LOSS AND LEGACY: REFRAMING THE STUDIES OF JULIE MANET

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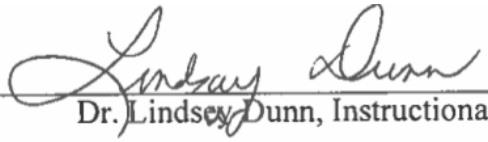

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INTRODUCTION

Painted during the final year of Berthe Morisot's life, *Julie Manet in the Liberty Hat* (fig. 1) portrays the Impressionist painter's daughter Julie Manet as a young lady. A cloud of green envelops Julie's hat, complementing the dashes of vermillion scattered through her strands of hair. Morisot renders the floppy shape of the hat, the puffiness of her sleeves, and the neat pleats of her collar with linear strokes of paint.[1] Julie's eyes rest on the viewer with the gaze of a phantom. Indeed, her entire visage resembles that of an apparition because her facial features are more absent than present. Morisot hints at her daughter's countenance through the inclusion of her gracefully arched eyebrows and her full, slightly parted lips. While the impression of Julie's face is dimly discernable, obscurity cloaks her full countenance. Morisot also chose to employ a drybrush technique which adds a granular quality to the surface, an effect which further contributes to the portrait's ghostliness. Part of its phantomlike appearance arises from the fact that Morisot never finished the painting, so most of the elements of Julie's face had yet to be truly filled in.[2] While some may claim that the portrait's missing information prevents it from telling viewers anything substantial about the sitter, I contend that its status as incomplete does not disqualify it from telling us something about Julie. Indeed, it is precisely its unfinishedness which reflects the essence of Julie's identity at the time her mother painted the portrait.

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[1] I refer here to Berthe Morisot as 'Morisot.' Traditionally, artists are referred to by their last name, a title which connotes a certain level of esteem. While I would like to confer the same level of recognition on Julie, I have chosen to refer to her instead as 'Julie' and not 'Manet' simply because multiple people with the last name 'Manet' are mentioned in this thesis and I wish to avoid confusion.

[2] Some scholars have contested the suitability of the term "unfinished" in describing this painting. Art historian Dominique D'Arnoult argues that this painting is unfinished in her essay "Julie Manet Model," because Julie later titled it "Sketch with Large Hat" in a catalog called "Paintings Belonging to Monsieur and Madame Ernst Rouart." See Dominique D'Arnoult, "Julie Manet Model: A Natural Art of the Pose," in *Julie Manet: An Impressionist Heritage*, ed. Marianne Mathieu (Paris: Musée Marmottan Monet, 2021), 189 and footnote 34.

Only a few short months after sitting for this painting, Julie became an orphan at age sixteen. Her mother succumbed to influenza, which she contracted while tending to her ill daughter on March 2, 1895.[3] Julie's father had passed three years prior, so she was accustomed to death and parental absence. However, because of the special bond Julie shared with her mother, the loss of Berthe hit hard. The unfinishedness of *Julie Manet in the Liberty Hat* functions as a fitting visual analogy to Julie's state of being at the time of her mother's death. At an age when she was on the cusp of womanhood, Julie had not yet fully formed her individual identity. Because Berthe was so involved with her daughter's life, upbringing, and education, the loss of her mother was especially difficult. Now, Julie would have to finish her portrait on her own. After her mother's death, Julie turned to art to grasp her own identity. She made studies of her mother's work, many of which featured herself as a model. She also made studies of portraits of Berthe, a practice which suggests that this young woman continued to look to her mother as a model for self-formation, even after her mother's death.

While having a mother who was an artist has its many favorable aspects, it has also served to overshadow Julie's work. Most scholars deem her work too derivative and disparage the fact that she could not break away from her mother's influence.[4] Julie was also less prolific than her mother in terms of material output, a fact which has earned her the label "amateur." In terms of her career, the term "amateur" is deserved. Julie only exhibited three times during her

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[3] The exact time of Morisot's death was 10:30 a.m. Julie Manet, *Growing Up With the Impressionists: The Diary of Julie Manet*, ed. Jane Roberts (London: I. B. Tauris & Co., 2017), 55.

[4] Manet, *Growing Up With the Impressionists*, 11.

teenage years and once more during her fifties.[5] However, I argue that to classify her as an amateur in comparison to her professional mother is to miss the point of why she was making art. I would also contend that being an amateur does not make one a non-artist. Amateurism should not necessitate scholarly shunning because it was not "the best" or existed on a smaller scale. It can still offer insight; it still has worth—just like Morisot's unfinished portrait of Julie. In short, I wish to dignify the amateur's place in history. Being labeled an amateur does not have to be a death sentence in terms of historical notice.

This thesis treats Julie Manet as a nineteenth-century artist, amateur status notwithstanding, who turned to art as a source of maternal presence and a means by which to process her grief in the aftermath of losing her mother. I will argue that because of her unique relationship to her artist-mother, Julie used art to process loss in a manner distinct from her contemporaries. I will also demonstrate how Julie's artmaking also functioned to materially carry on the family's artistic legacy. I establish these points by situating Julie Manet amongst other nineteenth-century artists, namely Claude Monet and Marie Bashkirtseff. I have chosen to include these two artists in this project because of their connections to Julie. As a member of the Impressionist group, Monet maintained a close relationship with Morisot and her family over many years. Though she has since fallen into relative obscurity, Bashkirtseff was a well-known

[5] As an adolescent, Julie exhibited at the 1896 Salon des Indépendants. She submitted an entry to the Salon National des Beaux-Arts the following year but was rejected. Following this rejection, at the prompting of Renoir, Julie exhibited two paintings at the 1897 Salon des Indépendants. In November of 1933, Julie exhibited some of her copies of her uncle Édouard Manet's paintings at the exhibition, *Autour de Manet*. See Dominique D'Arnoult, "Julie The Painter: The Last of the Manets or The Interrupted Apprenticeship," in *Julie Manet: An Impressionist Heritage*, ed. Marianne Mathieu (Paris: Musée Marmottan Monet, 2021), 163 (see footnote 52), 168, 170.

artist during the nineteenth century. Her published diary led many critics and artists to comment on her and her work, including Morisot and Julie in their writings.[6]

In the section "Monet: Grief Made Visual," I argue that, in his painting of his dead wife, clear correlations exist between the artist's grief and the subject and style of his painting. Julie also made her copies in a spirit of grief, but rather than visually express that grief, Julie memorialized her mother by reflecting on images of her mother and her mother's paintings. The same correlation between grief and aesthetics is not present in her work because her intent differed from Monet's. Additionally, I assert that copying as a mode of making requires concentration, restraint, and critical perception of detail. Given the widespread characterization of women as creatures easily overcome by emotion, one would not expect a woman to engage in a process which required such mental attention and physical control. In "Bashkirtseff: Ambitious Professional," I address the fact that most art historians tend to pass over Julie Manet because she never professionalized her practice. History focuses instead on female artists, such as Marie Bashkirtseff, because of her tenacity in broaching the borders of acceptability. I argue that even though Julie did not make art in spaces considered unorthodox for nineteenth-century upper-class women, she still contributed to the arts. I contend that Julie not only operated as the traditional continuer of legacy in the role of mother but that she also secured her family's artistic legacy. By bringing Julie Manet's work into conversation with the practices of these artists, the larger aim of

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[6] Julie comments on Bashkirtseff and her writing in her diary several times. In one passage, Julie reflects, "I remember Papa and Maman reading this diary at Mézy; they had numerous discussions on the subject. Far from thinking, like Monsieur Degas, that Marie Bashkirtseff was a woman who ought to be flogged in public, Papa admired her. How Maman would tease him: 'I can just see you living with a woman like that! — you would soon find her unbearable.' And indeed what a difference between her and Maman, who was so talented, straightforward, and charming yet so unselfconscious. However, she must have found Marie Bashkirtseff rather extraordinary too" Manet, *Growing Up With the Impressionists*, 119. See also Margaret Shennan, *Berthe Morisot: First Lady of Impressionism* (Gloucestershire: Sutton Publishing, 1996), 267.

the project is to reframe how Julie Manet's work is viewed by scholars. Instead of categorizing her studies as the inconsequential musings of an amateur, I seek to draw out their significance as to how they reveal one woman's artistic approach to loss and life.

PERCEPTIONS OF WOMEN AND ART IN NINETEENTH-CENTURY FRANCE

In many ways, the nineteenth century saw significant progress in terms of society's perception of women. Growing recognition of the complexity of female experience and increased opportunity for women to engage in the public sector resulted in expanded notions of femininity. In 1791, the Salon updated its terms of submission so that all artists, including women, and not just members of the Académie could exhibit their work.[7] French novelist George Sand promoted the idea of the "new woman" in her literary work and personal life.[8] According to Sand, the new woman chose to shed her meekness in favor of the lively assertion of her individuality and independence.[9] In 1803, Mme Frère-Montizon and Mme Fanny Beauharnais founded the Ecole Royale et Gratuite de Dessin in Paris which provided art instruction for female students.[10] Although society took positive steps forward in favor of women in the arts during the nineteenth century, women still had to contend with the deeply ingrained notion in the cultural psyche that women were essentially weak, frivolous, and best suited for domesticity.[11]

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[7] Doy, *Women and Visual Culture* 28; Paris Spies-Gans, *A Revolution on Canvas: The Rise of Women Artists in London and Paris, 1760-1830* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2022), 60.

[8] Shennan, *Berthe Morisot*, 69.

[9] Ibid., 69.

[10] Doy, *Women and Visual Culture*, 31.

[11] Rozsika Parker, and Griselda Pollock, *Old Mistresses: Women, Art, and Ideology* (New York: I.B. Tauris & Co Ltd., 2013), 9.

A significant source of prejudice which women faced in this era was that of biological determinism. Doctors, such as Pierre Jean Georges Cabanis and Julien-Joseph Virey, argued that the physical differences between men and women had a direct impact on the different roles they were fit to play in society.[12] Virey went so far as to say that woman was the opposite of man.[13] It was nearly impossible for a woman to argue with the authority of a male doctor when he was armed with the "facts" of biology.[14] Science supported the view that women were best suited to perform the responsibilities of motherhood, and *only* the responsibilities of motherhood.[15] Both men and women widely accepted the concept of women as fundamentally different from men and best suited to the domestic sphere.[16] The ideal bourgeois woman nurtured and educated her children and supported the ambitions of her husband.[17] Young girls received an education only so they could become the educators of their future children.[18] Furthermore, the role of mother as caretaker and educator was asserted to be all-encompassing. The French philosopher Jean-Jacques Rousseau once wrote, "The male is male only at certain moments; the female is female her whole life…everything constantly recalls her sex to her, and to fulfill its functions, an appropriate physical constitution is necessary to her…she needs a soft sedantary life to suckle

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[12] Doy, *Women and Visual Culture*, 25.

[13] Ibid., 25.

[14] Dorinda Outram, *The Enlightenment* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 81-83.

[15] I am mostly referring here to bourgeois women. Working-class women would have faced a different set of expectations. Their financial status did not grant them the luxury of separating economic responsibilities from the duties of motherhood. See Susan K. Foley, *Women in France since 1789: The Meanings of Difference* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2004), 56.

[16] Ibid., 54-5.

[17] Doy, *Women and Visual Culture*, 25.

[18] Foley, *Women in France since 1789*, 54-5.

her babies."[19] If a woman were to succeed at motherhood, it would require all of her attention. In other words, the cultivation of outside interests or skills, like professional painting, would detract from her responsibilities as a mother.[20]

Women artists also faced constraints of propriety. For one thing, respectable mothers needed to stay at home.[21] In many cases, the mother's dictates, and not those of the father, prevented a woman from pursuing a career in the arts.[22] Mothers, well-meaning but anxious to see their daughters succeed in life, would steer them away from career and towards marriage.[23] Women who were fortunate enough to escape the confinement of the domestic sphere and who could study art within the context of public institutions faced other obstacles, such as restrictions on subject matter. The notion that women were inherently shallow and flighty dictated what kind of art they were best suited to make. Substantial history paintings, the loftiest and most esteemed genre, were viewed as incompatible with the female temperament. Furthermore, studying the nude form was deemed inappropriate for female students, a restriction that confined them to practicing the lesser genres of painting, namely portraits and still lives. In painting the lesser genres, female artists were by extension considered lesser artists.[24] Serious art could only be made by male artists. This was in part because sociecty believed that women's physical

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[19] Quoted in Outram, *The Enlightenment*, 82.

[20] Ibid., 50.

[21] Parker and Pollock, *Old Mistresses*, 37-8.

[22] Doy, *Women and Visual Culture*, 33.

[23] Doy, *Women and Visual Culture*, 33; Morisot had to contend with the anxiety of her own mother when she expressed more interest in art than marriage, a choice which led her to put off marriage until the advanced age of thirty-three. See Shennan, *Berthe Morisot*, 68-70.

[24] Parker and Pollock, *Old Mistresses*, 35.

differences from men hindered them from making substantive art. A monumental painting or sculpture would require intensive physical labor, something a woman was incapable of due to her weak constitution.[25] Art, then, was divided into two distinct geniuses: the masculine and the feminine.[26]

Impressionism as an artistic movement was unusually open to women. Four women became parts of the movement's inner circle: Berthe Morisot, Mary Cassatt, Eva Gonzales, and Marie Bracquemond.[27] The male Impressionists did not bar women from their midst but instead offered instruction and exhibition opportunities.[28] One tack that critics of Impressionism took to subvert the movement was labeling it as "quintessentially feminine."[29] They attributed the unfinished nature of Impressionist painting to the lack of discipline characteristic of the female mind.[30] Roger Marx, a nineteenth-century French writer deeply invested in the arts, declared that the term 'Impressionism' equated to "a manner of observing and of noting which well suited the hyperaesthesia and the nervousness of women."[31] The physical constitution of the female sex suited them to the Impressionist style because they were believed to flit haphazardly from image

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[25] *Women Artists in Paris, 1850-1900*, eds. Laurence Madeline, Bridget Alsdorf, Richard Kendall, Jane R. Becker, Vibeke Waallann Hansen, and Joëlle Bolloch (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2017), 48.

[26] Ibid., 11.

[27] *Women Impressionists: Berthe Morisot, Mary Cassatt, Eva Gonzalès, Marie Bracquemond*, ed. Max Hollein (Frankfurt: Hatje Cantz, 2008), 12.

[28] Ibid, 13.

