

## MODERNITY AND THE SPACES OF FEMININITY

GRISELDA POLLOCK

*Investment in the look is not as privileged in women as in men. More than other senses, the eye objectifies and masters. It sets at a distance, and maintains a distance. In our culture the predominance of the look over smell, taste, touch and hearing has brought about an impoverishment of bodily relations. The moment the look dominates, the body loses its materiality.*

-Luce Irigaray (1978) Interview in M.-F. Bains and C. Laxaigc, eds., *Les Femmes, la pornographie et l'erotisme* (Paris), p. 50.

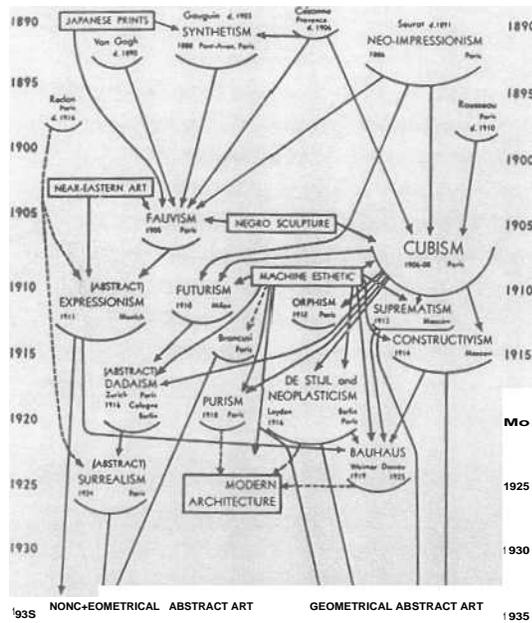
*Introduction*

The schema which decorated the cover of Alfred H. Barr's catalogue for the exhibition *Cubism and Abstract Art* at the Museum of Modern Art, New York, in 1936 is paradigmatic of the way modern art has been mapped by modernist art history [2]. All those canonized as the initiators of modern art are men. Is this because there were no women involved in early modern movements? No. Is it because those who were, were without significance in determining the shape and character of modern art? No. Or is it rather because what modernist art history celebrates is a selective tradition which normalizes, as the *only* modernism, a particular and gendered set of practices? I would argue for this explanation. As a result any attempt to deal with artists in the early history of modernism who are women necessitates a deconstruction of the masculinist myths of modernism.

These are, however, widespread and structure the discourse of many counter-modernists, for instance in the social history of art. The recent pub-

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lication *The Painting of Modern Life: Paris in the Art of Manet and His Followers*, by T. J. Clark,<sup>3</sup> offers a searching account of the social relations between the emergence of new protocols and criteria for painting-modernism-and the myths of modernity shaped in and by the new city of Paris remade by capitalism during the Second Empire. Going beyond the commonplaces about a desire to be contemporary in art, "il faut etre de son temps,"<sup>4</sup> Clark puzzles at what structured the notions of modernity which became the territory for Manet and his followers. He thus indexes the Impressionist painting practices to a complex set of negotiations of the ambiguous and baffling class formations and class identities which emerged in Parisian society. Modernity is presented as far more than a sense of being "up to date"-modernity is a matter of representations and major myths-of a new Paris for recreation, leisure and pleasure, of nature to be enjoyed at weekends in suburbia, of the prostitute taking over and of fluidity of class in the popular spaces of entertainment. The key markers in this invthic territory are leisure, consumption, the spectacle and money. And we can reconstruct from Clark a map of Impressionist territory which stretches from the new boulevards via Gare St-Lazare out on the suburban train to La Grenouillere, *Bertinval* or



7. Cover design of the catalogue for the exhibition *Cubism and Abstract Art, 1936*, New York, Museum of Modern Art.

Argenteuil. In these sites the artists lived, worked and pictured themselves.<sup>5</sup> But in two of the four chapters of Clark's book, he deals with the problematic of sexuality in bourgeois Paris, and the canonical paintings are *Olympia* (1863, Paris, Musée du Louvre) and *A Bar at the Folies-Bergere* (1881-82, London, Courtauld Institute of Art) [3].

It is a mighty but flawed argument on many

levels, but here I wish to attend to its peculiar closures on the issue of sexuality. For Clark the founding fact is class. *Olympia's* nakedness in-scribes her class and thus debunks the mythic classlessness of sex epitomized in the image of the courtesan.<sup>6</sup> The fashionably blasé barmaid at the Folies evades a fixed identity as either bourgeois or proletarian but nonetheless participates in the play around class that constituted the myth and appeal of the popular.<sup>7</sup>

Although Clark nods in the direction of feminism by acknowledging that these paintings imply a masculine viewer/consumer, the manner in which this is done ensures the normalcy of that position, leaving it below the threshold of historical investigation and theoretical analysis.<sup>8</sup> To recognize the gender-specific conditions of these paintings' existence one need only imagine a female spectator and a female producer of the works. How can a woman relate to the viewing positions proposed by either of these paintings? Can a woman be offered, in order to be denied, imaginary possession of *Olympia* or the barmaid? Would a woman of Manet's class have a familiarity with either of these spaces and its exchanges which could be evoked so that the painting's modernist job of negation and disruption could be effective? Could Berthe Morisot have gone to such a location to canvass the subject? Would it have entered her head as a site of modernity as she experienced it? Could she as a woman have experienced modernity as Clark defines it at all?\*

\*While accepting that paintings such as *Olympia* and *A Bar at the Folies-Bergere* come from a tradition which invokes the spectator as masculine, we need to acknowledge the way in which a feminine spectator is actually implied by these paintings. Surely one part of the shock, of the transgression effected by the painting *Olympia* for its first viewers at the Paris Salon was the presence of that "brazen" but cool look from the white woman on a bed attended by a black maid in a space in which women, or to be historically precise, bourgeois ladies, would be presumed to be present. That look, so overtly passing between a seller of woman's body and a client/viewer signified the commercial and sexual exchanges specific to a part of the public realm which should be invisible to ladies. Furthermore its absence from their consciousness structured their identities as ladies. In some of his writings T. J. Clark correctly discusses the meanings of the sign woman in the nineteenth century as oscillating between two poles of the *fille publique* (woman of

the streets) and the *femme honnête* (the respectable married woman). But it would seem that the exhibition of *Olympia* precisely confounds that social and ideological distance between two imaginary poles and forces the one to confront the other in that part of the public realm where ladies do go—still within the frontiers of femininity. The presence of this painting in the Salon—not because it is a nude but because it displaces the mythological costume or anecdote through which prostitution was represented mythically through the courtesan—transgresses the line on my grid derived from Baudelaire's text, introducing not just modernity as a manner of painting a pressing contemporary theme, but the spaces of modernity into a social territory of the bourgeoisie, the Salon, where viewing such an image is quite shocking because of the presence of wives, sisters and daughters. The understanding of the shock depends upon our restoration of the female spectator to her historical and social place.

For it is a striking fact that many of the canonical works held up as the founding monuments of modern art treat precisely with this area, sexuality, and this form of it, commercial exchange. I am thinking of innumerable brothel scenes through to Picasso's *Demaiselles d'Avignon* or that other form, the artist's couch. The encounters pictured and imagined are those between men who have the freedom to take their pleasures in many urban spaces and women from a class subject to them who have to work in those spaces often selling their bodies to clients, or to artists. Undoubtedly these exchanges are structured by relations of class but these are thoroughly captured within gender and its power relations. Neither can be separated or ordered in a hierarchy. They are historical simultaneities and mutually inflecting.

So we must inquire why the territory of modernism so often is a way of dealing with masculine sexuality and its sign, the bodies of women—why the nude, the brothel, the bar? What relation is there between sexuality, modernity and modernism? If it is normal to see paintings of women's bodies as the territory across which men artists claim their modernity and compete for leadership of the avant-garde, can we expect to rediscover paintings by women in which they battled with their sexuality in the representation of the male nude? Of course not; the very suggestion seems ludicrous. But why? Because there is a historical asymmetry—a difference socially, economically, subjectively between being a woman and being a man in Paris in the late nineteenth century. This difference—the product of the social structura-



3. Édouard Manet, *Bar at the Folies Bergere*, 1881-82. London, Courtauld Institute Galleries, Courtauld Collection.



4. Berthe Morisot, *Two Women Reading*, 1869-70. Washington, D.C., National Gallery of Art, Chester Dale Collection.

tion of sexual difference and not any imaginary biological distinction--determined both what and how men and women painted.

