended on distinguishing the temporality of the "instant" in photo-painting from the moment of Impressionism.

By general consensus, the "instant" simply did not serve as critical tool for understanding what was distinctive about the new painting of the 1870s. In 1872, for instance, Degas dismissed "instantaneousness" (*instantané*) as "photography, nothing more."[115] Richard Shiff has indicated that terms like "spontaneity" were more productive for critical analysis, precisely because they placed the emphasis on the artist's subjective, and in a sense timeless, experience of nature—that is, impressions or sensations. The obvious exception to this rule is the extraordinary passage on Monet's *Boulevard des Capucines* in Ernest Chesneau's 1874 review: "never has movement's elusive, fugitive, instantaneous [*instantané*] quality been captured and fixed in all its tremendous fluidity."[116] Mantz likewise speaks of the "fugitive image" in 1877, but these two brief phrases are about as close as anyone comes in the decade to defining the time of Impressionism—and no one before Guillaume in 1879 seems to have used the word "instantaneity."

Later, in a relatively obscure review in 1885, Émile Verhaeren pointed to the visual "instantaneity" of the Impressionists, but it seems to have been Félix Fénéon who first constructed an account of the movement around a critique of such temporal constraints.[117] In 1886 he used the term "instantaneity" to describe Monet's ability to fix a fugitive image.[118] The next year he summed up the goals of the early Impressionists. "The spectacle of sky, of water, of greenery, varies from instant to instant," he wrote. "To imprint one of these fugitive appearances on the material support was their goal. From this arose the necessity to carry off a landscape in a sitting and a tendency to make nature wince in order to prove that the minute was unique and that one would never see it again."[119] Here and elsewhere Fénéon repeatedly ridiculed paintings that represented a passing or ephemeral moment, favoring instead the timeless and enduring art of Neo-Impressionism. In response, Octave Mirbeau and Monet soon came to regard "instantaneity" as a positive term within the context of paintings viewed as a series.[120] As Steven Levine has noted, the overcoming of the "limitations of the pictorial instant was paradoxically also an apotheosis of the instant."[121] And as

Richard Thomson has more recently emphasized, this embrace and refutation of "instantaneity" seems to have been self-consciously developed in dialogue with photography.[122]

In the 1870s, then, instantaneity still carried a distinctive photographic charge, and the *Decorative Triptych* offers one obvious attempt to outflank the association. On the surface, Caillebotte's paintings in 1879 replaced the artist's solid, finely rendered Realism of the previous decade with the ephemeral and evanescent effects of light and movement. Critics and the public alike seemed unable, however, to see the paintings as anything but instants of perception, of "whitish gleams" and "swooshing water." The interrelated development of the tripartite series was entirely lost to view, and even the multivalent temporalities of idleness, motion, and freezing failed to cohere. Proth's "instantaneous" photographic Realism of 1877 simply became Guillaume's "instantaneity." The temporalities became interchangeable, and thus Caillebotte's gambit was rendered indecipherable. Such a simplified reading of the temporal constraints of painting confused the distinctions between Realism and Impressionism—not insignificantly, Courbet's *Wave* became analogous to Impressionism—and made it difficult for Caillebotte to present his work as anything but second-rate versions of Monet. The *Decorative Triptych* could be seen only as "instantaneous impressions" of the "rapid phenomena of light, so difficult to grasp in their incessant movement."[123]

Clement Greenberg once noted that the Impressionists sought to "grasp the instant as if it were all."[124] He saw this "desire to arrest time and movement" as diametrically opposed to Henri Bergson's later emphasis on intuitional *durée*. Nonetheless, in 1922, Bergson divided—or rather apportioned without dividing—various modes of temporal attentiveness into three parts that he proposed could be subjectively recombined in a manner not far from Caillebotte's *Decorative Triptych*. "When we are sitting on the bank of a river," Bergson writes, "the flowing of the water, the gliding of a boat or the flight of a bird, the uninterrupted murmur of our deep life, are for us three different things or a single one, at will."[125] The choice of subject matter here is entirely fortuitous, but the coincidence is suggestive. Perhaps only in the wake of Bergson's radical rethinking of time itself could Caillebotte's *Decorative Triptych* be understood as three pictures depicting "the flowing of the water, the diving of a man, and the paddling of a boat" and as "a single one" showing the totality of a place in time.

Following the implicit logic of Monet's paintings of the Gare Saint-Lazare, Caillebotte had sought to organize his paintings into a short series that could be read as unfolding in time—not as one figure moving, but rather something akin to a panoramic tracking shot. A later trio of paintings by Caillebotte, *Père Magloire* from 1884, likewise suggests the narrative unfolding over time of a single figure. Kristin Schrader describes the works in language that could easily apply to the *Decorative Triptych*: "The seemingly almost cinematic sequence of three paintings conveys a sense of extended duration and the impression of inactivity and indolence."[126] These are certainly the terms that would apply to a properly cinematic representation of such a series of willfully undirected actions, but the rendering of the 1884 paintings, like those of 1878, suggest, on the contrary,

ephemerality—the handling of paint is ultimately too closely tied into an Impressionist conception of pictorial instantaneity to function within a continuity. Only in early works, such as the *Young Man at His Window*, can there be found such effects "of temporal dilation, of a protracted moment" that constitute a "quasi-cinematic effect."[127] But the ambition of the *Decorative Triptych* seems precisely to have been to produce a pictorial temporality that moved beyond the frozen instant, to make paintings that gave continuity within the ephemerality of a perceived moment.

REALISM REVERSED

In 1879 Caillebotte clearly sought to mark a break, a rupture, within his artistic career. His new emphasis on brightly colored brush-marks depicting the evanescent patterns of light on water situated his painting within a well-defined Impressionist style. As should now be clear, this shift was motivated by a broader crisis within Salon-oriented later Realism, one that hinged on the ever-increasing association of that style with photography. Doubtless, the painter also wished to bring his painting into closer dialogue with his peers within the group of "independent artists," but the conversion required certain evasions, revisions, and reversals that made his continued artistic project untenable.

Caillebotte's inability or unwillingness to clarify the subject matter of his works on show in 1879 indicates the deeper problem he faced. To bring his iconography in line with his style meant denying the nature of the land he depicted in the *Decorative Triptych*. If his paintings were understood as depictions of his family estate at Yerres, if they marked him once again as a landowner and a rentier, his ties to an older economic order at odds with the temporality of Impressionism would potentially have undercut his artistic ambitions. The Yerres flowed into the Seine, and with this merger, the foundational continuity of solid, enduring property evaporated as a meaningful aspect of his painting. To see, for example, *Bathers* as a portrait of the Caillebotte family estate, perhaps even of the Caillebotte family—Gustave and Martial as the two central figures—would necessitate the recognition of the complex and various temporalities involved in the representation of swimming, "taking a header," rowing, and of water flowing under sun-dappled leaves. To see it as a picture of La Grenouillère, however, to see it as a diver in the middle of his dive, would recognize only a passing instant within a broader culture increasingly oriented to the ephemeral and the unpredictable. Ultimately, Caillebotte simply could not reconcile the temporality of his subject matter with that of his style. Or rather, he could not make his attempt legible to a public in 1879.

In the following years, Caillebotte never quite abandoned the desire to make a painting that combined Impressionist facture and its attention to the optical effects of light with an extended, durational temporality derived from his engagement with the later Realism of the 1870s. *Interior, Woman at the Window* is nothing if not an attempt to keep alive, or return to, an absorptive thematics, which nonetheless acknowledges the attraction of the luminous

FIGURE 57
Gustave Caillebotte, *The Yerres, Effect of Rain (L'Yerres, effet de pluie)*, 1875. Oil on canvas, 31⅝ × 23 in. (80.3 × 59.1 cm). Indiana University Art Museum, Bloomington. Gift of Mrs. Nicholas H. Noyes, 1971 (71.40.2).

exterior—it is, in a sense, a painting about the appeal of Impressionism (see fig. 123). When he encountered this work at the Impressionist exhibition of 1880, Joris-Karl Huysmans praised Caillebotte for his avoidance of the Impressionist technique, but he also declared him to be "the painter of the leisured bourgeoisie, of commerce and of finance."[128] As such, the picture looks back to earlier works like *Young Man at His Window* that also thematized the Parisian bourgeoisie, and yet, this new interior can no longer be understood as the

painter's own. Although it may have been produced within his new home on the boulevard Haussmann, the picture ultimately functions only as a fictional representation of some unknown couple from the new bourgeois classes of the district. In this turn away from the depiction of his property, Caillebotte thus situates the slow time of the interior, of the weekend, of the family, in unresolved tension with that of business, of the street, and of the city.

Perhaps no work in his early career more profoundly situates Caillebotte in between later Realism and the countervailing demands of Impressionist temporality than the marvelous canvas now in the Indiana University Art Museum in Bloomington. Not widely known until the late twentieth century, *The Yerres, Effect of Rain* of 1875 nonetheless offers an experimental demonstration of the representation of time (fig. 57). That its subject is the same river of the Yerres, only three years before the *Decorative Triptych*, indicates that the painting lurks in the background of Caillebotte's wider conception of the depiction of this location. The humid and clearing atmosphere around the river implies the rain of the title has only just come to an end—drops of water have fallen on the surface of the river creating concentric rings radiating out from the point of impact. The drops hitting the river may be coming from branches overhead, but as many have noted, the picture offers a peculiar depiction of the effect of rain: there is no rain actually falling.[129] Critics looking at the more famous *Paris Street, Rainy Day* similarly pointed out that the painter "forgot to paint the rain."[130] As in the Yerres canvas, the logic of this pictorial decision to bracket the rain becomes markedly clearer in the light of Caillebotte's concern with a specifically Realist temporality. The painter's desire to maintain what Fried calls the "temporal duration" of the concentric circles demanded an evasion of the "instant" of the impact of drops hitting the water.[131] That the subject chosen in both paintings produces inconsistencies within the temporal prioritization of the representational procedures only underlines the emerging crisis of Caillebotte's later Realist style.

Later Realism could not be adapted to the iconographies of modernity. The "exactitude" of representation, the depiction of things "visible and tangible" in the work of Caillebotte, but also in that of Bastien-Lepage, Béraud, de Nittis, and Raffaëlli, could not be made consistent with pictorial "instantaneity" without falling into Guillaume's photographisme. Caillebotte's attempted evasion of this trap in his synthesis of temporal duration and the Impressionist moment ultimately failed, or at least went unrecognized for many decades. In the years immediately after 1879, however, artists seeking to maintain Realism and its temporal concerns had to find subjects, emphatically modern subjects, which could nevertheless be held, arrested as it were, for extended observation, representation, and viewing.

3 1880 / The Politics of Time

Alfred-Philippe Roll, *The Strike of the Miners*

> Time is money, *comme disait les Anglais*.
>
> —Pierre Véron, *Le Charivari*, 19 May 1880

Alfred-Philippe Roll first showed *The Strike of the Miners* at the Paris Salon of 1880 (fig. 58). Having won a first-class medal three years before, he was allowed to hang his large canvas outside the competition in the main entrance hall, where it garnered widespread attention from critics and the public alike.[1] Immediately purchased by the French state, the painting appeared later that year at the Belgian Salon in Ghent, at the French Triennale in 1883—it hung near Jules Bastien-Lepage's *Les Foins*—and again at the Exposition Universelle in 1889 when the painter was made an officer of the Legion of Honor.[2] Before it was irreparably damaged in the mid-twentieth century, the canvas had stood as one of the artist's best-known works and marked his seminal role in the emergence of Naturalism. Nothing illuminates the effect it had on Roll's imminent rise to prominence more clearly than the commission he received from Jules Ferry, then Minister of Public Instruction and the Fine Arts, to produce a painting commemorating the first national celebration of the 14 July holiday in 1880 (fig. 59). In 1882 this picture of republican triumph entered the public sphere, all but sealing the artist's canonization as the "official painter of the Third Republic."[3] Joris-Karl Huysmans subsequently, and mockingly, enshrined him alongside Bastien-Lepage as the very embodiment of the misguided bourgeois conception of "modern art."[4]

When he first encountered it in the Palais de l'Industrie in 1880, however, Huysmans expressed a rather higher opinion of *The Strike of the Miners*. Next to the "false peasants" of Bastien-Lepage, the striking miners seemed both compelling and real. "*The Strike* by M. Roll is courageous," Huysmans declared. "He dared to paint the poor without makeup or lipstick. It will most certainly be said that he paints 'rabble' and that he lacks taste. He should be proud, I hope, to be judged so stupidly."[5] The critic favorably described the scene depicted: "There are men and women, in heaps; to the left, near the gloomy brick buildings of the colliery, the troops arrive; to the right, a gendarme has dismounted and binds a miner while another gendarme, on horseback, is silhouetted on high against a gloomy

Detail of Figure 80

FIGURE 58
Alfred-Philippe Roll, *The Strike of the Miners (La Grève des mineurs)*, 1880. Oil on canvas, 11 ft. 3⅞ in. × 14 ft. 2⅞ in. (345 × 434 cm). Musée des Beaux-Arts, Valenciennes (Now destroyed).

sky. The scene is skillfully arranged. Seated among the men near an upturned cart with its arms in the air, a woman holds a child tightly and watches, aghast, dazed by destitution, understanding that a more terrible distress has been added to her usual ones: the arrest of her husband, her breadwinner."[6] There was only one figure in the picture that bothered Huysmans: the "melodramatic miner" sitting on heap of coal in the foreground, his head in his hands. Unlike the gendarmes who so convincingly pursue their "mindless task" this "humanitarian" figure seemed "useless" and "posed."[7]

For many visitors to the Salon in 1880, the success of the picture hinged on Roll's evasion of the rather obvious threat of a fall into theatricality. As the earlier reception of the works of Bastien-Lepage makes clear, this was not a new concern. Ernest Chesneau had attacked *Les Foins* for its lack of truth, but he explicitly praised Roll for avoiding a "theatrical effect."[8] Louis de Fourcaud likewise applauded the painter for his refusal to rely on "melodramatic tricks."[9] Given his earlier praise for "absorbed" and "immobilized" figures in

the work of Bastien-Lepage and Gustave Caillebotte, the critic's focus on the antitheatricality of *The Strike of the Miners* serves to situate it within the broader concerns of a later phase of Realism.[10] In ways not immediately apparent to its historical beholders, this implied a pictorial temporality at odds with most Salon painting at the time, one more closely associated with the repetitive, extended, and durational time of Gustave Courbet's midcentury painting. Nonetheless, everyone understood the origins of the artist's stylistic concerns. "Courbet has only just died and already M. Roll again raises the flag of the school," René Ménard declared. "Courbet was criticized for representing ugliness unnecessarily and for choosing subjects devoid of interest. In Roll's painting, the painter's types are directly related to the situation, and the situation is of a topicality which doubles its interest."[11]

Following the logic of a Realism built on "the representation of objects visible and tangible," defenders of the painting agreed that *The Strike of the Miners* offered "an episode from real life."[12] Or, as Fourcaud put it, "The work becomes profound by dint of being true."[13] Singling out the picture as the most significant at the Salon, and responding directly to Fourcaud's "remarkable article," Robert Mitchell declared it "a historical picture that marks an epoch and fixes a date."[14] As Jacques-Louis David painted the state of affairs during the Revolution of 1789, he claimed, so too did Roll in 1880. That four different works depicting Charlotte Corday's murder of Jean-Paul Marat also appeared at the same exhibit only underlined the contemporaneity of Roll's painting.[15] "Today we have *the Strike*," Mitchell declared, "it is the great episode of our contemporary annals; we find it each year more imposing and more gloomy. It is unemployment, poverty, despair; tomorrow perhaps it will be rebellion and civil war."[16]

FIGURE 59
Alfred-Philippe Roll, *The 14th July, 1880 (Le 14 juillet 1880)*, 1882. Oil on canvas, 21 ft. 3⅞ in. × 32 ft. 1¾ in. (650 × 980 cm). Musée de la Ville de Paris, Musée du Petit-Palais.

FIGURE 60
Jules Ruinart, *The Strikes at Reims (Les Grèves de Reims)*, 1880. Illustration from *Le Monde illustré* 1208 (22 May 1880): 316.

In the spring of 1880, strikes had indeed erupted throughout France. In Roubaix, the Loire, Reims, and the Nord, textile workers and miners refused to work until wage and work-time demands were met (fig. 60).[17] The political significance of the confrontation of the forces of labor and law that the painting narrated could not have escaped a Salon-goer's attention. Perhaps because it was so obvious—"The subject of a worker's strike is, alas!, only too contemporary right now"—few critics sought to tie the painting to its referent.[18] That Mitchell, the only writer in 1880 to situate the painting directly in relation to the politics of the day, was a Bonapartist member of the Chamber of Deputies, and incidentally no friend of progressive art, is telling.[19] For an oppositional politician seeking to serve up a critique of the republican government of Charles de Freycinet, *The Strike of the Miners* opened a cupboard-full of controversies: from the institutionalization of the *Marseillaise* to the expulsion of the Jesuits, from the amnesty of Communards to the impending Waddington report on the reduction and regulation of working hours.

The critical reception in 1880 indicates that Roll's painting served as a lightning rod for both artistic and political debates. On the one hand, the canvas marked the rebirth of Realism, and almost all critics agreed that Courbet's model of art-making was overtaking and displacing academic norms inside and outside the walls of the Salon. On the other hand, the painting was clearly understood as a document of a contemporary social reality—no one attending the exhibition could have noted the ongoing spate of strikes and ignored their obvious relevance to Roll's painting—a social reality that contained a seemingly obvious political charge. These concerns animated various responses to *The Strike of the Miners*, but virtually no one brought them together in any way that made sense of the relation of Realism and the reality of the labor crisis.

How the painter imagined the one feeding into, inflecting, and conditioning the other remains an open question. Why, that is, was later Realism uniquely capable, for Roll

and his original audience, of addressing the social question in 1880? Taking as its starting point the critical gap between the accounts of style and iconography in Roll's painting, this chapter argues that *The Strike of the Miners* can be properly interpreted only if later Realism is understood not as offering an objective and transparent access to its representational content—the two conceived as separable or parallel aspects of the picture—but rather as informing and structuring the very meaning of that content. Broadly speaking, for the historical beholder of a Realist painting at the Salon of 1880, an implicit politics resided in the form of representation. Or, to put it more concretely, the time of painting offered a means of grappling with and elucidating the time of labor.

An account of the correspondence of style and subject matter demands a detailed analysis of the critical understanding of the work in the space of the Salon, Roll's relation to the discourse on and reception of Courbet's legacy, and a contextual recuperation of the history and politics of labor in the spring of 1880. At the core of these concerns lies the question of the ideology of the representation of labor and, more specifically, of labor time and the capitalist restructuring of time under modernity. As a Realist painting, did *The Strike of the Miners* offer anything more than a passive depiction of human suffering? Or did it come down more decisively on the question of the politics of the strike, on work-time and its broader significance within a quickly changing culture? Ultimately, this chapter contends, the historical reception of the painting reveals a deeper concern with the politics of time, one that allowed for the possibility of seeing the work in more critical, if not radical, terms.

THE SALON OF 1880

Roll painted *The Strike of the Miners* expressly for the Salon of 1880. That it was widely discussed and generally considered "one of the most important works" that year only indicates how much the artist succeeded in anticipating the multivalent concerns of his diverse public.[20] The positive reception of the picture likewise confirms its status as a variation on the Salon-oriented "machines" that had dominated French painting in the previous hundred years. The canvas was large enough, 11 by 14 feet, and, if for no other reason than this, Chesneau saw it as the culmination of a historical series: Antoine-Jean Gros, *The Plague-House at Jaffa*; Théodore Géricault, *The Raft of the Medusa*; Eugène Delacroix, *Liberty Leading the People*; Gustave Courbet, *Firemen Running to a Blaze*; Roll, *The Strike of the Miners*.[21] At some length, in fact, the critic drew out the analogies between Géricault and Roll, from the pyramidal composition topped by a figure turning away from the spectator to the despondent miner in the foreground taking the place of the old man contemplating his dead son on the raft. Like its supposed predecessors, *The Strike of the Miners* offered a dramatic scene of "modern life," built out of discrete episodes depicting "immobile or moving" figures.[22]

Describing the composition of the painting in its own terms proved difficult. Today, only black-and-white photographs exist, but even in the circumstances of its original

display, critics typically narrated the events depicted in the picture without any extended analysis of how they held together as a painting, a *tableau*, as a "great and beautiful composition."[23] Some claimed that Roll simply did not bother to arrange the figures: "the artist avoided the search for a composition, properly speaking. One could believe that he looked out of his open window, and that he painted what he saw."[24] This "reality effect" is nonetheless quite obviously deliberate on the artist's part. Take, for example, the central narrative moment in the picture: the arrest and shackling of the miner. The event is all but hidden by the gendarme's horse, which takes up the entire right foreground—if the horse moved just a bit, the whole logic of the narrative would disappear from view. That Roll seems to have borrowed his dark steed directly from that in *The Surrender at Breda* only corroborates the deliberation involved in his obfuscation of the drama. In a similar fashion, it is difficult to understand the dramatic relation between key episodes—the arrest and the reactions to it in the center, the man throwing coal at left, the melancholic foreground figure—and the barely visible background narrative of the confrontation of the army marching in from the left and the workers approaching from the right. This parataxis too appears to be deliberate. Indeed, what Chesneau called the painting's "successivity of episodes" could be said to emulate Géricault's "synecdochic" composition, in which the figures have, as Michael Fried describes them, "been depicted in a manner that isolates them from their surroundings, or at least doesn't make their actions dependent either on those surroundings or on a framing *récit* in any specific way."[25] One important effect of this strategy in *The Strike of the Miners* is to hold apart each of the figures in a kind of controlled tension. The overarching effect of the composition is thus to deny the "single moment in time" of academic painting in favor of an endlessly unfolding present, something analogous to the durational temporality of midcentury Realism.[26]

Roll's training with Léon Bonnat and Jean-Léon Gérôme in the early 1870s had certainly prepared him for such an accomplishment. More importantly, his education also placed him side by side with later Realist painters like Jean Béraud, Caillebotte, Giuseppe de Nittis, and Jean-François Raffaëlli. The generational concern with the legacy of Realism and the time of painting is abundantly clear in Roll's case, although perhaps more academically inflected than in the case of his fellow students. For example, earlier works like the neo-Rubensian *Festival of Silenus*, shown at the Salon of 1879, confirm that the painter had sought to accommodate his art to the standards of the École des Beaux-Arts.[27] Like Bastien-Lepage before him, however, he came to see that a new public, or new elements in the existing public, would welcome a more contemporary kind of painting at the Salon. As it happens, his decision to embrace both modern life subject matter and a Realist style in 1880 could not have been better timed.

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Among the largest exhibitions of art ever mounted in France, the Salon of 1880 proved the last gasp of a state-sponsored academic system of exhibition.[28] Even as crowds filled the

FIGURE 61
William-Adolphe Bouguereau, *The Flagellation of Christ (Flagellation de Notre Seigneur Jésus Christ)*, 1880. Oil on canvas, 6 ft. 10⅔ in. × 12 ft. 9½ in. (212 × 309 cm). Musée des Beaux-Arts de La Rochelle.

rooms of the Palais de l'Industrie, the National Assembly debated the perceived failures of Edmond Turquet's artistic reforms—Robert Mitchell led the opposition attack—and the possibility of cutting the ties between the government and the exhibition.[29] The following year saw the Salon divested of direct governmental control. Part of the challenge for the regulation and management of the display of art by the state was simply the increasingly unwieldy scale of the Salon. A total of 7,289 works were accepted in 1880, and critics of all stripes lamented the possibility of discerning quality on the crowded walls. The enormous array of styles and subjects likewise made a coherent account of the situation of art at the time a distinct challenge.

The artistic range at the Salon would have been strikingly clear to the first-comer. In the very first gallery, *The Strike of the Miners* hung immediately to the right of an arch-academic work by the president of the jury, William-Adolphe Bouguereau (fig. 61). For critics, and no doubt the public at large, the cheek-by-jowl placement of these two paintings must have seemed exceptionally absurd. For many critics, the juxtaposition helped clarify the manifest theatricality of academic history painting in 1880. "They claim to show me this dreadful thing which is the torture of a God, and I only see actors from the comic-opera," lamented Roger-Ballu, "immobile, they seem to *pose*."[30] By contrast, noted another critic, "The real punishment can be found nearby, in the picture by M. Roll."[31] Émile Zola was certainly not alone in concluding that the academic artists "appear almost comical in their lamentable mediocrity."[32] He was nonetheless rather pleased to note the widespread influence that Édouard Manet and his followers manifested in the work of their students.[33]

FIGURE 62
Édouard Manet, *Chez le Père Lathuille*, 1880. Oil on canvas, 36⅝ × 44⅛ in. (93 × 112 cm). Musée des Beaux-Arts, Tournai.

Impressionism had indeed returned to the Salon. For the first time since the late 1860s, Manet and Claude Monet both showed paintings in the official galleries. The two also exhibited at the galleries of *La Vie moderne* on the boulevard des Italiens in April and June respectively, and the works at the Salon constituted only part of a broader publicity campaign that ultimately gained Monet greater sales and Manet the Legion of Honor the next year.[34] No longer the center of Salon controversies, Manet had come to be called the "flag-bearer of Impressionism."[35] The lightened palette and modern subject of *Chez le Père Lathuille* no doubt secured him the title, but the painting had a much greater impact later that year in Ghent, where it appeared once again under the shadow of *The Strike of the Miners* (fig. 62).[36] Noting the "truthful light, en plein air," Huysmans considered the picture the best possible example of "the modern," but he focused his praise primarily on the life-likeness of the man and woman absorbed in their champagne-fueled tête-à-tête.[37] In other words, and not surprisingly, the critic glossed the implied instantaneity of the technical procedure in favor of the expanded and durational engagement of the depicted figures. As for Monet's *Seine at Lavacourt*, the critics largely passed over it in silence—its hanging was especially bad—although Philippe de Chennevières generously claimed its "luminous and clear atmosphere made all the surrounding landscapes in the gallery appear black."[38] Despite the efforts to establish a foothold in the Salon, the Impressionists gained little traction in 1880 and turned more and more to the private sector.

Between Bouguereau and Monet, a new *juste milieu* seemed instead to rise. "Naturalism" is the word Zola used to describe the adaptation of plein air techniques by

academic artists, and many others soon adapted the title. Realism seemed just as significant for the critical understanding of the new developments, however, and the two terms were often used interchangeably. "Right now, naturalism is at the forefront," remarked Georges Lafenestre. "The Exhibition of 1880 showed, better even than its precedents, painters in large numbers caught up in the realist current, preoccupied, above all, with the accurate rendering and execution of the fragment [*morceau*]."[39] For Frédéric de Syène, "realism—naturalism if you will" had become "more and more pronounced each day in history painting."[40] Victor Champier was one of the few critics to give a general account of what the new art consisted of, even as he skirted the problem of a label. "The multiple representation of contemporary life," he wrote, "in the city, in the fields, at the sea-side, in its tragic or pleasant incidents, in its elegance or in its misery, this is what dominates at the Salon, here is what increasingly tempts artists by giving to their talent the freedom to produce according to each individual's humor, temperament, and taste."[41] Each of these critics typify reactions to the new Salon painting, but on the whole they remained remarkably neutral in their assessment of the relative value of this turn toward Naturalism. Notably, none of them made an attempt to distinguish Naturalism from the Realism that preceded it.

The distinctiveness of the Naturalist style became only somewhat clearer in the critical evaluation of Bastien-Lepage's *Joan of Arc (Jeanne d'Arc)* (fig. 63). In its depiction of a peasant working outdoors in the Meuse—to say nothing of the extraordinary forward-facing absorption of the central figure—the canvas fully complemented his Salon submissions of the previous two years. The widespread dissatisfaction with the work stemmed almost entirely from the artist's decision to depict three saints floating in the background—presumably an attempt to visualize the transmission of the words that interrupt, fixate, and inspire the future Maid of Orleans. "The bizarre mix of convention and reality" pleased only a handful of critics.[42] Huysmans already disliked the earlier peasant paintings, and in 1880 he found nothing redemptive in the staging of the scene. Joan's clothes, he declared, were manufactured by a "costume designer for the theater" with accessories from the waxwork figurines of the Musée Grevin.[43] Bastien-Lepage was a "false modern" painting a "false realism."[44] Zola too found that the saints disrupted the "naturalist unity of the subject," but he nonetheless waxed enthusiastic about the painter's willingness to defect from the École des Beaux-Arts and to attempt a sort of "Impressionism corrected."[45] Importantly, this defense involved a distinction in the temporal frame of picture-making and beholding: "One must seize nature in the impression of a moment," he argued. "Only, it is necessary to fix this moment permanently on canvas using a technique that is, in large part, carefully studied and designed."[46] Such was the definition of Naturalism that emerged at the Salon of 1880.

With his perceived failure to adhere to the Naturalism he had more or less invented, Bastien-Lepage effectively passed the baton to Pascal-Adolphe-Jean Dagnan-Bouveret. With "realist fidelity," his *Accident* offered an anecdotal, bloody, and sentimental narrative of a peasant boy badly cut in some quotidian farming injury (fig. 64).[47] The subject matter corresponded to a democratic and, at least rhetorically, egalitarian society, and the

FIGURE 63
Jules Bastien-Lepage, *Joan of Arc (Jeanne d'Arc)*, 1879. Oil on canvas, 8 ft. 4 in. × 9 ft. 2 in. (254 × 279.4 cm). Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York. Gift of Erwin Davis, 1889 (89.21.1).

work emblematized an emerging republican and positivist conception of art that came to dominate French art in the 1880s. The success of the picture almost certainly hinged on the believability of the scene in which the doctor's total absorption in the bandaging of the wounded hand is echoed by the surrounding group of family members and laborers. Still, what Eugène Guillaume might have called its *photographisme*—never has painting more exactly offered the "somber specter of things, the exact but dim trace of reality"—no doubt undercut the absorptive effect, even as it marked the canvas as foundational in the equation of photography and Naturalist style.[48] Although Dagnan-Bouveret had sought to evade precisely such equations—they were more and more obviously at stake in his art—the figures in *The Accident* could be understood too easily as models posing for a photographic instant.

Given the range of critical reactions to the various overlapping, emerging, and dying artistic styles at the Salon of 1880, the largely positive embrace of Roll's work that year is striking. Zola positioned Roll within the emerging Naturalist school, but reviews of *The Strike of the Miners* consistently asserted that he was a "realist painter," noting his "realist tendencies" or describing his "realist scenes."[49] Auguste Dalligny was concerned about the excessive nature of this debt: "M. Roll seems to us to have lost himself by falling into a too-deliberate realism, which has become, for him, on this occasion, a mannerism."[50] Eugène

Loudun for his part felt that "Roll's painting, a *Strike of the Miners*, is even more realist, as we used to say ten years ago."[51] The evocation of the Salon of 1870 ("ten years ago"), where Courbet last showed his work to the Parisian public—*The Wave*, notably—seemed designed to confirm that Roll's canvas meant nothing less than Realism's resurrection. "Courbet has only just died," to repeat Ménard's words, "and already M. Roll again raises the flag of the school."

With the critical equation of Roll and Courbet, questions of the relation of style and politics emerge. Only a year earlier, Zola himself had declared, "The Republic will be naturalist or it will not be."[52] Loudun agreed. "Another impression this Salon gives," he wrote, "is the ever-larger growth of materialism in art, and this materialism has become more and more base. It is not even Courbet's *realism* anymore, which was born common and trivial; it is *naturalism*, that is, the preferred search for vulgarity, the truth, the so-called truth represented in its most vile aspect. Nothing could be more appropriate, in a period where we renounce God, immortal life, consequently the soul and where we think only of pleasure. Also, each year sees the number of realist and *naturalist* paintings grow . . . Realism, naturalism is logically republican."[53] The move from Realism to Naturalism for both implied a parallel political development. But where Zola saw it as the triumph of the moderates in both art and politics, Loudun—a Bonapartist and the author of a memoir attacking the Paris Commune—saw the politics of 1871 feeding into the success of the Opportunists.[54] Tellingly, at Léon Gambetta's insistence, a limited amnesty of Communards had been pushed through in 1879, and in July 1880 a general amnesty was passed, largely on the strength of solidifying republican unity.[55] Against this backdrop, Roll's Realism appears as a provocation, its political resonance all but inescapable. The artist's own history in turn confirms a deep familiarity with the conjunction of Courbet and the Commune.

FIGURE 64
Pascal-Adolphe-Jean Dagnan-Bouveret, *An Accident (Un Accident)*, 1879. Oil on canvas, 35¾ × 51½ in. (91 × 131 cm). The Walters Art Museum, Baltimore.

ROLL'S REALISM

Born in March 1846 in the working-class Parisian neighborhood of the Faubourg Saint-Antoine, Roll was raised among the artisans of the district.[56] His father, a cabinetmaker from Alsace, had come to manage and run his own reasonably successful business, and the family had petit-bourgeois aspirations. The son was nevertheless slotted to continue in his father's footsteps as an artisan. He began training with an interior decorator while attending drawing lessons in the studio of Horace Lecoq de Boisbaudran, and by his early twenties Roll had chosen to pursue an artistic education. Moving from studio to studio, his commitment to academic training seems never to have proved satisfactory, and other resources came quickly to the fore.

From early on Roll identified with Courbet's artistic concerns. Perhaps he recognized similarities in their shared belonging to an ambiguous class formation—artisanal/petit bourgeois on the one hand, peasant/bourgeois/bohemian on the other—perhaps he just wanted an artistic model based more solidly on nature. In any case, he sought out the painter around 1870. Jean Valmy-Baysse narrates the encounter:

> One of his friends having given him a letter of introduction for the master of the *Burial at Ornans*, he wanted to go ask him for some advice. Courbet was living then at the approaches to the place Saint-Michel; the young artist climbed to his floor, knocked once on the door, then again, then a third time. As no one responded, he was preparing to leave when, the door opening, Courbet appeared on the doorstep, in shirtsleeves, pipe in the mouth.
>
> —What do you want, my son? he said, with a guttural Franc-Comtois pronunciation which underlined the good nature of his big bearded face.
>
> Roll stated the reason for his visit.
>
> —That's fine, responded the old painter . . . But I went to bed late. I do not have much energy to talk painting. Come back one of these mornings.
>
> Roll never saw him again.[57]

The war, the siege, and the Commune prevented him from following through on the meeting, but this story, however apocryphal, secures the painter's allegiance to a certain strain of French painting. Roll overtly confirmed this loyalty some years later, when he listed Courbet first among the painters worth emulating—Manet, Géricault, Velázquez, and Rembrandt follow—because he "saw simply."[58]

Courbet's political allegiances were also not lost on Roll. Having served as a lieutenant during the Franco-Prussian War, he witnessed the Paris Commune without any direct involvement. Like everyone in France, he also knew full well that the painter of *The Stonebreakers* had become the emblem of the three-month working-class rebellion. Jean-Christophe Castelain asserts that the painter approached the events of 1871 with "neutrality," but given his geographic and class origins, his sympathy for the revolution in the face of the massive repression of the *semaine sanglante* would seem self-evident.[59] Take

FIGURE 65
Alfred-Philippe Roll, *Execution of a Trumpeter during the Commune (L'Exécution d'un trompette sous la Commune)*, 1871. Oil on canvas, 21⅝ × 17¾ in. (55 × 45 cm). Musée Carnavalet, Paris.

for example his *Execution of a Trumpeter during the Commune*, a work painted and signed in 1871, but not known to the public until well after the artist's death (fig. 65). In the picture, a young Communard stands defiantly before a firing squad, hands on his hips, a brilliant red sash across his chest, the bloody corpses of his comrades at his feet. It is a stunning work, almost entirely ignored in accounts of Roll's career. Exceptionally, Howard Lay situates the canvas within a broader pictorial rhetoric of "intransigence" and "genuine threat to bourgeois rule."[60] Yet, the spatial construction of the scene places the beholder rather more ambiguously in the place of the bloodthirsty and reactionary Versaillais troops, responsible for thousands of such executions in late May 1871. Far from offering a neutral commentary, nor at the same time a hortatory defense of the Commune, the painting depicts the central figure facing directly out across the picture plane, demanding recognition of the highly politicized, that is conservative, position occupied by the beholder. The painting thus seeks to synthesize aspects of the politically charged iconography of Realism with a sophisticated form of representation cognizant of Manet's attempt to make painting "*face* the beholder as never before."[61] Whether Roll deliberately hid this work away, or simply could not find a venue for its exhibition, it now stands as a testament to the artist's complex allegiances, both political and artistic, in the early 1870s.

That Roll had turned more fully to Courbet as a model for his publicly exhibited depiction of working-class rebellion was generally recognized in 1880, but more

cryptically than might appear at first glance. In the dozens of reviews, for example, only Ménard and Marius Vachon explicitly paired the two painters. Like Paul Mantz describing Bastien-Lepage's own debt to Realism, Vachon proposed a hypothetical substitution of *The Strike of the Miners* for *The Stonebreakers* (see fig. 24). "Do you recall the general outcry," he asked, "the prudish exclamations, thirty years ago, that welcomed Courbet's *Stonebreakers*, an undeniably audacious realist work, to which Proudhon gave the character and philosophical import of a socialist manifesto 'of an irony addressed to our industrial civilization, of a protest against modern servitude?' If the author of *Du principe de l'art et de sa destination moderne* was still of this world, what would he write about this *Strike of the Miners*?"[62] Later accounts of the painting were, on the other hand, somewhat more explicit about the relation. In 1896 Fourcaud declared the painter had "carried out, with superior means, the fine program indicated by Courbet at the head of the catalogue of his 1855 private exhibition: 'To translate the thoughts, the manners, the aspect of his times as he saw them, to be a man as well as a painter, in short to create living art.'"[63] In 1924 Ferdinand Herold saw Roll as only one example of artistic provocation in the previous century: "The *Strike* astonished the public. Some critics spoke of it with bitterness. They renewed for Roll—and it was entirely to his credit—the criticisms that were formerly made of Courbet. To paint workers is acceptable but to paint them in miserable conditions, in one of those moments where poverty and misery pushes them to desperate acts, the audacity is great, so great that a painter cannot be pardoned for it. And they criticized him for having shown some interest in people so ugly, so dirty, so black."[64] Courbet was Roll's predecessor not only in his unflinching depiction of working-class life, but also in his courageous presentation of such a depiction to a public unlikely to appreciate it. That the critical reception of *The Strike of the Miners* in fact shows little outright "bitterness" simply suggests that the later correlation of Roll with Courbet assumed the same reaction for the same kind of painting.

If nothing else, Roll manifested his loyalty at the sale of Courbet works at the Hôtel Drouot in December 1881. Along with Raffaëlli, Roll was one of only a handful of artists to bid at the auction, purchasing both the 1847 *Portrait of Urbain Cuenot* and the 1850 *Study*

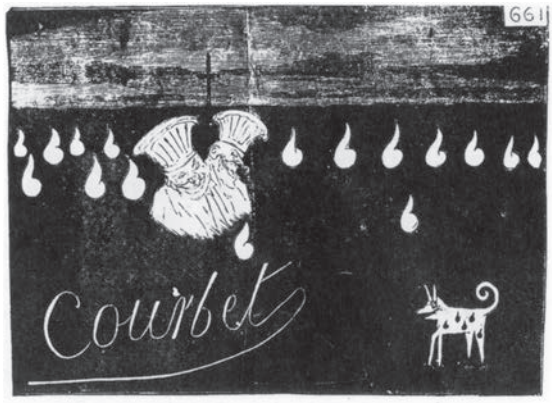

FIGURE 66
Bertall, *The Burial at Ornans, by Courbet, master painter (L'Enterrement d'Ornans, par Courbet, maître peintre)*, 1851. Illustration from *Le Journal pour rire*, 7 March 1851.

FIGURE 67
Jean Béraud, *The Bal Élysée-Ménilmontant (Le Bal public)*, 1880. Oil on canvas, 30¾ × 55⅛ in. (78 × 140 cm). Private collection.

for a Portrait of Hector Berlioz.[65] Roll lent the Berlioz picture to the 1882 Courbet retrospective at the École des Beaux-Arts, but it remains unclear if he recognized that Cuenot appeared in the *After-Dinner at Ornans* and had been a prominent political figure during the Revolution of 1848 (see fig. 3).[66] Whatever the political valences of the particular works acquired, Roll recognized the debt his work owed to Courbet.

The palette of *The Strike of the Miners* pretty well confirms Roll's embrace of Courbet as a model. Although no color reproductions currently exist of the now-destroyed painting, the critics were almost unanimous in describing it as "black" (*noir, noirâtre)* and perhaps excessively so: "The artist was lavish with the black; he put it everywhere."[67] Louis Leroy's trademark comic review suggested sending the canvas out to the cleaners for a good bleaching.[68] Although no doubt exaggerated—related sketches indicate the Salon painting obviously contained a muted coloration not simply black—the repeated focus on the darkness of the painting reveals a kind of unspoken assertion of the exceptional style of the picture at the time. Most artworks within the Naturalist sphere had adapted an Impressionist-inspired lightness in their palette, but *The Strike of the Miners* offered a deliberate revival of earlier concerns. Later critics saw it carrying forward quite obviously the "effort of Courbet in the *Stone Breakers* and of *L'Enterrement à Ornans*."[69] The *Burial at Ornans* had famously endured similar comedic treatment: Bertall's 1851 caricature turned the painting into a wall of black pigment interrupted only by decorative motifs, beadles, and dog (fig. 66). In his own review of the Salon of 1880, Bertall called to mind precisely this image when he described the coloring of Jean Béraud's rather lighthearted depiction of *The Bal Élysée-Ménilmontant*—"good God, so much black!"—as offering from afar "a funereal air" that looked "like an invitation to a burial" (fig. 67).[70] A few years later in Zola's *L'Oeuvre*, the artist Claude Lantier recalled "Courbet's 'black'

painting."[71] Within this broader understanding of color and its absence, the consistent critical focus on the blackness of *The Strike of the Miners* functioned to secure its correspondence to the artistic concerns of Realism.

More acute critics found the palette of the painting wholly appropriate, indeed part of Realism's insistence on the representation of the contemporary events. "Here it is black, dull and not very seductive to the eye," wrote Paul de Charry, "but that fits into the situation: *The Strike of the Miners* cannot really be luminous, everything should make one feel the coal and dust."[72] Of course the painting is black: miners and the mining country are black. However much these critics lamented the absence of more color from the scene, there seemed to be a consensus that the tone of the painting matched the tone of the subject. Chennevières found that the "*Strike of the Miners*, where the coal-black coloration happens to match the very nature of the subject, makes a frightening impression in the brutality of its desperate starving men and women, and I know people who've witnessed such scenes and who've confirmed to me the sinister reality."[73] Using the dark, or black, color as a hinge, Realism became reality. This was a consistent response to the artist's work during the years that followed, and no less a figure than Puvis de Chavannes later said that, with Roll, "one doesn't think of painting anymore; one thinks of reality."[74]

No published response in 1880 better articulated the painting's peculiar conjunction of paint and people, of color and coal than the caricature that appeared in *Le Charivari* in late May (fig. 68). Paf's thumbnail, comic rendering of the painting—minimally legible, entirely in black—offers a telling subtitle: "Photographie au charbon." Taken literally, the phrase suggests "charcoal photography" or photographs made of coal, an obvious reference to the product of the mine in the painting. In fact, of course, a process with the same

FIGURE 68
Paf, *Le Salon pour rire: A.-P. Roll*, 1880. Illustration from *Le Charivari*, 20 May 1880, p. 3.

French name had been invented in the 1850s and came to be known in English as "carbon process" photography. In the next two decades, this process served as one basis for color photography, including Léon Vidal's photochrome process (see fig. 53). The pun in Paf's cartoon works on several levels then. The black of the coal of the miners is what the "photographic" Realism of the painting is made of. Or in other words, following Chennevières, the picture is "coal-black." The extremity of the black of the work only emphasized, for sophisticated viewers, the fact that Roll's painting adopts a coloration that approaches more closely the practical limits of most photography in the mid-nineteenth century—it is black and white—than to the coloristic tradition of painting.[75] The joke in all its richness situates Roll's painting within a slightly older form of photography, one that rests on technical assumptions about the medium that do not endure much beyond 1880. Not insignificantly, the painting's explicit correlation with photography raises issues of pictorial temporality that had become central to accounts of later Realism—be it the work of Bastien-Lepage, Caillebotte, Béraud, de Nittis, or Raffaëlli—in the years immediately preceding the Salon of 1880.[76]

Another astonishing, if superficially cryptic, assertion of the intertwining strands of photography, Realism, and time can be found in the analysis of Roll's painting put forward by Mantz. Writing in *Le Temps* at the end of May, the critic cryptically evoked Courbet to make sense of *The Strike of the Miners*. Explicitly comparing it with midcentury Realism, he recycled his own language to describe the picture: "All the characters, intimidated by the painter's gaze, look as if they are posing in front of the camera lens. Roll seems to have scared the miners with a terrible 'Don't move!' and the dramatic feeling becomes frozen."[77] Such temporal stasis evidently offered nothing new within the Salon criticism of the day—Mantz probably hoped no one would remember the identical photographic analogy he had used to describe *The Stonebreakers* in 1878—but in its broad indication of the problem Realist painting faced in about 1880, the picture obviously sat within a wider discourse on photography and photographic temporality. Part of the painter's task at this moment, as Caillebotte and Dagnan-Bouveret alike could attest, was to compel beholders to believe that a painting represented the artist's own sensations not the camera's "mechanical" transcription of reality.

THE STRIKE AT ANZIN

However much it flirted with the photographic freezing of Naturalism, *The Strike of the Miners* was understood to depict a carefully observed scene from modern life. The critic Gonzague-Privat assumed that Roll "saw the scene and reproduced it just as he saw it, heart-rending and brutal."[78] It represented "one of those popular scenes one sees too often in the working-class areas."[79] The painting was perhaps only trivially modern—"true and exact like a *fait divers*"—but in 1880 the real events and locations that the painting might

register appeared almost too omnipresent to pin down precisely.[80] "Where is this scene?" asked Émile Bergerat, "Everywhere, alas!, right now."[81] All told, however, there was at least one obvious historical correlate: Anzin.

Daniel Bernard was not the only critic who took Roll's painting to be a more or less direct representation of the great miner's strike of 1878, but he made the relation emphatic when he retitled it *The Strike at Anzin*.[82] That his own newspaper, *L'Univers illustré*, had covered the strike and published an illustration depicting French dragoons dispersing strikers just outside Anzin in the summer of 1878 probably fueled the association for the writer and his audience (fig. 69). Such an association would only have been reinforced by the reproduction of *The Strike of the Miners* in the issue of June 1880 (fig. 70). By the same token, a picture of the Saint Louis pithead at Anzin from only a few years later confirms that such parallels would hardly have been out of line (fig. 71). Indeed, the buildings depicted in the illustration of the site so closely match those in Roll's painting—note the left foreground building, the towering head-frame next to it, and the smokestack behind—that this precise location might well have served as the artist's model.

By all measures, Anzin was the most prominent strike in the French press of the 1870s and 1880s. It had been made especially famous in a series of articles in *Le Voltaire* by Yves Guyot, a Gambettist politician, journalist, and economist, who documented the conditions of the workers, their families, their way of life, in a manner unusually sympathetic to their plight.[83] That Anzin was the largest mining operation in France—twenty mines, on 26,597 hectares, producing more than 10 percent of coal nationwide, at a value of 345 million francs—no doubt attracted attention, and ironically the mining company had showcased its operations at the Exposition Universelle with an impressively detailed 1/10 scale relief map of the coalfields.[84] Importantly, Anzin was also the first major labor action following the elections in October 1877. Indeed, it contradicted the relative quiescence of the French labor movement in the previous few years.[85] Maybe especially because the "zone of silence" restricting political debates then reigned in France, it took on charged significance in the shadow of the newly elected republican majority.[86] However reluctant the government might have been actually to take sides, a receptive official forum for labor issues now seemed to exist for the first time since the 1840s.

The *Voltaire* articles adopted a consistently humanizing and demythologizing tone. Among the first things Guyot noted after arriving in Anzin from Valenciennes was the pervasive blackness: "Everything is black. The ground is black. . . . men, women, children all black."[87] Such a description of the mining region and the miners no doubt echoed in the connection that critics drew between the palette of Roll's painting and its subject, but the journalist went on to insist that, contrary to popular opinion, miners are not actually black-skinned. In a later article he mentioned that after a few days of not working the miners have cleaned themselves up. The white skin of the miners in Roll's painting thus marked the absence of work.[88] Guyot spoke with the miners at length, and articulated their position with sympathy. He reported, for instance, that despite what the Havas news

FIGURE 69
The Strike at Anzin (La Grève d'Anzin), 1878. Illustration from *L'Univers illustré* 1219 (3 August 1878): 488.

FIGURE 70
After Alfred-Philippe Roll, *Salon de 1880: Grève des mineurs*, 1880. Illustration from *L'Univers illustré* 1316 (12 June 1880): 373.

FIGURE 71
The Strike at Anzin: The Saint-Louis Pit (La Grève d'Anzin: La Fosse Saint-Louis), 1884. Illustration from *Le Journal illustré* 16 (20 April 1884): 124.

agency had initially reported, it was the company that first lowered the salary of the miners; the strike had been organized in response. The demands were clearly and sympathetically laid out as well: "five francs per day and eight hours of work."[89] Wages had previously been determined by the piece and the maximum a miner could earn was about four francs a day.[90] Miners were also upset about the fixed hours of the elevators at the pitheads—they operated only at 4 and 6 in the morning and at 1 and 3 in the afternoon—a practice that forced them to stay underground longer than their work required and extended the workday: "they lose their time."[91] As period illustrations demonstrate, Anzin offered one of the key scenes of strikers confronting authorities. Written accounts underline, however, that the police, not the army, had the more hostile contact with the striking miners—many gendarmes were still Bonapartist and would arrest strikers for petty or political reasons.[92] Perhaps this, more than anything, led the critics to compare the social facts of the Anzin strike to the representation of the strike in Roll's painting; in both instances, confrontation with the police forms the core of the narrative.

The reports from Anzin likely sparked Roll's interest in the subject and its potential for representation. Indeed, the painter's ties to Guyot are well established—he painted his portrait in 1889, and the writer penned an obituary of the artist in 1919 situating the origins of their friendship in 1879.[93] Valmy-Baysse, however, notes other more firsthand experiences the painter used to produce his painting: "In 1879, a strike broke out in Charleroi. Roll went there; the affair was hot. Each day had its skirmish, its victims and arrests. Roll went everywhere; even, in a fight, a brick destined for a representative of the law injured him in the head; however, he did not leave what he called his post. Impartially, he noted the movements of the crowds, and also the gestures of individuals. The painting was in part composed, but returning to Paris, and wanting to document more, he had a family of miners come, and even while working, he had his models talk: thus he was initiated into their woes and disappointments. From this collaboration that was, to say the least, unforeseen, was born that lofty page of resignation and fatalism: *The Strike of the Miners*."[94] Some twenty years after the fact, the painter indicated that he had in fact gone to Anzin after first visiting Charleroi, apparently spending two years working on the picture.[95] Given the painter's experience at mines in both Belgium and France, the painting emerges as a kind

FIGURE 72
Alfred-Philippe Roll, *The Wife of the Striker (La Femme du grèviste)*, 1880. Oil on canvas, 47¼ × 33⅞ in (120 × 86 cm). Musée Baron Martin, Gray (Inv. GR-93–765).

FIGURE 73
Alfred-Philippe Roll, *Sketch for The Strike of the Miners (Esquisse pour La Grève des mineurs)*, c. 1880. Oil on canvas, 70⅞ × 89¾ in. (180 × 228 cm). Mairie, Saint-Benoît de Carmaux.

of synthesis of specific strikes and locations, suggesting the more universal condition of miners throughout the northern coalfields.

A number of studies emerged from these research campaigns. Roll's *Wife of the Striker* was almost certainly based on the direct observation of its subject (fig. 72). It is evidently the model for the stunned woman to the left of the horses in the Salon painting, although in the sketch she stares straight ahead, while in the large canvas she looks just to the side. The fact that wives and children were common tropes in strike representations at the time—women were quite active in the demonstrations—indicates the more generalized nature of the image. Most importantly, a half-size oil sketch on canvas, now in Saint-Benoît de Carmaux, confirms the careful preparation the artist undertook for the large Salon painting (fig. 73). It also reveals those aspects of its conception that Roll came upon early on and those that seem to have emerged later. The basic composition, with the pithead in the background and the arrest of the striker behind the horses on the right are evident from the first. The "melancholic" foreground figure on the left appears more prominently and forward-facing than in the final image, where he turns his head down and to his right. The wife of the miner, by contrast, is not very clearly articulated in the sketch and seems somewhat obscured by the arrest of her husband. In the sketch, the wagon and the boys sitting on it are not obviously present, and the man next to it in the final painting takes a notably aggressive pose, even while the man throwing a piece of coal manifests a vaguer hostility toward the arresting officers. The coloration of the sketch is dark, but it

contains elements of green, red, and earthy tones throughout—it is not, in other words, black. Two details that appear only in the Salon picture are especially significant: the flag flying above the crowd of strikers on the right and the specificity of the uniforms of the gendarmes. Roll's decision ultimately to depict the national police demands that the spectator connect the scene to the context, both geographic and political, of the French strike.

THE REPUBLICAN STRIKE

In France the wave of labor actions between 1878 and 1880 can be called, following Michelle Perrot, the "strikes of Republican hope."[96] In the wake of the solidification of power in the elections following the *seize mai* crisis of 1877, labor increasingly turned its hopes to the government to resolve longstanding disputes. Many of the bosses in the mining and textile industries had actively sided against the republicans, and workers came to feel that the new government would naturally favor their side. In turn, management often sparked work stoppages in these years by implementing wage-decreases in what was perceived as direct revenge for the electoral victories of October.[97] However much they sprang from greater optimism after 1877, the vast majority of strikes at French mines were consequently unplanned, spontaneously organized affairs.

Three kinds of "sudden strikes" were common in this period.[98] First, and most common, were "protest strikes." These involved workers responding directly and suddenly to a wage decrease or a workplace accident. "Eruptive strikes" were strikes that responded to a widespread and general sense of frustration with management, where, for example, wage negotiations reached an impasse. Often these involved more than one mine or factory, and turned into a kind of rolling strike across the country. This was the state of affairs in May 1880, where one mine after another saw the spontaneous emergence of a strike. "Surprise strikes" were secretly planned affairs that had no single precipitating cause. The 1878 strike at Anzin, when five hundred miners walked off the job on cue, stood out as the most prominent of such strikes in this period. This mode was most common in mines, where a necessary cohesion and relative autonomy of workers made such planning and coordination possible. Although such strikes contained an inherent drama, they rarely succeeded. Strategically planned and orchestrated strikes, designed to press management at key moments, succeeded in getting demands met twice as often. The fact that more workers went on strike in the late 1870s than actually belonged to unions indicates how powerful the myth of the sudden strike must have been. Drama counted in certain spheres, and the popular image of the strike in these years was much more closely allied to these sudden strikes.[99]

Once a strike had begun, the actual process of striking was generally an unorganized affair. It usually meant just not going to work for an indefinite period of time.[100] Unlike modern strikes, the concept of the picket line did not exist. However, posts were established at the entrance to mines to harass strikebreakers, who were called "traitors," "renegades," "*galvaudeux*" (vagabonds, doing quick, slipshod work), "*bamboucheur*" (reveler), or "Krouman."[101]

The last term is a peculiar word indicating something like "dirty fellow," but also used to denote ragpickers of the lowest order. In the title of a much later painting, exhibited at the Salon of 1907 but clearly related to Roll, Lucien Jonas used the word "*roufians*," Nord patois from the Spanish "*ruffian*," to denote the "lazy" and "parasitical" scab and his wife attacked by strikers in Anzin (fig. 74).[102] Perhaps the most significant word of abuse for strikebreakers around 1880 was "*fainéant*," which roughly translates as "loafer" or "idler." As Perrot argues, the subtle distinction between the activity of the strike and the nonproductivity of strikebreaking was a key point for strikers: "'going on strike' is the very opposite here of 'doing nothing'; strikes are not laziness, as the bourgeois like to insinuate, but action, and in certain circumstances the worker's true occupation. The striker is, indeed, a man of action."[103]

The action of striking was accompanied by odd jobs and seasonal work that miners could pick up while on strike. May and June were consistently common months for strikes precisely because agricultural work could so easily be obtained: striking miners in the northeast might just be hired, for instance, as *journalier*s to harvest hay. Such odd-jobbing was deemed necessary because so few strikes had any assistance from unions. Some spontaneous support did come from international trade and leftist political organizations, and from fundraising by leftist newspapers, but, by and large, strikers had to find their own means of support. When support disappeared, strikers became desperate.

Demonstrations were a major part of the strike action, and led to some of the most intense confrontations between labor and the police. Organized like political rallies or festivals, demonstrations involved very large numbers of workers—in Roubaix in 1880 some fifteen thousand attended.[104] Inevitably the police arrived to break up the gathering or to arrest some of the more "militant" members of the crowd. Such actions tended to unify rather than disperse the crowd, who would typically just taunt the cops (*les cognes*) with shouts of "le pain ou la mort," "vive la République," "vive la Sociale," or, ever so rarely, "vive la Commune."

Occasionally, police intervention was met with violence. This was the case in Anzin in 1872, 1878, and 1884, and elsewhere, including Reims in 1880. More often than not, however, the fury of the crowd found a target in the mines or factories, or even the bosses, rather than the police or the army. There are numerous cases, especially following the

FIGURE 74
Lucien Jonas, *Ruffians: Strike Scene, Anzin (Les Roufions: Scène de grève, Anzin)*, 1907. Oil on canvas, dimensions unknown. Royal Palace, Bangkok.

FIGURE 75
Jacques-Louis David, *The Intervention of the Sabine Women (Les Sabines)*, 1799. Oil on canvas, 12 ft. 8 in. × 17 ft.¾ in. (385 × 522 cm). Musée du Louvre, Paris.

solidification of the Republic in 1879, of strikers praising the forces of order, seeking some kind of solidarity with them.[105] The potential revolutionary violence was instead displaced onto, or symbolically projected against, the mine and its machinery. The threat of violence, real or symbolic, reached a boiling point toward the end of strikes, when the striker's ability to support himself and his family began to dwindle. Perrot gives a vivid account of how the 1884 strike in Anzin nearly led to violence.