[29] Tamar Garb, "Berthe Morisot and the Feminizing of Impressionism," in *Perspectives on Morisot,* Ed., T. J. Edelstein. (New York: Hudson Hills Press, 1990), 192; *Women Artists in Paris*, 192.

[30] Ibid., 192.

[31] Tamar Garb, *Sister of the Brush: Women's Artistic Culture in Late Nineteenth-Century Paris* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1994), 124.

to image. French writer and journalist Hughes LeRoux believed that women were not just suited to Impressionist painting but Impressionist everything:

> Women, who know only themselves, who, in their adorable, childish way, find it impossible to ever see beyond themselves, their own prejudices, impressions, hatreds, loves...have no concept of logical order, the sequence, the absolute value of ideas; in place of all that, they substitute the order and sequence that most pleases them, they recognize the value of events and ideas only insofar as these affect them: they are impressionists in history, in ethics, in literature, in grammar, in logic, in chemistry and, as a result, painting.[32]

LeRoux's assessment of women serves as a prime example of the dominant mode of thinking in the nineteenth century that asserted women were incapable of sustained thought and that any contribution they might make to the arts, or any other field, was inherently subpar. But LeRoux forgave women for this fault because of their "childishness." The widespread equation of the intellectual capacity of women with children contributed to the undermining of female ambition.

When Morisot's art instructor, Joseph Guichard, realized that she intended to become a *professional* artist, he wrote to her mother saying, "Do you realize what this means? In the upper-class milieu to which you belong this will be revolutionary, I might almost say catastrophic."[33] Guichard draws special attention to the bourgeois context in which Morisot operated. For her to become a professional artist would be a catastrophe because it would mean the failure of the French social system which declared women were first and foremost mothers.[34] According to art historian Tamar Garb, the gendering of art—creating clear demarcations between the masculine

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[32] Quoted in *Women Artists in Paris*, 11.

[33] Quoted in Denis Rouart, ed. *Berthe Morisot: The Correspondence with Her Family and Her Friends* (London: Camden Press, 1987), 19.

[34] Rozsika Parker, and Griselda Pollock, Old Mistresses: Women, Art, and Ideology (New York: I.B. Tauris & Co Ltd., 2013), 37-8.

and the feminine—was crucial because it helped reinforce social order. Destabilizing that order by allowing the feminine to crossover into the realm of the masculine threatened the men at the helm of patriarchial society.[35] In 1895, Victor Joze wrote in the avant-garde literary magazine, *La Plume*, that "most women's works carry an obvious mark of weakness and intellectual inferiority…This is because the role of woman is not to guide people but rather to guide children. She, herself, is a sort of large, nervous child incapable of judging things coldly, with fairness and good sense."[36] These statements carefully reinforced the social order. As "big children," women were fundamentally unsuited to being professional artists; they could never hope to make meaningful contributions to the arts, and so they had no choice but to remain in their post as mothers or risk the wrath of society.

In 1891, the Symbolist painter Gustave Moreau stated in response to the publication of Marie Bashkirtseff's letters that "The large-scale intrusion of women in the realm of art would be a disaster beyond remedy. What will become of us, when creatures whose minds are as practical and down-to-earth as women's minds are, when creatures so lacking in the true gifts of the imagination, proffer their horrible artistic common sense, supported by claims?"[37] Moreau's statement is offensive on several counts, but for the sake of this discussion, I will only call attention to his use of the word "intrusion." He states that to have women in the arts would be an intrusion, a "disaster beyond remedy." First, Moreau fails to realize that women have been in the arts all along, mostly in the capacity of model and muse, shaping art through their presence as

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[35] Garb, *Sister of the Brush*, 106.

[36] Ibid., 116.

[37] *Women Artists in Paris*, 5.

subject matter.[38] His problem is with women who want more; women who are not content with being the model and who desire to make art themselves. Moreau seems to believe that the arts were a male-only territory, and for the most part, he is correct. Historically, men have tended to put strictures on the arts to keep women out.[39] Given the views on women as creatures with inferior minds and abilities, he likely wanted to continue to keep women out of the studio in the capacity of painter. To have an inferior mind make art would result in inferior art, thus bringing down the "superior" tone that men had set. While women had largely been kept from taking up the professional paintbrush themselves, I argue that they serve as underestimated stewards of artistic legacy. Women who live their lives in proximity to art often uphold these legacies by guarding old traditions and creating new ones. In the following examination of the life and art of Julie Manet, I hope to demonstrate how Julie was one such steward of artistic legacy.

GROWING UP AMONGST ARTISTS

Sometimes referred to as "the daughter of Impressionism" because of her unique connection to members of the Impressionist group, Julie Manet was surrounded by art from the moment she was born. Julie's artistic heritage began with her mother, Impressionist painter Berthe Morisot.[40] As a young girl, Berthe, along with her sister, Edma, began drawing lessons at the prompting of their mother in the year 1857.[41] They studied under Joseph Guichard, a former

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[38] Linda Nochlin, *Women, Art, and Power* (New York: Harper and Row 1988), 168.

[39] For more specific information on institutional methods by which women were excluded from pursuing art professionally, see Linda Nochlin's chapter, "Why Have There Been No Great Women Artists?" In *Women Art and Power*, 145-178.

[40] *Colours of Impressionism: Masterpieces from the Musée d'Orsay,* Ed., Marine Kisiel and Paul Perrin (Singapore: National Gallery Singapore, 2018), 189.

[41] Anne Higonnet, *Berthe Morisot* (Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1990), 11. In keeping with ideas of artistic legacy through the maternal line explored in this thesis, I believe it is important to emphasize that it was Morisot's mother who introduced her daughters to artmaking. See *Colours of Impressionism,* 189.

student of Jean-Auguste-Dominique Ingres, and later learned how to paint landscapes on location from Camille Corot.[42] Eventually, Morisot would go on to make painting her profession and take her place among the day's most innovative artists. She, along with Edgar Degas, Claude Monet, Camille Pissarro, Pierre-Auguste Renoir, and Alfred Sisley, constituted the core of the Impressionist group.[43] Of the four women associated with Impressionism, Morisot was the only woman to participate in the movement from the beginning. Of the eight exhibitions, Morisot showed work in seven of them.[44] She also contributed to the movement financially and hosted artist meetings, or *salons*, in her home.[45] Julie's father, Eugène Manet, painted as well, but his reputation as an artist tended to be outshone by that of both his wife and his brother, the famed painter Édouard Manet.[46]

Painting was a regular family activity for the Manets. According to artist and independent scholar Bill Scott, Morisot and her husband painted together from the time they married in 1874 until he became ill in 1891.[47] In her diary, Julie recalls how her father and mother interacted together while painting, saying, "My father was very interested in my mother's painting, and he

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[42] *Colours of Impressionism,* 189; Higonnet, *Berthe Morisot,* 19.

[43] Higonnet, *Berthe Morisot,* 94.

[44] Sylvie Patry, "Berthe Morisot: 'Stimulating Ambiguities,'" in *Berthe Morisot: Woman Impressionist*, ed. Sylvie Patry (The Barnes Foundation, Dallas Museum of Art, Musée National des Beaux-Arts du Québec, 2018), 18.

[45] Jordi Vigué, *Great Women Masters of Art* (New York: Watson-Guptill Publications, 2002) 233; Kathleen Adler and Tamar Garb, *Berthe Morisot* (Ithica: Cornell University Press, 1987), 37-38; Manet, *Growing Up With the Impressionists,* 6.

[46] Higonnet, *Berthe Morisot,* 115.

[47] Bill Scott, "A Painter's Painter," in *Berthe Morisot: Woman Impressionist*, ed. Sylvie Patry (New York: Rizzoli Electa, 2018), 158.

often worked with her, advising her to paint in a light and hazy way."[48] Julie as a young girl was a favorite subject for both Berthe and Eugène. A study from Eugène Manet's sketchbook entitled *Berthe Morisot and Her Daughter Julie* (fig. 2) depicts a four-year-old Julie nestled up against her mother. Morisot's hand rests on her daughter's shoulder. In this sketch, Eugène presents an image in which mother and daughter have merged into one figure.

Paintings of fathers engaging with their daughters in the earliest stages of their lives are few and far between in the history of art. Morisot's *Eugène Manet et Sa Fille dans le Jardin de Bougival ou À la Campagne* (fig. 3) serves as an excellent example of such a painting. According to art historian Margaret Shennan, Morisot's painting of her husband and daughter typifies nineteenth-century father-child relationships. Julie plays a game on her father's knee, utterly enchanted by the pieces. Her father watches his daughter playing but remains aloof and tucks his hands away into the safety of his coat pockets. The game may be physically resting on his lap, but he refrains from picking up any of the pieces and playing *with* the little girl. Eugène's physical detachment in this scene mirrors the emotional detachment typical of fathers in this culture. Society at this time traditionally expected the mother to provide affectionate touch and emotional investment in her children, while the father's role was to contribute financially.

This distinction in parental roles leads to another distinction in terms of the kinds of bonds formed between mother and child as opposed to father and child. In a letter, Julie expressed this distinction in parental connection when she wrote, "I lost my father at thirteen, my mother at sixteen. I often reproached myself for not showing them enough affection, especially

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[48] D'Arnoult, "Julie the Painter," 161.

my father whom I loved very much but who intimidated me."[49] In describing her father as an intimidating presence, Julie makes it clear that she was more comfortable with her mother than her father. She may have loved him in a respectful kind of way, but they were not confidants. I argue that the stronger attachment driven by affection between mother and daughter made the loss of Morisot more difficult, the grief more acute, and the recovery more intense for Julie. Scholar Paul Rosenblatt confirms this supposition regarding the intensity of grief over the loss of Julie's mother when he discusses the correlation between the closeness of a relationship and the intensity and duration of the grieving process in his book, *Bitter Bitter Tears*, which analyzes manifestations of grief in nineteenth-century diaries. He writes, "Data indicate[s] overwhelmingly that closeness of relationship, as implied by the theory of grief work…is associated with greater grief of death…One of the costs of a close relationship is its potential for relatively great and long-term grief."[50]

The practice of painting as a family unit instilled in Julie a habit that would shape her and stay with her for life.[51] The importance of making art during her childhood sheds light on why she would turn to painting in her grief after becoming an orphan. Making art was a source of connection to both of her parents. The practice of painting also rekindled childhood memories for Julie. I argue that reliving these memories through painting was a source of comfort for Julie because it harkened back to a time when her family was still whole. Painting, then, was a

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[49] D'Arnoult, "Julie the Painter," 159.

[50] Paul Rosenblatt, *Bitter, Bitter Tears: Nineteenth-Century Diarists and Twentieth-Century Grief Theories* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1983), 89.

[51] After her marriage to Ernst Rouart, Julie continued the tradition of painting in the family setting. Painting, for this couple, was a way to spend time together and it was something they did together regularly. See Ernest Rouart's *Julie Manet Painting* (1905).

response to loss that not only generated a sense of connection to the lost loved ones but also engendered a sense of nostalgia for a particular past, the past of blissful childhood yet to be touched by death and grief.

In addition to growing up amongst artist parents, Julie also formed friendships with her parents' artistic friends. Because of her mother's involvement with the Impressionist group, Julie was privy to the goings-on of the Impressionist's inner circle. Indeed, Morisot considered the painter Pierre-Auguste Renoir and the poet Stéphane Mallarmé to be two of her dearest friends.[52] Morisot trusted Mallarmé to the extent that she appointed him as co-guardian over Julie upon her death.[53] Claude Monet was also a close friend of the Manets, as was Alfred Sisley and his family.[54] Due to the social conventions of the time, society considered it inappropriate for a woman of Morisot's class to frequent risqué establishments like cafés. This was problematic because male artists would congregate in these spaces and discuss their art.[55] In an effort to maintain propriety and still be an active member of the Impressionist group, Morisot opened up her own home as a space for artistic dialogue.[56] Beginning in 1885, Morisot hosted weekly Thursday meetings, or *salons*, attended by the members of the Impressionist group as well as

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[52] Vigué, *Great Women Masters,* 233.

[53] Marianne Mathieu, "The Flying Squadron:1895-1899," in *Julie Manet: An Impressionist Heritage*, ed. Marianne Mathieu (Paris: Musée Marmottan Monet, 2021), 47.

[54] Higonnet, *Berthe Morisot,* 214.

[55] *Women Artists in Paris*, 48.

[56] The tradition of women hosting salons dates back to eighteenth-century France. For more information, see Dena Goodman, "Enlightenment Salons: The Convergence of Female and Philosophic Ambitions," Eighteenth-Century Studies 22, no. 3 (1989): 329–50, https://doi.org/10.2307/2738891.

other artists and writers.[57] When these gatherings took place, instead of whisking her child out of sight into a remote part of the house, Morisot allowed Julie to participate. This inclusivity on her mother's part gave Julie the privilege of listening in on the conversations of some of France's greatest creative minds—conversations which a child would never have been in proximity to hear if they had taken place in a café.[58] Julie recalls these gatherings from her childhood in a diary entry from December of 1896. She writes, "It was lovely to see our witty painter [Renoir] and our charming poet [Mallarmé] chatting together as they had done so frequently on those Thursday evenings at home, in the lofty pink salon, where my parents, surrounded by their works, entertained their wonderful friends." The image Julie describes here is not one of stuffy intellectuals but of lighthearted camaraderie. The date of the entry carries import as well. Written in the year following her mother's passing, this entry demostrates how Julie reflected on memories of her parents and committed those memories to paper. I assert that Julie's copies of her mother's work serve a similar purpose to these diary entries in preserving her mother's memory, a point which I will expound upon in the coming pages.

In addition to engaging with these artists in the setting of her own home, Julie also spent time with the Impressionists in their studios. In the fall of 1893, Morisot and Julie visited the Monets at Giverny. Monet gave them a tour of his house, gardens, and studio, where she and her mother saw his now-famous *Cathedral* series in progress.[59] Julie would have been five years old at the time. She also spent much time in Renoir's studio. Renoir adored Julie as a model, painting

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[57] Vigué, *Great Women Masters,* 233. Other notable figures present at these weekly salons include Degas, Caillbotte, Renoir, Puvis de Chavannes, and Whistler.

[58] Manet, *Growing Up With the Impressionists*, 6; Vigué, *Great Women Masters,* 108.

