

*“The Problem of the Woman Artist:
How Eva Gonzalès was “Seen” in Late Nineteenth Century France”*

“Many artists could imagine painting modern women; fewer could imagine a modern woman painting”.¹ In this witty yet piercing phrase, Anne Higonnet encapsulates an attitude that was very prevalent amongst French artistic circles in the second half of the nineteenth century. Women who served as models for male painters abounded, but women who honed their own painting skills beyond amateur ability and dared to enter the competitive world of salons and vendors were much fewer in number. Although bourgeois and upper-class French women were encouraged to pursue informal artistic training, and particularly to produce small-scale pencil drawings and watercolor paintings, there was a clear demarcation between *arts d’agrément* and painting as a professional endeavor.² Women who crossed this line were often viewed as “acknowledged outsiders,” “mavericks,” and even trespassers in the art world, by both men and women and by both artistic producers and consumers.³

The outsider status of female painters was especially evident at the Salon, the most esteemed exhibition forum in France at that time. According to the calculations of the nineteenth-century journalist Jean Alesson, although 19 out of 100 contributors at the 1880 Salon were female, only 5 out of 100 awards were conferred upon female artists.⁴ So frustrating was the Salon jury’s consistent depreciation of works by women artists that, in 1882, two all-female exhibitions were hosted for the first time, one by the Union des Femmes Peintres et Sculpteurs and the other at the Cercle de la rue Volney.⁵ It is clear that the need for a venue in which the interests of female artists would be protected and their oeuvres promoted was painfully felt.

¹ Higonnet, Anne. *Berthe Morisot’s Images of Women*. Cambridge, MA, Harvard University Press, 1992, p. 124.

² *Arts d’agrément* literally translates as “pleasure art” but it is perhaps better understood in light how *école d’arts d’agrément pour les jeunes filles* is typically translated – as “finishing school for young girls”.

³ Nochlin, Linda. “Why Have There Been No Great Women Artists?”. *ARTnews*, Jan 1971, p. 23.

⁴ Garb, Tamar. *Sisters of the Brush: Women’s Artistic Culture in late Nineteenth-Century Paris*. New Haven and London, Yale University Press, 1994, p. 26.

⁵ Garb, *Sisters of the Brush*, 21.

What is less clear is the reason *why* professional women artists were seen as interlopers in a ‘male domain’. What can explain the popularity and longevity of the dismissive, incredulous, and sometimes fearful attitudes towards women artists with professional aspirations? One answer may be found by examining the ideas of the nineteenth-century French politician and social theorist Pierre Proudhon. He believed that “woman’s proper position” could be summarized in three complementary roles – wife, housekeeper, and mother – and that the ideal woman did not engage in any inherently competitive or ambitious pursuit.⁶ The art world, with its Salon juries, critics, collectors, and auctions, certainly fell into this latter category of activities unsuitable for a respectable woman. It is important to note that underlying Proudhon’s desire to bar women from competitive milieus is the assumption that competition and ambition are incompatible with femininity.

Griselda Pollock’s analysis of the predicament facing bourgeois women in late nineteenth-century France sheds some light on this assumption. She observes that “for bourgeois women...to maintain one’s respectability, closely identified with femininity, meant *not* exposing oneself in public”.⁷ Pollock then recounts an episode in a book by Jules Michelet in which an unaccompanied woman chooses not to enter a restaurant and alleviate her hunger, because she knows that to do so would be to render herself a spectacle.⁸ If so simple an act as eating in public could damage the respectability and femininity of a woman, it is not surprising that exhibiting art professionally, which constituted a much bolder foray into the masculine spaces of nineteenth-century France, could do likewise. Commercial exhibition of art entailed greater exposure to competition and to the public gaze than dining without a male guardian.

⁶ Werness, Hope B. “The Modest Maiden in 19th-Century Art: Evolution of a Theme”. JSTOR, *Woman’s Art Journal*, Vol. 5, No. 2, Autumn 1984 – Winter 1985, p. 7.

⁷ Pollock, Griselda. “Modernity and the Spaces of Femininity.” In *The Expanding Discourse*, ed. By N. Broude and M.D. Garrard. New York: HarperCollins, 1992, p. 253.

⁸ Pollock, 254.

Tamar Garb offers a poignant example of how this characterization of women artists as unfeminine affected the women at whom it was directed. Her example draws from the prolific journals kept by aristocratic painter Marie Bashkirtseff. Garb is worth quoting at length for how incisively she captures the uncertainty of self that the socially-imposed antithesis between femininity and professional artistry could cause women artists:

Bashkirtseff's famous journals...were filled with agonizing reflections on her own appearance and an anxiety that her talent as an artist would unsex her as a woman. Painfully aware of the construction of the ambitious woman artist as one who had reneged on her role as a feminine woman, Bashkirtseff constantly compared herself to other women in terms of her physical attributes and social skills.⁹

What this journal entry emphasizes is the polarizing pull between, on the one hand, wanting one's art to be taken seriously and evaluated within a professional arena and, on the other hand, wanting to shield one's femininity from attack or ridicule. Some women artists, including Berthe Morisot's sister Edma, felt compelled to choose between painting and matrimony: Edma Morisot chose the latter, halting her artistic production after her wedding.¹⁰

Two important questions arise out of the taut relationship between femininity and the professional art world in late nineteenth-century France. How did this tension impact the way that female artists were 'seen' by their fellow artists and critics and, equally, how did it influence the way they 'saw' themselves? Several theories have been posited in response to the first query. Linda Nochlin argues that that many women artists were 'seen' as self-indulgent creatures whose desire to vie with professional male artists was driven by an inner narcissism.¹¹ Anne Higonnet, referring specifically to the Impressionist circle, suggests that the female members of the group

⁹ Garb, Tamar. *The Body in Time: Figures of Femininity in late Nineteenth-Century France*. Seattle, Washington, the University of Washington Press for the Spencer Museum of Art at the University of Kansas, 2008, p. 66.

¹⁰ Higonnet, 22.