I have long been interested in the work of Berthe Morisot (1841-1896) and Mary Cassatt (1844-1926), two of the four women who were actively involved with the Impressionist exhibiting society in Paris in the 1870s and 1880s who were regarded by their contemporaries as important members of the artistic group we now label the Impressionists.<sup>9</sup> But how are we to study the work of artists who are women so that we can discover and account for the specificity of what they produced as individuals while also recognizing that, as women, they worked from different positions and experiences from those of their colleagues who were men?

Sexuality, modernism or modernity cannot function as given categories to which we add women. That only identifies a partial and inascu-

line viewpoint with the norm and confirms women as other and subsidiary. Sexuality, modernism or modernity are organized by and organizations of sexual difference. To perceive women's specificity is to analyze historically a particular configuration of difference.

This is my project here. How do the socially contrived orders of sexual difference structure the lives of Mary Cassatt and Berthe Morisot? How did that structure what they produced? The matrix I shall consider here is that of space.

Space can be grasped in several dimensions. The first refers us to spaces as locations. What spaces are represented in the paintings made by Berthe Morisot and Mary Cassatt? And what are not? A quick list includes:

- dining rooms
- drawing rooms
- bedrooms
- balconies/verandas
- private gardens (See figs. 4, 5, 7.)

The majority of these have to be recognized as examples of private areas or domestic space. But there are paintings located in the public domain--scenes, for instance, of promenading, driving in the park, being at the theater, boating. They are the spaces of bourgeois recreation, display and those social rituals which constituted polite society, or Society, *Le Monde*. In the case of Mary Cassatt's work, spaces of labor are included, especially those involving child care. In several examples, they make visible aspects of working-class women's labor within the bourgeois home.

I have previously argued that engagement with the Impressionist group was attractive to some women precisely because subjects dealing with domestic social life hitherto relegated as mere genre painting were legitimized as central topics of the painting practices.<sup>10</sup> On closer examination it is much more significant how little of typical Impressionist iconography actually reappears in the works made by artists who are women. They do not represent the territory which their colleagues who were men so freely occupied and made use of in their works--for instance, bars, cafes, backstage



11. Mary Cassatt, *The Loge*, 1882. Washington, D.C., National Gallery of Art, Chester Dale Collection.



12. Auguste Renoir, *The loge*, 1874. London, Courtauld Institute Galleries, Courtauld Collection.

ing an unwrapped bouquet, the other sheltering behind a large fan, create a telling effect of suppressed excitement and extreme constraint, of unease in this public place, exposed and dressed up, on display. They are set at an oblique angle to the frame so that they are not contained by its edges, not framed and made a pretty picture for us as in *The Loge* [12] by Renoir, where the spectacle at which the scene is set and the spectacle the woman herself is made to offer merge for the unacknowledged but presumed masculine spectator. In Renoir's *The First Outing* the choice of a profile opens out the spectator's gaze into the auditorium and invites her/him to imagine that she/he is sharing in the plain figure's excitement while she seems totally unaware of offering such a delightful spectacle. The lack of self-consciousness is, of course, purely contrived so that the viewer can enjoy the sight of the young girl.

The mark of difference between the paintings

by Renoir and Cassatt is the refusal in the latter of that complicity in the way the female protagonist is depicted. In a later painting, *At the Opera*, 1879 [1], a woman is represented dressed in daytime or mourning black in a box at the theater. She looks from the spectator into the distance in a direction which cuts across the plane of the picture, but as the viewer follows her gaze another look is revealed steadfastly fixed on the woman in the foreground. The picture thus juxtaposes two looks, giving priority to that of the woman, who is, remarkably, pictured actively looking. She does not return the viewer's gaze, a convention which confirms the viewer's right to look and appraise. Instead we fill() that the viewer outside the picture is evoked by being as it were the mirror image of the man looking in the picture.

This is, in a sense, the subject of the painting—the problematic of women out in public being vulnerable to a compromising gaze. The witty pun

## GRIT) II

*Ladies*

		MANET	MORISOT	<b>bedroom</b>
		CAILLEBOTTE	CASSATT	
		RENOIR	MORISOT	<b>drawing room</b>
		CAILLEBOTTE	CASSATT	
		BAZILLE	CASSATT	<b>veranda</b>
		CAILLEBOTTE	MORISOT	
		MANET	CASSATT	<b>garden</b>
			MORISOT	
<b>theater (loge)</b>	<b>debutantes</b>	RENOIR	CASSATT	<b>theater</b>
<b>park</b>	<b>elegant families</b>	MANET	CASSATT	<b>park</b>
			MORISOT	

*Fallen Women*

<b>theater (backstage)</b>	<b>dancers</b>	DEGAS
<b>cafes</b>	<b>mistresses and kept women</b>	MANET RENOIR DEGAS
<b>folies</b>	<b>The courtesan: "protean image of wanton beauty"</b>	MANET DEGAS GUYS
<b>brothels</b>	<b>"poor slaves of filthy stews"</b>	MANET GUYS

on the spectator outside the painting being matched by that within should not disguise the serious meaning of the fact that social spaces are policed by men's watching women and the positioning of the spectator outside the painting in relation to the man within it serves to indicate that the spectator participates in that game as well. The fact that the woman is pictured so actively looking, signified above all by the fact that her eyes are masked by opera glasses, prevents her being objectified and she figures as the subject of her own look.

Cassatt and Morisot painted pictures of women in public spaces but these all lie above a certain line on the grid I devised from Baudelaire's text. The other world of women was inaccessible to them while it was freely available to the <sup>men</sup> of the group and constantly entering representation as the very territory of their engagement with modernity. There is evidence that bourgeois

women did go to the cafes-concerts but this is reported as a fact to regret and a symptom of modern decline.<sup>27</sup> As Clark points out, guides for foreigners to Paris such as Murray's clearly wish to prevent such slumming by commenting that respectable people do not visit such venues. In the journals, Marie Bashkirtseff records a visit she and some friends made to a masked ball where behind the disguise daughters of the aristocracy could live dangerously, playing with sexual freedom their classed gender denied them. But given both Bashkirtseff's dubious social position, and her condemnation of the standard morality and regulation of women's sexuality, her escapade merely reaffirms the norm.<sup>28</sup>

To enter such spaces as the masked ball or the cafe-concert constituted a serious threat to a bourgeois woman's reputation and therefore her femininity. The guarded respectability of the lady could be soiled by mere visual contact, for seeing

was bound up with knowing. This other world of encounter between bourgeois men and women of another class was a no-go area for bourgeois women. It is the place where female sexuality or rather female bodies are bought and sold, where woman becomes both an exchangeable commodity and a seller of flesh, entering the economic domain through her direct exchanges with men. Here the division of the public and private mapped as a separation of the masculine and feminine is ruptured by money, the ruler of the public domain, and precisely what is banished from the home.

Femininity in its class-specific forms is maintained by the polarity virgin/whore which is mystifying representation of the economic exchanges in the patriarchal kinship system. In bourgeois ideologies of femininity the fact of the money and property relations which legally and economically constitute bourgeois marriage is conjured out of sight by the mystification of a one-off purchase of the rights to a body and its products as an effect of love to be sustained by duty and devotion.