[59] Higonnet, *Berthe Morisot,* 214; Manet, *Growing Up With the Impressionists*, 37.

more than half a dozen portraits of her, most notably *Julie Manet with a Cat* (fig. 4). Morisot and Julie would both copy this painting; Morisot in drypoint and Julie with pencil and tracing paper (figs. 5 and 6). Presumably, Julie's image is a copy of her mother's copy since the images are inverses of each other. Renoir's portrait also emerges as a partial motif in one of Julie's sketchbooks (fig. 7) and in Julie's painting, *The Piano Duo* (fig. 29).

When she was a bit older, Julie recalls visiting Renoir's studio with her cousin and fellow artist, Paule Gobillard. In a diary entry from 1897, she writes, "Paule took me into Paris today by carriage to see Monsieur Renoir at his studio. He is working on some ravishing studies of a guitar.... The whole effect is colorful, mellow, delicious. Monsieur Renoir is always so charming and affectionate, as a woman just could never be."[60] This excerpt not only demonstrates Julie's sense for a painting's mood, but it also expresses a certain level of ease in comparing Renoir to a vivacious woman. Describing him in this playful manner suggests that their relationship was a comfortable one. Spending time with Renoir and the other Impressionists in the studio setting enabled Julie to know them on a deeper level than the average person. Take for example this excerpt from Julie's diary:

> I went for a walk alone with Monsieur Renoir, from Essoyes to Verpillière, and back. Today, the grey of autumn, on a blue background with lilac and grey trees, everything mellow, like something by Corot or Renoir.... Coming back up the main road...Monsieur Renoir added: "If you were never ill, you wouldn't enjoy good health; if it didn't rain, you wouldn't enjoy fine weather.... When I was young, I used to go to Fontainebleau with Sisley with just my paintbox and my shirt until we found a village, and sometimes only came back a week later when we had run out of money."[61]

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[60] Manet, *Growing Up With the Impressionists*, 110.

[61] Manet, *Growing Up With the Impressionists*, 116-117.

In this quote, not only does Renoir impart a piece of life advice to Julie, but he also shares a memory from his early career as a painter. This anecdote sheds light on the carefree attitude of Renoir as a young artist as well as his camaraderie with another Impressionist. Thanks to Julie and her journal, we have access to this glimpse into the Impressionist's personal life. Julie was gifted with a unique perspective on Impressionism. She watched history unfold through conversations and studio sessions. What she saw as a child would shape her as a person and influence her perspective of the world. It would influence how she approached life, that is life lived through a creative lens.

A MOTHER'S EXAMPLE

A significant portion of Morisot's oeuvre consists of paintings which feature Julie as the model. According to art historian Dominique D'Arnoult, Berthe painted more than three-quarters of her paintings after the birth of her daughter.[62] That percentage represents a significant portion of time spent together as mother and daughter. I postulate that one way Julie learned about painting was by watching her mother paint as she modeled for painting after painting. We can only speculate as to what they might have talked about while they spent time together in this way, but the technical aspects of painting must have come up at some point during their many hours together. It was not uncommon at this time for women to learn about art through modeling. Suzanne Valadon (1865-1938) began her career as a model and then went on to become a painter in her own right. While living in Paris during the 1880s, she regularly modeled for artists such as

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[62] Regarding the quantity of Morisot's oil paintings, the total of which numbered "four hundred and twenty-three, of which three hundred and twenty-eight were painted after Julie's birth in 1878. Among them, about ninety were devoted to her, which is to say more than a quarter. The same proportion is found in the corpus of the retrospective exhibition in 1896, about one hundred and ten items, of which thirty-one depict Julie to varying degrees." D'Arnoult, "Julie Manet Model," 188.

Pierre Puvis de Chavannes, Pierre-Auguste Renoir, Luigi Zandomeneghi, Théophile Steinlein, Jean-Louis Forain, Giuseppe De Nittis, and Jean-Jacques Henner.[63] She learned to paint through hours of observing male artists paint. In 1896, she began her own practice, painting full-time.[64] Julie differed from Valadon in that she was modeling in a completely different context and stage of her life. She learned to paint from a woman, and because that woman was her mother, she avoided the negative stigma models incurred because many of them were lower-class women who also frequently engaged in sex work to make ends meet.[65]

The proportions of Morisot's oeuvre pre- and post-Julie's birth also indicate that motherhood, rather than an inhibitor to creativity was a remarkable source of generation for Morisot. Art historian Anne Higonnet contends that after the birth of her daughter, Morisot saw the world afresh through the eyes of her child.[66] She altered her working schedule so that it aligned with her child's routine. She also resurrected the practice from her own childhood of keeping a pocket-sized notebook on her person wherever she went so that she could sketch should a free moment arise.[67] Higonnet suggests that in preparing to teach her child the basics of art, she herself experienced a renaissance in her drawing practice.[68] I contend that Morisot's habit

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[63] Colette Giraudon, "Valadon, Suzanne,"Grove Art Online*,* 2003, https://www-oxfordartonline-com.ezproxy.tcu.edu/groveart/view/10.1093/gao/9781884446054.001.0001/oao-9781884446054-e-7000087579.

[64] Ibid.

[65] Marni Reva Kessler, "Unmasking Manet's Morisot, or Veiling Subjectivity," In Sheer Presence: The Veil in Manet's Paris, 62–93 (University of Minnesota Press, 2006), http://www.jstor.org/stable/10.5749/j.ctttt98m.7, 64.

[66] Higonnet, *Berthe Morisot,* 192.

[67] Ibid., 192.

[68] Ibid., 192.

of perpetually carrying a notepad set a precedent for Julie who went on to keep sketchbooks throughout her life.

Morisot accompanied Julie and her nurse, Angèle, on their daily walks. Morisot frequently found inspiration on these outdoor excursions.[69] But these outdoor walks did not merely serve as an excuse to get fresh air and exercise. Morisot utilized the time to teach Julie to observe her surroundings like an artist.[70] In one of her notebooks, Morisot records Julie recognizing color for the first time on one of these walks, writing that "she sees pink in the light, violet in the shadows."[71] From this same notebook, we also know that as early as age six, Morisot and Julie discussed history, art history, astronomy, morality, and analytical seeing on these educational strolls.[72] These entries demonstrate that Morisot was actively involved in both her daughter's intellectual and artistic development from an early age.

As soon as Julie was old enough to hold a pencil, Morisot began drawing lessons with her daughter. Morisot's portraits of her daughter serve as evidence of her involvement in Julie's artistic education. Morisot's pastel portrait, *Julie Écrivant* (fig. 8), shows a four-year-old Julie intently looking down at her paper, pencil in hand. In this picture, Morisot depicts Julie as a young learner engaged in the activity of writing. According to Higonnet, Morisot utilized painting as a pedagogical tool and the two frequently worked at the easel side by side.[73]

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[69] Shennan, *Berthe Morisot,* 196.

[70] Manet, *Growing Up With the Impressionists*, 7.

[71] Higonnet, *Berthe Morisot,* 192. It is also worth noting the colors that Berthe records Julie seeing: pink and purple. These colors are specifically linked to the Impressionist color palette. A realist like Courbet would not have seen pink in the shadows.

[72] Ibid., 191.

[73] Ibid., 190.

Morisot's *The Drawing Lesson* (fig. 9) is an excellent example of the teacher-student relationship that Morisot and Julie shared. In the etching, Morisot shows herself drawing a subject to the left, sketchbook in hand, while Julie perches over her shoulder to see how her mother goes about the drawing. The heads of mother and daughter touch. Morisot reserved this physical closeness for Julie. The average person would not have been granted such proximity to Morisot in the capacity of teacher. But as her daughter, Julie had special access to her mother's presence.

Mother and daughter continued the practice of working side by side as Julie got older. Scholar Jane Roberts writes in her introduction to Julie Manet's diary that after Eugène's death in April of 1892, the two became even closer as they were each other's primary companions.[74] In 1893, Morisot and Julie, accompanied by Julie's cousins Jeannie and Paule Gobillard, went on a sketching holiday to La Roche Plate where they all painted together as a female family unit.[75] Morisot's and Julie's *Sail on a River* (figs. 10 and 11) illustrate a river scene that they painted side by side on this trip. Even though they were looking at the same view, they each produced their own rendition of what they saw. In her diary, Julie recalls one such excursion, saying, "This morning we went to paint watercolors of the Cassepot rocks and I was able to use red lead to show the burnt trees."[76] In this quote, Julie articulates the techniques she learned by practicing alongside her mother.

An important facet of Julie's education was keeping a diary. The practice of daily expressing one's thoughts and activities in the private context of a journal was a standard

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[74] Manet, *Growing Up With the Impressionists*, 9 (Roberts' Introduction).

[75] Higonnet, *Berthe Morisot,* 216.

[76] Manet, *Growing Up With the Impressionists*, 29.

educational tool for young women in late nineteenth-century France.[77] It was a practice that was passed down from female relative to female relative. Julie's mother, her aunts, and her female friends all kept diaries.[78] On the subject of teaching written expression, Morisot wrote to Edma that she believed it was essential that children learn to express themselves eloquently from an early age.[79] Written proficiency, like visual proficiency, was something that she believed could only be achieved through daily practice. Julie began her official diary, the one that has since been published, on the eve of her fourteenth birthday.[80] She consistently wrote until December of 1899 —two weeks before her marriage.[81] Young ladies typically ceased writing after marrying.[82] An interesting distinction arises from this detail. Although Julie gave up journal writing when she became a wife, keeping a sketchbook was a practice she continued uninterrupted her entire life.[83] Two pages from a sketchbook dated 1936 contain small studies that Julie made of her mother's paintings in colored pencil (figs. 12 and 13). Morisot died in 1895 which means Julie was forty-two years of age at the time that she made this study. By then, she had had three children and was in the prime of her life, yet she continued to study her mother's work in her sketchbook nearly thirty years later. The date signifies the cultivation of a life-long habit. Her mother's instruction,

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[77] Claire Gooden, "The Diary of Julie Manet: From Educative Principle to Self-Assertion," in *Julie Manet: An Impressionist Heritage*, ed. Marianne Mathieu (Paris: Musée Marmottan Monet, 2021), 144.

[78] Ibid., 145.

[79] Higonnet, *Berthe Morisot,* 191.

[80] Gooden, "The Diary of Julie Manet," 145.

[81] Ibid., 145.

[82] Ibid., 145.

[83] Julie did not give up journal writing entirely post-marriage. Rather, the style and subject shifted. Instead of composing day-to-day records of her life, she switched to journaling about her spirituality as she became increasingly invested in the Catholic faith. Manet, *Growing Up With the Impressionists*, 198.

though it was to be cut short, was a continuing influence throughout Julie's life. Although Julie may not have gone on to become a professional artist like her mother, she still activated artistic legacy in the capacity of remembrance. Julie lived like an artist, for she cultivated time in her life for intentional looking. Artistic practice is founded on this habit. Artists are not artists without it.

MAINTAINING COMPOSURE: A LADY'S GRIEF

According to Julie's diary, Morisot was in a great deal of pain during her last days.[84] The faculty of speech failed her at the end. Morisot did not wish for Julie's last memory of her to be of her in pain, so she was kept from her mother's deathbed. Instead, Morisot wrote her last words to her daughter in a letter:

> My dearest little Julie, I love you as I die; I shall still love you when I am dead; I beg of you, do not cry; this parting was inevitable.…Work hard and be good as you have always been. You have not caused me any great chagrin in your young life. You have beauty, money; make good use of them. I think the best thing would be for you to live with your cousins in the rue de Villejust, but I do not wish to force you in any way…Do not cry; I love you more than I can tell you.[85]

Twice in this final letter to her daughter, Morisot exhorts Julie not to cry. This directive signifies Morisot's wish for her daughter not to enact the female tendency to succumb to emotion. According to scholar Margaret Shennan, Morisot disapproved of women who exhibited public displays of feeling.[86] Once, in a letter to her sister, she advised "No silliness, no sentimentality, no pretentiousness" concerning her niece's education.[87] That same philosophy of sensibility over sentimentality characterizes her parting words to her daughter. Julie did as her mother asked and

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[84] Manet, *Growing Up With the Impressionists*, 54.

[85] Ibid., 56.

[86] Shennan, *Berthe Morisot,* 218.

[87] Ibid., 218.

worked harder than ever.[88] I argue that in turning to artmaking as a productive activity, Julie carried out her mother's final wish in working diligently even amidst grief.

In the weeks after this dreadful event, Julie wrote, "Oh what sorrow! Since I last wrote in my diary, I lost Maman...I cannot even describe my grief, the depth of my sadness. In the space of three years, both my parents have left me and now I am an orphan."[89] An orphan at sixteen, Julie found herself at an age when she was on the cusp of adulthood and was still trying to discover her identity. Julie was on the threshold of life as a full-fledged member of society, a place of both possibility and vulnerability. Her primary role model, the woman after whom she had been fashioning herself, was no longer present in flesh and blood. However, the remnants of her mother's life remained tangible in the form of her artwork. In the years that followed, Julie would return again and again to study her mother's art. Far from the end of Julie's engagement with art, her mother's death marked the beginning of a lifetime of study.

In the wake of Morisot's death, Julie turned to art to help her process this monumental loss.[90] In her journal, she wrote, "The only distraction from grief is the one that brings your thought close to that grief: work, for me painting."[91] Her training regimen became more intense: "I regularly work four to five hours on painting, about two hours of playing the violin, and then

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[88] D'arnoult, "Julie The Painter," 173.

[89] Manet, *Growing Up With the Impressionists*, 55.

[90] D'Arnoult, "Julie The Painter," 159. Sigmund Freud links grief and work in his seminal text "Mourning and Melancholia," saying, "In what, now, does the work which mourning performs consist?…Reality-testing has shown that the loved object no longer exists…Nevertheless its orders cannot be obeyed at once. They are carried out bit by bit, at great expense of time and cathectic energy, and in the meanitime the existence of the lost object is psychically prolonged…" For the full text, see Sigmund Freud, *The Standard Edition of the Complete Psychological Works of Sigmund Freud* (London: Hogarth Press, 1953), 243-258.

[91] D'Arnoult, "Julie The Painter," 173.

in the evening I write and read."[92] Julie dedicated the largest portion of her day to learning to paint; other subjects like music and literature were secondary. The increased intensity with which Julie pursued her education can be linked to a change in motivation for her making art, namely grief.

