IMPRESSIONISM AND JOURNALISTIC ILLUSTRATION

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Journalistic Illustration provided a ready source of visual stimuli for the experimental artists of the 1860s and 18709 that affected as well as coincided with their iconographic and, to a lesser degree, their formal interests.

Since the appearance of Meyer Schapiro’s essay on “Courbet and Popular Imagery” in 1941, we have been expanding our awareness of the popular arts as a formal and iconographic influence upon French painting of the second half of the 19th century. During the past four decades, the interconnected contributions of cheaply printed colored woodcuts, fashion plates, photography, Japanese prints, lithography, and journalistic illustrations of contemporaneous events, customs, and social types have been increasingly recognized. In the work of Anne Hanson and Beatrice Farwell, in particular, a vast repertory of images, mainly lithographic, has been brought forward as providing a pictorial storehouse from which artists repeatedly drew. Whereas Hanson has concentrated her attention upon Manet, Farwell has ranged more broadly, exploring the extensive precedents in the lithography of the July Monarchy and early Second Empire for the iconography of Courbet, Manet, Degas, and the Impressionist generation. In the catalogue of her illuminating exhibition The Cult of Images, Farwell has assessed the results of this research correctly and forcefully. While taking account of the artists’ commitment to paint what they saw, in accordance with Realist theory, she affirms the parallel role of popular imagery:

In view of the wide range of Realist subjects already treated a generation earlier in popular lithographs, this simple view of artists setting out to paint the contemporary scene from the life is no longer convincing. The pattern was already there. It is naive to suppose that Degas was unaware of Gavarni’s and Beaumont’s “rats” behind the scenes at the Opera, since they appeared every day in Le Charivari. By the same token, it must be assumed that any artist whose youth was spent in the 1830s, ‘40s or ‘50s grew up in the constant presence of a plethora of images that were bound to appeal to visual sensibility and the urge to draw. It was the first generation of artists so affected. Thus we see in Impressionist painting the country outings, the boat parties at Chatou and Asnières, the café-concert and the Moulin de la Galette, views of bridges and streets of Paris, music in the Tuileries, ladies in theatre logs and in bathtubs, all purged by Impressionist color and sunlight of their evil and erotic connotations to be sure, but essentially the same repertory as that of the commercial lithographer of a generation earlier.

We may take Farwell’s appraisal as an epigraph to the present study. The images she has gathered together, as well as those cited by Hanson, date mostly from the period prior to 1860, when Manet and Degas were still students and the Impressionists for the most part in their youth and generally unfocused as to career. The present essay is an attempt to bring the investigation up to date, so to speak, by considering the continuing stimulative role of illustration during the succeeding twenty years. The images upon which we shall concentrate are those to be found, with an ever increasing frequency, in the weekly newspapers and satirical journals of the later Second Empire and the first decade of the Third Republic. Their appearance coincides with the active years of the Impressionists’ emergence, the period when they were inaugurating their careers and establishing the first mature phase of their art. These images provided an ongoing, up-to-the-minute reference for the painters, and, in terms of style and the currency of the subjects depicted, they offered an immediate stimulus to the direction that Impressionism was taking.

In the survey that follows I shall stress, for the painters, those works from the 1860s and 1 Os by Renoir, Manet, Degas, and Monet that depict the pursuit of culture and leisure in the Paris of their day. The names we put beside theirs are, for the illustrators, Daumier and Gavarni, o course from an earlier but still influential generation-and, s well, Cham, Nadar, Pelcoq, Randon, Stop, Grdvin, Bertall, d d Marcellin, among others. In the pages of such reviews as Le Vie parisienne, Le Journal amusant, Le Charivari, L’Esprit follet, and in illustrated newsweeklies such as L’Illustration and Le Monde illustré, these artists developed their assigned survey of the life of Paris. As Farwell (in the quote above) and Roberts-Jones have indicated for the images of the Romantic generation, the subjects treated in the pages of these journals find their echo in the paintings of the Impressionists. The race curses, café scenes, masquerade balls, and outdoor concerts of Manet and Degas, the theatre and circus scenes, dancers and dance halls, the laundresses of Degas and Renoir, the backstage visits of Degas, the equestrians of Renoir and Manet-scenes of genre, scenes of modern activity, which complement the landscapes and townscapes, the portraits and still lifes of the Impressionists-were mainstays of the illustrators’ and particularly the satirical cartoonists’ repertory as they had been in the lithographic depictions of their predecessors.

Popular and Circulation

The period from about 1050 to 1880 saw a tremendous increase in the volume of publication, a phenomenon that directly parallels the rapidity of urban growth during those years. Among newspapers and specialized journals of all sorts, the satirical illustrated journal achieved a considerable spurt in growth and popularity. Philippe Roberts-Jones has noted that whereas during the July monarchy one can cite five or six reviews of this type, for the period from 1860 to 1890 he could catalogue, without exhausting the possibilities, 162 such journals. Among those, we may note, for the two decades from 1860 to 1880, the appearance of 115 new publications and the continuation throughout the period of three earlier journals of major importance-Le Charivari, Le Journal amusant, and Le Petit journal pour Tire.” Most of these reviews were decidedly ephemeral, but some attained considerable success during their short spans. La Lune, which published from 1865 to 1868, reached a circulation as high as 40,000, although most of the successful satirical journals tended to show much more modest figures: Le Charivari averaged just under 3,000 copies from 1866 to 1869; Le Journal amusant in 1868 printed 8,000 copies; L’Illustration and Le Monde illustré, both weeklies that included reportorial images and caricatures, printed 27,000 and 21,000 copies, respectively, in 1858, although L’Illustration’s circulation had dipped to about 17,500 in 1868-69.

From 1860 to 1880 journals devoted to political satire appeared in approximately equal numbers with those that restricted themselves to the satire of manners.” The illustrated weeklies, chiefly L’Illustration and Le Monde illustré, produced a seemingly endless supply of wood-engraved illustrations devoted to political and other current events along with a minor offering of satirical illustrations and thus provided an abundant
storehouse of images upon which the Impressionist painters might and did draw, but it was the exclusively satirical journals devoted to a canvass of modern manners that seem to have most fully captured their attention. Among the most important and most successful of these were La Vie parisienne and the Journal amusant, both journals that had been established at an early date and that had succeeded in producing a varied repertoire of images and subjects and in offering a steady employ for illustrators who had established their own styles and iconographic specialties.

The satirical journals often aimed at more or less identifiable strata of the middle class. La Vie parisienne was founded by the illustrator Marcellin in 1863; from the outset it sought to address itself to a relatively sophisticated clientele that had emerged strongly within the prosperous world of the Second Empire, concentrating principally on the worldly domains of fashion, sport, art, and the arts and presenting these subjects in images that were executed in rather free-form, sketchy, and stylized manner. The Journal amusant, founded earlier, in 1856, sought to establish a more pedestrian tone and attract a less urban clientele; an issue cost thirty-five centimes in 1876, roughly half the price of La Vie parisienne. Unlike the situation with the latter journal, which attempted to effect an elegant integration of text and image, the drawings in the Journal amusant dominated the text and were presented in a more down to earth, earthy, realistic style (the drawings were regularly reprinted with a time lag of sometimes several years in the still more popularly oriented Le Petit journal pour rire, in which text was abandoned all but entirely).