Femininity should thus be understood not as a condition of women but as the ideological forth of the regulation of female sexuality in a familial, heterosexual domesticity ultimately organized by the law. The spaces of femininity-ideologically, pictorially-hardly articulate female sexualities. That is not to accept nineteenth-century notions of women's asexuality but to stress the difference between what was actually lived or how it was experienced and what was officially spoken or represented as female sexuality.<sup>29</sup>

In the ideological and social spaces of femininity, female sexuality could not be directly regis-

tered. This has a crucial effect with regard to the use artists who were women could make of the positionality represented by the gaze of the flaneur-and therefore with regard to modernity. The gaze of the flaneur articulates and produces a masculine sexuality which in the modern sexual economy enjoys the freedom to look, appraise and possess, in deed or in fantasy. Walter Benjamin draws special attention to a poem by Baudelaire, "A Une Passante" (To a Passerby). The poem is written from the point of view of a <sup>man</sup> who sees in the crowd a beautiful widow; he falls in love as she vanishes from sight. Benjamin's comment is apt: "One may say that the poem deals with the function of the crowd not in the life of a citizen but in the life of an erotic person."<sup>30</sup>

It is not the public realm simply equated with the masculine which defines the flaneur/artist but access to a sexual realm which is marked by those interstitial spaces, the spaces of ambiguity, defined as such not only by the relatively unfixed or fantasizable class boundaries Clark makes so much of but because of cross-class sexual exchange. Women could enter and represent selected locations in the public sphere-those of entertainment and display. But a line demarcates not the end of the public/private divide but the frontier of the spaces of femininity. Below this line lies the realm of the sexualized and corn modified bodies of women, where nature is ended, where class, capital and masculine power invade and interlock. It is a line that marks off a class boundary but it reveals where new class formations of the bourgeois world restructured gender relations not only between men and women but between women of different classes.\*

<sup>29</sup> I may have overstated the case that bourgeois women's sexuality could not be articulated within these spaces. In the light of recent feminist study of the psychosexual psychology of motherhood, it would be possible to read mother-child paintings by women in a far more complex way as a site for the articulation of female sexualities. Moreover in paintings by J. M. W. Turner, for instance, of her adolescent daughter, we may discern the inscription of yet another moment at which female sexuality is referred to by circling around the emergence from latency into an adult sexuality prior to its strict regulation within marital domestic spaces. More generally it would be wise to pay heed to the writings of historian Carroll Smith-Rosenberg on the importance of female friendships. She

stresses that from our post-Freudian vantage point it is very difficult to read the intimacies of nineteenth-century women, to understand the valencies of the terms of endearment, often very physical, to comprehend the forms of sexuality and love as they were lived, experienced and represented. A great deal more research needs to be done before any statements can be made without the danger of feminists merely rehearsing and confirming the official discourse of masculine ideologues on female sexualities (C. Smith-Rosenberg, "The Icarian Women's Words: A Feminist Reconstruction of History," in her book *Disordered Conduct: Histories of Gender in Nineteenth-Century America*, New York, Knopf, 1985.)

*Men and Women in the Private Sphere*

I have redrawn the Baudelairean map to include those spaces which are absent—the domestic sphere, the drawing room, veranda or balcony, the garden of the summer villa and the bedroom (Grid 11). This listing produces a markedly different balance between the artists who are women and men from that on the first grid. Cassatt and Morisot occupy these new spaces to a much greater degree while their colleagues are less apparent, but importantly, not totally absent.

By way of example, we could cite Renoir's portrait *Afanie Charpentier and Her Children*, 1878 (New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art), or Bazille's family *Reunion*, 1867 (Paris, Musec d'Orsay), or the painting of Camille in several poses and different dresses painted by Claude Monet in 1867, *Woman in the Garden* (Paris, Musec d'Orsay).

These paintings share the territory of the feminine but they are painted from a totally different perspective. Renoir entered Madame Charpentier's drawing room on commission; Bazille celebrated a particular, almost formal occasion and Monet's painting was devised as an exercise in open-air painting.<sup>31</sup> The majority of works by Morisot and Cassatt deal with these domestic spaces: for instance, *Two Women Reading*, 1869-70 [4J], and *Susan on a Balcony*, 1883 (Washington, D.C., Corcoran Gallery of Art). These are painted with a sureness of knowledge of the daily routine and rituals which not only constituted the spaces of femininity but collectively trace the construction of femininity across the stages of women's lives. As I have argued previously, Cassatt's oeuvre may be seen to delineate femininity as it is induced, acquired and ritualized from youth through motherhood to old age.<sup>32</sup> Morisot used her daughter's life to produce works remarkable for their concern with female subjectivity, especially at critical turning-points of the feminine. For instance, her painting *Psyche* shows an adolescent woman before a mirror, which in France is named a "Psyche" (1876; Lugano, Thyssen-Bornemisze Collection). The classical, mythological figure Psyche was a young mortal

with whom Venus's son Cupid fell in love, and it was the topic of several paintings in the Neoclassical and Romantic period as a topos for awakening sexuality.

Morisot's painting offers the spectator a view into the bedroom of a bourgeois woman and as such is not without voyeuristic potential, but at the same time the pictured woman is not offered for sight so much as caught contemplating herself in a mirror in a way which separates the woman as subject of a contemplative and thoughtful look from woman as object—a contrast may make this clearer; compare it with Manet's painting of a half-dressed woman looking in a mirror in such a way that her ample back is offered to the spectator as merely a body in a working room, *Before the Mirror*, 1876-77 (New York, Solomon R. Guggenheim Museum).

But I must stress that I am in no way suggesting that Cassatt and Morisot are offering us a truth about the spaces of femininity. I am not suggesting that their intimacy with the domestic space enabled them to escape their historical formation as sexed and classed subjects, that they could see it objectively and transcribe it with some kind of personal authenticity. To argue that would presuppose some notion of gendered authorship, that the phenomena I am concerned to define and explicate are a result of the fact that the authors/artists are women. That would merely tie the women back into some transhistorical notion of the biologically determined gender characteristics, what Rozsika Parker and I labeled in *Old Mistresses* as the feminine stereotype.

Nonetheless the painters of this cultural group were positioned differently with regard to social mobility and the type of looking permitted them according to their being men or women. Instead of considering the paintings as documents of this condition, reflecting or expressing it, I would stress that the practice of painting is itself *a site for the inscription of sexual difference*. Social positionality—in terms of both class and gender determine—that is, set the pressure and prescribe the limits of the work produced. But we are here considering a continuing process. The social, sexual and psychic construction of femininity is con-

stantly produced, regulated, renegotiated. This productivity is involved as much in the practice of making art. In manufacturing a painting, engaging a model, sitting in a room with someone, using a score of known techniques, modifying them, surprising oneself with novel and unexpected effects both technical and in terms of meanings, which result from the way the model is positioned, the size of the room, the nature of the contract, the experience of the scene being painted and so forth—all these actual procedures which make up part of the social practice of making a painting function as the (nodes by which the social and psychic positionality of Cassatt and Morisot not only structured their pictures, but reciprocally affected the painters themselves as they found, through the making of images, their world represented back to them.

It is here that the critique of authorship is relevant—the critique of the notion of a fully coherent author subject previous to the act of creation, producing a work of art which then becomes merely a mirror or, at best, a vehicle for communicating a fully formed intention and a consciously grasped experience. The death of the author has involved the emphasis on the reader/viewer as the active producer of meaning for texts. But this carries with it an excessive danger of total relativism; any reader can make any meanings. There is a limit, a historical and ideological limit which is secured by accepting the death of the mythic figure of the creator/author but not the negation of the historical producer working within conditions which determine the productivity of the work while never confining its actual or potential field of meanings. This issue becomes acutely relevant for the study of cultural producers who are women. Typically within art history they are denied the status of author/creator (see Barr's chart, fig. 2). Their creative personality is never canonized or celebrated. Moreover they have been the prey of ideological readings where without regard to history and difference, art historians and critics have confidently proclaimed the meanings of the work by women, meanings which always reduce back to merely stating that these are works by women.

How sexual difference is inscribed will be determined by the specificity of the practice and the processes of representation. In this essay I have explored two axes on which these issues can be considered—that of space and that of the look. I have argued that the social process defined by the term modernity was experienced spatially in terms of access to the spectacular city which was open to a class and gender-specific gaze. (This hovers between the still-public figure of the flâneur and the modern condition of voyeur.) In addition, I have pointed to a coincidence between the spaces of modernity and the spaces of masculinity as they intersect in the territory of cross-class sexual exchange. Modifying therefore the simple conceit of a bourgeois world divided by public and private, masculine and feminine, the argument seeks to locate the production of the bourgeois definition of woman defined by the polarity of bourgeois lady and proletarian prostitute/working woman. The spaces of femininity are not only limited in relation to those defining modernity but because of the sexualized map across which woman is separated, the spaces of femininity are defined by a different organization of the look.

Difference, however, does not of necessity involve restriction or lack. That would be to reinscribe the patriarchal construction of woman. The features in the paintings by Mary Cassatt and Berthe Morisot of proximity, intimacy and divided spaces posit a different kind of viewing relation at the point of both production and consumption.

The difference they articulate is bound to the production of femininity as both difference and as specificity. They suggest the particularity of the female spectator—that which is completely negated in the selective tradition we are offered as history.