¹¹ Nochlin, 36-37.

were ‘seen’ as separate and distinct from their male colleagues at the forefront of the movement. This separation was manifested in the exclusion of the female Impressionists from the "anti-academic circuit that included the cafés, the Académie Suisse, and Gleyre’s studio, where the Impressionist program was debated and formulated".¹²

One theory that is understated, perhaps simply because it is so very obvious, is that female artists were ‘seen’ *as female artists* in late nineteenth-century France. Women artists were often clumped together under one artistic subheading, as though possessing identical sex chromosomes enabled similar conclusions to be drawn about their artistic output.¹³ A prime example of a woman artist who was ‘seen’ in this manner is Eva Gonzalès, as a brief examination of The Women Impressionists: a Sourcebook will amply demonstrate. Of the sixteen books listed in the bibliography for Eva Gonzalès, fourteen have titles such as “*Six Femmes Peintres*” and “*Women Painters of the World*”.¹⁴ The only two books devoted entirely to Gonzalès were written by French authors, indicating that no book-length study of Gonzalès has been undertaken by a native English speaker.¹⁵ Even more staggering is the fact that the most recent solo exhibition of Gonzalès’ work occurred in 1959 at the Galerie Daber in Paris.¹⁶ Much more common are group exhibits like the one hosted by the Legion of Honor in San Francisco in 2008, which was predictably titled “*Women Impressionists: Berthe Morisot, Mary Cassatt, Eva Gonzalès, and Marie Bracquemond*”.¹⁷ Both during her lifespan and post mortem, Gonzalès has been repeatedly ‘seen’ through the prism of her gender.

The purpose of this paper is twofold in nature. It seeks to explore both how Gonzalès was ‘seen’ by her contemporaries and how she ‘saw’ herself during her short artistic career. Some of

¹² Higonnet. 23.

¹³ Vestiges of this tendency persist even today in the art world.

¹⁴ Clement, Russell T., et al. The Women Impressionists: A Sourcebook. Westport, Conn, Greenwood Press, 2000, p. 171-173.

¹⁵ Clement, et al, 171-173.

¹⁶ Clement, et al, 176.

¹⁷ Robbins, Jordan. “On view at the Legion of Honor, exclusive U.S. venue”. April 2008, <www.famsf.org>, p. 1.

the ‘seers’ who will be examined knew Gonzalès intimately, including Charles Chaplin and Edouard Manet, with others are critics who knew Gonzalès at a distance, through her works. However, the degree of personal familiarity with Gonzalès seems to have had much less bearing on how these individuals ‘saw’ Gonzalès and her artistic activity than did Gonzalès’ gender, which appears to have been the crucial variable. As for Eva Gonzalès herself, her self-viewing was conducted not through the prism of her gender, but through the prism of her sister Jeanne. How Eva Gonzalès ‘saw’ herself is inseparable from her interactions with and reliance upon Jeanne Gonzalès.

Born in Paris in 1849, Eva Gonzalès’ earliest artistic tutelage took place in the studio of Charles Chaplin, which she entered in January 1866.¹⁸ Over a period of three years, Chaplin fostered her aptitude for pastel drawings, enabling her to develop “a delectably velvety use” of the medium.¹⁹ It is worth noting that the decision to enter Chaplin’s atelier was not Gonzalès’ own: her godfather Philippe Jourde handpicked Chaplin as her instructor in 1865.²⁰ Chaplin’s close friendship with Emmanuel Gonzalès, Eva’s father, and his reputation for regularly accepting female students both recommended him as a suitable teacher.

Two important historical facts offer clues as to how Chaplin ‘saw’ his pupil Eva Gonzalès. The first clue comes from the subject matter that Chaplin most preferred as an artist. As Marie-Caroline Sainsaulieu shrewdly observes, “C’est toujours la femme qu’il représente”.²¹ This suggests that Chaplin was accustomed to thinking of women as models and as objects of the male gaze, and Eva Gonzalès was probably no exception. The second historical clue derives from a conversation that transpired between Chaplin and Emmanuel Gonzalès in October 1868.

¹⁸ Sainsaulieu, Marie-Caroline and Jacques de Mons. *Eva Gonzalès: Étude Critique et Catalogue Raisonné*. La Bibliothèque des Arts, Paris, 1990, p. 5.

¹⁹ Sainsaulieu, Marie-Caroline. “Expressive Red: Eva Gonzalès and Henri de Toulouse-Lautrec”. Published in Hatje Cantz’s *Women Impressionists*. Fine Arts Museum of San Francisco, p. 211.

²⁰ Sainsaulieu, *Catalogue Raisonné*, 11.

²¹ Sainsaulieu, *Catalogue Raisonné*, 25. Translation: “He always represents women.”

Chaplin advised Gonzalès against procuring a Parisian atelier for his daughter, arguing that “elle doit attendre le mariage”.²² In Chaplin’s mind, the purchase of an atelier by or for an unwed woman was tantamount to making her spectacle. This recalls Pollock’s discussion of the cautious measures that bourgeois women had to take in order to safeguard their respectability. Eventually, Chaplin changed his mind and counseled Emmanuel Gonzalès to secure a studio for Eva, after she had moderate successes at the 1870 Salon.²³ However, both Chaplin’s inconstant advice and his original reluctance to grant his student a workshop demonstrate his ambivalent attitude towards Eva Gonzalès. One can tentatively conclude that he ‘saw’ her as a woman, as an object of the male look, and above all as a woman artist, whose femininity was in peril if she pushed her professional aspirations too far.

In 1869, Gonzalès’ artistic instruction took a new direction when she met Edouard Manet at the home of Alfred Stevens, a Belgian painter.²⁴ Following this chance encounter, Gonzalès asked her father’s permission to receive painting lessons at Manet’s atelier on rue de Saint-Pétersbourg.²⁵ It is worth emphasizing that this arrangement can be wholly credited to Eva Gonzalès. Unlike the artistic education she received from Chaplin, it was not initiated by a strong male presence in her life. However, it also must be noted that the relationship between Manet and Gonzalès was never so straightforward as artist-artist or artist-student. Gonzalès visited Manet’s studio “for the dual purpose of posing and receiving criticism of her own work”.²⁶ Thus

²² Sainsaulieu, *Catalogue Raisonné*, 11. Translation: “She must wait until marriage.”

²³ Sainsaulieu, *Catalogue Raisonné*, 11.

²⁴ Sweet, Frederick A. “‘Girl with Cherries’ by Eva Gonzalès”. JSTOR, *Bulletin of the Art Institute of Chicago (1907-1951)*, Vol. 34, No. 5, Sept – Oct 1940, p. 74.

²⁵ Sainsaulieu, *Catalogue Raisonné*, 11.