One painting that came out of this period of fervent study is Julie's *Le Cerisier* (fig. 14). It depicts a young woman in an orchard on a ladder. A basket hangs from one arm, and she picks fruit with the other. Scholars have described this painting as an homage to her mother's painting by the same title from the year 1891 (fig. 15).[93] Critics often disparage the fact that Julie's painting was so derivative of her mother's style and subject. I argue that, at this time, it was not her intent to make original work but instead to honor her mother's legacy. In comparing Julie's *Le Cerisier* to Berthe's, a significant difference emerges: the absence of the second figure. In Berthe's painting, the girl on the ladder was Julie and the girl on the ground was modeled by Julie's cousin, Jeannie Gobillard. I think the decision to omit Jeannie and paint only herself speaks to Julie's state of solitude at the time. Having lost both of her parents, she likely felt isolated in her grief. Her grief was singular. Even though supportive relatives and friends surrounded her, her loss was something she had to feel for herself, alone. Another difference between the two paintings is that in Julie's version, she chooses to paint herself with a head-covering, a choice which could also reflect her state of grief since head-coverings are often associated with mourning rituals.[94]

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[92] D'Arnoult, "Julie The Painter," 173.

[93] Manet, *Growing Up With the Impressionists*, 84.

[94] Sonia Bedikian, "The Death of Mourning: From Victorian Crepe to the Little Black Dress," Omega, vol. 57, issue 1, (2008): 35-52, doi:10.2190/OM.57.1.c.

In her journal, Julie describes every painting hung at the retrospective exhibition of her mother's work at the Durand Ruel Gallery in 1896.[95] *Le Cerisier* was among them. Julie recalls her mother making this painting, as well as posing for it as she stood on the ladder picking cherries. At one point, before her death, Morisot had considered selling the painting. But, as Julie recounts,

> Maman said: 'I did the right thing not to sell it. I worked on it for so long at Mézy, during your father's last year; I'll keep it and after my death you will be pleased to have it.' In a month she was dead and it made me feel better to look at this delicious work which now hangs in our salon...every day I contemplate it and repeat to myself that phrase. Ah! When Maman said that to me how could I possibly think that her death was so imminent, and that I had a mere month more with her to go before her demise?[96]

This painting, then, conjured up for Julie more than just the sunny memory of posing on the ladder and picking fruit during the summer. It also represented a significant moment leading up to the loss of her mother. The memory of her mother commenting on this painting as a future keepsake for her daughter was likely one reason why Julie chose to copy this painting in particular out of all the other possible ones she could have selected.

During this difficult period, Julie continued the practice of diary writing. Claire Gooden, a curator at the Musée Marmottan Monet in Paris, argues that the practice of keeping a diary for Julie served both as a "memory tool" and as a "remedy for solitude."[97] Gooden also suggests that the need to write down what she was feeling was vital to her well-being in the wake of her

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[95] Manet, *Growing Up With the Impressionists*, 85-100.

[96] Ibid., 91-2.

[97] Gooden, "The Diary of Julie Manet," 151.

mother's death.[98] I argue that Julie's studies of her mother's work function in a similar manner to the act of diary-writing. Artmaking functioned as an additional means for processing grief by keeping the visual memory of her mother and her life close. Julie confirms this in one of her journals when she writes, "To live among memories is still the most comforting thing when one is sad."[99] Morisot also reflected on memory in one of her notebooks. She writes, "My memories are within me, imperishable."[100] Memory, then, for Morisot and her daughter was something that resided within, something intertwined with individual identity. Also, in using the word "imperishable," Morisot suggests that memory continues even after a person dies. In copying her mother's paintings, Julie reawakened the memories of her mother held within her by dwelling on material reminders. She activated memory by making it tangible and visible. The physical act of making is important to this discussion. Julie could have chosen to rekindle old memories by looking at photographs from her childhood, but instead, she chose to engage in activities which held great significance to Morisot and which would come to define her life, drawing and painting. In this way, Julie aimed to generate a feeling of closeness to her mother through material means. A familial connection was to be achieved in these studies unattainable elsewhere.

During her life, Morisot, too, looked to painting as a tool to process difficult emotions. For her, painting helped to combat what she described as "my days of melancholy, my black

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[98] Gooden, "The Diary of Julie Manet," 151.

[99] Mathieu, "The Flying Squadron:1895-1899," 48 (see footnote 349); Manet, *Growing Up With the Impressionists*, 198.

[100] Patry, "Stimulating Ambiguities," 44.

days."[101] Scholars have noted that Édouard Manet's passing was particularly difficult for Morisot and that painting helped her get through the loss.[102] In a letter to Edma, Morisot wrote, "The long-standing friendship that united me with Édouard, an entire past of youth and work is suddenly ending, you will understand that I am crushed."[103]

Morisot may have felt the weight of sorrow upon the death of her friend, but she was careful in how she expressed her emotion because of her status as a woman artist. Margaret Shennan has noted that Morisot resented the distinction her society made between men and women artists.[104] Art historian Tamar Garb elaborates on this theme in her essay "Berthe Morisot and the Feminizing of Impressionism," which discusses the nineteenth-century characterization of Impressionism as essentially a feminine style of art.[105] Critics labeled the movement as feminine because of its breathy brushwork and emphasis on the surface—qualities which attested to a woman's "hypersensitivity and nervousness."[106] The fact is that critics conflated Impressionism with impressionability.[107] Even as she disparaged the difference of treatment between male and female artists, Morisot acknowledged society's assertion that women were more attuned to their emotions than men, saying, "The truth is that our value lies in feeling, in intuition, in our vision that is subtler than that of men, and we can accomplish a great deal

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[101] Bill Scott, "A Painter's Painter," in *Berthe Morisot: Woman Impressionist*, ed. Sylvie Patry (The Barnes Foundation, Dallas Museum of Art, Musée National des Beaux-Arts du Québec, 2018), 147.

[102] Shennan, *Berthe Morisot,* 218.

[103] Ibid., 214.

[104] Ibid., 219. See footnote about Morisot copying this passage in her journal.

[105] Garb, "Berthe Morisot and the Feminizing of Impressionism," 192; *Women Artists in Paris*, 11.

[106] Ibid., 193.

[107] *Women Artists in Paris*, 11.

provided that affectation, pedantry and sentimentalism do not come to spoil everything."[108] Morisot's injunction to her daughter on her deathbed for stoicism in the face of grief begins to make sense in this context. Morisot was aware of how her presentation of herself affected her professional reputation and she acted (painted) accordingly. Her call for composure sheds light on the necessary precautions a woman had to take to safeguard her success as an artist in the nineteenth century.

MONET: GRIEF MADE VISUAL

Having examined Julie's artistic childhood, from her first steps to the point after her mother's death when Julie began making paintings on her own, these next two sections put Julie's work into conversation with her contemporaries, beginning with Claude Monet. This section explores Julie's non-conformity to society's expectations of a woman's emotional response to loss. Given the nineteenth-century characterization of women as creatures of emotion, a danger exists in assuming that Julie turned to art to process her grief because she was a woman. I hope to dispel this assumption by comparing Julie's work to an example of a nineteenth-century male artist who used art to help him process his grief: Claude Monet.[109] Bringing Monet into the conversation will demonstrate that the impulse to turn to art to process grief is not gendered, it is simply human. Julie's and Manet's grief paintings are what I call "objects made in the dark." These are objects made for personal processing of loss rather than public displays of artistic talent. While these two artists both turn to art in the wake of loss, each

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[108] Shennan, *Berthe Morisot,* 219.

[109] Adrian Lewis, "Death and Convention: Monet's Depiction of His Wife Camille on Her Deathbed," Gale Academic Online: (2012), https://link-gale-com.ezproxy.tcu.edu/apps/doc/A284449815/AONEu=txshracd2573&sid=googleScholar&xid=8f309ea1.

express that loss in different ways based on their relationship with the loved one and their experience of the loved one's death. These relational distinctions influence the visual manifestations of each artist's grief.

Claude Monet met Camille-Leonie Doncieux as a young artist just beginning his career. They fell in love, and she gave birth to a son, Jean, out of wedlock in 1867.[110] His family disapproved of the match and urged Monet to abandon the woman and child, but he continued to support them. Eventually, they married in 1870, and she bore a second son thereafter. After a long battle with what scholars believe was cervical cancer, Camille died in 1879 at the age of thirty-two.[111] Following his wife's death, Monet painted *Camille Monet on her Deathbed* (fig. 16). The image features a foreshortened Camille, swaddled in funerary garb. Her eyes are closed, and her mouth hangs slightly ajar. Monet's brushwork in this painting possesses an element of ferocity. Like an animal that lashes out when in pain, Monet seems to have attacked the canvas with broad, slash-like strokes.

Monet expressed his grief through the use of color. His palette for this piece was full of somber purples and icy blues which evoke the frigidity of a lifeless body. Nearly forty years after his wife's death, during a visit with friend and former prime minister of France, Georges Clemenceau, Monet reflected on the visual effect that his wife's death had on him. He remarked,

> I found myself staring at the tragic countenance, automatically trying to identify the sequence, the proportion of light and shade in the colors that death had imposed on the immobile face. Shades of blue, yellow, grey. . . Even before the thought occurred to memorize the face that meant so much to me, my first involuntary reflex was to tremble

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[110] James Harris, "Camille On Her Deathbed," Arch Gen Psychiatry 60, no. 1 (2003): 13, https://doi.org/10.1001/archpsyc.60.1.13.

[111] Ibid.

> at the shock of the colors. In spite of myself, my reflexes drew me into the unconscious operation that is the daily order of my life. Pity me, my friend.[112]

As is evident from this statement, color, for Monet, was a signifier of Camille's death. He suggests that the changing pallor of her face haunted him, and he responded the way an artist would by recording what he saw in paint. He expresses here how, in his grieving process, the imprint of color preceded the need to record for memory's sake. It was as if color was the visual manifestation of his emotion, as if he saw his grief in terms of hue.

While *Camille on Her Deathbed* possesses a sense of feverous spontaneity, the reality is that the process of making this painting required planned preparation. To begin, Monet had to move his painting equipment to the bedroom where Camille had died.[113] He also waited to begin painting her until after her body had been washed and prepared for her funeral.[114] A detail that confirms this timeline is the cloth that surrounds Camille's face. Scholar Mary Gedo suggests that the fabric was added after her death to keep her jaw from sagging too much.[115] Because Monet chose to paint directly from life and not memory, this painting represents a literal interaction between the painter and his dead wife's physical body. Realizing that Monet sat down and studied a dead body casts a rather morbid shadow over this painting. Monet visually describes his wife's body in an almost scientific way, exposing the ways in which death altered Camille's skin tones. For Monet, this painting was as much about the optics of color as it was

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[112] Quoted in Harris, "Camille On Her Deathbed."

[113] Mary Gedo, *Monet and His Muse: Camille Monet in the Artist's Life* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2010), 207.

[114] Ibid., 207.

[115] Ibid., 208.

about loss. In the passage referenced above in which Monet reflects on creating this painting, he recounts feeling a tormenting obsession with accurately recording the optical aspects of the scene before him.[116] He describes it as "an involuntary reflex." This phrase serves as an admission that Monet's propensities as an artist came before his feelings as a mourning husband.[117] It also demonstrates that for Monet, painting functioned as a response to situations that inspired intense emotions. In other words, the artistic process served as a method for Monet to process bereavement.

By painting her corpse, Monet memorialized Camille in the state of death. Julie's studies differ from Monet's painting because off their distance from death. Julie chose to remember her mother as she was while she was alive. Part of the reason for this choice may be that Morisot did not allow Julie to enter her room during her dying hour.[118] It is important to note that Julie was barred from her mother's deathbed at Morisot's own behest. She did not want to be her daughter's final image of her to be of her corpse.[119] Thus, Julie had no memory of her mother's last feverish moments. Perhaps because she did not witness the exact moment of her mother's passing, she did not feel the need to contend with bodily death because she did not experience her mother's passing in that way. Her expressions of loss are less concerned with the state of death and more with the absence of the physical presence of the beloved. Her studies of her

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[116] Gedo, *Monet and His Muse*, 206.

[117] Ibid., 208.

[118] Manet, *Growing Up With the Impressionists*, 55.

[119] Ibid., 55.

mother's paintings act as stand-ins for Morisot's body. They help to fill the void created by death in their tangibility as objects.

In Monet's painting, a clear correlation exists between grief and his handling of the subject matter. By contrast, clear visual connections between loss, subject, and style are difficult to ascertain in Julie's work. Considering the nineteenth-century characterization of women as governed by their emotions, we would expect that Julie would be the one more likely to display her grief on the page. Instead, we find that it was Monet who was more overtly emotional in his release of emotion onto the canvas surface. Because Julie produced work in the spirit of copying, it is difficult to identify in it any such expressions of emotion. Her work is controlled and studious. In studies like *The Sewing Lesson* (after Berthe Morisot) (fig. 12), she copied exactly what she saw, i.e. *The Sewing Lesson* (fig. 17). Her work, then, steps outside of the paradigm of female histrionics. In its lack of visual emotion or symbolism, Julie's copies display the most stoicism of the two artists, demonstrating that a woman can indeed feel deeply—the depth of her feeling is demonstrated by her repeated return to her mother and her work—while still maintaining composure.

So far, I have assessed studies made by Julie inspired by her mother's paintings. However, she also made several studies of portraits of her mother painted by her uncle Édouard Manet. One such study was of Manet's *Berthe Morisot Reclining* (figs. 18 and 19). Of the twelve paintings that Manet painted of Morisot, this one was the only one that he gifted directly to her. Scholars believe that it was the last portrait he made of her before her marriage to his brother Eugène.[120] In it, an enigmatic Morisot, dressed in black, gazes directly at the viewer. Crimson

[120] T. J. Edelstein, ed., *Perspectives on Morisot* (New York: Hudson Hills Press, 1990), 49.

wallpaper in the background contributes to the sense of allure present in this painting.[121] It is important to note that in copying this painting, Julie was studying her mother from a time that preceded her own existence. As it was painted by Manet in 1873, the Berthe in this image would have signified the artist before motherhood.