#### *Woman and the Cane*

In an article entitled "Film and the Masquerade: Theorizing the Female Spectator," Mary Ann Doane uses a photograph by Robert Doisneau titled *An Oblique Look, 1948*, to introduce her discussion of the negation of the female gaze [13]



13. Robert Doisneau, *Air Oblique Look*, photograph, 1948. London, Victoria and Albert Museum.

in both visual representations and on the streets.<sup>33</sup> In the photograph a petit bourgeois couple stand in front of an art dealer's window and look in. The spectator is hidden voyeur-like inside the shop. The woman looks at a picture and seems about to comment on it to her husband. Unbeknownst to her, she is in fact looking elsewhere, at the proffered buttocks of a half-naked female figure in a painting placed obliquely to the surface/photo/window so the spectator can also see what he sees. Doane argues that it is his gaze which defines the problematic of the photograph and it erases that of the woman. She looks at nothing that has any meaning for the spectator. Spatially central, she is negated in the triangulation of looks between the main, the picture of the fetishized woman and the spectator, who is thus enthralled to a masculine viewing position. To get the joke, we must be complicit with his secret discovery of something better to look at. The joke, like all dirty jokes, is at the woman's expense. She is contrasted icono-

graphically to the naked woman. She is denied the picturing of her desire; what she looks at is blank for the spectator. She is denied being the object of desire because she is represented as a woman who actively looks rather than returning and confirming the gaze of the masculine spectator. Doane concludes that the photograph almost uncannily delineates the sexual politics of looking.

I have introduced this example to make somewhat plainer what is at stake in considering the female spectator—the very possibility that texts made by women can produce different positions within this sexual politics of looking. Without that possibility, women are both denied a representation of their desire and pleasure and are constantly erased so that to look at and enjoy the sites of patriarchal culture we women must become nominal transvestites. We must assume a masculine position or masochistically enjoy the sight of woman's humiliation. At the beginning of this essay I raised the question of Morisot's

relation to such modern sights and canonical paintings of the modern as *Olympia* and *A Bar at the Folies-Bergère*, both of which figure within the sexual politics of looking—a politics at the heart of modernist art and modernist art history's version of it. Since the early 1970s, modernism has been critically challenged nowhere more purposely than by feminist cultural practitioners.

In a recent article titled "Desiring Images/Imaging Desire," Mary Kelly addresses the feminist dilemma wherein the woman who is an artist sees her experience in terms of the feminine position—that is, as object of the look—while she must also account for the feeling she experiences as an artist occupying the masculine position as subject of the look. Different strategies have emerged to negotiate this fundamental contradiction, focusing on ways of either repicturing or refusing the literal figuration of the woman's body. All these attempts center on the problem: "How is a radical, critical and pleasurable positioning of the woman as spectator to be done?"

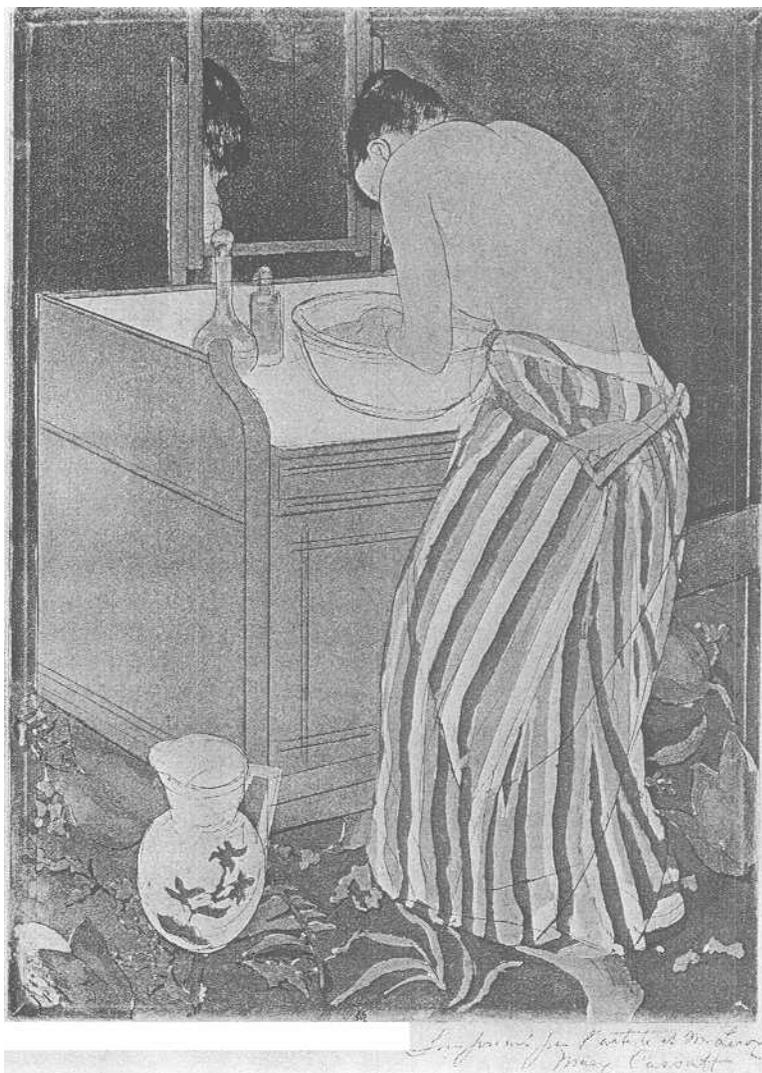
Kelly concludes her particular pathway through this dilemma (which is too specific to enter into at this moment) with a significant comment:

Until now the woman as spectator has been pinned to the surface of the picture, trapped in a path of light that leads her back to the features of a veiled face. It seems important to acknowledge that the masquerade has always been internalized, linked to a particular organization of the drives, represented through a diversity of aims and objects; but without being lured into looking for a psychic truth beneath the veil. To see this picture critically, the viewer should neither be too close nor too far away.<sup>34</sup>

Kelly's comment echoes the terms of proximity and distance which have been central to this essay. The sexual politics of looking function around a regime which divides into binary positions, activity/passivity, looking/being seen, voyeur/exhibitionist, subject/object. In approaching works by Cassatt and Morisot we can ask: Are they complicit with the dominant regime?<sup>35</sup> Do they natu-



14. Berthe Morisot in her studio, photograph.



15. Mary Cassatt, *Woman Bathing*, color print with drypoint and aquatint, fifth state, 1891. New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, Gift of Paul J. Sachs, 1916.

realize femininity in its major premises? Is femininity confirmed as passivity and masochistic or is there a critical look resulting from a different position from which femininity is appraised, experienced and represented? In these paintings by means of distinctly different treatments of those protocols of painting defined as initiating modernist art-articulation of space, repositioning the viewer, selection of location, facture and brushwork—the private sphere is invested with meanings other than those ideologically produced to

secure it as the site of femininity. One of the major means by which femininity is thus reworked is by the rearticulation of traditional space so that it ceases to function primarily as the space of sight for a mastering gaze, but becomes the locus of relationships. The gaze that is fixed on the represented figure is that of equal and like and this is inscribed into the painting by that particular proximity which I suggested characterized the work. There is little extraneous space to distract the viewer from the intersubjective encounter or to

reduce the figures to objectified staffage, or to make them the objects of a voyeuristic gaze. The cyc is not given its solitary freedom. The women depicted function as subjects of their own looking or their activity, within highly specified locations of which the viewer becomes a part.

The rare photograph of Berthe Morisot at work in her studio serves to represent the exchange of looks between women which structure these works [14]. The majority of women painted by Cassatt or Morisot were intimates of the family circle. But that included women from the bourgeoisie and from the proletariat who worked for the household as servants and nannies. It is significant to note that the realities of class cannot be wished away by some mythic ideal of sisterhood among women. The ways in which working-class women were painted by Cassatt, for example, involve the use of class power in that she could ask them to model half-dressed for the scenes of women washing [15]. Nonetheless they were not subject to the voyeuristic gaze of those women washing themselves made by Degas which, as Lipton has argued, can be located in the maisons-closets or official brothels of Paris.<sup>36</sup> The maid's simple washing stand allows a space in which women outside the bourgeoisie can be represented both intimately

and as working women without forcing them into the sexualized category of the fallen woman. The body of woman can be pictured as classed but not subject to sexual commodification.