²⁶ Sweet, 74.

we find Gonzalès receiving guidance of two sorts. On the one hand, she was told: “Est-ce que vous comptez les raisins? Non, n’est-ce pas? Ce qui est frappant c’est leur ton d’ambre clair.”²⁷ On the other hand, we find Berthe Morisot commenting on Gonzalès’ knack for maintaining the position in which Manet situated her, without fidgeting: “Elle a de la tenue, de la persévérance.”²⁸ This complicated relationship with Manet has had enduring affects on how Gonzalès is ‘seen’. Some scholars, such as Tamar Garb, claim that Gonzalès is better known as Manet’s model than as a professional artist in her own right. Garb contends that “many accounts of her life dwell almost equally on her personal beauty and on her talent as an artist”.²⁹ For this reason, the most apposite place to begin an investigation of how Edouard Manet ‘saw’ Gonzalès is his well-known 1870 portrait of her (Figure 1).

In this portrait, Gonzalès is seated in front of a framed, but unfinished, floral still life. Clad in a white muslin empire-line gown, she balances a palette and several brushes in her left hand, while simultaneously dabbing the canvas with a brush held in her right hand.³⁰ Gonzalès’ eyes do not concentrate on her work in progress, but rather appear glassy and unfocused.³¹ For the purposes of uncovering what this painting reveals about how Manet ‘saw’ Gonzalès, the two elements that demand the greatest consideration are the costume that Gonzalès wears and the subject that she paints.

Tamar Garb places much emphasis on the inappropriateness of Gonzalès’ attire for her task at hand. Gonzalès’ dress is elegant, costly, voluminous, and pale in color, all of which conspire to make it an ensemble that would be easily dirtied, perhaps even ruined, by the very act

²⁷ Roger-Marx, Claude. *Eva Gonzalès*. Saint-Germain-en-Laye, Les Éditions de Neuilly, 1950, p. 16. Translation: “Do you count the raisins? No, right? What is striking is their clear amber shade.” Manet’s advice is to focus more on color than on meticulous details.

²⁸ Roger-Marx, 11. Translation: “She has good posture / control and perseverance.”

²⁹ Garb, *Women Impressionists*, 12.

³⁰ Garb, Tamar. *The Painted Face: Portraits of Women in France, 1814-1914*. New Haven, Yale University Press, 2007, p. 78.

³¹ Critics such as Gaston Klein were quick to compare Eva Gonzalès to a wax doll due to her glazed eyes. (Garb, *The Painted Face*, 74).

of painting.³² As a result, Garb describes her position at the easel as “problematic and unconvincing.”³³ Viewers cannot help but have the impression that Gonzalès is role-playing and that her acting skills need improving. If she were really an artist, wouldn’t her eyes be riveted to the canvas? Wouldn’t she be wearing a looser, less immaculate garment? Also incongruous is the amount of skin the gown exposes, which was quite unusual for a commissioned portrait of a respected bourgeois lady. As Garb remarks, “Any baring of flesh would normally have been associated with a hired model.”³⁴ While Gonzalès certainly served as Manet’s model for this portrait, she was neither paid for her services nor a member of the lower-class, as most hired models were. The gown’s transparent bodice, low-cut neckline, and short sleeves – all features to which Garb draws attention – eroticize Gonzalès in an unsubtle way.³⁵ While the dress may not strike the modern viewer as immodest, the late nineteenth century viewer may have been startled to see a bourgeois woman thus clothed.

In sum then, two main problems arise out of Gonzalès’ apparel. The first is its inability to persuade the viewer that Gonzalès is a veritable working artist. One can tentatively infer from this that Manet was not himself persuaded that Gonzalès was a committed painter whose art could rival his own. If he had been, Gonzalès might conceivably be attired in the nineteenth-century version of a smock, or else in day clothes more suited to painting. The second problem is the portrait’s conspicuous sexualization of Gonzalès. Eva Gonzalès’ dress was chosen at the sole discretion of Manet, according to his own testimony in a letter addressed to Gonzalès’ mother.³⁶ As a result, it is clear that the sexualization of Gonzalès was knowing and intentional. Ingrid Pfeiffer suggests that “what Manet wanted... was not so much a life-like portrait of Gonzalès, as

³² Garb, *The Painted Face*, 79.

³³ Garb, *The Painted Face*, 78.

³⁴ Garb, *The Painted Face*, 86.

³⁵ Garb, *The Painted Face*, 78.

³⁶ Garb, *The Painted Face*, 78.

an attractive, whole-figure portrait.”³⁷ In other words, Gonzalès’ fleshy beauty made her an appealing subject and Manet was prepared to slightly overstep the established bounds of propriety for bourgeois portraiture in order to highlight that beauty. Manet ‘saw’ Gonzalès first as a striking model and second as a painter.

The bouquet of flowers that Gonzalès paints also merits analysis. Floral still lifes were never a prominent part of Gonzalès’ artistic repertoire.³⁸ Although Gonzalès did execute at least five oil paintings of flowers during her lifetime, all of these were undertaken well after Manet’s portrait of her had already been completed.³⁹ Moreover, still lifes were considered the preserve of amateur artists and commanded little respect in late nineteenth-century France. If a professional painter undertook a still life it was usually for the purpose of fine-tuning a particular skill – in other words, an artistic exercise. Consequently, Manet’s decision to depict Gonzalès as a still life painter is a gesture loaded with significations. Tamar Garb explores these significations by comparing Manet’s portrait with an 1804 portrait by Francisco Goya, entitled *Maria Tomasa Palafox, Marquesa de Villafranca* (Figure 2). Like Eva Gonzalès, the marquesa is seated at an easel, but unlike Gonzalès she paints her husband in his military costume.⁴⁰ Whereas Goya presents his portrait sitter as an accomplished portraitist herself, Manet leaves the viewer in doubt as to whether his portrait sitter is capable of such high art.

The obvious question is why Manet did not represent Eva Gonzalès as painting her younger sister Jeanne. In Sainsaulieu’s catalogue raisonné for Gonzalès, twenty-four works bear the description “Jeanne Gonzalès a posé pour ce pastel” or “Jeanne Gonzalès a posé pour ce

³⁷ Pfeiffer, Ingrid. “Impressionism is Feminine: On the Reception of Morisot, Cassat, Gonzalès, and Braquemond”. Published in Hatje Cantz’s *Women Impressionists*. Fine Arts Museum of San Francisco, p. 24.

³⁸ Garb, *The Painted Face*, 91.