In the sketchbook in which Julie's watercolor of *Berthe Morisot Reclining* is found, the study is undated. However, in her diary, in an entry dated Tuesday, December 3, 1895 (the year of Morisot's death), Julie writes, "I started copying a three-quarter-profile head and shoulders of Maman in black, with a hat and a bouquet of violets on her bodice by Oncle Édouard. Maman bought it at the Duret sale. It's hanging in my bedroom and I can see it from my bed; it's marvelous and magnificently executed."[122] The image to which Julie refers in this passage is *Berthe Morisot au Bouquet de Violettes* (fig. 20). This passage is significant for several reasons. First, it confirms that Julie made studies of her mother directly following her death. Secondly, it demonstrates her wish to keep her mother's presence close through visual imagery both because she had Manet's painting hanging in her bedroom and because she took it upon herself to copy the image with her own hand. The fact that Julie kept her mother's portrait in her room is an interesting detail to note because Monet did the same thing when he kept *Camille on Her Deathbed* in his chamber.[123] Both artists kept images of their lost loved ones in their personal spaces where they could view them daily which suggests a connection between portraiture, memory, and private spaces to reflect on loss. Thirdly, although this is not the same painting that

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[121] Edelstein, *Perspectives on Morisot,* 49. The portrait was cut down from full length to half length.

[122] Manet, *Growing Up With the Impressionists*, 78.

[123] Gedo, *Monet and His Muse*, 209.

I discuss, the fact that Julie copied it, too, and wrote about it demonstrates repetition. Because the practice of copying her mother's portraits was something she engaged in several times, this repetition suggests that her need for her mother's presence was not satisfied after one study. She studied her mother in different attitudes and in different scenarios to draw out different facets of her mother's being.

An important aspect of these studies that merits notice is the difference in medium. By choosing to work in watercolor as opposed to oil, Julie not only copied but also translated Manet's portrait of her mother from one medium into another. This should not be overlooked. Choosing to work in watercolor underscores the casualness of these studies. They were designed for her own introspection and not for public display. Also, because oil is additive in its use of white, whereas watercolor is subtractive, a sense of delicacy and an intuition for knowing when to stop suggests a refinement of eye and skill on Julie's part. She mimics the texture of Manet's brushstrokes in the directionality of the wallpaper by using a pigment mixture of low water-saturation. At first, this choice seems a little off-putting, as the effect appears streaky in a medium that is fluid by nature. But since Julie's goal was to capture the same flow of line as Manet and not to display her talent in handling the medium, this quality should not be viewed as a demonstration of amateurism. We can also see Julie's color tests in the margins that surround the image, a habit that Berthe herself practiced (fig. 21). Even in her copying, Julie copied her mother's methods.

This practice raises an important point for consideration on the subject of copying, an exercise long used as a form of training for aspiring artists. If Julie were trying to refine her artistic skills by copying the masters, she could have gone to the Louvre, as her mother did

before her, and learned from history's finest artists.[124] Yet, she chose to copy Manet, who was both a renowned contemporary artist and a family member, and she chose to copy his images of her mother. If she was not intent on professionalizing her practice and following the prescribed methods of art education, what did Julie stand to gain from spending time creating these studies? In short, what was her purpose in making them? Manet made a dozen portraits of Morisot, more than any other model he painted.[125] Having painted Morisot so many times and come to know her as a person, there had to be some glimmer of spirit that a photograph could not capture, an ethereal aspect of Morisot's identity as an artist that only a painter who knew her well could articulate. This theory is especially likely given that modeling for a painting required sitting before the artist's gaze for prolonged periods of time. The photograph, though not yet instant, required only a few minutes of time for the film to develop. I suggest that upon looking at Manet's paintings of her mother, that moment of human-to-human interaction was awakened in Julie's imagination, stimulating her own memories of her mother. But it is important to note again that she was not content merely to look at Manet's portraits. She turned to the private pages of her sketchbook and traced over her mother's creatioins with her own hand. Copying these paintings brought the past forward into the present. In effect, Julie re-animated the past during the act of making. In this case, the motivation for making is just as significant as the product.

In comparison to Monet, Julie's loss was highly distinctive because Morisot occupied the roles of mother and artist-teacher. In the records of art history, most female artists became artists

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[124] Higonnet, *Berthe Morisot,* 17-8. Note: Julie did go to the Louvre to copy from the master's with Renoir after her mother's death. The fact that she did study in this traditional capacity in addition to copying family members' work suggests that there was something that she was searching for not to be found at the Louvre. See Manet, *Growing Up With the Impressionists*, 124,125,152.

[125] Kessler, "Unmasking Manet's Morisot," 64.

because they were trained by their fathers. Julie was one of very few women who had an artist mother.[126] Therefore, her studies of her mother's work post-death are singular in that way. The act of commemorating Morisot through the medium of paint takes on special significance because she was an artist and painting was her profession. Monet's painting, though it may have captured Camille's likeness and was a tribute to her life, could never achieve the same level of meaning because Camille was not a painter.

Furthermore, Julie's studies manifest an element of tactility specific to her loss. Morisot was Julie's mother, and there is a special bond through touch between a mother and her child. Morisot was dead, but Julie's repetition in making studies of her suggests that her need for the singular physical connection of a mother continued. The tactility of mother-child touch is mimicked in making studies of her mother and metaphorically touching her mother's person with the tip of the brush. Margaret Shennan has argued that Morisot's dislike of affectation resulted in a corresponding lack of physical interaction between figures in her paintings.[127] Regarding the letter to Edma in the "Maintaining Composure" section of this paper, Morisot confirmed her disapproval of exaggerated sentimentality, so it follows that she would also avoid indulging in a profusion of affectionate touch. Perhaps painting functioned for Morisot as an alternative form of physical affection. It has the capacity to communicate the feeling of touch without putting on a vain performance. In taking up the physical activity with which her mother so often employed herself during her life, Julie re-kindled a feeling of kinship between herself and her deceased mother.

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[126] According to Jeffrey Meyers, this idea originated with Linda Nochlin, see Jeffrey Meyers, *Impressionist Quartet: The Intimate Genius of Manet and Morisot, Degas and Cassatt* (Orlando: Harcourt, 2005), 105.

[127] Shennan, *Berthe Morisot,* 219.

The nineteenth-century binary of men as rational and women as emotional could explain why Monet would choose not to display his work of Camille. It was kept in his bedroom at Giverny and displayed to the public for the first time in 1963.[128] He never signed it either, which also suggests an intent for personal viewing rather than public display. Granted, at the time of his wife's death, Monet was well established in his career and so would not have needed to display *Camille on her Deathbed*. However, the fact remains that for a man to have openly displayed such emotion would have been looked down upon as descending into the domain of the female. Julie quietly challenged this binary in the pages of her sketchbook. She contained her grief in terms of its visual appearance and its location in the private space of a notebook. Even the physical space of the sketchbook page has a feeling of confinement, as it allowed for drawings only a couple of inches wide. By contrast, Monet chose to work on an extra-large canvas for this portrait, one measuring ninety by sixty-eight inches.[129] By way of comparison, Monet's *Bridge Over a Pond of Water Lilies* (fig. 22), only measures thirty-six by twenty-nine inches. Within the tradition of fine art, scale is typically associated with importance. The size of this painting then speaks to the significance that Camille held in Monet's life as well as the monumental feelings that the death of Camille inspired within him. Furthermore, the extra-large dimensions of *Camille on Her Deathbed* allowed Monet's grief the space it needed to explode upon the canvas. The fact that Julie chose the sketchbook as the locus of her studies demonstrates a level of self-possession. Her grief, though great, was satisfied in small spaces. In containing her grief to the

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[128] Lewis, "Death and Convention."

[129] Gedo, *Monet and His Muse*, 207.

sketchbook, Julie demonstrated that women can process emotion without falling into a state of uncontrollable and irrational frenzy.

Concerning the reception of these two artists' work today, Monet's painting has been taken out of the dark and put on display. Critics now praise it as one of the most powerful and tragic paintings of his wife.[130] Julie's work may appear less substantial because of its contained style and size, but it was made in the same spirit of loss as Monet's painting. Yet Julie's studies have not received the same level of regard as Monet's work. Her sketchbooks remain holed up in the annals of the archive. Her objects of grief have, for the most part, stayed in the dark.

BASHKIRTSEFF: AMBITIOUS PROFESSIONAL

At the heart of Julie's studies of her mother is memory. Making that memory tangible helped Julie as she worked through her grief, but also served to continue her mother's artistic legacy. The goal of this section is to demonstrate that Julie's choice to remain an amateur artist does not negate her contribution to the arts. In juxtaposing her with a woman who did pursue professionalism in the arts, Marie Bashkirtseff, I will draw out the distinction between their motivations in life and the different kinds of legacies these women artists invested in.

Although Marie Bashkirtseff only lived to be twenty-five, she forged her place in history. Originally from the Ukraine, Bashkirtseff emigrated to France with her mother to live and study after her parents separated in 1860.[131] Bashkirtseff came from a noble family, and as such, had the resources to become a well-educated woman.[132] She spoke Russian, Italian, German, French

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[130] *Monet*, ed. Arnaldo Mondadori (Milan: Chartwell Books, 1992), 132.

[131] *Women Artists in Paris*, 241.

[132] Ibid., 241.

and English.[133] She read extensively and kept a diary which was published in 1887 after her death from tuberculosis.[134] Early on in her life, Bashkirtseff determined that she would make a name for herself. Initially, she believed her path to fame would be achieved through her gift as a singer. In 1875, at the age of seventeen she wrote, "I announced that I am going to study singing and become an actress. And I will do it if God preserves my voice. It is the only way to acquire the fame I thirst for, for which I would gladly give ten years of my life without hesitation. I cannot grow moldy, I need noise, renown, and glory! And I shall have them."[135] Here, this young woman expresses a need for stimulation and recognition. However, when her voice deteriorated from illness and she could no longer sing, she pivoted to the visual arts as her means to fame.[136] Bashkirtseff enrolled in the Académie Julien in Paris where she studied painting for seven years.[137] She first exhibited in the Salon of 1880 and again in 1881, 1883, and 1884.[138] Even though she lived only into her twenties, Bashkirtseff made over 230 works of art.[139] Had she lived longer, this burgeoning artist likely would have gone on to lead a distinguished career as a professional painter.

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[133] Louly Konz, *Marie Bashkirtseff's Life in Self-Portraits (1858-1884): Woman as Artist in 19th Century France* (Lewiston, New York: E. Mellon Press, 2005) 11.

[134] *Women Artists in Paris*, 241. The earliest published versions of Bashkirtseff's journal were heavily edited by her family to make her seem less radical. Since then, the manuscript as Bashkirtseff originally wrote it has been republished; Manet, *Growing Up With the Impressionists*, 203 (see footnote 80).

[135] Bashkirtseff, *The Journal of Marie Bashkirtseff* (New York: Fonthill Press, 2012), Saturday, December 4, 1875, 35.

[136] Konz, *Marie Bashkirtseff's Life in Self-Portraits*, 107.

[137] *Women Artists in Paris*, 241.

[138] Konz, *Marie Bashkirtseff's Life in Self-Portraits*, 11-2.

[139] K. Kuiper, "Marie Bashkirtseff," Encyclopedia Britannica, 2023, https://www.britannica.com/biography/Marie-Bashkirtseff.

Bashkirtseff, like Julie, kept a diary. She began writing when she was fifteen and continued the practice until she died in 1884. In total, it numbered an astounding 105 volumes.[140] In her journal, Bashkirtseff expresses her desire for fame. She writes, "If I do not die young, I hope to remain as a great artist, but if I die young, I intend to have my journal, which cannot fail to be interesting, published."[141] In this quotation, not only does Bashkirtseff state her intention of making a name for herself in the arts, but she also sheds light on the fact that she saw her journal, her personal thoughts, as a potential source of acclaim. Rather than the private musings of a nameless young woman, Bashkirtseff was considering how she could leverage her diary as a means of securing her public reputation. In expressing her desire for publication, she confirms her willingness to make her interior, exterior. This outlook contrasts with Julie, for whom journal writing, as with making art and keeping sketchbooks, was never done with the intent of creating a name for herself in the public sphere. She opted to let the exterior—her painting and art study—feed into her interior grief, in ways that others could not readily "read." Julie trod the more traditional path of bourgeois femininity by approaching these practices as personal tools of private reflection, a tangible method by which to process her life.

For Bashkirtseff, settling for quiet interiority in the domestic setting was not enough. She wrote: "What's the use of complaining? Tears won't change anything. I'm condemned to be unhappy. What about artistic fame? If I fail, be assured that I'll not live to rot somewhere in domestic virtues…God, I just want to die."[142] This passage suggests that at this point in her life,

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[140] Konz, *Marie Bashkirtseff's Life in Self-Portraits*, 1.

[141] Bashkirtseff, *Journal*, ix.

[142] Ibid., Saturday March 31, 1877, 144.

Bashkirtseff was feeling frustrated by the options society had given her as a woman. She viewed domesticity as a stifling prospect, and she seemed to prefer death to living an unfulfilled life. She elaborates on the theme of death in a passage a few years later, saying, "If I don't win fame quickly enough with my painting, I'll kill myself. I decided this several months ago. I'll kill myself when I'm thirty. I'm speaking very seriously and I'm pleased to accept the inevitable. My mind is at peace. Only don't think I am amusing myself."[143] Marie adds the last two sentences to assure the reader that she is not hysterical. Rather, she has rationally considered her options, and for her, fame seemed to be the only thing worth living for. Why was fame so important to Bashkirtseff? We can only speculate as to the reason, but one possibility could be that fame, for a woman living during this era who had chosen to reject domesticity, would function as the ultimate affirmation that she had not "thrown away" her life for nothing.

Julie read and was familiar with Bashkirtseff's diary. Having been published in 1887, it was well-known at the time and often referred to as a model of quality journaling.[144] Julie confirms Bashkirsteff's craving for success, writing, "What particularly infuriates me about her is that, living at a time when Manet and all the Impressionists were painting, she never mentions them at all. Her need to succeed young and her devouring ambition must be a sign she knew that her life was going to be short."[145] Julie describes Bashkirtseff's dreams as "devouring," as if she saw a young woman consumed by her desire for success and consequently missed out on other

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[143] Bashkirtseff, *Journal*, Friday, January 10, 1879, 202.

[144] Gooden, "The Diary of Julie Manet," 145; Bashkirtseff's diary was read by more than just young girls, it was widely discussed by artists, male and female. Julie records that her mother, father, and Degas had both read Bashkirtseff's writings and each had strong opinions of her. See Manet, *Growing Up With the Impressionists*, 119.

[145] Manet, *Growing Up With the Impressionists*, 113.

things life has to offer. This passage also suggests that Julie knew the significance of the artistic milieu in which she grew up. She refers to Manet as 'Manet' and not 'Oncle Édouard' as she usually does in other entries.[146] The use of this formal address suggests that she knew her uncle made history and she was conferring on him the respect of the last name.