I hope it will by now be clear that the significance of this argument extends beyond issues about Impressionist painting and parity for artists who are women. Modernity is still with us, ever more acutely as our cities become, in the exacerbated world of postmodernity, more and more a place of strangers and spectacle, while women are ever more vulnerable to violent assault while out in public and are denied the right to move around our cities safely. The spaces of femininity still regulate women's lives—from running the gauntlet of intrusive looks by men on the streets to surviving deadly sexual assaults. In rape trials, women on the street are assumed to be "asking for it." The configuration which shaped the work of Cassatt and Morisot still defines our world. It is relevant then to develop feminist analyses of the founding moments of modernity and modernism, to discern its sexualized structures, to discover past resistances and differences, to examine how women producers developed alternative models for negotiating modernity and the spaces of femininity.

#### NOTES

1. For substantive evidence see Lea Vergine, *L'Autre Moitié de l'avant-garde, 1910-1940*, translated by Mircille Zanuttin (Italian ed. 1980), Paris, Des Femmes, 1982.

2. See Nicole Dubreuil-Blondin, "Modernism and Feminism: Some Paradoxes," in Benjamin H. D. Buchloh (ed.), *Modernism and Modernity*, Halifax, Nova Scotia, Press of Nova Scotia College of Art and Design, 1983. Also Lillian Robinson and Lisa Vogel, "Modernism and History," *American Literary History*, 1971-72, iii (1), 177-99.

3. T. J. Clark, *The Painting of Modern Life: Paris in the Art of 1875 and His Followers*, New York, Knopf, and London, Thames & Hudson, 1984.

4. George Boas, "Il faut être de son temps," *Journal of Aesthetics and Art Criticism*, 1940, 1, 52-65, reprinted in *Wingless Pegasus. A Handbook for Critics*, Baltimore, Johns Hopkins University Press, 1950.

5. The itinerary can be fictitiously reconstructed as follows:

a stroll on the *Boulevard des Capucines* (C. Monet, 1873, Kansas City, Nelson Atkins Museum of Art), across the *Pont de l'Europe* (G. Caillebotte, 1876, Geneva, Petit Palais), up to the *Care St-Lazare* (Monet, 1877, Paris, Musée d'Orsay), to catch a suburban train for the twelve-minute ride out to walk along the *Seine at Argenteuil* (Monet, 1875, San Francisco, Museum of Modern Art) or to stroll and swim at the bathing-place on the Seine, *La Crenouillère* (A. Renoir, 1869, Moscow, Pushkin Museum), or to *Dance at Bougival* (A. Renoir, 1883, Boston, Museum of Fine Arts). I was privileged to read early drafts of Tim Clark's book now titled *The Painting of Modern Life* and it was here that this Impressionist territory was first lucidly mapped as a field of leisure and pleasure on the metropolitan/suburban axis. Another study to undertake this work is "Theodore Reff, *1875 and 1876 Paris*, Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1982.

6. Clark, *op. cit.*, 146.
7. *Ibid.*, 253.
8. The tendency is the more marked in earlier drafts of material which appears in *The Painting of Modern Life—e.g.*, "Preliminaries to a Possible Treatment of *Olympia* in 1865," *Screen*, 1980, 21 (1), especially 33-37, and "Manet's *Bar at the Folies-Bergare*" in Jean Beaucroix et al. (eds.), *The Wolf and the Lamb: Popular Culture in France*, Saratoga, Anma Libri, 1977. See also Clark, *op. cit.*, 250-52, and contrast the radical reading of Mallet's paintings which results from acknowledging the specificity of the presumed masculine spectator in Eunice Lipton's "Manet and Radicalised Female Imagery," *Artforum*, March 1975, 13 (7), and also Beatrice Farwell, "Manet and the Nude: A Study of the Iconography of the Second Empire," University of California, Los Angeles, Ph.D. dissertation, 1973, published New York, Garland Press, 1981.
9. Tamar Garb, *Women Impressionists*, Oxford, Phaidon Press, 1987. The other two artists involved were Manet, Bracquemond and Eva Gonzales.
10. Rozsika Parker and Griselda Pollock, *Old Mistresses: Women, Art and Ideology*, London, Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1981, 38.
11. I refer, for example, to Edouard Manet, *Argenteuil, Les Canotiers*, 1874 (Tournai, Musée des Beaux Arts) and to Edgar Degas, *Afar*, *Cassatt at the Louvre*, 1879-80, etching, third of twenty states (Chicago, Art Institute of Chicago). I am grateful to Nancy Underhill of the University of Queensland for raising this issue with me. See also Clark, *op. cit.*, 165, 239ff., for further discussion of this issue of flatness and its social meanings.
12. See also Berthe Morisot, *View of Paris from the Trocadéro*, 1872 (Santa Barbara, Museum of Art), where two women and a child are placed in a panoramic view of Paris but fenced off in a separate spatial compartment precisely from the urban landscape. Reff, *op. cit.*, 38, reads this division quite (in)differently and finds the figures merely incidental, unwittingly complying with the social segregation upon which the painting's structure comments. It is furthermore interesting to note that both these scenes are painted quite close to the Morisot home in the Rue Franklin.
13. See, for instance, M. Merleau-Ponty, "Cézanne's Doubt," in *Sense and Non-Sense*, translated by Hubert L. Dreyfus and Patricia Allen Dreyfus, Evanston, Illinois, Northwestern University Press, 1961.
14. Janet Wolff, "The Invisible Feminine; Women and the Literature of Modernity," *Theory, Culture and Society*, 1985, 2 (3), 37-48.
15. See George Simmel, "The Metropolis and Mental Life," in Richard Sennett (ed.), *Classic Essays in the Culture of the City*, New York, Appleton-Century-Crofts, 1969.
16. Richard Sennett, *The Fall of Public Man*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1977, 126.
17. Walter Benjamin, *Charles Baudelaire; Lyric Poet in the Era of High Capitalism*, London, New Left Books, 1973, chapter 11, "The Flâneur," 36.
18. Jules Simon, *op. cit.*, quoted in MacNiffan, *op. cit.*, 37. MacNiffan also quotes the novelist Daniel Lesuer, "Le Travail de la femme déclassée," *L'Évolution féminine: ses résultats économiques*, 1900, 5. My understanding of the complex ideological relations between public labor and the insinuation of immorality was much enhanced by Kate Stockwell's contributions to seminars on the topic at the University of Leeds, 1984-85.
19. Jules Fliclet, *La Femme*, in *Oeuvres complètes* (Vol. Will, 1858-60), Paris, Flammarion, 1985, 413. In passing we can note that in a drawing for a print on the theme of omnibus travel Mary Cassatt initially placed a man on the bench beside the woman, child and female companion (ca. 1891, Washington, D.C., National Gallery of Art). In the print itself this masculine figure is erased.
20. Sennett, *op. cit.*, 23.
21. *77re Journals of Marie Bashkirtseff* (1890), introduced by Rozsika Parker and Griselda Pollock, London, Virago Press, 1985, entry for 2 January 1879, 347.
22. Charles Baudelaire, "The Painter of Modern Life," in *77re Painter of Modern Life and Other Essays*, translated and edited by Jonathan Mayne, Oxford, Phaidon Press, 1964, 9.
23. *Ibid.*, 30.
24. The pictures to fit the schema would include the following examples:
  - A. Renoir, *La Loge*, 1874 (London, Courtauld Institute Galleries).
  - E. Manet, *Music in the Tuileries Gardens*, 1862 (London, National Gallery).
  - E. Degas, *Dancers Backstage*, ca. 1872 (Washington, D.C., National Gallery of Art).
  - E. Degas, *The Cardinal Family*, ca. 1880, a series of prototypes planned as illustrations to Ludovic Halévy's looks on the backstage life of the dancers and their "admirers" from the jockey Club.
  - E. Degas, *Cafe in Montmartre*, 1877 (Paris, Musée d'Orsay).
  - E. Manet, *Cafe, Place du Théâtre Français*, 1881 (Glasgow, City Art Museum).
  - E. Manet, *Nana*, 1877 (Hamburg, Kunsthalle).
  - E. Manet, *Olympia*, 1865 (Paris, Musée du Louvre).
25. Theresa Ann Gronberg, "Les Femmes de brasserie," *Art history*, 1984, 7 (3).

and even those places which Clark has seen as participating in the myth of the popular—such as the bar at the Folies-Bergère or even the Moulin de la Galette. A range of places and subjects was closed to them while open to their male colleagues, who could move freely with men and women in the socially fluid public world of the streets, popular entertainment and commercial or casual sexual exchange.