> Faced with empty purses and empty cupboards, and bakers less and less willing to give credit, the housewives' anxiety grew. In the early hours of morning, a few timid, trembling forms set off furtively for the pit. Groups formed up along the way against these betrayers. Mocked, jeered, chased and attacked, these unfortunates provided a first target for a bitterness that was born of a feeling that they had been swindled. The gendarmes intervened to protect the 'right to work' and proceeded to make arrests, which stirred up the sense of solidarity. Secret talks took place in the night. Gangs formed up, moving towards the mines. They were led by fiery young men who were in the grip of a single obsession: they must stop the ventilators and cut the cables. And around the pits, with their military-style protection, the revolt was brewing.[106]

The revolt never came, however, and the strike failed. Such scenes of incipient violence or even revolution were, nonetheless, charged episodes in the political and social life of the early Third Republic.

Roll's painting thus offered the Salon-going public a supremely topical depiction of labor conflict. Just as the newspapers were reporting demonstrations and possible police intervention, Roll showed a moment of action on the part of the police to prevent the escalation of a strike to a violent pitch. Following this reading, several critics sought to situate *The Strike of the Miners* within the tradition of French painting—Charles Flor saw it as a newer version of David's *Intervention of the Sabine Women*—that suggested to the viewer a moderate sense of narrative resolution (fig. 75).[107] The strike will be resolved, this reading goes, and France, like Rome, will see its contending factions united.

THE TIME OF *THE STRIKE*

The Strike of the Miners represents the confrontation of labor and order, and it implies a conflict that has ended and may begin again. Upon closer examination, however, the exact turning point of the narrative of the painting is less easy to ascertain. The painting seems deliberately to evoke and undercut Charles Blanc's determination that "in painting, the setting is immutable, the time indivisible, and the action instantaneous."[108] Instead, as Chesneau and others noted, it disperses various moments, a "successivity of episodes," across the canvas. The figure that arguably occupies the center of the canvas is a figure of inaction: this melancholic and "melodramatic" figure slumps in the foreground head in hand, staring numbly at the ground. He seems a man given over to despair, incapable even of reacting to the scenes of repression and violence going on around him. Like so many figures in the painting, as Champier points out, he is "inert."[109]

The only episode approaching action in the painting appears on the left, where a miner appears ready to throw a piece of coal. A woman, presumably his wife, nonetheless stops his motion, as he attempts to escape her pleading grasp. Critics in 1880 knew only too well what attacking a gendarme in such a case would have meant: automatic jail-time for the husband—trials of strikers inevitably resulted in conviction—and hunger, perhaps starvation, for the family. Where the man intends to throw his missile is not entirely clear, however. The gendarmes shackling his comrade would appear the most obvious target, but as most critics pointed out in 1880, he seems in fact to be aiming at the approaching column of soldiers in the back left side. Still another critic insisted the man seeks to hit the pithead of the mine itself, an aim not inconsistent with historical episodes.[110] That the coal thrower could be called the "only character who shows revolt" in a picture depicting the "violent collision of labor and capital" crystallizes the painting's presentation of a range of different moments, reactions, events, of more or less import. Yet even he could be said, rightly, to "hesitate."[111]

The peculiar temporality of *The Strike of the Miners* thus consists in large part of the freezing of its narrative. Viewers in 1880 would likely have remained torn between a reading of the work as a denouement of a strike or as the beginning of a riot. Of course, it could be either one, and this seems to be the intended effect. It is a painting whose deeper formal complexities reside in the to-and-fro between a temporal unfolding on the one hand and the suspension of that temporality on the other hand. The double-arrest in the image—the gendarme's shackling of the miner on the right and the wife of the miner grabbing her husband's arm on the left—thus carry more metaphoric weight than might first be imagined. The core meaning of the painting can be located only in the contradictory moment between the arrest of work (the ongoing strike) and the arrest of the strike (the police intervention), between narrative temporality and stasis, between one form of stoppage and another.

The sense of pictorial time, in other words, fits closely with the subject at hand. The strike, as depicted in Roll's painting, is precisely an interruption in the temporal flow of production. The striking miners are not working, and thus they are in a state of suspension, quite purposively, in the temporal continuity of the extraction of coal from the mine.

Some critics specified how long this break in the work of mining must have lasted. In Fourcaud's assessment, for instance, the painting depicted day three or four of the strike.[112] Historical analogies suggest that it was probably somewhat later. Any understanding of the painting's content and correspondence to social facts rested on the acknowledgment that the time of the strike makes sense only in dialectical relation to the time of labor. One thing, then, that divided hostile from sympathetic readings of *The Strike of the Miners* was the sense of the time of this strike. The painting does not make clear if the strike has endured so long that the miners have turned in desperation to violence or if the police have intervened quickly at the start of the strike.

Action and inaction formed a crucial dyad in the critical self-consciousness of the striker. "Fainéant" was the word used to describe the strikebreaker, or sometimes the police, but never the striker. In his history of industrialization's disciplining and transformation of the bodies of workers, Anson Rabinbach discusses a similar distinction between idleness and laziness, whose origins he dates to the mid–eighteenth century.[113] The connotations had doubtless shifted by 1880, but the semantic distinction was still operative. One way to think about what the miners in Roll's painting are doing, then, is to describe them as idle. That a key period word in French to describe this idling of labor was "arrest" (*arrêter*) deepens the significance of this dynamic of action and inaction in Roll's painting. *The Strike of the Miners* thus offers a kind of arrested temporality that demands to be understood within the logic of a difference between striking and idleness on the one hand, and strikebreaking and laziness on the other. In any case, the politics of interpretation no doubt differed in regard to whether one saw striking as idling or laziness, active or inactive, productive or unproductive. Thus the politics of the image rested on a correlation to the understanding of the broader politics of time.

THE POLITICS OF WORK-TIME

In the strikes at Anzin and elsewhere between 1878 and 1880, work-time reduction lay at the heart of the dispute. Although wages were an important issue, the idea of limiting the working day had become more and more central.[114] This was true at various moments in industrialized nations in the nineteenth century, but in France it emerged in about 1880 that the movement for work-time reduction consolidated within the working-class movement. The Union des Chambres Syndicales Ouvrières, for instance, made the achievement of a ten-hour day its main priority in 1880. The government had itself begun a major investigation of the possibility of limiting the workday by law. The so-called Waddington report submitted its preliminary findings in June 1880, but debates about work-time reform had been under way for several years.[115] The report ultimately recommended regulation of the workday, but legislation passed only in 1892, and then restricted only the workday of women and children to eleven hours.[116] But in early 1880 the possibility seemed real that some form of radical restructuring of work and time might be achieved.

The failure of the Waddington report to push through reforms resulted from sharp polarization on the issue. On the one hand were conservatives, like Eugène Tallon, who argued that the worst thing one could do in improving the lot of the worker in France would be to give him more free time. In 1877 he wrote, "A badly thought-out movement, but of ardent intensity, has occurred in these past years in the heart of working-class populations in favor of the reduction of the hours of work."[117] Contrary to expectation, reduced work-time would produce unemployment and reduced salaries, ultimately producing unbearable hardship for the worker. The real problem facing workers was not time but moral orientation. What free time and money they had went directly to drinking. Until this problem could be solved, increasing wages and free time would only create more opportunities for alcoholic consumption. With more or less emphasis on the morality of the worker, most conservative accounts of the economics of the diminution of work-time—and most moderate ones for that matter—indicated that it would slow production and lower wages, hurting both business and workers alike.

Not coincidentally, the most famous response to this standard economic argument first appeared in 1880. Beginning on 23 June, while Roll's painting was still on view at the Salon, Paul Lafargue's "Le Droit à la paresse"—reprinted several times and quickly translated as *The Right to be Lazy*—began its run of seven serialized extracts in the revived Guesdist weekly *L'Egalité*.[118] Lafargue was something of a liaison for Karl Marx in France. A physician of Cuban origin, he had married Marx's daughter Laura in 1868. Traditionally seen as Jules Guesde's right-hand man, research has shown he was singularly responsible for introducing key theoretical texts by Marx and Friedrich Engels into France around 1880.[119] He also seems to have published a paraphrase of *The Civil War in France*, a text informed in turn by Lafargue's first-hand experience of the Commune. Although he was a wayward follower of Marxist theory, he proved instrumental in the establishment of a Marxist party in France. Indeed, in the years before the schism in the Federated Socialist Workers Party produced the more radically Marxist Parti Ouvrier Français, Lafargue led attempts to introduce political and economic reforms in France.

"Le Droit à la paresse" owes rather little to the author's father-in-law. Although it parallels Marx's concept of alienation, later published in the *Economic and Philosophical Manuscripts*, which Lafargue probably knew from conversations, the essay is primarily designed to put to rest some platitudes of the French working-class movement.[120] In particular, the central tenet of Lafargue's work was simply that the obsession with the "right to work"—labor's rallying cry in 1848—was exactly the opposite of what the working class actually needed. Moreover, it was, ironically, precisely what best served the needs of the bourgeoisie. There was simply nothing more productive for capitalism than to maximize exploitative labor. "Work, work, proletarians," he wrote satirically, echoing bourgeois economics, "to increase social wealth and your individual poverty; work, work, in order that becoming poorer, you may have more reason to work and become miserable. Such is the inexorable law of capitalist production."[121] What real economic justice demanded was, to

the contrary, that the working class be entitled to the same rights as the bourgeoisie: the right not to work. Indeed, Lafargue's essay is largely a polemic against the false consciousness of the working class in France, who appear caught in the delusion, foisted on them by bourgeois economists and labor leaders alike, that their economic improvement hinged on increasing their time at work. If pressed, however, economists of the period would have admitted that production remains stable or actually increases with reduced hours and more holidays. The main outcome of the emphasis on work and the right to work is typically overproduction, which in turn demands greater leisure time for the bourgeoisie to consume the ever-expanding number of goods and greater imperialist advances to find new markets. It does not produce quality of life or wealth for the workers. Although "Le Droit à la paresse" was written in a satirical mode, it targeted precisely the sorts of workers depicted in Roll's painting, with the goal of fomenting change in the perception of work-time. As Leslie Derfler has demonstrated, the pamphlet had real political goals, most notably the establishment of an eight-hour work day and a weekly day of rest.[122]

Lafargue's "hedonist" approach to work and leisure has been characterized, perhaps rightly, as "naïve and trivial," but there were alternative ways of thinking about labor and time in 1880.[123] Among a handful of thinkers offering a leftist critique of the efforts to make work-time reform a central goal of the worker's movement was a young member of the nascent anarchist movement in France named Émile Gautier. Writing for *La Révolution sociale*, the major anarchist paper in Paris at the time, Gautier played a key part in reintegrating anarchist politics into the revived worker's movement in the years following the amnesty of the Communards in 1880. Significantly as well, he was, along with Peter Kropotkin, one of the key figures in the 1883 trial of "the 66" in Lyons, but in 1880 he was still the notorious author of *Les Endormeurs: Heures de travail (propos anarchistes)*, a book articulating the anarchist position on "working hours."[124]

Unlike Lafargue, Gautier dismissed attempts to reform work-time. In principle, of course, he had no opposition to the reduction of work, but he claimed that even a ten-hour day was too long—these hours better served the boss—six hours was more reasonable for industrial labor. A full workday restricts devotion of time to the duties of the citizen, and simple dignity and hygiene demand reduced work-time. The real problem with legislative reform was that it effectively handed the question of work and its temporal structure over to the bourgeoisie. Indeed, Gautier agreed with conservatives that the reforms risk lowering wages and raising prices with time reductions. Underlying such a position may be a Lassallean assumption of the "iron law of wages"—Ferdinand Lassalle believed that wages inevitably plateau at the bare minimum necessary to maintain the productivity of the worker—which effectively nullifies any economic benefits for workers within a capitalist economy. Hourly wage labor as such constituted the real problem. Day-work—which was still the norm in agriculture—might have been a somewhat better option. Everyone on the Left agreed that workers should be obligated to work no more than thirty to thirty-five hours per week, but for an anarchist these proposals distracted from the action necessary for

realizing a truly just society. To understand that the instrumentalization of work-time was what capitalism demanded in a wage-system was one thing, Gautier claimed, but to accept it on its own terms was quite another thing. Reduction of work-time ultimately proved consistent with counterrevolutionary politics. In the end, interestingly, Gautier called for strike action—just stop working. This was the anarchist line in 1880. And unlike Tallon or Lafargue, Gautier perhaps understood that the only real response to industrial capitalism's exploitation of work-time was a complete rejection of the concept of commodified labor.

Around 1880, then, there existed various ways of understanding the structuring of temporality under industrial capitalism, but every position in the political spectrum understood implicitly or explicitly that strikes were not simply a political response to work-time or pay or safety but were, in fact, interventions within the very structure of work-time. Strikes were so threatening to capitalism's apologists, and were so favored by the labor movement, precisely because they acknowledged, however implicitly, the fact that at the very heart of productivity was the exploitation of what political economists might have called labor time. Marx, for instance, consistently argued that socially necessary labor time formed the basis of the value of commodities, and hence lay at the very core of the capitalist system. In *Capital*, he thus elaborated the logic of the labor theory of value: "How, then, is the magnitude of this value to be measured? By means of the quantity of the 'value-forming substance,' the labor, which it contains. This quantity is measured by its duration, and the labor-time is itself measured on the particular scale of hours, days, etc."[125] More sweepingly, in the posthumously published *Grundrisse*, he declared, "Economy of time to this all economy ultimately reduces itself."[126] Time is money, as the English say.

It seems doubtful in the extreme that Roll had read Marx when he began to work on *The Strike of the Miners*—even if Joseph Roy's translation of *Capital* into French had appeared in 1872—but his later views on the working-class movement indicate an understanding of the centrality of labor, or at least wages, in capitalist production. In an interview with Azar du Marest published in 1901, he sought to explain the economic problem at the core of his 1880 painting: "The knot of this unhappy question resides, in my view, in *a false conception of salary*. At the risk, in effect, of treating the worker as a simple 'production machine,' it seems to me impossible to subordinate his existence much longer to the whims of industrial fluctuations. . . . This would mean suppressing the brutal game of offers and demands, substituting for it, as soon as possible, *a salary calculated according to the needs of human life*. And this salary would determine the price of products in all markets! —I do not see a more reasonable economics."[127] For Roll, the cause of the strike at Charleroi or at Anzin, of that in *The Strike of the Miners*, could be reduced to the recognition that the miner's labor time served as the "value-forming substance"— salary determines "the price of products"—but the payment for that labor time did not support basic human needs. This is more or less what Marx calls exploitation. The failure of critics in 1880 to synthesize artistic style and representational content might thus be understood as a resistance to connecting the labor time of the strike with the temporal nature of the painting. The freezing

and arresting of pictorial time in Roll's *Strike of the Miners* might just have functioned as an analogue for the time of the strike itself.

REAL TIME

The Strike of the Miners is a painting about time—or rather, it is about the stasis of time. While it is a painting of a strike, and as such implies the politically charged temporal dialectic of work and the idling of work, the internal narrative of the painting offers a perpetually suspended moment, between the time of the strike and the time of work, between the time of reaction and the time of revolt. Édouard Drumont might be right, in this regard, to suggest that the source of the unhappiness and disorder of the mob is deeply related to the regulation of time. "This whole little world," he wrote in his review of the Salon, "that lived happily and tranquilly yesterday, is now perturbed, agitated, furious at themselves and others, completely disoriented by not being able to hear the bells that provide the ordinary and hourly rhythm of the day."[128]

Historical evidence does not clarify if the workday of the miners in 1880 would have been quite so structured, but the ringing of signal bells would indeed have been heard continuously near the pithead as elevators rose and descended into the mine. Even so, Drumont almost certainly puts the politics of time in reverse. As Engels noted, such increasing time-discipline was especially resented among the industrial proletariat who were "brought under the dominion of the factory bell."[129] In contrast, of course, the evocation of bells also calls to mind the tolling of the churches in the countryside, and with it the contemporaneous structuring of the "natural" temporality of rural France.[130] What Drumont's insight gets right, then, is the way *The Strike of the Miners* operates within a framework of temporal markers: the workday, factory bells, churches, and the sudden disappearance of such structures with the onset of the idleness of the strike. The representation of labor time takes place against its absence.

One obvious model for the representation of the time of labor could be found in the art of the German painter Adolph Menzel. His *Iron Rolling Mill* had appeared at the 1878 Exposition Universelle in Paris, and its representation of an iron lamination process in Upper Silesia would have struck Roll as a powerful example of a contemporary Realist mode (fig. 76).[131] Even at the time, the critic Bergerat thought that the "subject was made to please our young realists."[132] For his part, Edmond Duranty wrote two major articles on Menzel in these years. The first materialized in 1878 in conjunction with the fair, and the second appeared in two parts in the *Gazette des beaux-arts* in 1880, the first in March, just before Roll's painting was unveiled.[133] Only a few months later, the same journal published a detail of *The Strike of the Miners* (fig. 77). Whatever Roll's own relation to Menzel, then, a certain segment of the Salon public would have drawn instructive parallels. The two works were simply too close not to have prompted comparisons. That the coal which the miners endeavored to extract ultimately fueled such iron production only intensifies the

FIGURE 76
Adolph Menzel, *The Iron Rolling Mill (Das Eisenwalzwerk)*, 1872–75. Oil on canvas, 5 ft. 2 in.¼ in. × 8 ft. 4 in. (158 × 254 cm). Neue Nationalgalerie, Berlin.

conjunction—one critic even stated, somewhat erroneously, that a blast furnace looms in the background of Roll's picture.[134]

Menzel's painting offers a sense that the time of work contains, in itself, a dialectical or cyclical interplay of labor time and rest. The narrative of the painting proceeds most powerfully and effectively from the central figures engaged in the placement of metal into the machine to the figures in the right foreground snatching a meal out of the workday. Although this latter passage is notably darker—and thus, perhaps, a secondary point of visual interest—the young woman with the food basket looking out at the viewer emphasizes its significance for the broader meaning of the painting's representation of labor. This figure seems to stand for the intersection between different temporal modes within the structure of industrial labor, between abstract labor time (the potential value of labor) and what might be called "real time," that time resting outside or on the margins of a capitalist system, a time of unmeasured experience.[135] In other words, the female figure stands for the intersection of "lived time" and "measured time."[136] The painting's overall effect rests on the distinction between work and rest, between wage labor and the possibility of unstructured time, time free of the clock and the steam-whistle. That the figures eating in the middle of the day have no doubt structured their nonproductive time in such a way as to maximize their productivity—there is nothing in Menzel's painting that suggests any part of life escapes abstraction and commodification—in no way detracts from the suggestion that labor time is still, at this point in the history of industrialization, defined by its opposite or alternatives. What both Menzel and Roll share is the sense that labor time—that is, the commodification of temporal experience in larger and larger sections of everyday life—was still something wrenched out of older cycles of experience, indeed out of the body's own rhythms of fatigue and hunger.

FIGURE 77
Alfred-Philippe Roll, *Detail of the Strike of the Miners (Fragment de la "Grève des mineurs")*, 1880. Illustration after a drawing by the artist, from *Gazette des beaux-arts* 21 (June 1880): 517.

The work of both Menzel and Roll sits within a wider Realist concern with alternate pictorial temporalities—extended, durational, or repetitive—and not least with time as experienced or lived. Roll self-consciously placed himself within Courbet's sphere of influence, and was seen in those terms. In positioning *The Strike of the Miners* within a Realist trajectory, its painter understood, almost intuitively, that the Realist motif had to consist of a moment of potentially endless deferral of action—a slowed-down intrinsic time that balanced a temporality analogous to the historical painting of the past with the careful, empirical mode of observation on which Realism based its rhetoric of authenticity. In practice, this meant that Realism was less and less able actually to represent labor as such. One obvious option was to depict the cyclical and repetitive nature of work, as had Courbet and Menzel, but in later Realist painting, new subjects and motifs had to be found. Roll discovered that a strike was one eminently appropriate Realist motif. It took labor as its subject, but avoided the fugitive temporality of actual work. Roll recognized Realism's temporal dimension and used it to give form to the perceived nature of the strike, not least its explicitly "idle" nature. In grappling with the problem of a Realist representation of labor, however, the painter brought out the temporal nature of the strike, thus raising the implicit question of work-time as the key locus of political struggle.

THE SINISTER BLACK FLAG

Ultimately, the complex conception of labor time in *The Strike of the Miners* translated into legible politics within the space of the Salon of 1880 in only the most allusive manner. To understand what was at stake for the work's original audience, therefore, is to take

seriously the terms of description that underlay the critical accounts. The word critics fell back on with astonishing regularity to describe the painting was "sinister." Fourcaud declared that there was, for example, "nothing more sinister than this painting of poverty and the downtrodden."[137] For a bourgeois public at the Salon there certainly seemed to be a consistent sense that the painting evoked something provocative, even threatening—in Michael Zimmerman's words "a revolt of the poor against established power."[138]

Roll's painting certainly was understood in most quarters as a moderate attempt to crystalize the dangers or threats of the working class, making them seem "sinister." For Dalligny, the painting depicts the miners as distinctly menacing characters: "Some threaten; others sit bitterly like wretches through whose heads occasionally pass painful and sinister thoughts. One of them is at the point of provoking the troops by throwing stones, his pleading wife prevents him from doing it."[139] The work dramatized the conflict to demonstrate the evils on all sides—the suffering of the workers, but their rebelliousness, too. Flor described the perils of the police, as if they constituted the painting's protagonists: "The gendarmes carry out their difficult mission, not without watching out of the corner of their eyes these rebels who surround them and who menace them."[140] For such critics the logic of the reading of the painting as "sinister" seems to have been that the miners in the painting, as in life, offered a potential threat to the established order, the bourgeois order. In Fourcaud's view, *The Strike of the Miners* offered only a neutral presentation of the dangers such conflicts might produce. "Watch out for economic miseries" the canvas seemed to say. "They engender the idea of reprisals that the anarchists are good at exploiting. In any case the worst enemy of the social order is hunger. This painting accuses no-one; it has the great utility that it gives rise to reflection; it is not bitter, it is frank."[141]

Fourcaud's mention of anarchism in his otherwise moderate analysis points to one key detail of the painting that unlocks a possibly more radical reading: the color of the flag flying above the advancing crowd of miners. No such flag appears in the oil sketch for the painting, and the black-and-white photographs of the now-destroyed Salon painting do nothing to clarify the original color. Some historians assume it must have been red, no doubt because later strikes almost always manifested the color (fig. 78). Certainly, nine years after the Commune the red flag would have registered as the emblem of working-class insurrection. Even in his 1872 caricature of the "parliamentary trains" that took politicians back and forth between Paris and Versailles, Honoré Daumier already got some comic mileage out of the bourgeois reaction to the color—assuming that the Commune has been proclaimed at Versailles, a right-wing deputy is shocked, the caption asserts, by the sight of the railway worker's red flag (fig. 79). It is therefore hardly surprising to find an 1892 color engraving of *The Strike of the Miners* reproduced in *Le Petit journal* that renders the flag in red (fig. 80). As Camille Baillargeon has pointed out, however, this was in fact a recoloring. In 1880 the numerous critical responses to the painting make the color of the flag abundantly clear: it was black.[142] "This grim and sinister gathering," Théodore Véron noted, "has for its gloomy banner a black rag standing out against a foggy sky."[143]

One critic, writing for the republican journal *La Lanterne*, brought together the flag and the sinister effect of the scene: "These despondent men, these women broken into pieces by sadness, these soldiers who come, loaded rifles ready to deal death to these wretched beings who clamor for bread; this black rag that floats on the horizon and that seems to be the flag of poverty, all this gives pangs of grief."[144] For those who understood its connotations, the black flag contained a politics of its own.

It would seem evident that the black flag signaled the presence of anarchists in the crowd. Fourcaud's remarkable review suggests as much, although importantly, he did not actually mention the color of the flag in his review of 1880. In a monograph on the artist published sixteen years later—that is, on the other side of the escalating anarchist actions of the early 1890s—he inserted a reference to the "black flag" into a reprint of his earlier account of *The Strike of the Miners*.[145] In strikes before 1890, as Perrot notes, "the color black appeared only rarely. Its appearance was almost always attributable to the activity of some small anarchist grouping, as at Bessèges in 1882, Paris in 1885 (anarchist tailors in the 'Panther' group) and at Vienne in 1890."[146] When Louise Michel appeared before the Cour d'assise de la Seine to defend her use of the black flag in a public demonstration in 1883—the first documented manifestation of the flag as an explicitly anarchist symbol—she claimed that it had previously been "the flag of strikes that indicates the worker has no bread."[147] She also proclaimed that the black flag had replaced the red flag of the Commune. These meanings were only beginning to take their place in the lexicon. Historically, Littré associated the red flag first with "martial law" and then "insurrection," but the black flag in the 1870s still marked only the neutrality of potential artillery targets such as hospitals during a siege.[148] If the image of the black flag in *The Strike of the Miners* is indeed anarchist, it appears to be one of the very first. As such, it certainly fit within a reading of the painting's content as labor arrested of workers idled, but it also suggests a more complex possible reading of the painting as a whole.

FIGURE 78
The Strike of the Miners at Pas-de-Calais (La Cortège des mineurs du Pas-de-Calais en grève parcourant les corons), 1906. Illustration from *Le Petit journal* 802 (1 April 1906): 104.

FIGURE 79
Honoré Daumier, *Parliamentary Trains (Les Trains parlementaires)*, 1872. Illustration from *Le Charivari*, 22 January 1872.

FIGURE 80
After Alfred-Philippe Roll, *The Strike of the Miners (La Grève des mineurs)*, 1880. Illustration from *Le Petit Journal* 97 (1 October 1892): 320.

Critics consistently lamented the blackness of the painting, in turn an implicit critique of its belonging to a Realist tradition, but they also connected the "sinister" politics of the painting to the black flag on the right. Fourcaud simply asserted that "the painter had found sinister tones that added to the horror of the subject."[149] This is a remarkable connection that cannot be dismissed as mere coincidence. In fact, the metaphoric connection of the color of painting to the politics of the flag is not at all unusual in this period. During the same Salon of 1880, the Bonapartist Paul de Cassagnac complained in the National Assembly that, if the republicans got their way, "No one will be able to paint except in red!"[150] The black flag of the miner's politics could thus have been very easily understood as analogous to the black canvas itself—the form and the content of the painting identical, indeed inseparable—at the entrance to the Salon of 1880.

Within this intended space of beholding, if the painting were read as a strict kind of Realism—"the representation of objects visible and tangible"—a moderate view would have taken hold. Ironically, however, if the painting were seen in metaphoric terms, where black stood not just for the color of coal, but for anarchism as well, the politics would have become substantially more radical. Precisely because the understanding of Realism had already become equated to the photographic replication of reality, the radical reading would have proved all but impossible to articulate within the framework of actually existing aesthetics. The fact that the state purchased the painting indicates that the moderate interpretation predominated.[151] The fact that, despite his promise to exhibit the work at the Ministère de Commerce in Paris, Turquet, the Director of Fine Arts, shipped it as soon as he could to Valenciennes—the very heart of the French mining country—suggests that at some level the black flag of Realism was still too sinister to accept in the heart of the capital. As Chesneau put it, perhaps more in the form of a bourgeois wish than a historical prediction, "The sinister black flag has not been pulled down. It will be."[152]

4 1881 / Heroic Indolence

Jean-François Raffaëlli, *The Absinthe Drinkers*

> "Dans ses tableaux," me disait un jour Renoir, en regardant une toile de Raffaëlli, "tout est pauvre, même l'herbe!"
>
> —Georges Rivière, *Renoir et ses amis*

At the sixth Impressionist exhibition in 1881, Jean-François Raffaëlli showed the painting now known as *The Absinthe Drinkers* for the first time (fig. 81).[1] The large canvas depicting two ragged men drinking outside a bar in the outskirts of Paris received widespread praise that year, and the artist displayed it again in his enormous solo exhibition in 1884 and at the Paris Salon in 1889, when Jules Bastien-Lepage's *Les Foins* and Alfred-Philippe Roll's *Strike of the Miners* both hung at the Exposition Universelle. After appearing at the Chicago World's Columbian Exposition in 1893, it remained largely unseen for almost a century. The picture reemerged prominently in a variety of publications and exhibitions beginning in the late 1970s, but for all the revisionist scholarship this revival occasioned and for all the subsequent attempts to situate Raffaëlli within the artistic currents of his time—to brand him as a Naturalist, for instance—the painter remains for most historians of nineteenth-century French art an "academically oriented genre painter," with only coincidental ties to the avant-garde.[2]

In his own time, however, Raffaëlli enjoyed extraordinary favor with critics across the artistic spectrum. From Edmond Duranty's exceptionally high praise of *The Family of Jean-le-Boîteux, Peasants from Plougnasnou* at the Salon of 1877 to Stéphane Mallarmé's close collaboration on *Les Types de Paris* in 1889, the artist established and maintained respectable avant-garde credentials (fig. 82).[3] Indeed, the seriousness with which influential critics and writers set about describing a work like *The Absinthe Drinkers* gives some sense of the painter's prominent place in the advanced artistic discourses of the period. Here, for example, is Félix Fénéon in 1889: "Some absinthe drinkers, men in frock coats and top hats, are seated at a table in front of a cabaret in the banlieue, under a bower stripped by winter; a thin inserted rectangle between the edge of a wall historiated with drolleries and the upper left of the frame allows a view of the countryside: a railroad signal, a palisade. M. Raffaëlli's literary perspicacity excels at scrutinizing the life of dejected blighters, and

Detail of Figure 81

FIGURE 81
Jean-François Raffaëlli, *The Absinthe Drinkers (Les Déclassés)*, 1881. Oil on canvas, 43⅜ × 43⅜ in. (110.2 × 110.2 cm). Fine Arts Museums of San Francisco.

his meticulous craft engraves the wrinkles of a wrist supporting a jaw or the fibrils of blood in feverish eyes."[4] At first glance, Fénéon's ekphrasis passes over the central subject of the picture—the enigmatic status of the men or the glasses of pale green absinthe, for instance—in favor of visual minutiae: barely visible graffiti on a wall, squinting bloodshot eyes, a glimpse of a railroad in the background. Nonetheless, in this very maneuver the critic suggests, in characteristically elliptical fashion, that the marginal in fact constitutes the central subject of this painting: the work is acutely concerned with the lower limits

of poverty permeating the liminal spaces at the edge of the city. For Fénéon, "Raffaëlli's figures owe their character to the milieu from which he extracts them; they are of less interest to him than the social class of which they are the specimen."[5]

To be sure, Raffaëlli had by 1889 established a reputation as the preeminent painter of the Parisian banlieue. Writing at almost exactly the same moment as Fénéon, the novelist Octave Mirbeau asserted in slightly less cryptic terms, albeit no less elliptically, the painter's accomplishment: "Thanks to M. Raffaëlli, the banlieue of Paris—this intermediary and bizarre world, at once swarming and abandoned, no longer the city and not yet the country, where nothing ends, and where nothing begins, where men, poverty-stricken wrecks: small bourgeois lives, strange trades, nocturnal prowls, proletarian defeats; where skies loaded down with the soot of factory chimneys, the acrid odor of urban dust; where

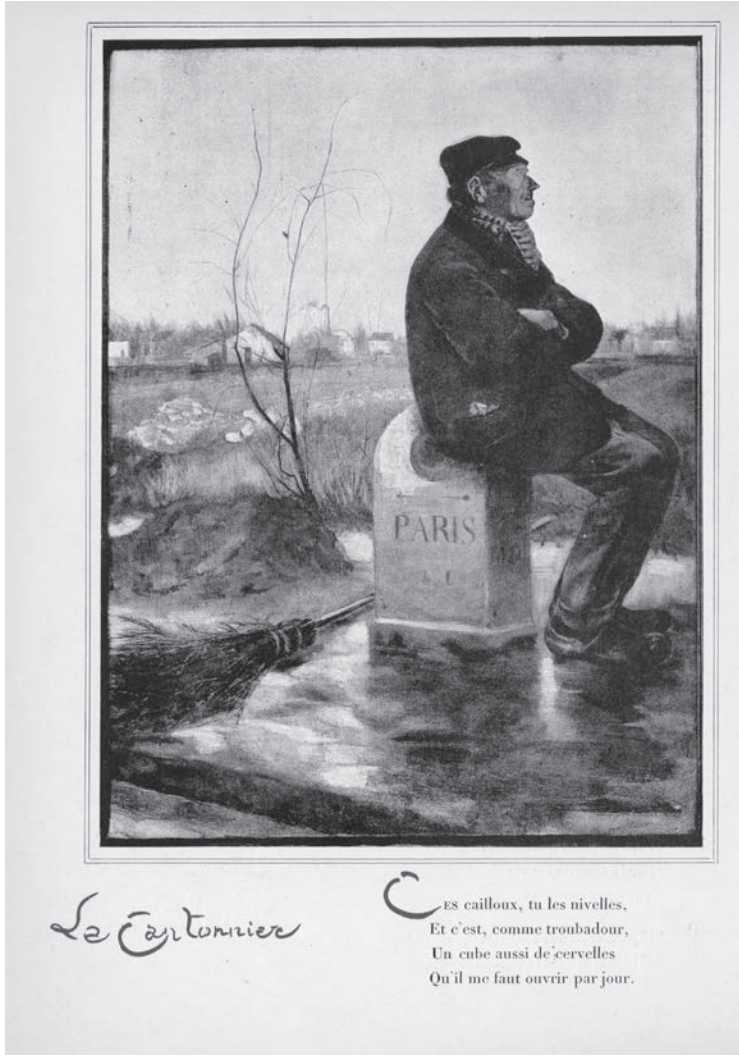

FIGURE 82
Jean-François Raffaëlli, *Cantonnier, Paris 4 k. 1*, 1881, and Stéphane Mallarmé, "Le Cantonnier," 1889. From *Les Types de Paris* (Paris: Plon, 1889), 110.

FIGURE 83
Jean-François Raffaëlli, *Wastelands (Terrains vagues)*, 1880. Oil on panel, 8½ × 10½ in. (21.6 × 26.6 cm). Location unknown (formerly collection Sir George Drummond).

landscapes, made up of etiolated vegetation, of gray profiles, of dreary silhouettes, of smoky horizons, of detritus, stones, and plaster, relieved, here and there, by a vivid fragment of broken tile or the glitter of a shard of glass, all have such a particular character of suffering and of revolt, such a poignant color of melancholy—has won its place in the ideal."[6] For Mirbeau, as for most of Raffaëlli's defenders throughout the 1880s, the central interest of the artist's paintings and engravings lay in their documentation of the netherworld of the suburban banlieue. A painting such as *Wastelands (Terrains vagues)*, which the artist showed in 1881 and in 1889, sought to render not only the grim, desolate spaces immediately surrounding the French capital—the thinning brush on a rocky hill; a useless, rickety fence; an isolated factory belching smoke into the air—but also their broken-down occupants: male and female ragpickers, a scruffy dog, a flea-bitten donkey (fig. 83). Fénéon himself declared in 1886 that Raffaëlli had "invented the suburban landscape," and in general critics granted that the painter had found a means of infusing this unsightly landscape with a sense of the poetic.[7] In 1924 Gustave Geffroy quoted Auguste Rodin to this effect: "Raffaëlli is an artist for whom the word "original" was coined. Without him, we would pass through the banlieues without knowing the beauties that lay within."[8] Going beyond a nod toward the poetry of the downtrodden and blighted, however, Mirbeau pinpointed an aspect of the artist's work that others, tellingly, passed over in silence. Central to any

serious appreciation of Raffaëlli's art was, for Mirbeau, the implicit, if consistent, evocation in his depiction of the banlieue "of suffering and of revolt." A phrase such as this carried weight for someone like Mirbeau, who was, like Fénéon, a confirmed anarchist.[9]

The Absinthe Drinkers presented an image of the misery and incipient rebelliousness of a certain class of French society that seemed perfectly suited for such an audience. Indeed, the painting was originally exhibited under the title *Les Déclassés*, and the artist clearly conceived it under this more specific, and more provocative, rubric of class degradation. The meaning of this original title, perhaps best translated as "The Degraded," yields a major clue to the work's wider significance. In the 1870s Pierre Larousse defined "*déclassé*" as "someone who is outside society, who does not occupy an admitted place within it," but the word also indicated someone who has fallen through the very floor of the social structure.[10] Raffaëlli's painting thus depicted a location, an activity, and a social type—the banlieue, drinking, and the déclassé—which, when mixed together, offered a volatile cocktail to its original audience. In 1881 these three subjects were merged, producing greater political resonance, in and through a pictorial aesthetics of duration, one deliberately in tension with an Impressionist mode of pictorial instantaneity.

AGAINST IMPRESSIONISM

Above all else, *Les Déclassés* was painted for the sixth Impressionist exhibition in 1881.[11] Throughout the month of April, the canvas hung at the head of a large group of Raffaëlli's works and quickly became, along with Edgar Degas's *Little Dancer Aged Fourteen*, one of the touchstones of the show. For some, the two artists belonged to a schismatic flank within the Impressionist group. Following the fractious exhibit of 1880, in which Raffaëlli's contributions dominated the galleries and garnered widespread critical praise, Gustave Caillebotte prominently refused to show alongside him again. In this view, Degas's insistence that Raffaëlli be included in the exhibitions had been decisive in breaking up the sense of group coherence. In no small part, however, the vehemence of Caillebotte's decision should be understood as a continued reaction formation against the legacy of his own identification as "an Impressionist in name only."[12] Claude Monet, Pierre-Auguste Renoir, and Alfred Sisley, who had declined to participate in previous years, were also absent in 1881, and the upshot of this "crisis of Impressionism" was simply that Raffaëlli again dominated the exhibition.[13] Though Camille Pissarro, Mary Cassatt, Berthe Morisot, and others all contributed important works, Raffaëlli, with some thirty-four pieces, outnumbered any of them and captured the lion's share of public and critical attention.

Several newspapers documented a widespread enthusiasm for Raffaëlli. Visitors to the exhibition crowded round works like *Cantonnier* and *Garlic Seller* (fig. 84), and according to one critic seemed to "remark especially the *Déclassés*."[14] The same source went on to say, "M. Raffaëlli seems to us to differ noticeably from the artists known as Impressionists; he paints with an extreme meticulousness, leaves out no detail, finishes, 'licks,' brings to

FIGURE 84
Jean-François Raffaëlli, *Garlic Seller (Le Marchand d'ail et d'échalottes)*, 1881. Oil on paper mounted and extended on canvas, 28¼ × 19¼ in. (72 × 49 cm). Museum of Fine Arts, Boston. The Henry C. and Martha B. Angell Collection (19.103).

perfection."[15] Such a reaction stood in obvious contrast to the public's attitude of mock horror and snickering condescension toward the rest of the show. The critical and popular response to the painting was overwhelmingly positive, a fact that no doubt enraged Caillebotte and other artists at the time and has puzzled historians of Impressionism ever since. While Raffaëlli's brief stint in Jean-Léon Gérôme's studio, where Roll had also studied, has come to account for this reception, the critics in 1881 were in fact reluctant simply to collapse the painter with academic art. Rather, they found ways of articulating how he, like so many other later Realists, belonged to a longer tradition of painting that provided a more sustained, slightly slower mode of perceiving the world and recording it on canvas.

Reviews of the exhibition regularly and repeatedly noted Raffaëlli's powers of "observation."[16] Generally speaking, this word seemed to denote the verisimilitude of the depiction of the landscapes and individuals in his paintings, and the consistent comparisons with Jean-François Millet relate Raffaëlli to a specifically midcentury Realist mode of careful recording and looking at the natural world, a mode from which Impressionism emerged. In his widely read and highly influential review in *Le Figaro*, Albert Wolff

insisted on the relevancy and appropriateness of the comparison: "Like Millet he is the poet of the humble. What the great master did for the fields, Raffaëlli begins to do for the modest people of Paris. He shows them as they are, more often than not, stupefied by life's hardships."[17] For Wolff, the artist's fundamental impulse was the documentation, more or less Realist in approach, of a certain form of modern life in the Parisian banlieue. That the critic owned both *Wastelands* and the *Garlic Seller* when they were displayed in 1881 indicates his commitment to Raffaëlli's Realist intervention within and against Impressionism.

The label of an "observer" also carried the implication of one who carefully rendered the Realist subject. The frequent comparisons to Ernst Meissonier—Raffaëlli was the "Meissonier of misery," the "Meissonier of the banlieue"—speak to the meticulous, miniaturist aesthetic both artists obsessively pursued.[18] One critic articulated Raffaëlli's divergence from the Impressionist project in the following terms: "M. Raffaëlli is a sincere artist who makes not an impression but a deliberate kind of painting, very studied, finished, of compact design."[19] Though one account seems to place him outside and the other inside the academic studio, the two senses of observation were clearly related, and this relation surfaces nowhere more prominently than in the comparisons evoked between Raffaëlli's painting and that of the Low Countries.

The critic for the conservative paper *Le Soleil* claimed that Raffaëlli's art "has a sincerity, a truth, an extraordinary naturalness: he is an observer like the Flemish, with a Parisian spirit: his workers, his beggars, his *déclassés* are of a stunning realism."[20] Likewise, comparisons with the seventeenth-century Dutch genre painter Adriaen van Ostade—a specialist in scenes of peasant drinking—persist throughout the reviews in 1880 and 1881. Raffaëlli's style and his choice of subjects could be understood to have emerged neither from his training at the École des Beaux-Arts nor his proximity to Impressionism, but from a longer realist tradition. Like the Dutch and Flemish painters before him, Raffaëlli skillfully mobilized a careful and vivid notation of visual detail, what might best be called a descriptive mode of painting, to produce images worthy of sustained and close viewing on the part of the spectator.[21]

At stake for critics establishing such a lineage was Raffaëlli's distance from the Impressionist painting surrounding him in the galleries on the boulevard des Capucines. Importantly, the contrast laid bare the difference between the speed of the "impression" and the slowness of Raffaëlli's observation. By 1881 the connection between Impressionism and speed was more or less obvious. A caricature in *Le Journal amusant* that appeared in late April depicts "an impressionist working on a canvas" talking with a comrade who exclaims, "That's almost it! How long did it take?" The painter responds, "A minute and a half; but in my opinion, it's still too elaborate" (fig. 85). The corollary, played out in the differentiation of Raffaëlli from Impressionism made by the critics, was that the long tradition of Western realism, in either its academic or avant-garde guises, entailed slowness of execution. In a clear jab at the Impressionist technique, a critic writing for Eugène Véron's *L'Art* just about sums this up: "[Raffaëlli] does not content himself with the approximate.

FIGURE 85
Mars, *An Impressionist Working on a Painting, Saint-Ouen (Un Impressionniste devant le tableau à faire, Saint-Ouen)*, 1881. Illustration from *Le Journal amusant* 1287 (30 April 1881): 5.

He pursues to the very end what he undertakes."[22] In comparison with the Impressionist attention to the instant or "moment" of perception, Raffaëlli's work in the early 1880s consistently suggests a slower, more durational method of execution based on careful empirical observation, which lends itself in turn to extended, leisurely viewing.

The thematic contents of Raffaëlli's works are also connotatively and explicitly concerned with the extension of time, although this aspect may be somewhat less pleasurable in kind. *Les Déclassés* is a painting about dead time, a painting whose central theme is time held in endless abeyance. The two men sit idly drinking absinthe: the one sinking into timeless delirium, the other slowly, meticulously, rolling a cigarette. A "cage-like" bower encloses the figures, visually pinning them, unmoving, to the wall of the *bar-à-vins*.[23] The pale light playing on the ground in front of the cabaret serves only as an Impressionist repoussoir, flickering and fleeting, for the stasis and immobility, the duration of the motif and its representation. As if to make the contrast clear, Raffaëlli places in the background—quite deliberately, it would seem—a railway, the very emblem of speed in modernity. In both form and content, style and iconography, *Les Déclassés* is a work that stands in explicit distinction to the acceleration of the aesthetic and social world that surrounds it.

In a deeply sympathetic review in *La Justice* in 1881, Gustave Geffroy described at some length Raffaëlli's work in terms that indicate an intuitive understanding of this relation of temporal form and content:

> He has made himself the painter of the Paris banlieue, of the gates of Clichy and of Levallois, of the sad banks of the Seine, of the talus of the fortifications, the dusty quarries, the vacant lots, the enclosures where one throws the detritus of the city, of

> stripped fields, where thin and sickly grass grows among the stones and plaster. There live the beggars that poverty devours, suspicious prowlers, ragpickers, bizarre tradesmen. They go about, across the stones, on the soft earth, eating, working, lying in wait, burnt-faced, long-bearded, eyes always alert, glancing sideways. Sometimes: emaciated horses, mangy, immobile donkeys, legs giving way, with a miserable and resigned air; chickens scratching about. Sometimes, as well, a modern machine, a steam crane or a locomotive shunting, appears in the middle of this desolation. An icy blast of air slips across the ground; the skies are low and somber, rolling with large clouds dirtied by the fumes that escape from factory smokestacks.[24]

A vivid passage on the interest of the suburban landscape, this is nonetheless a remarkable and strange description of paintings. It moves from the itemization of detailed description to a rendering of movement, of shifts in atmosphere, of objects sometimes passing, of time passing. "Sometimes" (*parfois*) becomes a key term, as if one's gaze lingered for long minutes before a sidelined locomotive lumbered into view or the wind struck the face. Like Mirbeau's account eight years later, the listing of vivid details presents not quite a description of specific paintings, not a firsthand account of the same "real" spaces in the paintings, but an elision between the painted and the real; the spectator is drawn into an imaginative excursion, a reverie, into the world of the painting. It comes as no surprise to learn that Raffaëlli later recalled the critic's own promenades through such landscapes.[25] Geffroy's description thus implies that the extended temporality of viewing—shunting and shifting from detail to detail—precisely matches Raffaëlli's subject. And it seems no accident that the railroad reappears as the sign of temporality here, even if the trains move sluggishly across the landscape. The appeal of Raffaëlli's representations emerges from their capacity to mimic and replicate the temporally unfolding experience of an imagined traversal of the actual spaces of the banlieue.

In its representation of two men turned in on their own drunkenness and blank reverie, *Les Déclassés* can be understood to revive thematic concerns that animated an earlier generation of Realist painting as well as the durational temporality that accompanied them. As Michael Fried observes, Raffaëlli was a "consistently absorptive" painter, and the "temporal dilation" that almost inevitably accompanies such pictorial concerns likewise pervades his art.[26] The slowness of observation, painting, and viewing so readily identified by critics in 1881 are thus not mere stylistic eccentricities that mark Raffaëlli as a failed Impressionist. Rather, they signal a deliberate return to Realism as part of a strategic attempt to match the form of his painting with its content. Like Bastien-Lepage, Caillebotte, and Roll—all born within four years of each other—he can be understood quite evidently as a member of the later Realist generation.

Nonetheless, while critics consistently evoked comparisons between Raffaëlli and a long tradition of painting from Ostade to Millet, surprisingly few of them drew any direct connection to Courbet's Realism. Courbet's successful "rehabilitation" following

his fateful involvement in the Paris Commune of 1871 did not coalesce until later in 1881; consequently, references to the painter of *The Stonebreakers* were still handled gingerly in the spring of that year. It is still remarkable that the similarities went unnoticed, not only because critics had drawn such comparisons to other later Realists, but also because Raffaëlli in fact made explicit reference to Courbet in one of his paintings at the 1881 exhibition. In his review of the show, Henry Trianon pointed out that Raffaëlli's *Commissionnaire de Paris* (now lost) contained, prominently written on a background wall, the cryptic words "Courbet le c." While other critics and the public likely found the phrase bewildering and made no effort to understand its import, Trianon knew his history. He successfully concluded that "the other letters of the word "*colonnard"* are cut off by the frame."[27]

An exchange of letters in the journal *L'Intermédiaire des chercheurs et curieux* in 1878 and 1879 documents that the phrase "Courbet le colonnard" appeared as graffiti all over Paris around the time of Courbet's trial for the destruction of the Vendôme Column in the months following the overthrow of the Commune in May 1871.[28] One letter writer recalls seeing the phrase outside the Théâtre de l'Odéon in 1872. Another recalls seeing it in Ornans. Still others relate it to graffiti going back to 1848. The phrase was, in any case, in the popular consciousness when Courbet's reputation as the destroyer of the Vendôme Column was in full bloom, a fact confirmed by a newspaper clipping contained in the police archives in Paris: in April 1872 *La Liberté* reported that the walls of la Villette, la Chapelle, and les Poissonniers were covered with some three hundred ink notations of the phrase "Courbet, colonnard."[29]

Raffaëlli may have recalled seeing the graffiti, or he may have read the letters about it in *L'Intermédiaire*. He was an avid reader of the press and fancied himself a man of letters. Born in 1850 to a well-off Parisian family—his father was a chemist—he fell on hard times after his father's death, and in his teens made a meager living as a singer. At the time of the Commune, he found himself in an unarmed regiment of musicians in the 79th Battalion of the National Guard. According to Georges Lecomte, who wrote one of the key posthumous monographs on the painter, the Franco-Prussian War of 1870–71 and the Commune played a foundational role in Raffaëlli's personal and aesthetic development: "These spectacles of death and violence would give him a sudden maturity that, in less sad times, he would not have acquired so early. The painter that he never ceased being in the midst of all this killing produced many sketches after the wounded and dead in Père Lachaise or those who lay dead at every corner. But the man of serious thought and kind heart that he always was retained a striking impression from it."[30] As with Roll, who was four years older, Raffaëlli witnessed the "Semaine sanglante," and like anyone with the vaguest sympathies for the Commune, took away an image of horror and injustice. It is equally likely that he grasped the extent to which Courbet, the Commune, and Realism had become inextricably bound up in a complex political knot. Between 1871 and 1881, to speak of Courbet was to speak of the Commune, and to speak of the Commune was to

FIGURE 86
Cham, *Memories and Regrets (Souvenirs et regrets)*, 1872. Illustration from *Le Monde illustré* (6 April 1872): 221.

call up the memory of unspeakable bloodshed. For many critics in 1881 this meant simply not speaking of Courbet. The critical references to Millet, Meissonier, or Ostade in the reviews of Raffaëlli's work consequently indicate a willful obfuscation of the latter's possible aesthetic debt. As if to counter this misreading, Raffaëlli attended the major auction of Courbet's work at the Hôtel Drouot in December 1881 and purchased an 1851 portrait of Adolphe Marlet for 550 francs.[31] Along with Roll's acquisition of the portrait of Urbain Cuenot, his selection gives the *After Dinner at Ornans*—Cuenot and Marlet sit across the table in the large painting—a certain talismanic quality for later Realism (see fig. 3).

Raffaëlli's allusion to Courbet and the Commune ten years after the event points, importantly, to a crucial aspect of *Les Déclassés* that no critic considered in 1881: its potential political resonance. The works on display in April 1881 were among the first completed after the general amnesty of Communards in the summer of 1880, and, tellingly, they were shown exactly ten years after the Commune. Raffaëlli's painting surely suggested, however connotatively, the fate of those revolutionaries who had escaped execution or exile. At a minimum, visitors to the Impressionist exhibition might well have imagined Raffaëlli's ragged banlieue inhabitants as veterans of 1871. Nor would such a parallel be unprecedented. In one of Cham's satires entitled *Memories and Regrets*—published in 1872, one year after the Commune—a ragpicker recollects his role in the Commune's government: "March 18! One year ago, I was a civil servant!" (fig. 86). The possibility that certain Communards had fallen to the bottom of the social ladder and remained in the midst of the city's bourgeoisie throughout the 1870s must have posed an inescapable fear for well-heeled Parisians. Or, as Cham probably intended, the middle-class public might well have perceived the Commune as nothing more than the seizure of power by ragpickers, drunkards, and déclassés.

Raffaëlli in any case understood the risk in painting these wretched social types. He regularly lamented the fact that in France the artist tends, more often than not, to

FIGURE 87
Jean-François Raffaëlli, *The Realist Painter (Le Peintre réaliste)*, c. 1879–80. Oil on panel, 20½ × 20⅞ in. (52.1 × 53 cm). Philadelphia Museum of Art, Philadelphia. The John G. Johnson Collection.

be collapsed with his subjects: "If you paint workers, you are a communard-anarchist-socialist-realist-revolutionary . . . and déclassés, you are one yourself," he wrote in 1884. "So much for the common aesthetic, the aesthetic of polite society. —Courbet, like us all, suffered greatly from it."[32] In a work exhibited the same year under the title *The Realist Painter*, which appears to illustrate explicitly this conception of his project, Raffaëlli depicts a ragged, crumpled painter—clearly a ragpicker or déclassé—standing, loaded paintbrush in hand, in front of a framed canvas depicting a fellow occupant of the deracinated, suburban, industrial landscape (fig. 87). Few are the paintings that so emphatically situate the painter as the first beholder of his or her picture, whose presence in front of the canvas is simultaneously represented as continuous with and as separated from it—Raffaëlli is figured as, and is nonidentical to, the painter he depicts painting his painting.[33] It is an astonishing work, for it seems also, almost unconsciously, to acknowledge the peculiar nature of Courbet's Realism: that it involved an, admittedly more allegorical, act of what Fried calls "quasi-corporeal merger" between painter and painting.[34] An all but unmistakable understanding of Raffaëlli's own indebtedness to a Realism thus emerges. His harshest critics recognized something of this, even if his defenders sought to avoid it.

Joséphin Péladan, whose earlier dismissal of Bastien-Lepage had already set the stage for a Symbolist assault on Realism, mounted a scathing attack on Raffaëlli in 1884, in which the worst epithet he could muster was to call him "this second-rate Courbet."[35] For most critics, however, the parallels between the two painters, whether in terms of political connotation or pictorial temporality, were still only cryptically understood, if at all, in 1881.

The only critic at the time who articulated, rightly or wrongly, the hint of rebellion that subsisted in Raffaëlli's subjects, *Les Déclassés* in particular, was the novelist Joris-Karl Huysmans. The two men came into contact following Huysmans's review of the 1879 Salon, in which the writer singled out the artist's depiction of the banlieue for special praise.[36] The painter responded with a fawning letter, in which he stated that he was "stunned that you would know me so well without knowing me."[37] The critic certainly knew Raffaëlli's suburban world. In the late 1870s he had penned a number of novels and short stories about the melancholy and desolation of certain Parisian landscapes and the individuals who populated them. At some point around this time the two undertook frequent explorations of the banlieue, a collaboration that manifests itself most clearly in Raffaëlli's illustrations for Huysmans's 1880 book, *Croquis parisiens*. Four of these engravings were shown at the 1880 Impressionist exhibit, including *The Ramparts of Northern Paris* (fig. 88).

In 1881 Huysmans was supremely confident of Raffaëlli's artistic significance. He concluded his review with these words: "Among the mass of exhibitors in our time, M. Raffaëlli is one of the rare who will remain; he will stand out from the art of the century, as a kind of Parisian Millet, influenced by certain melancholies of humanity and of enduringly rebellious nature."[38] Huysmans praised in particular Raffaëlli's representation of "the sad land of the déclassés": "he shows them to us, seated in front of glasses of absinthe, at a cabaret under a bower where, climbing up, thin vines stripped of leaves twist, with their depraved paraphernalia of clothes in rags and boots in shreds, with their black hats whose threads have gone brown and whose cardboard has warped, with their unkempt beards, their hollow eyes, their enlarged and seemingly watery pupils, head in hand or rolling cigarettes. In this picture, a movement of a bony wrist pressing on a pinch of tobacco held in its paper says a great deal about daily habits, about the miseries endlessly reborn from an inflexible life."[39] Typical of Huysmans, passages such as this fascinate with their subtle mirroring of humanity and nature. For the writer, Raffaëlli's art of this period managed to project the intertwining of the two—here the parallels between skinny twisting vines and skinny hands twisting. In general, parallels between the smokestacks and the smoking rag-and-bone-men, between back-broken small merchants and the broken-down landscape they occupy, offer themselves to a critic of Huysmans's predilection, and though he had worried about Raffaëlli's tendency to humanize the faces of the men and women in these horrific landscapes, in 1881 he judged that the painter had deftly avoided such "affected humanitarianism."[40] For Huysmans, the principal example of a

FIGURE 88
Jean-François Raffaëlli, *The Ramparts of Northern Paris (Vue des remparts du Nord-Paris)*, 1880. Illustration from Joris-Karl Huysmans, *Croquis parisiens* (Paris: Henri Vaton, 1880), 67.

FIGURE 89
Le Décadent, 1886. Illustration from Labruyère [Albert Millaud], *Physiologies parisiennes* (Paris: Librairie illustrée, 1886), 177.

work stripped of its humanity—and thus successfully presenting the appeal of the ravaged suburban landscape—was *Les Déclassés*. This sentiment finds an echo in the anonymous account of Raffaëlli's painting published in the guidebook of the 1893 World's Columbian Exposition, which declares that the representation of absinthe drinkers shows "hardly a trace of the human in their sodden and ghastly features."[41]

Huysmans saw nature, not humanity, as rebellious. Humanity is passive, defeated; nature is the sickness that will overthrow the human order. This is rebellion stripped of its politics, a melancholic resignation in the face of overwhelming odds, themes that became identified with a cultural movement called decadence. Such generational pessimism was partly fueled by the evaporation of radical political opposition in France after the Commune, to say nothing of the worldwide economic depression in the decades following the stock market crash of 1873. Collapse—economic and otherwise—posed a persistent threat to the bourgeois classes in the 1870s, and certain artists, writers, and philosophers matched this state of fear with pessimism and predictions of degeneration and decline. Huysmans's 1884 *À rebours* was the bible of the generation that came of age in this period.[42] Des Esseintes, the antihero of the novel, is the model of the decadent, and we can only imagine him, in some lost chapter, taking pleasure in the melancholy, suffering, and revolt of Raffaëlli's gray suburban landscapes. That an image caricaturing the decadent type in a book of 1886 was probably modeled directly on the figures in *Les Déclassés* bespeaks, at the very least, the public perception of a connection between the aesthetic conceits of the writer and those of the artist (fig. 89).

BANLIEUE

The appeal of the banlieue for Raffaëlli could be said to approximate decadent sensibilities that emerged later, but it also differed in important ways. At the time he conceived and produced *Les Déclassés*, the painter lived in Asnières, a suburban village on the Seine, only a few minutes by rail from Paris and already a popular weekend getaway for Parisians.[43] When he arrived in 1878, the town was in the process of losing its rural identity, but it remained ambiguously between the country and the city. Karl Baedeker sums up the town's image at the time: "a pretty village on the left bank of the Seine, and a favourite resort in summer . . . its prosperity has declined since the war. Concerts, balls, and regattas occasionally take place there."[44] In 1857 Charles-François Daubigny began an artistic boating excursion—explicitly conceived as Realist in character—in Asnières.[45] One resulting etching sets the departure dinner under the exterior, vine-covered bower of a riverbank establishment, sailboats anchored in the background (fig. 90). By the early 1870s the image of leisure and the proximity to Paris had fed a population explosion of permanent, semi-permanent, and weekend residents. It was not the boating or Sunday frolicking, however, that drew the artist to the area.