The purview of La Vie parisienne was indicated on its title page, repeated each issue throughout the years. The page contained a number of images in small rectangles, circling like the numbers on a clock around the printed title, under which was listed: Moeurs digdantes, Choses du jour, Fantaisies, Voyages, Theatres, Musique, Beaux-Arts, Sport, Modes. The specific subjects depicted in the drawings included: the salon, horse and carriage, the theatre coulisses, skating, the military, the family, music (playing the piano), the dance hall, faces of men and women, a stroll in the country, the race track (Fig. 1). This roster, weighted on the side of la vie 616gante and la vie amoureuse, was covered in its pages and in those of numerous, more short-lived successors, e.g., L'Esprit toilet (1869-72), Le High-Life (1871) and Le Frou-Frou (1871-72). Le Frou-Frou subtitled itself a "Journal du High Life" and announced the following coverage: "Actualites the trales, chronique de la vie e16gante, echos du mode." This line was accompanied by a montage of scenes depicting the hunt, the steeplechase, the beach, the theatre (or cafe-concert), and elegant carriages. 5

The Journal amusant treated many of the same subjects as La Vie parisienne, but, aiming at a wider audience, it deliberately extended its coverage in a somewhat more folkloric fashion to a greater range of class activities and customs. During the first half of 1873, for example, a dozen pictorial essays were given over to the theatre; ten dealt with art and artists, including two on the Salon des Refuses of that year and seven installments containing caricatures of paintings at the Salon; six essays each dealt with peasants, provincial manners, and the carnival; four with military manners and two more with apprentice sailors; three essays dealt with the flirtations of students & tudiantes and two others with the flirtations of women and actresses backstage at the theatre; several were devoted to other places (England, Vienna, Brittany, Rouen); and, among the other subjects surveyed, two each dealt with balls, billiards, and country life. 6 Among the leading artists working for the Journal were Bertall, Darjou, Daumier (who appeared more or less regularly during the sixties), Gravin, Laisso, Peleoq, Randon, Robida, and Stop. Their drawings along with their captions were for the most part good-humored and earnt; rarely did they deal in the scabrous or licentious, but they made sure, of course, to approach each subject with a raised eyebrow, treating the people they depicted as the gentle rather than caustic butt of their relatively muted jibes.

Both La Vie parisienne and Journal amusant shared with the subjects they depicted the values of the urban society to which they catered. The mode of caricature in itself implies a distance, a critique, and indeed we find in these journals an awareness of pretension, of the foolishing, of the groups and pretensions associated with passing the heedlessness of people caught up in the social current, but the attitude of one of endorsement rather than critical-casional presence of Daumier among amusants serves as the exception that his colleagues approach him in exercising to exercise the mordant wit, with which he viewed society through the illustrated press.
This is not to say that the mirror of the contemporary was the only form of art that appealed to the bourgeois. Not at all. The reflection of the past, revealed mainly in history painting, persisted at the Salon (if in decreasing numbers), and the categories of landscape, portrait, and genre (both historical and contemporary) either held their own or increased their presence there during the second and third quarters of the 19th century. Within the varied audience for these offerings—including the government to a limited extent and the aristocrats of tradition and wealth (financiers, industrialists, the most successful entrepreneurs)—a narrow upper stratum of the middle class responded to works within the gamut of genres as well as to the mythological/erotic variants on history painting that abounded at the exhibitions. We may understand this range of work, allowing for differences in circumstances and setting among its clientele, as constituting an art for the middle class, as intended to satisfy a vein of the acquisitive instinct that derived from the desires of the nouveau riche for prestige, cultural integration, and the reputed satisfactions of ownership—all varieties of patronage as conspicuous consumption. But that patronage was limited; the great variety of works of art at the Salon went unsold. They provided a bourgeois art but a particularly precarious one, unsure of its audience, subject to the easily shifting vicissitudes of taste and fashion. The satirical illustrator and lithographer of manners served a far larger audience. They provided a more accessible brand of art—in subject immediate and sav-

ory; occasionally, as with the erotic lithograph, clandestinely attractive—and, of course, in price such images could be almost as cheap as the daily news aper.

That illustration also provided an example, a model, a fecund source for the style and the Impressionist view of the relations of art to the public—Manet, and the Impressionists' awareness of the imagery of their subjects and the view of the artists themselves as artists, of that new world of modern manners in which they themselves were engaged. That Manet and Degas were so engaged has never seriously been questioned, but that the younger artists of the Impressionist generation were also interested early on in creating a middle-

ory; occasionally, as with the erotic lithograph, clandestinely attractive—and, of course, in price such images could be almost as cheap as the daily news aper.
class and, in part, an urban art is worth emphasizing. In an oft-quoted letter, Eugene Boudin, the teacher and intimate of Monet, wrote to a friend, defending his subjects of vacationers on the Normandy beaches and pointing out that young painters, Monet "at their head," were increasingly looking to the depiction of the contemporary in their work:

"The peasants have their favorite painters: Millet, Jacque, Breton, that is very fine; those people do difficult labor, they struggle ... That is fine, but between us, these middle class people who are strolling on the jetty at the hour of sunset, have they no right to be fixed upon canvas, to be brought to our attention. Between ourselves, they are often resting from strenuous work, these people who leave their offices and cubbyholes. If there are a few parasites among them, are there not also people who have fulfilled their task. That is a serious, irrefutable argument."

The mention of Monet is not out of place in this connection. In 1866 and 1867 he had moved into the city to paint such subjects as the racecourse, the fashionable promenade, the activity of the Parisian street and square. In 1868, several months before Boudin's letter, Emile Zola praised Monet's city subjects, and, as Boudin, placed him in the first rank of artists who were attempting to paint modernity, emphasizing thereby an unfamiliar Monet, a Monet in love with the city, who recorded its features and then attempted to export its characteristics to the countryside itself: "In the field, Claude Monet will prefer an English park to a corner of forest. He likes to rediscover everywhere the trace of man ... Like a true Parisian, he brings Paris to the country, he cannot paint a landscape without including gentlemen and ladies in the latest dress [en toilette]. Nature appears to lose its interest for him as soon as it loses the imprint of our manners."

Zola and Boudin were right to link the early Monet to the city and to urban tastes. Indeed, the city provides one measure of modernity and one gauge of the shift in artistic generations—from peasant to urban bourgeois, from Barbizon to Impressionism. Impressionist city subjects provide a reverse response to the urban-industrial explosion of the mid-19th century than the escapist one found in Barbizon painting. Rather than shun, the Impressionists embraced the city and courted its dangers. They painted the subjects they found there and tested the possibilities for patronage that if offered. They did this in mounting their independent exhibitions and in turning to the same pursuits depicted by the illustrators, who had already secured a good portion of the urban audience for themselves. Zola recognized the connection between painter and illustrator, at the same time that he tried to point a difference, in the same passage from which I have quoted above. He sought to distinguish the sincere painters of urban reality (following Monet he went on to discuss Bazille and Renoir) from a group (unnamed) of fashionable artists who, he felt, were turning in the same direction but in a spirit of superficial opportunism. Monet and his friends fully im-

Fig. 7. Edgar Degas, The Cafe-Concert at Les Ambassadeurs, c. 1876. Pastel over monotype, 14.91 x 10.51". Musée des Beaux-Arts, Lyon.

Fig. 8. Grandville, "Le Concert A la vapeur," 1844.

Fig. 9. Honoré Daumier, "Carotte dramatique," Le Charivari, 30 April 1844.

Fig. 10. Alfred Grévin, "A Londres, notes at croquis": "A London Pavilion," Le Journal amusant, 14 Oct. 1871, p.7.

Fig. 11. Edgar Degas, The Orchestra of the Opera, 1868-69. Oil on canvas, 20.71 x 13.57". Louvre.

Fig. 16. Edgar Degas, The Musicians in the Orchestra, 1872. Oil on canvas, 27.11 x 19.51". Städelsches Kunstinstitut, Frankfurt.
Au tableau suivant, on est sur l’île d’un lac. On n’a jamais an pourqué-c’est-à-dire que madame Gagi-Marin ne s’est pas embarrassée, et l’île to be Bür une contredanse exécutée par dog petite, nommer s’Ahrew d’un’île d’un lac, hai.
mersed themselves in their milieu, were intensified by it; they were to be distinguished, Zola went on, precisely from those models with which we are concerned in this essay: "Their works are not unintelligent and banal fashion plates, not drawings of current events similar to those published in illustrated journals. Their works are alive, because they are taken from life and because they are painted with all the love that they feel for their modern subjects." Zola once again was right to separate the paintings from the illustrations. One can do it in terms of quality and spirit and in terms of intent, but the last only partly so. For the Impressionists sought, as a basic aspect of their endeavor, to create a popular art, an accessible art, that would share the modern subjects of the illustrators and hopefully attract a small but sufficient: part of their audience.