³⁹ The five oil paintings mentioned are as follows: *Anémones au vase bleu* (Anemones in a Blue Vase) of 1871-1872, *Les Pivoines et le hanneton* (The Peonies and the June Bug) of 1871-1872, *Bouquet* of 1871-1872, *Pivoines* (Peonies) of 1875-1876, and *Roses dans un verre* (Roses in a Glass) of 1880-1882 (Sainsaulieu, *Catalogue Raisonné*, 98, 102, 106, 162, and 244).

⁴⁰ Garb, *The Painted Face*, 84.

tableau.”⁴¹ For approximately an equal number of oeuvres, the female model is uncertain, meaning that Jeanne may or may not have sat for it. What is indisputable is that Jeanne “consentit à lui servir quotidiennement de modèle” and was a constant source of inspiration.⁴² It would only be natural for Manet to depict Gonzalès working on a portrait of her sister. That he did not do so is a possible indication that Manet did not ‘see’ Gonzalès as a portraitist, or even as a serious artist. In Ingrid Pfeiffer’s estimation, “the fact that he was ‘generous’ enough to portray Gonzalès as an artist” can be “interpreted to mean that he regarded her as far enough removed from him in the artistic hierarchy as to be completely unthreatening.”⁴³ Rather than being honored by Manet’s portrayal of her, Gonzalès should perhaps have been insulted.

It is interesting to note that a large number of critics considered Manet’s 1870 portrait of Gonzalès to be offensive to his sitter, though not for the reason just outlined. Some critics remarked on the stiffness and gracelessness of Gonzalès’ arms, with one commentator calling them “bumpy protrusions.”⁴⁴ Others thought the darker paint near Gonzalès’ eyes and chin resembled unhealthy blotches.⁴⁵ Still other critics claimed that Gonzalès “evoked a sultry sexuality” reminiscent of gypsies and Jews.⁴⁶ The common thread between these critiques is that each pertains to Gonzalès’ physical appearance. Female portraits of bourgeois women were expected to strike a respectful balance between the specific and the generic. On the one hand, the sitter’s identity had to be apparent, but on the other hand, her femininity could in no way be compromised, which meant that she had to be portrayed as a beautiful woman.⁴⁷ In the eyes of the critics, Manet failed to achieve the necessary equilibrium. Although accounts of Manet’s life

⁴¹ Translations: “Jeanne Gonzalès posed for this pastel” and “Jeanne Gonzalès posed for this painting”.

⁴² Sainsaulieu, *Catalogue Raisonné*, 33. Translation: “Jeanne agreed to serve as her model on a daily basis.”

⁴³ Pfeiffer, 24.

⁴⁴ Garb, *The Painted Face*, 86.

⁴⁵ Garb, *The Painted Face*, 76.

⁴⁶ Garb, *The Painted Face*, 79.

⁴⁷ Garb, *The Painted Face*, 60.

often mention his fascination with “Gonzalès’ great beauty”, his overly-individualized portrait rendered her unattractive in the eyes of nineteenth-century viewers.⁴⁸

To recapitulate, Manet’s 1870 portrait of Eva Gonzalès intimates that Manet ‘saw’ Gonzalès in several lights. Firstly, he ‘saw’ her as a striking model, even if he failed to convey her as such to an audience habituated to Ingres’ reverent portraits of beautiful sitters. Secondly, he ‘saw’ her as a painter, but one whose abilities were inferior to his own. Thirdly – and this is something new – he saw her as his protégé, as someone whose success was an extension of his own. As Roger-Marx notes, “Manet se félicite de voir grandir...le nom de Gonzalès.”⁴⁹ Fourthly, by his own admission, he saw her as a friend. In a letter Manet wrote to Eva Gonzalès during her retreat to Dieppe with her mother and sister while the Franco-Prussian War was in progress, he said, “Une assiégée de nos amies me demandaient dernièrement comment je supportais votre absence, puisque l’admiration et l’amitié qui j’ai pour vous sont de notoriété publique.”⁵⁰ This excerpt from Manet’s correspondence with Gonzalès is intriguing, because it shows that Manet saw nothing contradictory between his stout friendship with Gonzalès and his reluctance to see her as a painter as talented as he.

One additional dimension to Manet’s relationship with Eva Gonzalès that has yet to be explored is his simultaneous relationship with Berthe Morisot. Although Morisot had served as Manet’s model prior to him ever having met Gonzalès, she never entered his atelier as a student. In letters addressed to her sister, Madame Pontillon, Morisot confesses a resentment for Manet’s growing infatuation with Gonzalès.⁵¹ As Claude Roger-Marx observed, Gonzalès was “une

⁴⁸ Sweet, 74.

⁴⁹ Roger-Marx, 12. Literal translation: “Manet congratulates himself on seeing Gonzalès’ name grow (in renown).” Looser translation: “Manet congratulates himself as Gonzalès’ fame escalates.”

⁵⁰ Sainsaulieu, *Catalogue Raisonné*, 14. Translation: “A large number of our female friends have recently asked me how I have endured your absence, since the admiration and friendship I have for you are common knowledge.”

⁵¹ Roger-Marx, 11.

artiste...dont Manet s'était à ce point entiché."⁵² What is important, in terms of understanding how Manet 'saw' Gonzalès, is that Manet did not attempt to lessen the growing rivalry between Morisot and Gonzalès. Instead, he encouraged and discouraged them "tour à tour," wanting to preserve the high regard of both women.⁵³ While it is difficult to say anything definitive about Manet's motivation for playing Morisot and Gonzalès off of one another, it seems that he 'saw' both artists as women who could be emotionally manipulated.

Gonzalès' tenure as Manet's pupil affected not only her approach to painting, but also the way in which art critics 'saw' her. Six years before Manet and Gonzalès were introduced, Manet had triggered public scandal by exhibiting paintings such as *Olympia* and *Le Déjeuner sur l'herbe* at the Salon. From the early 1860s onward, the relationship between Manet and Paris' leading art critics was openly antagonistic. As a result, to self-enlist as Manet's student was necessarily to be tainted by association and to set oneself up as a target for certain abuse. Fortunately for Eva Gonzalès however, her father was a much-esteemed figure in Paris and this induced many of the more biting critics to deflect or tone down their remarks. In Roger-Marx's words: "Les journalistes de métier sont pris entre la haine...qu'il vouent au premier, et l'amitié qui les unit au bouillant Emmanuel Gonzalès."⁵⁴ Although the critics were generally more "bienveillants" towards Gonzalès than towards her teacher, their commentaries frequently reminded Gonzalès of the dangers of working with so "provocateur" an artist.⁵⁵ The critics 'saw' Gonzalès as someone who could be easily swayed by her more famous instructor. For this reason, they repeatedly cautioned her against following in his footsteps.