In a widely read article in the 21 July 1880, issue of *Le Temps*, Jules Claretie quoted Raffaëlli on the appeal of the town and its surrounding landscape: "I live in Asnières and I am attracted by the strangeness that surrounds all large cities. I have one of those brand new little cardboard houses there, surrounded by a small invalid's yard. In a corner, two chickens, a rooster and two pigeons. In Asnières there is the nakedness of earthen embankments, wooden shacks inhabited by extraordinary people, skinny horses, nondescript carriages, and stray dogs. I respond to all that, it answers a need I have for sorrowful charm, a love of strange silhouettes, and, also, a vague consciousness of high philosophy."[46] Such vivid and provocative declarations clearly won him admirers in the Parisian art world, but they also secured his status as the painter of the edge of the city. Perhaps sensing this claim to fame, Raffaëlli devoted himself to documenting this world. Eschewing the spaces of bourgeois and working-class leisure around Asnières and along the Seine,

FIGURE 90
Charles-François Daubigny, *The Departure Breakfast at Asnières (Le Déjeuner du départ à Asnières)*, 1862. Etching, 4⅜ × 6⅞ in. (11.2 × 17.5 cm). National Gallery of Art, Washington D.C. Gift of Joan Lees in memory of Edward Lees, M.D. (1981.58.4).

he instead sought out the small industries and permanent residents of the space in front of the city's fortifications called the Zone, the ragpicker *cités*, the shacks, and the empty spaces of the banlieue.

The exact location of the bar-à-vins or cabaret in Raffaëlli's *Les Déclassés* would be impossible to determine, but it can be understood as a synthesis of various existing drinking establishments. Raffaëlli doubtless imagined it lying somewhere to the west of Paris, not far from Asnières, perhaps in Clichy-la-Garonne near the rail line that connected the Gare Saint-Lazare and the suburbs to the northwest. As there were relatively few rail lines near Asnières in 1880, the possible locations the painting might suggest to a well-informed viewer would be limited. In any case, it seems to be modeled on an existing locale, as the artist used a similar motif several times. For instance, Raffaëlli placed *The Blacksmiths* and *Sunday at the Cabaret* in a similar setting, with the river rather than the railway in the background (figs. 91, 92). In his review of Raffaëlli's 1884 exhibition, Albert Wolff even claimed that the Seine, in fact, flows in front of the two déclassés.[47] Undoubtedly, there are clear parallels between the three works (to say nothing of the work by Daubigny)—for instance, the straw seats on the stools in *Les Déclassés* and *The Blacksmiths*, or the bottle and glasses in both *The Blacksmiths* and *Sunday at the Cabaret*—that indicate they are all loosely based on the same location: a cabaret in the banlieue near a rail line and the Seine.

In general, Raffaëlli explored the area between the Porte de Clichy and Asnières, around Clichy and Levallois-Perret, with occasional excursions just northeast of Asnières to the plain of Gennevilliers. Critics intuited these territorial limitations; Claretie, for instance, describes Raffaëlli's territory stretching from Levallois-Perret to Courbevoie (just south of Asnières).[48] Many of the paintings and engravings from 1880 and 1881 have titles that locate them with a fair amount of precision: *Movement, On the Route d'Argenteuil*; *The Gennevilliers Plain*; *Barrier at Clichy*; *Quai de Clichy, the Bridges*; *Snow, Clichy*; *Route, Outside the Fortification Walls*. This last was owned by Huysmans and renamed *Route de la Révolte* in 1884. Among the better-known areas in these hunting grounds was indeed the famous route de la Révolte, which ran along the city walls just outside the Porte d'Asnières and served as home to a large portion of the city's ragpickers.[49] Raffaëlli's motifs, then, tend to be located between the city limits and the new spaces of leisure to the west at Argenteuil.

For various reasons—not least the *octroi* (the tax on goods coming into the city)—the area just outside the city walls of Paris had long been a space populated with individuals working at the fringes of legal and social structures. Cut-rate drinking establishments had constituted a mainstay in the region for centuries. In the mid-nineteenth century, however, the immediate banlieue of Paris began to change. Extensive military defensive constructions, including the Zone, were built up under the July Monarchy, defining the strict limits of the city proper. Baron Haussmann's massive restructuring of the entire city under Napoleon III, to say nothing of the development of rail lines, produced further redefinitions of the difference and interrelation of city and suburb; more important, it

FIGURE 91
Jean-François Raffaëlli, *The Blacksmiths (Les Forgerons)*, c. 1884. Drawing and oil on cardboard, mounted on wood, 30⅜ × 22½ in. (77 × 57 cm). Musée de la Chartreuse, Douai (Inv. 2083).

FIGURE 92
Jean-François Raffaëlli, *Sunday at the Cabaret (Le Dimanche au cabaret)*, c. 1886. Oil on wood, 29½ × 44 in. (75 × 112 cm). Hôtel de ville, Skikda, Algeria.

brought about a total reassembly of class geography in the metropolitan area.[50] Industry moved out of the city into the plain of St-Denis and cities like Clichy. The late-nineteenth-century population of the suburbs directly adjacent to Paris—especially on the plateau to the northwest of the city—consisted, by and large, of the residue of the working class expelled from the city in the 1850s and 1860s. The *types de banlieue* who populate Raffaëlli's images are the spectral inhabitants of Paris—the ragpickers, small merchants, and street people who so fascinated artists and writers of Paris life earlier in the century. Some kind of nostalgia for this world appears to be part and parcel of the area's appeal for Raffaëlli.

Asnières found other enthusiasts soon enough. The most famous painting of the area is, of course, Georges Seurat's *Bathers at Asnières* of 1883–84 (fig. 93). Although the scene in fact takes place in Courbevoie, the picture offers a clear view of the railway and road bridges entering Asnières and the smokestacks of Clichy just downstream. On the other side of the bridges, at the very center of the canvas, lies the so-called Cloaca Maxima

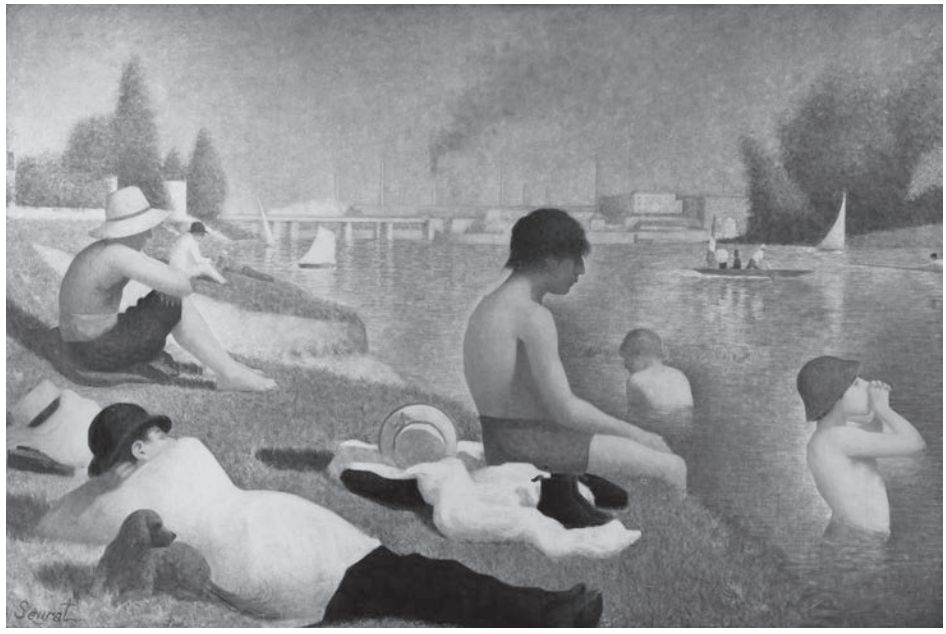

FIGURE 93
Georges Seurat, *Bathers at Asnières (Une Baignade, Asnières)*, 1883–84. Oil on canvas, 6 ft. 7⅛ in. × 9 ft. 10⅛ in. (201 × 300 cm). National Gallery, London.

of the Paris sewers, the collector of Asnières, dumping at one spot some 231,000 tons of solid and dissolved matter into the river each year.[51] Seurat owed the discovery of this banlieue subject to Raffaëlli, and for some the parallels between the two artists were obvious, even at the time: "I am doing a Raffaëlli, apparently," Seurat wrote to Paul Signac, in June 1886, regarding Armand Guillaumin's dismissive response to *A Sunday Afternoon on the Island of La Grande Jatte*.[52] The comparison rankled, but Guillaumin clearly hit close to the bone.

Around 1886 Asnières and its surrounding geography emerged as an avant-garde topos, and Raffaëlli was widely understood as its discoverer and aesthetic champion. Even as he articulated the first defense of Neo-Impressionism, Fénéon acknowledged this fact.[53] Likewise, Signac's 1886 *The Gas Tanks at Clichy*, a "pointillist" drawing after a now-lost painting, approaches a direct emulation of Raffaëlli (fig. 94). The high horizon and empty landscape of the foreground composition come straight from works like *Wastelands* or *The Ramparts of Northern Paris*; on the right, awkwardly shuffling up the hill, is a signature Raffaëlli ragpicker; in the background rise the gasometers of Clichy, just across the river from Asnières, also visible in Raffaëlli's *Le Déclassé* of about 1881 (fig. 95). Signac's composition seems openly to combine Raffaëlli's world of the banlieue with Seurat's technique of paint application. The oddness of the juxtaposition becomes striking in a picture such as this and reveals that however much the Neo-Impressionists might have owed key compositional strategies to Raffaëlli, the two artistic projects diverge in important ways.[54]

One of the key differences between Raffaëlli and Seurat is the place of drawing in their oeuvre. Raffaëlli's reliance on drawing as the basis of almost all his pictorial

compositions was widely acknowledged. For Huysmans, he was a "draftsman above all else."[55] Many of his best-known works, even in 1881, were prints and illustrations, and he consistently produced drawings and prints related to his paintings. While *Les Déclassés* was clearly intended to demonstrate Raffaëlli's strengths as a painter, his status as a draftsman remains clear. The table and chairs in the center showcase the extent to which the composition has been laid down carefully with thin brushstrokes in a linear schema. But nothing points to drawing's deep structure in Raffaëlli's work more than what Fénéon called the "wall historiated with drolleries." On the right, the sketchy representations of painted grapes and drawn, perhaps inked, graffiti of a bearded man's face in profile stand out. Raffaëlli's rendering of these marks with his paintbrush suggests an awareness both of the drawing-painting relationship and its productive mobilization in the cause of pictorial realism: the act of representing these images approximates, even mimics, the very act of having drawn them on the actual wall in the first place. This representational game extends to the left side of the canvas, where the same schematically rendered brushstrokes stand for shriveled vines in front of, but not on, the wall. This clever, if not particularly profound, form of realism—the grapes signaling, perhaps explicitly, Pliny's tale of the painters Zeuxis and Parrhasius—gave Raffaëlli a way to make his otherwise limited draftsmanship serve sophisticated pictorial ends.[56]

At the same time, this use of drawing-in-painting indicates how much Raffaëlli differed from both his contemporaries and his Realist predecessors. Where Courbet's paintings have a notoriously thick impasto, with a surface heavily scraped and worked with the palette knife—he was anything but a "draftsman"—Raffaëlli's paint is thin and meticulously applied. Seurat's drawing and painting, likewise, could not be more different. In the early 1880s Seurat extensively employed conté crayon on coarse Michallet paper, developing pictures of stunning effect and originality. Although on Canson paper, *Stone Breaker, Le Raincy* of 1879–81 is one of his more ambitious compositions of the period and gives a fair idea of the artist's accomplishment in this medium (fig. 96). The picture shows three figures—a stone breaker on the right, a ragpicker on the left, and a woman in the center

FIGURE 94
Paul Signac, *Gas Tanks at Clichy (Passage du Puits-Bertin, Clichy)*, 1886. Pen and iron gall ink over graphite on Japan paper on cardboard, 9⅝ × 14½ in. (24.5 × 36.6 cm). Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York. Harris Brisbane Dick Fund, 1948 (48.10.4).

FIGURE 95
Jean-François Raffaëlli, *Le Déclassé*, c. 1881. Pastel. Location unknown. From *The Studio* 32 (1904): 148.

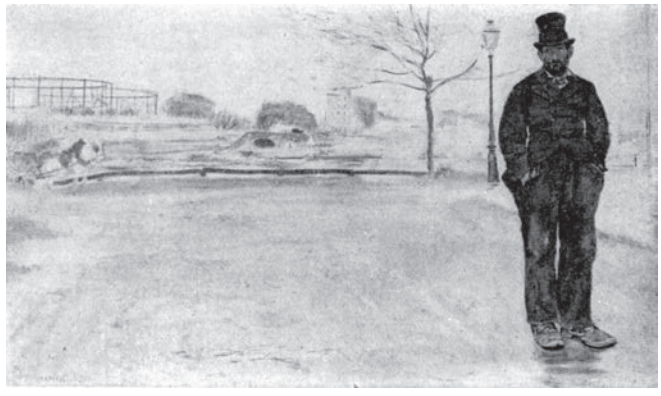

FIGURE 96
Georges Seurat, *Stone Breaker, Le Raincy (Casseur de pierres, Le Raincy)*, 1879–81. Conté crayon on paper, 12⅛ × 14¾ in. (31 × 38 cm). Museum of Modern Art, New York. The Lillie P. Bliss Collection.

FIGURE 97
Émile Bernard and Vincent van Gogh in Asnières, 1886. Photograph. Van Gogh Museum, Amsterdam.

background—in the Parisian banlieue, specifically in Le Raincy, to the east of Paris, where Seurat's family owned a house. It would be hard to deny that Seurat mixed figures and settings from Courbet and Raffaëlli; consequently both Raffaëlli and early Seurat can be located within the later Realist generation. In any case, the logic of Guillaumin's reading of Seurat's project becomes somewhat clearer. The artist's draftsmanship, however, escapes all such models and influences; far from Raffaëlli's fussy linearity, Seurat's drawing consists of a dense weave of rubbed and sketched applications built into a mist of light and shadow. Drawings such as this are, for lack of a better word, painterly. On the flip side, Seurat's canvases, especially from 1884 on, are layered with systematically unpainterly touches of paint; the invention of the "point" effectively denied both the draftsmanlike and the painterly. Raffaëlli's paintings, in contrast, persisted within the orbit of drawing. In the end, Seurat's radically different method of drawing and painting distinguishes his work decisively from Raffaëlli's model. Indeed, whatever Guillaumin might have thought, it would be best to understand the art of Seurat and Raffaëlli as parallel manifestations of a pictorial concern with the banlieue and evidence of how a Realist tradition might be adapted to its representation and, consequently, transformed.[57] The results are strikingly different, but the impetus is shared.

For his part, Vincent van Gogh never concealed his admiration for the painter of Asnières. In July 1885 he wrote an extended defense of Raffaëlli in a letter to his brother Théo, in which he compared him to more academically inclined painters, and went on: "But he who paints, like Raffaëlli, the ragpickers of Paris in their own quarter has far more difficulties, and his work is more serious. Nothing seems simpler than painting peasants, ragpickers and laborers of all kinds, but—no subjects in painting are so difficult as these commonplace figures!"[58] Whatever Seurat thought of Raffaëlli, Van Gogh's extensive explorations of Asnières and the banlieue in 1886 should be understood as an homage to both

artists. Tellingly, when Van Gogh and Émile Bernard had themselves photographed in Asnières, they played the role, more or less, of Raffaëlli's absinthe-drinking déclassés (fig. 97).

Parallel to this artistic mapping of the banlieue, and again perhaps prompted by Raffaëlli's model, a number of writers, not least Wolff, recorded their own explorations of the Zone and the industrial banlieue of Paris in the early 1880s.[59] Such writings were clearly tailored to the urban bourgeoisie and signal the existence of a market for such picturesque misery in the early 1880s. Of course, these anecdotal surveys of the banlieue are indebted to earlier literary sources, one of the first of which can be found in the 1862 edition of Victor Hugo's *Les Misérables*:

> The writer of these lines for many years prowled the outskirts of Paris, and it left deep memories. These patches of worn grass, these stony paths, this chalk and clay and rubble; this harsh monotony of fallow and untilled land; the early crops of market-gardeners seen suddenly in a sheltered place; this mingling of the savage and the bourgeois; these rough clearings where the drummers of the garrison parade set up a stuttering imitation of battle; these havens by day, death-traps by night; the ramshackle windmill whose sails still turn; the extraction wheels of the quarries; the cabarets by the cemetery; the mysterious charm of large, somber walls cutting squarely into great stretches of wasteland bathed in sunshine and alive with butterflies, all these things attracted him."[60]

Two years later, Edmond and Jules de Goncourt brought out two novels containing similar descriptions. In *Germinie Lacerteux* they give an account of the passage from the city to the Zone to the banlieue and back. Germinie and Jupillon have decided one spring day to take a walk out to the "fields," and as they pass the rows of flowers and gardens along the rue de Clignancourt, they come to the end of the road and the edge of the metropolis: "Then began that which comes when Paris ends, and which grows where grass will not grow, one of those arid landscapes which great towns create around them, that first zone of suburb *intra muros*, where nature is withered, the earth worn out, and the country strewn with oyster shells."[61] As if anticipating Raffaëlli, the other Goncourt novel of 1864, *Renée Mauperin*, offers, right in the middle of the first chapter, a quasi-painterly rendition of the area between leisure and industry, city and country, along the Seine near Asnières. As in Hugo's book or in *Germinie Lacerteux*, the passage provides a list of poetically ambiguous spaces and things, people and trades, factories and barges, smoke and clouds, gardens and houses, fishermen and carts. It ends with this: "It was at once Asnières, Saardam and Puteaux, one of those Parisian landscapes on the banks of the Seine, such as Hervier paints, dirty and radiant, dejected and gay, popular and lively, where Nature passes here and there between house, work and industry, like a blade of grass between a man's fingers."[62]

These textual accounts should recall the more engaged critical treatments of Raffaëlli's work. They portray the banlieue, and its representations, as a space to idle in

contemplation, to daydream, to stroll in reverie ("errer songeant," as Hugo puts it), but in specifically visual terms.[63] That critics from Geffroy to Mirbeau sought to emulate pictorial reverie in their reviews of Raffaëlli's exhibitions demonstrates how appropriate the educated public thought this view of the banlieue. It is perhaps less crucial here to distinguish the reality from the myth, for Raffaëlli no doubt wandered the route de la Révolte and the Zone with Hugo and the Goncourts in his pockets; his reality sought to match the myth.

The general fascination with the banlieue, the Zone, the small industries, the grimness and squalor of the suburban sector had something profoundly to do with a preoccupation with reverie. This was true for the conditions of the actual experience in this area but also informed and had an impact on Raffaëlli's whole notion of the proper means of representing it. The painter's basic impulse is Realist, and his formal devices are chosen to meet this demand. He consequently discovered that the experience and meaning of his chosen subject could best be represented by placing reverie at the very core of the aesthetic structure of *Les Déclassés*. Importantly, the central governing principle of reverie, especially in painting, is a kind of bracketing or extension of time. As Jill Beaulieu has argued, in her remarkable analysis of Fried's account of absorption in Denis Diderot and Courbet, "The suspension of time is a key facet of reverie."[64] The matching of the temporal duration of Realist painting with the specific temporal connotations of the banlieue explains in part the early success of *Les Déclassés*, but the question of the wider significance of this temporality—its own appeal—remains open.

ABSINTHE

The evocation of a durational temporality was not limited to the experience of a geographic location but suffused the very action, however limited in drama, that the painting represented. If reverie was the effect most appropriate to a Realist painting of the banlieue, inebriation might very well have seemed among the most appropriate ways to attain it. Although relatively expensive until the 1870s, absinthe was by no means a new or even especially exotic drink in 1881. It had been popular among bohemians, dandies, and artists since the 1830s and became a legitimate avant-garde subject for painters fairly quickly. Manet's first painting submitted to the Salon, in 1859, depicted an absinthe drinker, and Degas showed a painting of absinthe drinking in a Paris café at the 1877 Impressionist exhibition (fig. 98).[65]

Given the close relation of the two artists, Degas's painting likely served as a model for Raffaëlli's own depiction of the subject. At first glance, one might suppose that the younger artist took the existing iconography of absinthe—embodied in Degas's work—and inserted it within a more densely layered context of spatial and class specificity. Yet the two painters were interested in, and achieved, different effects in their versions of absinthe consumption. Perhaps because Degas focused on a bohemian Parisian milieu—the setting appears to be the Café de la Nouvelle-Athènes, and the sitters are his model Ellen Andrée

FIGURE 98
Edgar Degas, *In a Café (Dans un café)*, 1876–77. Oil on canvas, 36¼ × 26¾ (92 × 68 cm). Musée d'Orsay, Paris.

and his friend the painter Marcellin Desboutin—the glass of absinthe constitutes only one drink among others, and the female figure's lassitude and apparent indifference to her surroundings derive as much from exhaustion or boredom as from the drink itself. Absinthe has certainly not ruined her yet. Raffaëlli, on the other hand, zeroes in on absinthe's effects of ruination on the lives of these two men.

The two artists' compositional strategies reinforce these differences. Degas's space suggests a certain dynamic fluidity: the odd, legless angling of the tabletops give the sensation of movement, imbalance, and contingency, and the sharply sloping foreground brings the viewer forward into the picture, embedding us in the world of the Parisian café. Raffaëlli's composition, on the other hand, consists of a series of rectangular planes receding into shallow depth. With the exception of the foreground chair and the man on the right, most of the elements in the painting parallel the square picture plane: the flat wall,

the fence, the profile of the man, the side of the table, even the railroad shack at upper left. This compositional geometry encloses the drinkers within their own world, flattening and trapping them, as it were, in their inward delirium and extended reverie, holding them still. Fénéon's use of the word "specimen" in his account of the painting could not be more appropriate: these men are pinned and mounted like butterflies in a case. Contingency and the dynamism of the urban café are far away. At stake in these formal distinctions, then, is the very meaning of absinthe for the painting of modern life. What distinguishes Raffaëlli's depiction of absinthe drinking is its combination of the temporal extendedness of inebriation, slowing the world to utter stillness, with the specificity of the banlieue, class, and the complex and shifting political connotations of absinthe in 1881.

Clearly, Raffaëlli did more than simply borrow his understanding of absinthe from previous artists. In an unpublished manuscript written sometime after 1893, the painter explained the research he had undertaken on the subject:

> When I painted one of my well-known paintings, *The Absinthe Drinkers* . . . I studied this subject to its depths. I went into the worst neighborhoods to observe the effect of the worst absinthe on the regulars of these hovels out of which this terrible liquor flows. Finally I studied at the hospital for alcoholics. And on myself, a couple times, I observed the effects that one, two, three bad absinthes produced in me. At the first absinthe, the effect is dizzying, at the second one returns to one's senses, surrounded by dizziness and excitations, like a fabulous suppression of the reality of things, the upper part of the body seems no longer to exist except as matter, as weight, and things no longer appear to us except as unreal at the same time that a misdirected excitation imposes itself on the drinker. At the third these drunken phenomena increase to a sort of real madness.[66]

Raffaëlli centered on the way absinthe seemed to strip away the reality of the world. The drinker loses hold of consciousness and drifts into a dreamlike state, ending in a cryptic sort of reverie bordering on insanity. As the manuscript makes reasonably clear, Raffaëlli was no enthusiast for absinthe. He states in unambiguous terms elsewhere that the absinthe drinkers he encountered were as badly addicted as any drug users, and while he clearly thought experimenting worthwhile, his later attitude drifts decidedly in favor of reform. Whatever his early perceptions might have been, by 1893 he had imbibed some of the emerging spirit of temperance.

At the time Raffaëlli painted his two drinkers, absinthe was becoming a widespread public health issue. A glass of absinthe had recently acquired the nickname, "une correspondance," short for "une correspondance pour Charenton"—a ticket to Charenton, the insane asylum in the outskirts of Paris.[67] The irony of the railway in the background of Raffaëlli's painting could not, in this regard, have gone completely unnoted. Absinthe was increasingly perceived as a health hazard, and the temperance movement in France came quickly to identify the drink as its main enemy. Absinthe had a much higher alcohol

content compared to wine, and was reputed to have quasi-hallucinogenic qualities, sometimes compared to the effects of opium. In an 1878 article on the debate over alcohol use in the Chamber of Deputies, Georges Dillon pointed out that consumption of alcohol had actually fallen between 1869 and 1872 by some 250,000 hectoliters but had climbed steadily since then, reaching prewar levels.[68] He noted, too, that the areas of highest consumption ranked lowest in consumption of wine. As absinthe accounted for some 90 percent of the market in aperitifs, the rise in alcohol consumption in general was clearly related to the rise of absinthe specifically. For alcohol reformers, the bad drinks—spirits, absinthe, eau-de-vie—were repeatedly contrasted with wine, which was seen as a healthy drink that produced positive effects.[69]

At the same time, it would have been common knowledge in 1881 that absinthe had become the preferred drink of the poorer segments of the working class. After a massive infection of phylloxera in French grapes in the early 1870s, the price of wine skyrocketed, leaving the poorest of the poor to look elsewhere for cheap drinks.[70] Manufacturers of absinthe, especially Pernod, which had invented the drink in 1812, no longer based the drink on wine but on cheap industrial alcohol derived from beets or grain; as a result, a glass of absinthe cost ten centimes less than a glass of wine.[71] For better or worse, by the late 1870s absinthe had all but surpassed wine as the drink of preference for the working class in France. Émile Zola's 1877 novel *L'Assommoir* made this phenomenon a popular topic, and the relation of absinthe and a Naturalist representation of working-class life was almost a cliché by the time Raffaëlli conceived his painting. *Le Monde illustré*, for instance, published an illustrated poem in May 1880 entitled "L'Absinthe: Dialogue naturaliste," which recounts the decline of an "honest worker" (fig. 99). The wine shops of the banlieue were often singled out for their working-class typicality, something Honoré Daumier's own depiction of drinkers takes as a given (fig. 100).[72] Raffaëlli almost certainly saw the earlier picture when it appeared at the 1878 Durand-Ruel exhibit—it has long been acknowledged as a precedent—but the distinct, and distinctly contemporary, poverty of the men in his painting registers in their choice of absinthe over the "Vins de Bourgogne" advertised on the exterior wall of the cabaret.[73]

That a concern with health reforms emerged at the very moment that workers began drinking absinthe in greater numbers is no coincidence. The beginning of the modern temperance movement in France can, in fact, be traced to the conservative reaction to the Paris Commune. Of course, the culture of drink had posed a problem for agents of social control for some time. Alcohol in France was almost invariably consumed in the company of other drinkers, in cafés, cabarets, *bars-à-vins*, and other public drinking establishments, well known as gathering places for the "dangerous classes." But the widespread legends of drunken women torching the city—*les pétroleuses*—in 1871 brought a new political connotation to the dangers of drink. As Susanna Barrows has demonstrated, the alleged alcoholism of the Communards was often used to explain their revolutionary fervor and, at the same time, to justify the excesses of the reaction: "After 1871 much of

the bourgeoisie used alcoholism as a code word for working-class irrationality and as an overarching explanation of French defeat."[74] The general concern with regulating alcoholism and especially absinthe was tied up with fears of class insurrection. Maxime du Camp went so far as to call the Communards "the apostles of absinthe."[75] Only after the general amnesty of Communards in July 1880 did the government finally liberalize laws restricting café speech and regulating drink shops and public drunkenness.[76]

The connection between alcoholism and working-class insurrection in popular and medical discourse was more or less explicit in the decade before 1881. Paul Cère, in his *Populations dangereuses et les misères sociales* of 1872, presciently proposed that the "best method of fighting socialism is to get ahead of it and take from its program all that is right and practicable."[77] One proposal he set forth was the fight against alcoholism, and especially absinthe, which Cère deemed particularly dangerous. He couched his attack on the drink in pseudo-scientific terms—he cites an experiment in which it induced epileptic fits in cats, dogs, and rabbits, and fish dumped in acid died more slowly than those in absinthe[78]—but the connection to political repression also becomes abundantly clear. Cère cites the rise of alcoholism in 1871 and concludes, "It is not only right, but what is more, indispensable, to take away voting rights from habitual drunkards."[79] Alcoholics, above all absinthe drinkers, posed a threat—imagined or real—to the bourgeois ruling classes of the early Third Republic.

In the 1870s and early 1880s the widespread hand-wringing over alcoholism was shot through with political connotations. Raffaëlli's painting should thus be seen in the context of this matrix of shifting associations. It stands at the crossroads of the social

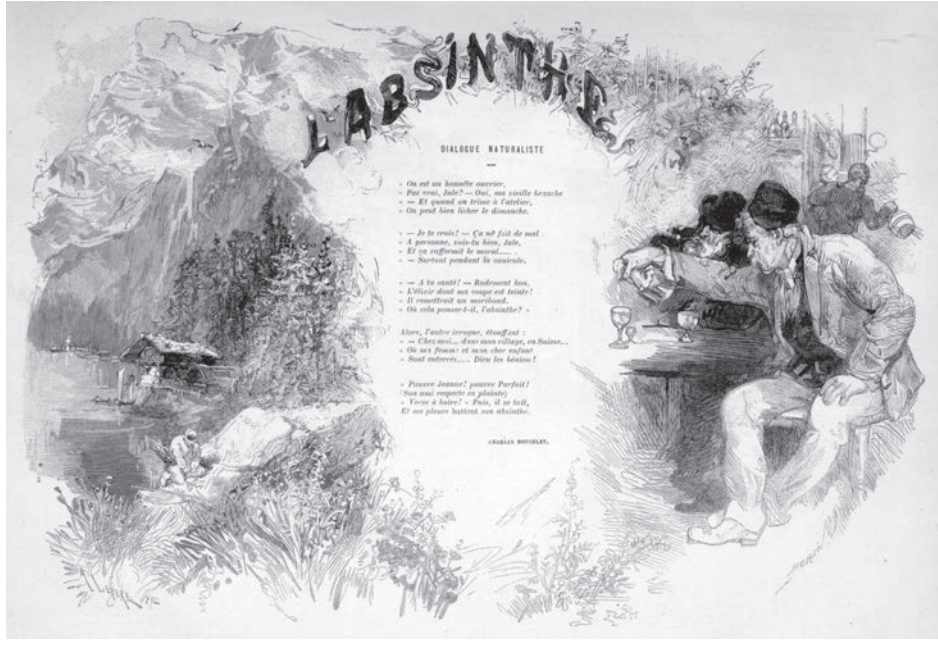

FIGURE 99
Edmond Morin, *Absinthe: Dialogue naturaliste*, 1880. Illustration from *Le Monde illustré* (15 May 1880): 301.

FIGURE 100
Honoré Daumier, *The Drinkers (Les Buveurs)*, c. 1861. Oil on wood, 14⅜ × 11 in. (36.5 × 27.9 cm). Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York. Bequest of Margaret Seligman Lewisohn, in memory of her husband, Sam A. Lewisohn, 1954 (54.143.1).

significance of alcohol: the political connotations of post-1871 are still present, and the multivalent connotations of the emerging temperance and health discourse are also becoming prominent. Regardless of which discursive formation it belongs to, a representation of absinthe drinking still held a charge of class, of the lower classes as dangerous and potentially revolutionary.

"DÉCLASSÉ"

As the very title suggests, *Les Déclassés* offers a representation of a special kind of class identity. Larousse's remarkable entry on "déclassé" in the *Grand dictionnaire universel du XIXe siècle* details the relation of such a term to the social structure of modern society.

Ancient Egyptian and Indian societies, for instance, with their rigid hierarchies and castes, could not have entertained such a concept—these men are not, as it were, untouchables. With the Revolution of 1789, though, came the ideal of equality that, if carried to its extreme, meant the leveling of the final remnants of feudal social distinctions. In its place only money and knowledge determine social position, and anyone can be anything: "a peasant can become minister or deputy; a worker passes for bourgeois; the liberal professions are made up of all levels of social hierarchy, and there are no longer, when all is said and done, anything but rich and poor, minds more or less cultivated and men more or less ignorant. Fortunes are endlessly made and unmade; conditions are displaced, some fall, others rise and the ascent of the little compensates for the fall of the great."[80] This is a sketch of class fluidity under capitalism. It fits within a general account of modernity—of social class falling apart at the seams, reconstituted through modern forms of distinction. For Larousse, democracy equals the leveling and eventual disappearance of social class, and in this movement the déclassé stands for the future of society. As a social type, however, very little subsequent historical or sociological work exists on the déclassé. Partly this has to do with their invisibility in the general economy and their social ambiguity. They are almost by definition, at least for bourgeois lexicographers, impossible to classify.

Geffroy gives a definition of "déclassé," one perhaps closer to the artist's own, in his 1894 book *La Vie artistique*. This comes from a chapter devoted to Raffaëlli: "Beings whose origins and occupations are impossible to tell walk along the boulevard or the embankments, stop along the sidewalk, sit at a table under a leafless arbor. These ones have a slippery allure, a kind of laziness of movement, a kind of indecision in the walk. The painter names them *déclassés*."[81] Geffroy seems to attribute the very discovery of this social type to the painter, without really nailing down what they are—fallen *flâneurs*?—what they do, or where they belong in the meticulous classification of French society. Though he is also thinking of works like Raffaëlli's *Le Déclassé*, the reference to "leafless arbor" clearly indicates that even in 1894 Geffroy still saw the painting of absinthe drinkers under its original title. By insisting on the term "déclassé" in 1881—both works were shown at the Impressionist exhibition that year—and not merely "absinthe drinkers" or even the more elusive "types de banlieue," Raffaëlli explicitly raised the question of the class status of these subjects, and their challenge to clear-cut class distinction. Like the ragpicker and the vagabond, the déclassé, though he sits at the edge of French class structure, nonetheless belongs to it.

In the nineteenth century, the déclassé was more precisely someone who has moved down the class scale, slipping out of the bourgeois or petit bourgeois classes without the possibility of moving into, or back into, the working class. Théophile Gautier, for instance, describes the tragedy of a woman sliding out of her class: "Would it not be terrible that this charming creature, endowed with all the purest instincts, made to be the happiness and pride of a good man, fell, without guide or defender, into the great tribe of déclassés?"[82] By the 1880s, the word had, according to the *Oxford English Dictionary*,

entered the English language to describe someone "degraded from one's social class; having come down in the world." The *Fortnightly Review* claimed, in August 1887, "It is only the *déclassé*, the ne'er-do-well, or the really unfortunate, who has nothing to call his own."[83] All these definitions evade, somewhat predictably, the sense that the déclassé is a specifically bourgeois phenomenon. A déclassé is a bourgeois fallen on hard times, dispossessed, a social and economic failure of disastrous proportions, a once-promising, perhaps well-educated person who no longer can claim a place in good society. The source of the fall might be unspecified but hardly difficult to guess: perhaps the self-destructive love for a courtesan, as in Mirbeau's 1886 novel *Le Calvaire*, perhaps a gambling debt, or, as in 1873, a catastrophic stock-market crash.

Although critics understood more or less what "déclassé" meant—a critic labeled Raffaëlli's figures "two wrecks of Parisian life"—the history and sociology of the type was and remains remarkably unclear relative to others in the nineteenth century.[84] A clue can be discerned in one of the central nodes or tropes around which the problem of class decline could be figured in the nineteenth century: the mythology of the ragpicker. Simply put, the myth that ragpickers were fallen nobility or could rise from squalid poverty to great social heights recurred throughout the nineteenth century. Literary sources often depicted them as discovering immense wealth that took them to the very height of society. Mie d'Aghonne's 1880 *Mémoires d'un chiffonnier*, for instance, recounts the story of père Leroux, born in a ragpicker camp on the route de la Révolte, who plies the trade his entire life. The twist at the end is that he has suddenly become a millionaire and yet does not have an heir; the money goes to orphans.

Just as prominent was the mythology of the *chiffonnier philosophe*. Famous ragpickers of the 1830s such as Liard—he served as a model for Félix Pyat's famous play *Le Chiffonnier de Paris*—were often compared to the Greek cynic Diogenes, who actively rejected civilized life and held society in contempt.[85] Threaded throughout such tales was the implication, almost unspeakable, that such characters were once bourgeois or even aristocratic members of society. A wide array of nineteenth-century books on old Paris gave accounts of Liard that Raffaëlli could easily have read.[86] Charles-Joseph Traviès, an illustrator for *Le Charivari*, produced a lithograph of the Latin-spouting ragman, which was widely reproduced, including in Victor Fournel's 1879 anecdotal history *Les Rues du vieux Paris* (fig. 101). Interestingly, the background of the work mirrors *Les Déclassés*: two men sit, in profile, at a table outside a suburban cabaret. In fact, most nineteenth-century accounts of the trade indicate that ragpickers would return from a night of work, collect their money from the *maître-chiffonnier* and spend much of the day consuming cheap drinks at any one of the numerous *guinguettes* and *bouchons* outside the city limits. Charles Baudelaire's "Vin des chiffonniers" is only one among a multitude of similar descriptions of ragpicker intoxication. Whether or not Raffaëlli based his work on such sources, visual or literary, the correspondence suggests that the popular iconography of such suburban cabarets was closely linked with the life of the ragpicker.

The parallels between the déclassé and the ragpicker as types evoke a comparison that Raffaëlli's wider pictorial production all but demands. *Les Déclassés* draws upon, and should be located within, a wider series of images of Parisian ragpickers that Raffaëlli undertook about 1880. The déclassé as a type absorbs and generalizes the more particular character of the ragpicker, indicating in general terms the nature of poverty outside the city walls. At the same time, the déclassé also stands apart in various ways.

Between 1879 and 1884, the ragpicker became the most consistent, if not the most prominent, character in Raffaëlli's banlieue. The route de la Révolte boasted many chiffonnier shantytowns, as did the rue de Cailloux, near the route d'Asnières. On his excursions into the Zone and the banlieue, Raffaëlli would certainly have seen any number of ragpicker camps. The expeditions resulted in breakthrough works like *The Return of Ragpickers (La Rentrée des chiffonniers)*, shown at the Salon of 1879 (fig. 102). For Huysmans, the painting evoked "the sad charm of wobbly shacks, the skinny poplars showcased on the endless roads that peter out from the ramparts to the sky."[87] Variations on the type appeared at the 1880 and 1881 Impressionist exhibitions, usually with a single figure extracted for close examination. *Ragpicker Lighting His Pipe* is typical (fig. 103). It depicts the ragpicker's characteristic physiognomy—unshaven and old beyond his years—his

FIGURE 101
After Charles-Joseph Traviès, *Liard, the Ragpicker (Liard, le chiffonnier)*, c. 1840. Illustration from Victor Fournel, *Les Rues du vieux Paris: Galerie populaire et pittoresque* (Paris: Firmin-Didot, 1879), 645.


Fig. 139. — Liard, le chiffonnier; d'après la lithographie de Traviès.

FIGURE 102
Jean-François Raffaëlli, *The Return of the Ragpickers (La Rentrée des chiffonniers)*, 1879. Oil on canvas, 34¼ × 34¼ in. (87 × 87 cm). Private collection (sold Artcurial, Paris, 26 March 2014).

FIGURE 103
Jean-François Raffaëlli, *Ragpicker Lighting His Pipe (Chiffonnier allumant sa pipe)*, 1879. Oil on wood, 30⅜ × 23¼ (77 × 59 cm). Musée des Beaux-Arts, Nantes.

tattered clothes, and his omnipresent sack. This quasi-sociological documentary tendency led the artist to develop his much-ridiculed theoretical discourse on "characterism" in 1884.[88]Nonetheless, Raffaëlli attempted to move beyond mere portraits—though they often read as such—to give an element of animation to the figures. He included iterative gestures such as smoking, eating, or drinking, activities that touch on the very limits of pleasure in this wretched world, the simple habits and desperate repetitions of the poor. Yet, all told, such paintings lack the sense of temporal duration and reverie that makes *Les Déclassés* so complex and compelling. They function almost as studies for the larger painting.

One parallel demonstrated by the visual evidence is that ragpickers and déclassés in Raffaëlli's world, though perhaps for different reasons, both wear the cast-off clothes

of the bourgeoisie. Ragpickers acquired their frock coats and hats from the waste bins of the city, and déclassés presumably kept their own, increasingly ragged clothes. Neither *mendiants* (beggars) nor workers adopted this level of ambiguity; their class was defined by their dress. Only *clochards* (tramps) of later years manifested the radical adoption and overturning of bourgeois fashion.[89] Déclassés and chiffonniers, situated at the edge of the class system, however, have their dress defined, respectively, by their origins and their occupation.

What Raffaëlli professed to admire about ragpickers, and about all the downtrodden of the banlieue, perhaps not least the déclassés, was their freedom. He spoke of this freedom at several points. Claretie recorded him saying in 1880, "The ragpicker, in a kind of hallucination, appeared to me and gave me everything all together, a sort of idea of liberty and also a sort of burning sensation of great poverty: all the freedom that we expect, all the poverty that belongs to us, to our being."[90] In an unpublished manuscript written several years later, he recorded his admiration for "the free ragpickers" of the Zone.[91] "Freedom" became something of a trope in the ragpicker discourse, but the concrete details of this freedom were rarely spelled out.

Partly the freedom of the chiffonnier had to do with the increasing consciousness that work had become tied to the tyranny of the clock. In the 1880s almost two-thirds of French workers put in close to twelve closely monitored hours a day at the mine, the workshop, or the factory.[92] The ragpicker, by contrast, worked a relatively undisciplined day and had a great deal of free time relative to his working-class counterparts. The ragpicker as a type thus seemed to embody or express a certain perceived attitude toward labor and time. In 1842 Émile de La Bedollière claimed that the chiffonnier despised work and especially disciplined work-time: "[The ragpicker] looks with profound disgust upon the slaves who are closed in from morning until night in a workshop, behind a workbench. While these others, living machines, measure their work-time by the ticking of the clocks, he, the philosopher-ragpicker, works when he wishes, rests when he wishes, without a memory of the day before, without care for tomorrow."[93]

Alexandre Privat d'Anglemont likewise quoted one ragpicker who contrasted his work to regular laborers: "We like ragpicking better, to live as we will, freely, in the open air, like the animals that we really are."[94] The appeal of the ragpicker in the nineteenth century could be found in his relative freedom from the temporal discipline of industrial or commercial labor. As in the "bourgeois myth" of the peasant, the ragpicker operated outside modern standards of work-time discipline. But unlike the peasant, the ragpicker was wholly integrated into the economic and geographic life of the city. He operated directly within a larger exchange economy, scavenging and reselling the detritus of urban life. The ragpicker thus presented a paradox; on the one hand, he was outside the normal standards of work, often celebrated for his freedom, while on the other, he also served as a reminder of capitalism's relentless transformation of everything, even trash, into a commodity form. He was both wholly within and standing outside modernity's increasingly

instrumentalized restructuring of the general conditions of everyday life and the specific conditions of the experience of time.

The ragpicker is the social equivalent of the déclassé—or, rather, the myth of the chiffonnier is the spectacular mirror image of the déclassé. The former represents the bourgeois fantasy of freedom and sudden reversals of fortune—usually celebrating a skyrocketing rise to immense wealth and social standing from humble beginnings—whereas the latter stands for the sordid and squalid day-by-day degeneration and disappearance of social standing, the steady move down the social ladder. Raffaëlli's déclassés, like the ragpickers, are free to work "when they wish," to move about Paris as they will, and they contain within their social position the potential for dramatic reversals of fortune. Or so the myth would have it. Whatever the reality, Raffaëlli's painting is made up of a world in which labor, time, and class have become unfixed.

Raffaëlli's banlieue, then, was a place where time discipline and spatial enclosure held no sway. This is the source of his admiration for the freedom of the ragpickers: they occupy that space as their own (their *cités*, for example), but penetrate into the city on their own time—often before the city wakes. In the end, of course, this fascination with the ragpicker represents a fundamentally bourgeois projection of undisciplined time onto a social class that works on the margins of industrialized capitalism.[95] The "freedom" Raffaëlli finds in these social types should therefore be seen as dialectically linked to the controlling and entrapping expansion of capital and time discipline as they extend outward from the urban center of Paris. Their freedom is a means of resisting the temporal order that is quickly becoming a universal condition of experience in modernity.

TIME AND FREEDOM

Les Déclassés was inescapably a painting about time and class, about how a certain ambiguous class used its time—or, rather, did not. The relation between the lack of temporal discipline in the banlieue, in absinthe drinking, in the life of déclassés and ragpickers and the air of revolt these subjects carried should now be clear. What remains, finally, to be shown is how these matters of content met the matter of form in Raffaëlli's painting, how the politics of time in 1881 met the aesthetics of duration in later Realism. Contemporary critical writings confirm that the painting's original audience experienced it in terms of duration or temporal extendedness, but did this ostensibly formal component of the picture carry weight with the received understanding of its subject? Was *Les Déclassés* understood as a painting of decadent resignation or of incipient revolt? Was it understood as an effort to represent and document the suburban poor as part of a wider attempt to colonize and hence control the liminal spaces of metropolitan Paris, basically in line with Eugène Poubelle's reform acts of 1883 and 1884, which brought an end to ragpicking as it had previously existed?[96] Or did Raffaëlli's déclassés represent, more radically, the final holdouts against what Karl Marx called the "victory . . . of industry over heroic indolence"?[97]

Although moderately leftist by the standards of his time—Georges Clemenceau's Radicals offer some approximation of the painter's position—Raffaëlli likely had little in the way of explicit politics in mind when he set out to paint the work. Nonetheless, the general mobilization of durational time in *Les Déclassés* offered an implicitly critical alternative to the instantaneity that increasingly brought Impressionism into complicity with modernity's instrumentalization of time. In combining this temporality, more or less a given for a later Realist painter working under the aegis of Millet and Courbet, with subjects overloaded with subtle but inescapable political and temporal valence—the banlieue, absinthe, the déclassé—Raffaëlli appears to have stumbled upon a compelling critique of the perceived acceleration of time in modernity.

When *Les Déclassés* was read against Impressionism, side by side with it and differentiated from it, the pictorial effects of duration became laden with significance. Yet that meaning surely had different connotations for different audiences, and the artist struggled to make his intentions clear in 1881 and after. For an admiring petit bourgeois viewer, the slow time of *Les Déclassés* must have evoked an old-fashioned, preindustrial temporality, "experienced time" as opposed to the "measured time" of the railway and the factory. In contrast to Impressionism's ostensible prioritization of speed, Raffaëlli's painting allowed for a decidedly premodern or, more precisely, antimodern experience of the world. The comparisons to Millet and the peasant subject become appropriate: the ability to convey the longing for a kind of world approaching the more natural patterns of peasant life seems part and parcel of Raffaëlli's popularity in 1881. This is Albert Wolff's Raffaëlli. Such an appreciation of the painting, however, would have rested on a certain will to ignore the political signification of the banlieue, drinking, and class.

For other audiences the relation between these subjects and the politics of time both in and outside the frame of the painting would have been more charged. Nationwide strikes calling for work-time reduction had, of course, led the French National Assembly to introduce legislation limiting the hours of work in June 1880. The key debates on the Waddington report took place in late March 1881, just days before Raffaëlli's *Les Déclassés* appeared in public.[98] Likewise, the picture would have echoed Paul Lafargue's notorious essay, "Le Droit à la paresse," published less than a year before, republished in June 1881, and soon translated as *The Right to be Lazy*. Under the direct influence of the publication, the Federated Socialist Worker's Party of France—the ancestor of the present French Socialist Party, which then still contained a broad spectrum of "revolutionary" socialists including moderate "possibilists," anarchists, and Marxists—adopted the demand for an eight-hour day and one day off each week in their Le Havre platform of November 1880.[99] In Raffaëlli's works of 1881, as Fronia Wissman has rightly noted—she mentions *Cantonnier* and *Man Having Just Painted His Fence*—the figures are "doing nothing in particular" (fig. 104).[100] Any *possibilistes* in the galleries on the boulevard des Capucines would have known what to make of such paintings of *paresse*. The anarchists to their left, however, would perhaps have seen something even more radical, something more like a properly

FIGURE 104
Jean-François Raffaëlli, *Man Having Just Painted His Fence (Bonhomme venant de peindre sa barrière)*, 1881. Oil and charcoal on board over pencil, 25¾ × 19¾ in. (65.4 × 50.2 cm). Private collection.

heroic indolence. For followers of Émile Gautier's call for an out-and-out resistance to work, the déclassés might have suggested something more like a model for the revolutionary refusal of wage labor and the clock.[101] This, in any case, is Octave Mirbeau's Raffaëlli.

Strikes, the resistance to work, and in general the politicization of capitalism's restructuring of time around the regularity of the clock were front-page subjects at the time of the sixth Impressionist exhibition. Time itself had become a politically charged subject. To paint a world that showed two déclassés doing nothing but drinking and idling away their hours in dreams, and to do so in a manner that invited viewers to slow down their own experience of time, inevitably identifying with the two men in the painting and their resistance to, or freedom from, the clock time of the factory and the office, meant

securing the connection between the politics of time and politics of space, behavior, and identity. Whether reformist or anarchist, such politics would have constituted the key social frame in which Raffaëlli's *Les Déclassés* would have hung. The extent to which these meanings would have held sway with the painting's original audience largely rests on the ability of such viewers to decipher the complex and, indeed, ambiguous layers of signification on which the painting was built. If anyone did unpack them in 1881, it has escaped the archive.

In 1887 Raffaëlli jotted a note on one of his etchings indicating his changing views on ragpickers: "I see now them more as vanquished," he wrote, "than in revolt."[102] Such might be the epitaph for the political reading of *Les Déclassés* that this chapter has outlined. Doubtless the majority of viewers in 1881 and after saw the two absinthe drinkers in terms of melancholic resignation or even of empathy rather than revolt. Some years later, Max Nordau went so far as to say, "When Raffaëlli paints shockingly degraded absinthe-drinkers in the low drinking dens of the purlieus of Paris, we clearly feel his profound pity at the sight of these fallen human beings, and this emotion we experience as a morally beautiful one."[103]

The beautiful was something Raffaëlli began to pursue wholeheartedly after 1889, when he won the Legion of Honor, moved from Asnières to Paris, and developed a highly remunerative international career as a second-tier Impressionist. Even as he grappled with the subtle attractions of the painting of absinthe drinkers, Fénéon was at pains to distinguish Raffaëlli's early achievement from the works he was beginning to produce in the late 1880s: "For a few years now, his brush, weary of déclassés, of darkish rags and of military zones, has taken pleasure in bourgeois elegance, in artless fabric, in pompous apartments."[104] This turn troubled critics at the time and, in hindsight, marked the terminal decline of the painter's standing within the French avant-garde.

In the mid-1890s, however, Geffroy sought once more to defend Raffaëlli's accomplishment in part through a nuanced reassertion of the complexity and political provocation of the painting that had become *The Absinthe Drinkers*. Having insisted on the originality of the representation of the banlieue, having intuited Raffaëlli's deeper temporal concerns, and having offered telling insight into the definition of "déclassé," Geffroy has emerged as the key contemporary interpreter of the painter's work. That Raffaëlli responded enthusiastically to the critic's writing in 1881, and that the two remained close friends until the artist's death in 1924, only reinforces the perception that Geffroy's reading approximates something like the artist's intentions.[105]

In his 1894 history of Impressionism, Geffroy offered the following ekphrasis of Raffaëlli's two déclassés:

> One of them, preparing a cigarette with a slight movement of the fingers, reveals a skinny, brittle wrist, of an ill-fed and unsuccessful man: this one declares his hunger with his skeletal arm lost under the cuff, with all his body sagging underneath his

> shapeless clothes. His companion, hand fastened to jaw, a sideways look glittering between gray hair and hairy fist, looks all too capable of attacking in the dark, of burglary with forced entry, of committing a crime of need and anger. The prowler with inactive hands and this cigarette roller, dressed in faded frockcoats, have sunk into a disquieting and reflective repose of vagabonds. Behind the branches of the climbing, dry plants, black and twisted like metal wire, in a false and reddish atmosphere of an autumn sunset where absinthe shines milkily, the idling of their weary bodies and the reverie of their troubles resemble the beginning of an ambush.[106]

No interpretation brings together more suggestively the interlinking strands in the painting: "idling," "reverie," "ambush." The core of the picture's ambiguity, the very product of idleness and daydream, is the threat of violence, the threat of revolt. Thirty years later, in 1924, Geffroy could still speak of the two men suspended in their "sinister wait."[107] What they wait for, though, the critic could no longer articulate at that late date. The matrix of transitory meanings—alcohol, the banlieue and its inhabitants, perhaps even the political connotations of Realism's pictorial temporality—had been buried in history.

5 1882 / The Revolutionary Foyer

James Ensor, *Russian Music*

Il n'y a plus de champs et les rues sont vides, je te parlerai de nos meubles . . .
—Stéphane Mallarmé, "Frisson d'hiver"

At the Paris Salon of 1882, James Ensor exhibited the canvas now known as *Russian Music* for the first time outside his native Belgium (fig. 105).[1] Originally titled *Chez Miss*, his depiction of a light-filled drawing room, a woman playing a piano, and a seated, listening man had drawn little attention the year before when it hung near Jules Bastien-Lepage's *Les Foins* at the Triennial Salon in Brussels.[2] Ensor showed it in Ghent in 1883 and again in Brussels at the 1886 exhibition of the avant-garde group Les XX (The Twenty), where it acquired its current name. This fourth showing of the work has subsequently dominated art historical accounts of the painting and to a certain extent the painter's overall career trajectory. After an unsigned article praising Fernand Khnopff's *Listening to Schumann* appeared in *L'Art moderne*, the house journal of Les XX, Ensor wrote a bitter letter to the editor, Octave Maus, cryptically accusing the journal of favoritism and Khnopff of plagiarism (fig. 106).[3] The incident apparently pushed the artist away from the "interpretation of contemporary reality" that had dominated the Belgian avant-garde in the early 1880s and spurred him to create the works that Alfred Barr claimed were the "boldest" in Europe in 1887.[4] The painting's central role in the shift toward Ensor's later style has consequently obscured the origins and meanings of *Chez Miss* in the early 1880s.[5]

Despite the frequency with which the painter displayed the canvas during his lifetime—it also appeared in public in 1905, 1913, and 1920 before entering the collection of the Royal Museums of Fine Arts of Belgium in 1927—the only critic of the time who recognized its significance for Ensor's early development was the writer Émile Verhaeren. The Symbolist poet wrote about *Chez Miss* several times and granted it a prominent place in his superb 1908 monograph on the artist.[6] In the early 1880s, he recognized Ensor's ambitions and talent, but seems to have struggled to make sense of his place in modern art. By contrast, Khnopff's work had a more superficial appeal to him, and indeed it has subsequently become clear—Ensor never knew it—that Verhaeren penned the controversial 1886 article, seemingly comparing the two painters.[7]

Detail of Figure 105

FIGURE 105
James Ensor, *Russian Music (Chez Miss)*, 1880–1881. Oil on canvas, 52⅜ × 43¼ in. (133 × 110 cm). Royal Museums of Fine Arts of Belgium, Brussels.

Although he in fact singled out Ensor for equal praise, when he first wrote about *Chez Miss* in a review of the Paris Salon in *L'Art moderne*, Verhaeren restricted his analysis, somewhat tentatively, to the artist's production of piece-meal details. "Although hung high, Ensor attracts looks," he reported. "Moreover his canvases adapt to this placement, they are made to be seen from afar. Foremost, Ensor seems to be an excellent painter of accessories, his furniture and his apartments have the same qualities as his still-lifes. As to his characters, they don't make much of an impression [*ils impressionnent peu*]; one distinguishes them poorly in his canvases, where the background encroaches on the foregrounds, where there is a confusing slide between beings and things."[8] Such a concern with the treatment of represented characters as mere objects might serve as an early

instantiation of later pathologizing interpretations of the painter, but the aesthetic issues at stake for Verhaeren probably relate to his still-dawning understanding of the artistic tendencies of the previous decades.[9] Like many of the most advanced paintings of the day, especially in France, Ensor's work seemed to prioritize facture and the vivid rendering of fragments of reality over any classically composed narrative whole. Verhaeren recognized this and almost certainly sought to connote the French avant-garde when using the term "impression" to describe the painted figures in *Chez Miss*.

Ensor's painting hung equally high at the Triennial Salon in Ghent the next year, and Verhaeren substantially expanded his account in a review published in *La Jeune Belgique*. Yet his description of the canvas all but reversed his previous analysis:

> *Chez Miss*—that is the title of his new work—possesses all the artistic merits that we ordinarily recognize in him. Excellent daylight, intimacy, life, loose execution, indicating a confidence and a boldness of a master. The subject is quite simple: a woman plays the piano, a young man listens. And yet despite the fact that this could be just anybody, we sense our life, our existence, our daily routine filtering through. We relive one of our past hours; we recall an analogous visit somewhere in a bourgeois drawing room, the after dinner, as the "miss" of the house sits down in front of the piano, at our request, and plays us some Mendelssohn or Schubert. And that is the rare and glorious gift of this painting, to be an evocation of such life, that from the start it allows us to enter it, so to speak, as actors in the represented scene.[10]

Where the loose execution of the painting confused the accessories and characters in 1882, these same characters took on exceptional vivacity in 1883. Where the critic had seen only surface, here he grasps a world. This shift in enthusiasm for *Chez Miss* likely had something to do with Verhaeren's audience. The engaged, avant-garde readers of *L'Art moderne* would

FIGURE 106
Fernand Khnopff, *Listening to Schumann (En écoutant Schumann)*, 1883. Oil on canvas, 40 × 45⅞ in. (101.5 × 116.5 cm). Royal Museums of Fine Arts of Belgium, Brussels.

have been more attuned to the advanced French art of the day; *La Jeune Belgique* inclined to the Realist tradition in art.[11] Both journals had been founded in 1881, by Edmond Picard and Max Waller respectively, and emblematized the two sides of progressive culture in Belgium. For Verhaeren, then, a description of Ensor's painting could unfold in two very different fashions: as Impressionism in Paris and as Realism in Ghent. Still, such a radical modification of the critic's focus indicates a more fundamental tension or contradiction in the painting itself, something that seems to have blocked a consistent viewing of the work.

To come across *Chez Miss* in the museum where it now hangs in Brussels would be to encounter, first and foremost, the artist's passing perception of light. Steady illumination streams in from the left and the front of the scene, giving way to flickering highlights and scintillating colors emerging out of an astonishingly rich network of interlacing dabs and encrustations of paint laid down across the entire canvas with brush and palette knife. In the rendering of curtains and accessories, fabric and decorations have been replaced by the sheer materiality of oil and pigmentation: red, yellow, green, a range of earthy browns. The flat foreground at the bottom of the painting, with its high perspective, offers nothing but the pure residue of painterly gesture. "Impressionism" cannot quite describe this technique, mixing as it does loose brushwork and encrusted knife-work, but Verhaeren correctly insists that a painting such as this was "made to be seen from a distance."