The second dimension in which the issue of space can be addressed is that of the spatial order within paintings. Playing with spatial structures was one of the defining features of early modernist painting in Paris, be it Manet's witty and calculated play upon flatness or Degas's use of acute angles of vision, varying viewpoints and cryptic framing devices. With their close personal con-

tacts with both artists, Morisot and Cassatt were no doubt party to the conversations out of which these strategies emerged and equally subject to the less conscious social forces which may well have conditioned the predisposition to explore spatial ambiguities and metaphors.<sup>11</sup> Yet although there are examples of their using similar tactics, I would like to suggest that spatial devices in the work of Morisot and Cassatt work to a wholly different effect.

A remarkable feature in the spatial arrangements in paintings by Morisot is the juxtaposition on a single canvas of two spatial systems—or at least of two compartments of space often obviously bounded by some device such as a balustrade, balcony, veranda or embankment whose presence is underscored by feature. In *The harbor*



; Mary Cassatt, *Five O'Clock Tea*, 1880. Boston, Museum of Fine Arts, 9 Theresa 13 1 Hopkins Fund

26. See Clark, *op. cit.*, 296, n. 144. The critic was Jean Ravenal, writing in *L'Epoque*, 7 June 1865.

27. See Clark, *op. cit.*, 209.

28. The escapade in 1878 was erased from the bowdlerized version of the journals published in 1890. For discussion of the event see the publication of excised sections in Colette Cosnier, *Marie Bashkirtseff.- un portrait sans retouches*, Paris, Pierre Horay, 1985, 164-65. See also Linda Nochlin, "A Thoroughly Modern Masked Ball," *Art in America*, November 1983, 71 (10). In Karl Baedeker, *Guide to Paris*, 1888, the masked balls are described but it is advised that "visitors with ladies had better take a box" (p. 34) and of the more mundane *salles de dance* (dance halls) Baedeker comments, "it need hardly be said that ladies cannot attend these balls."

29. Carl Degler, "What Ought to Be and What Was; Women's Sexuality in the Nineteenth Century," *American Historical Review*, 1974, 79, 1467-91.

30. Benjamin, *op. cit.*, 45.

31. The exception to these remarks may well be the work of Gustave Caillebotte, especially in two paintings exhibited at the third Exposition de Peinture in April 1877: *Portraits in the Country* (Bayeux, Musée Baron Gérard) and *Portraits (In an Interior)* (New York, Alan Hartman Collection). The former represents a group of bourgeois women reading and sewing outside their country house and the latter women indoors at the family residence in the Rue de Miromesnil. They both deal with the spaces and activities of "ladies" in the bourgeoisie. But I am curious about the fact of their being exhibited in a sequence with *Paris Street, Rainy Day*, and *The Bridge of Europe*, which are both outdoor scenes of metropolitan life where classes mix and ambiguity about identities and social positions disturb the viewer's equanimity in complete contrast to the inertia and muffled spaces evoked for

the enclosed worlds of drawing room and terrace of the family estate in the two portrait paintings.

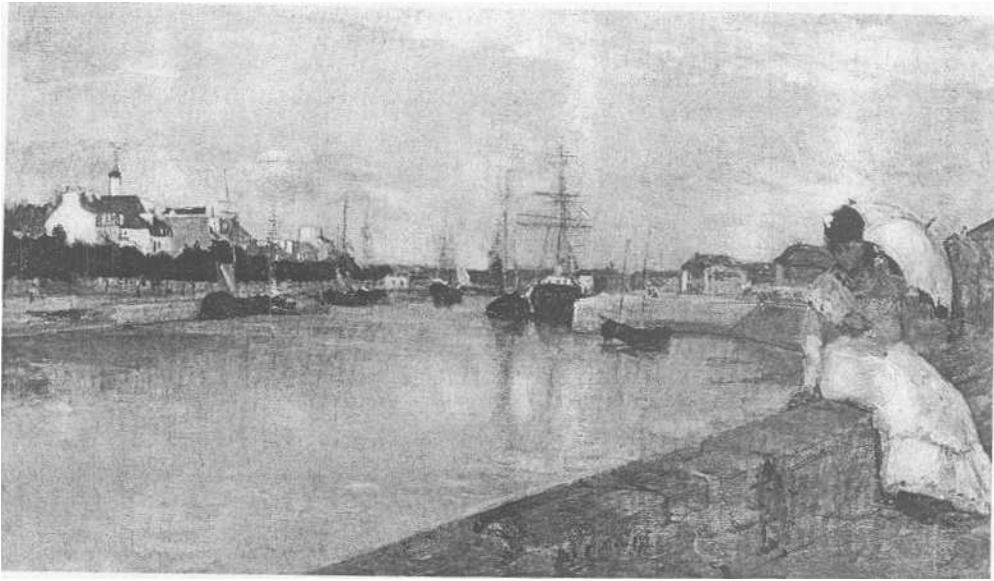
32. Griselda Pollock, *Mary Cassatt*, London, Jupiter Books, 1980.

33. Mary Ann Doane, "Film and the Masquerade; Theorizing the Female Spectator," *Screen*, 1982, 23 (3-4), 86.

34. Mary Kelly, "Desiring Images/Imaging Desire," *Vedge*, 1984 (6), 9.

35. There are of course significant differences between the works by Mary Cassatt and those by Berthe Morisot which have been underplayed within this text for reasons of deciphering shared positionalities within and against the social relations of femininity. In the light of recent publications of correspondence by the two women and as a result of the appearance in 1987 of a monograph (Adler and Garb, Phaidon) and an exhibition of works by Morisot it will be possible to consider the artists in their specificity and difference. Cassatt articulated her position as artist and woman in political terms of both feminism and socialism, whereas the written evidence suggests Morisot functioning more passively within the *haut bourgeois* formation and republican political circles. The significance of these political differences needs to be carefully assessed in relation to the texts they produced as artists.

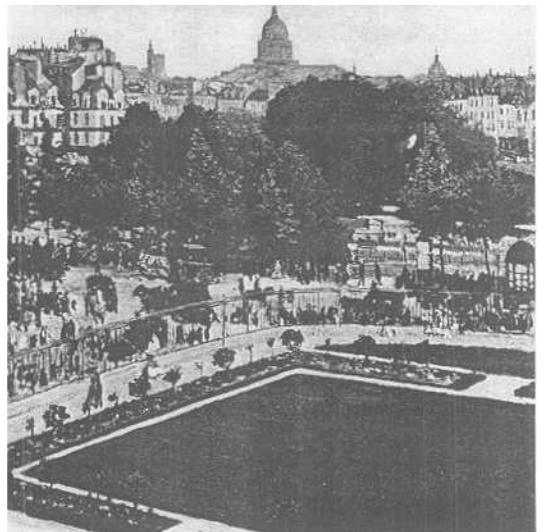
36. For discussion of class and occupation in scenes of women bathing see Eunice Lipton, "Degas's Bathers," *Arts Magazine*, 1980, 54, also published in Eunice Lipton, *Looking into Degas: Uneasy Images of Woman and Modern Life*, University of California Press, 1986. Contrast Gustave Caillebotte, *Woman at a Dressing-Table*, 1873 (New York, private collection), where the sense of intrusion heightens the erotic potential of a voyeuristic observation of a woman in the process of undressing.



6. Berthe Morisot, *The Harbor at Lorient*, 1869. Washington, D.C., National Gallery of Art, Ailsa Mellon Bruce Collection.



7. Berthe Morisot, *On the Balcony* (overlooking Paris near the Trocadro), 1872. Art Institute of Chicago, Gift of Mrs. Charles Netcher in memory of Charles Netcher II, 1933 (Courtesy of the Art Institute of Chicago).



8. Claude Monet, *The Garden of the Princess, Louvre*, 1867. Oberlin, Ohio, Allen Memorial Art Museum, Oberlin College. R. T. Miller, Jr., Fund.

at *Lorient, 1869* [6], Morisot offers us at the left a landscape view down the estuary represented in traditional perspective while in one corner, shaped by the boundary of the embankment, the main figure is seated at an oblique angle to the view and to the viewer. A comparable composition occurs in *On the Terrace, 1874*, where again the foreground figure is literally squeezed off-center and compressed within a box of space marked by a heavily brushed-in band of dark paint forming the wall of the balcony, on the other side of which lies the outside world of the beach. In *On the Balcony, 1872* [7] the viewer's gaze over Paris is obstructed by the figures who are nonetheless separated from that Paris as they look over the balustrade from the Trocadero, very near to Morisot's home.<sup>12</sup> The point can be underlined by contrasting a painting by Monet, *The Garden of the Princess, 1867* [8], where the viewer cannot readily imagine the point from which the painting has been made, namely a window high in one of the new apartment buildings, and instead enjoys a fantasy of floating over the scene. What Morisot's balustrades demarcate is not the boundary between public and private but between the spaces of masculinity and of femininity inscribed at the level of both what spaces are open to men and women and what relation a man or woman has to that space and its occupants.