⁵² Roger-Marx, 10. Translation: "Gonzalès was an artist...with whom Manet was at this point infatuated."

⁵³ Roger-Marx, 12. Translation: "He alternately encouraged and discouraged them."

⁵⁴ Roger-Marx, 4. Translation: "The professional journalists are torn between the hatred that they devote to the former, and the friendship that links them to the fiery Emmanuel Gonzalès."

⁵⁵ Roger-Marx, 21. "Bienveillants" translates as "benevolent", while "provocateur" translates as "provocative".

Not all of the art criticism that Gonzalès received centered on her connections to Manet. Following Gonzalès' sudden death in 1883, a retrospective sale of her works was held in Paris, organized conjointly by Gonzalès' husband Henri Guérard, her father Emmanuel Gonzalès, and a family friend Léon Leenhoff.⁵⁶ In honor of the occasion, the French art critic Octave Mirabeau composed a tribute to Gonzalès' artistic career, in which he asserted that:

“Ce qui frappe surtout, dans le talent d’Eva Gonzalès, c’est...la simplicité, la sincérité...Aucune mièvrerie de femme, aucun désir de faire *joli et sympathique*, et pourtant quel charme exquis!”⁵⁷

This commentary is significant because of what it reveals about Mirabeau's presuppositions concerning women artists. Mirabeau anticipates that any art executed by a female hand will be insipid and overly emotional. He expects a woman artist to be more preoccupied with producing an image that is pleasing to the eye than one that appeals to the viewer on an intellectual level. Although Mirabeau intends to praise Gonzalès for surmounting the tendency to which, in his opinion, most female artists succumb, his pronounced surprise lessens the laudatory effect. Mirabeau 'saw' Gonzalès through the prism of her gender and judged her against a female artistic standard.

Other excerpts from Mirabeau's post mortem tribute to Gonzalès reinforce this idea. For instance, Mirabeau refers to Gonzalès as “cette femme charmante, à laquelle la beauté et le talent faisaient une double auréole.”⁵⁸ This recalls Tamar Garb's insights about the tension female artists experienced between participating in the professional art world and upholding their respectability. One has the impression that Mirabeau extols Gonzalès' beauty in order to obviate

⁵⁶ Eva Gonzalès died of an embolism a few days after giving birth to a son (Sainsaulieu, Catalogue Raisonné, 20).

⁵⁷ Sainsaulieu, Catalogue Raisonné, 270. Translation: “What is most striking about Eva Gonzalès' talent is...her simplicity, her sincerity...No feminine sentimentality / vapidness, no desire to render (the work) pretty and agreeable, and yet what exquisite charm!”

⁵⁸ Sainsaulieu, Catalogue Raisonné, 268. Translation: “This charming woman, around which beauty and talent formed a double halo.”

any slanderous comments concerning her femininity. When male artists were evaluated by art critics in late nineteenth century France, their physical appearance never factored into the appraisal: the very idea seems absurd. Yet for art criticism pertaining to works by female artists, this was not uncommon. Male art critics such as Octave Mirabeau ‘saw’ woman painters such as Eva Gonzalès as separate and distinct from their male colleagues.

However, despite the consensus that works by women artists were necessarily ‘distinct,’ critics seemed unable to settle on a common vocabulary to describe this inherent difference. A brief comparison of how the artistic outputs of Berthe Morisot, Mary Cassatt, and Eva Gonzalès were commonly assessed makes this abundantly clear. Of the three artists, Morisot was most consistently lauded for painting in a ‘feminine style.’ Critics frequently drew attention to the delicacy, grace, and featheriness of her brushstrokes. The French writer Raoul Sertat, for example, described Morisot’s art as “totally impregnated with the essential virtues of her sex.”⁵⁹ By contrast, Mary Cassatt was seen to embody a more masculine style of art, with critics highlighting her tendency to present her subject in “a matter-of-fact, coolly observed way.”⁶⁰ The French novelist Joris-Karl Huysmans echoed Mirabeau’s comment about Cassatt when he observed that “Miss Cassatt has known the way to escape from sentimentality.”⁶¹ As for Eva Gonzalès, her art was thought to hover between femininity and masculinity. On the one hand, art critic Théodore de Banville characterized Gonzalès as having “une main ferme, agissante, et créatrice.”⁶² Firmness, activeness, and creativity were all considered masculine artistic traits during this time period. On the other hand, critics such as Mirabeau remarked upon Gonzalès’ “délicatesse instinctive de femme.”⁶³

⁵⁹ Garb, *Sisters of the Brush*, 126.

⁶⁰ Garb, Tamar. *Women Impressionists*. Oxford, Phaidon Press Limited, 1986, p. 68.

⁶¹ Garb, *Women Impressionists*, 68.

⁶² Roger-Marx, 44-45. Translation: “A firm, effective / active, and creative hand.”

⁶³ Sainsaulieu, 270. Translation: “Instinctive feminine delicacy.”

What these conflicting evaluations suggest is that although Parisian critics recognized certain dissimilarities in the artistic production of Morisot, Cassatt, and Gonzalès, their gendered manner of ‘seeing’ hindered them from being able to accurately articulate these differences. Instead of drawing upon the virtually limitless language of technique, approach, style, and subject matter, critics distilled their critiques of women artists down to two much-abused adjectives: masculine and feminine. Like Gonzalès, Morisot and Cassatt were seen through the prism of their gender, but the angle of refraction was different for each artist.

One wonders, however, in what light *female* art critics ‘saw’ Gonzalès and other women artists. Maria Deraismes, a full-time author and intermittent art critic, penned an in-depth analysis of Gonzalès’ 1874 painting *Une Loge au théâtre des italiens* (Figure 3). Published in a journal known as *Le Droit des femmes*, her article offers some interesting insights into how Gonzalès was ‘seen’ by a radical feminist audience. Deraismes was a woman of strong character and conviction. Heralded by Patrick Bidelmans as the “architect of the new feminism,” Maria Deraismes was an undaunted proponent of women’s rights.⁶⁴ She detested the dichotomous social mentality that inventoried French women as *femmes honnêtes* or *filles publiques* and publicly criticized the slowness of society to redress the disparities between the sexes.⁶⁵ In an 1873 essay entitled “France et progress,” Deraismes upbraids her fellow citizens for “cette inqualifiable injustice qui subit encore la moitié du genre humain, injustice que la révolution française a sanctionnée à nouveau.”⁶⁶ Throughout her busy career, Deraismes struggled to improve the life situation of French women and took pains to affirm the inherent value of women and their endeavors.