Viewed at a distance and steadily, however, *Chez Miss* bodies forth a world of solid, enduring things and of people engaged in continuous, ongoing activity. The room congeals into a "uniform, pan-European, nineteenth-century bourgeois style."[12] A dapper young man sits upright in a stuffed armchair, rapt bearded face turned toward a large set of windows framed by heavy curtains on the left of the room. A lady turns her back as she plays a composition from sheet music on an upright piano. A framed picture hangs on the decorative wallpaper above her head; empty, golden candle sconces project at her left and right. Flemish lace covers her seat, hanging down nearly to the ground. To the right, on a highly polished wooden table, a top hat sits next to a thin-necked ceramic vase of vivid azure. Behind the table, a sizable Chinese vase and a glass dome enclosing an obscured knick-knack both tower above a marble mantelpiece; a large mirror gives a glimpse of a window opposite and a sliver of golden sunlight reflecting off the lowering clouds of an endlessly overcast Belgian sky.

As any sustained viewing confirms, Verhaeren's double reading of *Chez Miss* rests on two seemingly contradictory formal concerns in the painting. On the one hand, a frank treatment of the medium, based on the perception of light, associated with the new aesthetics of Impressionism and with an accelerated speed of looking and paint handling. On the other, a representation of a motif associated with a longer tradition of Realism and with close observation and detailed rendering of the subject matter. Verhaeren's initial account of *Chez Miss* results from a glimpsed view, quickly taken in. His second offers a very different kind of viewing—focused, imaginative, slow. The tension between these two modes of representation and their correlative temporal frameworks undergirds Verhaeren's

two-fold reaction to Ensor's painting, and it has structured the general understanding of the artist's early work ever since. "The objects and characters in his 'bourgeois interiors,'" wrote Paul Haesaerts in the 1950s, "are not instantly or immediately apprehended." Their "insidious quiet," their "spleen," their "swallowing-up of conventional reality," results from "Ensor's close study of form and his parallel study of the disintegrating action of light, jumbling and distorting the forms."[13] Not surprisingly, the painting's original audience almost entirely failed to make sense of this tension. Any historical account of the production and reception of *Chez Miss*, however, should demonstrate how Ensor's attempt to represent his chosen subject matter pushed him to devise stylistic cognates for the cultural contradictions inherent in it. As such, the painting must be understood as an intervention within an increasingly dominant pan-European visual culture of the bourgeois interior.

23, RUE DE FLANDRE

Ensor conceived and executed *Chez Miss* inside his family home on the corner of the rue de Flandre and boulevard Van Iseghem in the North Sea resort town of Ostend. After three dead-end years at the Royal Academy of Fine Arts in Brussels, the painter had returned home in the summer of 1880 determined to escape his conservative training and to claim a place within the Belgian avant-garde. He immediately established a studio in the top floor of the house at 23, rue de Flandre, painted still-lifes and seascapes throughout the summer and autumn months, and tried as best he could to ignore the simmering psychological tensions that permeated the family's drawing rooms below.

With the onset of the rainy northern winter, the twenty-year-old painter eventually turned his attention downstairs. The family business on the ground floor—the sale of chinoiseries, masks, and assorted curios to the seaside tourist trade—was seasonal and run entirely by the artist's Flemish mother and aunt. By 1880 his English father had failed at his own business ventures and was slipping into an alcoholism that prematurely ended his life later in the decade. All evidence suggests that the daily life of the family was fraught with unspoken resentments and bitter recriminations, glazed over by the veneer of bourgeois propriety. For half the year, work kept the spheres of domestic life apart, but in the off-season the Ensors had little to do but idle away the hours in the overstuffed salons of the second floor.

A series of sketches the artist began producing in late 1880 confirms his immediate fascination with the family's dispositions within the space of the interior. In some drawings, he focuses on atmospheric detail; in others his designs appear as a single elaborated line transcribing a view. All of them record closely related subjects. His mother knits; his aunt sleeps. His younger sister Mariette, known as Mitche, plays the piano (fig. 107). A young man, most likely his friend Willy Finch, sits and writes (fig. 108). There can be no doubt that Ensor carefully selected these activities and poses: his motifs suggest a certain intense concern with the continuity of bodily presence brought on by tedium, exhaustion,

or absorption. The drawings record what the artist saw within the rooms of the house—sustained or repetitive actions like knitting, reading, or music were common enough, to be sure—but they also enabled the artist to observe his subjects long enough to capture their characteristics within that surrounding atmosphere and to begin conceptualizing how these fragmented actions and scenes might translate into the larger scale of a painting.

According to his later recollection, Ensor painted only a handful of works in the downstairs rooms of his family home in 1880 and 1881.[14] The earliest almost certainly was *A Bourgeois Salon* (fig. 109). *Chez Miss* appears to have quickly followed. The two were painted sometime between late 1880 and the summer of 1881, after which the two pictures were unveiled to the public. These were followed relatively quickly by *Afternoon in Ostend*,

FIGURE 107
James Ensor, *The Sister of Ensor at the Piano (La Soeur d'Ensor au piano)*, c. 1880. Conté on paper, 8⅝ × 6¾ in. (22 × 17 cm). Koninklijk Museum voor Schone Kunsten, Antwerp.

FIGURE 108
James Ensor, *Willy Finch Writing at a Table, Three Studies, a Dog, and a Silhouette (Willy Finch à table, trois études, un chien, et une silhouette)*, c. 1880. Conté on paper, 8⅝ × 6¾ in. (22 × 17 cm). Koninklijk Museum voor Schone Kunsten, Antwerp.

FIGURE 109
James Ensor, *A Bourgeois Salon (Un Salon bourgeois)*, 1881. Oil on canvas, 52¾ × 42½ in. (133 × 108 cm). Koninklijk Museum voor Schone Kunsten, Antwerp.

which made its first exhibition appearance under the title *Une après-dînée à Ostende* in early 1882 (fig. 110). The dimensions of this third canvas, almost exactly the same as the previous two, indicate that it should be understood as a variation on the theme the painter had pursued in the earlier works.

Chez Miss thus forms the central canvas in a trio of interior paintings. Perhaps because the three have rarely been seen together, however, critics and historians have consistently failed to situate them in this distinct grouping. Although the artist might have selected *Chez Miss* as the emblematic core of the group—he showed it more frequently than the others—the picture cannot be understood apart from the other two works. The

FIGURE 110
James Ensor, *Afternoon in Ostend (Une après-dînée à Ostende)*, 1881. Oil on canvas, 42½ × 52¾ in. (108 × 133 cm). Koninklijk Museum voor Schone Kunsten, Antwerp.

earliest of the three, *A Bourgeois Salon*, shows Ensor's mother engaged in her knitting at the left of the drawing room table, while another woman turns her back and presumably engages in a similar activity. This picture seems least concerned with a representation of the activities of the sitters, but instead uses the subject to motivate the representation of the interior, hence perhaps the title, which could rightly be applied to any of Ensor's three interiors. The room in *A Bourgeois Salon* closely resembles the drawing room in *Chez Miss*, containing similar mirrors and windows, drapes and polished furniture, lamps and glass-domed objects; light gleams in from the right side, illuminating the reddish wood and green patterns on the carpet. The painting also presents a bravura application of paint on the surface, even more painterly than the later works, and the vertical format of the canvas functions to tip up the space of the room dramatically toward the picture plane. A more balanced relation between the represented room and the surface emerges following this preliminary foray into the family drawing room.

Afternoon in Ostend is the only work of the three to reveal the faces of both seated figures. On the right side of the drawing-room table, distractedly sipping her coffee, sits the Ensor matriarch. On the left, Mitche places her hands in her lap and looks out at the viewer. This was not the first time she posed for her brother—the sister appeared in a variety of single-figure works such as *The Somber Lady* or the remarkable *The Lady in Distress* indicating her active involvement in Ensor's early experimentations (fig. 111). Her clear presence in these other works strongly implies that she posed as the pianist in *Chez Miss* and that she joins the artist's mother at the table in *A Bourgeois Salon*. But her look intimates a somewhat different role in *Afternoon in Ostend*, which 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.

FIGURE 111
James Ensor, *The Lady in Distress (La Dame en détresse)*, 1882. Oil on canvas, 39⅜ × 31½ in. (100 × 80 cm). Musée d'Orsay, Paris.

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, but with the exception of a remarkable 1881 portrait of his father reading in a corner of the drawing room, the two Ensor men are missing from these interior spaces (fig. 112). The accompanying single-figure works in which Mitche presents herself as melancholic or ailing raises questions about how her character should be read in the three multifigure works. More than one commentator has suggested that both comfort and anxiety fill these rooms. As Susan Canning puts it, these interiors provide "a graceful inventory of all the material possessions, refined taste, and calm ambience that bourgeois life could offer." And yet, they also "suggest the tension, boredom, and disappointment that hover just below the surface materialism of middle-class life."[15] Although this reading dominates the existing literature, the exact motivations for Ensor's inclusion of such tensions remain elusive.

Evidence for these intentions might be found in the complex social world the artist occupied in the early 1880s. The presence of Alfred William "Willy" Finch in the Ensor home, and in *Chez Miss*, signals the multivalent realities figured in the interiors. A fellow native of Ostend, Finch was a close friend and colleague from art school, later a major figure in Les XX and in Belgian avant-garde painting and decorative arts. After 1881, the two shared a studio, motifs, and an artistic style—to such an extent that a critic

FIGURE 112
James Ensor, *Portrait of the Artist's Father (Portrait du père de l'artiste)*, 1881. Oil on canvas, 39⅜ × 31½ in. (100 × 80 cm). Royal Museums of Fine Arts of Belgium, Brussels.

once claimed it was impossible to tell the two painters apart.[16] Although they fell out over Finch's embrace of Neo-Impressionism in 1887, Ensor, until his death in 1949, kept a portrait of his friend prominently displayed on his wall.[17] The two painters, with Mitche as model and muse, thus formed a close artistic collaboration at a crucial early stage of their careers.

Through their friend Théo Hannon, another former student of the Royal Academy, the three came to occupy a central place in the social circle of Ernest Rousseau, a prominent professor at the Université Libre de Bruxelles. From the late 1870s on, Ensor was especially close to the professor's son and wife, Mariette, a respected botanist, who was also Hannon's sister. An artist, critic, and poet, Hannon himself was a major figure in Belgian literary circles. Close to the group around *La Jeune Belgique*, an editor of *L'Artiste*, and one of the key proponents of literary Naturalism and later Symbolism, Hannon regularly corresponded with Joris-Karl Huysmans and later appeared as one of des Esseintes's favorite poets in *À rebours*. Politically leftist and intellectually free-thinking—"inclined toward anarchism and atheism"—the Brussels circle around the Rousseaus not only included politically engaged figures like Edmond Picard and, later, Élisée Reclus, but also introduced Ensor to his earliest collectors and to like-minded artists such as Félicien Rops.[18] Verhaeren too almost certainly crossed paths with the painter in or around the Rousseau salons.[19]

While *Chez Miss* clearly pictures the bourgeois interior, with the Ensor family home as its backdrop, the canvas also takes as its model two members of this radical political and artistic milieu. The manner in which these figures present themselves, however, becomes dissonant with the social world they in fact occupy. What the painting represents cannot be reduced simply to a middle-class interior or, on the other hand, a portrait of the artist's sister and friend in the space of his own home. As they appear in *Chez Miss*, Willy and Mitche must instead be understood as characters. Given Ensor's original title, with its curious bilingualism, the sister should be seen as the eligible young lady of the house—the "miss"—entertaining a suitor or gentleman caller. That Mitche played so many different characters in Ensor's paintings and closely collaborated with him in devising scenarios for them indicates that the interior paintings did not function as portraits, but, as Herwig Todts puts it, "intimate, amorous or dramatic scenes."[20]

Consequently, *Chez Miss* presents an image of a bourgeois interior painted by an emerging avant-garde artist, posing his closest collaborators as typical—or, rather, stereotypical—bourgeois characters. The tension between the two worlds, the comfortable yet psychologically fraught world of Ensor's home and family on the one hand, and the worldly, progressive culture of the artist and his friends on the other, constitutes the very core of the painting's genesis. *Chez Miss* is a painting of the bourgeoisie, but it is not a bourgeois painting. This subtle distinction plays out, tellingly, in the difficulty critics and the public seemed to have had in pinning down, indeed getting past, Ensor's artistic approach to this subject.

BETWEEN REALISM AND IMPRESSIONISM

In the early 1880s, Ensor aggressively exhibited his various paintings of interiors. *A Bourgeois Salon* debuted at the Brussels exhibition of La Chrysalide in June 1881; *Chez Miss* hung in Brussels, Paris, and Ghent between August 1881 and the fall of 1883; *Afternoon in Ostend* first appeared at L'Essor in Brussels in early 1882. No doubt the painter would have welcomed further venues for exhibiting the interiors, but in an incident that spurred the creation of Les XX and secured Ensor's avant-garde bona fides, the jury of the Belgian Salon scandalously rejected *Afternoon in Ostend* in 1884. By 1886, these "bourgeois interiors" had made the painter's name, and he was widely noted for them.[21] Although they were often seen, Ensor's interiors found a critical audience almost exclusively at the first three exhibitions of Les XX in Brussels.

For all intents and purposes, however, this public seems not to have recognized the subject matter as the most salient aspect of Ensor's work. 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."[22] At Les XX, one critic dismissively declared that "French Impressionism dominates him," another that he sought to "enthrone Impressionism in Belgium."[23] 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.[24] For his defenders, the point of the comparison simply explained the artist's desired effect in a painting like *Chez Miss*: "the play of ambient air."[25] In later years, 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.[26]

For some critics, however, these deformations could be explained only by extraordinary means, means that suggested the violent dissolution of an existing artistic norm. The same 1882 review in *L'Art moderne* comparing Ensor to Impressionism claimed that *Afternoon in Ostend* gave the "idea of an apartment subjected to the oscillation of an earthquake."[27] Several years later, two different critics echoed this analysis of the same painting. In 1885, "What a subversive idea came to him to go paint an apartment—fully furnished—at the psychologically precise moment of an earthquake!"[28] In 1886, "This bourgeois salon has a pretty color; but the artist would have done well not to paint it during an earthquake."[29] The persistence and underlying logic of the metaphor help explain the general problem critics had with Ensor's technique. Where a "fully furnished" apartment or "bourgeois salon" in the 1880s stood for calmness, immobility, and the persistence of personal history outside the hurly-burly of modern life, Ensor's treatment of the motif turned such assumptions on their head.[30] Where an interior ought to speak of slowness and calm, the critics saw only chaos and speed.

For Belgian critics, the obvious alternative to the speed of Impressionism could still be found in midcentury Realism. In his review of the first posthumous exhibition of

the work of Gustave Courbet in January 1878, the Naturalist writer and critic Camille Lemonnier declared that he had "witnessed in Belgium a flowering of enthusiasm for Courbet like nowhere else."[31] Although the embrace of French Realism can be traced back to the 1851 exhibition of *The Stonebreakers* in Brussels, only in the late 1870s did it enter into the mainstream of Belgian art (see fig. 24).[32] The rise of Academic Realism nevertheless stood at odds with some of the new generation's artistic concerns. Especially significant was the use among younger painters like Ensor of the palette knife in place of the brush, a technique that Lemonnier and others identified wholly with the work of Courbet.[33]

Ensor likely saw Courbet's paintings firsthand at the artist's posthumous 1878 exhibition in Brussels, and it also seems that Hannon gave him a copy of Lemonnier's article on the recently deceased artist.[34] More significantly, in 1879, through his connection with Hannon, the nineteen-year-old artist met a landscape painter some twenty-four years his senior named Guillaume Vogels, who had learned many of the midcentury Realist techniques from his Paris-trained mentor Périclès Pantazis.[35] Ensor quickly soaked up the older artist's technique: a mélange of colors systematically scraped and smudged directly on surface with a palette knife, producing a combing light that covered objects in color and avoided uniformity of touch. This method, which Vogels appropriated and perfected, came to be known in Belgium as Tachisme, and critics sometimes referred to Ensor, Vogels, Finch, and others as Tachistes.[36] While Ensor may indeed have seen a few examples of the more advanced French paintings of the day—Édouard Manet's 1879 *Chez le Père Lathuille* appeared at the Salon in Ghent in the autumn of 1880 (see fig. 62)—his interest in light and painterly surface textures originally came not from Impressionism, as most critics claimed, but primarily from Courbet via a series of personal and artistic mediations.[37]

FIGURE 113
James Ensor, *The Lamp-Lighter (Le Lampiste)*, 1880. Oil on canvas, 59½ × 35⅞ in. (151 × 91 cm). Royal Museums of Fine Arts of Belgium, Brussels.

Several paintings of the early 1880s confirm this debt to Realist precedents and later Realist contemporaries. Completed in his attic studio shortly after Ensor's return from Brussels, *The Lamp-Lighter* declares an outright allegiance to a Realist palette, facture, and subject matter: a black, knife-encrusted painting of a working-class boy (fig. 113). Among other things, the canvas could pass as a study for Alfred-Philippe Roll's *Strike of the Miners*, a work that was shown in Ghent the same year (see fig. 58). Likewise, Ensor may have derived his early seascapes from paintings at the 1878 Courbet exhibition, and it is worth noting that one such *Marine* was singled out at the show and crowned with a laurel by Belgian art students.[38] Michel Draguet has stated that Ensor's early painting "overtly references the work of Courbet."[39] In turn, Todts points out that, in "conception, composition and details" *The Drunkards (Les Pochards)* of 1883 (fig. 114) offers a "mirror image" of *The Absinthe Drinkers* of Jean-François Raffaëlli (see fig. 81).[40] Not insignificantly, the reversal of the pose of the two drinkers involved a change of setting from outside to inside the drinking establishment. The bar-à-vins in the Parisian banlieue becomes a Flemish *estaminet*, and interestingly the *hofstede* (homestead) poster on the back wall indicates an eviction notice—a thematic mirror reversal of the painter's own bourgeois interiors. These patterns of reference in Ensor's "Realist-oriented" work indicate his knowledge not only

FIGURE 114
James Ensor, *The Drunkards (Les Pochards)*, 1883. Oil on canvas, 45¼ × 65 in. (115 × 165 cm). Collection Belfius Bank, Belgium.

of Courbet's palette-knife technique but also of the iconography of Realism in its various stages and manifestations.[41]

A crucial source for Ensor's knowledge of Realism and French art can be found in a sketchbook now conserved in the Koninklijk Museum voor Schone Kunsten in Antwerp.[42] The book is filled with the artist's copies of engraved reproductions from illustrated journals and books of the late 1870s and early 1880s such as the *Gazette des beaux-arts*, *L'Art*, *L'Illustration belge*, and François-Guillaume Dumas's *livrets* for the French and Belgian Salons.[43] The artist certainly did not limit his interests, but the majority of images were French and Belgian. Among others, Ensor copied reproductions of works by Bastien-Lepage, Courbet, Pascal-Adolphe-Jean Dagnan-Bouveret, Manet, and Jean-François Millet; he was particularly fascinated by the reproductions of Honoré Daumier that accompanied Edmond Duranty's 1878 article on the artist.[44] In April 1881 *La Vie moderne* reproduced Raffaëlli's *Man Having Just Painted His Fence* (see fig. 104), and the quick copy Ensor drew in response emblematizes the artist's awareness of later Realism in France (fig. 115).[45] On the whole, Ensor clearly recognized certain dominant trends in recent art, ones that responded directly to the nature and legacy of midcentury Realism and its more recent variations in France. More than anything, the Antwerp sketchbook indicates how seriously Ensor took the diverse imagery of modern art. Ultimately, however, these copies were iconographic and compositional not stylistic, based as they were on engravings after the paintings; the technique of modern painting he learned from Vogels and possibly firsthand from Courbet's painting. Although critics understood it

incorrectly as an importation of Impressionism, Ensor's painting emerged out of an internal and parallel development within the Belgian avant-garde, one that sought to combine Realist motifs with a painterly technique derived from Courbet's use of the palette knife. For its practitioners, Tachisme was an internally consistent style elaborated out of Realism, but for many critics, its turn to quasi-Impressionist techniques failed to cohere.

Among the numerous Belgian critics viewing Ensor's paintings in the early 1880s, Lemonnier was one of the few who understood the full complexity of the Belgian situation and its historical relation to France. But despite what he called Ensor's extraordinary "acuity of vision," he too joined in the befuddled reaction to the artist's attempt to synthesize Realist motifs with a technique sensitive to the play of atmospheric effects: "The full prism breaks down in each of his canvases and they offer the appearance of a kaleidoscope in their clouded and eddying impressions. The effort becomes tormented and obsessive: by dint of aiming for the natural, the artist falls into the artificial; and his canvases, rather than concentrating light, refract it in a diffusion of showers and sparks."[46] Among other things, these flashing "sparks" and "eddying impressions" denied the sustained observation and the careful rendering of the subject matter necessary for great art.

In 1878 Lemonnier had applied the same logic in his famous critique of Manet and his followers. In comparison to the other Impressionists, Edgar Degas stood apart for his "photographic" indication of gestures that "give the air of continuing an internal thought" or that offer "the beginning of an action not sign-posted but seen silently dawning."[47] Degas showed the permanent among the transitory. Manet, however, concerned himself with the "patch left in the air by the silhouette in action," something made possible by the "extreme sensitivity of the eye which allows him to seize the rapid passages from one tone to another."[48] For Lemonnier, Manet and Ensor alike produced bright flashes of brilliance, but

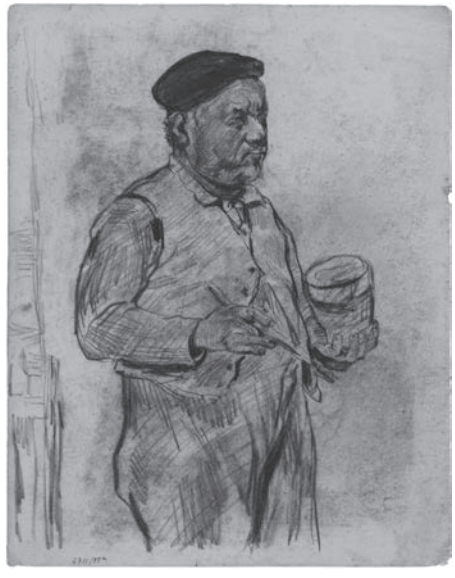

FIGURE 115
James Ensor, after Jean-François Raffaëlli, *Man Having Just Painted His Fence*, c. 1881. Conté on paper, 8⅝ × 6¾ in. (22 × 17 cm). Koninklijk Museum voor Schone Kunsten, Antwerp.

ultimately failed to produce anything solid and enduring, anything that synthesized and united the ever-dissolving array of momentary and contingent perceptions of modern life.

In formal terms, then, the widespread critical hostility to Ensor's painterly style derived from the perceived disjunction between the motif and the speed of its rendering. Only an earthquake or an unhinged obsession could explain the frenzied painterly technique applied to the representation of the tranquil space of the drawing room. Failing to place *Chez Miss*, *Afternoon in Ostend*, and *A Bourgeois Salon* within the ongoing history of Belgian Tachisme and its origins in midcentury Realism, most critics simply subsumed Ensor's work to Impressionism and to the aesthetics of instantaneity.

MUSICAL TIME

Ensor's interest in a more complex pictorial temporality comes through most clearly in his choice to paint the performance and reception of music. The scene represented in *Chez Miss* would have been familiar to the artist. Both he and his sister were adept pianists, and the painter later wrote the score for a ballet entitled *La Gamme d'amour*, produced publicly in 1920. He regularly attended musical events within his social circle, and in the 1880s Les XX promoted various concerts in conjunction with their exhibitions. None of these facts is especially surprising given the historical and cultural context. Virtually every bourgeois family in Europe owned a piano, and the instrument's centrality to domestic life had even, according to one midcentury source, "extinguished conversation and the love of books."[49]

Paintings of piano recitals likewise were nothing new. In the nineteenth century, the image of the "woman at the piano" in French culture was "so pervasive that it became cliché."[50] In the 1830s it appeared in numerous prints, and by the 1860s it entered avant-garde painting: Manet, Degas, and Paul Cézanne all produced variations on the subject.[51] At the second Impressionist exhibit in 1876, both Gustave Caillebotte and Pierre-Auguste Renoir showed pictures of a piano recital. Although the former's painting depicts the artist's brother Martial, a composer of note, such was the trope of the woman at the piano that the critic Philippe Burty referred to him as "her."[52] Five years later, Ensor was hardly the only one still interested in the subject. That same year, Paul Gauguin painted a picture of a man listening to a woman playing piano in the artist's studio. Shown at the 1882 Impressionist exhibition—it appeared at exactly the same time that *Chez Miss* hung at the Salon—under the deceptive title *Flowers, Still Life*, Gauguin's painting was, like Ensor's, largely ignored that year (fig. 116). Khnopff's *Listening to Schumann* debuted the next year at the same Salon in Ghent where *Chez Miss* made its third public appearance. Ensor's emphatic comparison with Khnopff's painting and his retitling of his own work to *Russian Music* in 1886 only stressed the painting's belonging to this wider visual culture of the representation of music.

Music is, as T. J. Clark puts it, "the art that feeds most deeply on a culture's imagining of temporality—its sense of sequence and repetition, or of discontinuity and inauguration."[53] Pictorial representations of music in the late nineteenth century typically offer

a correspondingly complex array of conceptions and phenomenological instantiations of temporality. A painting as intensely committed to realistic effect as Thomas Eakins's 1881 *Singing a Pathetic Song*, for instance, can be understood to offer a precise moment, even the exact note in the unfolding of a recital (fig. 117).[54] Pictures of performers bracketed or isolated from their audience consistently function within this temporal frame. The 1876 pictures by Caillebotte and Renoir, for instance, suggest no disjunction between the motif and the perception that the work of art can be taken in all at once. That both artists later returned to the motif with much looser brushwork should come as no surprise.

When other painters sought to include audiences along with the performers, the pictorial temporality tended to shift and became more difficult to represent, at least within the norms established by the artistic developments of the 1860s. Degas's *Monsieur and Madame Manet*, a depiction of Manet listening to his wife Suzanne playing the piano, presents a telling case (fig. 118). Manet famously defaced the whole right side of the canvas, removing Suzanne's face and hands as well as the piano from the canvas. Apparently unhappy with the portrayal of his wife, Manet might have also intuited the tension between the instantaneousness of the performer's playing of the piano keys and the listener's (his own) extended absorption in the music. As André Dombrowski rightly notes, the mutilated version of the Degas painting brackets "all allusion to the production of the music that absorbs Manet so profoundly."[55] Or to put it somewhat differently, such a representation would have demanded a recognition of the doubleness of musical performance and attentive listening. It is as if Manet thought Degas better suited to represent the durational act of listening than the instant of performance. The husband would reserve

FIGURE 116
Paul Gauguin, *Flowers, Still Life (Fleurs, nature morte)*, 1881. Oil on canvas, 51⅛ × 63¾ in. (130 × 162 cm). National Gallery, Oslo.

FIGURE 117
Thomas Eakins, *Singing a Pathetic Song*, 1881. Oil on canvas, 45 × 32¼ in. (114.3 × 82.6 cm). Corcoran Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C.

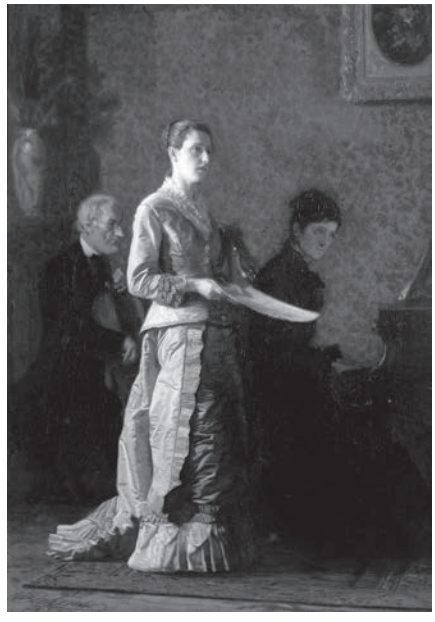

FIGURE 118
Edgar Degas, *Monsieur and Madame Manet (M. et Mme Édouard Manet)*, 1868–69. Oil on canvas, 25⅝ × 28 in. (65 × 71 cm). Kitakyushi Municipal Museum of Art, Fukuoka Prefecture, Japan.

FIGURE 119
Édouard Manet, *Madame Manet at the Piano (Madame Manet au piano)*, 1868. Oil on canvas, 15 × 18¼ in. (38 × 46.5 cm). Musée d'Orsay, Paris.

for himself that moment in his own 1868 portrait of Suzanne playing piano (fig. 119). His solution to the problem of the relation of the temporally extended absorption in the music and the striking of the keys at any given moment within the performance is to depict the performer as absorbed in her own performance—her eyes gaze blankly ahead not down at the sheet music in front of her. Even as such, Manet's attempt to frame his representation of the woman at the piano as a harmonious instant of playing and perception comes up short within the temporal complexities of performance, reception, and their analogy in the beholding in time of the painting.

Only in the 1880s did painters turn decisively from the performance of music to the experience of music. Audiences in particular offered a model for a continuously unfolding, durational scene of representation in tension with the unfolding moments of the performance. For some, Khnopff most notably, the focus shifted wholly toward the auditor: only the pianist's hand is visible in *Listening to Schumann*. Consequently the priority is given over almost completely to the immersed, absorbed, and durational experience of the woman listening to the music. Anne Leonard has convincingly argued that nineteenth-century representations of music such as this "offered a temporal framework in which the beholder's experience could unfold; beyond that, the 'new' (that is, attentive) listening being portrayed could serve as a model for beholders."[56] Although Leonard rightly suggests that Ensor's painting, among others, gives a new priority to the listener, the ambition to represent a temporally unfolding framework for beholding fits within a long tradition of Realist painting.

If for no other reason than this, *Chez Miss* belongs to the Realist tradition. In 1884 Ensor tacitly acknowledged such an understanding in a letter to his friend and fellow Tachiste painter Dario de Regoyos, in which he described a visit to the art museum in

Lille: "Courbet left me astounded. His *After Dinner at Ornans* is a masterpiece. Without exaggeration, it equals Rembrandt."[57] This encounter with Courbet's painting seems to have functioned as the recognition of a previously concealed or unconscious artistic origin (see fig. 3). That de Regoyos was a talented musician in his own right—Ensor painted him playing his guitar in 1884—suggests that the musical content of the painting would not need to be mentioned, but would be understood implicitly. Courbet's painting might, then, have functioned as an analogue for Ensor's own interiors—like *Chez Miss* it represents a musical recital taking place within the artist's home.[58] Even the original title of the Belgian painter's *Afternoon in Ostend* functions as an homage to the older Realist—it was first shown as *Une après-dinée à Ostende* or *After Dinner at Ostend*. The fact that he later changed the title to *Afternoon in Ostend* (*L'Après-midi à Ostende*) suggests an evasion of this parallel, as if the original title too obviously suggested this relationship. Most importantly, what Ensor may have recognized when viewing Courbet's painting in Lille was the shared sense of pictorial temporality.

Consistent with his generational turn, Ensor gives priority to the durational effects of the man listening to the music in *Chez Miss*. And although he retains a certain concern with the interchange between the performance of a musical piece and the reception or beholding of that piece, the turned back of the female pianist effectively makes the represented scene one more wholly given to effects of duration than the instantaneousness of other later Realist painters such as Eakins or Caillebotte. Nonetheless, the facture of *Chez Miss* and Ensor's other interiors prioritizes an instantaneousness of perception that all critics in the early 1880s implicitly emphasized in their comparisons of his work with Impressionism. As is clear, what could not be reconciled in the critical understanding of Ensor's work was the picture's inconsistent temporality. It was as if the motif endured as the painter's perception of it passed in an instant.

THE DOUBLE STRUCTURE

Ensor's interiors offered two opposing pictorial temporalities built on the tension between the motif and its rendering. This doubleness saturated his early productions, but the contradiction between these two modes of seeing and representing became, as a result of the musical theme, especially vivid in *Chez Miss*. Whereas *A Bourgeois Salon* or *Afternoon in Ostend* structured their aesthetic effects around the play of surface and depth, momentary perception and enduring subject matter, *Chez Miss* brought these same effects to bear on the complex musical interplay of the moment of performance—a single note played at a given instant—and the auditor's extended experience of the musical piece. The representation of music functioned, then, as a structural analogy for the pervasive doubleness of Ensor's painting in the early 1880s.

No painting illustrates this concern better than *The Colorist* (fig. 120). Likely completed in the attic studio in 1880 just before he began painting the bourgeois interiors and

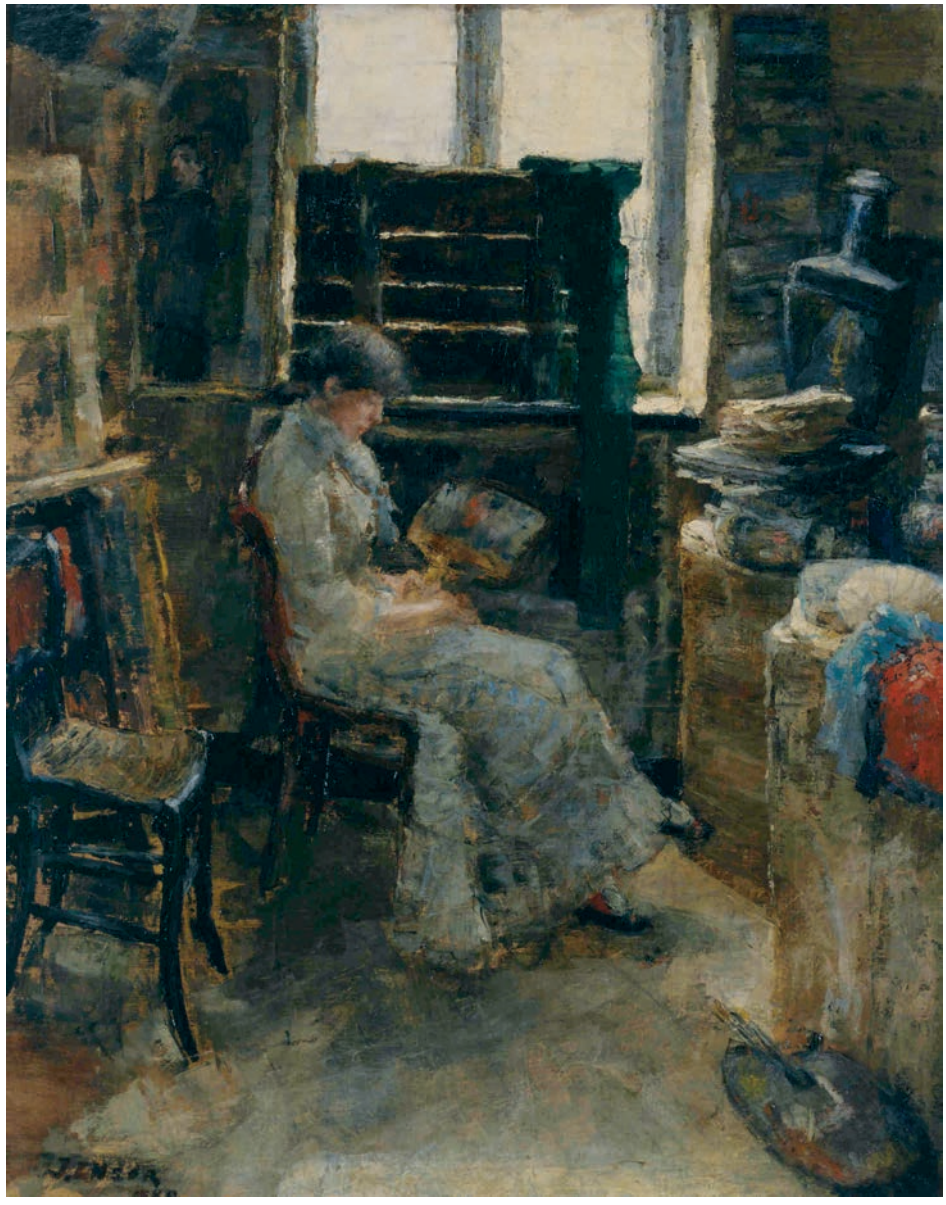

FIGURE 120
James Ensor, *The Colorist (Seule)*, 1880. Oil on canvas, 40⅛ × 32¼ in. (102 × 82 cm). Royal Museums of Fine Arts of Belgium, Brussels.

exhibited widely—it hung alongside *Chez Miss* at the Paris Salon of 1882—the painting clearly held deep meanings for the artist. Later in life he claimed it as his favorite.[59] At the center of the canvas, Mitche sits in front of a window, holding in her hand a Chinese fan. She is lost in her own thoughts, daydreaming, looking down at the floor, in other words absorbed, if only in the distracted moments of posing for her brother. In the upper-left corner, next to the window, appears an image of the artist himself. It seems at first to be a painting, but an examination of the existing self-portraits done before 1881 offers no exact match. More likely, then, the detail shows a mirror reflecting the artist at work on the

painting—the right-handed painter is shown mirror-reversed, glancing at the scene to his side. Whether painting or mirror, the presentation of the self-portrait of the artist gazing out at the beholder produces a double structure within the painting: it suggests both an internally self-contained and continuous subject and an all-but-instantaneous, spectator-oriented address. The shifting title of the piece evidences Ensor's awareness of this. *Seule*, its title at the Paris Salon in 1882 and at Les XX in 1884, implies that no one beholds the subject: Mitche sits alone. *The Colorist*, however, the title Ensor employed from 1887 on, places the emphasis on the artist's paint handling, his presence as the manufacturer of the surface of the canvas. In more or less subtle ways, this double structure carries through the best of Ensor's early work: Mitche's gaze directed out at the spectator coupled with her mother's self-containment in *Afternoon in Ostend*; the head of the dog staring out amid the various images of Finch absorbed in drawing; or, the outward facing visages on the bed-posts that guard over Mitche's exhausted repose in *The Lady in Distress*.[60]

Although seemingly unintelligible to critics in Belgium in the early 1880s, a similar double structure had, in fact, preoccupied numerous French artists and critics in the early 1860s. Some of the most ambitious paintings produced by Alphonse Legros, Henri Fantin-Latour, and James Whistler circle around a similar tension between the depiction of characters engaged in continuous activity and the immediate registration of the painting facing directly out at the beholder. As Michael Fried puts it, they offer "a double or divided structure of *denial of* and *direct address to* the beholder."[61] As evidenced by the Antwerp sketchbook, Ensor's early paintings emerged from a dialogue not only with Courbet's Realism but also with these emerging Modernist conventions in France. Several key works from this tradition were in Belgian collections or shown to wide acclaim in the years just before Ensor's key early paintings were begun. Perhaps most notably, Fantin-Latour's *Drawing Lesson* of 1879, a double portrait of his students Louise Riesener and Emma Callimachi-Catargi, was exhibited in Antwerp the same year the artist completed it (fig. 121). The canvas won a medal there and was widely commented on in the press. Reproduced in a number of contemporary journals, including the *Gazette des beaux-arts*, it was later purchased by the Belgian state in 1899.[62]

For astute viewers of his time, Fantin-Latour's paintings of women called to mind the long-standing tradition of representing characters engaged in repetitive and continuous activities. Working within this framework of understanding, critics enthusiastically pointed out the naturalness of the figures in *The Drawing Lesson*. Huysmans, for example, insisted on the work's antitheatricality: "They are not posing for portraits; they are simply drawing in their own setting, without concerning themselves with the spectator."[63] For Castagnary, Fantin-Latour's other depictions of women reading or drawing in the space of the interior were especially compelling.[64] In *The Drawing Lesson*, however, the tension between the seated figure rapt in her drawing of the plaster cast and the standing one who "draws after a model we don't see"—effectively looking away from, if not out of, the represented scene—troubled the critic.[65] This doubling of inwardness and outwardness,

FIGURE 121
Henri Fantin-Latour, *The Drawing Lesson (La Leçon de dessin)*, 1879. Oil on canvas, 57 × 67 in. (145 × 170 cm). Royal Museums of Fine Arts of Belgium, Brussels.

of absorption and awareness of looking, seems built into the placement of the plaster bust from Michelangelo's *Slave* with his head turned directly out at the beholder, his eyes closed, lost in sleep, pain, or imminent death. *The Drawing Lesson* thus suggests a wholly contained world of figures absorbed in their activities, and, at the same time, it seems to address the viewer directly.

As Fried has proposed, the double or divided structure in this generation of painters had everything to do with the unfolding of the logic of the antitheatrical tradition. In the 1860s critics began to appreciate how certain artists like Millet, in their almost excessive concern with absorptive motifs, produced not naturalness but rather an artistically satisfying and "striking" intensity, which approached theatricality.[66] The double structure sprang from an intuitive attempt to obtain and acknowledge a striking effect in and out of the existing absorptive motifs of the French tradition, without falling into mere theatricality. It was also a means of responding to the widespread concern in French-language art criticism, especially surrounding Realism, in the 1850s and after, that the painting of an absorptive motif consistently failed to produce a *tableau* (or picture) out of the *morceaux* (fragments) of everyday life. If, however, the overall picture surface could be made to strike the viewer instantaneously the way that a portrait did, the unity of the picture could be attained

regardless of the fragmentary nature of the scene depicted. In the 1860s the division between the persistence of absorbed characters and the picture surface addressing the viewer gave way, ultimately, to Manet's overarching concern with the flat surface and its striking and instantaneous effect on the beholder. As a consequence, Impressionist painters of the 1870s generally abandoned absorptive motifs in favor of a picture surface unified around the flattening effects of color and facture.

Because of the persistent presence of Realism as a model for the full spectrum of avant-garde artists and critics around 1880, this definitive shift in artistic sensibilities had not yet occurred in Belgium. Indeed, evidence suggests that the critical dynamic operative in France in the 1860s still informed the Belgian context.[67] The archive likewise confirms that the distinction between morceau and tableau was also still widespread in Belgian art criticism in the 1870s and 1880s. Famously, Lemonnier chastised Manet and the Impressionists in 1878 for their failure to make fully realized pictures. "None of them appears to possess the sense of the picture [*tableau*]," he wrote. "They make fragments [*fragments*]; . . . they confine themselves to certain corners of humanity."[68] Three years later, he repeated the line about Realism: "Courbet advocated the painted fragment [*morceau de la peinture*] to the exclusion of the idea and the conception of the picture [*tableau*]."[69] At the same moment, an anonymous critic in *L'Art moderne* applied the critique to contemporary Belgian art.[70] Verhaeren too seems to have adopted this critical line. In the review of the Salon of 1882, his account of Manet's *Bar at the Folies-Bergère* used terms derived almost directly from the older Belgian's writing. "Manet never knew how to make a great rallying work," he wrote; "a whole, a painting [*tableau*] that demanded to be seen. He left it at the level of the fragment [*morceau*], of a corner of modern life."[71]

Verhaeren's encounter with Manet's *Chez le Père Lathuille* at the Ghent Salon of 1880 informed much of his early criticism, notably his treatment of Ensor, but it must have been especially remarkable for him to see Manet and Ensor together in 1882.[72] In a sense, he saw them with the same eyes. Only a month before the Salon, he placed the two painters on the same page, implicitly drawing together their successes and their failures: "Ensor continues to give us canvasses full of a preoccupation with Manet, which demonstrate excellent qualities of touch and brush."[73] When he turned again from Manet to Ensor at the Salon of 1882, he concluded that the Belgian painter is "an excellent painter of accessories," but his "characters . . . don't make much of an impression." The vividly rendered brushwork, the morceaux, as it were, brought forth neither a narrative and compositional whole, nor a tableau, nor a rich account of interiority. Verhaeren's first account of *Chez Miss* thus relies on a well-established reading of modern art—one that emphasized, for better or for worse, the fragmentary rendering of fleeting, impressionistic details of modern life.

Yet Verhaeren's second reading of *Chez Miss* at the Ghent Salon in 1883 unveils a scene of absorption: a woman, with back turned to the spectator, playing her piano; a man listening to the music, body facing outward, head turned to the side. The two characters are both absorbed in the music, although, it could be said, in very different ways: she

absorbed in the performance of the piece, he on the effect of that piece. As with absorptive motifs generally speaking, the effect on a viewer such as Verhaeren becomes one of vividness, of naturalness, of reality itself. Just the year before, the poet in fact had singled out Ensor's portrait of his father, precisely for the reality effects of such absorption: "This man seated in his chair, next to the chimney, near the window from which falls a bleached daylight, is alive. He reads with attention, we see him thinking, his face is expressive" (see fig. 112).[74] The motif and the critic's response alike are torn straight from the playbook of earlier realist paintings from Chardin to Fantin-Latour.

A further indication of Verhaeren's awareness of the rhetoric of absorption can be found in his use of the word "intimacy" to praise *Chez Miss* in 1883: "Excellent daylight, intimacy, life, loose execution, indicating a confidence and a boldness of a master." This word also appears in more discerning critical accounts of Ensor and his fellow artists at the exhibitions of Les XX. 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."[75] 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*."[76] 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.[77] That Dutry uses both terms confirms that the critical vocabulary had migrated to Belgium, and Ensor's productions only typified these wider preoccupations.

What Verhaeren's two accounts of the painting suggest, then, is his flickering and emerging awareness of Ensor's own use of a double structure, one analogous to the most advanced art of the 1860s. In its own belated way, the painting of 1881 evidences an attempt to comprehend and transcend the legacy of French painting, implementing structures and principles that had already been resolved by the Impressionists, but were still at play in Belgium. The strange twist on the celebration of the painting's reality effect comes with Verhaeren's insistence that we "enter like actors"—theatrically, so to speak—into the painting. He surely means to say that the scene draws us in, placing us inside it—we are the figures—but his language implies the staging of the scene and its consequent dissolution as a perceived (or fantasized) reality, returning us to the level of the morceau and to the flat surface of the canvas.

Like Manet, Ensor ultimately sought to resolve the tension permeating his early work. In 1883 he produced a variation on his early interiors, *Scandalized Masks*, originally exhibited as *Les Masques* (fig. 122). At a table, under a hanging lamp, a man sits in front of a glass and half-empty wine bottle, his face covered in a mask. A woman enters the room, her face similarly shrouded. Within the more naturalistic iconography of his earlier works,

FIGURE 122
James Ensor, *Scandalized Masks (Les Masques)*, 1883. Oil on canvas, 53⅛ × 44 in. (135 × 112 cm). Royal Museums of Fine Arts of Belgium, Brussels.

the scene might be viewed as a domestic narrative of alcoholism, much like *The Drunkards* of the same year, 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.

Ensor's belated unfolding of the logic of this pictorial doubleness is not an isolated case. In certain works of Eakins, for instance, Fried has remarked upon a significant

variation on the double structure of the 1860s. In *Singing a Pathetic Song*, for example, he identifies "a tension or competition between two fundamentally different modes of seeing: one that looks to 'enter' the representational field and to identify its interests with those of the protagonist, inevitably losing sight of the whole in the process of doing so . . . and another that remains emphatically outside the representation, viewing the painting with something like disinterest but also with special concern for 'formal' values of a certain sort."[78] Verhaeren's account of Ensor's *Chez Miss* hews closely to this reading. Indeed, it seems fair to say that Eakins and Ensor share—at exactly the same historical juncture, and within the margins of the French tradition—a distinctive emphasis on "the acuteness of the tension, amounting often to outright disjunction, between a representational field that has been articulated expressively to the limit of visibility . . . and a region of the picture, say the picture surface and the foreground taken together."[79]

Crucially, Ensor's double structure, his manifest tension between modes of seeing, demands to be understood in relation to the parallel pictorial temporalities that the two modes produce. Verhaeren's initial yoking of Ensor to Manet's pictorial aesthetics of facture and surface in 1882 insists on a point-by-point correlation between the instantaneousness of viewing and of painting. His second account of *Chez Miss* brings out the underlying aesthetics of "intimacy" and the "suggestion that the effect in question takes place over time."[80] The duration of the motif in time becomes the proper cognate for experience of the painting, or, as Fried puts it, "an absorptive thematics calls for effects of temporal dilation that in turn serve the ends of pictorial realism by encouraging the viewer to explore the represented scene in an unhurried manner."[81] Ensor's painting thus combines a durational temporality of the subject matter with a seemingly instantaneous record of the artist's sensation of light within the interior. Why this doubleness seemed appropriate for the representation of the interior in 1881 and why its original audience failed to recognize it as such can be explained only by turning, finally, to the painting's attempt to figure the complex significance of the nineteenth-century interior.

A BOURGEOIS INTERIOR IN 1881

In the 1870s and early 1880s, the interior constituted one of the key subjects preoccupying artists still engaged with the Realist tradition. Paintings that depict piano playing proliferated during this period, but they offer only one of the most obvious scenes of absorption within the space of the interior. In his 1876 pamphlet, "The New Painting," Edmond Duranty singled out the interior as one of the most important subjects available to the modern painter. He sought the ways the interior might express the modern individual: just as a "back should reveal the temperament, age, and social position," the "language of the empty apartment must be clear enough to enable us to deduce the character and habits of its occupants."[82] Degas's work was likely on Duranty's mind when he wrote this, but his language was prescriptive as well as descriptive.

FIGURE 123
Gustave Caillebotte, *Interior, Woman at the Window (Intérieur, femme à la fenêtre)*, 1880. Oil on canvas, 45⅝ × 35 in. (116 × 89 cm). Private collection.

At the fifth Impressionist exhibit in 1880, Caillebotte showed a work then entitled simply *Interior* (*Intérieur)*, but now known as *Interior, Woman at the Window* (fig. 123). As if painted for Duranty himself, the canvas depicts the back of a woman in a dark, full-length dress, hair done up, gazing out the window from a securely bourgeois Parisian apartment, while a man, presumably her husband, sits in a chair to her right reading a newspaper. For a critic like Huysmans, who was close to Duranty in 1880, the work offered a triumph of the

genre. Despite its "ordinary" subject, he found it "a simple masterpiece": "What is truly magnificent is the sincerity, the life of this scene! The woman, who restlessly gazes into the street, pulsates, moves; we see her loins stirring beneath the marvelous dark blue velvet covering them; we'll practically touch her, she'll yawn, turn around, exchange pointless remarks with her husband, who is only just distracted by the news item he's reading. That supreme quality of art, life, emanates from this canvas with a truly unbelievable intensity."[83] Huysmans insists that one can almost hear the carriages and the "brouhaha" of passersby below somewhere near the rue Lafayette and the boulevard Haussmann; a "scent of a household in the position of easy money escapes from this interior." The picture shows "a corner of contemporary life, fixed as it is."[84] The boredom, longing, and social alienation of the business and finance sector of the bourgeoisie: these constitute the realities of such a life. The critic clearly intuits the effects of pictorial absorption here, but he also pinpoints a certain iconographic content to the canvas. For Huysmans, the painting offers a subtle but undeniable critique of bourgeois life, one that speaks a truth that previous painters had all but denied.[85]

Among other things, the painting satirized the boredom of the bourgeoisie, a condition intricately tied to the perception of the space of the interior. To fill out the empty time of the interior as effectively as the empty space of the interior was filled with "accessories" had become a challenge for the privileged classes in the nineteenth century. The condition of bourgeois life within the space of the interior, then, formed a dialectical counterpoint to the increasingly disciplined and regimented working-class time represented in paintings like Roll's *Strike of the Miners* and a class-inverted reflection of the idleness of Raffaëlli's *Absinthe Drinkers*. As Alain Corbin puts it, "to fill the time of the working classes was to conquer the risk of plebeian animality and prevent its resurgence; for the leisured classes, on the other hand, to fill time was to ward off melancholy, boredom and spleen."[86] In the 1880s painting the interior became a means to record this bourgeois tedium and to contrast it implicitly with the disciplined work-time of the proletariat: to show bourgeois "decadence" as well as the "sordid" conditions of the working class.[87]

Critical artistic representations of the interior almost certainly emerged in response to the predominance of the subject in European culture. Over the course of the nineteenth century, an enthusiasm for images of the bourgeois home emerged throughout the Western world. The late 1870s was a particularly rich period for interiors made by popular, if now forgotten, genre painters throughout Europe.[88] In the 1880s the interior also came to prominence in the novel. Émile Zola's *Pot-Bouille*, filled as it is with piano recitals and bourgeois immorality, stood out among the various new cultural productions focusing on the spaces of the bourgeois interior.[89] Other books of note include Edmond de Goncourt's *Maison de l'artiste* of 1881 and, a few years later, *À rebours*. That Huysmans's vision of the interior as a representation of alienation and aestheticism emerged in dialogue with painting has not, perhaps, been emphasized enough.

In France, the widespread interest in the interior among writers and artists arose largely in response to the effects of Haussmannization—the widespread urban

transformation of Paris—on the social significance of this space. In addition to the rebuilding of the boulevards, buildings, parks, and infrastructure of the city, which have dominated historical accounts of Second Empire Paris, Sharon Marcus has convincingly shown that a "new emphasis on the interior became widespread during the period from the 1850s to 1880."[90] This emphasis wrought cultural shifts akin to those of the emergence of the spectacular spaces of the *flâneur*. "The new configuration of the interior," she writes, "as a hermetic, concealed, and strictly demarcated place, and the valorization of the involuted domesticity that accompanied that innovation, involved changes in both architectural practices and cultural values. Taken together, those changes produced what I call the interiorization of Paris, the creation of enclosed, private spaces through both physical and discursive means."[91] Cultural anxieties about the gendering of these spaces no doubt fueled artistic responses to this "interiorization," and painters sought ways to make the interior available to masculine vision much quicker than has generally been assumed.[92] More simply, the radical rebuilding of the city, with its restructuring of the class makeup of apartment buildings, meant that a new kind of interior, with new significance for art, increasingly made its way into the realm of social consciousness.[93]

This new interior was distinctly bourgeois. The artistic focus on the drawing room, for instance, marked a social hierarchy. Only middle-class houses even had drawing rooms or salons; their absence signaled working-class space.[94] The class character of the late-nineteenth-century interior has subsequently emerged at the conceptual heart of theoretical reflection on space in modern culture. Most notably, for Theodor Adorno and Walter Benjamin, the bourgeois obsession with the interior was key to any critical analysis of the nineteenth century. Adorno saw the interior as central to his understanding of Kierkegaard's philosophy, with its prioritization of the inwardness or "interiority" of the individual subject.[95] Benjamin famously isolated the interior as an emblem of the dream-world of the bourgeoisie, but as such it was a historically limited phenomenon, emerging in tandem with the shopping arcades in the 1820s and fading after the innovations of Art Nouveau in the 1890s.[96] Of course, not everyone agrees with this periodization. For instance, Clark sees the interior, or what he terms more broadly "room space," as a given in the art of Pablo Picasso well into the twentieth century; but even he emphasizes the backward-looking, fundamentally nineteenth-century character of this space.[97]

Before 1800 the word "intérieur" in French referred primarily to subjectivity or the interior of the self, and it emerged to describe the space of the home only in the early nineteenth century.[98] The 1835 *Dictionnaire de l'Académie française* defined "intérieur" for the first time as a "genre painting whose principal purpose is the representation of the architecture and light effects of the interior of houses, of buildings."[99] The definition expanded to include scenes of "domestic life," effectively assimilating what had been a largely architectural concern into the wider tradition of genre painting as such. In 1850 Courbet's *After Dinner at Ornans* could be dismissed because it "belongs to the class of genre paintings. It is quite simply an *interior*."[100] In the 1870s, Pierre Larousse's *Grand Dictionnaire* stressed

the emphasis placed on the details of setting and the quasi-archaeological attention to "accessories." The entry outlines a history of interior painting from the Flemish primitives to the French moderns, stressing the wide range of possible interior settings: interior of a studio, interior of a forge, interior of a church, interior of a kitchen, interior of a convent; Turkish, Moroccan, and Algerian interiors; Breton, Alsatian, Parisian interiors; and so on. The past masters in the genre were the Flemish and Dutch painters of the seventeenth century: Metsu, Ter Borch, and Vermeer stood among the great painters of the bourgeois interior.[101] The image of the interior in Dutch genre painting can thus be understood to have initiated, indeed to have invented, the "bourgeois domestic ideal," but even by the early nineteenth century this ideal was infused with a sense of nostalgia for a security, comfort, and stability that seemed to have been lost.[102] More importantly, the retrospective outline of such a pictorial tradition could have been elaborated only on the other side of the social formation of a meaningful space called the "bourgeois interior," a term that simply did not exist in French prior to the nineteenth century.[103]

In the bourgeois era, Benjamin and others have seen the interior as a space of refuge from the world of the commodity, something made possible by the division between the space of labor and the home: "The place of dwelling is for the first time opposed to the place of work. The former constitutes itself as the interior. Its complement is the office. The private individual, who in the office has to deal with reality, needs the domestic interior to sustain him in his illusions. This necessity is all the more pressing since he has no intention of allowing his commercial considerations to impinge on social ones. In the formation of his private environment, both are kept out. From this arises the phantasmagorias of the interior—which, for the private man, represents the universe. In the interior, he brings together the far away and the long ago. His living room is a box in the theater of the world."[104] Bourgeois culture thus attempts to maintain some kind of historical experience within the space of the interior. For Benjamin, the "trace" of the private individual evidenced the new bourgeois practice of dwelling, and all sorts of new objects proliferated to serve this containing function: "What didn't the nineteenth-century invent some kind of casing for!"[105] The walls of the interior itself form the grandest of these casings. Yet, the attempt to maintain some "long experience" connecting the self to history through the dizzying piling up of things within the home—what Verhaeren calls "accessories"—could not, ultimately, undo the triumph of capitalist modernity. In the end, the interior functioned in dialectical relation to the new temporalities of modernity: it endures within history only to the extent that it resists the disciplined time and enforced rapidity of the capitalist economy.

This was Ensor's world. He was born and raised within the bourgeois interior and had no special need to study what was a stake in its representation. Yet, he was an artist keenly attuned to the limits and possibilities of artistic meaning within public and counterpublic discourses. In other words, he clearly imagined an audience for his interior paintings, and as such he must have had some understanding of the wider social resonance of the motif and its artistic representation. Although his awareness of the wider pictorial

iconography of the interior seems to have been limited, there is one copy in the Antwerp sketchbook that instantiates and emblematizes the painter's knowledge of the recent history and wider meaning of interior painting.

Just before Ensor returned home from the Royal Academy in 1880, Alfred Stevens's *A Passionate Song* was shown at the *Exposition historique de l'art belge* in Brussels (fig. 124). At this large retrospective celebrating the first fifty years of Belgian independence, a number of works by Stevens could be seen alongside a swathe of contemporary Belgian painters—Jan Boks, Constant Cap, Jan Verhas—specializing in interiors. Ensor likely saw Stevens's painting in person, but Dumas's catalogue of the exhibition also contained a reproduction, which the younger artist copied (fig. 125).[106] Stevens was, in any case, very well known. The most successful of any living Belgian painter in 1880, he had moved to Paris early in his career and specialized in the new "genre of intimate scenes of women in modern settings," almost invariably a bourgeois interior.[107] Extremely popular in Belgium, his paintings could be found in the collection of the Royal Museums as early as 1866.[108] Simply put, Stevens was the preeminent painter of the interior in Europe, and any young Belgian painter interested in the same subject in 1880 would necessarily have to contend with him.