The Impressionists themselves offered little in the way of a guide to their relationship to or understanding of illustration and other forms of popular imagery, just as they had little to say about their recourse to those other salient graphic images that, along with illustration, surely informed their work: Japanese prints and photography. The connections and the awareness are supported by tantalizingly few indications. We know, of course, that Monet established his earliest reputation in Le Havre as a caricaturist, a role that brought him initially to the attention of Boudin. In 1860 both Monet and Manet published caricatural portraits in the journal *Diogdne*. Joachim Gasquet has described how in Aix, still in 1860, turned to the *Magasin pittoresque* and the pages of illustrated journals, *vues d'actualités*, and fashion images in order to learn to draw figures in movement and to compose pictures, to put "le monde en page." And we know that in 1871 he turned to the plates of *La Mode illustre* for at least two compositions of women in the out-of-doors. Interestingly, as well, when Pissarro did a portrait of Cézanne in 1874, he included, tucked on the wall behind the sitter, the pages of satirical weeklies with *portraits-charges* of Thiers and Courbet. Monet as well seems to have had recourse to the fashion plate in developing the character and grouping of his figures in the *Déjeuner sur l'herbe* of 1865-1866 and the *Femmes au jardin* of 1866-67 (Figs. 28, 29). In Renoir's *inn of Mother Anthony* of 1866 he includes a background of caricatural images painted on the wall of a Barbizon hostelry, indicating an interest in satirical popular images that has led Roskill to suggest that, at an early date, "the contemporary popular image was not just a neutral source for the Impressionists (as Cézanne's case might imply), but rather a focus of interest in its own right." Boudin was not the only realist artist vocally concerned with creating an art of the middle classes in 1868. It was apparently very much on the minds of Degas and Manet during the second half of the 1860s. In a letter to Fantin-Latour in 1868 Manet wrote skeptically (a view evidently shared by Degas) about the possibility of creating a truly inexpensive art accessible to the lower classes and looked to a more sophisticated bourgeois audience. Writing from Boulogne-sur-Mer, where he felt very isolated, Manet said he envied Fantin for:

being able to discuss with the great esthetician Degas the likelihood of creating an art within the grasp of the poorer classes, that might be offered at the price of 13 centimes .... Good old Duranty .... is wrong about my great projects. He sees me as doing large canvases. Certainly not. I have come a cropper at that all too often. What I want today is to make money .... Tell Degas to write to me. From what Duranty tells me, he is on the way to becoming the painter of high-life. That's up to him, and I regret all the more for his sake that he has not gone to London. The parade of gentlemen, all with their hats at the right angle, would have inspired a few paintings."

This letter makes it quite clear that the creation of a popular art was very much a concern of advanced painters at the time. And, as the second paragraph indicates, within that mission there was at least some tendency to turn to the fashionable side of urban pursuits, such as those featured in the pages of *La Vie parisienne* and a number of similar journals. Little in Manet's and Degas' work of the time suggests a clear connection to illustration, but we are not without some indications. We can point to Manet's *Execution of the Emperor Maxi-

Fig. 20. Edgar Degas, *Steeplechase-the Fallen Jockey*, 1866. Oil on canvas, 70.7/8 x 59.7/8”. Collection Mr. and Mrs. Paul Mellon, Upperville, Virginia.
Fig. 21. Cham, "Actual ites," Le Charivari, 6 May 1857.

Fig. 22. Cram, "Quel bonheur!!! le jockey...ert vient de tomber sur la totel! ...," Le Charivari, 5 July 1857.

Fig. 23. Eugene Tami, Steeplechase, 1839. Lithograph, 4 x 6.7/8".

Fig. 24. Edgar Degas, Carriage at the Races, c. 1878. Oil on canvas. 26 x 32/4". Musée du Louvre, Paris.

Fig. 25. Andd Hiroshige, Wagon Wheel on the Beach, from "Views of Famous Places in Edo," c. 1857. Woodcut, 13.7/8 x 9 1/2".

parisienne, Le Petit Journal pour rire, L’Esprit toilet, and a number of other papers. Among the sites described, La Grenouillère is singled out for particular attention, and we learn that at the end of July, 1869, it received the imperial visit of Napoleon III and Eugénie during the course of a boating trip along the Seine. On July 17th and September 4th the Journal amusant devoted multi-page spreads to the site (Figs. 2, 4), and on August 1st La Chronique illustrée printed a large drawing by Edouard Riou (Fig. 5) accompanied by a brief article by Edmond Viellot:

All true Parisians know this charming spot, where we find the elegancies of the grand monde, the monde bourgeois and above all the demi-monde....

The aristocracy of Bougival and Croissy comes to bathe there and to watch the high-jinks of the male and female swimmers ... [the small circular island] is the most frequented spot in the area, it is also the place where the ferryman disembarks the passengers between the two banks.

The emperor, the empress, the Prince Imperial and their group used the dinghy to disembark at La Grenouillère. When, in August or early September, Monet and Renoir set up their easels side by side at La Grenouillère, they were not, we may take it, making a random choice nor merely selecting a desirable locale conveniently near their present domiciles, but were choosing to paint a setting and an activity that had been singled out at the time for specific attention and placed squarely before the public eye.

In this instance, it is worth suggesting, as well-in a manner parallel to Philippe Roberts-Jones’ view that Daumier’s drawing style influenced the Impressionists—that the abbreviated, sketchy treatment of the figures in Monet’s Metropolitan painting (Fig. 3) may have been stimulated by scenes of swimming that appeared in the Journal amusant and Petit journal pour Tire. One of the most promising models of this sort is offered in a drawing by Stop that appeared in the Petit journal pour fire in the second half of August, 1869, at just the time that Monet and Renoir turned to the subject (Fig. 6).

In many cases, the popularity of a subject or compositional motif in journalistic illustration of the third quarter of the century proves to have had a sufficiently long history for it to have been developed into a number of distinguishable types that later appeared in painting. Let us consider, for example, some variations on a motif that was adopted by Degas in numerous works beginning in the late 1860s: the exciting group of paintings in which Degas roots himself in the audience, at the theatre or café-concert, and looks up to the stage, over the heads of viewers in the front rows or of the orchestra in the pit, catching the visual interferences—hats, violin bows, scrolls of bass fiddles—that inflect the view of the activity on the stage. At the café-concert (Fig. 7) the view is oblique, and one can find specific early and ongoing treatments of this viewpoint in the work of the illustrators: in a marvelously characteristic example by Grandville, for example (Fig. 8); a Daumier cartoon of 1844 from the series “Les Carottes” (Fig. 9); and a view of the English music hall by Grévin from the Journal amusant of 1871 (Fig. 10).

Another series of views that encapsulates audience and stage calculation at once is Daumier’s frontal orientation. Degas’ earliest example is the Orchestra of the Opera of 1868-69 (Fig. 11). Our sense of discovery and participation as we regard the painting is great, and it is hardly lessened by our awareness that Degas shared in this instance a basic compositional and experiential viewpoint with his predecessor Daumier (Fig. 12.

Nor is the immediacy, charm, and fascination of the painting diminished if we extend the pictorial antecedents further. By doing so, however, we can gain a fuller sense of Degas’ rootedness in a tradition, or at least a convention, of pictorial illustration in which such views are found. They are to be seen in early and late examples: in a somewhat Flaxman-like illustration by Grandville from 1844 (Fig. 13); in variations in other works by Daumier (often with the same compositional formula applied to other subjects than the theatre) and, frequently in the press during the 18130s. I reproduce here a representative drawing by Grevin that first appeared in the Journal amusant of 1864 (Fig. 14; compare it to another painting by Degas, the Musicians in the Orchestra of 1872 (Fig. 15).

From these examples, and many more could be offered, I may conclude that, in this case, the Impressionist point of view was the product of several related factors: a deliberate plan of looking, may be, as Degas himself repeatedly indicated in his notebooks; the experiences of such scenes in life; and the record of such scenes on the pages of the Illustrated journals. The illustration becomes, in this context, one referent, one factor in the decision-making process of the painter as he tries to determine what to paint and what aspect of, what view towards, the contemporary he will choose. Degas’ piquant views of the cafe-concert and the theatre stage are not his alone; they were prepared by others, who had determined earlier some of the exploratory attitudes that are so strikingly a part of his accomplishment.