⁶⁴ Garb, *Sisters of the Brush*, 50.

⁶⁵ Garb, *Sisters of the Brush*, 51.

⁶⁶ Bernard, Jean. *Oeuvres Complètes de Maria Deraismes*. Paris, Felix Aican, 1895, p. 189. Translation: “This unspeakable injustice that half of mankind still suffers, an injustice which the French revolution sanctioned anew.”

Deraismes' defense of Gonzalès' *Une Loge au théâtre des italiens* is an apt example of such an affirmation. Her critique can be thematically divided into two segments. In the first segment, Deraismes fabricates an imaginary dialogue between Gonzalès and the Salon jurors who denied her painting admission to the 1874 Salon. In the dialogue, the jurors justify their refusal by citing reasons such as Gonzalès' apprenticeship with Manet and her pretentious realism reminiscent of Courbet. In the second half, Deraismes focuses on Gonzalès' chosen subject matter and dissects the identities of the two opera-goers in the painting.

In the first segment, Deraismes devotes an entire column, which constitutes about two-fifths of the article, to vindicating Gonzalès' status as a realist painter. Her fictional conversation is structured as a series of accusations and rebuttals between the *sincères* (the realist painters) and the *non-sincères* (the classical painters). The crux of the latter's argument is as follows:

“Vous vous permettez une foule de licences avec la nature, vous l’abîmez. Les contours, qui sont chez elle imperceptibles, ressemblent chez vous à un gros fil d’archal... Vous ne finissez rien; vos têtes ne sont ni modelées, ni dessinées.”⁶⁷

In the eyes of the classical painters, the works of realist painters such as Gonzalès appear hasty and incomplete. Although the realists purport to more closely approximate nature, the classical painters believe that they distort it by inserting bold contours where none exist. Deraismes does not agree with this characterization of the realists, however. She rejoins by claiming that “la nature...dédaigne la convention, les trucs, les ficelles...Elle est sincère.”⁶⁸ In other words, no academic prescription for depicting nature can capture its true essence because nature is neither fixed nor formulaic, a fact that classical artists refuse to acknowledge.

⁶⁷Deraismes, Maria. “Une Exposition Particulière de l’École Réaliste”. *L’Avenir des Femmes*, July 1874, non-paginated. Translation: “You permit yourselves loads of liberties with (your representations of) nature, (and in so doing) you spoil her. The outlines, which in nature are imperceptible, resemble big brass wires in your work... You finish nothing; your heads are neither modeled nor drawn.”

⁶⁸ Deraismes, non-paginated. Translation: “Nature disdains convention, tricks, devices...She is sincere.”`

The reason that Deraismes' highly-technical defense of realism is so important is that she is the first person to 'see' Gonzalès as a realist. Even more remarkable, Deraismes emphasizes that Gonzalès' realism is not a mimetic homage to her teacher Manet. She distinguishes their two realisms by claiming that "Autant M. Manet aime le laid, autant son élève aime le beau."⁶⁹ Roger-Marx, writing almost 70 years after Gonzalès' death, echoes the idea that Gonzalès was no copyist of her instructor. He pointed out that even when Gonzalès' subjects approximated Manet's, her style remained calmer and less provocative.⁷⁰ Although the observations of Deraismes and Roger-Marx may not seem revolutionary, their significance should not be understated. Deraismes was one of the few art critics whose capacity to 'see' Gonzalès was not wholly circumscribed by Gonzalès' gender. Deraismes was able to 'see' Gonzalès with respect to her style and technique, criteria which other art critics were less prone to engage.

The second segment of Deraismes' article necessitates a brief description of *Une Loge au Théâtre des italiens*. At the center of the painting sits an alert young woman modeled on Jeanne Gonzalès, dressed in a blue gown with a square décolleté neckline. Her left hand, which rests lightly on the balcony of the theater box, holds a pair of opera glasses. Two flowers add embellishment to her costume, one interwoven with her coiffure and the other atop her bosom. Next to the woman stands her male companion, partially enveloped in shadow and modeled on Henri Guérard.⁷¹

Deraismes describes the young woman at great length, focusing especially on her central positioning in the picture space, her intelligent expression, and her active engagement with the

⁶⁹ Deraismes, non-paginated. Translation: "As much as Mr. Manet loves the ugly, his student loves the beautiful."

⁷⁰ Roger-Marx, 28.

⁷¹ Sainsaulieu, *Catalogue Raisonné*, 16.

theatrical event.⁷² A large portion of Deraismes' interpretation seeks to probe the young woman's personality and self-understanding:

“On devine que, pour cette jeune femme, les chants et les harmonies de l'orchestre ne font qu'accompagner la mélodie intérieure qui chante en elle. Elle suit son rêve à travers le poème et la partition.”⁷³

This description is very cleverly constructed. It permits Deraismes to not only make conjectures about the character of the woman within the painting, but also to imply that Gonzalès, like her female protagonist, is a woman who follow her dreams.

This characterization is especially potent when compared to Deraismes' analysis of the gentleman in the theater box, whom she deduces to be the woman's husband. Unlike his wife, the man is “moins préoccupé de voir que d'être vu” or as Albert Boime describes him, “vain, superficial, and eager to be seen at his cosmetic best.”⁷⁴ Here, Deraismes deliberately undercuts the deeply-entrenched gender stereotypes of late nineteenth century France. Instead of an alluring but shallow woman accompanied by an intellectually superior male figure who delights in her beauty, Gonzalès stages a scene in which a self-confident, independent woman takes pleasure in a theatrical performance, while her husband diverts his gaze from the show, concerned only with being seen. Or at least, such is Deraismes' reading of the painting.

Following these character sketches, Deraismes reiterates her opening contention that *Une Loge au Théâtre des italiens* deserved admission to the 1874 Salon and then offers her final appraisal of Eva Gonzalès. In Deraismes' estimation, Gonzalès “a en elle l'étoffe d'un grand peintre” because she is unafraid to dirty her fingers and because she recognizes that knowledge

⁷²Boime, Albert. “Maria Deraismes and Eva Gonzalès: A Feminist Critique of ‘Une Loge aux Théâtre des Italiens’”. JSTOR, *Women's Art Journal*, Vol. 15, No. 2, Fall 1994 – Winter 1995, p. 35.