In Morisot's paintings, moreover, it is as if the place from which the painter worked is made part of the scene, creating a compression or immediacy in the foreground spaces. This locates the viewer in that same place, establishing a notional relation between the viewer and the woman defining the foreground, therefore forcing the viewer to experience a dislocation between her space and that of a world beyond its frontiers.

Proximity and compression are also characteristic of the works of Cassatt. Less often is there a split space but it occurs, as in *Susan on a Balcony, 1883*. More common is a shallow pictorial space which the painted figure dominates, as in *Young Woman in Black: Portrait of Mrs. Gardner Cassatt, 1883* [9]. The viewer is forced into a confrontation or conversation with the painted figure while dominance and familiarity are denied by the



9. Mary Cassatt, *Young Woman in Black: Portrait of Mrs. Gardner Cassatt, 1883*. Baltimore Museum of Art, on loan from the Peabody Institute of the City of Baltimore.

device of the averted head of concentration on an activity by the depicted personage. What are the conditions for this awkward but pointed relation of the figure to the world? Why this lack of conventional distance and the radical disruption of what we take as the normal spectator-text relations? What has disturbed the "logic of the gaze"?

I now want to draw attention in the work of Mary Cassatt to the disarticulation of the conventions of geometric perspective which had normally governed the representation of space in European painting since the fifteenth century. Since its development in the fifteenth century, this mathematically calculated system of projection had aided painters in the representation of a three-dimensional world on a two-dimensional surface by organizing objects in relation to each other to produce a notional and singular position from which the scene is intelligible. It establishes the viewer as both absent from and indeed independent of the scene while being its mastering eye/I.

It is possible to represent space by other conventions. Phenomenology has been usefully applied to the apparent spatial deviations of the work of Van Gogh and Czamnc. 13 Instead of pictorial space functioning as a notional box into which objects are placed in a rational and abstract relationship, space is represented according to the way it is experienced by a combination of touch, texture, as well as sight. Thus objects are patterned according to subjective hierarchies of value for the producer. Phenomenological space is not orchestrated for sight alone but by means of visual cues refers to other sensations and relations of bodies and objects in a lived world. As experiential space this kind of representation becomes susceptible to different ideological, historical, as well as purely contingent, subjective inflections.

These are not necessarily unconscious. For instance, in *Young Girl in a Blue Armchair*, 1878 [10] by Cassatt, the viewpoint from which the room has been painted is low so that the chairs loom large as if imagined from the perspective of a small person placed among massive upholstered obstacles. The background zooms sharply away, indicating a different sense of distance from that a taller adult would enjoy over the objects to an easily accessible back wall. The painting therefore not only pictures a small child in a room but evokes that child's sense of the space of the room. It is from this conception of the possibilities of spatial structure that I can now discern a way through my earlier problem in attempting to relate space and social processes. For a third approach lies in considering not only the spaces represented, or the spaces of the representation, but the social spaces from which the representation is made and its reciprocal positionalities. The producer is herself shaped within a spatially orchestrated social structure which is lived at both psychic and social levels. The space of the look at the point of production will to some extent determine the viewing position of the spectator at the point of consumption. This point of view is neither abstract nor exclusively personal, but ideologically and historically construed. It is the art historian's job to re-create it—since it cannot ensure its recognition outside its historical moment.

The spaces of femininity operated not only at the level of what is represented, the drawing room or sewing room. The spaces of femininity are those from which femininity is lived as a positionality in discourse and social practice. They are the product of a lived sense of social locatedness, mobility and visibility, in the social relations of seeing and being seen. Shaped within the sexual politics of looking they demarcate a particular social organization of the gaze, which itself works back to secure a particular social ordering of sexual difference. Femininity is both the condition and the effect.

How does this relate to modernity and modernism? As Janet Wolff has convincingly pointed out, the literature of modernity describes the experience of men. 14 It is essentially a literature about transformations in the public world and its associated consciousness. It is generally agreed that modernity as a nineteenth-century phenomenon is a product of the city. It is a response in a mythic or ideological form to the new complexities of a social existence passed among strangers in an atmosphere of intensified nervous and psychic stimulation, in a world ruled by money and commodity exchange, stressed by competition and formative of an intensified individuality, publicly defended by a blasé mask of indifference but intensely "expressed" in a private, familial context. 15 Modernity stands for a myriad of responses to the vast increase in population leading to the literature of the crowds and masses, a speeding up of the pace of life with its attendant changes in the sense and regulation of time and fostering that very modern phenomenon, fashion, the shift in the character of towns and cities from being centers of quite visible activities—manufacture, trade, exchange—to being zoned and stratified, with production becoming less visible while the centers of cities such as Paris and London become key sites of consumption and display producing what Sennett has labeled the spectacular city. 16

All these phenomena affected women as well as men, but in different ways. What I have described above takes place within and comes to define the modern forms of the public space changing as Sennett argues in his book significantly titled *Die*



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10. Mary Cassatt, *Young Girl in a Blue Armchair*, 1878. Washington, D.C., National Gallery of Art, Collection of Mr. and Mrs. Paul Mellon.

*Fall of Public Man* from the eighteenth-century formation to become more mystified and threatening but also more exciting and sexualized. One of the key figures to embody the novel forms of public experience of modernity is the flaneur, or impassive stroller, the man in the crowd who goes, in Walter Benjamin's phrase, "botanizing on the asphalt."<sup>17</sup> The flaneur symbolizes the privilege or freedom to move about the public arenas of the city observing but never interacting, consuming the sights through a controlling but rarely acknowledged gaze, directed as much at other people as at the goods for sale. The flaneur embodies the gaze of modernity which is both covetous and erotic.

But the flaneur is an exclusively masculine type which functions within the matrix of bourgeois ideology through which the social spaces of the city were reconstructed by the overlaying of the doctrine of separate spheres on to the division of public and private, which became as a result a gendered division.

As both ideal and social structure, the mapping of the separation of the spheres for women and men on to the division of public and private was

powerfully operative in the construction of a specifically bourgeois way of life. It aided the production of the gendered social identities by which the miscellaneous components of the bourgeoisie were helped to cohere as a class, in difference from both aristocracy and proletariat. Bourgeois women, however, obviously went out in public, to promenade, go shopping, or visiting or simply to be on display. And working-class women went out to work, but that fact presented a problem in terms of definition as woman. For instance, Jules Simon categorically stated that a woman who worked ceased to be a woman.<sup>18</sup> Therefore, across the public realm lay another, less often studied realm which secured the definitions of bourgeois womanhood-femininity-in difference from proletarian women.

For bourgeois women, going into town and mingling with crowds of mixed social composition was not only frightening because it became increasingly unfamiliar, but because it was morally dangerous. It has been argued that to maintain one's respectability, closely identified with femininity, meant not exposing oneself in public. The public space was officially the realm of and for

men; for women to enter it entailed unforeseen risks. For Instance, in *La Femme (1858-60)* Jules tiichelct exclaimed,

How many irritations for the single woman! She can hardly ever go out in the evening; she would be taken for a prostitute. There are a thousand places where only men are to be seen, and if she needs to go there on business, the men are amazed, and laugh like fools. For example, should she find herself delayed at the other end of Paris and hungry, she **will** not dare to enter into a restaurant. She would constitute an event; she would be a spectacle: All eyes would be constantly fixed on her, and she would overhear uncomplimentary and bold conjctures. 19

The private realm was fashioned for men as a place of refuge from the hurly-burly of business, but it was also a place of constraint. The pressures of intensified individuality protected III public by the blast mask of indifference, registered in the equally socially induced roles of loving husband and responsible father, led to a desire to escape the overbearing demands of masculine domestic personae. The public domain became also a realm of freedom and irresponsibility if not immorality. This, of course, meant different things for men and for women. For women, the public spaces thus construed were where one risked losing one's virtue, dirtying oneself; going out in public and the idea of disgrace were closely allied. For the man going out in public meant losing oneself in the crowd away from both demands of respectability. Men colluded to protect this freedom. Thus a woman going out to dine at a restaurant even with her husband present was scandalous, whereas a plan dining out with a mistress, even in the view of his friends, was granted a fictive invisibility.<sup>20</sup>

The public and private division functioned on many levels. As a metaphorical map in ideology, it structured the very meaning of the terms masculine and feminine within its mythic boundaries. In practice as the ideology of domesticity became hegemonic, it regulated women's and men's behavior in the respective public and private spaces. Presence in either of the domains determined one's social identity and therefore, in objective terms, the separation of the spheres problematized women's relation to the very activities and

experiences we typically accept as defining modernity.