For Ensor and the avant-garde, however, Stevens embodied all that was wrong with Belgian art. "His paintings are banal, his coloring jam-like," the painter declared. "They

FIGURE 124
Alfred Stevens, *A Passionate Song (Un Chant passionné)*, c. 1875. Oil on canvas, 39¾ × 23⅝ in. (101 × 60 cm). Château de Compiègne, France.

FIGURE 125
James Ensor, after Alfred Stevens, *A Passionate Song*, c. 1880. Conté on paper, 8⅝ × 6¾ in. (22 × 17 cm). Koninklijk Museum voor Schone Kunsten, Antwerp.

FIGURE 126
Gustave de Jonghe, *A Melody by Schubert (Une mélodie de Schubert)*, c. 1880. Oil on canvas, 20 × 25½ in. (53.3 × 64.8 cm). Private collection.

inspire no elevated sentiments, no great set purpose. They reveal a licentious mediocrity ready for all concessions: half-qualities, stylishness, trickery, low-level cunning."[109] The older painter was a kind of "Courbetized Watteau."[110] Predictably, his success had spawned a mini-school of Franco-Belgian painters of the bourgeoisie.

Among other painters of bourgeois interiors, Gustave de Jonghe typically produced variations on the theme of the "woman at the piano." The staid and sentimental *A Melody by Schubert*, for instance, only confirms how radical the various avant-garde versions of the theme actually were around 1880 (fig. 126). Shown at the Paris Salon of 1879, de Jonghe's *Lullaby of Chopin* depicts a young woman playing piano while an older woman, presumably her mother, holds a child in her lap and listens. Ensor almost certainly saw these works in person or in reproduction. The 1879 painting was reproduced in Dumas's book on the Salon, which Ensor owned, and the picture bears remarkable similarities to *Chez Miss* (fig. 127). Although the present location of *The Lullaby of Chopin* is unknown, we have some idea of the reaction to the painting at the Salon of 1879. At least for critics sympathetic to advanced painting, in particular to a Realist tendency in modern art, the canvas seemed ludicrous: "A little girl, blond and draped in mauve, languorously massacres Chopin's *Lullaby* on a keyboard, to the satisfied stupefaction of a mother ornamented with another child and seated in a blue dress on an armchair of red velvet. The process is the same. The

Japanese décor is lifted up by a piece of the Medieval. All the knick-knacks, all the fabrics, are painstakingly copied. M. de Jonghe is a skillful painter of the still-life, but he is perfectly incapable of rendering real life. His modernism restricts itself to the reproduction of inanimate objects; his elegance does not go beyond a blue china flowerpot; the flower itself, which rises up in it, is artificial and stamped out of paper."[111] This is Huysmans, not surprisingly, and it is worth comparing his treatment of de Jonghe and Caillebotte. Where the one painter gushes with absurd sentimentality, the other diffuses the pretentions of the conventional "Realist" interior, emblematized by Stevens and his followers, in its satiric attack on bourgeois sociability. At bare minimum, Ensor and Caillebotte share this sense of the absurdity of existing representations of the bourgeois interior.

If Stevens and de Jonghe served as models for *Chez Miss*, then they functioned as negative models, ironic models. Perhaps "model" is simply too strong a word to describe Ensor's use of these precedents, for in his production of an original image of the interior he sought to evade the comparisons. This meant engaging with and also overturning the established visions of the interior. Ensor thus took up this previous kind of interior painting while simultaneously reinventing it and overcoming its sentimentality, asserting all its bourgeois qualities while attempting to reclaim it for a quasi-bohemian life and for avant-garde painting.

In the end, Ensor's interiors—*Chez Miss*, *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. For Ensor, as for Mary Cassatt at the same time—her *Tea* of 1880 offers an astonishing complement to the *Afternoon in*

FIGURE 127
After Gustave de Jonghe, *The Lullaby of Chopin (La Berceuse de Chopin)*, 1879. Illustration from F.-G. Dumas, *Salon de 1879: Catalogue illustré* (Paris: Baschet, 1879), 80.

FIGURE 128
Mary Cassatt, *The Tea (Le Thé)*, c. 1880. Oil on canvas, 25½ × 36¼ in. (64.8 × 92.1 cm). Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.

Ostend (fig. 128)—and later for Édouard Vuillard and Pierre Bonnard, this meant simultaneously engaging with and resisting the expanding colonization of the interior by the visual culture of modernity. It seems evident that Stevens and de Jonghe served to hasten the widening spectacularization of the interior, to make, as Clark describes the broader phenomenon, "an actual circulating, spectacular visualization of Woman and Home with which painters could grapple."[112] Ensor's own version of the interior then is certainly about an image of bourgeois sociability, but it does not simply celebrate this life; it illuminates conventions and alienations, failures of communication between individuals within these spaces, and ultimately the very nature of the bourgeois social world.

The painter dialectically reverses the immobility, lifelessness, and boredom of the bourgeois interior—the fundamentally antisocial, narcissistic, withdrawn nature of the space—by painting the subject as vividly as possible. The time of the interior is slow. It is the space of conventionalized social interaction and boredom, closely related, if negatively, to the structuring of time in capitalist society as a whole.[113] Yet when Ensor pursues the play of light within the interior, the style of the painting transforms and undoes the subject. Where the motif is decorous, sluggish, sleepy, the style is scintillating, sharp, fluid, and quick. The application of paint declares the artist's originality, a highly personal vision of a subject laden with convention, both in terms of the social world it depicts and the artistic theme to which it refers. Motifs of extended or repetitive actions—listening to music, eating, sewing, drinking, waiting, sleeping—saturate the interior paintings, but Ensor renders them in a manner that suggests a quickly passing perception of light. This was almost certainly his intended goal and his claim to originality in the works. Critics praised him for his unique atmospheric rendering of light, but this cut against the grain of the subject of his paintings, making them all but invisible to their original public. The interior had not offered itself an appropriate subject for such experimentation. For an artist as canny and talented as Ensor, even at the age of twenty, this contradiction in his pictorial practice

cannot have been accidental. In this collision of pictorial modes, he seems to be doing something quite deliberate to the very nature of the interior as a subject.

More than anything, Ensor seems intuitively to have recognized that Realism's temporal dimension—the sense of "a suspended duration" in the interiors—offered critical and aesthetic possibilities for metaphorizing not only this subject's place within a wider Franco-Belgian artistic practice, but also the very nature of the nineteenth-century bourgeois interior.[114] The dialectical process of engagement and negation in style and temporal structures produced a sense of simultaneous claustrophobia and delight; the interiors both trap and liberate their subjects. In this sense, perhaps, the paintings are genuinely ironic. Where Caillebotte presents what might be better described as a satiric attack on the conventions of the bourgeoisie, Ensor comes to deny and embody those conventions simultaneously. As a result of a profound attempt to give form to a subject the painter loved and loathed in equal measure, the images remain suspended in air.

IN THE TIME OF REVOLUTION

Ensor's *Chez Miss* presents an overdetermined meditation on the nature and meaning of the nineteenth-century interior, and by extension the shifting temporal structures in which bourgeois life unfolded under modernity. The painting's origins can be located in the contradictory experiences of the painter's personal life, caught as it was between a centrifugal desire to establish his place within the wider worlds of progressive intellectual, political life and the artistic avant-gardes in Belgium and France and, on the other hand, the centripetal constraints of his home. The history of the public reception of the canvas, however, makes clear that the critical misreading of the artist's work as a kind of imported Impressionism rather than as a Belgian elaboration of the legacy of Realism made it difficult, if not impossible, for critics to understand how Ensor combined, through his formal recapitulation of the double structure of 1860s French painting, a durational and instantaneous pictorial temporality. His structuring of pictorial time functioned as a cognate for the perceived tensions and contradictions within the lived space of the interior and, in turn, served as a critique of the increasingly spectacularized image of the interior in Franco-Belgian visual culture.

If one moment in the public life of the painting could have brought these various strands together in a publicly legible way, it would have been early 1886. The painting hung next to *The Bourgeois Salon* in the entrance hall to the exhibition of Les XX that year, and although critics predictably assimilated the works to Impressionism—works by Claude Monet and Renoir hung nearby—they had a prominent place in public discussions of the show.[115] There were some indications that the subject of the paintings mattered. The critic A. J. Wauters, one of Ensor's key supporters, reported overhearing a discussion between two exhibition-goers about the artist's two "Bourgeois Interiors." "Aren't these two interiors stunning in their truth?" one says to the other. "Aren't the characters fine in

the atmosphere? And this warm light that filters softly through the curtains and comes to play on the furniture and accessories. That's it! That's it! . . . It vibrates." And in response to his friend's skepticism, he defensively replies, "I'm not saying that I don't prefer the interiors of de Hooch, of Vermeer, and ter Borch, but, really, this is something else."[116] This is the closest the archive offers to a contemporary reading of Ensor's interiors aware of the complex ambitions of the artist to bring together the truth of the interior, its contradictions, pleasures and constraints, within and against the existing repertoire of images of the interior. That it was likely uttered by a visitor with sophisticated knowledge of Dutch art yet probably unaware of recent developments in France indicates how much Impressionism had blinded certain critics to the distinctive, if admittedly eccentric, concerns of a painter like Ensor.

When the 1886 exhibition closed on March 14, Ensor's interiors had been sold. *Chez Miss* entered the collection of Anna Boch, a fellow member of Les XX, a friend of Finch, and an astute collector of advanced art. Four years later she became the first and arguably the only purchaser of a painting by Vincent van Gogh during the artist's lifetime.[117] At the time Boch acquired it, *Chez Miss* had gained its new title, *Russian Music*, apparently in homage to Alexander Borodin.[118] The emphasis on music appealed to Boch, a pianist of enormous talent who hosted musical soirées on a regular basis and helped expand the cult of Wagner in Belgium. Later in life, she told her goddaughter that the painting showed herself in the family home on the avenue Toison d'Or in Brussels.[119] Ensor's own recollections, as well as the drawings of his home in 1880 and 1881, undercut this claim, but in 1927 the painter wrote Boch a letter speaking of "the memories [the painting] presents to us," as if confirming that the canvas represented them or their world.[120] It would be right, therefore, to say that Boch and her circle constituted a public of sorts for Ensor's work. Albeit narrowly confined, this made up one imagined audience for the painting. But others might have existed.

On March 18, four days after the exhibition of Les XX closed and Boch took possession of the canvas, 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 1871 was in France."[121] News of the Haymarket riots in Chicago that May—following massive strikes in the United States advocating the implementation of eight-hour-day legislation—rippled through the Left in Europe, almost certainly spurring the radicalization of the labor movement in Belgium. At the time, workers in Belgium had the longest workweek in the

FIGURE 129
James Ensor, *Lively and Radiant: The Entry of Christ into Jerusalem (La Vive et rayonnante: L'Entrée du Christ à Jerusalem)*, 1885. Black and brown chalk on paper, 82¼ × 59 in. (209 × 150.3 cm). Museum voor Schone Kunsten, Ghent.

industrialized world (on average sixty-seven hours) and almost no regulation of work-time.[122] 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.[123] In any case, his interest in the crowd, revolution, and the agitations of the working-class predates the major uprisings of 1886. The year before, he had produced an ambitious, large-scale drawing—exhibited at Les XX in 1887—*The Lively and Radiant: The Entry of Christ into Jerusalem*, depicting Christ's return within a luminous, light-dappled atmosphere closely aligned with the so-called Impressionist effects of his interiors (fig. 129). Hanging among the banners above the crowed are two topical heralds: "Vive la sociale" and "Liberté Egalité Fraternité." Although the slogans of 1886 were typically "Vive le peuple" and "Vive le suffrage universel," in Liège shouts of "Vive l'ouvrier," "Vive la Commune," and "Vive la République" also echoed throughout the kingdom.[124] Red flags flew above the crowds and the Marseillaise could be heard everywhere, even, on March 26, outside the Royal Palace in Brussels.[125] In July, Edmond Picard declared that "the time

FIGURE 130
Reichan, *Belgium: After the fires at Jumet, rioters advance on Roux (En Belgique: Les Émeutiers, après les incendies de Jumet, marchent sur Roux)*, 1886. Illustration from *Le Monde illustré* 1515 (10 April 1886): 225.

has come to dip the pen in red ink."[126] Ensor's work in the decade following 1886 has long been understood in charged relation to the political climate of the time, but Verhaeren rightly concludes his 1908 monograph by stating that the critical incomprehension of the early 1880s—that is, before 1886—effectively accused Ensor "of establishing in art a kind of Commune and of inscribing his aesthetic doctrine in the folds of a red flag."[127] However ironically, the painter apparently concurred: "my calm 'interiors,' my 'bourgeois interiors' are foyers of revolution."[128]

On 28 March 1886, the new owner of *Russian Music* sat in her country home in La Louvière, some fifty kilometers south of Brussels, and wrote a letter to her brother Eugène Boch in Paris. Their family ceramics factory, the Boch Keramis, had formed one of the targets of the escalating, nationwide wildcat strikes over the previous ten days, and thousands of troops, including a garrison from Ostend, now protected such factories throughout the country from strikers and anarchists demanding wage increases and work-time reform.[129] "If they burn the château," she wrote, "I'll write you, and we can sing a De Profundis."[130] She was probably not joking. Bourgeois fears of the uprisings were widespread, and indeed rioters had looted and burned the factory and home of the glass manufacturer Baudoux in Jumet only the day before (fig. 130).[131] Yet Boch also knew that many fellow members of Les XX, including her cousin Maus, her friend Finch, and not least Ensor himself, greeted the possibilities of social change that the events of 1886 seemed to offer with no small enthusiasm.

One can only imagine, in the last instance, what the striking workers would have made of *Russian Music* had they found it hanging on the walls of the Château La Closière in late March 1886. Despite his dedication to reform, the future socialist leader Destrée, then only twenty-two, worried about the threat the uprisings would have on the cultural patrimony, the hole that such destruction might leave in the history of Belgian art.[132] Just the year before, he had praised Ensor's interiors for their modern, natural intimacy; indeed he had noted in his diary how much the artist pleased him.[133] *Chez Miss* and the bourgeois interiors were precisely the kinds of artworks he feared might disappear in the panicked destruction of cultural objects. Is it possible, then, that the future author of *The Right to Leisure* might have imagined that the striking workers would see the very picture of unstructured time they were agitating to obtain?[134] How would they have responded? Would they have torn the painting from the wall? Or could they have sympathized with or even registered Ensor's critical and dialectical inversion of the image of time in a bourgeois interior?

Conclusion

Tant l'écheveau du temps lentement se dévide!
—Charles Baudelaire, "De profundis clamavi"

On the first day of May 1882, an official exhibition of the work of Gustave Courbet opened at the École des Beaux-Arts in Paris. Organized by Jules-Antoine Castagnary and sanctioned by the government's new Director of Fine Arts—none other than Paul Mantz—the show was one of the first retrospectives mounted in the state art school. Posthumous overviews of Édouard Manet, Jules Bastien-Lepage, and Jean-François Millet soon followed, in 1884, 1885, and 1887 respectively. The Courbet retrospective consisted of one hundred thirty paintings and sixteen drawings. Purchased by Étienne-François Haro at the *Hôtel Drouot* auction just six months earlier, the 1855 *Studio of the Painter* dominated the end of the hall with works of various significance running down the walls, ending with the *Young Ladies on the Banks of the Seine* (fig. 131). As was widely noted, the *After Dinner at Ornans* remained in Lille, and while *The Burial at Ornans* had entered the Louvre only months before, it was not shown for reasons that remain unclear.[1] Critics repeatedly mentioned its absence, but the fact that Gustave Geffroy could comment that it was a "canvas equivalent in art to the red flag in politics," indicates that the organizers, in an attempt to give the most politically palatable account possible of Courbet's art, chose not to show it.[2] Such maneuvers brought the "depoliticization" of the artist, and of Realism as a whole, virtually to completion.[3]

With the general amnesty of Communards secured, Courbet ceased to incite the frenzied hostility of a decade earlier. Even the more conservative critics seemed content to recognize the artistic success of the show, finally, definitively bracketing the question of the painter's revolutionary commitments in 1871. One critic described the new tenor of the reception: "As politics is not a concern here, but rather art, I do not feel embarrassed to admit that the result of this first day was a new statement of fact concerning the talent of the artist."[4] And remarkably, given the endless equation of art and politics, politics and art that so pervaded critical commentaries on Courbet's art well into 1881, previously antagonistic viewers suddenly and publicly announced their conversion. "He was," admitted Robert Fleury, "a master."[5] The fact that artistic questions effectively displaced political

Detail of Figure 24

FIGURE 131
Eugène Chéron, *Young Ladies on the Banks of the Seine*, 1856-57, and other paintings at the Courbet retrospective, 1882. Photograph. From *Album de l'exposition des oeuvres de Gustave Courbet à l'École des Beaux-Arts* (Paris, 1882), plate 21. Bibliothèque de l'INHA, Collections Jacques Doucet, Paris.

ones indicates how successful the discursive strategies of rehabilitation had been in the previous years. At the same time, the broader willingness or even the ability to perceive Realism as offering a politics in either form or content had more or less evaporated in France.

In the four years between Courbet's death in late December 1877 and the organization of the exhibition, critics of all stripes had undertaken either to attack or to defend Realism, with the painter's "Communism" always in view.[6] More to the point, for the generation of artists working through his legacy in these years, the question of Realism and the politics of time had continually hung in the air, touching down every so often. For Bastien-Lepage or Alfred-Philippe Roll, the equation that critics drew between their work and *The Stonebreakers* explicitly brought questions of labor time to the surface.[7] For Gustave Caillebotte, the constant critical evocation of a "violent realism" in works like *The Floor-Scrapers* pushed him toward an instantaneity stripped of iconographic and political significance.[8] For his part, Jean-François Raffaëlli deliberately, if cryptically, evoked the conjunction of Courbet and the Commune in his pointed exploration of class and temporality in the Parisian banlieue in 1881.[9] In comparison, James Ensor's relation to Realism was simultaneously the most obvious—Belgium was dominated by Courbet's influence in 1880—and the most circuitous. He nevertheless exemplifies the splitting and contradictions inherent in the adaptation of Realism to the representation of the temporally complex and charged subjects this generation of artists sought to depict. That midcentury Realism served as a model for their durational aesthetics should have been obvious to anyone in 1882.

And yet, by the spring of 1882 the brief history of later Realism effectively comes to a close. At the Salon, the appearance of major paintings by Bastien-Lepage and Roll marked the imminent triumph of Naturalism, even as Ensor's *Chez Miss* blazed an alternate path out of Realism's temporal and artistic conundrums. Having successfully excluded Raffaëlli from the seventh Impressionist exhibition, Caillebotte returned for the last major show of his career that same year. And although works by Raffaëlli and Caillebotte later hung alongside Ensor at Les XX—in 1885 and 1888 respectively—whatever coherence this generation had as a Realist generation disintegrated in the years that followed. Nothing put Realism more firmly in the past, however, than the explicitly retrospective exhibition at the École

des Beaux-Arts. The irony is rich, then, that Courbet's own pictorial temporality was precisely what held some critics back from a full embrace of the painter's status as a "master."

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In 1882 everyone agreed that Courbet "only painted what he saw," and that this form of Realism had been completely legitimized.[10] "We do not dispute his right to want to paint only what is visible," Alfred de Lostalot conceded. "That trial was won some time ago in France."[11] By the same token, the full consequence of this apparently justifiable artistic ambition was still up in the air. Was Courbet's Realism merely a record of what he saw and hence devoid of any possible ideological meaning, but also devoid of artistic greatness, falling back into the mere mechanical replication of visual sensation? As Eugène Véron had pronounced in 1878, Courbet "attempted to reduce the artist to the condition of a mere instrument of precision, and painting to an *ensemble* of lines and colors absolutely governed by physical reality."[12] Could Realism nonetheless be understood as the product of a temperament, of a thinking, feeling mind, which exaggerates and consequently idealizes nature, but still leaves in place the possibility of a political or ideological worldview to structure and transform pure vision? As Mantz had put it, in response to Véron, "Even when the artist declares himself the humble translator of exterior spectacles and objective realities, he adds something from his own thoughts, sometimes without even knowing it."[13] Either Courbet's painting could be understood as Realist—"he painted what he saw"—but consequently stripped of politics, or he could be understood as potentially political—"he adds something from his own thoughts"—but not exactly Realist. The paradox demanded some resolution, however tentative, in the galleries of the École des Beaux-Arts.

Reviewing the exhibit in *L'Art*, Véron had gained little appreciation for the Master of Ornans in the four years since he wrote *L'Esthétique*. As Octave Uzanne paraphrased his view, Véron recognized Courbet "as a skilful, realistic painter, but not as a great artist."[14] In fact, he emphatically returned, perhaps more directly than any other writer in 1882, to the notion that the painter had been impoverished by his limited intelligence—"Courbet knew nothing"—and his hostility seems almost more intense than in 1878.[15] The confrontation with the works on display had seemingly confirmed his worst suspicions, but in part his negative assessment was probably a reaction to the obvious official apotheosis of the painter. Knowing that he stood as something of an exception in his views, Véron sought as best he could to articulate his skepticism about Courbet's accomplishments. Among other things, he claimed that the paintings at the École des Beaux-Arts—with one or two important exceptions—simply did not have "any feeling whatsoever of moral and intellectual life."[16] The key exception, the one work that indicated an attempt to give form to character and life was *The Stonebreakers* (see fig. 24).

In the 1870s, *The Stonebreakers* had obviously become something of a touchstone for debates about the political reading of Courbet's art. Because Pierre-Joseph Proudhon had famously seen it as a statement on the injustice of French society, critics consistently

FIGURE 132
Eugène Chéron, *The Stonebreakers*, 1849, and other paintings at the Courbet retrospective, 1882. Photograph. From *Album de l'exposition des oeuvres de Gustave Courbet à l'École des Beaux-Arts* (Paris, 1882), plate 17. Bibliothèque de l'INHA, Collections Jacques Doucet, Paris.

focused on the work as a means of tackling such readings. Perhaps because it held a prominent place in the great hall and because *The Burial at Ornans* was not present, critics in 1882 again turned their now artistically phrased comments on the relative success of Courbet's Realism to *The Stonebreakers* (fig. 132). That the painter's portrait of Proudhon hung nearby only intensified the question of Realism's politics (fig. 133). In a sense, the evaluation of the canvas seemed to function, for certain critics, as a synecdoche for the entirety of Courbet's oeuvre. All the questions of politics and art came bundled in this one painting. If the public could be convinced even here at the École des Beaux-Arts, standing in front of *The Stonebreakers*, that Courbet's art lacked political meaning, then the painter could be assimilated into the state pantheon without further ado.

For Philippe Burty, anyway, *The Stonebreakers* was the key work in the exhibition, the confirmation of Courbet's powers:

> The *Stonebreakers* are, for us, after the *Burial at Ornans*, that which gives the most powerful idea of Courbet's work. Rumor has it that the Brussels museum or the King of the Belgians will purchase it; it is an acquisition as capital as the *Death of the Stag* was for the Boston museum. We have there the master in all his sincerity, before the weariness of the end. . . . The appeal of two peasants, he who, old and asthmatic, hits the pebbles, rhythmically and he who, young and vigorous, carries the basket full of pebbles, the simplicity of the function, the beauty of the landscape where the two characters move, this lukewarm and bracing air of the plateaus, green like a velvet rug, under the ultramarine blue cut from the sky, all gives to this painting, today as hard as an enamel, the characteristics of history painting that our race holds so high.[17]

Three related criteria emerge here for evaluating the work. First is the one all critics would agree on: Courbet's "sincerity." This is what the theory of Realism demanded—"he painted what he saw"—and what served as the self-proclaimed basis of Courbet's art. The second is the sense of animation and liveliness—"the two characters move." Last is the sense that the painting rises to the status of history painting. If all three of these criteria could be met, as Burty suggests they do, then few could contest Courbet's accomplishments rivaling the great artists of the past.

FIGURE 133
Eugène Chéron, *Portrait of Pierre-Joseph Proudhon*, 1853, and other paintings at the Courbet retrospective, 1882. Photograph. From *Album de l'exposition des oeuvres de Gustave Courbet à l'École des Beaux-Arts* (Paris, 1882), plate 3. Bibliothèque de l'INHA, Collections Jacques Doucet, Paris.

However, Burty was virtually alone in praising *The Stonebreakers* on all three levels. Though everyone agreed on the painting's significance for an understanding of Courbet's art, it was precisely its failures that most critics discussed. Émile Durand-Gréville admired the work, but insisted on its limits: "He painted in an almost colossal dimension an old fellow resembling those that we have seen a hundred times on the side of the roads. With a mass that he holds in his two hands, he strikes the pebbles piled up in front of him. The other half of the canvas is taken up by a little boy who turns his back to the spectator, taking with difficulty in a flat basket a batch of broken pebbles that he will throw on the pile in the middle ground. Nothing more."[18] It is this "nothing more" that counts. The work is exceptional in its descriptive vividness and even its sense of movement—note the careful use of active verbs like "strike" and "turn" and "taking" to describe the men—but beyond that little else.

Véron argued that the overarching problem in Courbet's art stemmed from the representation of the motion of the characters. "Nothing in all that is alive," he lamented, "everything is immobile, fixed, frozen. Of all these portraits there is not one of them where any feeling whatsoever of moral and intellectual life breaks through; among all these figures of men or women, which is that who has a true movement, an observed pose, a gesture that continues? The only one that can be listed in this regard is that of the old man in *The Stonebreakers*, precisely because this automatic gesture is by chance suitable to the habits of the character. For me, I declare in all sincerity, I see only mannequins, more or less *realistically* rendered."[19] Although he intuited the repetitive and automatic time of labor, Véron failed to see anything that corresponded to his expectations of pictorial temporality.

In *L'Esthétique*, Véron had explicitly related the ability of the artist to depict movement, transitions over time, to the great art in the Western tradition. Paraphrasing and expanding upon arguments that went back to Gotthold Ephraim Lessing's *Laocoön* in the mid-eighteenth century, he insisted that great paintings show more than a mere instant of time. They must depict successive moments—the eye can see, he had earlier claimed, "succession as practical simultaneity."[20] Despite the limits of the medium, history painting must give a sense of implied temporal continuity, of a before and after. Courbet simply did not rise to this level; his art is consistently, strangely frozen. Véron saw these qualities

throughout Courbet's oeuvre: *The Peasants of Flagey* are "made of wood" and *The Wrestlers* are "petrified."[21] These pictures disappoint because they cannot bring their characters to life. In other words, Courbet failed to infuse his works with a fully temporal dimension.

Other critics seemed to agree with this assessment. Here, for instance, is Lostalot giving a general account of the paintings on display: "The greenery hangs inert, the trees, the characters and the animals are pinned to the background: the power and accuracy of tones effectively give a striking image of nature, but of a frozen nature, immobilized as if one glimpsed it in a scientific experiment, under the bell-jar of a pneumatic machine."[22] The restriction of art to pure visual sensation had thus denuded Courbet's painting of anything resembling life. Yet, to insist on the lack of a clear sense of continuity of past and future in the paintings was also to recognize the peculiar nature of time in Realist painting. The consistent criticism of Courbet's "failure" to produce narrative in a classical sense indicates precisely that his art offered not so much an immobile or frozen present as a slowed down, durational, extended temporality. Realism had been a style of painting that resisted the imperative toward narrativity, and it did so by choosing motifs that could be sustained over time—sleeping figures, for instance, do not suggest movement, so it is peculiar that critics demand they do. The blindness of the critical discourse to this alternate temporality indicates something else was potentially at stake.

If Courbet's art could be stripped of its temporal dimension—if the paintings were all understood simply as "frozen"—then the historical, and consequently the political dimension of these same paintings would drop away entirely. Castagnary all but acknowledged this result in his catalogue essay. The defense of Courbet rested on seeing his art as the accurate, or sincere, replication of the visual world, but in managing the transformation of vision into art—the exaggeration or intensification of nature through the mind of the artist—certain risks emerged. "He only painted what he saw," Castagnary declared. "This doctrine, which excluded in a single blow the past and the future, would have been fatal to any other; with him, it only helped the two faculties that essentially distinguish him and that, in sum, are quite close to constituting all of painting: an exquisite sensibility and an incomparable craft. This is the fortunate counterpoint that corrects the narrowness that theory seems to have. If Courbet only painted what he saw, he saw admirably, he saw better than any other. His eye was a mirror more fine and more sure, where the most fugitive sensations, the most delicate nuances became clearer. To this faculty of exceptional vision corresponded a no less exceptional ability to render."[23] Castagnary thus argued that Courbet's art evaded its theoretically imposed restriction to the mechanical copying of nature—the artist's "sensibility" and skill enlarged the scope of his art well beyond the limits of his theory. The temporal dimension, the sense of past and future are admittedly sacrificed, and perhaps, too, the prospect of history painting, of an art that represents social forms, political ideals, or even events grounded in historical circumstance, becomes all but unimaginable.

If there was one painting, therefore, at the École des Beaux-Arts in the spring of 1882 that exemplified Courbet's Realism for critics and the public alike, it was almost

FIGURE 134
Eugène Chéron, *The Wave*, 1870, and other paintings at the Courbet retrospective, 1882. Photograph. From *Album de l'exposition des oeuvres de Gustave Courbet à l'École des Beaux-Arts* (Paris, 1882), plate 8. Bibliothèque de l'INHA, Collections Jacques Doucet, Paris.

certainly, and not surprisingly, *The Wave* (fig. 134). Although Véron thought the various other wave paintings on display illustrated Realism's temporal limits—they were "immobile, heavy, opaque"—he was not alone in concluding that the painting from the Musée du Luxembourg offered a different, and in a sense exceptional, image of time.[24] Durand-Gréville was especially keen to emphasize the speed with which Courbet had allegedly produced *The Wave*. In only one day, he claimed, the painter had received a "strong impression and he rendered it with vividness." The question, however, was whether the resulting painting was "a work of art" or merely "a strong impression vividly rendered"? By way of a response to his own query, the critic proposed a hypothetical test: turn the painting upside down and place it at the end of the hall. "The spectator," he wrote, "in entering, would be situated too far away to see the details or even to guess the subject of the painting; but if he had an artistic sense, he would have at first glance an impression as quick as lightning, a feeling of pleasure that the distribution of whites, of grays and blacks in the painting's field would produce in him."[25] The measure of Realism as art hinged, therefore, on the complete bracketing of its subject matter and the simultaneous prioritization of the instant of perception, both that of the artist and that of the spectator.

Seeing *The Wave* thus involved shifting Realism into the temporal framework either of Impressionism or photography. That critics like Mantz had already drawn out this logic in 1878 does not diminish its significance for an account of Realism's history in the four years that followed. Indeed, his role alongside Castagnary in the official organization of the retrospective exhibition makes his earlier account of Courbet's inability to capture the "synthesis of a wave" all the more relevant. For Mantz, the contradiction in the Realist

project could be found in the irreconcilable truths of "photography" and the "subjective ideal."[26] To pursue the latter was to move into the realm of Impressionism, or as Castagnary defined it, to "leave reality and enter into full idealism."[27] Impressionism and its aesthetic ends had not substantially changed since the mid-1870s when Mantz and Castagnary first encountered it, and if anything it had entered a crisis phase in which Caillebotte and Raffaëlli had risen to significance within the movement. With the emergence of a distinctive later Realism seeking to maintain the "representation of objects visible and tangible" in the face of the "subjective ideal" and the threat of photography—photographisme, photo-painting, photographicality—entered more or less as Mantz had predicted.

Indeed, by 1882 the expanding parameters of photographic temporality had made it harder and harder to see a painting like Courbet's *Wave* in terms other than the instant. Two public events that bookend the exhibition at the École des Beaux-Arts suggest how much this was the case, not only for painting but also for the wider visual culture of modernity. In November 1881, Eadweard Muybridge presented his latest instantaneous photographs to a gathering of artists and critics at the Parisian home of Ernst Meissonier. The painter had only just conceded the scientific truth that these photographs showed movement faster than human perception, but he had also resigned himself to the alternate if more limited artistic truth of the eye.[28] Eight months later, at a meeting of the *Association Française pour l'Avancement des Sciences*, Jules Janssen presented a lecture on the observation of astronomical phenomena such as the impending transit of Venus. The scientist's perception, he pointed out, was limited to "approximately a tenth of a second, since effects accumulate on the retina after the beginning of the luminous impression until this time lapses."[29] Janssen proposed a solution to overcome the temporal limits of the human eye: use photography instead. For painting and physics alike, photography had finally surpassed the threshold of the "optical unconscious."

"In his famous painting, *The Wave*," Walter Benjamin once wrote, "a photographic subject is discovered through painting. In Courbet's time, both the enlarged photo and the snapshot were unknown. His painting showed them the way. It equipped an expedition to explore a world of forms and structures which were not captured on the photographic plate until a decade later." Although he was almost certainly thinking of Muybridge, the photography of Charles Grassin would have sufficed in 1882 to make this point (fig. 135). "Courbet's special position" Benjamin continued, "was that he was the last who could attempt to surpass photography. Later painters tried to evade it—first and foremost the Impressionists. The painted image slipped its moorings in draftsmanship; thereby, to some extent, it escaped competition with the camera."[30] What Benjamin did not recognize, perhaps could not have known in 1936, despite his own political and artistic orientation, was the persistence into the 1880s of a generation of painters following in Courbet's footsteps seeking likewise to "evade" photography.

The equation of Courbet's painting with the instantaneousness either of Impressionism or photography echoed the wider artistic developments of the time.

FIGURE 135
Charles Grassin, *Study of a Wave (Étude de vague)*, 1882. Albumen print from glass-plate negative, 7½ × 10 in. (19.3 × 25.5 cm). Société Française de Photographie, Paris.`

If only implicitly, Naturalist painters accepted instantaneous photography as a model, and an emphasis on the freezing of a given moment characterizes much of the dominant art of the 1880s. On the other hand, Claude Monet's eventual turn to the series paintings in the early 1890s can be seen both as a reaction to the photographic *instantané* and the fullest realization of Impressionist "instantaneity." For painters who had previously pursued other images of time—durational, extended, repetitive, or slow—these twin triumphs of photographic and Impressionist temporality brought their project to an end. After 1882 it no longer seemed possible to maintain an art of carefully observed renderings of visual reality without evoking photography. By the same token, the possible modern subjects out of which such a painting could be built and still compel conviction in the sincerity and sensation of the artist had become fewer and fewer.

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In retrospect, Impressionism owned the future. Later Realism offered no enduring resolution to the fundamental contradiction unveiled by the New Painting: that a compelling representation of modernity could not be achieved with traditional stylistic means. Such an understanding of the consequences of the artistic developments of the 1870s is neither new nor controversial. What has only implicitly been acknowledged in standard accounts of modern art, however, is the extent to which the contested means of representation in the period were largely temporal in nature. As such, they were deeply entangled with the

ongoing cultural transformations in the management and perception of time. In the durational absorption of the peasant woman in *Les Foins*, for instance, Bastien-Lepage struggled to maintain a mythic natural time in the face of the increasingly disciplined time of the *journalier*. In 1879 Caillebotte adapted his art to the fugitive moment of Impressionism in order to evade the photographic Realism of his early work, but also to bring it into harmony with certain newer economic temporalities. Roll addressed the flip-side of this economy in *The Strike of the Miners*, treating the time of labor and the time of painting as one. For his part, Raffaëlli discovered a seemingly free and undisciplined time in his painting of the déclassés of the Parisian banlieue. Simultaneously, Ensor's interiors pursued a critical synthesis of Realist subject matter and painterly rendering, of duration and instantaneity. These parallel artistic endeavors do not quite constitute a movement, but their overlapping concerns constitute a generational attempt to maintain stylistic aspects of midcentury Realism as a means of engaging with and resisting the shift from lived to measured time. Between 1878 and 1882, then, between Courbet's death and his depoliticized apotheosis in 1882, later Realism offered a fleeting alternative to the instantaneous in art and to the speed and acceleration of modernity. The artistic and political concerns of this generation were quickly forgotten and ultimately submerged within the larger narratives of art history, but as a project of historical retrieval this book has undertaken to make comprehensible and vivid, to make visible, the range and ambition of Realism in the age of Impressionism.

NOTES

All translations are mine unless otherwise indicated.

Introduction

1. Georges d'Heylli, "Petite gazette," *La Gazette anecdotique* 6 (31 March 1878): 192.
2. Louis Énault, *Les Beaux-arts à l'Exposition universelle de 1878* (Paris: E. Gros, 1878), 77.
3. See "Obituary: Gustave Courbet," *New York Times*, 1 January 1878.
4. See Bertall, "La Tribune de l'école française," *L'Artiste* (September 1878): 153.
5. Émile Zola, "Lettres de Paris: L'École française de peinture à l'exposition de 1878," *Le Messager de l'Europe* (Saint Petersburg) (July 1878), reprinted in French in Zola, *Écrits sur l'art*, ed. Jean-Pierre Leduc-Anine (Paris: Gallimard, 1991), 365.
6. Ibid.
7. Ibid.
8. See Frédérique Desbuissons, "Le Citoyen Courbet," in *Courbet et la Commune*, exh. cat. (Paris: Réunion des Musées Nationaux, 2000), 9–27.
9. Daniel Halévy, "Après le seize mai: Une année d'Exposition: 1878," *La Revue universelle* 67 (November 1936): 441.
10. See Jean-Pierre Sanchez, "La Critique de Courbet et la critique du réalisme entre 1880 et 1890," *Histoire et critique des arts* 4–5 (May 1978): 76–82; and, Linda Nochlin, "The De-Politicization of Gustave Courbet: Transformation and Rehabilitation under the Third Republic," *October* 22 (Fall 1982): 64–78.
11. Paul Mantz, "L'Exposition des peintres impressionniste," *Le Temps*, 22 April 1877, p. 3, reprinted in Ruth Berson ed., *The New Painting: Impressionism, 1874–1886: Documentation*, vol. 1: *Reviews* (San Francisco: Fine Arts Museums of San Francisco, 1996), 166.
12. Ch. E. [Charles Ephrussi], "Bibliographie: *Les Peintres impressionnistes*," *La Chronique des arts et de la curiosité* 20 (18 May 1878): 158: "ces rapides phénomènes de la lumière qu'il est si difficile de saisir dans leur incessante mobilité. . . . Il nous semble que pour bien rendre ces impressions instantanées si chères à la nouvelle école, il faut des procédés moins sommaires que les siens, une main plus sûre, une exécution plus savante, un travail plus consciencieux."
13. Paul de Saint-Victor, "Salon de 1870," *La Liberté*, 5 June 1870, p. 3: "Vous chercheriez vainement une goutte d'eau dans cet océan pétrifié." At the time, *The Wave* was exhibited under the title *Stormy Sea (Mer orageuse)*.
14. Camille Lemonnier, *Salon de Paris 1870* (Paris: Morel, 1870), 213: "Et ne pensez pas que ces marines ressemblantes à des incrustations de marbre et de métal s'écrasent sous leur opacité. Rien n'est exquis comme les finesses partout répandues et les transparences où baignent les plans. Le ciel a des fluidités et des fraîcheurs comme le plus clair cristal, et des bouts de vague s'irisent en leurs facettes stalactitées d'un paradis de lumières où s'entrevoit la face des napées." The Napaeae (*napées*) are wood-nymphs; Lemonnier probably meant to evoke the appearance of sea-nymphs, or Nereids (*néréides*).
15. [Edmond] Duranty, "Le Salon de 1870," *Paris-Journal*, 8 May 1870, p. 2: "[L]e meilleur morceau de peinture du Salon, ce n'est qu'un *morceau*. La chose est restreinte et ne prête pas aux longues contemplations."
16. Camille Lemonnier, *G. Courbet et son oeuvre* (Paris: Alphonse Lemerre, 1878), 58, as quoted in Duranty, "Bibliographie," *La Chronique des arts et de la curiosité* 26 (27 July 1878): 207: "Par

moments, il est vrai, ces marines splendides ressemblent à des incrustations de marbre et de métal, les vagues ont des cabrements de cheval, et l'écume, qui plaque à leurs pointes, s'effrite comme les éclats d'un marbre taillé à coups de maillet. Mais le ciel a toujours des fluidités admirables et des bouts de vague, grands comme l'ongle, renferment tout un paradis de lumières dans leurs facettes claires comme le cristal."

17. Paul Mantz, "Gustave Courbet," *Gazette des beaux-arts* 18 (December 1878): 381: "fixer sur la toile la mouvante image . . . spectacles aussi mouvementés, aussi fuyants dans leur silhouette instantanément changée."
18. See Walter Benjamin, "Letter from Paris (2): Painting and Photography" (1936), trans. Edmund Jephcott, in *Selected Writings*, vol. 3: *1935–1938*, ed. Howard Eiland and Michael W. Jennings (Cambridge, Mass.: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2002), 240–41; and, Dominique de Font-Réaulx, *Painting and Photography, 1839–1914* (Paris: Flammarion, 2012), 126.
19. Mantz, "Gustave Courbet," 380–81.
20. [Jules-Antoine] Castagnary, "Exposition du boulevard des Capucines: Les Impressionnistes," *Le Siècle*, 29 April 1874, p. 3, reprinted in Berson, *New Painting*, 17.
21. On the Laurent Richard collection and sale, see Alfred de Lostalot, "La Collection Laurent Richard," *Gazette des beaux-arts* 17 (May 1878): 459–72; Georges d'Heylli, "Vente Laurent-Richard," *La Gazette anecdotique* 11 (15 June 1878): 349–50; Lucy H. Hopper, "The Gallery of M. Laurent Richard," *The Art Journal* 4 (1878): 187–89; and Victor Champier, *L'Année artistique: 1878* (Paris: Quantin, 1879), 329–37.
22. Lostalot, "Laurent Richard," 462: "Pour y voir un tableau, il était nécessaire de prendre son temps, de faire son choix, de localiser l'attention."
23. Thomas Galifot, in *Gustave Courbet*, exh. cat. (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2008), 242.
24. Michael Fried, *Courbet's Realism* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1990), 108.
25. Michael Fried, *Manet's Modernism; or, The Face of Painting in the 1860s* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1996), 291.
26. Ibid.
27. Michael Fried, *Absorption and Theatricality: Painting and Beholder in the Age of Diderot* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1980), 5.
28. Fried, *Manet's Modernism*, 344.
29. Ibid., 291. On "presentness," see Michael Fried, "Art and Objecthood" (1967), in *Art and Objecthood: Essays and Reviews* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1998), 167.
30. See Clement Greenberg, "The Case for Abstract Art," in *The Collected Essays and Criticism*, vol. 4: *Modernism with a Vengeance, 1957–1969*, ed. John O'Brian (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1993), 80–81; and, Kenji Kajiya, "Deferred Instantaneity: Clement Greenberg's Time Problem," *The Japanese Journal of American Studies* 16 (2005): 212–14.
31. Gotthold Ephraim Lessing, *Laocoön: An Essay on the Limits of Painting and Poetry*, trans. Edward Allen McCormick (1766; Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1984), 19. On time in the visual arts generally, see Bernard Lamblin, *Peinture et temps*, 2nd ed. (Paris: Méridiens Klincksieck / Presses de la Sorbonne, 1987); Carolyn Bailey Gill, ed., *Time and the Image* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2000); Jan Schall, ed., *Tempus Fugit: Time Flies* (Kansas City, Mo.: Nelson-Atkins Museum of Art, 2000); and Alexander Sturgis, *Telling Time* (London: National Gallery, 2000).
32. Peter Geimer, "Picturing the Black Box: On Blanks in Nineteenth Century Paintings and Photographs," *Science in Context* 17, no. 4 (2004): 472.
33. Charles Blanc, *Grammaire des arts du dessin: Architecture, sculpture, peinture* (Paris: Renouard, 1867), 537: "en peinture, le lieu est immuable, le temps indivisible et l'action instantanée." On the concepts of "instantanée" and "durée" in French academic painting, see also Jacques Thuillier, "Temps et tableau: La Théorie des 'péripétie' dans la peinture française du XVIIIe siècle," in *Stil und Überlieferung in der Kunst des Abendlandes: Akten des 21. Internationalen Kongresses für Kunstgeschichte in Bonn 1964* (Berlin: Mann, 1967), 192.
34. Fried, *Courbet's Realism*, 179–80.
35. Ibid., 92.
36. Fried, *Manet's Modernism*, 356. On the painting's "temporal extension," see John Elderfield, *Manet and the Execution of Maximilian*, exh. cat. (New York: Museum of Modern Art, 2006), 125.
37. Fried, *Manet's Modernism*, 357.
38. Ernest Chesneau, "A côté du Salon: II. Le Plein air: Exposition du boulevard des Capucines," *Paris-Journal*, 7 May 1874, p. 2, reprinted in

Berson, *New Painting*, 18. A. Descubes [Amédée Descubes-Desgueraines], "L'Exposition des impressionnistes," *Gazette des lettres, des sciences et des arts* 1, no. 12 (20 April 1877): 185, reprinted in Berson, *New Painting*, 143.

39. Eugène Guillaume, "Salon de 1879," *Revue des deux mondes* 34 (1 July 1879): 198. On the 1879 exhibition of Manet's painting in New York, see Elderfield, *Manet*, 17.
40. See E. P. Thompson, "Time, Work-Discipline, and Industrial Capitalism," *Past and Present* 38 (December 1967): 56–97; Wolfgang Schivelbusch, *The Railroad Journey: The Industrialization of Time and Space in the 19th Century* (1977; Berkeley: University of California Press, 1986); Stephen Kern, *The Culture of Time and Space, 1880–1918* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1983); Anson Rabinbach, *The Human Motor: Energy, Fatigue, and the Origins of Modernity* (New York: Basic, 1990); Peter Galison, *Einstein's Clocks, Poincaré's Maps: Empires of Time* (New York: W.W. Norton, 2003); and Jimena Canales, *A Tenth of a Second : A History* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2009).
41. Fredric Jameson, *Postmodernism; or, The Cultural Logic of Late Capitalism* (Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press, 1991), 364. See also Arno J. Mayer, *The Persistence of the Old Regime: Europe to the Great War* (New York: Pantheon, 1981).
42. Guy Thuillier, "Pour une histoire du temps en Nivernais au XIXe siècle," *Ethnologie française* 6, no. 2 (1976): 150.
43. Fredric Jameson, "The End of Temporality," *Critical Inquiry* 29 (Summer 2003): 699. See also Jameson, *A Singular Modernity: An Essay on the Ontology of the Present* (London: Verso, 2002), 141–42.
44. On the opposition to the temporal restructuring of modernity, see Rebecca Solnit, *River of Shadows: Eadweard Muybridge and the Technological Wild West* (New York: Viking, 2003), 73.
45. Claude Monet, letter to Gustave Geffroy, 7 October 1890, quoted in Daniel Wildenstein, *Claude Monet: Biographie et catalogue raisonné*, vol. 3 (Lausanne: Wildenstein, 1979), 258: "[J]e vois qu'il faut beaucoup travailler pour arriver à rendre ce que je cherche: 'l'instantanéité.'"
46. See Whitney Davis, *A General Theory of Visual Culture* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2011), 230.
47. The term "later Realism" comes from Kirk Varnedoe, *Gustave Caillebotte* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1987), 14.
48. Richard Thomson, *Art of the Actual: Naturalism and Style in Early Third Republic France, 1880–1900* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2012), 9.
49. Étienne Souriau, "Time in the Plastic Arts," *The Journal of Aesthetics and Art Criticism* 7, no. 4 (June 1949): 294–96.
50. Félix Fénéon, "Le Salon," *La Revue indépendante* 11 (June 1889): 366, reprinted in Fénéon, *Oeuvres plus que complètes*, vol. 1: *Chroniques d'art*, ed. Joan U. Halperin (Geneva: Librairie Droz, 1970), 152.
51. See Martha Ward, *Pissarro, Neo-Impressionism and the Spaces of the Avant-Garde* (Chicago: University of Chicago, 1996), 95–97; and, Paul Smith, "'Souls of Glass': Seurat and the Ethics of 'Timeless' Experience," in *Seurat Re-Viewed*, ed. Smith (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2009), 199–221.
52. Gustave Courbet, "Aux jeunes artistes de Paris," *Courrier du dimanche*, 29 December 1861, reprinted in Petra ten-Doesschate Chu, ed., *Correspondance de Courbet* (Paris: Flammarion, 1996), 183.
53. Lucien Febvre, "Le Temps vécu et le temps-mesure," in *La Problème de l'incroyance au XVIe siècle* (Paris: A. Michel, 1947), 431.
54. T. J. Clark, "Preface to the Revised Edition," *The Painting of Modern Life: Paris in the Art of Manet and His Followers*, rev. ed. (1985; Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1999), xix.
55. Steven Z. Levine, "Between Modernity and Modernism: The Rival Manets of Michael Fried and T. J. Clark," in *Perspectives on Manet*, ed. Therese Dolan (Burlington, Vt.: Ashgate, 2012), 186.
56. Michael Podro, *The Critical Historians of Art* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1982), xviii.
57. Robert B. Pippin, *After the Beautiful: Hegel and the Philosophy of Pictorial Modernism* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2013), 66–67.
58. T. J. Clark, "Poussin's *Sacrament of Marriage*: An Interpretation," *New Literary History* 45, no. 2 (Spring 2014): 226.
59. Fried, *Absorption and Theatricality*, 157.

Chapter 1

1. See William Steven Feldman, "The Life and Work of Jules Bastien-Lepage (1848–1884)," (Ph.D. diss., New York University, 1973), 89–106; Marie-Madeleine Aubrun, *Jules Bastien-Lepage, 1848–1884: Catalogue raisonné de l'oeuvre* (Nantes: Aubrun, 1985), 132–35; and Serge Lemoine et al.,

Jules Bastien-Lepage (1848–1884), exh. cat. (Paris: Musée d'Orsay, 2007), 96–98.

2. Richard Thomson, *Art of the Actual: Naturalism and Style in Early Third Republic France, 1880–1900* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2012), 9. On the prevalence of a peasant iconography in Third Republic France, see Geneviève Lacambre, "La République des paysans vue par les peintres," in *Des Plaines à l'usine: Images du travail dans la peinture française de 1870 à 1914*, exh. cat. (Paris: Somogy, 2001), 54.
3. "Le Salon," *Ville de Paris*, 1 May 1883: "Tout le monde peint tellement aujourd'hui comme M. Bastien-Lepage que M. Bastien-Lepage a l'air de peindre comme tout le monde." On the artist's wider influence, see Kenneth McConkey, "The Bouguereau of the Naturalists: Bastien Lepage and British art," *Art History* 1, no. 3 (September 1978): 371–82. As Richard Thomson points out, this influence was not limited to academic artists; Louis Anquetin, Charles Angrand, and Henri-Edmond Cross all exhibit techniques borrowed from Bastien-Lepage. See Thomson, *Art of the Actual*, 251–54.
4. Of the numerous reviews of the Salon of 1878, at least sixteen sought to fit *Les Foins* into a stylistic category. Two critics treated it as a variant of Impressionism, while thirteen placed it within the Realist sphere of influence. Only René de la Ferté described it as "naturaliste," but he did not clarify how this term differed from "réaliste." See René de la Ferté, "Le Salon de 1878," *L'Artiste* (August 1878): 76–77.
5. [Jules-Antoine] Castagnary, "Salon de 1878," *Le Siècle*, 1 June 1878, reprinted in Castagnary, *Salons*, vol. 2: *1872-1879*, ed. Eugène Spuller (Paris: Bibliothèque Charpentier, 1892), 323.
6. Émile Zola, "Lettres de Paris. Nouvelles littéraires et artistiques," *Le Messager de l'Europe* (Saint Petersburg) (July 1879), reprinted in French in Zola, *Écrits sur l'art*, ed. Jean-Pierre Leduc-Adine (Paris: Gallimard, 1991), 401. On the writer's continued admiration of Bastien-Lepage, see Zola, "Le Naturalisme au Salon," *Le Voltaire*, 21 June 1880, reprinted in Zola, *Écrits sur l'art*, 430.
7. Zola, "Lettres de Paris," 401.
8. [Jules-Antoine] Castagnary, "Exposition du boulevard des Capucines: Les Impressionnistes," *Le Siècle*, 29 April 1874, p. 3, reprinted in Ruth Berson, ed., *The New Painting: Impressionism, 1874–1886: Documentation*, vol. 1: *Reviews* (San Francisco: Fine Arts Museums of San Francisco, 1996), 17.
9. Castagnary, "Salon de 1878," 323.
10. Joris-Karl Huysmans, "Le Salon officiel de 1880," in *L'Art moderne* (Paris: Charpentier, 1883), 134.
11. Joséphin Péladan, "L'Esthétique au Salon de 1883," in *L'Art ochlocratique* (Paris: Camille Dalou, 1888), 114.
12. Camille Pissarro, letter to Lucien Pissarro, 21 January 1884, in *Correspondance de Camille Pissarro*, vol. 1: *1865–1885*, ed. Janine Bailly-Herzberg (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1980), 276.
13. See Gabriel P. Weisberg, "Jules Breton, Jules Bastien-Lepage, and Camille Pissarro in the Context of Nineteenth-Century Peasant Painting and the Salon," *Arts Magazine* 56, no. 6 (February 1982): 115–19; and Martha Ward, *Pissarro, Neo-Impressionism and the Spaces of the Avant-Garde* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1996), 35–37.
14. Gustave Courbet, "Aux jeunes artistes de Paris," *Le Courrier du dimanche*, 29 December 1861, reprinted in Petra ten-Doesschate Chu, ed., *Correspondance de Courbet* (Paris: Flammarion, 1996), 183. On idealism and Impressionism, see Castagnary, "Les Impressionnistes," 17. The English painter George Clausen later claimed that Bastien-Lepage had "carried literal representation to its extreme limit." See Clausen, "Jules Bastien-Lepage as an Artist," in André Theuriet, *Jules Bastien-Lepage and his Art: A Memoir* (London: T. Fisher Unwin; New York: Macmillan, 1892), 126.
15. William James, letter to his wife, Vienna, 24 September 1882, in *The Letters of William James*, vol. 1, ed. Henry James (Boston: Atlantic Monthly Press, 1920), 210.
16. On Bastien-Lepage as an anti-theatrical and absorptive painter, see Charles Palermo, "The World in the Ground Glass: Transformations in P. H. Emerson's Photography," *The Art Bulletin* 89, no. 1 (March 2007): 136; and Elayne Oliphant, "Voices and Apparitions in Jules Bastien-Lepage's *Joan of Arc*," in *Looking and Listening in Nineteenth-Century France*, ed. Martha Ward and Anne Leonard (Chicago: Smart Museum of Art, 2007), 43.
17. Paul Mantz, "Salon de 1878," *Le Temps*, 4 July 1878, p. 2: "absorbée par une pensée confuse."
18. Mrs. Arthur Bell, *Representative Painters of the XIXth Century* (New York: E. P. Dutton, 1899), 115.

19. Paul de Saint-Victor, "Salon de 1878," *La Liberté*, 18 June 1878, as quoted in Victor Champier, "Le Salon," in *L'Année artistique: 1878* (Paris: Quantin, 1879), 122: "Sa *Faneuse* mannequinée et bourrée de sou, bêtement assise, les mains à plat, sur ses foins coupés, n'est point seulement stupide, elle est rebutante. Et que de prétention dans sa pose! Quelle affectation de gravité symbolique sur ce visage obtus, qui n'exprime qu'un morne idiotisme!" On "pretention" and "theater" in *The Gleaners* of Jean-François Millet, see Paul de Saint-Victor, "Salon de 1857," *La Presse*, 4 August 1857, p. 2.
20. Paul de Saint-Victor, "Salon de 1879," *La Liberté*, 3 June 1879, p. 3: "[L]es deux femmes de M. Bastien-Lepage sont des ouvrières de faubourg parisien qui jouent au naturalisme rustique. Elles rient pour le publique en ramassant leurs patates et ce rire a l'air de se moquer de leurs rôles." Strictly speaking, this complaint applies only to Bastien-Lepage's *Saison d'Octobre, récolte des pommes de terre*, 1878, his Salon entry in 1879, but given the critic's earlier comments, the anti-theatrical language is consistent.
21. [Louis de] Fourcaud, "Salon du Gaulois," *Le Gaulois*, 19 June 1878, p. 2; Fourcaud, "Jules Bastien-Lepage," *Gazette des beaux-arts* 31 (February 1885): 115; Fourcaud, "Préface," *Exposition des oeuvres de Jules Bastien-Lepage*, exh. cat. (Paris: École Nationale des Beaux-Arts, 1885), 19: "immobilisée par on ne sait quelle hébétude béate."
22. See Theuriet, *Jules Bastien-Lepage and His Art*, 36–38.
23. Contribution by Dominique Lobstein, in Lemoine, *Bastien-Lepage*, 96. See also, Aubrun, *Bastien-Lepage*, 132–41.
24. Feldman, "Jules Bastien-Lepage" (1973), 98; Aubrun, *Bastien-Lepage*, 135.
25. Jules Bastien-Lepage, letter to Émile Bastien-Lepage, July 1877, as quoted in Henri Amic, *Jules Bastien-Lepage: Lettres et souvenirs* (Paris, 1896), 29: "J'ai peint aussi en plein air une esquisse des foins qui est assez réussie."
26. See, for example, Jules Laforgue, "Notes sur le Musée du Luxembourg en 1886," in *Textes de critique d'art*, ed. Mireille Dottin (Lille: Presses Universitaires de Lille, 1988), as quoted in Thomson, *Art of the Actual*, 100.
27. David Summers, *Real Spaces: World Art History and the Rise of Western Modernism* (London: Phaidon, 2003), 454.
28. Anthea Callen, *The Art of Impressionism: Painting Technique and the Making of Modernity* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2000), 21. Other artists using square formats around this time include Gustave Caillebotte, Mary Cassatt, Edgar Degas, Camille Pissarro, and Jean-François Raffaëlli.
29. Octave Mirbeau, "Bastien-Lepage," *La France*, 21 March 1885, reprinted in Mirbeau, *Combats esthétiques*, vol. 1: *1877–1892*, ed. Pierre Michel and Jean-François Nivet (Paris: Séguier, 1993), 142.
30. *Bastien-Lepage*, Masters in Art: A Series of Illustrated Monographs, no. 9 (Boston: Bates and Guild, 1908), 31–32.
31. See Ward, *Pissarro*, 34–35.
32. Paul Mantz, "Exposition des peintres impressionnistes," *Le Temps*, 22 April 1877, p. 3, reprinted in Berson, *New Painting*, 166. On academic and Impressionist techniques, see Callen, *Art of Impressionism*, 2.
33. André Theuriet, "Les Foins," *La Vie littéraire* 26 (28 June 1877): 2.
34. Bastien-Lepage, letters to Theuriet, July 1877, 15 August 1877, September 1877, quoted in Theuriet, "Jules Bastien-Lepage, l'homme et l'artiste," *La Revue des deux mondes* 68 (15 April 1885): 818–19.
35. André Theuriet, "La Chanson du jardinier: souvenirs de l'Argonne," *La Revue des deux mondes* 18 (November-December 1876): 295: "Voilà, m'écriai-je, la vraie paysanne; tout, dans le regard, dans l'attitude, dans les plis fripés du casaquin et de la jupe, dit la résignation au travail et le pain gagné au jour le jour, à la sueur du visage." This account was reprinted, with a new dedication to Bastien-Lepage, in Theuriet, *Sous bois: Impressions d'un forestier* (Paris: Charpentier, 1878), 174.
36. Bastien-Lepage as quoted in Theuriet, "Chanson du jardinier," 295: "[I]ls peignaient avec un parti-pris d'étonner le bourgeois, et non avec la préoccupation d'être vrais."
37. See Aubrun, *Bastien-Lepage*, 134.
38. *Explication des ouvrages de peinture, sculpture, architecture, gravure et lithographie des artistes vivants, exposés au Palais des Champs-Élysées, le 25 mai 1878* (Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1878), 12. Translation modified from Fred Leeman and Hanna Pennock, *Museum Mesdag: Catalogue of the Paintings and Drawings* (Amsterdam: Van Gogh Museum, 1996), 88.
39. See Aubrun, *Bastien-Lepage*, 13.