One of the most remarkable of Degas’ compositions of this type is the pastel The Falling Curtain of 1880 (Fig. 16), a work which, for its time, seems daringly original in composition and in the manner in which the dancers are cut by the lowering curtain. In relation to illustrations in the press, however, it may be seen in a different light. The motif of the lower body-most frequently the legs alone-appearing below the fringe of a descending curtain was so recurrent in illustration that by the early sixties it had been used in sufficient variations to have attained the status of a running gag. The ogling attitude characteristic of a good deal of illustration is exemplified in a cartoon from La Vie parisienne of 1863: “Encore, encore, one more moment,” cry the binoculared onlookers (Fig. 17). In 1862, Bertell in the Journal amusant (Fig. 18) depicts the arrangements of a popular theatrical group, in process of moving from one theatre to another; included is a prop that consists of a kind of stretcher covered with a cloth, from which dangle mannequin-like legs representing the chorus line: “The director himself transports with care the precious props used for all the productions of this lovely theatre.” And, in a related instance, Aaron Scharf has published a calling card photograph by Disderi from the 1860s, a montage of dismembered limbs belonging to the dancers of the Opera. Occasionally, in the journals, vignettes of the falling curtain were appropriately used to mark the close of an article (Fig. 70). More rarely, as in a cartoon of 1866 by Stop from the Journal amusant (Fig. 19), the illustration might approach the strangeness of Degas’ interpretation.

These examples can be multiplied many times. What, then, we must ask, is the difference between the cartoon and the painting? How do we make distinctions of quality and intent? Is the audacity of Degas’ work diminished by the comparison? Certainly, the inventiveness is less; we see that rather than providing an original formulation, Degas is appropriating a convention, a comic device. And to what end? To an end of formal wit and celebration that in view of its clear-sighted and uncompromisingly direct presentation permits his work to transcend its model. Rather than as an innovation, we may see as a culmination, as a brilliantly economical summation of a popular pictorial theme. But the fact of the model is of the
greatest importance, for it tells us once again of a phenomenon
in the history of art to which Ernst Gombrich devoted a good
part of his book *Art and Illusion*. We learn that despite the self-
directed task that Degas and his colleagues set for them-
selves—to pursue nature directly, the formulas of past art to be
cast out as fully as possible—they never ceased to turn to
pictorial modals according to which they might gauge the
graphic possibilities of the new art.

What we have seen in the foregoing examples are only a few
instances of the parallelism of interests, themes, and formal de-
vices between illustration and Impressionist painting. I would
like to turn now to a more rapid survey of further examples,
guided by subject but with an eye, as appropriate, to coinci-
dences of theme and composition.

The Race Track

Scenes of the race track have an ample history in the popular
imagery of the Romantic period and continue unabated in the il-
lustrated journals of the period 1860-80. They make their first
appearance in the work of Degas and Manet in the first half of
the 1860s. Degas' first large painting of the racecourse, 
*Steeplechase— the Fallen Jockey*, exhibited at the Salon of
1866 (Fig. 20), presents an aspect of the pastime—the steeple-
chase race—that was a regular feature in satirical illustration
from at least the late 1850s, where my survey of the journals be-
gan. Frequently the illustrator's comment would be directed at
the high rate of casualties in such races. Cham, for example, in
1857 (Fig. 21), includes the helmeted figure of Mars, who ex-
claims: "What injustice! To suppress me on the pretext that I
am the one who kills off people." Degas' painting is, however,
devoid of anecdotal or satirical content—indeed, he imparts to
the fallen jockey a sense of stillness that seems almost re-
moved from the continuity of cause and effect—his immediate-
y, with this as a case in point, we can make an important dis-
tinction between Impressionist painting and illustration that ap-
plies in almost every comparison of work in the two media. The lack of anecdote separates the paintings from their graphic models or parallels just as it distinguishes Impressionist painting from the great majority of contemporary French genre and from, for example, most English painting of modern manners."

In another steeplechase cartoon (Fig. 22), in which Cham's comment is less challenging, we find a compositional device frequently utilized by the illustrators: the contrast between the large foreground carriage and the distant racing scene—i.e., the relationship between near and far—is converted into a simple juxtaposition of key elements. This treatment amounts to a condensation of a more expansive, traditional view. In such traditional scenes, as we find them in depictions of the race-course—e.g., Eugene Lam's etching of 1839 (Fig. 23)—a foreground crowd surrounding a carriage serves both as focus of attention and as a kind of repoussoir that directs our attention along an implied diagonal to the races beyond." Distillations of this type of composition, simplifying the elements depicted and their relationship, are offered in the lithographs of Daumier and may be found in the well known painting by Degas, exhibited at the first Impressionist show, of the *Carriage at the Races* (1871-72, Elston)." When Degas returned to this kind of organization within the race track context at the end of the seventies in the Louvre version of the *Carriage at the Races* (Fig. 24), he so cropped the near carriage at the right and so telescoped the relationship between foreground and background as to achieve a composition that possesses much of the crispness and simplicity of the type represented in Cham's vignette. Degas' painting, of course, goes well beyond the Cham in terms of formal wit and probity, but we may do well to consider that the condensed awareness of proximity and distance in Degas' paintings—and those of Renoir and Cassatt as well—had an important precedent in illustration. We see in this minor example, in Cham's cartoon, a basic element of the illustrator's art. The illustrator often composed according to what we may call a principle of necessary juxtaposition. Cham and his colleagues, in their concentration upon subject, upon the need to tell a clear story in a brief space, to give a precise view of the commenter and the commented upon, seem to effortlessly achieve results that, when viewed spatially or compositionally, vie with the most brilliantly adventurous compositions of the Impressionists.

In stating this, it is important to indicate that I do not mean to infer that the illustrator provided anything more than an ingredient, one stimulus among many, for the painters. I am convinced that the Impressionists were engaged in a process of eclectic probing and borrowing as thorough as that of the history painter, who, guided by academic theory, searched the visual archives of past art for the formal and conceptual vocabulary and syntax with which he would construct his own, The Impressionists were as avid in their search as was their predecessor and com- patriot Manet, who bore owed in the most fragmentary, composi- tive, and heterogeneous fashion from a vast pictorial record. Their models were to be found in life, in journalistic illustration, in the world of lithography, in *images d'Epinal*, in photography, in old masters, in contemporary painting, and in Japanese prints. In only rare instances may we point to a borrowing in which an image is taken intact from another medium or model. C6zanne's use of fashion plates provides one of those rare exceptions. Monet's *proto* ble use of fashion plates, as part of his interest in contemporaneity, for his *Dejeuner sur l’herbe* and *Femmes au jardin—whereby we may point to piecemeal adaptation and partial integration of the graphic model into a new, complex pictorial whole—provides a more general and accurate model for understanding the phenomenon of borrowings and influences within Impressionist painting (Figs. 28, 29)."

Only occasionally can we be sure that one medium rather than another played the dominant role, but even when that is the case, dominance should not be taken to imply exclusivity. In the case of Cham's vignette (Fig. 22) in relation to Degas' *Carriage at the Races* (Fig. 24), for example, we can point to a certain pictorial relevance, but we cannot be at all sure of the role that Cham's image actually played. Indeed, other illustrators, particularly Daumier, may have been of greater importance. Or other mediums, other graphic idioms, may have played a role, but we cannot, once again, be certain. What we can believe in, however, is the potentially reinforcing contribution made to the painters by a number of different pictorial sources. In the case of Degas' *Carriage at the Races* we can follow the lead offered in general by Aaron Scharf and Gerald Needham as well as Hanson and Roberts-Jones; we can point to the interlocking stimuli offered by Japanese prints, photography, and illustration" by images such as Hiroshige's *Wagon Wheel on the Beach* from his "Views of Famous Places in Edo" (Fig. 25)—the compositional effect captured in Wood and Gibson's photograph of the *Inspection of Troops at Cumberland Landing, Virginia*, 1862 (Fig. 26); and, among others, Daumier's *Concert Eupéen* of 1867 (Fig. 27). All three images—or others that make us substitute-offer with differing degrees of dynamism a kind of kindred graphic intelligence that must have appealed to Degas' continuously searching eye.

The Amazon

Another Impressionist subject, which appears with intermittent frequency in illustration during the second half of the 1860s and is then approached by Manet and Renoir in the early seven- ties, is the Amazon, the equestrienne in the park. Manet's *L'Amazone* (Mile, Marie Leffebure) of about 1870 has a general prototype, for example, in the work of Constantin Guys. Or we can point to illustrations by Edmond Morin—e.g., the title page
for L’Esprit follet for 29 May 1869 (Fig. 30)—whose numerous depictions of horsemen and horsewomen may indeed have brought Renoir to look at his work when Renoir attempted his large Riders in the Bois-de-Boulogne (Fig. 31), a painting rejected at the Salon of 1873.