In the diaries of the artist Marie Bashkirtseff, who lived and worked in Paris during the same period as Morisot and Cassatt, the following passage reveals some of the restraints:

What I long for is the freedom of going about alone, of coming and going, of sitting in the seats of the Tuileries, and especially in the Luxembourg, of stopping and looking at the artistic shops, of entering churches and museums, of walking about old streets at night; that's what I long for; and that's the freedom without which one cannot become a real artist. Do you imagine that I get much good from what I see, chaperoned as I am, and when, in order to go to the Louvre, I must wait for my carriage, my lady companion, my family?<sup>21</sup>

These territories of the bourgeois city were, however, gendered not only on a male/female polarity. They became the sites for the negotiation of gendered class identities and class gender positions. The spaces of modernity are where class and gender interface in critical ways, in that they are the spaces of sexual exchange. The significant spaces of modernity are neither simply those of masculinity, nor are they those of femininity, which are as much the spaces of modernity for being the negative of the streets and bars. They are, as the canonical works indicate, the marginal or interstitial spaces where the fields of the masculine and feminine intersect and structure sexuality within a *classed* order.

#### *The Painter of Modern Life*

One text above all charts this interaction of class and gender. In 1863 Charles Baudelaire published in *Le P'igaro* an essay entitled "The Painter of Modern Life." In this text the figure of the flaneur is modified to become the modern artist while at the same time the text provides a mapping of Paris marking out the sites/sights for the flaneur/artist. The essay is ostensibly about the work of a minor illustrator Constantin Guys, but it is only a pretext for Baudelaire to offer an elaborate and impossible image of the ideal artist, who is a passion-

ate lover of crowds and, incognito, a man of the world.

The crowd is his element as the air is that of birds and water of fishes. His passion and profession are to become one flesh with the crowd. For the perfect flâneur, for the passionate spectator, it is an immense joy to set up house in the heart of the multitude, amid the ebb and flow of movement, in the midst of the fugitive and the infinite. To be away from home and yet feel oneself everywhere at home; to see the world and to be the centre of the world and yet remain hidden from the world—such are a few of the slightest pleasures of those independent, passionate, impartial natures which the tongue can but clumsily define. The spectator is a prince who everywhere rejoices in his incognito. The lover of life makes the whole world his family.<sup>22</sup>

The text is structured by an opposition between home, the inside, the domain of the known and constrained personality and the outside, the space of freedom, where there is liberty to look without being watched or even recognized in the act of looking. It is the imagined freedom of the voyeur. In the crowd the flâneur/artist sets up home. Thus the flâneur/artist is articulated across the twin ideological formations of modern bourgeois society—the splitting of private and public with its double freedom for men in the public space, and the preeminence of a detached observing gaze, whose possession and power is never questioned as its basis in the hierarchy of the sexes is never acknowledged. For as Janet Wolff has recently argued, there is no female equivalent of the quintessential masculine figure, the flâneur; there is not and could not be a female flâneuse. (See note 14.)

Women did not enjoy the freedom of incognito in the crowd. They were never positioned as the normal occupants of the public realm. They did not have the right to look, to stare, scrutinize or watch. As the Baudelairean text goes on to show, women do not look. They are positioned as the object of the flâneur's gaze.

Woman is for the artist in general . . . far more than just the female of man. Rather she is divinity, a star—a glittering conglomeration of all the graces of nature, condensed into a single being; an object of keenest admiration and curiosity that the picture of life

can offer to its contemplator. She is an idol, stupid perhaps, but dazzling and bewitching. . . . Everything that adorns woman that serves to show off her beauty is part of herself. . . .

No doubt woman is sometimes a light, a glance, an invitation to happiness, sometimes she is just a word.<sup>23</sup>

Indeed woman is just a sign, a fiction, a confection of meanings and fantasies. Femininity is not the natural condition of female persons. It is a historically variable ideological construction of meanings for a signifier "WOMAN," which is produced by and for another social group, which derives its identity and imagined superiority by manufacturing the specter of this fantastic Other. "WOMAN" is both an idol and nothing but a word. Thus when we come to read the chapter of Baudelaire's essay titled "Women and Prostitutes," in which the author charts a journey across Paris for the flâneur/artist, where women appear merely to be there as spontaneously visible objects, it is necessary to recognize that the text is itself constructing a notion of "WOMAN" across a fictive map of urban spaces—the spaces of modernity.

The flâneur/artist starts his journey in the auditorium, where young women of the most fashionable society sit in snowy white in their boxes at the theater. Next he watches elegant families strolling at leisure in the walks of a public garden, wives leaning complacently on the arms of husbands while skinny little girls play at making social class calls in imitation of their elders. Then he moves on to the lowlier theatrical world, where frail and slender dancers appear in a blaze of limelight admired by fat bourgeois men. At the café door, we meet a swell while indoors is his mistress, called in the text "a fat baggage," who lacks practically nothing to make her a great lady except that practically nothing is practically everything for it is distinction (class). Then we enter the doors of Valentino's, the Prado or Casino, where against a background of hellish light, we encounter the protean image of wanton beauty, the courtesan, "the perfect image of savagery that lurks in the heart of civilization." Finally by degrees of destitution, he charts women, from the patrician airs of young and successful prostitutes to the poor slaves of the filthy streets.

Baudelaire's essay maps a representation of Paris as the city of women. It constructs a sexualized journey which can be correlated with Impressionist practice. Clark has offered one map of Impressionist painting following the trajectories of leisure from city center by suburban railway to the suburbs. I want to propose another dimension of that map, which links Impressionist practice to the erotic territories of modernity. I have drawn up a grid using Baudelaire's categories and mapped the works of Manet, Degas and others onto this schrua.<sup>24</sup> From the loge pieces by Renoir (admittedly not women of the highest society) to the *Alusique aux Tuileries* of Manet, Monet's park scenes and others easily cover this terrain where bourgeois men and worsen take their leisure. But then when we move backstage at the theater, we enter different worlds, still of men and women but differently placed by class. Degas's pictures of the dancers on stage and rehearsing are well known. Perhaps less familiar are his scenes illustrating the backstage at the Opera where members of the jockey Club bargain for their evening's entertainment with the little performers. Both Degas and Manet represented the worsen who flaunted cafes, and as Theresa Ann Gronberg has shown, these were working-class

women often suspected of touting for custom as clandestine prostitutes.<sup>25</sup>

Thence we can find examples sited in the Folies and cafes-concerts as well as the boudoirs of the courtesan. Even if *Olympia* cannot be situated in a recognizable locality, reference was made in the reviews to the cafe Paul Niquet's, the haunt of the women who serviced the porters of Les Halles and a sign for the reviewer of total degradation and depravity.<sup>26</sup>

#### *W'onien and the Public Modern*

The artists who were women in this cultural group of necessity occupied this map but partially. They can be located all right but in spaces above a decisive line. *Lydia at the Theater, 1879*, and *The Loge, 1882 [11]*, situate us in the theater with the young and fashionable but there could hardly be a greater difference between these paintings and the work by Renoir on this theme, *The First Outing, 1876* (London, National Gallery of Art), for example.

The stiff and formal poses of the two young women in the painting by Cassatt were precisely calculated, as the drawings for the work reveal. "Their erect postures, one woman carefully grasp-

#### GRID I

##### *Ladies*

theater (loge)	debutantes; young women of fashionable society	RENOIR	CASSATT
park	matrons, mothers, children, elegant families	MANET	CASSATT MORISOT

##### *Fallen Women*

theater (backstage)	dancers	DEGAS
cafes	mistresses and kept women	MANET RENOIR DEGAS
folies	The courtesan: . protean image of wanton beauty -	MANET DEGAS GUYS
brothels	"poor slaves of filthy stews"	MANET GUYS