⁷³ Deraismes, non-paginated. Translation: “One senses that, for this young woman, the songs and harmonies of the orchestra only serve to accompany the interior melody that sings within her. She follows her dream through the poem (lyrics) and the score (music).”

⁷⁴ Deraismes, non-paginated and Boime, 34. Translation: “Less preoccupied with seeing than with being seen.”

and talent are infinitely more valuable and long-lasting than youth and beauty.⁷⁵ Phrased another way, Deraismes ‘sees’ Gonzalès as an artist with great potential because, unlike Marie Bashkirtseff, Eva Gonzalès does not vacillate between wanting to be acclaimed as a gifted painter and wanting to epitomize femininity.

Nonetheless, it must be remembered that “Deraismes’ description is charged with her particular feminist agenda”, which appreciably impacts Deraismes’ manner of ‘seeing.’⁷⁶ Although Deraismes’ indignation that Gonzalès’ painting was declined by the Salon was surely genuine, she was still writing with a particular readership and with specific political goals in mind. In her 1873 essay “France et progrès”, Deraismes declares that “la femme...même aux époques où elle était la plus esclave” has shown “des preuves de génie, de talent, d’héroïsme.”⁷⁷ Deraismes knew that she needed concrete examples to buttress this claim and Gonzalès may have appeared to her as a prime candidate. In sum, although Deraismes likely ‘saw’ Gonzalès as a promising realist painter who merited more Salon recognition, she may have also ‘seen’ her as an artist whose name could be exploited to further her women’s rights campaign.

One aspect of *Une Loge au théâtre des italiens* that Deraismes does not engage, but that is important to bring out, is the way that the painting is in dialogue with works by Manet and Renoir. In 1874, exactly contemporaneous with Gonzalès’ painting, Manet executed a pastel entitled *Dans la loge* (Figure 4). Modeled on Eva Gonzalès and Léon Leenhoff, the composition of this work is very similar to that of *Une Loge au théâtre des italiens*.⁷⁸ The two most conspicuous differences are the inverse positioning of the two figures and the more outward-looking gaze of the man. Marie-Caroline Sainsaulieu believes Gonzalès’ painting to have been

⁷⁵ Deraismes, non-paginated. Translation: “Gonzalès has in her the makings of a great painter.”

⁷⁶ Boime, 34.

⁷⁷ Bernard, 190. Translation: “Woman...even during the periods when she was the most enslaved, has shown evidence of genius, of talent, and of heroism.”

⁷⁸ Sainsaulieu, *Catalogue Raisonné*, 16.

“inspiré du pastel de Manet.”⁷⁹ It is possible that Gonzalès chose this particular subject as a way to both assert her identity as a serious painter and to demonstrate her ability to treat the same subject as her teacher with equal, if not superior, skill.

Another work to which *Une Loge au théâtre des italiens* makes explicit reference is Manet’s 1863 painting *Olympia* (Figure 5). Several critics harped on the visual resemblance between the flowers in the lower left hand corner of Gonzalès’ painting with those offered to the courtesan by her maidservant in Manet’s oeuvre. Sainsaulieu has fittingly dubbed Gonzalès’ bouquet “le jumeau de celui de l’*Olympia*.”⁸⁰ The question is why Gonzalès was willing to risk reigniting the controversy surrounding *Olympia* when the bouquet does little to develop her painting’s narrative. One tentative explanation is that Gonzalès sought to juxtapose her female opera-goer with Manet’s prostitute. Instead of a sharp, angular woman engaged in the basest sort of capital transaction, Gonzalès presents a sinuous, attractive, and most importantly, intelligent woman who “is able to respond to the music with a depth of feeling and appreciation foreign to her male partner.”⁸¹ Not only does Gonzalès present herself as a serious artist, she also presents the female sex as endowed with powers of perception and reflection not usually attributed to them in art.

This is especially apparent when one compares *Une Loge au théâtre des italiens* to Renoir’s 1874 painting *La Loge* (Figure 6). Although the setting for the two paintings is almost identical, their female protagonists are quite unlike. Whereas Gonzalès depicts an alert woman who is in control of her own self-presentation, Renoir portrays an enchanting but obtuse woman whose boldly patterned gown threatens to overpower her. As Albert Boime observes, “the disarray of her hair...conveys an absence of poise...and the angle at which she is viewed

⁷⁹ Sainsaulieu, *Catalogue Raisonné*, 16. Translation: “Inspired by Manet’s pastel.”

⁸⁰ Sainsaulieu, *Catalogue Raisonné*, 8. Translation: “The twin of the one in *Olympia*.”

⁸¹ Boime, 34.

reinforces her vulnerability.”⁸² By contrast, Gonzalès’ female opera-goer is situated at a greater distance from the picture plane and her hair is done up in a tidy coiffure, both of which undermine the notion that she in an object for display. Although it is difficult to gauge the extent to which Gonzalès’ painting was intended as a response to Renoir’s *La Loge*, Gonzalès would certainly have been aware of the artwork that other Impressionists were producing and exhibiting, thanks in large measure to her relationship with Manet. Consequently, it is plausible that Gonzalès executed *Une Loge au théâtre des italiens* in order to stake a claim in the ongoing artistic conversation between Manet and Renoir.

At this point, it is worth briefly reviewing the different manners of ‘seeing’ that have been discussed. Eva Gonzalès has been variously ‘seen’ as a woman, as a passive object of the active male gaze, as a beautiful model, as a friend, as a trainee whose success is an offshoot of her teacher’s, as an individual susceptible to dangerous artistic pressures, as a realist, as an artist with great potential, and finally (perhaps with the greatest frequency) as a woman artist. But how did Eva Gonzalès ‘see’ herself? Did her self-perception align with how her artistic mentors and critics ‘saw’ her or did she ‘see’ herself in a different light? The answer seems to lie in her relationship with her sister, Jeanne Gonzalès.