Despite disliking Bashkirtseff's evident need for attention, Julie seemed to believe that she possessed serious imaginative ability. She suggests that Bashkirtseff's desire for success led her to put on airs because of her position in society as a woman. If she had been a man, she would not have needed the big personality. Julie comments,

> I read a few pages of Marie Bashkirtseff's diary this morning, as I didn't have time to finish it on the journey. It's really very interesting to read the diary of an intelligent young woman with an open mind; she is curious, not at all snooty as I had believed from what I had heard others say of her. Underneath it all, she isn't really big-headed, though she does tend to put on airs and graces a bit, and for this she undoubtedly has plenty of imagination. If she repeats over and over again that her painting is so good, it's to persuade herself that it is because she must be aware that she paints badly. She evidently had a natural aptitude for many things, perhaps too many talents, because, if she had been taught well, she would probably have done better.[147]

Julie does not dispute Bashkirtseff's natural ability. Instead, she suggests that Bashkirtseff's problem had more to do with her education. This comment is rather surprising, considering that Bashkirtseff had spent seven years under the tutelage of France's finest instructors at the Académie Julien. The tone that Julie takes here is very authoritative for an eighteen-year-old. She speaks with the aplomb of someone who knows she is cultured. Julie implies that she, by contrast, was taught well by her mother and the other Impressionists. An element of

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[146] See Manet, *Growing Up With the Impressionists*, 37, 51, 78 for references to "Oncle Édouard."

[147] Ibid., 112-3.

protectiveness was probably at work in the passage considering that it was written a little more than six months after her mother's death. Given that her mother had been so instrumental in her education, Julie was probably feeling the value of her upbringing since her mother was no longer there to continue offering her insight.

Both diaries exhibit examples of each woman observing nature and its aesthetic effect on them. After returning to Nice from Paris with her mother, Bashkirtseff wrote, "The sky of Nice thrills me and I feel restored breathing this pure air. The sea is lightly silvered by the sun, veiled under clouds of a soft and warm grey. The greenery is dazzling."[148] Julie also records seeing color in her diary: "I love the sea, sometimes furious, sometimes so calm, sometimes blue, green and sometimes silvery and pink."[149] There is a poetic quality in this passage as Julie observes the effect of light on the sea surface. Both women seem to be moved by the colors of the scenery around them; their artist's eye is at work even in writing. These passages demonstrate that each woman had been trained to see the world as an artist. The difference lies in that one was bent on social approbation through career and the other on social acceptance through domesticity. In other words, their artistry was put to different uses, one transgressive and the other traditional.

On the subject of marriage, Bashkirtseff writes, "What torments me is that I must get married. And fame? And painting? The ideal would be a man who was very busy and very intelligent. I have seen hardly any such men…I wish to dominate."[150] Bashkirtseff points out that too often, as a woman, being an artist and being a wife were two incompatible occupations. She

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[148] Bashkirtseff, *Journal*, December 2, 1876, 138.

[149] Manet, *Growing Up With the Impressionists*, 49.

[150] Bashkirtseff, *Journal*, Friday, March 30, 1883, 356-357.

also draws out the distinction between men and women when came to careers and marriage. She states, "A celebrated man marries. He takes a wife he loves or a housewife, and this completes his settled life—the crowning of the edifice he organizes—*his* house, so to speak—and the wife belongs to him…But I don't want to be that type of woman. It is *I* who am the illustrious one—I am the celebrated man. Then what should I do? Stay free? But that binds me or lowers me in the eyes of society and justifies all the slander."[151] Here, Bashkirtseff compares herself to a man. She notes that for an accomplished man, a woman was simply his crowning jewel. But she did not want to be a diamond, pretty to look at but not good for much else; she wanted to be the one wearing the crown.

Society offered bourgeois women two choices: motherhood or career (and preferably not the latter). Trying to pursue both was believed to be disastrous because it mixed the masculine with the feminine. However, the two choices do not seem to be as polarizing for Julie as they were for Bashkirtseff. The precedent that Morisot established was that a woman could be both a mother and a professional artist. I postulate that Julie does not express scorn for domesticity the way Bashkirstseff does because her mother was careful to encourage Julie's artistic education within the domestic context and she never treated Julie, her child, as something that got in the way of her artistic practice. Morisot found a way to walk in the middle. She incorporated her child into her art, and her experience as a mother informed her artistic practice. When it came to deciding how she would live her life, Julie took the path of domesticity, but she did not view motherhood as a foil to art. She continued to make art after her marriage to Ernest Rouart. And

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[151] Bashkirtseff, *Journal*, Friday, March 30, 1883.

for her, art became a means of both enriching her daily life and preserving the artistic legacy of her family.

In Bashkirtseff's self-portrait *At A Book* (fig. 23), Bashkirtseff lifts her hand above her eyes as if to avert all distractions as she concentrates on her reading. According to scholar Louly Konz, this portrait, like most of Bashkirtseff's self-portraits, solidifies her reputation as a "grande artiste" by showing herself engaged in an intellectual activity.[152] Interestingly, Julie's husband depicted a similar subject in his *Julie Manet Writing* (fig. 24). In this painting, Julie is positioned in the same pose as Bashkirtseff, but in profile instead of forward facing. Julie, too, places her hand above her eyes and looks down determinedly at her papers. Her shadowy figure contrasts with the sunny parlor she occupies which lends a feeling of gravity to the scene. Both this painting and the painting by Bashkirtseff depict the female protagonist in a state of serious study. The main difference between the two is that *Julie Manet Writing* was painted by her husband and not Julie. The fact that this painting is not a self-portrait but one made by her husband underscores the domestic sphere that Julie inhabited.

These two paintings represent two different kinds of legacy: professional and domestic. Bashkirtseff chose not to marry during her brief life and instead devoted her talents to her career.[153] She succeeded in her endeavor and made a name for herself. She established an artistic legacy, but her legacy was self-contained. Julie's domesticity enabled her to devote her energies to something more substantial than herself—her family and its legacy. Julie did not need to make a name for herself. She already had an artistic name: "Manet." She had a family to uphold that

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[152] Konz, *Marie Bashkirtseff's Life in Self-Portraits*, 121.

[153] *Women Artists in Paris*, 242.

went beyond herself. Her mother taught her to paint, and she in turn taught her child to paint, thus passing on artistic tradition from one generation to the next. The kind of legacy that Julie upheld had, at its heart, a different motivation than that of Bashkirtseff's legacy because it existed within the context of family. Julie's artistic practice came from a desire to lead a life well-lived instead of garnering fame. Her art carried her through all of life's ups and downs with the abundance prompted by the artistic perspective. That is not to say Bashkirstseff did not lead a life well-lived, but she did express her deep unhappiness on multiple occasions. Julie, on the other hand, had a role in maintaining a legacy that transcended her individual life. I contend that keeping the torch going (and not just by producing children), though it may not accrue as much applause as making a name for oneself, still holds incredible value.

CONCLUSION: MATERIAL LEGACY

I remarked earlier how Julie has come to be known as the "daughter of Impressionism." To conclude, I want to explore what that title means by examining Julie's life through the lens of legacy and how she was particularly poised to carry this legacy on as a woman. Female artistry has been a central aspect of this discussion. Morisot has stood out in history as a female founding member of the Impressionist group. When Morisot passed her creative insights on to her daughter, the Impressionist heritage passed through the maternal line from one woman to the next. In the context of a society where so much emphasis was put on siring a son to carry on the family name in the aristocracy—even during the *ancien régime*, there was never a firstborn queen who reigned as sovereign in France—"the daughter of Impressionism" as an entity throws a ripple into the stagnant pond of tradition.

In the previous section, I examined studies made by Julie of portraits of her mother painted by Édouard Manet. However, these were not the only paintings of Manet's that Julie copied. She also copied a portrait by Manet of her paternal grandparents, *M. and Mme Auguste Manet* (figs. 25 and 26). I assert that expanding her studies to portraits of her extended relatives demonstrates a consideration on Julie's part of family legacy. One such study (fig. 7) is of Manet's painting *Mme Manet mére in the Garden at Bellevue* (fig. 27) which features Julie's grandmother, Éugenie-Desirée Manet. Julie's grandmother died in January of 1895, just a few months before Morisot. It is difficult to determine how much interaction Julie had with her grandparents, but the fact that she chose to copy her grandmother's portrait in the same way that she did her mother suggests that she was reflecting on concepts of family and heritage. In her journal, Julie remarks, "Now I really am the only descendant of the three Manet brothers; all that's left are one poor young girl and two widows to mourn them."[154] Julie recognized that her family's legacy lay in her hands. The idea of female legacy continues to re-assert itself in that Julie expresses a level of curiosity in copying portraits of her matriarchy. On this page, there is a small sketch in the top right-hand corner which resembles Renoir's portrait *Julie Manet with a Cat* (fig. 4). She sketched only her head, but the collar and the section of hair sweeping over her forehead resemble Renoir's image. To the left and rotated ninety degrees is another sketch, this one the bonneted head of her grandmother. Streaks of watercolor stain the sketches since they float in the margins. Two things seem to be happening on this page. Firstly, Julie reverts back to memories of childhood via the sketch of herself from Renoir's portrait. Secondly, in combining this memory of herself with a memory of her grandmother, she mingles her female ancestor's

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[154] Manet, *Growing Up With the Impressionists*, 51.

identity with her own. It is a visual passing of the torch in which Julie contemplates her role as the successor of this family of artists.

Manet's painting of his mother (fig. 27) emerges again in Julie's painting *Julien Rouart Painting in the Dining Room in the rue de Villejust* (fig. 28).[155] This painting of her son demonstrates how Julie followed in her mother's footsteps by recording her life and the life of her family in paint. This image depicts Julie's firstborn son, Julien, as a rosy-cheeked toddler fingering the tools of the artist.[156] The fact that her child is playing with a paintbrush connects the scene to the concept of artistic heritage. Julie suggests that she has passed on the artist gene to her son. Even though Julie is not literally present in the painting, I would argue that it is still just as much a portrait of her as it is of her son because it functions as a window into her life as a mother and artist.[157] She had fulfilled society's expectation of a woman of her standing by occupying the domestic sphere and taking up the mantle of motherhood. However, the fact that she chose to record this scene through the medium of oil paint solidifies her identity as both mother and artist. She was not only the steward of the family line by delivering an heir, but she was also the steward of her family's material legacy through art.

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[155] This paper is the first to draw a connection between *Mme Manet mére in the Garden at Bellevue* and *Julien Rouart Painting in the Dining Room in the rue de Villejust. Mme Manet mére in the Garden at Bellevue* shows up again in the background of Julie's painting, *The Piano Duo* (fig. 29). To the right hangs Renoir's *Julie Manet with a Cat*. Based on the actual dimensions of the paintings, the proportions of these miniature versions appears accurate. It is highly likely that the painting in question is indeed Édouard Manet's painting.

[156] Julien was the first of three sons. Julie had no daughters which is important to note because it means that what she and her mother shared, the mother-daughter artist-student relationship, was unique. It was not something that could continue to be repeated. There was only one "daughter of Impressionism," Julie herself.

[157] Art historian Angela Rosenthal uses this same line of logic in her article, "Infant Academies and the Childhood of Art: Elisabeth Vigée-LeBrun's *Julie With a Mirror*," in which she makes the case that Elisabeth Vigée-LeBrun's portrait of her daughter, *Julie With a Mirror* (1787), functions as a portrait in absentia of the mother. See Angela Rosenthal, "Infant Academies and the Childhood of Art: Elisabeth Vigée-LeBrun's *Julie With a Mirror,*" Eighteenth-Century Studies 37, no. 4 (2004): pp. 605-628, http://www.jstor.com/stable/25098091.

In discussing Morisot's painting, *Julie Playing the Violin* (fig. 30), Mary-Dailey Desmarais, Chief Curator at the Montreal Museum of Fine Art utilizes a similar logic when she describes it as a "self-portrait in absentia" of Morisot.[158] According to Desmarais, the various elements of the paintings symbolize the different roles Morisot played: model, artist, wife, and mother.[159] In this painting, Morisot frames Julie with two portraits, one of herself, Manet's *Berthe Morisot Reclining* (fig. 19), on the left, and one of her husband, Degas' *Eugène Manet* (fig. 31), on the right. Julie appears to employ a similar compositional tactic in her portrait of her son. By including works by Morisot and Manet in the background, Julie presents the viewer with an artistic lineage. Four generations of this family of artists are present in this single painting: Julie's grandmother via Manet's painting; Manet through his portrait of his mother; presumably Morisot through her unidentified painting on the left; Julie through the act of painting the portrait of her son; and Julien fingering art supplies. Because of these generational presences, *Julien Rouart Painting in the Dining Room in the Rue de Villejus* functions as a visual record of the unique interconnectivity between art and kin in this family.

I began this thesis with an examination of *Julie Manet in the Liberty Hat,* and I characterized it as emblematic of Julie's ambiguous identity. I also drew attention to the painting's unfinished state and said that in the absence of her mother, Julie would have to finish her portrait on her own. *Julien Rouart Painting in the Dining Room in the Rue de Villejust* is Julie Manet's self-portrait brought to completion. The young girl from *The Liberty Hat* has become a woman. Julie was truly her mother's daughter in painting this piece. An echo of

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[158] Montreal Museum of Fine Arts, "Paris in the Days of Post-Impressionism: 'Juliet Manet jouant au Violin' by Berthe Morisot," Filmed 2020, Youtube, 4:17, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=t0USisLIiAk.

[159] Ibid.

Morisot lived on as her child became a mother and was then performing the same practice that she did. The subject matter harkens back to the paintings that her mother made of her childhood, but this time, Julie is not copying; she is creating. Julien as a model is original to her. The style, too, is an expression of something new, something informed by Morisot but different from her. The brushwork is velvety rather than explosive. However, areas of dappled color characteristic of the Impressionists emerge in areas of the painting such as the blue shadow under the breakfast table. These differences in visual language are important because they demonstrate that Julie had become her own woman and artist. She found her own way while still remaining true to her artistic roots.[160]

Through this thesis, I have analyzed the arc of Julie's life from girlhood to womanhood through critical engagement with her mother's paintings, her own paintings, and entries from her diary. Her mother's influence had an undeniable impact on how Julie approached life as well as how she continued a legacy, not just of a family but of women artists and the Impressionist movement. Additionally, by comparing her paintings to the work of her contemporaries, Marie Bashkirtseff and Claude Monet, I have demonstrated how Julie's work both existed within and diverged from nineteenth-century standards of female behavior as related to women in the arts.