40. See, among others, Charles Clément, "Le Salon de 1878," *Journal des débats*, 28 June 1878: "exécutée en pleine lumière"; Ferté, "Le Salon de 1878," 76: "vraie, sincère jusqu'à l'épiderme"; Castagnary, "Salon de 1878," 323: "la sûreté de son observation"; Ernest Chesneau, "Le Salon de 1878," *Revue de France* 29 (15 June 1878): 904: "l'absolue réalité des campagnes."
41. Jules Comte, "Salon de 1878," *L'Illustration* 1845 (6 June 1878): 14: "[C]'est trop réel et ce n'est pas assez vrai"; Chesneau, "Le Salon de 1878," 905: "Réaliste d'intention, visant à renouveler les paysans de Millet, M. Bastien-Lepage a erré du tout au tout."
42. Philippe Burty, "Salon de 1878," *La République française*, 21 June 1878, p. 2: "J. F. Millet allait aux champs d'un esprit plus libre. Il savait, ayant été paysan, que ce n'est point à l'heure terrible de midi que les rudes faneuses 'rêvent.' Ce qu'il faut louer dans ce tableau, que dépare la figure couchée du faucheur, c'est l'intensité de la lumière sur les fonds, l'observation très juste de la pose de la femme et la netteté du dessin de son corps, de son visage et particulièrement de ses bras. Ces qualités suffisent pour placer M. Bastien-Lepage de très loin en avant de tous les forts en thèmes qui n'étudient le modèle que sous le jour glacial de l'atelier."
43. Joseph Reinach, "Salon de 1878," *Le XIXe siècle: Journal républicain conservateur*, 26 June 1878, p. 3: "il a peint un paysan meusain et une paysanne meusaine"; Mantz, "Salon de 1878": "la grande lumière de juin"; Mario Proth, *Voyage au pays des peintres: Salon universel de 1878* (Paris: Ludovic Baschet, 1879), 19: "le soleil implacable et béni de Messidor."
44. Fourcaud, "Salon du Gaulois," 2: "Le pré fauché, jonché de l'herbe qu'on fane."
45. See Lucien de Chardon, *Damvillers et son canton: Vingt siècles d'histoire* (Verdun: Cogerex, 1973), 21.
46. On the general question of gender and the division of agricultural labor, see Michael Roberts, "Sickles and Scythes: Women's Work and Men's Work at Harvest Time," *History Workshop* 7 (Spring 1979): 3–28.
47. On the division of labor, see Martine Segalen, *Love and Power in the Peasant Family: Rural France in the Nineteenth-Century*, trans. Sarah Matthews (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1983), 82.
48. Proth, *Voyage au pays de peintres*, 19: "C'est un gars solide et bien charpenté, un homme rude et fort, et, pour son honneur, nous voulons croire qu'il a bien travaillé."
49. Roland Barthes, "The Reality Effect," in *The Rustle of Language*, trans. Richard Howard (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1989), 142.
50. On Realism and metnonymy, see Roman Jakobson, "Two Aspects of Language and Two Types of Aphasic Disturbances," in Jakobson, *Language and Literature*, ed. Krystyna Pamorska (Cambridge, Mass.: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1987), 95–119.
51. Proth, *Voyage au pays des peintres*: 20: "une brune travailleuse, une laborieuse des champs . . . le triomphe même de l'artiste"; Arthur Baignères, "Salon de 1878," *Journal officiel de la République française* 10, no. 148 (30 May 1878): 6014: "le plus beau tableau du Salon de 1878"; Georges Dufour, "L'Art contemporain," *L'Investigateur: Journal de la Société des études historiques* 45, no. 3 (May-June 1879): 197: "La Faneuse est bien vivante"; Mantz, "Salon de 1878": "Cette faneuse si vraie."
52. Clément, "Salon de 1878": "La femme assise au premier plan, le corps à demi ployé en avant, les bras posés sur les cuisses, regarde devant elle d'un air hébété. Ce n'est pas seulement la personnification de la laideur, mais de la stupidité, de l'idiotisme, de la hideur."
53. Comte, "Salon De 1878," 14: "c'est bien l'absence de toute pensée"; Chesneau, "Salon de 1878," 904–5: "l'artiste nous impose le spectacle vide d'une fille de ferme dont la laideur sans caractère, sans expression autre que celle d'une brute inerte et bayant vaguement"; Charles Bigot, "Le Salon de 1878," *La Revue politique et littéraire* 8, no. 8 (24 August 1878): 174: "sa faneuse assise qui se relève et regarde devant elle de son grand oeil étonné et vague, plein de la vie végétative!"; Th. Véron, *Dictionnaire-Véron ou Mémorial de l'art et des artistes de mon temps: Le Salon de 1878 et l'Exposition universelle* (Paris: Bazin, 1878), 40: "[L]'oeil fixe, elle regarde là-bas, comme le boeuf ou la vache qui ruminent." On the reiteration of these animal metaphors in the English critical reception of the painting in 1880, see McConkey, "Bouguereau of the Naturalists," 374.
54. Proth, *Voyage au pays des peintres*, 20: "Rien ne saurait rendre l'intense, l'extraordinaire fixité de son regard presque halluciné."
55. Gabriel Monod, "Beaux-arts à l'Exposition universelle (1867–78)," *Revue chrétienne* (December 1878): 741–42: "Dans le tableau des Foins qui est au Salon de cette année, dont certaines parties

sont peintes avec une solidité et une largeur merveilleuses, et où l'effet du plein air est admirablement rendu, il a voulu exprimer la molle torpeur où l'odeur des foins plonge une paysanne alourdie par le travail. En fait, il a peint une brute que la fatigue a dégradée encore."

56. Mantz, "Salon de 1878": "[L]a figure de la paysanne assise est . . . un monument de sincérité, un type dont on se souviendra toujours. Elle est très hâlée par le soleil, elle est laide; la tête est carrée et mal dégrossie; c'est la reproduction implacablement fidèle d'une jeune campagnarde qui ne s'est jamais regardée au miroir de l'idéal et qui n'a pu en fixer sur ses trait vulgaires le fuyant reflet; mais dans cette laideur il y a une âme. Cette faneuse si vraie par l'attitude, qui dit l'accablement des longues heures de travail et la sérénité d'un repos fatigué, cette faneuse, les yeux fixés vers un horizon mystérieux, est absorbée par une pensée confuse, par une sorte de rêverie instinctive et dont l'intensité se double de l'ivresse provoquée par l'odeur des herbes coupées. Le son d'une cloche, l'appel du maître des faucheurs, la tireront bientôt de sa contemplation muette. Elle reprendra le dur travail, elle rentrera dans les fatalités de la vie réelle. Mais pendant cette rude journée, l'âme aura eu son entracte, l'infini aura eu son quart d'heure."
57. Jane Mayo Roos, "Within the 'Zone of Silence': Monet and Manet in 1878," *Art History* 11, no. 3 (September 1988): 376.
58. Daniel Halévy, "Après le seize mai: Une année d'Exposition: 1878," *La Revue universelle* 67 (November 1936): 441. See also Roos, "Within the 'Zone of Silence,'" 377–78.
59. *Journal de Montbrison*, 22 July 1877, as cited in Eugen Weber, *Peasants into Frenchmen: The Modernization of Rural France, 1870–1914* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1976), 271.
60. *La République*, 15 April 1878, as cited in Weber, *Peasants into Frenchmen*, 256.
61. Annie Moulin, *Peasantry and Society in France since 1789*, trans. M. C. and M. F. Clearly (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press; Paris: Éditions de la Maison des Sciences de l'Homme, 1991), 88–91.
62. Sanford Elwitt, *The Making of the Third Republic: Class and Politics in France, 1868–1884* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1975), 78.
63. On what he calls "la République des paysans," see Robert Estier, "Le Temps des dépressions," in *Histoire des paysans français du XVIIIe siècle à nos jours*, ed. Jean-Pierre Houssel (Roanne: Éditions Horvath, 1976), 351–67.
64. Chardon, *Damvillers*, 127. On the artist's own anti-Bonapartist politics, see Lucien Grandgérard, "Un grand peintre lorrain: Jules Bastien-Lepage," *Le Pays lorrain* 6 (1937): 58–59.
65. See Jules Bastien-Lepage, letter, 16 March 1879, as quoted in Amic, *Bastien-Lepage*, 34. On Gambetta and Bastien-Lepage, see also Dominique Lobstein, "Jules Bastien-Lepage (1848–1884)," in Lemoine, *Bastien-Lepage*, 29; and Lobstein's contribution in ibid., 170–71.
66. Bastien-Lepage, letter, 16 March 1879, as quoted in Amic, *Bastien-Lepage*, 34: "Je ne sais si je vous ai dit que mon tableau *les Foins* était exposé avenue de l'Opéra et qu'il y attirait pas mal la foule." This exhibition of the work has never been documented.
67. Jules Bastien-Lepage, letter to his mother and grandfather, 28 April 1878, as quoted in Amic, *Bastien-Lepage*, 33: "Comme on sent loin des mauvais jours de l'Empire! . . . Si nos paysans comprenaient cela, on ne craindrait pas de les voir se faire représenter par des réactionnaires imbéciles."
68. Estier, "Le Temps des dépressions," 331.
69. See Maureen Patricia Ryan, "Peasant Painting and Its Criticism in France, 1875–1885: Themes and Debates," (Ph.D. diss., University of Chicago, 1987), 157–171.
70. René Ménard, "Salon de 1876," *L'Art: Revue hebdomadaire illustrée* 6 (1876): 83: "pittoresque et tout à fait naturelle," trans. in Gabriel P. Weisberg, *Beyond Impressionism: The Naturalist Impulse* (New York: Harry N. Abrams, 1992), 157. On Meissonier's role, see Lucy Hooper, "Art in Paris," *The Art Journal* 2 (1876): 60.
71. The extent of Bastien-Lepage's indebtedness to Breton is hard to determine, but they were quickly seen as peers and indeed the two had some social interactions after 1878. In her memoirs, Breton's daughter recalls a visit they took to Bastien-Lepage's studio in Paris in 1879. See Virginie Demont-Breton, *Les Maisons que j'ai connues: Peintres et savants* (Paris: Plon, 1929), 60.
72. See Howard L. Rehs, "Julien Dupré: The Making, Unmaking, and Remaking of an Academic Reputation," in *Twenty-First-Century Perspectives on Nineteenth-Century Art: Essays in Honor of Gabriel P. Weisberg*, ed. Petra ten-Doesschate Chu and Laurinda S. Dixon (Newark: University of Delaware Press, 2008), 94.

73. Roger-Ballu, "Le Salon de 1878," *Gazette des beaux-arts* 18 (August 1878): 185. On the critic's admiration for Bastien-Lepage, see Roger-Ballu, "Salon de 1878," *Gazette des beaux-arts* 18 (July 1878): 70.
74. See Comte, "Salon de 1878," 14; and, Reinach, "Salon de 1878," p. 3.
75. This compositional gambit became Bastien-Lepage's leitmotif in his later works. The much-discussed *Joan of Arc* in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, for instance, shows the Maid of Orleans blankly staring ahead, the saintly voices in her head completely absorbing her attention. *Père Jacques* in Milwaukee depicts the central figure gazing straight at the viewer, although in this case the figure's absorption is harder to discern.
76. See Michael Fried, "Caillebotte's Impressionism," *Representations* 66 (Spring 1999): 43n.13.
77. Edmond Duranty, "Réflexions d'un bourgeois sur le Salon de peinture," *Gazette des beaux-arts* 15 (June 1877): 553. At a later date, the left third of the painting was cut off, presumably by the artist. For an indication of its original appearance, see the caricature in Stop, "Visite au Salon de 1877," *Le Journal amusant* 1086 (23 June 1877): 7.
78. Robert B. Pippin, *After the Beautiful: Hegel and the Philosophy of Pictorial Modernism* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2013), 92–93.
79. On these qualities in Courbet, see Michael Fried, *Flaubert's "Gueuloir": On Madame Bovary and Salammbô* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2012), 80.
80. See Fourcaud, *Jules Bastien-Lepage*, 12.
81. Fourcaud, "Salon du Gaulois," 2: "[I]l n'a pas, comme on veut bien le dire, imité Millet: tout au plus l'a-t-il rappelé—et ceci est un éloge."
82. In his student days, Bastien-Lepage was an enthusiast for prints of Millet's work. See Richard Watson Gilder, "Bastien-Lepage," *Scribner's Monthly* 22 (May-October 1881): 235. He may also have seen the original pastel version of *Méridienne* and the *Vigneron au repos* at the exhibit for the sale of the Gavet collection in Paris in June of 1875. See Lobstein, *Bastien-Lepage*, 98. On the *Vigneron au repos* as a model for Bastien-Lepage, as well as for Alfred-Philippe Roll and Léon Lhermitte, see Robert L. Herbert, *Jean-François Millet* (London: Hayward Art Gallery, 1976), 165.
83. Eugène Véron, "Le Salon de Paris, 1878," *L'Art: Revue hebdomadaire illustrée* 14 (1878): 73–74: "Il est évident que, dans le moment choisi par l'artiste, le besoin de se reposer et de respirer prime et fait oublier tout le reste. Il n'y a ici rien de plus violent ni de plus excessif que dans le *Vigneron au repos* de Millet."
84. Véron, "Salon de Paris, 1878," 73: "quelque exagération dans l'hébétement qui résulte de l'excès de la fatigue."
85. Chesneau, "Salon de 1878," 904: "l'absolue réalité des campagnes."
86. Ernest Chesneau, "Jean-François Millet," *Gazette des beaux-arts* 12 (May 1875): 435.
87. Véron, "Salon de Paris, 1878," 74: "[C]'est l'artiste qui a raison contre le poëte . . . à l'heure où M. Bastien-Lepage prend sa faneuse, si elle est 'alanguie et grisée,' c'est uniquement de lassitude, et si elle rêve, c'est à la façon des moutons, sans penser à rien. La scène est donc parfaitement comprise et très-exactement rendue, avec un sentiment très-particulier, très-naïf et très-vrai de la réalité."
88. Eugène Véron, *L'Esthétique* (Paris: Reinwald, 1878), 292.
89. A number of critics responded directly and immediately to its publication. See Burty, "Salon de 1878," 3; Ernest Chesneau, "Salon de 1878," *Revue de France* 30 (1 July 1878): 108; Mantz, "Salon de 1878."
90. Jacqueline Lichtenstein, "Préface," in Eugène Véron, *L'Esthétique* (Paris: J. Vrin, 2007), 10. Hereafter, I refer to the edition of 1878 (see note 88 in this chapter).
91. Véron, *L'Esthétique*, 292, trans. W. H. Armstrong in Véron, *Aesthetics* (London: Chapman and Hall; Philadelphia: Lippincott, 1879), 252.
92. Véron, *L'Esthétique*, 292, trans. Véron, *Aesthetics*, 252. Compare Lessing, *Laocoon, ou des limites de la peinture et de la poésie* [1766], trans. A. Courtin (1866; Paris: Hachette, 1880), 78.
93. Véron, *L'Esthétique*, 297n.1, trans. Véron, *Aesthetics*, 256n.1.
94. Véron, *L'Esthétique*, 297, trans. Véron, *Aesthetics*, 256. The relation of time and perception was a wide concern in 1878. See George Romanes, "Consciousness of Time," *Mind: A Quarterly Review of Psychology and Philosophy* 3, no. 11 (July 1878): 297–303; and, Charles Richet, "De la durée des actes psychiques élémentaires," *Revue philosophique de la France et de l'étranger* 6 (1878): 393–96.
95. Eugène Véron, "Le Salon de Paris," *L'Art: Revue hebdomadaire illustrée* 14 (1878): 288: "Voilà du

réalisme dans la meilleur sens du mot, un réalisme intelligent et sagace qui ne se contente pas de photographier la surface des choses, un art sincère et vrai qui se développe librement et hardiment dans le sens du tempérament et de la personnalité de l'artiste."

96. See Ferté, "Le Salon de 1878," 76: "On dirait que l'artiste a su approprier le jeu de sa brosse à la lenteur de mouvement de ses personnages, à la façon dont leur corps est tassé sous l'effet du premier abrutissement de la fatigue."
97. See Charles Tardieu, "Les Grandes collections étrangères. II. M. John W. Wilson," *Gazette des beaux-arts* 9 (January 1874): 50.
98. The exhibition ran from about June 20 to October 15. See "Concours et expositions," *La Chronique des arts et de la curiosité* 23 (15 June 1878): 180; and, "Nouvelles," *La Chronique des arts et de la curiosité* 31 (5 October 1878): 241. Only in 1878 did the word "retrospective" become common currency in France to describe exhibitions summing up a historical range of art. See Robert Jensen, *Marketing Modernism in Fin-De-Siècle Europe* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1994), 121.
99. Alfred Sensier, *La Vie et l'oeuvre de J.-F. Millet* (Paris: Quantin, 1881), 190–91: "A l'heure où le jour va disparaître, deux paysans, un homme et une femme, entendent sonner l'*Angélus*. Ils se relèvent, s'arrêtent, et, debout, la tête découverte, les yeux baissés, ils prononcent les paroles traditionnelles: *Angelus Domini nuntiavit Mariae*. L'homme, un vrai paysan des plaines, la tête protégée par des masses de cheveux courts, mais droits comme un feutre, prie en silence; la femme courbée est toute au recueillement."
100. Sensier, *Millet*, 191: "on entend la cloche." He also references Millet's evocation of bells on page 190.
101. Alain Corbin, *Village Bells: Sound and Meaning in the Nineteenth-Century French Countryside* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1998), 131.
102. Ibid., 133.
103. Eugène Montrosier, "Exposition rétrospective de tableaux et dessins des maîtres modernes," *L'Art: Revue hebdomadaire illustrée* 15 (1878): 20: "[C]'est avec une lenteur religieuse que le crépuscule s'abat sur les sillons."
104. Raymond D. Boisvert, "Clock-Time/Stomach-Time," *Gastronomica* 6, no. 2 (Spring 2006): 43.
105. Michael Fried, *Manet's Modernism; or, The Face of Painting in the 1860s* (Chicago: University of Chicago, 1996), 296.
106. Tardieu, "John W. Wilson," 51. On Saint-Victor's dislike for "Millet's ostensibly antitheatrical aims," see Fried, *Manet's Modernism*, 190.
107. Charles Tardieu, "Le Cabinet de M. Jules van Praet," *L'Art: Revue hebdomadaire illustrée* 23 (1880): 301: "Que voulez-vous, c'est évidemment un chef-d'oeuvre, mais devant ces deux paysans dont la prière interrompt un instant le travail, chacun croit entendre la cloche de l'église voisine, et cette éternelle sonnerie avait fini par me gêner."
108. Léon Gambetta, letter to Léonie Léon, Brussels 1873, quoted in French in Herbert, *Jean-François Millet*, 88.
109. Joris-Karl Huysmans, "Salon de 1879," in *L'Art moderne*, 39.
110. Marie Bashkirtseff, *Journal de Marie Bashkirtseff*, vol. 2 (Paris: Charpentier, 1890), 575: "Il vaut toujours mieux peindre des scènes où les personnages ne bougent pas."
111. Ibid., 576: "Dans ses Foins, l'homme couché sur le dos, la figure couverte de son chapeau, dort; mais il vit. La femme assise rêve et ne bouge pas, mais on sent qu'elle est vivante. Un sujet au repos peut seul donner des jouissances complètes, il laisse le temps de s'absorber en lui, de le pénétrer, de le voir vivre."
112. Walter Sickert, "Modern Realism in Painting" (1891), in Theuriet, *Jules Bastien-Lepage and His Art*, 135. Sickert favorably compares Millet's repeated observation and working from memory to Edgar Degas, whom the English artist considered a model for his own work, and thus implicitly raises the very interesting memory-training practices of Lecoq de Boisbaudran. See Susan Sidlauskas, *Body, Place, and Self in Nineteenth-Century Painting* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 17. Camille Lemonnier also drew this distinction, which for him constituted the difference between Manet (instantaneous observation) and Degas (continuous, repeated observation and memory). See Camille Lemonnier, "L'Art à l'Exposition universelle—Ceux qui n'exposent pas," *L'Artiste* (31 August 1878): 266, reprinted in Denys Riout, ed., *Les Écrivains devant l'impressionnisme* (Paris: Macula, 1989), 205.
113. Sickert, "Modern Realism," 139. This is something indicated in earlier responses to peasant painting. See, for instance, Paf's comic dialogue with a peasant woman posing for "two months" in a Breton painting at the Salon of 1880, in "Le

Salon pour rire," *Le Charivari*, 1 May 1880, p. 3.

114. The first mention of photography in relation to *Les Foins* appeared in Champier's 1879 overview of the previous year's Salon. While the critic claimed "la recherche de l'exactitude photographique" had become the standard for contemporary painting, he explicitly exempted Bastien-Lepage. See Champier, "Le Salon," 118.
115. Mantz, "Salon de 1878"; and Véron, *Dictionnaire-Véron*, 40. On the availability of the painting, see *Vagues: Autour des "Paysages de mer" de Gustave Courbet*, exh. cat. (Le Havre: Musée Malraux; Paris: Somogy, 2004), 98. Binant ran a well-known artist's supply store at 5 and 7, rue Cléry. Bastien-Lepage also spoke enthusiastically about Courbet's *Burial at Ornans*, which, before 1881, he could only have seen in reproduction. See Fourcaud, *Jules Bastien-Lepage*, 12.
116. Feldman, "Jules Bastien-Lepage," 101.
117. Bertall, "La Tribune de l'école française," *L'Artiste* (September 1878): 154: "Les paysans de Millet sont de noble travailleurs, à côté de ceux de Courbet, mendiants, dégradés ou ignobles voyous."
118. T. J. Clark, *Image of the People: Gustave Courbet and the 1848 Revolution* (1973; Berkeley: University of California Press, 1999), 151.
119. Christopher Parsons and Neil McWilliam, "'Le Paysan de Paris': Alfred Sensier and the Myth of Rural France," *Oxford Art Journal* 6, no. 2 (1983): 39.
120. Ernest Chesneau, "Salon de 1859," *Revue des races latines* 14 (May-June 1859): 123, as quoted in Neil McWilliam, "Le Paysan au Salon: Critique d'art et construction d'une classe sous le Second Empire," in *La Critique d'art en France 1850–1900: Actes du colloque de Clermont-Ferrand, 25, 26 et 27 mai 1987*, ed. Jean-Paul Bouillon (Saint-Étienne: Université de Saint-Étienne, 1989), 87.
121. Pierre-Joseph Proudhon, *Du principe de l'art et de sa destination sociale* (Paris: Garnier, 1865), 236–37.
122. On Mantz and Realism, see Bradley Fratello, "France Embraces Millet: The Intertwined Fates of *The Gleaners* and *The Angelus*," *The Art Bulletin* 85, no. 4 (December 2003): 692–93.
123. Frédéric Elsig, "Paul Mantz," *Dictionnaire critique des historiens de l'art actifs en France de la Révolution à la Première Guerre mondiale*, accessed 20 August 2014, http://www.inha.fr/fr/ressources/publications/dictionnaire-critique-des-historiens-de-l-art/mantz-paul.html?article2435
124. Paul Mantz, "Exposition universelle: La Peinture française," *Gazette des beaux-arts* 18 (October 1878): 432: "Bastien-Lepage est absolument dans la tradition, et dans la meilleure."
125. Paul Mantz, "Gustave Courbet," *Gazette des beaux-arts* 17 (June 1878): 514–27; 18 (July 1878): 17–30; 18 (December 1878): 371–84; Mantz, "Alfred Sensier," in Sensier, *Millet*, i-vi.
126. On *The Angelus* as a "masterpiece," see Paul Mantz, *Catalogue de tableaux de premier ordre anciens et modernes composant la galerie de M. John W. Wilson* (Paris: G. Petit, 1881), xix.
127. Mantz, "Salon de 1878": "Si les paysans que Proudhon a connus existaient encore et s'ils persistaient dans leur dilettantisme, ils pourraient, avec plus de vraisemblance, acquérir les *Foins* de M. Bastien-Lepage."
128. Mantz, "Gustave Courbet," 518, 520: "[C]es bons travailleurs de la voirie sont dépourvus de mouvement. Ils posent dans l'immobilité d'une attitude qui ne remue pas. Chose étrange! Courbet, ici encore . . . a souvent fait poser ses modèles, en leur disant le mot cher aux photographes: 'Ne bougeons plus!' Malheureusement on ne peut briser les pierres à coups de marteau sans agiter les bras."
129. Feldman, "Bastien-Lepage," 100.
130. Chardon, *Damvillers*, 37.
131. Moulin, *Peasantry and Society*, 60.
132. Estier, "Le Temps des dépressions," 317.
133. *Statistique agricole de la France (Algérie et colonies): Résultats généraux de l'enquête décennale de 1882* (Nancy: Le Ministre de l'agriculture/Imprimerie administrative, Berger-Levrault, 1887), 395. An important distinction obtains between winter and summer wages and between wages that include food and accommodation and those that do not. The details of *Les Foins* suggests the figures depicted are unfed summer laborers (i.e., they provide their own food). This is the wage cited here, which is also the highest.
134. *Statistique agricole de la France*, 382. In 1862 a female seasonal laborer earned 1.14 francs, and in 1882 she earned 1.87 francs.
135. Moulin, *Peasantry and Society*, 102.
136. *Statistique agricole de la France*, 386–87.
137. Weber, *Peasants into Frenchmen*, 125. On the slow adaptation of mechanical harvesters, see Estier, "Le Temps des dépressions," 321.
138. See *Journal de Chartres*, 28 July 1859, as quoted in Moulin, *Peasantry and Society*, 52.
139. F[rancois] Convert, "Les Ouvriers agricoles et les salaires: Conférence faite le 8 février 1878 à

l'Hôtel de la Préfecture," *Le Messager agricole* 19 (March 1878): 90.

140. Ibid., 91.
141. Ibid., 102.
142. "Séance du 9 janvier 1878," *Annales du Sénat et de la Chambre des députés: Session ordinaire de 1878* 5 (Paris: Journal Officiel, 1878), 267.
143. See the report of Alfred Baudrillart, as cited in Arthur Mangin, "Academie des sciences morales et politiques: Séance du samedi 6 août 1881," *Journal officiel de la République française* 13, no. 216 (9 August 1881): 4487: "À ce salaire agricole beaucoup d'ouvriers ajoutent un salaire industriel." The labor history in the same period indicate that miners would seek out agricultural work while on strike in the summer months. See Michelle Perrot, *Workers on Strike: France 1871–1890*, trans. Chris Turner (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1987), 118–19. On *cités*, see Joan Wallach Scott, *The Glassworkers of Carmaux: French Craftsmen and Political Action in a Nineteenth-Century City* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1974), 55–57.
144. The two paintings hung side by side at the Musée Luxembourg as early as 1886. See Thomson, *Art of the Actual*, 108. See also Monique Le Pelley Fonteny, *Léon Lhermitte et La paye des moissonneurs* (Paris: Musée d'Orsay, 1991).
145. See André Michel, *Le Parlement*, 8 June 1882, as quoted in Fonteny, *Lhermitte*, 33: "La journée de travail est finie: les moissonneurs groupés dans une cour de ferme aux murs blancs et aux toits rouges reçoivent des mains du fermier le salaire de la semaine." See also Charles Bigot, "Salon de 1882," *La Revue politique et littéraire* 2, no. 24 (17 June 1882): 744: "Le soir arrive; la semaine d'août est finie, la récolte est fauchée; dans la grande cour de la ferme les faucheurs reçoivent leur salaire."
146. Louis de Fourcaud, "Le Salon: M. Léon Lhermitte," *Le Gaulois*, 12 May 1882, p. 2: "il se repose comme il a travaillé, sans penser à rien compliqué." On the photographic pose of the figures, see Bigot, "Salon de 1882," 744–45; Édouard Drumond, *La Liberté*, 26 May 1882, and Siméon Piron, *Le Salon*, 18 May 1882, as quoted in Fonteny, *Lhermitte*, 31–32.
147. Weber, *Peasants into Frenchmen*, 483.
148. Lewis Mumford, *Technics and Civilization* (New York: Harcourt, Brace, and Company, 1934), 17.
149. Paul de Saint-Victor, "Le Salon de 1879," *La Liberté*, 3 June 1879, p. 3: "Leur mouvement photographique n'a rien de vivant ni de naturel, il est figé et anklyosé; on ne sent pas en lui le mouvement qui va suivre: 'Ne bougeons plus!' leur a crié une voix sortie de l'objectif."
150. Feldman, "Jules Bastien-Lepage," 112.
151. Geneviève Lacambre, "Toward an Emerging Definition of Naturalism in French Nineteenth-Century Painting," in *The European Realist Tradition*, ed. Gabriel P. Weisberg (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1982), 238–39.
152. On Bastien-Lepage and photography, see Weisberg, *Beyond Impressionism*, 62; and Gabriel P. Weisberg, *Against the Modern: Dagnan-Bouveret and the Transformation of the Academic Tradition* (New York: Dahesh Museum of Art; New Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers University Press, 2002), 61–62.
153. Ville Lukkarinen, "The Naturalness of Naturalism Reconsidered," *Konsthistorisk Tidskrift/ Journal of Art History* 65, no. 1 (1996): 55.
154. Gaston Tissandier, "Les Allures du cheval représentées par la photographie instantanée," *La Nature* 288 (14 December 1878): 23–26.
155. Champier, "Le Salon," 118.
156. See Gabriel P. Weisberg with Jean-François Rauzier, "Photography as Illusionary Aid: Constructing Reality," in *Illusions of Reality: Naturalist Painting, Photography, Theatre and Cinema, 1875–1918*, exh. cat. (Amsterdam: Van Gogh Museum, 2010), 31–43.

Chapter 2

1. See Kirk Varnedoe, *Gustave Caillebotte* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1987), 102; and, Anne Distel, "Decorative Triptych," in Distel et al., *Gustave Caillebotte: Urban Impressionist*, exh. cat. (Chicago: Art Institute of Chicago; New York: Abbeville, 1994), 80–85.
2. On the importance of the exhibition for Caillebotte, see Ronald Pickvance, "Contemporary Popularity and Posthumous Neglect," in Charles S. Moffett, *The New Painting: Impressionism, 1874–1886*, exh. cat. (San Francisco: Fine Arts Museums of San Francisco, 1986), 254, 256. See also Juliane Cosandier, "Caillebotte: Au coeur de l'impressionnisme," in *Caillebotte: Au coeur de l'impressionnisme*, exh. cat. (Lausanne: Fondation de l'Hermitage, 2005), 13.
3. X, "Choses et autres," *La Vie parisienne*, 10 May 1879, 275–76, reprinted in Ruth Berson, ed., *The New Painting: Impressionism, 1874–1886: Documentation*, vol. 1: *Reviews* (San Francisco: Fine Arts Museums of San Francisco, 1996), 252.

4. Louis Leroy, "Beaux-arts," *Le Charivari*, 17 April 1879, 2, reprinted in Berson, *New Painting*, 227.
5. Ibid.
6. Compare "Exposition des impressionnistes: 6, rue Le Peletier," *La Petite République française*, 10 April 1877, p. 2, reprinted in Berson, *New Painting*, 175–76; trans. in Varnedoe, *Caillebotte*, 188; and, Bertall, "Exposition des Indépendants, Ex-Impressionnistes, demain Intentionists," *L'Artiste* (1 June 1879): 397, reprinted in Berson, *New Painting*, 212, trans. Bertall, "Impressionism in France," *The American Art Review* 1, no. 1 (November 1879): 33. On the *Decorative Triptych* as a "manifesto," see Serge Lemoine, *Caillebotte à Yerres, le temps de l'impressionnisme*, exh. cat. (Paris: Flammarion, 2014), 113.
7. See Bertall, "Exposition des Indépendants," 212; Syène, "Salon de 1879," 242; and, Duranty, "La Quatrième Exposition fait par un groupe d'artistes indépendants," *La Chronique des arts et de la curiosité* (19 April 1879): 126–28, reprinted in Berson, *New Painting*, 218. On his change of style, see Alfred de Lostalot, "Exposition des artistes indépendants," *Les Beaux-arts* 10 ([26 April] 1879), 82–83, reprinted in Berson, *New Painting*, 230.
8. Varnedoe, *Caillebotte*, 5.
9. Anne-Birgitte Fonsmark, "Gustave Caillebotte: In the Midst of Impressionism: An Introduction," in *Gustave Caillebotte*, exh. cat. (Ostfildern: Hatje Cantz, 2008), 14.
10. Michael Fried, "Caillebotte's Impressionism," *Representations* 66 (Spring 1999): 2. On Caillebotte's negative reception, see Diego Martelli, "I pittori impressionisti francesi," *Roma artistica*, 5 July 1879, 178–79, reprinted in Berson, *New Painting*, 231.
11. Varnedoe, *Caillebotte*, 5.
12. Léon de Lora [Louis de Fourcaud], "L'Exposition des Impressionnistes," *Le Gaulois*, 10 April 1877, p. 2, reprinted in Berson, *New Painting*, 163. The critic's parallel appreciation for Bastien-Lepage and Roll marks him as key defender of this generation of painters.
13. See Armand Silvestre, "Exposition de la rue Le Peletier," *L'Opinion nationale*, 2 April 1876, p. 3, reprinted in Berson, *The New Painting*, 110; Baron Schop, "La Semaine parisienne: L'Exposition des intransigeants—L'Ecole des Batignolles—Impressionnistes et plein air," *Le National*, 7 April 1876, pp. 2–3, reprinted in Berson, *New Painting*, 107; Marius Chaumelin, "Actualités: L'Exposition des intransigeants," *La Gazette des étrangers*, 8 April 1876, pp. 1–2, reprinted in Berson, *New Painting*, 68.
14. Paul Mantz, "Exposition des peintres impressionnistes," *Le Temps*, 22 April 1877, p. 3, reprinted in Berson, *The New Painting*, 166.
15. See Gaston Tissandier, "Les Allures du cheval représentées par la photographie instantanée," *La Nature* 288 (14 December 1878): 23–26.
16. F. C. de Syène [Arsène Houssaye], "Salon de 1879," *L'Artiste* (1 May 1879): 292, reprinted in Berson, *New Painting*, 243.
17. I owe this insight to my student Sarah Nattel, who, along with Aimee Rubensteen and Nasya Miller, spent the better part of an afternoon with me looking at the three paintings when they appeared in the 2011 exhibition *Dans l'intimité des frères Caillebotte, peintre et photographe* at the Musée Jacquemart-André in Paris.
18. Emile Littré, *Dictionnaire de la langue française* (1872–77), s.v. "piquer": "s'élancer dans l'eau la tête la première, ou y tomber la tête la première," accessed 20 August 2014, http://artflsrv01.uchicago.edu/cgi-bin/dicos/pubdico1look.pl?strippedhw=piquer&headword=&docyear=ALL&dicoid=ALL.
19. X, "Choses et autres," *La Vie parisienne*, 10 May 1879, pp. 275–76, reprinted in Berson, *New Painting*, 252: "Un baigneur qui plonge, un autre qui nage, un troisième qui fait la planche. Quels adorables sujets de décoration!"
20. The term "triptych" would have been understood in a somewhat different way in the 1870s. In the early Third Republic, triptychs by artists such as Auguste Glaize, Ernest Duez, or Camille Clère were traditionally formatted with a large central painting and two smaller wings, like an altarpiece, even if the subject matter was secular. This continued to be the case for Naturalist and Symbolist triptychs in the fin de siècle. See *Polyptyques: Le Tableau multiple du moyen âge au vingtième siècle*, exh. cat. (Paris: Réunion des Musées Nationaux, 1990).
21. Anne Distel, "Decorative Triptych," in Distel, *Caillebotte*, 82.
22. See Gloria Groom, "Orchids," in Distel, *Caillebotte*, 309.
23. Henry Havard, *Dictionnaire de l'ameublement et de la décoration depuis le XIIIe siècle jusqu'à nos jours*, vol. 2: *D-H* (Paris: Quantin, 1888), 47.
24. See Paul Tucker, *Claude Monet: Life and Art* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1995), 91–92.
25. On the Hoschedé bankruptcy, see John Rewald,

The History of Impressionism, 4th ed. (New York: Museum of Modern Art, 1973), 412–13. Caillebotte's friend Giuseppe de Nittis seems to have purchased *Turkeys* at the Hoschedé sale in 1878. See no. 416 in Daniel Wildenstein, *Claude Monet: Biographie et catalogue raisonné*, vol. 1 (Lausanne: Wildenstein, 1974).

26. See "Chronology," in Distel, *Caillebotte*, 313.
27. Paul Sébillot, "Revue artistique," *La Plume*, 15 May 1879, p. 73, reprinted in Berson, *New Painting*, 239, trans. in Distel, "Decorative Triptych," 80.
28. Pierre Wittmer, *Caillebotte and His Garden at Yerres* (New York: Harry N. Abrams, 1991), 19.
29. See "Notre exposition: Claude Monet," *La Vie moderne* 25 (19 June 1880): 400. It is unclear when exactly Caillebotte purchased *Le Givre* (Musée d'Orsay, Paris). See no. 555 in Wildenstein, *Claude Monet*.
30. Michael Marrinan, "Caillebotte as Professional Painter: From Studio to the Public Eye," in *Gustave Caillebotte and the Fashioning of Identity in Impressionist Paris*, ed. Norma Broude (New Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers University Press, 2002), 64n.71.
31. In fact, Baron Haussmann represented the city in the sale of the land. For the value of the house, which included the land it was built on, see Archives de Paris, Land Registry, D1P4, rue de Miromesnil, 1876, as cited in Distel, *Caillebotte*, 311.
32. See Archives de Paris, Land Registry, D1P4, rue du Faubourg-Saint-Denis, 1852, 1862, 1876, as cited in Distel, *Caillebotte*, 311.
33. Archives Nationales, Minutier Central, Étude XXV, repertoire 18, no. 1197 (11 December 1878), as cited in Marrinan, "Caillebotte," 65n.74.
34. Marrinan, "Caillebotte," 33.
35. Archives Nationales, Minutier Central, Étude LVIII, repertoire no. 55 (4 February 1875), as cited in Marrinan, "Caillebotte," 64n.73.
36. Thomas Piketty, "On the Long-Run Evolution of Inheritance: France 1820–2050," *The Quarterly Journal of Economics* 126, no. 3 (August 2011): 1073. For the broader significance of inheritance within capitalist economies, see Thomas Piketty, *Capital in the Twenty-First Century*, trans. Arthur Goldhammer (Cambridge, Mass.: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2014), 377–429. On Parisian real estate speculation, see David Harvey, *Paris, Capital of Modernity* (New York: Routledge, 2003), 131.
37. See W. Arthur Lewis, *Growth and Fluctuations, 1870–1913* (1978; New York: Routledge, 2010), 53; and, Georges Dupeux, *French Society 1789–1970* (London: Methuen, 1976), 176.
38. See Jean-Marie Mayeur and Madeleine Rebérioux, *The Third Republic from Its Origins to the Great War*, trans. J. R. Foster (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press; Paris: Éditions de la Maison des Sciences de l'Homme, 1984), 46. In France the deflationary phase actually can be traced even earlier to government policies following the Franco-Prussian War, and the cost of living remained relatively stable until the 1880s, but the fact remains that the sons of Martial Caillebotte did very well out of his fortune.
39. Vassy, "La Journée à Paris," 145; Bertall, "Exposition des Indépendants," 397, trans. in Bertall, "Impressionism in France," 33.
40. Jules Poignard Montjoyeux, "Chroniques Parisiennes: Les indépendants," *Le Gaulois*, 18 April 1879, p. 1, reprinted in Berson, *New Painting*, 234.
41. Émile Littré, *Dictionnaire de la langue française* (1872–77), s.v. "rentier": "bourgeois qui vit de son revenu, sans négoce, ni industrie," accessed 20 August 2014, http://artflx.uchicago.edu/cgi-bin/dicos/pubdico1look.pl?stripped-hw=rentier&headword=&docyear=ALL&dicoid=ALL#LITTRE1872. "Revenu" here can be defined as "ce qu'on retire annuellement d'un bien, d'une pension, d'une rente." Although once a ubiquitous concept in economics and sociology, by 1936 John Maynard Keynes had predicted the coming "euthanasia of the rentier class." See Keynes, *The General Theory of Employment, Interest and Money* (1936; New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007), 376. On the shifting meaning of "rent" and "rentier," see Piketty, *Capital in the Twenty-First Century*, 422–24.
42. Distel, *Caillebotte*, 314.
43. Eugen Weber, "Inheritance, Dilettantism, and the Politics of Maurice Barrès," *My France: Politics, Culture, Myth* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1991), 228. He also notes that some 33 percent of the fathers of *lycéens* in 1880 listed their profession as rentier. See Octave Gréard, "L'Enseignement secondaire à Paris in 1880," *Revue bleue* (1880): 313–22, as cited in Weber, "Inheritance," 329n.11.
44. Piketty, *Capital in the Twenty-First Century*, 370.
45. Varnedoe, *Caillebotte*, 1; and, Marie Berhaut, "Caillebotte," in *The Dictionary of Art*, ed. Jane

Turner, vol. 5 (Oxford: Grove, 1996), 389.

46. See Marrinan, "Caillebotte."
47. Piketty, *Capital in the Twenty-First Century*, 286–87.
48. Robert L. Herbert, "Impressionism, Originality, and Laissez-Faire," *Radical History Review* 38 (1987): 8, reprinted in Herbert, *From Millet to Léger: Essays in Social History* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2002), 92.
49. Michel Melot, "Camille Pissarro in 1880: An Anarchist in Bourgeois Society," *Marxist Perspectives* 2 (Winter 1979–80): 33.
50. Ibid., 32.
51. Georg Simmel, *Philosophy of Money*, trans. Tom Bottomore, David Frisby, and Kaethe Mengelberg (1907; New York: Routledge, 2011), 331.
52. Sold at auction in June 1879, the work has never been identified. See "Chronology," in Distel, *Caillebotte*, 315.
53. On Ernest May and the iconography of the Degas painting, see Michael Pantazzi's contribution in Jean Sutherland Boggs, *Degas*, exh. cat. (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1988), 316–18. For some further indication of May's financial activities in the 1870s, see "Foreign Correspondence," *The Economist* 30, no. 1520 (12 October 1872): 1258; and "Table of Cases," in *The Weekly Notes* (London: Clowes and Sons, 1879), 165.
54. On the setting of the picture as the exterior portico of the Bourse, see Roy McMullen, *Degas: His Life, Times, and Work* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1984), 301; T. J. Clark, *The Painting of Modern Life: Paris in the Art of Manet and His Followers*, rev. ed. (1985; Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1999), 225; Boggs, *Degas*, 317; Robert L. Herbert, *Impressionism: Art, Leisure, and Parisian Society* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1988), 2; Marilyn Brown, *Degas and the Business of Art: A Cotton Office in New Orleans* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1993), 128.
55. Paul-Jacques Lehmann, *Histoire de la Bourse de Paris* (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1997), 19.
56. Pierre Léon et al., *Histoire économique et sociale de la France*, vol. 3: *L'Avènement de l'ère industrielle (1789—années 1880)*, ed. Fernand Braudel and Ernest Labrousse (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1976), 448.
57. See McMullen, *Degas*, 242–43 and 250–51.
58. David Sweetman, *Paul Gauguin: A Life* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1995), 64.
59. Carol Armstrong, *Odd Man Out: Readings in the Work and Reputation of Edgar Degas* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1991), 36.
60. Meyer Schapiro, "The Social Bases of Art" (1936), in *Worldview in Painting — Art and Society: Selected Papers* (New York: George Braziller, 1999), 124–25.
61. [Gaston Vassy], "La Journée à Paris: L'Exposition des Impressionalistes," *L'Evénement*, 6 April 1877, p. 2, reprinted in Berson, *New Painting*, 145.
62. Marrinan, "Caillebotte," 21–22.
63. Ibid., 33.
64. Fried, "Caillebotte's Impressionism," 9.
65. Ibid., 11.
66. Clark, *Painting of Modern Life*, 15.
67. Vassy, "La Journée à Paris," 145: "Le principal personage est le peintre lui-même."
68. Marni Reva Kessler, *Sheer Presence: The Veil in Manet's Paris* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2006), 9.
69. Carol Armstrong, *Manet Manette* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2002), 209.
70. On "photo-peinture," see X., "Les Artistes belges devant la critique française," *La Fédération artistique* 8 (1880–1881): 296–97, as quoted in Jan Dirk Baetens, "Photography in the Picture: Style, Genre and Commerce in the Art of Jan Van Beers (1852–1927) (Part I)," *Image & Narrative* 15 (November 2006), accessed 20 August 2014, http://www.imageandnarrative.be/inarchive/painting/Jan_Dirk_Baetens.htm.
71. Émile Zola, "Deux expositions d'art au mois de mai," *Le Messager de l'Europe* (Saint Petersburg), June 1876, reprinted in Berson, *New Painting*, 112: "Seulement, c'est une peinture tout à fait anti-artistique, une peinture claire comme le verre, bourgeoise, à force d'exactitude. La photographie de la réalité, lorsqu'elle n'est pas rehaussée par l'empreinte originale du talent artistique, est une chose pitoyable." The French here is a retranslation from the Russian. The word "tracing" (*décalque*) rather than "photography" was used by Zola in the slightly earlier version of the same review published anonymously in *La Sémaphore de Marseille*. Whether Zola or the editor modified the language for a Russian audience or the word was mistranslated into Russian is not clear. See Émile Zola, "Lettres de Paris: Autre correspondance," *La Sémaphore de Marseille*, 30 April–1 May 1876, p. 1, reprinted in Berson, *New Painting*, 108. On the problems of translation and the reception of these

publications in Paris, see F.W.J. Hemmings, "Zola, Manet, and the Impressionists," *PMLA* 73, no. 4 (September 1958): 407–17.

72. "Exposition des impressionnistes: 6, rue Le Peletier," *La Petite République française*, 10 April 1877, p. 2, reprinted in Berson, *New Painting*, 176.
73. Paul Sébillot, "Exposition des impressionnistes," *Le Bien public*, 7 April 1877, p. 2, reprinted in Berson, *New Painting*, 190.
74. Mario Proth, *Voyage au pays des peintres: Salon de 1877* (Paris: Vaton, 1877), 8: "ressembler à des photographies instantanées, à des photochromies jouant assez adroitement la peinture."
75. Camille Lemonnier, "L'Art à l'Exposition universelle—Ceux qui n'exposent pas," *L'Artiste* (31 August 1878), reprinted in Denys Riout, ed., *Les Écrivains devant l'impressionnisme* (Paris: Macula, 1989), 206.
76. Karin Sagner, "Gustave Caillebotte: An Impressionist and Photography," in *Gustave Caillebotte: An Impressionist and Photography*, exh. cat. (Frankfurt: Schirn Kunsthalle Frankfurt; Munich: Hirmer, 2012), 17, 21. See also Mark Tucker and Nica Gutman, "Photographs and the Making of Paintings," in Darrel Sewell et al., *Thomas Eakins*, exh. cat. (Philadelphia: Philadelphia Museum of Art; New Haven: Yale University Press, 2002), 225.
77. See *Dans l'intimité des frères Caillebotte, peintre et photographe* (Paris: Skira Flammarion, 2011).
78. Peter Galassi, "Caillebotte's Method," in Varnedoe, *Caillebotte*, 40.
79. On Caillebotte's copying of photographs, see Aaron Scharf, *Art and Photography* (1968; New York: Penguin, 1986), 176; Gabriel P. Weisberg, *Beyond Impressionism: The Naturalist Impulse* (New York: Harry N. Abrams, 1992), 52; and Juliet Wilson-Bareau, *Manet, Monet, and the Gare Saint-Lazare*, exh. cat. (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1998), 80, 128. For his emulation of the appearance of photographs, see Marrinan, "Caillebotte," 39, 42; and, James H. Rubin, *Impressionism and the Modern Landscape: Productivity, Technology, and Urbanization from Manet to Van Gogh* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2008), 49.
80. Kirk Varnedoe, "The Artifice of Candor: Impressionism and Photography Reconsidered," in *Perspectives on Photography: Essays in Honor of Beaumont Newhall*, ed. Peter Walch and Thomas F. Barrow (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1986), 114.
81. F. de Lagenevais, "Salon de 1875," *Revue des deux-mondes* 9, no. 3 (15 June 1875): 927, as quoted in Tucker and Gutman, "Photographs and the Making of Paintings," 232.
82. Proth, *Salon de 1877*, 132: "une jolie chose, bien composée, bien observée, mais beaucoup trop photographique." No doubt intended as faint praise, the analysis did not hit far wide of the mark in terms of the artist's own self-conception. A few years later, Béraud's working philosophy could be summarized as follows: "in order to be sincere, you have to photograph . . . on the spot." See Paul Hourie, "Jean Béraud," *L'Estafette*, 13 September 1880, as quoted in Patrick Offenstadt, *Jean Béraud, 1849–1935: The Belle Époque: The Dream of Times Gone By*, catalogue raisonné (Cologne: Taschen/Wildenstein Institute, 1999), 9.
83. Edmond Duranty, "Réflexions d'un bourgeois sur le Salon de peinture," *Gazette des beaux-arts* 15 (June 1877): 552: "Elle est disposée, groupée, dirait-on, par un photographe de village."
84. Eugène Véron, *L'Esthétique* (Paris: Reinwald, 1878), xxiv, trans. W. H. Armstrong in Véron, *Aesthetics* (London: Chapman and Hall; Philadelphia: Lippincott, 1879), xxiii.
85. Victor Champier, "Le Salon," in *L'Année artistique: 1878* (Paris: Quantin, 1879), 118.
86. Ibid.: "[L]e paysage, sous les aspects si multiples que la fantaisie des artistes adopte, semble entaché d'un vice général; vice qui est l'excès malheureux d'une excellente qualité: c'est l'amour exagéré du vrai absolu, du textuel, c'est la recherche de l'exactitude photographique."
87. Horace Lecoq de Boisbaudran, *Enseignment artistique*, vol. 2: *Coup d'oeil sur l'enseignement des beaux-arts* (Paris: A. Morel, 1879), 61: "La vérité de l'art n'est pas celle de la photographie, comme on paraît trop souvent le croire à notre époque."
88. Paul de Saint-Victor, "Le Salon de 1879," *La Liberté*, 3 June 1879, p. 3. For a somewhat different account of the overlapping concerns of Caillebotte and Bastien-Lepage, see Dominique Lobstein, "Yerres et Caillebotte," in Lemoine, *Caillebotte à Yerres*, 26, 30–31.
89. Distel, *Caillebotte*, 312.
90. See Dominique Morel, "De Nittis et la critique française: 'Ce vaillaint Napolitan de la rue Navarin,'" in *Giuseppe de Nittis: La Modernité élégante*, exh. cat. (Paris: Paris Musées, 2010), 27.
91. [Fourcaud], "Exposition des Impressionnistes," 163.

92. Marrinan, "Caillebotte," 39, 42.
93. Ibid., 62n.46. See also Kirk Varnedoe, "The Ideology of Time: Degas and Photography," *Art in America* 68, no. 6 (Summer 1980): 96–110.
94. *The Oxford English Dictionary*, 2nd ed. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1989), s.v. "snapshot."
95. André Gunthert, "La Conquête de l'instantané: Archéologie de l'imaginaire photographique en France, 1841–1895" (Ph.D. diss., École des Hautes-Études en Sciences Sociales, 1999), 80–81.
96. Gustave Courbet, "Aux jeunes artistes de Paris," *Courrier du Dimanche*, 29 December 1861, reprinted in Petra ten-Doesschate Chu, ed., *Correspondance de Courbet*, (Paris: Flammarion, 1996), 183.
97. Auguste Desplaces, "Lettres sur le Salon," *L'Union* 29 (29 January 1851): 29, as quoted in *Gustave Courbet*, exh. cat. (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2008), 36.
98. See Scharf, *Art and Photography*, 178; Paul de Saint-Victor and Arsène Houssaye, *Photochromie: Procédé Vidal* (Paris: A. Pougin, 1875); Arsène Houssaye, "La Photochromie," *L'Artiste* 28 (May 1876): 281–86; Léon Vidal, *Traité pratique de photochromie* (Paris: Gauthier-Villars, 1903).
99. See Victor Champier, "Notices bibliographiques: *Le Trésor artistique de la France*," *Revue de France* 28 (15 March 1878): 467–68.
100. On the status of color in photography before the 1870s, see Robert Machado, "The Politics of Applied Color in Early Photography," *Nineteenth-Century Art Worldwide* 9, no. 1 (Spring 2010), accessed 20 August 2014, http://www.19thc-artworldwide.org/spring10/politics-of-applied-color.
101. See Michel Frizot, "A Natural Strangeness: The Hypothesis of Color," in Frizot, *The New History of Photography* (Cologne: Könemann, 1998), 413.
102. Beaumont Newhall, "An 1877 Color Photograph," *Image: Journal of Photography of the George Eastman House* 3, no. 5 (May 1954): 33–34. See also Désiré van Monckhoven, *Traité pratique de photographie au charbon* (Paris: Georges Masson, 1876); Léon Vidal, *Traité pratique de photographie au charbon*, 3rd ed. (Paris: Gauthier-Villars, 1877); A. and L. Ducos du Hauron, *Traité pratique de photographie des couleurs* (Paris: Gauthier-Villars, 1878).
103. Levi L. Hill, *A Treatise on Daguerreotype* (1850; New York: Arno Press, 1973), as quoted in Heinz K. Henisch and Bridget Ann Henisch, *The Painted Photograph, 1839–1914: Origins, Techniques, Aspirations* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1996), 27.
104. Philip Brookman, "Helios: Eadweard Muybridge in a Time of Change," in *Eadweard Muybridge*, exh. cat. (London: Tate, 2010), 77.
105. Gustave Tissandier, *Les Merveilles de la photographie* (Paris: Hachette, 1874), 141: "photographie instantanée."
106. Charles Blanc, *Les Beaux-arts à l'Exposition universelle de 1878* (Paris: Renouard, 1878), 316: "Ses tableaux donnent l'idée d'un groupe d'objets et de figures, disposé par le hasard, saisi par la photographie instantanée."
107. See Michel Frizot, "Comment on marche: De l'exactitude dans l'instant," *48/14: La Revue du Musée d'Orsay* 4 (Spring 1997): 77.
108. Albert Londe, "L'Instantanéité en photographie," *La Nature* 556 (26 January 1884): 138: "Nous proposons pour notre part d'appeler *Instantanée* toute photographie prise en une fraction de seconde que nos sens ne nous permettent pas d'apprécier."
109. On the "optical unconscious," which is explicitly tied to the visualization in "slow motion and enlargement" of "the fraction of a second when a person actually takes a step," see Walter Benjamin, "Little History of Photography" (1931), trans. Edmund Jephcott and Kingsley Shorter, in *Selected Writings*, vol. 2: *1927-1934*, ed. Michael W. Jennings, Howard Eiland, and Gary Smith (Cambridge, Mass.: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1999), 510, 512.
110. Marc J. Gotlieb, *The Plight of Emulation: Ernst Meissonier and French Salon Painting* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1996), 182.
111. See Nicholas Green, "'All the Flowers of the Field': The State, Liberalism and Art in France under the Early Third Republic," *Oxford Art Journal* 10, no. 1 (1987): 75. In his official capacity, Guillaume had signed documents praising the student work of Bastien-Lepage in the late 1860s. See Serge Lemoine et al., *Jules Bastien-Lepage (1848–1884)*, exh. cat. (Paris: Musée d'Orsay, 2007), 19.
112. Martin Jay, *Downcast Eyes: The Denigration of Vision in Twentieth-Century French Thought* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993), 157. On Guillaume's drawing reforms, see also Molly Nesbit, "Ready-Made Originals," *October* 37 (Summer 1986): 55.
113. Eugène Guillaume, "Salon de 1879," *Revue des deux mondes* 34 (1 July 1879): 198: "La plaque

sensible donne une image instantanée, mais qu'y trouve-t-on en dehors de la forme, quand celle-ci n'est pas altérée? Une sorte de spectre sombre des choses, la trace exacte, mais obscure de la réalité."