The Masked Ball

Depictions of the masked ball at the Opera were popular in lithography at least from 1839, when Gavarni devoted a suite of drawings to it. They were renewed in the illustrated press during the first two months of each year, during the extended period of carnival, which lasted from December through February. One of the main events of the season was the masked ball held each Saturday at the Opera, beginning in mid-December. One of Manet’s major projects of 1873 was devoted to this subject, which he insisted on studying at length through sketches done at the site and from models in his studio (Fig. 32). Manet’s conception, however, hardly seems divorced from—and was very likely conditioned by—the repeated designs of the illustrators. We find the essential form in various, linked images in which a theatre or Salon crowd is depicted—as so often in the work of Guys and Daumier—in a compressed relief grouping. The masked ball itself was a favorite subject of Grévin (Fig. 33).

The Theatre

One of the most intriguing subjects in Impressionist painting is the theatre—principally views of the stage, of the audience,
and of the relation between the two, in addition to the scenes of audience and stage viewed from the level of the orchestra, discussed earlier (Figs. 11-16), we find numerous depictions of figures in logs in the work of Renoir, Degas, and Cassatt, mainly dating from the later 1870s and early eighties. The earliest and one of the most beautifully developed paintings of this category is Renoir’s La Loge of 1874, shown at the first Impressionist exhibition (Fig. 45). We can trace a fairly long history for such views in illustration, going back, once again, to Gavarni (Fig. 46), Daumier, and Guys and repeated with untiring frequency in the journals by Darjou, Pelcoq, and Marcelin, the latter seeming to have annexed the theme as his own in the late fifties and early sixties (Fig. 47).

From the view of the loge we can turn to the view from the loge, looking out towards the stage, a theme favored by Degas above all among the Impressionists.” As we find such scenes in illustration, we are frequently confronted with a compositional type, a convention involving the relation between near and far, between a close-up commentary and a somewhat more distantly placed scene or event. As such, the composition can apply to a number of other situations; for example, we can compare Cham’s view of the loge and stage of 1863 (Fig. 48) with the structurally identical steeplechase scene in Fig. 22. Daumier exploited the view from the loge with numerous variations in cartoons stretching through a good part of his career.” Other illustrators carried it on in captioned cartoons and, as the motif became standardized, in vignettes at the end of journal articles, e.g., an image from La Vie parisienne of 1867 (Fig. 49). When we turn to Degas (Fig. 50), however, we see a greater leap, a greater adventurousness and daring beyond what the illustrators, including Daumier, and Guys, and repeated with untiring frequency in the journals by Darjou, Pelcoq, and Marcelin, the latter seeming to have annexed the theme as his own in the late fifties and early sixties (Fig. 47).

Further Themes
That repertory and that sharing extend, although with much less frequency, to many more subjects than those that have been presented here (any more than can reasonably be discussed or illustrated): skating—both ice-skating outdoors at Longchamps as depicted by Renoir in 1868 and the new indoor roller-skating rink, the setting for Manet’s Skating of 1877; floods (usually in the region around Paris; Sisley, Monet, and Pissarro); the circus (Degas, Renoir); the side show—frequently depicted in illustration but not in Impressionist painting before Seurat; the fashionable throng, typified in painting at an early date by Manet’s Musique aux Tuileries of 1862, women at their toilet (Degas, Manet); laundresses (Degas, Renoir); cityscape (Monet, Renoir, Manet, Caillebotte). Additionally, Degas’ subjects of the stock exchange and the ballet rehearsal are to be found in illustration. And for a number of other specific works by Manet there exist precedents in illustration but not in Impressionist painting before Seurat; the fashionable throng, typified in painting at an early date by Manet’s Musique aux Tuileries of 1862, women at their toilet (Degas, Manet); and laundresses (Degas, Renoir); cityscape (Monet, Renoir, Manet, Caillebotte). Additionally, Degas’ subjects of the stock exchange and the ballet rehearsal are to be found in illustration. But that is best left to a more general discussion, which I shall offer at the conclusion."
tion in illustration (Figs. 65, 66); and the Folies-Bergère, both as setting and with specific focus on the barmaid, may be found in cartoons of the later 1870s (Figs. 67, 68).B[1]

Formal Effects

Although the greater emphasis should be placed upon the thematic links between Impressionist painting and commercial illustration, we cannot entirely neglect certain formal similarities, which-atleast with less certainty-may provide a further indication of ways in which popular imagery may have affected painting. I am thinking now of certain formal types, compositional arrangements or structures, that appear prominently in Impressionist painting after-occasionally long after-they had become established in illustration. We have already seen some of these formal types in association with certain themes: the view from the orchestra to the stage, offered in many variations (Figs. 7-19), or from loge to stage (Figs. 48, 50)-a structure repeated elsewhere, as, for example, in Cham's race track cartoons (Fig. 22). And I have repeated, however tentatively, the view that the brief, informal drawing found in numerous illustrations may have had some liberating, suggestive effect on Impressionist painting style (Fig. 6).[9]

There are other formal effects that may be specified. The view from above, found so excitingly in the work of Caillebotte, has precedent, of course, in photography-with its imposed view-point and also with the excited interest in aerial pictures taken from balloons—but also in illustration, as Kirk Varnedoe has pointed out. And, in less extreme fashion, the view from above to below is exemplified in illustration (Fig. 55) and painting by the motif of a building balcony set in sharp relationship to the street below (a compositional structure that has a correlate in Degas' most adventurous images of the loge and stage: Figs. 50, 69). Caillebotte is, once again, the main practitioner, as seen in a number of paintings from the later 1870s (Fig. 56).

The device of cropping figures at the framing edge or within the picture, so favored by Degas, may be attributable in part to the influence of Japanese prints (figures cut at the edge are actually rarely to be found in the prints except in pillar prints), but it is not absent in illustration, although rather infrequently found. In the case of a single work, Manet's The Railroad of 1873 (Fig. 57), the treatment of the grille fence is graphically powerful, and we may well ask whether he had any pictorial sanction for so bold a presentation of the perceived object. Illustration provides a possible source, given the readiness with which the cartoonist would lay down strongly and flatly the bars of a cage or the uprights of a fence in his drawings (Fig. 58), and it may well be that this is what prompted Philippe Burty, in one of those rare instances in which a painting was actually compared to illustration, to write of Manet's still unfinished canvases in 1872 that "one will find pages, in black and white, analogous to this harmonic and tender painting, in issues of The Graphic."[39]

In each of these instances of formal relationships, we can point to possible precedents not only in illustration but also in photography or Japanese prints or earlier painting. In one case, however, precedents are lacking except in images from the illustrated journals. I am speaking of images of the sort that Pierre Francastel has called apprehensival or polysensorial in their approach to space, whereby the focus is placed upon figures or objects seen close to and the surrounding environment is allowed to develop as it will, relatively unfocused, and in a seemingly unplanned, marginal, or peripheral manner. Francastel considers that this intimate approach to the relationship between figures and space was one of the chief formal innovations of the Impressionists. It is found primarily in the work of Renoir during the later 1870s, although Manet and Degas were involved with it as well. Remarkable was Renoir’s effort to capture an informal, fragmentary view of life, of people passing, of the variable-focus phenomenon of the images produced contained figure center or distributed in groups unaltered laterally by the frame, or pulled to the surface or in depth. Photography or Japanese prints or earlier painting. In one case, we find a steady repetition in images by the illustrators that we see in images by the illustrators that we see in. For example, numerous cartoons by Cham, Grévin, Randon, Pelcoq, and others of horses and carriages-placed so close to the viewer that one could not expect to grasp the objects whole-and in illustrations depicting intimate tête-à-tête or passing conversation, with groups of city dwellers, alsos on the move and-approximately-glimpsed fragmentarily caught on the quick (Figs. 60, 62). Corresponding images by Renoir are his Young Men and Girls in the Street, a pastel of about 1877 (Ordrupgaard, Denmark), and Place Clichy, c. 1880 (Fig. 63).

To the question, properly raised at this point, as to whether we should at all assume pictorial sources for these paintings, my reply is that we must, that the characteristics of free response and transcription that abide in these paintings do not preclude graphic models; indeed, the difficulty of knowing how to record transient effects all but demands them. Were the models actually in journalistic illustration, however? Perhaps not, but if not then one does not know just where else to look.