A significant aspect of this project involved examining how Julie utilized copying as a memory tool and healing device. Julie has been labeled an amateur because her work was not "original" enough. This assessment is partially merited. In her studies of her mother, she did not seek to invent something new or actively contribute to a particular artistic movement. Nor did she show particularly widely or sell her works, two common hallmarks of "professionalism." She

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[160] Shennan, *Berthe Morisot,* 212.

was simply creating, in the privacy of her sketchbook, for her own sake. It was not her intent to move the masses with canvases that symbolized her grief in a way previously unimagined. Instead, she engaged in artmaking to overcome her grief through meaningful physical activity. It is the impulse behind these studies, more than their visual appearance, that makes them meaningful as art objects. I argue that lack of public significance surrounding Julie's work does not make her studies less-than as art objects. Privacy, smallness, and lack of publicity do not equate to lack of worth. Rather, I advocate a re-evaluation of Julie's paintings to be considered as art objects in their own right. Applied more widely, this reframing of Julie's work may serve to dignify other objects made "in the dark" so to speak—objects made never intended to be seen but as relief from grief.

Having established that Julie's work merits the status that the term "art" confers, I would like to conclude by proposing that the acceptance of the sketchbook page as a legitimate mode of art could take the impetus of Impressionism to its most realized conclusion. The movement was born out of a desire to elude the tired strictures of the Salon. The critic Louis Leroy scorned Monet's *Impression: Sunrise* (fig. 32) as possessing the same level of refinement as a sheet of wallpaper, but that assessment did not discourage them; it fueled their fire.[161] The Impressionists believed the pretense of "finish" to be unnecessary for something to qualify as exhibitable art. If their legacy is truly to be upheld, perhaps we should continue to seek out forgotten objects, objects like Julie's copies that scholars too often dismiss because they appear at first glance small and derivative, when the reality is that they have so much to offer in illuminating the past.

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[161] *Women Artists in Paris*, 11.

FIGURES

Figure 1. Berthe Morisot. *Julie Manet in the Liberty Hat.* 1895. Oil on canvas. Private Collection.

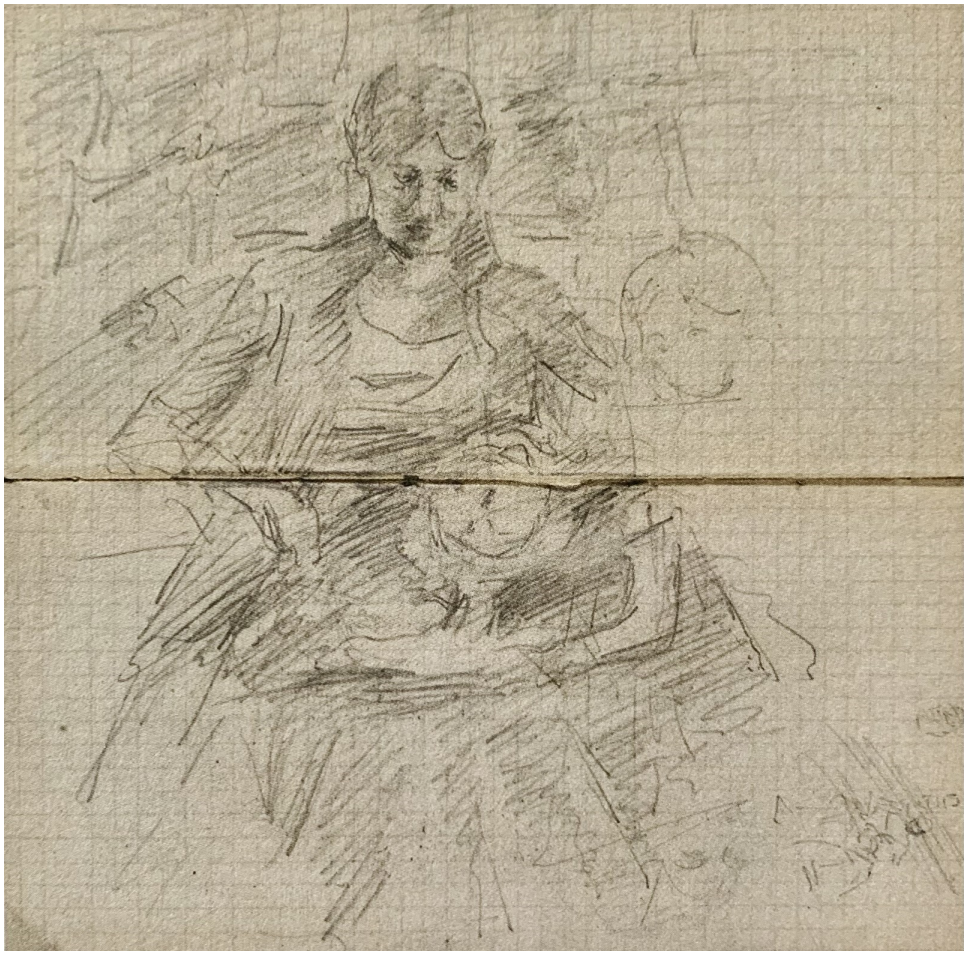

Figure 2. Eugène Manet. *Berthe Morisot and Her Daughter Julie.* c. 1882. Pencil on paper. Musée Marmatton Monet.

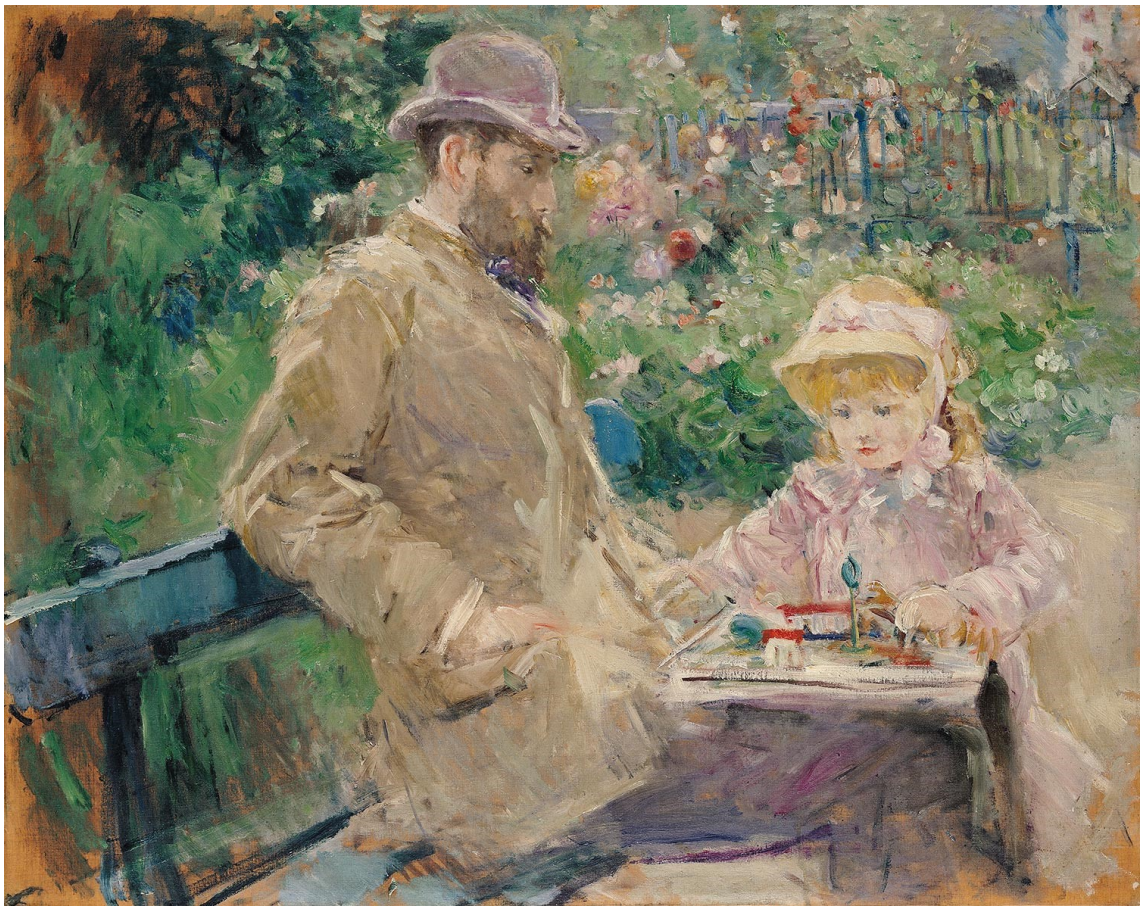

Figure 3. Eugène Manet. *Eugène Manet et Sa Fille dans le Jardin de Bougival ou À la Campgne.* 1881. Oil on canvas. Musée Marmatton Monet.

Figure 4. Pierre-Auguste Renoir. *Julie Manet with a Cat.* 1887. Oil on canvas. Musée d'Orsay.

Figure 5. Berthe Morisot. *Julie Manet with a Cat* (after Pierre-Auguste Renoir). 1889. Drypoint. Musée Marmatton Monet.

Figure 6. Julie Manet. *Julie Manet with a Cat* (after Pierre-Auguste Renoir). n.d. Black pencil on tracing paper. Musée Marmatton Monet.

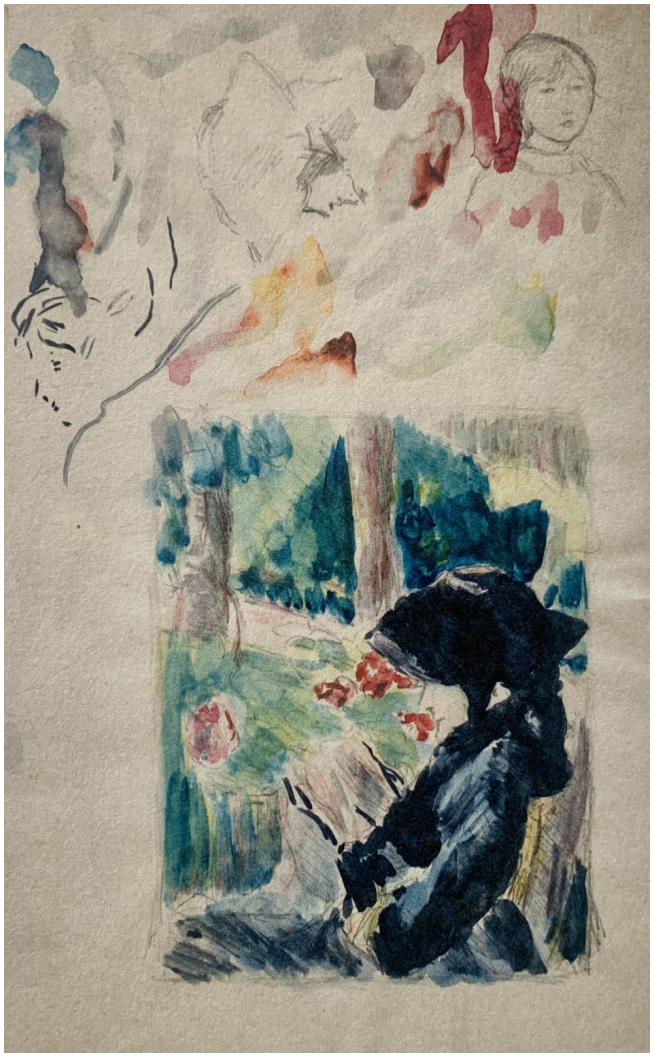

Figure 7. Julie Manet. *Mme Manet Mère in the Garden at Bellevue* (after Édouard Manet). n.d. Watercolor on paper. Musée Marmatton Monet.

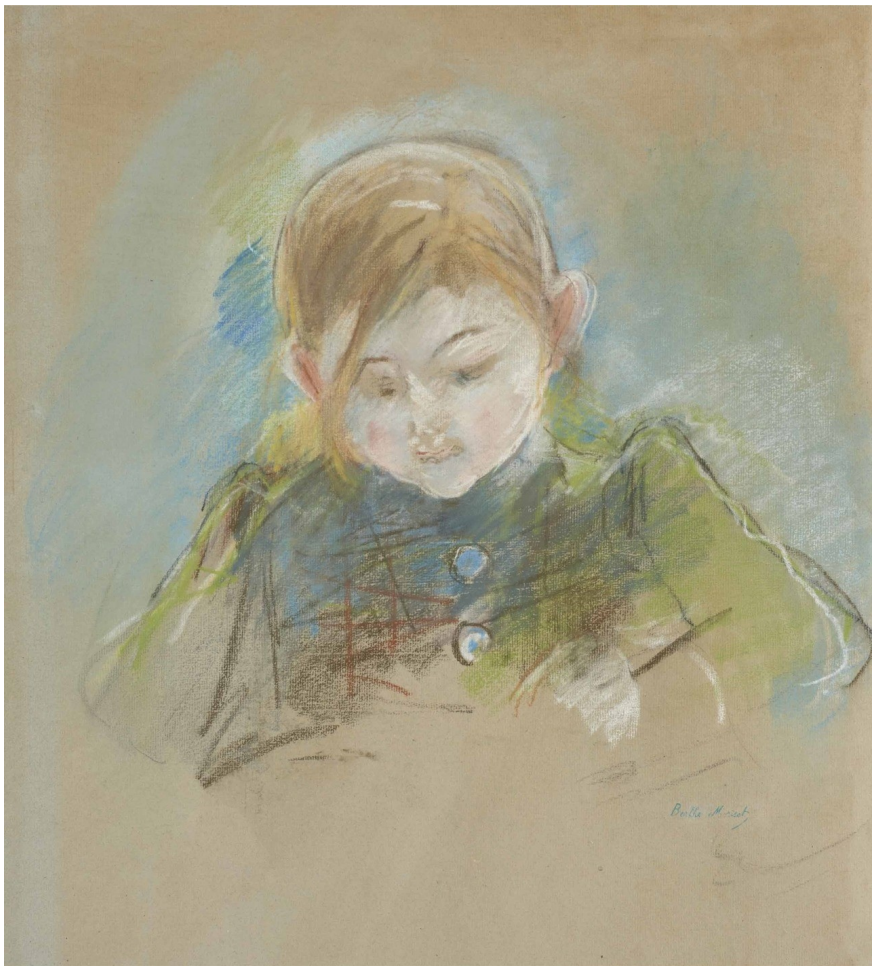

Figure 8. Berthe Morisot. Fillette Écrivant. c. 1882. Pastel on paper. Private collection.