114. Guillaume, "Salon de 1879," 198: "Les artistes ont voulu fixer aussi les effets rapides et brillans [sic] de la couleur et de la lumière qu'offre la nature dans leur instantanéité."
115. Edgar Degas, letter to Lorenz Frölich, [27 November 1872], in *Lettres de Degas*, ed. Marcel Guérin (Paris: Bernard Grasset, 1931), 6, trans. in Degas, *Letters*, ed. Marcel Guérin (Oxford: Bruno Cassirer, 1947), 22. It is worth noting that Degas says this in the context of his stay in New Orleans, where he feels he would need a "long séjour" to properly represent the habits of life in Louisiana.
116. Ernest Chesneau, "A côté du Salon: II. Le Plein air: Exposition du boulevard des Capucines," *Paris-Journal*, 7 May 1874, p. 2, trans. in Moffett, *New Painting*, 130.
117. Emile Verhaeren, "Joseph Heymans," *La Société nouvelle* 2 (June 1885): 125, reprinted in Verhaeren, *Écrits sur l'art*, ed. Paul Aron (Brussels: Labor, 1997), 194.
118. Félix Fénéon, "V[e] Exposition internationale de peinture et de sculpture," *La Vogue* 1 (28 June 1886), reprinted in Fénéon, *Oeuvres plus que complètes*, vol. 1: *Chroniques d'art*, ed. Joan U. Halperin (Geneva: Librairie Droz, 1970), 41.
119. Félix Fénéon, "Le Néo-Impressionnisme," *L'Art moderne* 7, no. 18 (1 May 1887): 139, reprinted in Fénéon, *Oeuvres plus que complètes*, 73: "Le spectacle du ciel, de l'eau, des verdures varie d'instant en instant professaient les premiers impressionnistes. Empreindre une de ces fugitives apparences sur le subjectile, c'est le but.—De là résultaient la nécessité d'enlever un paysage en une séance et une propension à faire grimacer la nature pour bien prouver que la minute était unique et qu'on ne la reverrait jamais plus."
120. Octave Mirbeau, "Claude Monet," in *Claude Monet / A. Rodin*, exh. cat. (Paris: Galerie Georges Petit, 1889), 14: "c'est instantanéité"; and, Claude Monet, letter to Gustave Geffroy, 7 October 1890, quoted in Daniel Wildenstein, *Claude Monet: Biographie et catalogue raisonné*, vol. 3 (Lausanne: Wildenstein, 1979), 258.
121. Steven Z. Levine, "The 'Instant' of Criticism and Monet's Critical Instant," *Arts Magazine* 55, no. 7 (March 1981): 115.
122. Richard Thomson, "Monet's 'Rouen Cathedrals': Anarchism, Gothic architecture and instantaneous photography," in *Soil and Stone: Impressionism, Urbanism, Environment*, ed. Frances Fowle and Richard Thomson (Burlington, Vt.: Ashgate, 2003), 155.
123. Ch. E. [Charles Ephrussi], "Bibliographie: *Les Peintres impressionnistes*," *La Chronique des arts et de la curiosité* 20 (18 May 1878): 158.
124. Clement Greenberg, "The Impressionists and Proust: Review of *Proust and Painting* by Maurice Chernowitz," in *The Collected Essays and Criticism*, vol. 2: *Arrogant Purpose, 1945–1949*, ed. John O'Brian (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1986), 96.
125. Henri Bergson, *Duration and Simultaneity*, trans. Leon Jacobson (1922; Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill, 1965), 52.
126. Kristin Schrader, "In Praise of Idleness," in *Caillebotte: An Impressionist and Photography*, 213.
127. Fried, "Caillebotte's Impressionism," 8.
128. Joris-Karl Huysmans, "L'Exposition des Indépendants en 1880," in *L'Art moderne* (Paris: Charpentier, 1883), 94.
129. For possible alternatives to rain, see Varnedoe, *Caillebotte*, 52; and, Distel, *Caillebotte*, 60.
130. "L'Exposition des impressionnistes," *Le Temps*, 7 April 1877, trans. in Varnedoe, *Caillebotte*, 187.
131. Fried, "Caillebotte's Impressionism," 31.

Chapter 3

1. See Gabriel P. Weisberg, *Beyond Impressionism: The Naturalist Impulse* (New York: Harry N. Abrams, 1992), 97–99; Olivier Le Bihan et al., *Alfred Roll, 1846–1919: Le Naturalisme en question*, exh. cat. (Paris: Somogy, 2007); and Camille Baillargeon, "1880: Des mineurs en grève au Salon ou de l'influence de la peinture sur les acquis sociaux," Analyse de l'IHOES [Institut d'Histoire Ouvrière, Économique et Sociale] 29 (31 November 2007), accessed 20 August 2014, http://www.ihoes.be/PDF/Baillargeon_1880_mineurs_greve_salon.pdf .
2. On the painting's exhibition history, see Jean-Christophe Castelain, "Alfred Roll, peintre républicain," in Le Bihan, *Alfred Roll*, 22. The Salon in Belgium moved each year between Brussels, Antwerp, and Ghent, and as such was called the Salon Triennal. The French Triennale in 1883, by contrast, was a failed attempt to establish a regular retrospective exhibition of France's best contemporary art. On the latter,

see Patricia Mainardi, *The End of the Salon: Art and the State in the Third Republic* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993), 91–118.

3. Camille Mauclair, "La Mémoire de Alfred Roll," *Le Figaro*, 1 May 1931, p. 5: "Roll devint, sans l'avoir cherché, quelque chose comme le peintre officiel de la IIIe République." On Roll and the Third Republic, see also John House, *Impressionism: Paint and Politics* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2004), 198–99.
4. Joris- Karl Huysmans, "Le Salon de 1885," *L'Évolution sociale*, 23 May 1885, reprinted in J.-K. Huysmans, *Écrits sur l'art, 1867–1905* (Paris: Bartillat, 2006), 305.
5. Joris-Karl Huysmans, "Le Salon officiel de 1880," in *L'Art moderne* (Paris: Charpentier, 1883), 132: "[L]a Grève de M. Roll est brave. Il a osé peindre, sans cold-cream et sans jus de cerise, de pauvres gens. Il va s'entendre dire qu'il fait de la peinture 'canaille' et qu'il manque de goût. Il sera fier, je l'espère, d'être jugé, bêtement, ainsi."
6. Ibid., 131: "[D]es hommes et des femmes sont là, en tas; à gauche, près des lugubres bâtiments en brique des charbonnages, la troupe arrive; à droite, un gendarme a mis pied à terre et garrotte un mineur, tandis qu'un autre gendarme, à cheval, profile sa haute silhouette sur un ciel lugubre. La scène est habilement agencée. Une femme placée, au milieu des hommes, près d'une charrette, les bras en l'air, tient un enfant serré sur elle et regarde, effarée, abrutie par la misère, comprenant qu'aux détresses quotidiennes une plus terrible va s'ajouter: l'arrestation de son mari, de sa bête à pain."
7. Ibid., 131–32: "Une seule figure me gâte ce tableau, celle du mineur mélodramatique, assis, dans le charbon, la tête sur ses poings. M. Roll avait évité l'emphase humanitaire où je craignais avec un tel sujet de le voir sombrer, ses gendarmes, accomplissant tranquillement l'inintelligente tâche qui leur est confiée, étaient excellents; pourquoi diable faut-il qu'il ait sacrifié aux besoins de la scène, en posant cet inutile charbonnier, sur l'affiche, en vedette, au premier plan?"
8. Ernest Chesneau, "Salon de 1880," *Le Moniteur universel*, 6 May 1880, p. 2.
9. [Louis de] Fourcaud, "Au Salon: Scènes populaires," *Le Gaulois*, 10 May 1880, p. 2. The critic later wrote one of the first books on Roll. See Louis de Fourcaud, *L'Oeuvre de Alfred-Phillippe Roll* (Paris: A. Guerinet, 1896).
10. On Caillebotte, see Léon de Lora [Louis de Fourcaud], "L'Exposition des Impressionnistes," *Le Gaulois*, 10 April 1877, p. 2; and, on Bastien-Lepage, see Fourcaud, "Salon du Gaulois," *Le Gaulois*, 19 June 1878, p. 2.
11. René Ménard, "Salon de 1880," *L'Indépendance belge*, 25 May 1880, reprinted in *Le Salon: Journal de l'Exposition annuelle des beaux-arts* 1, no. 10 (July 1880): 159: "Courbet vient à peine de mourir, que déjà M. Roll relève le drapeau de l'école. . . . On reprochait à Courbet de représenter la laideur sans nécessité et de choisir des sujets dépourvus d'intérêt. Dans le tableau de M. Roll, les types du peintre sont en rapport direct avec la situation, et la situation est d'une actualité qui en double l'intérêt."
12. Vast-Ricouard [Raoul Vast and Georges Ricouard] and [Émile] Gros-Kost, *Le Salon réaliste* (Paris: P. Ollendorff, 1880), 41–43. On this definition of Realism, see Gustave Courbet, "Aux jeunes artistes de Paris," *Le Courrier du dimanche*, 29 December 1861, reprinted in Petra ten-Doesschate Chu, ed., *Correspondance de Courbet* (Paris: Flammarion, 1996), 183.
13. Fourcaud, "Au Salon," 2: "[L]'oeuvre devient profonde à force d'être vraie."
14. Robert Mitchell, "Les Grèves," *Le Gaulois*, 11 May 1880, p. 1: "[L]'oeuvre de M. Roll est en effet un tableau historique qui marque une époque et fixe une date." Fourcaud's review of the painting appeared just one day earlier in the same paper.
15. See Philippe de Chennevières, "Le Salon de 1880," *Gazette des beaux-arts* 21 (June 1880): 520.
16. Mitchell, "Grèves," 1: "Aujourd'hui nous avons *la Grève*: c'est le grand épisode de nos annales contemporaines; on le retrouve chaque année plus grandiose et plus lugubre. C'est le chômage, la misère, le désespoir; demain peut-être ce sera la révolte et la guerre civile."
17. See "Les Grèves," *Le Pays*, 7 May 1880, pp. 1–2.
18. Charles Bigot, "Salon de 1880," *La Revue politique et littéraire* 9, no. 47 (22 May 1880): 1109: "Ce sujet d'une grève ouvrière n'est, hélas! que trop actuel à cette heure." On the critical avoidance of a political context for the painting, see Antoinette Ehrard, "L'Impossible' Salon de 1880," in *La Critique d'art en France, 1850–1900: Actes du colloque de Clermont-Ferrand, 25, 26 et 27 mai 1987*, ed. Jean-Paul Bouillon (Saint-Étienne: Université de Saint-Étienne, 1989), 152.
19. For a transcript of Mitchell's public criticism of the ascendancy of Naturalism and

Impressionism under Edmond Turquet's ministry, see "Chambres des Députés: Séance du mardi 18 mai 1880," *Journal officiel de la République française* 12, no. 136 (19 May 1880): 5387–406.

20. Bigot, "Salon de 1880," 1109.
21. Chesneau, "Salon de 1880." On Géricault's influence on Roll's earlier work, see Huysmans, "Le Salon de 1879," in *L'Art moderne*, 20.
22. Chesneau, "Salon de 1880."
23. "Le Dimanche au Salon," *Le Petit National*, 3 May 1880.
24. Roger-Ballu, "Salon de peinture de 1880," *La Revue des jeux, des arts et du sport*, 1 May 1880: "[L]'artiste ait évité de chercher une composition proprement dite. On croirait qu'il a regardé à travers son cadre ouvert, et qu'il a peint ce qu'il voyait."
25. Michael Fried, "Géricault's Romanticism," in *Géricault*, ed. Régis Michel (Paris: Documentation Française, 1996), 647. On the episodic composition of Roll's painting, see Chesneau, "Salon de 1880," 2: "[L]'artiste a dispersé l'intérêt sur toutes les parties de la toile indifféremment . . . la successivité des épisodes affaiblit la force d'impression que donnerait leur concentration plus rigoureuse."
26. Gotthold Ephraim Lessing, *Laocoön: An Essay on the Limits of Painting and Poetry*, trans. Edward Allen McCormick (1766; Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1984), 19
27. See Richard Thomson, *Art of the Actual: Naturalism and Style in Early Third Republic France, 1880–1900* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2012), 213.
28. On the Salon of 1880, see Mainardi, *End of the Salon*, 72–80.
29. See "Chambres des Députés: Séance du mardi 18 mai 1880." See also Edmond Turquet, "Rapport au Ministre de l'instruction publique et des beaux-arts," *Journal officiel de la République française* 12, no. 2 (2–3 January 1880): 34; and Jules Ferry, "Exposition publique des ouvrages des artistes vivants pour l'année 1880: Règlement," *Journal officiel de la République française* 12, no. 2 (2–3 January 1880): 34–36.
30. Roger-Ballu, *La Peinture au Salon de 1880: Les Peintres emus. Les Peintres habiles* (Paris: Quantin, 1880), 63: "[O]n prétend me montrer cette chose effrayante qui est le supplice d'un Dieu, et je n'aperçois que des acteurs d'opéra-comique . . . immobiles, ils semblent *poser*."
31. Laurent Pichat, "Études sur le Salon de 1880," *Phare de la Loire*, 14 May 1880: "Le vrai châtiment se trouve dans le voisinage, dans le tableau de M. Roll."
32. Émile Zola, "Le Naturalisme au Salon," *Le Voltaire*, 18–22 June 1880, reprinted in Zola, *Écrits sur l'art*, ed. Jean-Pierre Leduc-Anine (Paris: Gallimard, 1991), 410.
33. Ibid., 425
34. See Gustave Goetschy, "Edouard Manet," *La Vie moderne* 16 (17 April 1880): 247, 250; and "Notre exposition: Claude Monet," *La Vie moderne* 25 (19 June 1880): 400. See also Annette Dixon, "The Marketing of Monet: The Exhibition at *La Vie Moderne*," in *Monet at Vétheuil: The Turning Point*, exh. cat. (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Museum of Art, 1998), 91–115; and Carol Armstrong, "Facturing Feminity, Fashioning the Commodity: Between *Nana* and *La Vie Moderne*," in *Manet Manette* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2002), 227–67.
35. Philippe de Chennevières, "Le Salon de 1880," *Gazette des beaux-arts* 22 (July 1880): 44.
36. On Manet in Ghent, see Monique Nonne's contribution in Anne Pingeot and Robert Hoozee, *Paris-Bruxelles, Bruxelles-Paris: Réalisme, impressionisme, symbolisme, art nouveau. Les Relations artistiques entre la France et la Belgique, 1848–1914*, exh. cat. (Paris: Réunion des Musées Nationaux; Antwerp: Fonds Mercator, 1997), 186–87.
37. Huysmans, "Salon officiel de 1880," 155–56. Although less explicit than elsewhere, this focus confirms again the critic's favoring of scenes of absorption. On Huysmans's "intense dislike of theatricality," see Michael Fried, "Caillebotte's Impressionism," *Representations* 66 (Spring 1999): 43n.13. Louis Gauthier-Lathuille, who modeled the central man in *Chez le Père Lathuille*, gives an interesting account of his posing, acting, and costuming for the picture. See Adolphe Tabarant, *Manet: Histoire catalographique* (Paris: Montaigne, 1931), 353–54.
38. Chennevières, "Salon de 1880," 44.
39. Georges Lafenestre, *Le Livre d'or du Salon de peinture et de sculpture* (Paris: Libraire des Bibliophiles, 1880), iv: "En ce moment, c'est le naturalisme qui tient la tête. L'Exposition de 1880 a montré, mieux encore que les précédentes, les peintres qu'emporte en grande masse le courant réaliste préoccupés, avant tout, de l'exactitude du rendu et de l'exécution du morceau."

40. Frédéric de Syène, "Salon de 1880," *L'Artiste* (May-June 1880): 361: "[L]e réalisme—naturalisme si vous voulez—s'accentue chaque jour davantage dans la peinture d'histoire."
41. Victor Champier, "Salon de 1880," *Revue de France* (15 June 1880): 787: "La représentation multiple de la vie contemporaine, à la ville, aux champs, au bord de la mer, dans ses incidents tragiques ou plaisants, dans ses élégances ou dans ses misères, voilà ce qui domine au Salon, voilà ce qui de plus en plus tente les artistes en offrent à leur talent la liberté de se produire suivant l'humeur, le tempérament et le goût de chacun."
42. Vast-Ricouard and Gros-Kost, *Le Salon réaliste*, 73. On the reception of the painting, see Ehrard, "L' 'Impossible' Salon de 1880,"152–53.
43. Huysmans, "Salon officiel de 1880," 132–33: "Ce ne sont pas de vraies nippes de pauvresses, mais bien de gentils haillons fabriqués par un costumier de théâtre. Grévin y a même ajouté, pour la circonstance, des mièvreries de toutes sortes, des lacets joliment détirés, des franges décousues mais soigneusement ourlées, tout le bric-à-brac des étoffes portées par Mignon lorsqu'elle entre en scène." A few years later, Huysmans compared Roll's *Travail* favorably to Bastien-Lepage, emphasizing again the staged quality of the latter's productions. See Huysmans, "Salon de 1885," 305: "Évidemment il ne fait pas, de même que le prudent Lepage, habiller des acteurs en ouvriers et des actrices en paysannes."
44. Huysmans, "Salon officiel de 1880," 134, 145.
45. Zola, "Naturalisme au Salon," 428–29.
46. Ibid., 420: "On doit bien saisir la nature dans l'impression d'une minute, seulement, il faut fixer à jamais cette minute sur la toile par une facture largement étudiée."
47. Marius Vachon, "Le Salon de 1880," *Le France*, 22 May 1880.
48. Eugène Guillaume, "Salon de 1879," *Revue des deux mondes* 34 (1 July 1879): 198. See also Gabriel P. Weisberg, *Against the Modern: Dagnan-Bouveret and the Transformation of the Academic Tradition* (New York: Dahesh Museum of Art; New Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers University Press, 2002), 62.
49. Zola, "Le Naturalisme," 431; Olivier Merson, "Salon de 1880," *Le Monde illustré* 24, no. 1208 (22 May 1880): 322; M. de Thémines, "Salon de 1880," *La Patrie*, 4 May 1880; G. Dargenty, "Le Salon," *La Justice*, 21 May 1880.
50. Auguste Dalligny, "Le Salon de 1880," *Journal des arts*, 14 May 1880: "M. Roll nous semble s'être égaré en tombant dans un réalisme trop voulu et qui est devenu pour lui, en cette occasion, une manière."
51. Eugène Loudun, "Le Salon de 1880," *Revue du monde catholique* 7 (1880): 463: "Le tableau de M. Roll, une *Grève des mineurs*, est encore plus réaliste, comme on disait, il y a dix ans."
52. Émile Zola, *La République et la littérature* (Paris: Charpentier, 1879), 5: "La République sera naturaliste ou elle ne sera pas."
53. Loudun, "Salon de 1880," 463: "Une autre impression que donne le Salon, c'est le développement toujours plus grand du matérialisme dans l'art, et ce matérialisme est devenu de plus en plus bas. Ce n'est même plus le *réalisme* de Courbet, qui était né commun et trivial; c'est le *naturalisme*, c'est-à-dire, le vulgaire recherche de préférence, la vérité, la prétendue vérité représentée du côté où elle est le plus ignoble. Rien de plus juste encore, dans un temps où l'on renie Dieu, la vie immortelle, l'âme par conséquent et où l'on ne pense qu'à jouir. Aussi, chaque année voit s'augmenter le nombre des tableaux réalistes et *naturalistes*. . . . Le réalisme, le naturalisme est logiquement républicain." For an example of his longstanding opposition to Courbet's Realism, see Eugène Loudun, *Le Salon de 1852* (Paris: Hervé, 1852), 11–12.
54. See Eugène Loudun, *Journal d'un Parisien pendant la révolution de septembre et la Commune* (Paris: Lachaud, 1872).
55. See Bertrand Tillier, *La Commune de Paris, Révolution sans images? Politique et représentations dans la France républicain (1871–1914)* (Paris: Champ Vallon, 2004), 294. More generally, see Jean T. Joughin, *The Paris Commune in French Politics, 1871–1880: The History of the Amnesty of 1880*, 2 vols., Johns Hopkins University Studies in Historical and Political Science, series no. 73: 1–2 (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1955).
56. On Roll's upbringing, see Castelain, "Alfred Roll," 18, 21–22.
57. Jean Valmy-Baysse, *Alfred-Philippe Roll: Sa vie, son oeuvre* (Paris: Felix Juven, 1910), n.p.
58. Azar du Marest, "Alfred Roll," in *À travers l'idéal, fragments du journal d'un peintre* (Paris: Perrin et Cie, 1901), 282.
59. Castelain, "Alfred Roll," 19.
60. Howard G. Lay, "Pictorial Acrobatics," in *Montmartre and the Making of Mass Culture*,

ed. Gabriel P. Weisberg (New Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers University Press, 2001), 160. On the correlation of the red sash and blood, see Tillier, *La Commune de Paris*, 335.

61. See Michael Fried, *Manet's Modernism; or, The Face of Painting in the 1860s* (Chicago: University of Chicago, 1996), 266.
62. Marius Vachon, "Le Salon de 1880," *La France*, 8 May 1880: "Avez-vous souvenir du tollé général, des exclamations pudibondes qui accueillaient il y a trente ans, les *Casseurs de pierre* de Courbet, certes audacieuse création réaliste, à laquelle Proudhon donnait le caractère et la portée philosophique d'un manifeste socialiste 'd'une ironie à l'adresse de notre civilisation industrielle, d'une protestation contre le servage moderne?' Si l'auteur *Du principe de l'art et de sa destination moderne* était encore de ce monde, que n'écrivait-il sur cette *Grève des mineurs*?" Compare Paul Mantz, "Salon de 1878," *Le Temps*, 4 July 1878.
63. Fourcaud, *L'Oeuvre de Alfred Philippe Roll*, 13: "[I]l a réalisé pleinement, avec des moyens supérieurs, le beau programme indiqué par Courbet en tête du catalogue de son Exposition privée de 1855: 'Traduire les pensées, les moeurs, l'aspect de son temps selon son appréciation, être non seulement un peintre, mais encore un homme; en un mot *faire de l'art vivant*.'"
64. A. Ferdinand Herold, *Roll* (Paris: Félix Alcan, 1924), 41–42: "La *Grève* étonna le public. Certains critiques en parlèrent avec amertume. Ils renouvelèrent pour Roll—et c'était tout à son honneur—des critiques qu'on avait faites jadis à Courbet. Peindre des ouvriers, passe encore, mais les peindre misérables, dans un de ces moments où la misère les pousse à des actes désespérés, l'audace est grande, si grande qu'on ne peut le pardonner au peintre. Et on le blâmera d'avoir montré quelque intérêt à des gens si laids, si sales, si noirs."
65. "Au jour le jour: La Vente des oeuvres de Courbet," *Le Temps*, 11 December 1881, p. 2. See also, Pierre Courthion, *Tout l'oeuvre peint de Courbet* (Paris: Flammarion, 1987), 78.
66. A republican mayor of Ornans arrested in the crackdowns of 1851, Cuénot was most likely a key figure in the formation of Courbet's own political thinking. See Roger Marlin, *L'Epuration politique dans le Doubs à la suite du coup d'état du 2 Déc. 1851* (Dole: Chazelle, 1958), as cited in T. J. Clark, *Image of the People: Gustave Courbet and the 1848 Revolution* (1973; Berkeley: University of California Press, 1999), 99–100.
67. About, "Salon de 1880," *Le XIXme siècle*, 23 May 1880, p. 1: "[L]'artiste a prodigué le noir; il en a mis partout." On the painting's black tone, see also Daniel Bernard, "Salon de 1880," *L'Univers illustré* 1310 (1 May 1880): 278; Bigot, "Salon de 1880," 1109; Champier, "Salon de 1880," 788; Dalligny, "Le Salon de 1880"; Draner, "Le Salon nocturne," *La Caricature*, 29 May 1880, p. 7; Edmond Drumont, "Salon de 1880," *La Liberté*, 7 May 1880; Pierre Petroz, "Salon de 1880," *La Philosophie positive* 30, no. 1 (July–August 1880): 71; Maurice du Seigneur, *L'Art et les artistes au Salon de 1880* (Paris: Ollenderf, 1880), 102; Edmond Villetard, "Visites au Salon de 1880," *Le Français*, 4 May 1880.
68. Louis Leroy, "Le Congrès artistique: Salon de 1880," *Le Charivari*, 5 May 1880.
69. Paul Vitry, "Alfred Philippe Roll," *The International Studio* 55, no. 220 (June 1915): 113.
70. Bertall, "Le Salon de 1880," *Paris-Journal*, 16 May 1880, p. 2, as quoted in Patrick Offenstadt, *Jean Béraud, 1849–1935: The Belle Époque: The Dream of Times Gone By* (Cologne: Taschen / Wildenstein Institute, 1999), 48. Béraud had drawn wide attention for paintings of funerals at the Salons of 1876 and 1879.
71. Émile Zola, *L'Oeuvre* (Paris: Charpentier, 1886), 49, trans. Thomas Walton, in Zola, *The Masterpiece* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1993), 43.
72. Paul de Charry, "Le Salon de 1880," *Le Pays*, 6 May 1880: "Ici, c'est noir, terne et peu séduisant à l'oeil, mais cela rentre dans la situation: la *Grève des mineurs* ne peut être bien lumineuse, tout doit sentir le charbon et la poussière."
73. Chennevières, "Le Salon de 1880," 515. On the appropriateness of the blackness, see Villetard, "Visites au Salon de 1880."
74. Puvis de Chavannes, as quoted in Louis Codet, "Beaux-arts: Roll," *La Revue des beaux-arts et des lettres* (15 April 1899): 198, trans. in Thomson, *Art of the Actual*, 88.
75. A few years earlier, Ernest Chesneau had suggested that Realism in its "first" phase and photography had both contributed to the increasingly less colorful, increasingly grey painting before Impressionism. See Chesneau, "Au Salon: Avertissement préalable," *Paris Journal*, 9 May 1874, p. 2, reprinted in Berson, *New Painting*, 19.

76. In his later discussion of Roll's *Travail*, Huysmans emphasized this "photographic" quality. See Joris-Karl Huysmans, "Le Salon de 1885," *L'Évolution sociale* 16, 23, 30 May 1885, reprinted in Huysmans, *Écrits sur l'art, 1867–1905* (Paris: Bartillat, 2006), 305.
77. Paul Mantz, "Le Salon," *Le Temps*, 30 May 1880, p. 1: "[T]ous les personnages, intimidés par le regard du peintre, ont l'air de poser comme devant l'objectif du photographe. M. Roll semble avoir terrorisé ses mineurs par le terrible 'Ne bougeons plus!' et le sentiment dramatique s'est figé." Compare Mantz, "Gustave Courbet," *Gazette des beaux-arts* 17 (June 1878): 520.
78. Gonzague-Privat, "Le Salon," *L'Evénement*, 6 May 1880: "Son tableau la Grève des mineurs rend très exactement la scène qu'il prétend représenter."
79. Champier, "Salon de 1880," 788: "une de ces scènes populaires comme on en voit trop souvent dans les cités ouvrières."
80. Drumont, "Salon de 1880": "vrai et exact comme un fait-divers."
81. Émile Bergerat, "Salon de 1880," *Journal officiel de la République française* 12, no. 139 (22 May 1880): 5543: "Où se place la scène? Partout hélas! en ce moment."
82. See Bernard, "Salon de 1880," 278: "les mineurs d'Anzin"; 294: "l'auteur de *La Grève d'Anzin* se délecte dans l'horrible." See also "Petite chronique," *Le Musée artistique et littéraire* 3, no. 7 (1880): 112.
83. See Yves Guyot, "Mines et mineurs," *Le Voltaire*, 20 July 1878, p. 1; Guyot, "La Grève d'Anzin," *Le Voltaire*, 23 July 1878, pp. 1–2; 24 July 1878, p. 1; 25 July 1878, p. 1; 26 July 1878, p. 1. See also G. Grison, "Les Grèves d'Anzin," *Le Figaro*, 19 July 1878, p. 1.
84. E.A., "Exposition universelle XIII: Les Mines d'Anzin," *La République française,* 26 June 1878, p. 3. On the contemporary significance of Anzin for the coal industry, see also Henry Laporte, "A Geological Sketch of the Northern Coal-Field of France," *Transactions: North of England Institute of Mining and Mechanical Engineers* 27 (1877–78): 150–54.
85. Emile Lavasseur, *Questions ouvrières et industrielles en France sous la Troisième République* (Paris: Arthur Rousseau, 1907), 643.
86. Daniel Halévy, "Après le seize mai: Une année d'Exposition: 1878," *La Revue universelle* 67 (November 1936): 441.
87. Guyot, "Mines et mineurs": "Tout est noir. Le sol est noir. . . . d'hommes, de femmes, d'enfants tout noir."
88. See Mantz, "Le Salon." On the perceived racial component to miners's identities around this time, see Griselda Pollock, "'With my own eyes': Fetishism, the Labouring Body and the Colour of Its Sex," *Art History* 17, no. 3 (September 1994): 342–82.
89. Guyot, "Grève d'Anzin," 23 July 1878. See also Grison, "Grève d'Anzin"; and Ernest Herbaut, "La Grève d'Anzin," *L'Univers illustré* 1219 (3 August 1878): 487.
90. Guyot, "Grève d'Anzin," 26 July 1878. See also L.C., "La Grève d'Anzin," *L'Illustration* 1848 (27 July 1878): 51.
91. Guyot, "Grève d'Anzin," 23 July 1878. On the hours of the elevator operation, see Grison, "Grèves d'Anzin."
92. Guyot, "Grève d'Anzin," 25 July 1878; Grison, "Grèves d'Anzin."
93. On Roll and Guyot, see Marion Lagrange, "Le 'Zola de la peinture,' le naturalisme selon Alfred Roll: Essai de réception critique (1875–1893)," in Le Bihan, *Alfred Roll*, 69–70.
94. Valmy-Baysse, *Roll*, n.p.: "En 1879, une grève éclata à Charleroi. Roll s'y rendit, l'affaire était chaude. Chaque jour avait son échauffourée, ses victimes et ses arrestations. Roll alla partout; même, dans une bagarre, une brique destinée à un représentant de la loi le blessa à la tête; il ne quitta pas pourtant ce qu'il appelait son poste. Impartialement, il nota les mouvements des foules, comme les gestes des individus. Le tableau était en partie composé, mais de retour à Paris, et voulant se documenter davantage, il fit venir une famille de mineurs, et tout en travaillant, il fit parler ses modèles: ainsi il fut initié à leurs misères, à leurs déceptions. De cette collaboration pour les moins imprévue, naquit cette haute page de résignation et de fatalité: *La Grève des Mineurs*."
95. Marest, "Alfred Roll," 286. On Charleroi as the subject of *The Strike of the Miners*, see Louis de Fourcaud, "Roll," *L'Art dans les deux mondes* 13 (14 February 1891): 144.
96. Michelle Perrot, *Workers on Strike: France 1871–1890*, trans. Chris Turner (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1987), 290. On the strikes of 1878, see also Bruno Mattei, *Rebelle, Rebelle!: Révoltes et mythes du mineur, 1830–1946* (Seyssel: Champ Vallon, 1987).

97. Perrot, *Workers on Strike*, 291.
98. Ibid., 16.
99. Most famously, Émile Zola took Anzin as a model for the strike in *Germinal* (Paris: Charpentier, 1885). On Zola's notable debt to Roll and *The Strike of the Miners* specifically, see Lagrange, "Le 'Zola de la peinture,'" 66–68.
100. Perrot, *Workers on Strike*, 83.
101. Ibid., 115–16.
102. "Explication de nos gravures: Les 'Roufions': Tableau de M. Lucien (Salon de 1907)," *Le Petit Journal: Supplement illustré* 878 (15 September 1907): 290. On the painting's relation to Roll, see André Pératé, "Les Salons de 1907," *Gazette des beaux-arts* 37 (June 1907): 448.
103. Perrot, *Workers on Strike*, 115.
104. Ibid., 160.
105. Ibid., 184.
106. Ibid., 170.
107. Charles Flor, "Salon de 1880," *Le National*, 4 May 1880.
108. Charles Blanc, *Grammaire des arts du dessin: Architecture, sculpture, peinture* (Paris: Renouard, 1867), 537.
109. Victor Champier, *L'Année artistique: 1880–1881* (Paris: Quantin, 1881), 789.
110. For the troops as target, see About, "Salon de 1880"; Dalligny, "Salon de 1880"; Ménard, "Salon de 1880"; and Pichat, "Études sur le Salon de 1880." For the pithead, see Émile Cardon, "Le Salon de 1880," *Le Soleil*, 9 May 1880.
111. About, "Salon de 1880": "[L]a collision violente du travail et du capital comporterait, si je ne me trompe, plus de mouvement qu'on voit là. Le seul personnage qui exprime la révolte est un beau garçon qui s'apprête à lapider d'un morceau de charbon une compagnie de fantassins." On the figure's hesitation, see Daniel Bernard, "Salon de 1880," *L'Univers illustré* 1311 (8 May 1880): 294.
112. Fourcaud "Au Salon," 2.
113. Anson Rabinbach, *The Human Motor: Energy, Fatigue, and the Origins of Modernity* (New York: Basic, 1990), 28.
114. Victor Turquan reports that the agitation for reduced work-time was the fourth most common cause of strikes between 1874 and 1885. See Turquan, "Les Grèves en France depuis 1874. Leurs causes et leurs résultats," *Journal de la société de statistique de Paris* 30, no. 9 (September 1889): 290–97.
115. See R[ichard] Waddington, "Rapport concernant la durée des heures de travail dans les usines et les manufactures," *Journal officiel de la République française* 12, no. 176 (28 June 1880): 7166–171.
116. Gary Cross, *A Quest for Time: The Reduction of Work in Britain and France, 1840–1940* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1989), 48.
117. Eugène Tallon, *La Vie morale et intellectuelle des ouvriers* (Paris: Plon, 1877), 257.
118. See Paul Lafargue, "Le Droit à la paresse," *L'Égalité*, 23, 30 June 1880; 7, 14, 21, 28 July 1880; 4 August 1880. See also Paul Lafargue, *Le Droit à la paresse: Réfutation du droit du travail de 1848* (Paris: Herny Oriol, 1883); and, Lafargue, *The Right to Be Lazy and Other Studies*, trans. Charles Kerr (Chicago: Charles Kerr, 1883).
119. See Leslie Derfler, *Paul Lafargue and the Founding of French Marxism, 1842–1882* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1991), 172.
120. See Karl Marx, "Economic and Philosophical Manuscripts," in *Early Writings*, ed. Lucio Coletti, trans. Rodney Livingstone and Gregor Benton (Harmondsworth, England: Penguin in association with New Left Review, 1992), 279.
121. Lafargue, *Droit à la paresse*, 20.
122. Derfler, *Paul Lafargue*, 182.
123. See Lezek Kolakowski, "Paul Lafargue: a Hedonist Marxism," in *Main Currents of Marxism: Its Origins, Growth and Dissolution*, vol. 2: *The Golden Age*, trans. P. S. Falla (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1978), 148.
124. See Émile Gautier, *Les Endormeurs: Heures de travail (propos anarchistes)* (Paris: Derveaux, 1880). On Gautier and the Lyons trial, see Jean Maitron, *Le Mouvement anarchiste en France*, vol. 1: *Des origines à 1914* (Paris: Gallimard, 1975), 171–76.
125. Karl Marx, *Capital*, vol. 1, trans. Ben Fowkes (Harmondsworth, England: Penguin, 1976), 129. Translation as amended in Moishe Postone, *Time, Labor, and Social Domination: A Reinterpretation of Marx's Critical Theory* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993), 189.
126. Karl Marx, *Grundrisse*, trans. Martin Nicolaus (Harmondsworth, England: Penguin, 1973), 173.
127. Alfred-Philippe Roll, as quoted in Marest, "Alfred Roll," 293–94: "Mais le noeud de cette question si douloureuse réside, à mon sens, dans *une fausse conception du salaire*. Sous peine, en effet, de traiter le travailleur en simple 'machine à production,' il me semble impossible de subordonner plus longtemps son existence au caprice

des fluctuations industrielles. . . . Il s'agirait donc de supprimer le jeu si brutal de l'offre et de la demande, —en y substituant, le plus tôt possible, *un salaire calculé d'après les nécessités de la vie humaine*. Et ce serait ce salaire-là qui déterminerait le prix des produits sur tous les marchés!—Je ne vois pas d'autre économie raisonnable."

128. Drumont, "Salon de 1880": "[T]out ce petit monde, qui vivait heureux et tranquille hier, est maintenant perturbé, agité, furieux contre lui-même et contre les autres, tout désorienté de ne pas entendre sonner la cloche qui rythme d'ordinaire les heures de la journée."
129. Frederick Engels, *The Condition of the Working-Class in England in 1844*, trans. Florence Kelley Wischnewetsky (1845; London: Swan Sonnenschein, 1892), 196.
130. See Alain Corbin, *Village Bells: Sound and Meaning in the Nineteenth-Century French Countryside* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1998).
131. See Claude Keisch and Marie Ursula Riemann-Reyher, *Adolph Menzel, 1815–1905: Between Romanticism and Impressionism*, exh. cat. (New Haven: Yale University Press in association with National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C., 1996), 379.
132. Émile Bergerat, "Exposition universelle," *Journal officiel de la République française* 10, no. 289 (23 October 1878): 9910.
133. See Edmond Duranty, "Exposition universelle: Les Écoles étrangères de peinture," *Gazette des beaux-arts* 18 (July 1878): 50–62; Duranty, "Adolphe Menzel," *Gazette des beaux-arts* 21 (March 1880): 201–17; 22 (August 1880): 105–124. See also Thomas W. Gaehtgens, "Menzel and French Painting of the Time: Two Conceptions of the Historical Genre," in Keisch, *Adolph Menzel*, 113–24; and Michael Fried, "The French Response to Menzel: Edmond Duranty," in *Menzel's Realism* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2002), 125–39.
134. René Delorme, "La Peinture de genre," in *L'Exposition des beaux-arts (Salon de 1880)* (Paris: Baschet, 1880), n.p. On the relation of coal extraction and metal production, see Arno J. Mayer, *The Persistence of the Old Regime: Europe to the Great War* (New York: Pantheon, 1981), 55. Mayer notes that, due to limited natural resources, French levels of coal extraction remained stable before World War I, with only 300,000 miners working in the industry in 1870 and in 1913. As a consequence, France imported large amounts of coal to keep its metal production at levels competitive with the larger industrial economies of Great Britain, Germany, and the United States.
135. See Sanford Kwinter, *Architectures of Time: Toward a Theory of the Event in Modernist Culture* (Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 2002), 22.
136. Lucien Febvre, "Le Temps vécu et le temps-mésure," in *La Problème de l'incroyance au XVIe siècle* (Paris: A. Michel, 1947), 431.
137. Fourcaud, "Au Salon." Other critics who describe the painting as "sinister" include Émile Michel, "Le Salon de 1880," *Revue des deux mondes* 39 (June 1880): 693; Th. Véron, *Dictionnaire Véron: Salon de 1880* (Paris: Bazin, 1880), 76; Philippe Burty, "Le Salon de 1880," *La République française*, 11 May 1880; Chennevières, "Le Salon de 1880," 515; Dalligny, "Le Salon de 1880."
138. Michael Zimmerman, *Seurat and the Art Theory of His Time* (Antwerp: Fonds Mercator, 1991), 73.
139. Dalligny, "Le Salon de 1880": "Les uns menaçent; les autres s'asseyent, farouches comme des malheureux dans le cerveau desquels il passe parfois de douloureuses et sinistres pensées. L'un d'eux est sur point de provoquer la troupe en lui lançant des pierres, sa femme suppliante l'en empêche."
140. Flor, "Salon de 1880": "Les gendarmes remplissent leur dure mission, non sans surveiller du coin de l'oeil ces révoltés qui les entourent et qui les menacent."
141. Fourcaud, "Au Salon": "Prenons garde aux misères: elles engendrent l'idée des représailles que s'entendent à exploiter les anarchistes. En tout état de cause le pire ennemi de l'ordre social, c'est la faim. Ce tableau n'accuse personne; il a cette utile grandeur qu'il prête à réfléchir; il n'est pas amer, il est franc."
142. For the presumption that the flag must be red, see James M. Dennis, *Robert Koehler's "The Strike": The Improbable Story of an Iconic 1886 Painting of Labor Protest* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 2011), 63. On the shifting color of the flag from black to red, see Baillargeon, "Des mineurs en grève," n.29.
143. Véron, *Dictionnaire Véron*, 76: "Ce rassemblement sombre et sinistre a pour drapeau funèbre une loque noire se détachant sur un ciel de brume" See also Bernard, "Salon de 1880," 294.
144. E.D., "Le Salon," *La Lanterne*, 14 May 1880, p. 2: "Ces hommes désespérés, ces femmes dont la

douleur éclate, ces soldats qui viennent, le fusil chargé prêts à donner la mort aux misérables qui réclament du pain, ce haillon noir qui flotte à l'horizon et qui semble le drapeau de la misère, tout cela donne un serrement de coeur."

145. Fourcaud, *Alfred Philippe Roll*, 8.
146. Perrot, *Workers on Strike*, 166.
147. Louise Michel, quoted in Daniel Guerin, ed., *Ni dieu, ni maître: Anthologie historique du mouvement anarchiste* (Paris: Édition de Delphes, 1969), 413. On the black flag at the anarchist demonstrations of March 1883, see Auguste Boucher, "Chronique politique," *Le Correspondant* 94 (25 March 1883): 1174–75. See also the statement on the meaning of the black flag in the first issue of *Le Drapeau noir* 1 (12 August 1883): 1. The editors recall a famous 1831 revolt in Lyons in which black flags flew.
148. Littré, *Dictionnaire de la langue française* (1872–77), s.v. "drapeau," accessed 20 August 2014, http://artflsrv02.uchicago.edu/cgi-bin/dicos/pubdico1look.pl?strippedhw=drapeau&headword=&docyear=ALL&dicoid=ALL.
149. Fourcaud, "Au Salon": "Le peintre a trouvé des tons sinistres qui ajoutent à l'épouvante du sujet." The critic for *La Lanterne* echoed this assertion just four days later. See E.D. "Le Salon": "Le ton gris du tableau ajoute encore, s'il est possible, à l'horreur de la scène."
150. Paul de Cassagnac, as quoted in "Chambres des Députés: Séance du mardi 18 mai 1880," 5393: "Alors, il ne faudra plus peintre qu'en rouge!" trans. in Mainardi, *End of the Salon*, 79.
151. For a reading of the work, in the context of Valenciennes, as "admonitory," see Thomson, *Art of the Actual*, 113.
152. Ernest Chesneau, "Salon de 1880," 2: "Le drapeau noir, sinistre, n'est pas abattu, il va l'être."

Chapter 4

1. See Barbara Schinman Fields, "Jean-François Raffaëlli (1850–1924): The Naturalist Artist" (Ph.D. diss., Columbia University, 1979), 180–82.
2. Charles S. Moffett, "Disarray and Disappointment," in Moffett, *The New Painting: Impressionism, 1874–1886*, exh. cat. (San Francisco: Fine Arts Museums of San Francisco, 1986), 303. See also Richard Thomson, "The Drinkers of Daumier, Raffaëlli and Toulouse-Lautrec: Preliminary Observations on a Motif," *Oxford Art Journal* 2 (April 1979): 29–33; Joel Isaacson, *The Crisis of Impressionism, 1878–1882*, exh. cat. (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Museum of Art, 1980), 171; and Gabriel P. Weisberg, *Beyond Impressionism: The Naturalist Impulse* (New York: Harry N. Abrams, 1992), 48–54.
3. See Edmond Duranty, "Réflexions d'un bourgeois sur le Salon de peinture," *Gazette des beaux-arts* 15 (June 1877): 547–81; and Edmond de Goncourt et al., *Les Types de Paris* (Paris: Plon-Nourrit, 1889). The latter consisted of a series of short stories written by a variety of authors and illustrated by Raffaëlli. As Lloyd James Austin makes clear, the piece by Mallarmé was clearly a collaboration between the writer and the artist. See Austin, "Mallarmé and the Visual Arts," in *French 19th Century Painting and Literature*, ed. Ulrich Finke (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1972), 232–57.
4. Félix Fénéon, "Le Salon," *La Revue indépendante* 11 (June 1889): 366, reprinted in Fénéon, *Oeuvres plus que complètes*, vol. 1: *Chroniques d'art*, ed. Joan U. Halperin (Geneva: Librairie Droz, 1970), 154: "Des buveurs d'absinthe, gens à redingote et à haut chapeau, sont attablés devant un cabaret de banlieue, sous une tonnelle dépouillée par l'hiver; un mince rectangle ménagé entre l'arête d'un mur historié de drôleries et le montant gauche du cadre laisse voir la campagne: un disque de voie ferrée, une palissade. La perspicacité littéraire de M. Raffaëlli excelle à scruter la vie de mornes hères, et son méticuleux métier grave les rides d'un poignet soutenant une mâchoire ou les fibrilles de sang d'yeux fiévreux."
5. Fénéon, "Le Salon," 154: "Les figures de M. Jean-François Raffaëlli doivent leur caractère au milieu d'où il les extrait; c'est moins d'elles qu'il se préoccupe que de la classe sociale dont elles sont le spécimen.
6. Octave Mirbeau, "Jean-François Raffaëlli," *L'Écho de Paris*, 28 May 1889, reprinted in Mirbeau, *Combats esthétiques*, vol. 1: *1877–1892*, ed. Pierre Michel and Jean-François Nivet (Paris: Séguier, 1993), 367: "Grâce à M. Raffaëlli, la banlieue de Paris—ce monde intermédiaire et bizarre, à la fois grouillant et abandonné, qui n'est plus la ville et qui n'est pas encore la campagne, où rien ne finit, et où rien ne commence, où les hommes, épaves de misères sociales: petites vies bourgeoises, métiers mystérieux, rôdes nocturnes, écrasements prolétariens; où les ciels, charriant avec la suie des cheminées d'usines, l'âcre odeur des poussières urbaines; où les paysages, faits des végétations étiolées, de profils gris,

de silhouettes désolées, d'horizons fumeux, de détritus et de gravats relevés, çà et là, de la cassure vive d'une tuile ou du luisant d'un morceau de verre, ont un caractère si particulier de souffrance et de révolte, une si poignante couleur de mélancolie—a conquis sa place dans l'idéal."

7. Félix Fénéon, "Le Musée du Luxembourg," *Le Symboliste*, 15 October 1886, reprinted in *Oeuvres plus que complètes*, 63: "M. Raffaëlli est un artiste de main acrobatiquement habile et d'intelligence aiguisée, qui a construit les schémas des gens du bas peuple et inventé le paysage suburbain."
8. August Rodin, quoted in Gustave Geffroy, "Jean-François Raffaëlli, 1850–1924," *Gazette des beaux-arts* 10 (1924): 173: "Raffaëlli est un artiste pour qui le mot original est fait. Sans lui, nous passions dans les banlieues sans en savoir les beautés."
9. On Mirbeau, Fénéon, and anarchism, see Jean Maitron, *Le Mouvement anarchiste en France*, vol. 1: *Des origines à 1914* (Paris: Gallimard, 1975); Reg Carr, *Anarchism in France: The Case of Octave Mirbeau* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1977); Joan Ungersma Halperin, *Félix Fénéon: Aesthete and Anarchist in Fin-de-Siècle Paris* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1988); Mirbeau, *Combats politiques*; and Howard G. Lay, "*Beau geste!* (*On the Readability of Terrorism*)," *Yale French Studies* 101 (2001): 79–100.
10. Pierre Larousse, *Grand dictionnaire universel du XIXe siècle*, vol. 6 (1866–79; Paris: Slatkine, 1982), s.v. "déclassé," 242. In Frederic Jameson's analysis of class in the Naturalist novel, "déclassement" is the "desperate fear . . . of slipping down the painfully climbed slope of class position and business or monetary success, of falling back into the petty bourgeoisie and thence on into working class misery itself." See Jameson, *The Antinomies of Realism* (London: Verso, 2013), 149.
11. Two related, possibly preparatory paintings suggest that *Les Déclassés* was worked up into a major piece, and was clearly intended to stand at the head of the artist's contribution to the exhibition. *The Absinthe Drinker* of 1880, now in the Musée des Beaux-Arts in Liège, is generally considered a sketch for the canvas in San Francisco, but given its relatively large size, it offers something closer to a variant. Sold at Sotheby's New York in October 2005, *Habitués de café* constitutes a much smaller version of *Les Déclassés*, with a more melodramatic encounter of two drinkers with a mother and baby—clearly they are one drinker's wife and child.
12. "Exposition des impressionnistes: 6, rue Le Peletier," *La Petite République française*, 10 April 1877, p. 2, reprinted in Ruth Berson, ed., *The New Painting: Impressionism, 1874–1886: Documentation*, vol. 1: *Reviews* (San Francisco: Fine Arts Museums of San Francisco, 1996), 175–76, trans. in Kirk Varnedoe, *Gustave Caillebotte* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1987), 188.
13. See Isaacson, *Crisis of Impressionism*, 160. See also Oscar Reutersvärd, "1881: La Sixième exposition des impressionnistes dite des artistes indépendants vue par la presse et l'opinion," *Gazette des beaux-arts* 6 (November 1979): 183–92; and Fronia E. Wissman, "Realists among the Impressionists," in Moffett, *New Painting*, 337–50.
14. "Beaux-arts: Sixième exposition des artistes 'indépendants,'" *Le Petit parisien*, 8 April 1881, p. 3, reprinted in Berson, *New Painting*, 363.
15. "Beaux-arts," *Le Petit parisien*, 363: "M. Raffaelli nous paraît différer sensiblement des artistes qu'on nomme impressionistes; il peint avec une extrême minutie, n'omet aucun détail, achève, 'lèche,' fignole."
16. See Émile Cardon, "Choses d'art: L'Exposition des artistes indépendants," *Le Soleil*, 7 April 1881, reprinted in Berson, *New Painting*, 332; Auguste Dalligny, "Les Indépendants: Sixième exposition," *Le Journal des arts*, 8 April 1881, reprinted in Berson, *New Painting*, 336.
17. Albert Wolff, "Courrier de Paris," *Le Figaro*, 10 April 1881, p. 1, reprinted in Berson, *New Painting*, 372, trans. in Moffett, *New Painting*, 368.
18. Jules Claretie, "La Vie à Paris: M. de Nittis et les impressionnistes," *Le Temps*, 6 April 1880, p. 3, reprinted in Berson, *New Painting*, 273; Jules Christophe, "Le Salon intime," *Le Journal des artistes*, 20 June 1886, p. 206.
19. Dalligny, "Les Indépendants": "M.Raffaelli est un artiste sincère qui fait non de l'impression mais de la peinture très voulue, fort étudiée, finie, d'un dessin serré."
20. Cardon, "Choses d'art," 332: "[C]e qu'il fait est d'une sincérité, d'une vérité, d'un naturel extraordinaire: c'est un observateur comme les flamands, avec l'esprit d'un Parisien: ses ouvriers, ses mendiants, ses déclassés sont d'un réalisme étonnant." See also Gustave Geffroy, "L'Exposition des artistes," *La Justice*, 19 April 1881, p. 3, reprinted in Berson, *New Painting*, 343–44.
21. See Svetlana Alpers, *The Art of Describing: Dutch Art in the Seventeenth Century* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1983); and Alpers,

"Describe or Narrate? A Problem in Realistic Representation," *New Literary History* 8, no. 1 (Autumn 1976): 15–41.

22. "Expositions," *L'Art: Revue hebdomadaire illustrée* 25 (1881): 40, reprinted in Berson, *New Painting*, 329: "[I]l ne se contente pas d'à peu près. Il poursuit jusqu'au bout ce qu'il entreprend."
23. Fields, "Raffaëlli (1850–1924)," 182.
24. Geffroy, "L'Exposition des artistes," 343–44: "Il s'est fait le peintre de la banlieue de Paris, des barrières de Clichy et de Levallois, des berges tristes de la Seine, des talus des fortifications, des carrières poussiéreuses, des terrains vagues, des enclos où l'on jette les détritus de la ville, des champs pelés, où croît parmi les gravats, une herbe maigre et malade. Là vivent des gueux que la misère dévore, des rôdeurs suspects, des chiffonniers, des commerçants bizarres. Ils vont, à travers les pierres, sur le sol gras, mangeant, travaillant, guettant, la face cuite, la barbe longue, les yeux toujours en éveil, le regard oblique. Parfois, des chevaux étiques, des ânes galeux, immobilés, les jambes fléchissantes, l'air misérable et résigné; des poules picorant. Parfois aussi, la machine moderne, grue à vapeur ou locomotive en manoeuvre, apparaît au milieu de cette désolation. Un souffle glacé court sur le sol; les ciels sont bas et sombres, roulant des nuées salies par les fumées qui s'échappent des tuyaux d'usines."
25. In a manuscript sent to Georges Montorgueil, the editor of *L'Éclair*, around 1918, Raffaëlli recounted the enthusiasm for the *banlieue* shared by Geffroy and others. See Jean-François Raffaëlli Papers, 1870–1929, Research Library, the Getty Research Institute, acces. no. 860758, series II, manuscripts, 1886–1918, box 1, folder 13.
26. Michael Fried, "Caillebotte's Impressionism," *Representations* 66 (Spring 1999): 43n.13. On "temporal dilation," see Michael Fried, *Realism, Writing, Disfiguration: On Thomas Eakins and Stephen Crane* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1987), 42.
27. Henry Trianon, "Sixième exposition de peinture par un groupe d'artistes: 35, boulevard des Capucines," *Le Constitutionnel*, 21 April 1881, p. 3, reprinted in Berson, *New Painting*, 369. "Les autres lettres du mot *colonnard* se perdent dans le cadre."
28. "Courbet 'le Colonnard,'" *L'Intermédiaire des chercheurs et curieux*, 10 September 1878, pp. 518–19; 25 November 1878, pp. 687–88; 10 December 1878, pp. 720–21; 25 December 1878, p. 754; 25 January 1879, pp. 43–44. The phrase might best be translated as "Courbet the Column-demolisher."
29. "Courbet," *La Liberté*, 19 April 1872. Unpaginated clipping in the Archives de la Prefecture de Police, Paris, Courbet Dossier, BA 1020.
30. See Georges Lecomte, *Raffaëlli* (Paris: Rieder, 1927), 24. In a letter written just before World War I, Raffaëlli claims he had served in the National Guard and lived in Montmartre, where he witnessed the outbreak of the Commune on 18 March 1871. See Raffaëlli, "Souvenir d'histoire," Manuscripts and documents of Jean François Raffaëlli, 1878–1914, Research Library, the Getty Research Institute, acces. no. 930076.
31. "Au jour le jour: La Vente des oeuvres de Courbet," *Le Temps*, 11 December 1881, p. 2.
32. Jean-François Raffaëlli, "Étude des mouvements de l'art moderne et du beau caractériste," in *Catalogue illustré des oeuvres de Jean-François Raffaëlli, exposées 28 bis, avenue de l'Opéra* (Paris, 1884), 38: "Si vous peignez des ouvriers, vous êtes communard-anarchiste-socialiste-réaliste-révolutionnaire . . . et des déclassés, vous l'êtes vous-même. Voilà l'esthétique courante, l'esthétique mondaine. —Courbet comme nous tous eut à en souffrir beaucoup."
33. On the painter's immersion in and separation from a representation, or "immersion and specularity," see Michael Fried, *The Moment of Caravaggio* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2011), 39–67. On the painter as spectator, see also Richard Wollheim, *Painting as an Art* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1988), 43.
34. Michael Fried, *Courbet's Realism* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1990), 48.
35. Joséphin Péladan, "Salon de 1884: Peinture," *L'Artiste* (June 1884): 434: "ce Courbet pire."
36. See Joris-Karl Huysmans, "Le Salon de 1879," in *L'Art moderne* (Paris: Charpentier, 1883), 41–43.
37. Jean-François Raffaëlli, "Une lettre de J.-F. Raffaëlli à Huysmans," *Bulletin de la Société J.-K. Huysmans* 2, no. 14 (May 1936): 232.
38. Joris-Karl Huysmans, "L'Exposition des indépendants en 1881," in *L'Art moderne*, 246: "[P]armi l'immense tourbe des exposants de notre époque, M. Raffaëlli est un des rares qui restera; il occupera une place à part dans l'art du siècle, celle d'une sorte de Millet parisien, celle d'un artiste qu'auront imprégné certaines mélancolies d'humanité et de nature demeurées rebelles."

39. Ibid., 245–46: "[I]l nous les montre, attablés devant des verres d'absinthe, dans un cabaret sous une tonnelle où se tordent, en grimpant, de maigres sarments privés de feuilles, avec leur fangeux attirail de vêtements en loques et de bottes en miettes, avec leur chapeau noir dont le poil a roussi et dont le carton gondole, avec leurs barbes incultes, leurs yeux creusés, leurs prunelles agrandies et comme aqueuses, la tête dans les poings ou roulant des cigarettes. Dans ce tableau, un mouvement de poignet décharné appuyant sur la pincée de tabac posée dans le papier en dit long sur les habitudes journalières, sur les douleurs sans cesse renaissantes d'une inflexible vie."
40. Ibid., 244: "humanitairerie." On the meaning of this word, see Émile Littré, *Dictionnaire de la langue française* (1872–77), s.v. "humanitairerie," accessed 20 August 2014, http://artflsrv02.uchicago.edu/cgi-bin/dicos/pubdico1look.pl?strippedhw=humanitairerie&headword=&docyear=ALL&dicoid=ALL
41. *The Book of the Fair* (Chicago: World's Columbian Exposition, 1893), 693.
42. See Joris-Karl Huysmans, *À rebours* (Paris: Charpentier, 1884).
43. On the image of Asnières, see Robert L. Herbert, *Impressionism: Art, Leisure, and Parisian Society* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1988), 198–202.
44. Karl Baedeker, *Paris and Environs*, 6th ed. (Leipzig: Karl Baedeker, 1878), 275. See also Adolphe Joanne, *Les Environs de Paris illustrés*, 3rd ed. (Paris: Hachette, 1878), 2.
45. *Studio on the Boat*, the most famous etching in the portfolio Daubigny produced following this trip depicts the word "*Réalisme*" inscribed across one of the canvases in his *bateau-atelier*. See Charles-François Daubigny, *Voyage en Bateau* (Paris: Cadart, 1862).
46. Jean-François Raffaëlli to Jules Claretie, quoted in Claretie, "Chronique: Un peintre indépendant; M. Raffaëlli," *Le Temps*, 21 July 1880, p. 2: "J'habite Asnières et j'y suis attiré par l'étrange qui entoure toute grande ville. J'y ai une de ces maisonnettes en carton toute fraîche, entourée d'un jardinet d'invalide. Dans un coin, deux poules, un coq et deux pigeons. Il y a dans Asnières des nudités de terres de remblais, des cabanes de bois qu'habitent des êtres inouis, des chevaux maigres, des voitures sans tous et des chiens errants. Tout cela, *je le sens*, et tout cela répond à un besoin de charme douloureux, d'amour des silhouettes étranges, aussi à un sentiment vague de haute philosophie." The letter initially appeared in Surmay, "J.F. Raffaëlli," *Le Musée artistique et littéraire* 4, no. 79 (3 July 1880): 186–87. On the readership of Claretie's column, see John Rewald, *The History of Impressionism*, 4th ed. (New York: Museum of Modern Art, 1973), 450.
47. Albert Wolff, "Le Peintre des misérables," *Le Figaro*, 15 March 1884, p. 1.
48. Claretie, "Un peintre indépendant."
49. On the significance of the name of the street, see Jacques Hillairet, *Dictionnaire historique des rues de Paris* (Paris: Éditions de Minuit, 1963), 433.
50. See T. J. Clark, *The Painting of Modern Life: Paris in the Art of Manet and His Followers*, rev. ed. (1985; Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1999), 23–78. See also John M. Merriman, *The Margins of City Life: Explorations on the French Urban Frontier, 1815–1851* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1991).
51. David Pinkney, *Napoleon III and the Rebuilding of Paris* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1958), 140.
52. Georges Seurat, letter to Paul Signac, 16 June 1886, as quoted in Clark, *Painting of Modern Life*, 273n.5. Signac too was compared with Raffaëlli. See Paul Adam, "Peintres impressionnistes," *La Revue contemporaine: Littéraire, politique et philosophique* 4 (April 1886), reprinted in Berson, *New Painting*, 429.
53. See Fénéon, "Le Musée du Luxembourg," 63.
54. For differing views of the artistic overlap, see Michael F. Zimmermann, *Seurat and the Art Theory of His Time* (Antwerp: Fonds Mercator, 1991), 120; and, Robert L. Herbert, *Georges Seurat, 1859–1891* (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1991), 34.
55. Huysmans, "Indépendants en 1881," 218.
56. Renoir's earlier depiction of drinkers in *The Inn of Mère Antony* offers a similar background wall filled with graffiti, apparently all produced by the artistic clientele of the cabaret, but no evidence exists to suggest that Raffaëlli knew this painting at the time. See Colin B. Bailey, *Renoir's Portraits: Impressions of an Age*, exh. cat. (New Haven: Yale University Press, in association with National Gallery of Canada, Ottawa, 1997), 97–99.
57. On Seurat and the banlieue, see Jodi Hauptman, "Medium and Miasma: Seurat's Drawings on

the Margins of Paris," in *Georges Seurat: The Drawings*, ed. Hauptman (New York: Museum of Modern Art, 2007), 107–117.