Journalistic illustration provided a ready source of visual stimuli for the experimental artists of the 1860s and 1870s that affected as well as coincided with their Iconographic and, to a lesser degree, their formal) interests. That the Impressionists
should have been open to this imagery is, in retrospect, not surprising. The history of the advanced art of the period 1860-80 is in good part one of gradual disenfranchisement—-from tradition (in terms of iconographic choices and values, in technique, form, style), from established institutional arrangements and protocol, from the <i>sway</i> of history in general. In their quest for new modes of social action, they moved away from the Salon and sought to exploit the possibilities offered by independent dealers and exhibitions. In their search for ways of working, they admitted, following the lead of the early Realists, new pictorial models—e.g., <i>images d'Epinal</i>, Japanese prints, photography, and journalistic illustration. The last, uniquely, served iconographic and formal requirements: it offered subjects that were not only of their time—the illustrations and the subjects, taken together, were their time; and it provided an informal, in a sense careless, style that, although based on course of traditional recipes, seemed often to sidestep orthodox approaches to drawing and composition.

The Impressionists' avowed aim was not to be history painters. Did they, however, in the process of developing new perspectives and assimilating new models, become cartoonists? One would, of course, never say that they did, and yet it is, I believe, an important question, for it leads to a number of other considerations: If they did not, how did they avoid doing so? In what aspects of their effort and their results do they differ from their models? And how does the existence of these models and the differences from them affect our understanding of the Impressionist method and contribution?

The first two questions are answered in large part by the immediate fact that the Impressionists produced independent paintings (or pastels, drawings, prints) and not images linked to a prescribed, usually verbal, message. Additionally, Impressionist painting tends not to be narrative painting—-one does not speak of Impressionist genre painting by saying that such and such "happens" in the painting in the way of incident, drama, or plot (one may and does refer to Impressionist technique in equivalent ways, however, in terms of build-up, action, etc.). Even in a non-narrative mode like landscape, Impressionist painting tends to pull back from the natural drama of weather and mood or from the exploration of symbolic effects (gray weather, frequently depicted in Impressionist landscapes, tends to arise from a concern for fact rather than effect).

The independence of painting from the cartoon is not automatic, however. Impressionist painting, for example, liberates itself from the character of the cartoon—its comic, bantering, story-telling mode—far more completely than does another category of painting of modern life, the contemporaneous genre painting of the new <i>juste milieu</i> of the Second Empire and early third Republic, of artists such as Baudry, Berne-Bellecour (Fig. 64), Dagnan-Bouveret, Ger-vec, Alfred Stevens, Tissot, as well as artists who participated in the impressionist exhibitions, e.g., De Nittis, Forain, anc Raffaelli. The work of most of these painters includes a significant portion of paintings governed by a narrative, anecdotal bias, a tendency toward the depiction of minor incident, often in the flirtatious/amorous mode deriving from 18th-century paintings and prints of manners. In its own mocking and bowdlerized fashion, satirical illustration continues that vein; in fact, it is dominated by it. Hence, both illustration and <i>juste-milieu</i> genre direct themselves unhesitatingly towards the popular audience. Impressionism, offers, by contrast, an inescapably more compromised—because uncompromising —effort to make serious painting within a popular mold. If it avoids narrative and anecdote in general, it surely avoids those traits as they were manifested in the genre of manners, in particular. And in so doing, it alienated itself from the very audience it otherwise sought to attract.

The existence of the amorous/flirtatious mode within illustration is worth considering further. Flirtation or seduction was a constant theme of illustration, permeating all subjects that at all permitted it entry. The endless search for a "dishonest" woman was pursued not only in the theatre coulissses and dressing rooms but among laundresses, ironers, milliners, waitresses, barmaids, on park benches, at dance halls and cafés-concerts, skating rinks, bathing spas, and race tracks. Bantering, exploitative, occasionally funny, so constantly there as to invite ennui, the cartoon of seduction adapted itself to almost all the subjects shared by Impressionism and illustration. But almost without exception, the character, the tone, the attitude, the perception of the subject on the part of the Impressionist painter is remarkably different from the cartoonist's. Gone is the naughty, the frivolous, the demeaning; enter neutrality, a degree of seriousness, even a note of respect. Space limitations will not permit an exploration of this theme, but in general we can point to the clear absence of the flirtatious in Degas' backstage scenes (save for his illustrations for the <i>Famille Cardinal</i> by Ludovic Halévy, brothel visits, depictions of ironers, laundresses, milliners, and women at their toilet), in Renoir's theatre scenes, laundresses, milliners, groups in the street or park (even the <i>Swing</i> and <i>Moulin de la Galette</i> of 1876 convey an air of high spirits and a equal exchange rather than male-dominated flirtation); and in Manet's paintings throughout his career, from the <i>Musique aux Tuileries</i> of 1862,
the challenging and disturbing *Désironsur'herbe* and *Olympia*, and right on through the *Bar at the Folies-Bergère of 1882.* Consider, as excellent, two works by Manet, both of which have clear parallels, if not precedents, in Illustration: the *Folies-Bergère* and *In the Conservatory*, which dates from two years earlier, in 1879. *In the Conservatory* (Fig. 65) presents a mature couple, husband and wife, engaged in (silent) conversation at a bench in a greenhouse. The motif or device of a man and woman conversing at a bench (or sofa or chair, as the case may be) was standard in commercial illustration and served as an occasion, even as a sign for flirtation or amatory discourse (Fig. 66), and at least one caricaturist saw Manet’s painting that way in his illustrated review of the Salon of 1879. 

What Manet does, however, as he approaches the theme, is retain the amorous framework but convert it into an opportunity for presenting a tense, almost brutally strained moment in an enduring relationship (the kernel of the situation offered in the stalled eroticism of the two juxtaposed hands, centered in the canvas). He turns the genre on its head, refuses its typical inanity, and transforms anecdote into a psychologically acute and suggestive representation of the interplay of forces and personalities.

The Folies-Bergère became a locale to which illustrators turned in the second half of the 1870s. When Manet did his painting *Bar at the Folies-Bergère* (Fig. 67) he was continuing the survey of leisure pursuits that had engaged him earlier in his depictions of the Opera ball (Figs. 32, 34), the café (Fig. 42), the skating rink, and race track. And once again the focus he chose was not consistent with (might it have been stimulated by?) a motif found in illustration. For along with more general views of the establishment and its activities one finds a depiction of the barmaid and her customer. Lafosse’s cartoon of 1878 (Fig. 68) is typical of the illustrational attitude (“What do you wish, monsieur?” I dare not tell you.”) that saw every young woman as fair game for the roving male citizen, although it must be recognized that the attitude was built upon a clear factual foundation: the bar maid, as the laundress, actress, and ballet rat, often lived, and often was expected to live, a hyphenated life—as barmaid-prostitute, as actress-lorette, perhaps laundress-grisette, etc. “But, once again, Manet both depicts the popular subject and deprives it of its easy popular acceptation. One may not know precisely how to read the interchange between maid and customer in the mirror image at the right of the painting, but there is no question about the position of the woman who faces us. As Olympia, almost two decades earlier, she is exposed (actually, a difference there, for Olympia exposes herself, whereas the passive voice seems proper for the barmaid) yet reserved in fantasy, inner reflection. An image of alienation, as Timothy Clark acutely ascribes it, but the product of a vital empathy on the part of the painter. For Manet sees and offers dignity and self-possession where none of his contemporaries in illustration or in painting would grant their existence—except Degas, perhaps even Renoir, except Monet and Pissarro and perhaps others: Morisot, Cassatt, Cailebotte, Marie Bracquemond.

The Impressionists’ attitude toward illustration is complex-ambient to a degree, a compound of attraction and withdrawal. They embrace its subjects, perhaps, too-personally—its humor; but the latter finds no place in their paintings, which tend often to seem bland, non-committal, more like motifs than subjects with a content, as was claimed at the time by critics. In the Folies-Bergere, Monet at the Moulin de la Galette, Manet at the café and Folies-Berger, and as Degas repeatedly at the cfe-concert, the theatre, the rehearsal, and on the Place de la Concorde—the complex of responses articulated by writers such as Edmond and Jules de Goncourt, who, in their journal, celebrated the phenomenal complexity of the world through which t’hl ey roved. For the Goncourts a visit to the theatre while a rehearsal was in full swing yielded a rich mixture of “ideas and sensations,” each of the senses alerted in turn.”