Figure 9. Berthe Morisot. *The Drawing Lesson*. 1889. Drypoint. Private collection.

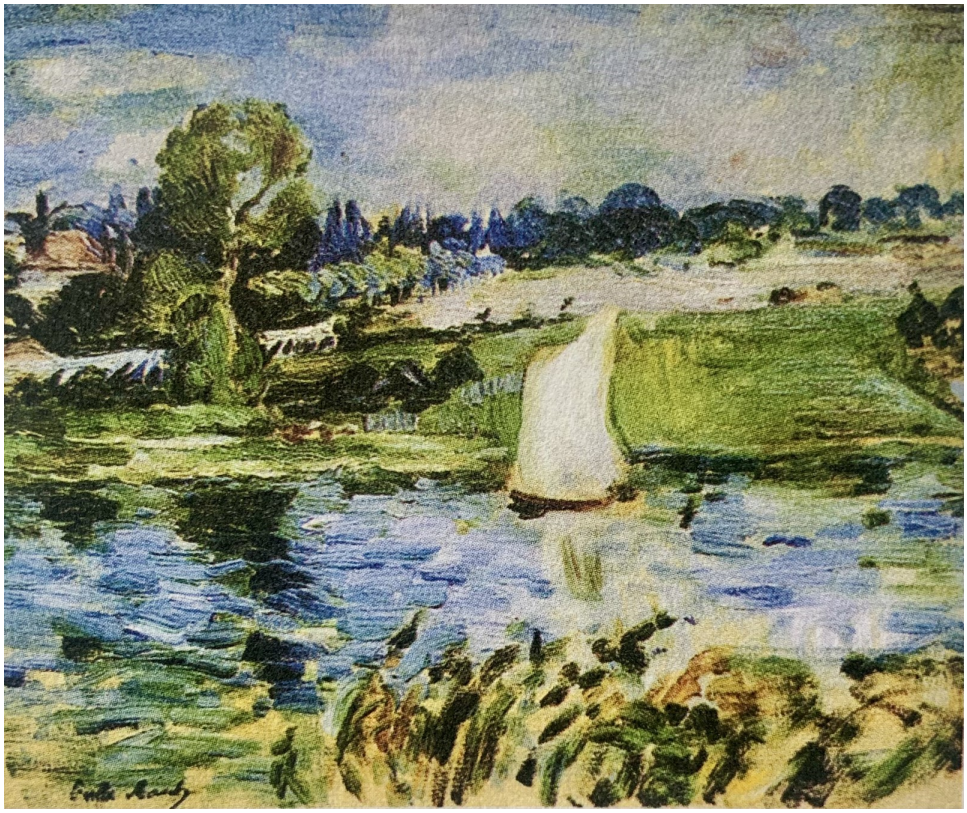

Figure 10. Berthe Morisot. *Sail on the River*. n.d. Oil on canvas. Private collection.

Figure 11. Julie Manet. *Sail on the River.* 1893. Oil on canvas. Private collection.

Figure 12. Julie Manet. *The Sewing Lesson* (after Berthe Morisot), c. 1936. Page from a sketchbook. Archive du Mesnil; on permanent loan at the Musée Marmottan Monet.

Figure 13. Julie Manet. *The Cup of Tea* (after Berthe Morisot), c. 1936. Page from a sketchbook. Archive du Mesnil; on permanent loan at the Musée Marmottan Monet.

Figure 14. Julie Manet. *Le Cerisier*. c. 1896. Oil on canvas. Private collection.

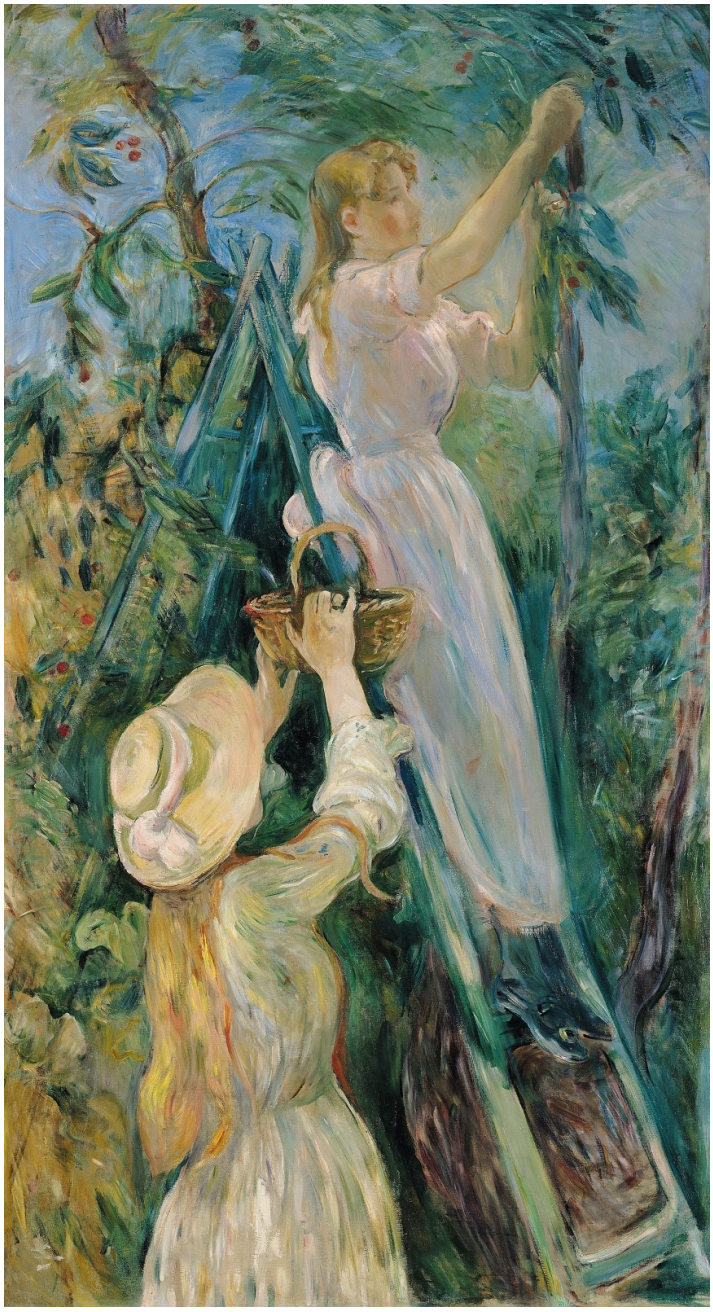

Figure 15. Berthe Morisot. *Le Cerisier.* 1891. Oil on canvas. Musée Marmottan Monet.

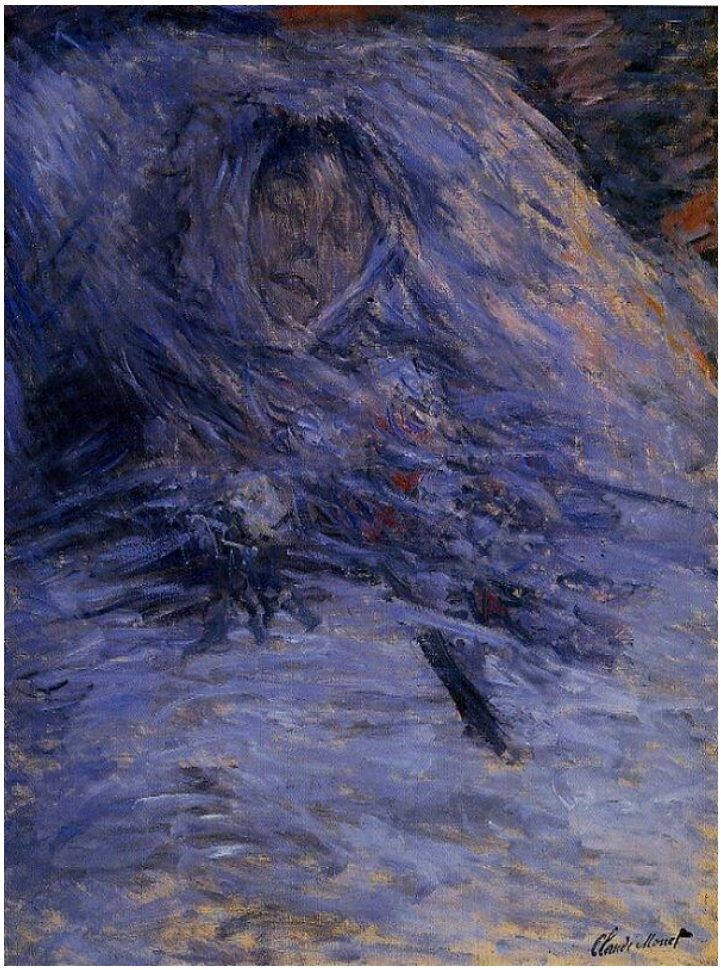

Figure 16. Claude Monet. *Camille on her Deathbed*. 1879. Oil on canvas. Musée d'Orsay.

Figure 17. Berthe Morisot. *The Sewing Lesson.* 1884. Oil on canvas. Minneapolis Institute of Art.

Figure 18. Julie Manet. *Berthe Morisot Reclining* (After Édouard Manet). n.d. Watercolor on paper. Musée Marmottan Monet.

Figure 19. Édouard Manet. *Berthe Morisot Reclining.* 1873. Oil on canvas. Musée Marmottan Monet.

Figure 20. Édouard Manet. *Berthe Morisot au Bouquet de Violettes*.1872. Oil on canvas. Musée d'Orsay.

Figure 21. Berthe Morisot. 1872. The Artist's Sister Edma with Her Daughter Jeanne. Watercolor on paper. National Gallery of Art (Washington).

Figure 22. Claude Monet. *Bridge Over a Pond of Water Lilies*. 1899. Oil on canvas. The Met.

Figure 23. Marie Bashkirtseff. *At a Book*. 1882. Oil on canvas. Kharkiv Art Museum.

Figure 24. Ernest Rouart. *Julie Manet Writing.* n.d. Oil on canvas. Private collection.

Figure 25. Édouard Manet. *M. and Mme Auguste Manet.* 1860. Oil on canvas. Musée d'Orsay.

Figure 26. Julie Manet. *M. and Mme Auguste Manet* (after Édouard Manet). n.d. Watercolor on paper. Musée Marmottan Monet.

Figure 27. Édouard Manet. *Mme Manet Mère in the Garden at Bellevue.* 1880. Oil on canvas. Private Collectioin.

Figure 28. Julie Manet. *Julien Rouart Painting in the Dining Room in the rue de Villejust.* c. 1904. Oil on canvas. Private collection.

Figure 29. Julie Manet. *The Piano Duo*. Oil on canvas. Private collection.

Figure 30. Berthe Morisot. *Julie Playing the Violin*. 1893. Oil on canvas. Private collection.

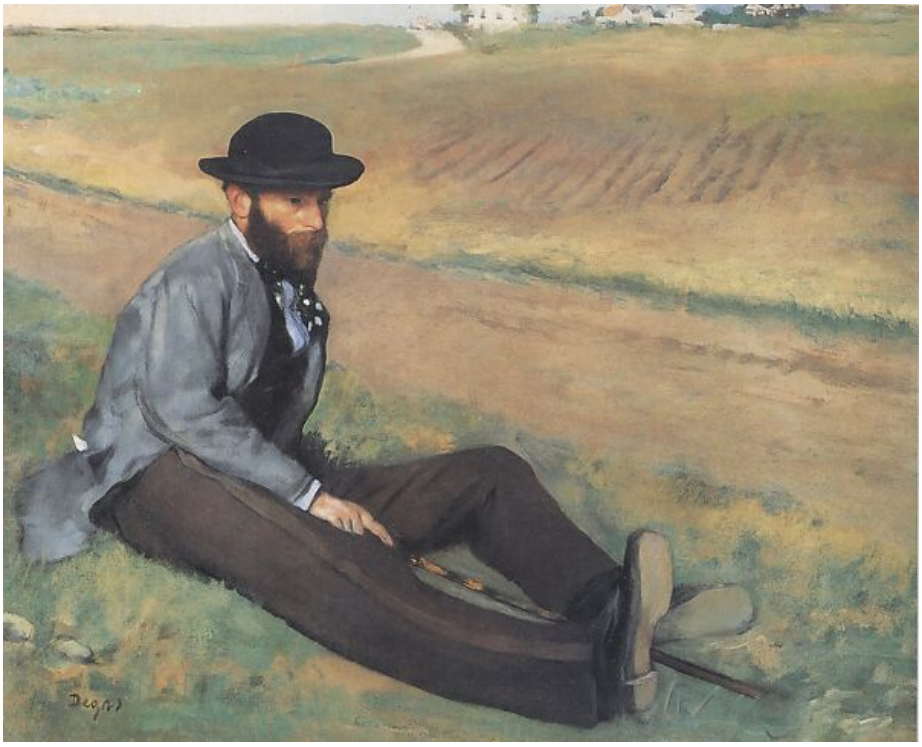

Figure 31. Edgar Degas. *Eugène Manet*. 1874. Oil on canvas. Private collection.

Figure 32. Claude Monet. *Impression: Sunrise*. 1872. Oil on canvas. Musée Marmatton Monet.

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ABSTRACT

LOSS AND LEGACY: REFRAMING THE STUDIES OF JULIE MANET

by

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Sometimes referred to as "the daughter of Impressionism" because of her unique connection to members of the Impressionist group, Julie Manet was surrounded by art from the moment she was born. Her mother, Impressionist painter Berthe Morisot, was instrumental in Julie's artistic education and taught her to draw and paint from a young age. Orphaned at sixteen, Julie took to making art with renewed fervor after her mother's death in 1895. This thesis treats Julie Manet as a nineteenth-century female artist and investigates how she used art in a manner distinct from how bourgeois women of this era typically utilized art. Instead of practicing art as a pleasant pass-time, Julie's motivation for making art involved processing her grief after the loss of her mother and carrying on her family's artistic legacy. By bringing Julie Manet's work into conversation with the practices of Claude Monet and Marie Bashkirtseff, I seek to reframe how Julie Manet's work is viewed by scholars. Instead of categorizing them as the inconsequential musings of an amateur, I seek to draw out their significance as to how they reveal one woman's artistic approach to loss and life.