58. Vincent van Gogh to Théo van Gogh, July 1885, in *The Complete Letters of Vincent van Gogh*, 3rd ed., vol. 2, (Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 2000), 400, emphasis in the original. Whether Vincent ever saw *Les Déclassés* is unclear, but Théo later reported on the painting's reappearance at the Salon of 1889. See Théo to Vincent, May 1889, in *Complete Letters*, vol. 3, p. 540: "There is a very fine picture by Raffaëlli at the Salon, two absinthe drinkers. I think him most forceful when he paints such déclassés."
59. See Paul Arène, *Paris ingénu* (Paris: Charpentier, 1882); Georges Grison, *Paris horrible et Paris original* (Paris: E. Dentu, 1882); and Albert Wolff, *L'Écume de Paris* (Paris: Victor-Havard, 1885).
60. Victor Hugo, *Les Misérables*, ed. Marius-François Guyard (1862; Paris: Garnier Frères, 1957), 690–91, trans. modified from Victor Hugo, *Les Misérables*, trans. Norman Denny (Harmondsworth, England: Penguin, 1982), 498–99.
61. Edmond de Goncourt and Jules de Goncourt, *Germinie Lacerteux* (1864), trans. Ernest Boyd (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1922), 89.
62. Edmond de Goncourt and Jules de Goncourt, *Renée Mauperin* (Paris: Charpentier, 1864), 9.
63. Hugo, *Les Misérables* (1957), 690.
64. Jill Beaulieu, "Immanence and Outsidedness: The Absorptive Aesthetics of Diderot's Existential Reverie and Courbet's Embodied Merger," in *Refracting Vision: Essays on the Writings of Michael Fried*, ed. Mary Roberts, Jill Beaulieu, and Toni Ross (Sydney: Power Publications, 2000), 30.
65. On the Degas painting, see Jean Sutherland Boggs, *Degas* (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1988), 286–88. Although a painting entitled *Dans un café* was listed in the 1876 catalogue, the work apparently was not shown until 1877, when it appeared *hors catalogue*. The work did not receive the title *L'Absinthe* until 1893.
66. Raffaëlli, "Culte de soi," Manuscripts and documents of Jean François Raffaëlli, acces. no. 930076: "Lorsque j'ai peint un de mes tableaux assez connu: *Les Buveurs d'absinthe* . . . j'étudiais à fond ce sujet. J'allai dans les plus mauvais quartiers pour observer l'effet de la mauvaise absinthe sur les habitués des bouges où se débit la terrible liqueur. Enfin j'étudiai à l'hôpital des alcooliques. Et sur moi-même, d'une ou trois fois, j'observerai l'effet que me produisait une, deux, trois absinthes mauvaises. L'effet est vertigineuse—à la première absinthe, à la seconde on ressent, au milieu d'étourdissement et d'excitation, chimériques comme une suppression de la réalité des choses, le corps semble ne plus exister en haut que matière, que poids, et les choses ne nous apparaissent plus que comme irréelles en même temps qu'une excitation que nous dirigerions mal s'impose du buveur, à la troisième ces phénomènes d'ivresses s'augmentent jusqu'à une sorte de véritable folie."
67. See Marie-Claude Delahaye, *L'Absinthe: Histoire de la fée verte* (Paris: Berger-Levrault, 1983), 132.
68. Georges Dillon, "L'Alcoolisme," *Le Bien public*, 22 March 1878.
69. P. E. Prestwich, "Temperance in France: The Curious Case of Absinth," *Historical Reflections / Réflections Historiques* 6, no. 2 (Winter 1979): 304. See also Michael Marrus, "Social Drinking in the *Belle Epoque*," *Journal of Social History* 7, no. 2 (Winter 1974): 120.
70. Delahaye, *L'Absinthe*, 61. On phylloxera generally, see Robert Estier, "Le Temps des dépressions," in *Histoire des paysans français du XVIIIe siècle à nos jours*, ed. Jean-Pierre Houssel (Roanne: Éditions Horvath, 1976), 301–306.
71. Prestwich, "Temperance in France," 302.
72. See W. Scott Haine, *The World of the Paris Café: Sociability among the French Working Class, 1789–1914* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1996), 2.
73. See Thomson, "The Drinkers of Daumier, Raffaëlli and Toulouse-Lautrec," 29–31. If for no other reason, Raffaëlli would have been prompted to visit the Durand-Ruel show by Duranty's extraordinary review. See [Edmond] Duranty, "Daumier" *Gazette des beaux-arts* 17 (May 1878): 429–43; (June 1878): 528–44. Raffaëlli was one of only thirteen, along with Degas, Huysmans, Manet, Pissarro, and Zola, who attended the funeral of Duranty in April 1880. See [Félix Fénéon], "Note," in Duranty, *La Cause du beau Guillaume* (Paris: Éditions de la Sirène, 1920), 14, reprinted in Fénéon, *Oeuvres plus que complètes*, 593.
74. Susanna Barrows, "After the Commune: Alcoholism, Temperance, and Literature in the Early Third Republic," in *Consciousness and Class Experience in Nineteenth-Century Europe*, ed. John M. Merriman (New York: Homes and Meier,

1979), 208. At the same time, the consumption of absinthe in the late 1870s and early 1880s was probably encouraged in part by a sense of class transgression: workers could now drink what previously had been reserved primarily for bourgeois boulevardiers. See Haine, *World of the Paris Café*, 97.

75. Maxime du Camp, quoted in Barrows, "After the Commune," 208.
76. Susanna Barrows, "'Parliaments of the People': The Political Culture of Cafés in the Early Third Republic," in *Drinking: Behavior and Belief in Modern History*, ed. Susanna Barrows and Robin Room (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1991), 94–95.
77. Paul Cère, *Les Populations dangereuses et les misères sociales* (Paris: Dentu, 1872), 5: "Le meilleur moyen de combattre le socialisme, c'est de marcher en avant et d'emprunter à son programme tout ce qui est juste et praticable."
78. Ibid., 143.
79. Ibid., 148: "Il est non seulement juste, mais encore indispensible, de priver de leurs droits électoraux, tous les ivrognes d'habitude."
80. Larousse, "Déclassé," 243: "[U]n paysan peut devenir ministre ou député; l'ouvrier passe bourgeois; les professions libérales se recrutent à tous les degrés de la hiérarchie sociale, et il n'y a plus, en fin de compte, que des riches et des pauvres, des esprits plus ou moins cultivés et des hommes plus ou moins ignorants. Les fortunes se font et se défont sans cesse; les conditions se déplacent, les unes tombent, les autres se relèvent et l'ascension des petits compense la chute des grands."
81. Gustave Geffroy, "Jean-François Raffaëlli," in *La Vie artistique*, vol. 3 (Paris: E. Dentu, 1894), 194: "[D]es êtres dont il est impossible de dire les origines et les occupations marchent le long d'un boulevard ou d'un quai, s'arrêtent au bord d'un trottoir, s'attablent sous une tonnelle sans feuilles. Ceux-là ont des allures molles, une sorte de fainéantise dans les mouvements, de l'indécision dans la démarche. Le peintre les nomme des déclassés."
82. Théophile Gautier, quoted in Larousse, "Déclassé," 242: "Ne serait-ce pas dommage que cette créature charmante, douée de tous les purs instincts, faite pour être le bonheur et l'orgueil d'un honnête homme, tombât, faute d'un guide et d'un défenseur, dans la grande tribu des déclassés?"
83. *The Oxford English Dictionary*, 2nd ed. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1989), s.v. "déclassé."
84. Trianon, "Sixième exposition," 369: "deux naufragés de la vie parisienne."
85. See Félix Pyat, *Le Chiffonnier de Paris* (Paris: Lacrampe fils, 1847).
86. See Alexandre Privat d'Anglemont, *Paris anecdote* (Paris: A. Delahays, 1875); and Charles Yriarte, *Les Célébrités de la rue* (1868; Paris: Bassac, 1995).
87. Huysmans, "Le Salon de 1879," 42: "M. Raffaëlli a évoqué en moi le charme attristé des cabanes branlantes, des grêles peupliers en vedette sur ces interminables routes qui se perdent, au sortir des remparts, dans le ciel."
88. See Raffaëlli, "Étude des mouvements de l'art moderne et du beau caractériste," 21–70.
89. See Alfred Fierro, "Clochard," in *Histoire et dictionnaire de Paris* (Paris: Robert Laffont, 1996), 781.
90. Raffaëlli, quoted in Claretie, "Un peintre indépendant": "Le chiffonnier, dans une sorte d'hallucination, m'apparait et me donne tout ensemble comme une idée de liberté et comme aussi la sensation brûlante d'une grande misère: toute la liberté que nous attendons, toute la misère de nous, de notre être." On the same page where this quote appeared, an article reported on the ongoing Paris workers' congress; among the demands presented by one delegation were "freedom of labor" and the "regulation of the length of the working day." See "Au jour le jour," *Le Temps*, 21 July 1880, p. 2.
91. Raffaëlli, manuscript sent to M. Montorgueil, Raffaëlli Papers, Getty Research Institute: "les *libres* chiffonniers!"
92. Gary Cross, "Worktime in International Discontinuity, 1886–1940," in *Worktime and Industrialization: An International History*, ed. Cross (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1988), 155–81.
93. Émile de La Bedollière, *Les Industriels, métiers et professions en France* (Paris: Lajanet, 1842), 170, quoted in Barrie M. Ratcliffe, "Perceptions and Realities of the Urban Margin: The Ragpickers of Paris in the First Half of the Nineteenth Century," *Canadian Journal of History* 27, no. 2 (August 1992): 208n.37.
94. Privat d'Anglemont, *Paris anecdote*, 319: "Nous aimons mieux chiffonner, vivre à guise, en liberté, au grand air, comme de vrais animaux que nous sommes."
95. On the struggle for control of time under modernity, see David Harvey, "Money, Time,

Space, and the City," in *Consciousness and the Urban Experience: Studies in the History and Theory of Capitalist Urbanization* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1985), 1–35.

96. On the immediate impact of Poubelle's reforms, see Louis Paulian, *La Hotte du chiffonnier* (Paris: Hachette, 1885).
97. Karl Marx, *The Revolutions of 1848: Political Writings*, vol. 1, ed. David Fernbach (London: Penguin, 1973), 192.
98. See R[ichard] Waddington, "Rapport concernant la durée des heures de travail dans les usines et les manufactures," *Journal officiel de la République Française* 12, no. 136 (28 June 1880): 7166–71; and Charles Rist, "La Limitation de la durée du travail au parlement," in *La Journée de travail de l'ouvrier adulte en France et sa limitation par la loi* (Paris: Librairie de la Société du Recueil Générale des Lois et des Arrêts, 1898), 150–67. Having begun in November 1880, the debates culminated on 21 March 1881, with follow-up discussions the next week.
99. See Leslie Derfler, *Paul Lafargue and the Founding of French Marxism, 1842–1882* (Cambridge, Mass. Harvard University Press, 1991), 182–83; and Alexandre Zévaès, "Possibilisme et marxisme," in *Le Socialisme en France depuis 1871* (Paris: Charpentier, 1908), 44–63.
100. Wissman, "Realists among the Impressionists," 339.
101. Émile Gautier, *Les Endormeurs: Heures de travail (Propos anarchistes)* (Paris: Derveaux, 1880).
102. Raffaëlli, quoted in Loys Delteil, *Le Peintre graveur illustré*, vol. 16: *Jean-François Raffaëlli* (Paris: Delteil, 1923): "Je les vois plus, maintenant, en vaincus, qu'en révoltés."
103. Max Nordau, *Degeneration* (1892; New York: Appleton, 1895), 331.
104. Fénéon, "Le Salon," 366. By the end of the 1890s, Raffaëlli had become associated with what Robert Jensen has called the *juste milieu* of Third Republic painters seeking to reconcile Impressionist style and academic subjects. See Jensen, *Marketing Modernism in Fin-de-Siècle Europe* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1994), 138–66.
105. In his 1924 article in the *Gazette des beaux-arts*, Geffroy recounts with evident fondness their initial meeting and long-lasting friendship. See Geffroy, "Raffaëlli" (1924), 170.
106. Geffroy, "Raffaëlli" (1894), 195–96: "L'un préparant une cigarette d'un mouvement menu des doigts, sort un poignet maigre, cassant, d'homme mal venu et mal nourri: celui-là proclame la faim par son bras de squelette perdu sous la manche, par tout son corps affaissé dans le flottant de ses vêtements. Son compagnon, la main incrustée dans la mâchoire, un regard de côté luisant entre ses cheveux gris et sa poigne velue, s'avoue susceptible d'attaque nocturne, de vol avec effraction, de crime de besoin et de colère. Ce rôdeur aux mains inactives et ce rouleur de cigarette, vêtus de vagues redingotes, sont tombés en un repos inquiet et méditatif de coureurs de routes. Derrière les ramilles de plantes grimpantes, sèches, noires et contournées comme des fils de fer, dans l'atmosphère fausse et rousse d'un couchant d'automne où rayonne laiteusement l'absinthe, l'arrêt de leurs corps fatigués et la songerie de leurs misères ressemblent à un commencement d'embuscade."
107. Geffroy, "Raffaëlli" (1924), 168.

Chapter 5

1. See Xavier Tricot, *James Ensor, Catalogue Raisonné of the Paintings*, vol. 1 (Antwerp: Pandora Ortelius, 1992), 180.
2. See contribution by Geneviève Lacambre in Anne Pingeot and Robert Hoozee, *Paris-Bruxelles, Bruxelles-Paris: Réalisme, impressionisme, symbolisme, art nouveau. Les Relations artistiques entre la France et la Belgique, 1848–1914*, exh. cat. (Paris: Réunion des Musées Nationaux; Antwerp: Fonds Mercator, 1997), 377.
3. See "Silhouettes d'artistes: Fernand Khnopff," *L'Art moderne* 6, no. 36 (5 September 1886): 281–82; 6, no. 37 (12 September 1886): 289–90; 6, no. 41 (10 October 1886): 320–23; James Ensor, letters to Octave Maus, Ostend, 6 and 18 September 1886, reprinted in Gisèle Ollinger-Zinque, ed., *Les XX et La Libre Esthétique: Cent ans après*, exh. cat. (Brussels: Musées Royaux des Beaux-Arts de Belgique, 1993), 224, 226; and, Henry Bounameaux, "Ensor-Khnopff: La Querelle d'une image?" *Bulletin des Musées Royaux des Beaux-Arts de Belgique* 41–42, nos. 1–4 (1992–93): 127–47.
4. [Edmond Picard], "L'Exposition des XX: L'Art jeune," *L'Art moderne* 4, no. 7 (17 February 1884): 49: "*la réalité contemporaine*." On Ensor's boldness in 1887, see Alfred H. Barr, *Masters of Modern Art* (New York: Museum of Modern Art, 1954), 34.
5. Even the most sophisticated accounts of the last thirty years tend to place the painting in

the context of the exhibition of Les XX in 1886. See Diane Lesko, *James Ensor: The Creative Years* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1985); *James Ensor, 1860–1949: Theatre of Masks*, exh. cat. (London: Barbican Art Gallery, 1997); *Ensor*, exh. cat. (Tournai: La Renaissance du Livre; Brussels: Musées Royaux des Beaux-Arts de Belgique, 1999); Michel Draguet, *James Ensor; ou la fantasmagorie* (Paris: Gallimard, 1999); and Anna Swinbourne, *James Ensor*, exh. cat. (New York: Museum of Modern Art, 2009).

6. See Émile Verhaeren, *James Ensor* (Brussels: Van Oest, 1908), reprinted in Verhaeren, *Écrits sur l'art*, ed. Paul Aron (Brussels: Labor, 1997), 867–917.
7. Émile Verhaeren, "Quelques notes sur l'oeuvre de Fernand Khnopff," in *Écrits sur l'art*, 253–66.
8. Émile Verhaeren, "Le Salon de Paris," *L'Art moderne* 2, no. 22 (28 May 1882): 171–73, reprinted in Verhaeren, *Écrits sur l'art*, 66: "Bien que logé haut, Ensor, attire les regards. D'ailleurs ses toiles s'accommodent de ce placement, elles sont faites pour êtres vues de loin. Avant tout, Ensor paraît être un excellent peintre d'accessoires, ses meubles et ses appartements ont les mêmes qualités que ses natures mortes. Quant à ses personnages ils impressionnent peu; on les distingue mal dans ses toiles où le fond empiète sur les premiers plans, où il y a une glissade d'êtres et de choses confondus."
9. On Ensor's pathology, see Hans Sedlmayr, "Bruegel's Macchia" (1934), in *The Vienna School Reader*, ed. Christopher S. Wood (New York: Zone, 2003), 347.
10. Émile Verhaeren, "Chronique artistique: Le Salon de Grand," *La Jeune Belgique* 2 (1 October 1883): 435, reprinted in Verhaeren, *Écrits sur l'art*, 95–96: "*Chez Miss*—c'est le titre de sa nouvelle œuvre—possède tous les mérites d'art qu'on lui reconnaît d'ordinaire. Jour excellent, intimité, vie, exécution large, indiquant une sûreté et une audace de maître. Le sujet est tout simple: une femme joue du piano, un jeune homme l'écoute. Et pourtant à travers cette donnée si 'première venue', nous sentons notre vie, notre existence, notre train-train journalier qui filtre. Nous revivons une de nos heures défuntes; nous avons le souvenir d'une visite analogue faite quelque part dans un salon bourgeois, l'après-dîner, alors que pour répondre à notre prière, la miss de la maison se met au piano et nous joue du Mendelssohn ou du Schubert. Et c'est là le rare et glorieux don de cette peinture, d'être une évocation de vie telle, que d'emblée elle nous fait entrer pour ainsi dire comme acteurs dans la scène représentée."
11. It might also be explained by the interceding publication of Verhaeren's first volume of poetry, generally seen as leftist and Naturalist in its allegiances and also deeply indebted to the Flemish tradition of painting. See Émile Verhaeren, *Les Flamandes: Poésies* (Brussels: Lucien Hochsteyn, 1883).
12. Michelle Perrot and Roger-Henri Guerrand, "Scenes and Places," in *A History of Private Life*, vol. 4: *From the Fires of Revolution to the Great War*, ed. Michelle Perrot (Cambridge, Mass.: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1990), 346.
13. Paul Haesaerts, *James Ensor* (Brussels: Elsevier, 1957), 56.
14. See James Ensor, letter to André de Ridder, 2 August 1928, in James Ensor, *Lettres*, ed. Xavier Tricot (Brussels: Labor, 1999), 192.
15. Susan M. Canning, "James Ensor: Carnival of the Modern," in Swinbourne, *James Ensor*, 31.
16. See Léon Léquime, "Première exposition de la Société des XX au Palais des Beaux-Arts," *Le Journal de Bruxelles*, 14 February 1884, p. 2.
17. On the vagaries of the Ensor-Finch friendship, see Danielle Derrey-Capon, "Alfred William Finch: Des origines aux arts industriels, 1854–1897," in *A.W. Finch 1854–1930*, exh. cat. (Brussels: Musées Royaux des Beaux-Arts de Belgique/ Crédit Communal, 1992), 77–127.
18. Paul Haesaerts, *James Ensor* (New York: Abrams, 1959), 80.
19. In the early 1880s Verhaeren worked as an attorney in Picard's law firm. Picard helped found Les XX with his friend Octave Maus, and was later elected as a socialist member of the Belgian senate. See Paul Aron, *Les Ecrivains belges et le socialisme (1880–1913). L'Expérience de l'art social: d'Edmond Picard à Emile Verhaeren* (Brussels: Labor, 1985).
20. Herwig Todts, *Ensor Revealed*, exh. cat. (Brussels: Fonds Mercator, 2010), 58.
21. A. J. Wauters, "Aux XX," *La Gazette*, 14 March 1886, reprinted in Ollinger-Zinque, *Les XX et La Libre Esthétique*, 221. See also, Susan Marie Canning, "A History and Critical Review of the Salons of Les Vingt, 1884–1893." (Ph.D. diss., Pennsylvania State University, 1980), 114.
22. "Sixième exposition annuelle de l'Essor," *L'Art moderne* 2, no. 3 (15 January 1882): 19.

23. Byron, "Arts, Sciences et Lettres," *Le Patriote*, 26 February 1885: "l'impressionnisme français le domine"; Max Sulzberger, "L'Exposition des XX," *L'Étoile Belge*, 2 February 1885, p. 3: "introniser, en Belgique, l'art impressionniste."
24. Lucien Solvay, "Les Vingt," *La Gazette*, 11 February 1884, 1–2: "[H]anté par des ressouvenirs pâles de l'école française, ou mordu par je ne sais quelle fièvre d'harmonies grises, conventionnelles, et d'à-peu-près trahissant l'impuissance."
25. Wauters, "Aux XX," 1886. Ensor later listed Wauters as one of the critics who always supported him. See James Ensor, letter to Jules de Burlet, 4 February 1895, in Ensor, *Lettres*, 95.
26. James Ensor, letter to André de Ridder, 6 October 1899, in Ensor, *Lettres*, 271.
27. "Sixième exposition annuelle de l'Essor," 19: "[C]elle qu'il a nommée *Une après-dînée à Ostende*, donne la vague idée d'un appartement qui subit l'oscillation d'un tremblement de terre."
28. Ant. Van Fletteren, "Les Vingt: Deuxième Exposition Publique," *Journal des beaux-arts et de la littérature* 27, no. 5 (15 March 1885): 35: "[Q]uelle idée subversive lui est elle venue d'aller peindre un appartement—garni—au moment psychologique précis d'un tremblement de terre! Le plancher bascule, les murs dévalent, la table roule vers le spectateur, la cheminée bondit au plafond!"
29. X.Y.Z, "A Travers les arts: Les XX," *La Meuse*, 4 March 1886, p. 6: "Ce salon bourgeois est d'une jolie couleur; mais l'artiste aurait bien fait de ne pas le peindre pendant un tremblement de terre."
30. On furniture, interiors, and the "ambiguous relationship between the nineteenth-century bourgeoisie and the past," see Leora Auslander, *Taste and Power: Furnishing Modern France* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1996), 274.
31. Camille Lemonnier, *G. Courbet et son oeuvre* (Paris: Alphonse Lemerre, 1878), 70: "J'ai vu en Belgique une floraison de Courbet comme il n'y en a peut-être nulle part." See also Max Sulzberger, "Le Réalisme en France et en Belgique: Courbet et De Groux," *Revue de Belgique* 16 (15 April 1874): 384–97.
32. Canning, "James Ensor," in Swinbourne, *James Ensor*, 29.
33. Michel Draguet, "Ensor: A Theater of Matter," in Swinbourne, *James Ensor*, 92. On the palette knife as a "synecdoche" for Courbet, see Frédérique Debuissons, "Courbet's Materialism," *The Oxford Art Journal* 31, no. 2 (2008): 256–57.
34. Canning, "James Ensor," in Swinbourne, *James Ensor*, 29.
35. See Constantin Ekonomidès, *Guillaume Vogels (1836–1896)* (Brussels: Musée Charlier / Pandora, 2000).
36. See for instance Y.Z., "Les Vingt," *L'Echo de Bruxelles*, 8 February 1885, p. 2. Other artists associated with Tachisme at the time include Théo van Rysselberghe and Dario de Regoyos. The terms "*tachiste*" and "*tachisme*" have subsequently been used in France to refer to everything from Impressionism to Fauvism to Art Informel.
37. On Manet at the 1880 Salon in Ghent, see contribution by Monique Nonne in Pingeot and Hoozee, *Paris-Bruxelles, Bruxelles-Paris*, 186–87.
38. See Herwig Todts's contribution in Pingeot and Hoozee, *Paris-Bruxelles, Bruxelles-Paris*, 191; and Todts, *Ensor Revealed*, 41.
39. Draguet, *James Ensor*, 144.
40. Todts, *Ensor Revealed*, 237. Robert Hoozee was the first to suggest to me, in conversation, that Ensor's *Drunkards* may have been based on Raffaëlli's *Absinthe Drinkers*.
41. Canning, "James Ensor," in Swinbourne, *James Ensor*, 31.
42. See Lydia Schoonbaert and Dorine Cardyn-Oomen, *Tekeningen, aquarellen en prenten 19de en 20ste eeuw* (Antwerp: Koninklijk Museum voor Schone Kunsten, 1981); and Todts, *Ensor Revealed*. My thanks to Yolande Deckers and Liesbeth Schotsman of the Koninklijk Museum voor Schone Kunsten in Antwerp for their assistance in making the drawings from the sketchbook available for my inspection.
43. See François-Guillaume Dumas, *Salon de 1879: Catalogue illustré* (Paris: L. Baschet, 1879); and, Dumas, *1830–1880: Catalogue illustré de l'exposition historique de l'art belge et du Musée moderne de Bruxelles* (Brussels: Rozez; Paris: Baschet, 1880). On the widespread use of graphic reproductions by painters in the nineteenth century, see Stephen Bann, *Parallel Lines: Printmakers, Painters, and Photographers in Nineteenth-Century France* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2001).
44. See Edmond Duranty, "Daumier," *Gazette des beaux-arts* 17 (May 1878): 429–443; (June 1878): 528–44. These drawings demonstrate that Ensor also had access to some of the key writings on Courbet in 1878, including Paul Mantz, "Gustave

Courbet," *Gazette des beaux-arts* 17 (June 1878): 514–27; 18 (July 1878): 17–30; 18 (December 1878): 371–84.

45. See Armand Silvestre, "Le Monde des arts: Sixième Exposition des artistes indépendants," *La Vie moderne* (16 April 1881): 250–51. Less than a year before, Gustave Caillebotte's *À la Grenouillère* had also appeared in the same journal. See *La Vie moderne* 29 (17 July 1880): 464.
46. Camille Lemonnier, "Critique artistique, Les XX. Deuxième article," *La Réforme*, 2 March 1884, p. 3: "[L]'acuité de sa vision est extraordinaire; tout le prisme se décompose dans chacune de ses toiles et elles offrent l'aspect d'un kaléidoscope dans ses impressions brouillés et tourbillonnantes. L'effort va jusqu'au tourment et à l'obsession: à force de viser à la nature, l'artiste tombe dans l'artificiel; et ses toiles, au lieu de concentrer la lumière, la réfractent dans une diffusion de gerbes et d'étincelles."
47. Camille Lemonnier, "L'Art à l'Exposition universelle—Ceux qui n'exposent pas," *L'Artiste* (31 August 1878), 266, reprinted in Denys Riout, ed., *Les Écrivains devant l'impressionnisme* (Paris: Macula, 1989), 205.
48. Ibid., 205.
49. *Connoisseur* (January 1846): 7, as quoted in John Rink, "The Profession of Music," in *The Cambridge History of Nineteenth-Century Music*, ed. Jim Samson (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), 76. On the especially rich musical culture in Belgium, see Jean-Michel Nectoux, "Musique: Les Liens tissés," in Pingeot and Hoozee, *Paris-Bruxelles, Bruxelles-Paris*, 272–78.
50. Charlotte N. Eyerman, "Piano Playing in Nineteenth-Century French Visual Culture," in *Piano Roles: Three Hundred Years of Life with the Piano*, ed. James Parakilas (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1999), 216.
51. On all three within the wider visual culture of the woman at the piano, see André Dombrowski, "Art Arranged for Piano," in *Cézanne, Murder, and Modern Life* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2012), 138–74.
52. See Philippe Burty, "Fine Art: The Exhibition of the 'Intransigeants,'" *The Academy*, 15 April 1876, pp. 363–64, reprinted in Ruth Berson, ed., *The New Painting: Impressionism, 1874–1886: Documentation*, vol. 1: *Reviews* (San Francisco: Fine Arts Museums of San Francisco, 1996), 65. Gloria Groom suggests the mistake was a misspelling or the result of Burty not having seen the painting. See Anne Distel et al., *Gustave Caillebotte: Urban Impressionist*, exh. cat. (Chicago: Art Institute of Chicago, 1995), 193.
53. T. J. Clark, *Farewell to an Idea: Episodes from a History of Modernism* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1999), 52.
54. See Michael Fried, *Realism, Writing, Disfiguration: On Thomas Eakins and Stephen Crane* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1987), 73.
55. Dombrowski, "Art Arranged for Piano," 160–61.
56. Anne Leonard, "Picturing Listening in the Late Nineteenth Century," *The Art Bulletin* 84, no. 2 (June 2007): 266.
57. James Ensor, letter to Dario de Regoyos, December 1884, in Ensor, *Lettres*, 154: "Courbet m'a stupéfié. Son *Après-dînée à Ornans* est un chef-d'œuvre. Sans exagérer, cela vaut Rembrandt."
58. In turn, as Fried suggests, Courbet may have referenced an even earlier depiction of an organ recital in Amédée de Lemud's 1838 lithograph, *Master Wolfram*. See Michael Fried, *Courbet's Realism* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1990), 91.
59. James Ensor, letter to Octave Maus, 28 April 1897, in *Lettres*, 507.
60. I owe the observation of "facingness" in *The Lady in Distress* to Todd Cronan and Bridget Alsdorf.
61. Michael Fried, *Manet's Modernism; or the Face of Painting in the 1860s* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1996), 196.
62. Douglas Druick and Michel Hoog, *Fantin-Latour*, exh. cat. (Ottawa: National Gallery of Canada, 1982), 253–54. On Fantin-Latour, see also Bridget Alsdorf, *Fellow Men: Fantin-Latour and the Problem of the Group in Nineteenth-Century French Painting* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2012).
63. Joris-Karl Huysmans, "Le Salon de 1879," in *L'Art moderne* (Paris: Charpentier, 1883), 60: "Elles ne posent pas pour des portraits, elles dessinent simplement chez elles sans s'occuper du spectateur."
64. See [Jules-Antoine] Castagnary, "Salon de 1877," in Castagnary, *Salons*, vol. 2: *1872–1879*, ed. Eugène Spuller (Paris: Bibliothèque Charpentier, 1892), 304.
65. Castagnary, "Salon de 1879," in *Salons*, 381: "dessine d'après un modèle qu'on ne voit pas."
66. Fried, *Manet's Modernism*, 235.

67. See, for instance, the comments on Millet's *Angelus* in Charles Tardieu, "Le Cabinet de M. Jules van Praet," *L'Art: Revue hebdomadaire illustrée* 23 (1880): 301.
68. Lemonnier, "L'Art à l'Exposition universelle," 206. The use of the word "fragments" rather than "morceaux" may reflect the critic's awareness that, while still applicable to Courbet and Manet, the tableau/morceau distinction had largely been superseded by Impressionism. See Fried, *Manet's Modernism*, 413.
69. Camille Lemonnier, "Histoire des Beaux-arts en Belgique: Peinture, sculpture, gravure & architecture," in *Cinquante ans de liberté*, vol. 3 (Brussels: Wissenbruch, 1881), 214: "Courbet préconisait le morceau de peinture à l'exclusion de l'idée et de la conception du tableau." For a further example of Lemonnier's consistent concern with the tableau and the morceaux, see "La Situation de l'art en Belgique," *L'Art moderne* 4, no. 38 (21 September 1884): 310.
70. "Le Salon de Bruxelles," *L'Art moderne* 1, no. 26 (28 August 1881): 205.
71. Émile Verhaeren, "Le Salon de Paris," *L'Art moderne* 2, no. 20 (14 May 1882): 156, reprinted in *Écrits sur l'art*, 57: "Manet n'a jamais su faire une grande œuvre de ralliement, un ensemble, un tableau qui s'imposait. Il en reste au morceau, au coin de vie moderne."
72. See Marc Quaghebeur, "Verhaeren, entre Manet et Ensor," in *Émile Verhaeren: Un musée imaginaire*, ed. Quaghebeur (Paris: Réunion des Musées Nationaux, 1997), 113–38.
73. See Émile Verhaeren, "Exposition du Cercle Artistique," *Journal des beaux-arts et de la littérature* (30 April 1882): 57, reprinted in Verhaeren, *Écrits sur l'art*, 51: "Ensor continue à nous donner des toiles pleines de la préoccupation de Manet, où se retrouvent d'excellentes qualités de touche et de brosse."
74. Émile Verhaeren, "Exposition annuelle de *L'Essor*," *Journal des beaux-arts et de la littérature* (15 January 1882): 3, reprinted in Verhaeren, *Écrits sur l'art*, 29: "Cet homme qui est là assis dans son fauteuil, à côté de la cheminée, près de la fenêtre d'où tombe une blancheur de jour, est vivant. Il lit avec attention, on le voit réfléchissant, sa figure est expressive." This was Verhaeren's first published review.
75. [Jules Destrée], "L'Exposition des XX," *Le Journal de Charleroi*, 5 March 1885: "Elle est superbe d'intimité et de vie intense. Comme on sent bien l'appartement fermé! Comme on devine la causerie quiète des deux femmes, l'une humant son café d'un geste si naturel, l'autre campée si vraiment, si observée, si moderne." In his review of the Paris Salon a few months later, Déstree singled out Raffaëlli and Fantin-Latour's *Around the Piano* for high praise, indicating the critic's commitment to Realism and antitheatricality. See Jules Destrée, "Le Salon De Paris," *Chronique des beaux-arts et de la littérature* (1885): 394–410.
76. Albert Dutry, "Nos mardis: L'Exposition des XX," *L'Impartial de Gand*, 10 February 1885: "[I]l faut peindre ce qui nous entoure, car c'est de cela seulement que nous pouvons pénétrer *l'intimité*." Emphasis in the original. Interestingly, Dutry refers here to Raffaëlli's conception of "caractèrisme," delivered as a lecture at the exhibition of Les XX in February 1885. See Jean-François Raffaëlli, *Conférence faite par M. Jean-François Raffaëlli au Palais des Beaux-Arts de Bruxelles au Salon annuel des XX, le 7 février 1885* (Paris, 1885).
77. Indeed, Fried claims, following an analysis of Castagnary's writings on Fantin-Latour, that "the term 'intimacy,' *intimité*, was used *only* in connection with scenes of absorption (it is one of the markers of absorption in the criticism of the period), and much the same is true of the term 'penetrating,' *pénétrante*, with its suggestion that the effect in question takes place over time." See Fried, *Manet's Modernism*, 218. Emphasis in the original. On "intimacy" in Fantin-Latour, see Castagnary, "Salon de 1877," 304.
78. Fried, *Realism, Writing, Disfiguration*, 72.
79. Ibid., 74.
80. Fried, *Manet's Modernism*, 218.
81. Fried, *Realism, Writing, Disfiguration*, 42–43.
82. [Edmond] Duranty, *La Nouvelle peinture: A propos du groupe d'artistes qui expose dans les galeries Durand-Ruel* (Paris: E. Dentu, 1876), 24, 28, trans. in Charles S. Moffett, *The New Painting: Impressionism, 1874–1886*, exh. cat. (San Francisco: Fine Arts Museums of San Francisco, 1986), 44, 45.
83. Joris-Karl Huysmans, "L'Exposition des Indépendants de 1880," in *L'Art moderne*, 93–94: "[U]n simple chef d'œuvre. Le sujet? oh mon Dieu! il est bien ordinaire. . . . mais ce qui est vraiment magnifique c'est la franchise, c'est la vie de cette scène! La femme qui regarde, désœuvrée, la rue, palpite, bouge; on voit ses reins remuer sous le merveilleux velours bleu sombre qui les couvre; on va la toucher de doigt, elle va

bâiller, se retourner, échanger un inutile propos avec son mari à peine distrait par la lecture d'un fait divers. Cette qualité suprême de l'art, la vie, se dégage de cette toile avec une intensité vraiment incroyable." Fried singles out the last sentence of this passage as an example of how Huysmans "reserved his most fervent admiration for paintings in which an absorptive thematics gave rise to an effect of more than ordinary realism." See Fried, "Caillebotte's Impressionism," *Representations* 66 (Spring 1999): 11.

84. Huysmans, "L'Exposition des Indépendants," 94.
85. Almost a decade later, Paul Signac picked up Caillebotte's parodic theme, more or less quoting the earlier painting in his *Parisian Sunday* (1888–90). The parallels are probably not coincidental as the two painters were friends, but Signac's echoing of Roger Jourdain's *Un nuage* of 1885 also demands that the "ironic interior" be understood as emerging out of a matrix of competing visions, some unreflectively bourgeois, of the alienation and ambiguity of the interior after 1880. See Richard Thomson, "Paris, Amsterdam and New York: Signac," *The Burlington Magazine* 143, no. 1180 (July 2001): 442–45.
86. Alain Corbin, "The Daily Arithmetic of the Nineteenth Century," in *Time, Desire and Horror: Towards a History of the Senses* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1995), 7.
87. [Paul Signac], "Impressionnistes et révolutionnaires," *La Révolte* 40 (13–19 June 1891): 4.
88. For the wide array of interior paintings in this period, see Peter Thornton, *Authentic Decor: The Domestic Interior, 1620–1920* (New York: Viking, 1984); *Constant Cap* (Saint-Nicolas: Stedlijk Museum, 1987); C. Willemijn Fock, ed., *Het Nederlandes interieur in beeld 1600–1900* (Zwolle: Waanders Vitgevers, 2001); and Frances Borzello, *At Home: The Domestic Interior in Art* (New York: Thames and Hudson, 2006).
89. Émile Zola, *Pot-Bouille* (Paris: Charpentier, 1883). The novel was first serialized in *Le Gaulois* between January and April 1882.
90. Sharon Marcus, *Apartment Stories: City and Home in Nineteenth-Century Paris and London* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1999), 138.
91. Ibid., 138.
92. While Mary Cassatt and Berthe Morisot, among others, were surely laying claim to "feminine" space, Sharon Marcus argues that a "convergence of interiorization and masculinity" was ongoing in Parisian culture, especially in the late 1870s and early 1880s. See Marcus, *Apartment Stories*, 139. On gender and the interior, see also Griselda Pollock, "Modernism and the Spaces of Femininity," in *Vision and Difference: Femininity, Feminism and the Histories of Art* (London: Routledge, 1988), 50–90.
93. See David Pinkney, *Napoleon III and the Rebuilding of Paris* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1958). Prior to the 1860s, different classes would often reside in the same building. On the representation of class in paintings of Paris, see T. J. Clark, *The Painting of Modern Life: Paris in the Art of Manet and His Followers*, rev. ed. (1985; Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1999). Virtually no historical work has been done on the nature and history of the Belgian interior in the nineteenth century (at least prior to the 1890s, when Art Nouveau led to a radical rethinking of the whole concept of the home). But the French context gives a good picture of the general social trends in nineteenth-century Europe. Though the mapping of the one context onto the other must be handled gingerly, it is worth noting that King Léopold II self-consciously modeled his rebuilding of Brussels on Haussmann's transformation of Paris. See Sophie Hsia-de Schaepdrijver, "Histoire et géographie," in Pingeot and Hoozee, *Paris-Bruxelles, Bruxelles-Paris*, 26–40.
94. Monique Eleb and Anne Debarre, *L'Invention de l'habitation moderne, Paris 1880–1914: Architectures de la vie privée* (Paris: Hazan, 1995), 31.
95. See Theodor Adorno, *Kierkegaard: Construction of the Aesthetic*, trans. Robert Hullot-Kentor (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1989). Throughout, Adorno uses the French word "*intérieur*" without translating the term.
96. See Walter Benjamin, *The Arcades Project*, trans. Howard Eiland and Kevin McLaughlin (Cambridge, Mass.: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1999). See also Rémy G. Saisselin, *Bricabracomania: The Bourgeois and the Bibelot* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1985), 29.
97. T. J. Clark, *Picasso and Truth* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2013).
98. Charles Rice, *The Emergence of the Interior: Architecture, Modernity, Domesticity* (New York: Routledge, 2007), 2. Given the shift in definitions, someone like Martin Drolling might stand as the first painter of the bourgeois *intérieur*.
99. *Dictionnaire de l'Académie française*, 6th ed., vol. 2 (Paris: Firmin Didot, 1835), 49–50.

100. Henri Bruneel, *Guide de la Ville de Lille* (Lille: Vanackere, 1850), 72: "[C]ette œuvre appartient à la classe des tableaux de genre. C'est tout bonnement un *intérieur*." Emphasis in the original.
101. Pierre Larousse, *Grand dictionnaire universel du XIXe siècle*, vol. 9 (1866–79; Paris: Slatkine, 1982), s.v. "intérieur," 751–52.
102. Julia Prewitt Brown, *The Bourgeois Interior: How the Middle Class Imagines Itself in Literature and Film* (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 2008), 8. On the emergence of "interior scenes" and an iconography of private life in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, see Philippe Ariès, *Centuries of Childhood: A Social History of Family Life*, trans. Robert Baldick (New York: Vintage, 1962), 346–47. See also John Lukacs, "The Bourgeois Interior," in *The Passing of the Modern Age* (New York: Harper and Row, 1970), 191–97.
103. Between 1830 and 1870, the term "bourgeois interior" emerged to describe a variety of literary and artistic representations of historical and modern scenes, from Jan Steen to Balzac. See, for example, "Balzac," in Philippe Le Bas, *Dictionnaire encyclopédique*, vol. 2 (Paris: Firmin Didot, 1840), 54: "Il amuse par la peinture minutieuse, mais frappante, d'un intérieur bourgeois." See also William Bürger [Théophile Thoré], *Musées de la Hollande: Amsterdam et La Haye* (Paris: Jules Renouard, 1858), 115.
104. Walter Benjamin, "Paris, the Capital of the Nineteenth Century" (1935), in *The Arcades Project*, 8–9.
105. Benjamin, "Volute I [The Interior, The Trace]," in *The Arcades Project*, 220–21.
106. See Dumas, *Catalogue illustré de l'Exposition historique*, 143.
107. William Coles, *Alfred Stevens*, exh. cat. (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Museum of Art, 1977), xv.
108. See Pingeot and Hoozee, *Paris-Bruxelles, Bruxelles-Paris*, 171.
109. James Ensor, "Les Frères Stevens," *Le Coq rouge* (March–April 1896), reprinted in James Ensor, *Mes écrits, ou Les Suffisances matamoresques*, ed. Hugo Martin (Brussels: Labor, 1999), 29: "Ses peintures sont banales, son coloris confituresque; elles n'inspirent aucun sentiment élevé, aucun grand parti pris. Elles révèlent une médiocrité licencieuse prête à toutes les concessions: demi-qualités, chic, roueries, basse roublardises."
110. James Ensor, "Une Réaction artistique au pays de narquoisie," *La Ligue artistique*, 18 June 1900, reprinted in *Mes écrits*, 26: "Sorte de Watteau courbetisé: Alfred Stevens."
111. Huysmans, "Le Salon de 1879," 51: "Une fillette, blonde et vêtue de mauve, massacre langoureusement sur un clavier la *Berceuse de Chopin*, à la stupeur satisfaite d'une mère agrémentée d'une autre enfant et assise dans une robe bleue, sur un fauteuil de velours rouge. Le procédé est le même. Le décor japonais est relevé ici par une pointe de Moyen Age. Tous les bibelots, toutes les étoffes, sont soigneusement copiés. M. de Jonghe est un habile peintre de nature morte, mais il est parfaitement incapable de rendre de la nature vive. Son modernisme se borne à la reproduction des objets inanimés; son élégance ne dépasse pas un cache-pot en faïence bleue; la fleur elle-même, qui s'y dresse, est artificielle et découpée dans un papier, à l'emporte-pièce."
112. Clark, *Painting of Modern Life*, xxiv.
113. Theodor W. Adorno, "Free Time," in *The Culture Industry: Selected Essays on Mass Culture*, ed. J.M. Bernstein (London: Routledge, 1991), 166.
114. Draguet, *James Ensor*, 41: "une durée suspendue."
115. Jacques Champal, "Salon des XX," *La Basoche* 15 (April 1886): 194.
116. A.J. Wauters, "Aux XX," *La Gazette*, 10 February 1886; 14 March 1886. Criticism in the form of an invented dialogue such as this was a commonplace of the period, perhaps most famously in the case of Louis Leroy's 1874 review of the Impressionist exhibition.
117. Ronald Pickvance, *Van Gogh in Arles*, exh. cat. (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1984), 206.
118. Hector Chainaye, "Concerts Russes," *La Basoche* 14 (February 1886): 111–12.
119. See Thérèse Thomas, Michelle Lenglez, and Pierre Duroisin, *Anna Boch: Catalogue raisonné* (Brussels: Éditions Racine, 2005), 152.
120. Ibid., 190n.5.
121. Louis Bertrand, *La Belgique en 1886* (Brussels: Maheu, 1886), 5. See also Jules Destrée and Emile Vandervelde, *Le Socialisme en Belgique* (Paris: Girard and Brière, 1903).
122. Michael Huberman, "Working Hours of the World Unite? New International Evidence of Worktime, 1870–1913," *The Journal of Economic History* 64, no. 4 (December 2004): 977, 991.
123. On Ensor's politics in 1886, see Susan M. Canning, "La foule et le boulevard: James Ensor and the Street Politic of Everyday Life," in *Belgium: The Golden Decades*, ed. Jane

Block (New York: Peter Lang, 1997), 52; and, Stefan Jonsson, "Society Degree Zero: Christ, Communism, and the Madness of Crowds in the Art of James Ensor," *Representations* 75 (Summer 2001): 17–19, reprinted in revised form in Jonsson, *A Brief History of the Masses: Three Revolutions* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2008), 101–3. Jonsson quotes Walter Benjamin, who claimed that Ensor sought to depict "[n]ot the faces but the entrails of the ruling classes." See Benjamin, "James Ensor wird 70 Jahre" (1930), in *Gesammelte Schriften*, ed. Rolf Tiedemann and Hermann Schweppenhäuser, vol. 4, part 1, ed. Tillman Rexroth (Frankfurt: Suhrkamp, 1981), 567, trans. Jonsson, in "Society Degree Zero," 14; *Brief History of the Masses*, 92.

124. Bertrand, *La Belgique en 1886*, 68.
125. "The French and Belgian Strikes," *New York Times*, 27 March 1886, p. 1.
126. Edmond Picard, "L'Art et la révolution," *L'Art moderne* 6, no. 29 (18 July 1886): 225: "L'heure est venue de tremper la plume dans de l'encre rouge."
127. Verhaeren, *James Ensor* (1908), 100: "d'instaurer en art une sorte de Commune et d'inscrire sa doctrine esthétique aux plis d'un drapeau rouge."
128. James Ensor, "Discours prononcé au banquet offert à Ensor par *La Flandre littéraire* (22 December 1922)," *La Flandre littéraire* (February 1924), reprinted in Ensor, *Mes Écrits*, 121: "[M]es 'intérieurs' placides, mes 'bourgeois intérieurs,' sont foyers de révolutions." Ensor here revels in the doubleness of the word "foyer" which denotes both the home and the metaphoric hotbed.
129. "The Belgian Anarchists: Strikes and Disorder Extending Throughout the Country," *New York Times*, 25 March 1886, p. 1. See also Bertrand, *La Belgique en 1886*, 98, 107.
130. Anna Boch, letter to Eugène Boch, 28 March 1886, quoted in Thomas, *Anna Boch*, 20.
131. "Bullets for Rioters: Many Fatal Conflicts Between Strikers and Troops in Belgium," *New York Times*, 30 March 1886, p. 1; Dick de Lonlay, "Les Émeutes en Belgique," *Le Monde illustré* 30, no. 1515 (10 April 1886): 230.
132. Jules Destrée, journal entry, 2 April 1886, *Journal 1882–1887*, ed. Raymond Tousson (1891; Brussels: Académie Royale de Langue et de Literature Françaises, 1995), 33.
133. Destrée, journal entry, 9 February 1885, *Journal*, 319.
134. Jules Destrée, *Le Droit au loisir: Le Repos hebdomadaire* (Ghent: Société Coopérative, 1905).

Conclusion

1. See Jules Castagnary, *Gustave Courbet*, ed. Bertrand Tillier (1882; Paris: Séquences, 2000), 32.
2. Gustave Geffroy, "Courbet," *La Justice*, 6 June 1882, p. 2: "toile équivalente en art au drapeau rouge en politique."
3. See Linda Nochlin, "The De-Politicization of Gustave Courbet: Transformation and Rehabilitation under the Third Republic," *October* 22 (Fall 1982): 64–78.
4. Jehan Valter, "L'Exposition de Courbet à l'Ecole des Beaux-Arts," *Le Figaro*, 30 April 1882, p. 2: "Comme il ne s'agit pas ici de politique, mais d'art, je n'éprouve aucun embarras à reconnaître que le résultat de cette première journée a été une nouvelle constatation du talent de l'artiste."
5. Robert Tony-Fleur, as quoted in "Notes on Art and Artists," *New York Times*, 17 September 1882. See also Jules Claretie, "Gustave Courbet, 1819–1878 [sic]," in *Peintres et sculpteurs contemporains* (Paris: Librairie des Bibliophiles, 1882), 241.
6. Here the period-specific word "Communism" denotes his belonging to the Paris Commune, but his socialism is implicit. See Titus Munson Coan, "Gustave Courbet, Artist and Communist," *Century Magazine* 27, no. 4 (February 1884): 483–95.
7. Paul Mantz, "Salon de 1878," *Le Temps*, 4 July 1878, p. 2; Marius Vachon, "Le Salon de 1880," *La France*, 8 May 1880.
8. Paul Mantz, "Exposition des oeuvres des artistes indépendants," *Le Temps*, 14 April 1880, p. 3, reprinted in Ruth Berson, ed., *The New Painting: Impressionism, 1874–1886: Documentation*, vol. 1: *Reviews* (San Francisco: Fine Arts Museums of San Francisco, 1996), 296.
9. Henry Trianon, "Sixième exposition de peinture par un groupe d'artistes: 35, boulevard des Capucines," *Le Constitutionnel*, 21 April 1881, p. 3, reprinted in Berson, *New Painting*, 366–68.
10. Claretie, "Gustave Courbet," 255: "Il ne peignait que ce qu'il voyait."
11. Alfred de Lostalot, "L'Exposition des oeuvres de Courbet," *Gazette des beaux-arts* 25 (June 1882): 576: "Nous ne contesterons pas son droit à ne vouloir peindre que ce qui est visible; ce procès-là est gagné depuis longtemps en France."
12. Eugène Véron, *L'Esthétique* (Paris: Reinwald, 1878), 412–13, trans. W. H. Armstrong in Véron, *Aesthetics* (London: Chapman and Hall; Philadelphia: Lippincott, 1879), 358.

13. Paul Mantz, "Gustave Courbet," *La Gazette des beaux-arts* 18 (July 1878): 20: "[M]ême où l'artiste se proclame l'humble traducteur des spectacles extérieur et des réalités objectives, il y ajoute, et parfois sans le savoir, quelque chose qu'il tire de sa propre pensée."
14. Octave Uzanne, "Notes on Art and Archaeology," *The Academy* 22, no. 531 (8 July 1882): 38.
15. Eugène Véron, "Gustave Courbet," *L'Art: Revue hebdomadaire illustrée* 29 (1882): 225: "Courbet savait rien."
16. Véron, "Gustave Courbet," 226: "un sentiment quelconque de la vie morale et intellectuelle."
17. Philippe Burty, "L'Oeuvre de G. Courbet," *La République française*, 14 May 1882, p. 3: "Les *Casseurs de pierre* sont, pour nous, après l'*Enterrement à Ornans*, ce qui donne la plus puissante idée de l'oeuvre de Courbet. Le bruit court que le musée de Bruxelles ou le roi des Belges va s'en rendre acquéreur; c'est une acquisition aussi capitale que l'a été l'*Hallili* pour le musée de Boston. On possède là le maître dans toute sa sincèrité, avant les fatigues de la fin. . . . L'allure des deux paysans, celui qui, vieil et asthmatique, frappe le caillou, en cadence et celui qui, jeune et vigoureux porte la corbeille pleine de cailloux, la simplicité de la fonction, la beauté du paysage où meuvent les deux personnages, cet air tiède et fortifiant des plateaux, verts comme un tapis de velours, sous l'outremer rompu du ciel, tout donne à cette peinture, aujourd'hui aussi dure qu'un émail, les caractères du tableau d'histoire que notre race prise si haut."
18. Émile Durand-Gréville, "Peintres français contemporains, Gustave Courbet," *La Revue politique et littéraire* 2, no. 11 (18 March 1882): 335: "Il peignit dans une dimension presque colossale un vieux bonhomme semblable à ceux que nous avons vus cent fois sur le bord des chemins. De sa masse qu'il tient à deux mains, il frappe les cailloux amoncelés devant lui. L'autre moitié de la toile est occupée par un garçonnet qui tourne le dos au spectateur, emportant péniblement dans une corbeille plate un lot de cailloux cassés qu'il va jeter sur le grand tas du second plan. Rien de plus."
19. Véron, "Gustave Courbet," 226: "Rien de tout cela n'est vivant; tout est immobile, figé, glacé. De tous ces portraits il n'y en a pas un où perce un sentiment quelconque de la vie morale et intellectuelle; parmi toutes ces figures d'hommes ou de femmes, quelle est celle qui ait un mouvement vrai, une attitude observée, un geste qui se continue? La seule que l'on puisse citer à ce point de vue est celle du vieux *Casseur de pierres*, précisément parce que ce geste automatique se trouve par hasard convenir à l'habitude du personnage. Pour moi, je déclare en toute sincérité, je ne vois là que des mannequins plus ou moins *réalistiquement* rendus."
20. Véron, *L'Esthétique*, 297, trans. in Véron, *Aesthetics*, 256. See also Gotthold Ephraim Lessing, *Laocoön: An Essay on the Limits of Painting and Poetry*, trans. Edward Allen McCormick (1766; Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1984).
21. Véron, "Gustave Courbet," 227: "Autant dire que le *Gueymard* n'est pas un mannequin mal articulé, à qui il manque pour s'asseoir ce que la *Baigneuse* a en trop, que le *Berlioz* n'est pas empaillé, que le *Proudhon* n'est pas ramolli, que le *Champfleury* n'est pas hypnotisé, que les *Paysans de Flagey* ne sont pas en bois, que les femmes du *Réveil* ne sont pas en gélatine, et que *Les Lutteurs* ne sont pas pétrifiés . . . La même observation s'applique à ses marines. Sauf celle du Luxembourg, toutes ses *Vagues* sont immobiles, lourdes, opaques."
22. Lostalot, "Exposition des oeuvres de Courbet," 579: "Les verdures pendent inertes, les arbres, les personnages ou les animaux sont plaqués sur les fonds: la puissance et la justesse des tons donnent bien une image saissante de la nature, mais d'une nature figée, immobilisée comme si on l'entrevoyait dans une expérience de laboratoire, sous la cloche d'une machine pneumatique."
23. Castagnary, "Gustave Courbet," in *Exposition des oeuvres de Gustave Courbet a l'École des Beaux-Arts (mai 1882)*, exh. cat. (Paris: École des Beaux-Arts, 1882), 24–25: "Il ne peignait que ce qu'il voyait. . . . Cette doctrine, qui excluait du même coup le passé et le futur, aurait été fatale à tout autre; chez lui, elle ne fit qu'aider les deux facultés qui le distinguaient essentiellement et qui, en somme, sont bien près de constituer tout le peintre: une sensibilité exquise et un métier incomparable. C'est là la contre-partie heureuse, qui corrige ce que la théorie paraît avoir d'étroit. Si Courbet ne pouvait peindre que ce qu'il voyait, il voyait admirablement, il voyait mieux que nul autre. Son oeil était un miroir plus fin et plus sûr, où les sensations les plus fugitives, les nuances les plus délicates venaient se préciser. À cette faculté de voir exceptionnelle,

correspondait une faculté de rendre non moins exceptionnelle."

24. Véron, "Gustave Courbet," 227: "[T]outes ses *Vagues* sont immobiles, lourdes, opaques." In a note added after the retrospective of 1882, Joris-Karl Huysmans also remarked on the "marble seas" in Courbet's paintings. See Huysmans, "Le Salon officiel de 1880," in *L'Art moderne* (Paris: Charpentier, 1883), 157.
25. Durand-Gréville, "Gustave Courbet," 339: "Le spectateur, en entrant, se trouvera trop éloigné pour voir les détails et même pour deviner le sujet du tableau; mais, s'il a le sens artistique, il éprouvera au premier coup d'oeil une impression vive comme l'éclair, un sentiment de plaisir produit en lui par la seule distribution des blancs, des gris et des noirs dans le champ du tableau."
26. Paul Mantz, "Gustave Courbet," *Gazette des beaux-arts* 18 (December 1878): 380–81.
27. [Jules-Antoine] Castagnary, "Exposition du boulevard des Capucines: Les Impressionnistes," *Le Siècle*, 29 April 1874, p. 3, reprinted in Berson, *New Painting*, 17.
28. Marc J. Gotlieb, *The Plight of Emulation: Ernst Meissonier and French Salon Painting* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1996), 179–80.
29. Jules Janssen, "Les Méthodes en astronomie physique: Discours prononcé comme président du congrès le 26 août 1882," in *Lectures académiques: Discours* (Paris: Hachette, 1903), 217–18, as quoted in Jimena Canales, *A Tenth of a Second: A History* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2009), 119.
30. Walter Benjamin, "Letter from Paris (2): Painting and Photography" (1936), trans. Edmund Jephcott, in *Selected Writings*, vol. 3: *1935–1938*, ed. Howard Eiland and Michael W. Jennings (Cambridge, Mass.: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2002), 240–41.

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