**Backstage:**

... young girls in boar ‘Ping school smocks scooting between your legs, others ascending a staircase, their skirts of angel’s gauze rustling in the shadows; suddenly through a gap in the setting, a corner of the stage, a blast of music and voices; and then waves of extras, stagehands, workers the pell-mell of an illusion factory in action ... On the stage, a director’s assistant with his cane marshals the battalions of dancers, the legions of the chorus ...

In the house, swaying together in great confusion, 1870s they became so involved with experimental techniques that they compromised the commercial advantages of the print as a reproducible commodity 

... or, in a similar vein, when Degas turned to the “erotic,” potentially popular (for however li mited an audience) subject of the brothel, he interpreted it in the toughest, least ingratiating fashion and confined himself to the most medium of the monotype-unique, non-repeatable, good only for gifts to friends. With respect to their journalistic models, the Impressionists not only reduced the broad humor of the cartoons but in toto provinces of form, technique, and style they refused to be limited, despite the stimulative value of the illustrations, by what those models offered. Thus, when Degas painted fans—intended for quick sale and exploiting the popular subject of the theatre—he took advantage of the freedom from convention offered by the decorative rainbow shape to develop some of the most adventurous, abstract, and free-floating compositions in Ill’s entire oeuvre, and Manet’s Bar at the Folies-Bergère not only deviates from the low comedy of the satirists, but also turns th occasion into one for the creation of a painting as formally complex, multifaceted, and challenging as any in his career.

What illustration offered to the painters was the range of subjects, the specific situations, and the formal ingredients upon which they could draw. What the Impressionists managed to do, again and again, was to replace the piquancy of anecdote with an experience of vibrant, resonant color, and phenomenal activity that succeeded in all— but destroying the traces of their ubiquitous models. The illusor te tells a joke; the painter declines to do so, choosing instead to embody other realms of awareness in his work. He sha es-as Monet and Renoir at La Grenouillère, Monet at the G re Saint-Lazare, Renoir at the Moulin de la Galette, Manet at the café and Folies-Bergere, and as Degas repeatedly at the cfe-concert, the theatre, the rehearsal, and on the Place de la Concorde—the complex of responses articulated by writers such as Edmond and Jules de Goncourt, who, in their journal, celebrated the phenomenal complexity of the world through which t’hl ey roved. For the Goncourts a visit to the theatre while a rehearsal was in full swing yielded a rich mixture of "ideas and sensations," each of the senses alerted in turn.”
Fig. 57. Edouard Manet. The Railroad, 1873. Oil on canvas, 37 1/4 x 45". National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C.

Fig. 58. Alfred Le Petit, "Rouen et ses environs," Le Journal amusant, 10 May 1873, p. 3.

Fig. 59. Cham, "Actualités," Le Charivari, 8 May 1857.

Fig. 60. Stop, "Croquis parisiens," Petit journal pour rire, no. 67, 1870, p. 3.

Fig. 61. Auguste Renoir, In the Street, 1876. Oil on canvas, 17 3/8 x 14 11/16". Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek, Copenhagen.

Fig. 62. Alfred Grdvin, "Croquis": "Une l'Agende de Charlet," Petit journal pour rire, no. 35, 1876, p. 8.

Fig. 63. Auguste Renoir, Place Clichy, 1880. Oil on canvas, 25 5/16 x 21 3/8". Collection Mrs. R.A. Butler, London.
theatre and life, street and fairground: the theatre people, in shirt sleeves, seated in the velvet surroundings of the glittering first-class boxes, filmy white dancers, with sparkling crowns, their skirts like aureoles behind them, among the lamplighters.... On the stage there is action, there is movement; the ballet master paces the front of the theatre, clapping the beat with his hands.... "F, now! F!", the conductor shouts out to the orchestra.

Theodore Reff and François Fosca have already pointed to the relationship between the Goncourt's descriptions and Degas' paintings. Reff has cited, specifically, another, similar passage from the Journals that bears a striking resemblance to what we find in Degas' views of the stage from the loge:

We are at the Opera, in the director's box, above the stage.

At our side, Peyrat and Mlle. Peyrat, a young girl....

And while conversing, I have my eyes on a stage flat opposite me.... La Mercier, quite blond, bedecked with golden baubles.... Radiates in a warm light like a breath that is nourished and fresh and blends the glow of her skin with the glitter of false jewels. Her brow, her cheek.... She is modeled by light....

Then behind the luminous figure of the dancer.... a marvelous background of shadows and glimmers.

Forms that lose themselves in the shadows and in the smoky, dusty reaches."

As Reff observes, "the very structure of the [Goncourt's] vision seems to anticipate that of The Ballet" (Fig. 69) and, of course, similar works by Degas, such as At the Theatre (Fig. 50). Reff's observation is very acute, but we have already seen that such visual parallels, such juxtapositions of painterly and textual reference, were already to be found in journalistic illustration, indeed, were a commonplace of the genre; one found there ready made, in graphic form, the ingredients of the structure and the structure itself. What illustration fails to provide, however, is the richness, the timbre, the polyvalent sensibility that is evident in the Goncourt's description and in Degas' extraordinary paintings. And these qualities are to be found equally well in the work of so many of his colleagues; they are an integral part of the Impressionist achievement.

A look at the world of illustration in the journals of the time-as, with varying returns, at contemporaneous photography, Japanese prints, popular woodcuts, fashion plates, and lithographs-reinforces the conviction that graphic images, pictorial formulations, were important for the Impressionists in charting the terrain of contemporary life and in giving form to their survey, registering ways of putting that life down on canvas or paper. In this, illustration played a familiar role. Even at a time when the direct and faithful rendering of the world about us was among the highest and most admired artist's talents, when the visual phenomenon was seen upon the immediate scrutiny of nature and the recording of its visually assimilable aspects was greater, perhaps, than at any other time in history, the pictorial image continued to assert its ability to stimulate, nourish, and direct the artist's enterprise; it could inform him and help him to see. What it did not do, however, was dominate the painter's activity nor determine his sensibility. It is precisely the differences in content and form, between the Impressionists' paintings and their contributory models in illustration that help us to gauge the serious formal and iconographic commitment with which they made their art.

1. Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes, V, 1941, pp. 164-91. In the notes that follow, several illustrated journals and other sources will be referred to repeatedly. Therefore, the following abbreviations will be used: Le Journal (Jou) of Langlucur J (JL), Le Petit Journal de Paris (JPP), La Vie parisienne (LVP), Beatrice Farwell, "Courbet's 'aigineuses' and the Rhetorical Feminine Image," Manet: Olympia, exh. cat., New York, 1976, pp. 24-79; Madeleine Fidell-Beaufort, "L'Imagery populaire et I'iconographie impressioniste," Nouvelles de l'estampe, no. 18, Nov.-Dec., 1968, p. 105; Klaus Herding, "Les Lutteurs 'detestables': critique de style, critique sociale," Histoire et critique des arts, nos. 4, 5, 1978, pp. 95-106. For works by Anne Hanson and Beatrice Farwell, see notes 3 and 11.


11. See Bellet (cited n. 9), pp. 31213, and Documents for the histoire de la presse nationale au XIXe et XXe siecle (Paris: Centre de documentation sciences journalistiques n.d. (1970)), pp. 27-32. By comparison, the press runs for the two leading daily newspapers of format were, in 1869: Le Figaro, 45,687 and Le Figaro, 36,687. But the most popular paper of all was the small format, deliberately non-political, Le Petit journal, which in 1870 printed an average of 320,000 copies. Klaus Herding had reproduced a cover illustration for La Lune, 320,000 copies. Klaus Herding has reproduced a cover illustration for La Lune, 320,000 copies. Klaus Herding has reproduced a cover illustration for La Lune, 320,000 copies. Klaus Herding has reproduced a cover illustration for La Lune, 320,000 copies. Klaus Herding has reproduced a cover illustration for La Lune, 320,000 copies. Klaus Herding has reproduced a cover illustration for La Lune, 320,000 copies. 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For the Journal amusant and La Vie parisienne, see Jones (cited n. 9), pp. 77-80, 110.13. This long article, mostly in the form of a catalogue, is the best single source for capsule descriptions of satirical journals from 1860-90.

The Journal amusant was preceded by the Journal pour rire, founded in 1848 by Charles Philippon, publisher of Caricature and Le Charivari. Philippon was also the first editor of the Journal amusant.

For a survey of the subjects treated earlier in the journals and books studied by Hanson, see Manet, pp. 38-39.

Farwell, Cult, p. 17; Roberts-Jones, Daumier, p. XVI.

Charles Baudelaire’s Le Peintre de l’oeuvre first appeared in Le Figaro, 26, 29 Nov. and 3 Dec. 1863.

See Hanson, "Manet’s Subject Matter" (cited n. 3), p. 64, and Hanson. Manet, pp. 6-10; Cynthia and Harrison White, Canvases and Careers, New York, 1985, ch. 2 passing and tables 2-4, pp. 38, 40-41; Emile Zola, "Une exposition de tableaux à Paris (Salon of 1875), in Salons, ed. F. W. J. Hemmings and R. J. Niess, Paris, 1959, pp. 147-68, esp. pp. 161-64.

Contemporary parallels would be Life magazine photographs, Playboy pinups, cheap poster-sized color reproductions and photographic blowups, posters, record album covers, etc.

Farwell, Cult, p. 17.


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Farwell, Cult, p. 17.


"Mon Salon," in Zola, Salons (cited n. 20), p. 130.


Roberts-Jones, Daumier, p. 105. For Monet’s caricature, see Daniel Wildenstein, Monet, 1971, p. 93, pl. 53; for Monet’s, see Jean Harris, Edouard Manet, Graphic Works, New York, 1970, cat. no. 1, p. 23.


The paintings were nos. 119 and 120 in Lionello Venturi, Cezanne, son art, son oeuvre, 2 vols., Paris, 1936. For a reproduction of the source for no. 119, see Rewald (cited n. 23), p. 206. For further references, see Mark Roskill, "Early Impressionism and the Fashion Print," Burlington Magazine, CXII, June 1970, p. 392, fig. 2.


Mark Roskill (cited n. 29), p. 391-95; and Isaacson (cited n. 2), pp. 45-50.

Mark Roskill, p. 392 (with a reference, n. 5, to Theodore Reff, "The Pictures within Degas’s Pictures," Metropolitan Museum Journal, I, 1968, p. 150, n. 87; reprinted in Degas: The Artist’s Mind, New York, 1976, p. 316, n. 100). That journal illustrations were a major source of interest for van Gogh is now well established and documented; see the exh. cat. English Influences on Vincent van Gogh (cited n. 2).

Eliane Moreau-Nelaton, Manet raconte par lui-même, Paris, 1926, I, pp. 102, 103: ... je vous envie de pouvoir discuter avec le grand esthéticien Degas sur l’inopportunité d’un art qui porté des classes pauvres et permettant de livrer des tableaux au prix de 13 sols.... Le brave Durandy.... s’est trompé sur mes grands projets. Il me voit faisant de grands tableaux. Certes, non. J’ai assez remporté de succès comme cela. Ce que je vous avoue aujourd’hui, coal gagner do l’argent.... Dites donc, a Degas de m’écrire ! Il est en train, à ce que m’a (ill Durandy, de devenir le peintre du high-life. C’est son affaire, et In regrette d’avant plus pour lui...
gu'il ne sois pas venu a Londres. Ce mouvement do chapeaux bien tenus lui aurait inspire quelques tableaux."

For Monet's paintings, see Wildenslein, I, 1974 cited n. 26, nos. 134-37. Corresponding to nos. 134 and 135 are Renoir's paintings of La Grenouillere in Stockholm and the Reinhart Collection, Winterthur, Switzerland. For early examples in popular imagery, see Farwell, Cult, nos. 65, 130. Walter Benjamin, "Edouard Manet, Catalogue Raisonne, Paris, 1925, pl. iv, comp. Gavarni, La Mascaraed humaine, Paris, 1861, pl. 65. For The Orchestre de l'Eglise de l'Art, (L. 186) and Pilot (L. 188), see Reff (cited n. 32), pp. 7647.124; and notes 44, 45. See also 1869.25

For The Execution see the early discussion in Sandblad (cited n. 2), pp. 109-58, and the recent ext. cat. Edouard Manet and the Execution of Maximilian, Bell Gallery, New York, 1986. See also Viollet-le-Duc's "La Mort d'un peintre, " illustrated in La Grande Mission (L. 186) and Le Monde illustré of 3 Oct. 1863, Lee Johnson, "A New Source for Manet's 'Execution of Maximilian'," in Terre/Ocean, Venice, 1980, pp. 125-38. For La Vie Parisienne: Le Monde illustré of 3 Oct. 1863, see Maurice Allem, La Plage a Morny. See Maurice Allem, La Plage a Morny. See Maurice Allem, La Plage a Morny. See Maurice Allem, La Plage a Morny. See Maurice Allem, La Plage a Morny. See Maurice Allem, La Plage a Morny. See Maurice Allem, La Plage a Morny. See Maurice Allem, La Plage a Morny. See Maurice Allem, La Plage a Morny. See Maurice Allem, La Plage a Morny. See Maurice Allem, La Plage a Morny. See Maurice Allem, La Plage a Morny. See Maurice Allem, La Plage a Morny. See Maurice Allem, La Plage a Morny. See Maurice Allem, La Plage a Morny. See Maurice Allem, La Plage a Morny. See Maurice Allem, La Plage a Morny. See Maurice Allem, La Plage a Morny. See Maurice Allem, La Plage a Morny. See Maurice Allem, La Plage a Morny. See Maurice Allem, La Plage a Morny. See Maurice Allem, La Plage a Morny. See Maurice Allem, La Plage a Morny. See Maurice Allem, La Plage a Morny. See Maurice Allem, La Plage a Morny. See Maurice Allem, La Plage a Morny. See Maurice Allem, La Plage a Morny. See Maurice Allem, La Plage a Morny. See Maurice Allem, La Plage a Morny. See Maurice Allem, La Plage a Morny. See Maurice Allem, La Plage a Morny. See Maurice Allem, La Plage a Morny. See Maurice Allem, La Plage a Morny. See Maurice Allem, La Plage a Morny. See Maurice Allem, La Plage a Morny. See Maurice Allem, La Plage a Morny. See Maurice Allem, La Plage a Morny. See Maurice Allem, La Plage a Morny. See Maurice Allem, La Plage a Morny. See Maurice Allem, La Plage a Morny. See Maurice Allem, La Plage a Morny. See Maurice Allem, La Plage a Morny. See Maurice Allem, La Plage a Morny. See Maurice Allem, La Plage a Morny. See Maurice Allem, La Plage a Morny. See Maurice Allem, La Plage a Morny. See Maurice Allem, La Plage a Morny. See Maurice Allem, La Plage a Morny. See Maurice Allem, La Plage a Morny. See Maurice Allem, La Plage a Morny. See Maurice Allem, La Plage a Morny. See Maurice Allem, La Plage a Morny. See Maurice Allem, La Plage a Morny. See Maurice Allem, La Plage a Morny. See Maurice Allem, La Plage a Morny. See Maurice Allem, La Plage a Morny. See Maurice Allem, La Plage a Morny. See Maurice Allem, La Plage a Morny. See Maurice Allem, La Plage a Morny. See Maurice Allem, La Plage a Morny. See Maurice Allem, La Plage a Morny. See Maurice Allem, La Plage a Morny. See Maurice Allem, La Plage a Morny. See Maurice Allem, La Plage a Morny. See Maurice Allem, La Plage a Morny. See Maurice Allem, La Plage a Morny. See Maurice Allem, La Plage a Morny. See Maurice Allem, La Plage a Morny. See Maurice Allem, La Plage a Morny. See Maurice Allem, La Plage a Morny. See Maurice Allem, La Plage a Morny. See Maurice Allem, La Plage a Morny. See Maurice Allem, La Plage a Morny. See Maurice Allem, La Plage a Morny. See Maurice Allem, La Plage a Morny. See Maurice Allem, La Plage a Morny. See Maurice Allem, La Plage a Morny. See Maurice Allem, La Plage a Morny. See Maurice Allem, La Plage a Morny. See Maurice Allem, La Plage a Morny. See Maurice Allem, La Plage a Morny. See Maurice Allem, La Plage a Morny. See Maurice Allem, La Plage a Morny. See Maurice Allem, La Plage a Morny. See Maurice Allem, La Plage a Morny. See Maurice Allem, La Plage a Morny. See Maurice Allem, La Plage a Morny. See Maurice Allem, La Plage a Morny. See Maurice Allem, La Plage a Morny. See Maurice Allem, La Plage a Morny. See Maurice Allem, La Plage a Mory...