Jeanne and Eva Gonzalès were constant companions. United by their mutual interest in art, Jeanne Gonzalès often accompanied her older sister to Manet’s atelier, “heureuse de profiter, elle aussi, des enseignements de Manet,” though she never became his official student.⁸³ As is often the case with siblings, the two sisters were very different in temperament. Eva Gonzalès, remembered for her “maturité précoce, son caractère impétueux et son orgueil,” dominated her sister quite naturally.⁸⁴ Jeanne Gonzalès does not appear to have found Eva overbearing

⁸² Boime, 34.

⁸³ Sainsaulieu, *Catalogue Raisonné*, 33. Translation: “Happy to profit, her also, from Manet’s teachings.”

⁸⁴ Sainsaulieu, *Catalogue Raisonné*, 5. Translation: “Her early maturity, her impetuous character, and her pride”.

however, as she agreed to serve as her sister's model on an almost daily basis and readily accepted any artistic guidance that Eva had to offer.⁸⁵ Sainsaulieu even suggests that Eva Gonzalès acted as a 'surrogate Manet' for her sister, counseling and steering Jeanne's artistic development in the same way that Manet did for her.⁸⁶

This intimate, but unbalanced, relationship between Eva and Jeanne Gonzalès is of the utmost importance when trying to understand how Eva Gonzalès 'saw' herself, for several reasons. First, and most significantly, Eva Gonzalès did not produce a single self-portrait, with the exception of one dry point engraving, throughout her entire artistic career.⁸⁷ "Intimidée par sa propre image, jamais Eva n'osa se peindre face au miroir."⁸⁸ Even Marie Bashkirtseff, who so grappled with the incompatibilities between professional artistry and bourgeois femininity, generated a portrait of herself holding the painter's signature attribute, a palette.⁸⁹ It seems rather out of character for so headstrong a woman as Eva Gonzalès to flinch in front of her own image.

However, a disinclination for self-portraiture does not necessarily indicate a lack of confidence on the part of the painter. It is possible that Eva Gonzalès decided, whether consciously or unconsciously, to explore her own self-understanding through another figure, that of her sister. Indeed, Roger-Marx argues that Eva Gonzalès "s'est observée... à travers ce double d'elle-même qu'elle aimait, rudoyait, transformait à sa guise, de manière à en faire vingt sœurs différentes."⁹⁰ By dressing Jeanne Gonzalès in different garments, by arranging her in different attitudes, and by locating her in different spaces, Eva Gonzalès was able to prod her own self-knowledge and 'see' herself from a multiplicity of angles.

⁸⁵ Roger-Marx, 27.

⁸⁶ Sainsaulieu, *Catalogue Raisonné*, 45.

⁸⁷ Roger-Marx, 27. Unfortunately, no photograph of this dry point seems to be available. It does not appear in Sainsaulieu's catalogue raisonné.

⁸⁸ Roger-Marx, 33. Translation: "Intimidated by her own image, Eva never dared to paint herself facing the mirror."

⁸⁹ Garb, *Body in Time*, 76.

⁹⁰ Roger-Marx, 27. Translation: "She observed herself... through this duplicate of herself that she loved, mistreated, and transformed as she pleased, so as to create twenty different sisters."

This seems to be especially true for two pastels executed in 1879, for which Jeanne Gonzalès obligingly posed in Eva's white satin wedding gown (Figures 8 and 9). In keeping with French custom, Eva Gonzalès and Henri Guérard were married first at the town hall of their Parisian arrondissement, and then at a church two days later, in February of 1879.⁹¹ Eva Gonzalès was thus a new bride when she undertook these two pastels, which are identically entitled *La Mariée*.⁹² In his post mortem salute to Gonzalès, Octave Mirabeau singles out the twin pastels for special praise. He observes, "Je retrouve-là, dans la douceur des tons, dans le jeu de la lumière sur l'étoffe blanche et le nuage transparent des voiles, une caresse particulière."⁹³ The tenderness and special attention that Mirabeau discerns in the execution of the pastels probably reflects the fact that the subject resonated with Eva Gonzalès in a very personal way. Gonzalès' new status as wife was a major part of her changing identity and it surely affected the way she 'saw' herself. Therefore, in order to investigate the new opportunities for self-seeing offered by her recent marriage, Eva Gonzalès chose to complete two works featuring a young bride, modeled on her sister Jeanne.

It is also worth noting that, in an ironic twist of fate, these pastels proved to be prophetic. Five years after Eva's death in 1883, Jeanne Gonzalès became Henri Guérard's second wife and took over care of Eva's son, by then a toddler.⁹⁴ By fulfilling the nuptial and maternal vacancies created by Eva Gonzalès's death, Jeanne poses one last time for her sister. This time, however, the role Jeanne plays will not be undone. More than any other event or artistic work, Jeanne Gonzalès' marriage to Eva's widower demonstrates just how blurred the identities of the two

⁹¹ Sainsaulieu, *Catalogue Raisonné*, 17.

⁹² Translation: "The Bride."

⁹³ Sainsaulieu, *Catalogue Raisonné*, 270. "I recognize, in the softness of the shades, in the play of the light on the white fabric and the transparent cloud of veils, a particular caress."

⁹⁴ Sainsaulieu, *Catalogue Raisonné*, 8.

sisters were. As Sainsaulieu so aptly phrases it, “Eva et Jeanne auront leurs vies étroitement mêlées, et dans l’art, et dans l’amour.”⁹⁵

This is not to say, however, that Eva Gonzalès ‘saw’ herself exclusively through the prism of her sister, though her relationship with Jeanne was certainly pivotal to her self-viewing. There is also evidence to suggest that Eva Gonzalès ‘saw’ herself as someone capable of taking initiative and directing the course of her own artistic career. For example, Gonzalès “realized that the teaching she was being given was frustrating her avant-garde instincts” and so she quit Chaplin’s studio in 1869.⁹⁶ This decision was made before Gonzalès had met Manet, so she did not yet have an alternative instructor in mind. Gonzalès simply had enough self-awareness to recognize that her artistic bent differed from that of Chaplin, the so-called “François Boucher moderne.”⁹⁷ This indicates that Gonzalès ‘saw’ herself as a serious artist, preferring an artistic hiatus over education ill-suited to her artistic needs.

The life and artistic activity of Eva Gonzalès offer modern art historians a fascinating opportunity to examine the problem of the woman artist in late nineteenth-century France. As Griselda Pollock observes, female artists “worked from different position and experiences from those of their colleagues who were men” and this impacted both how they ‘saw’ and how they were ‘seen’ by art consumers and producers alike.⁹⁸ There was also a tendency to create common identities for female artists based on no criterion other than their sex, which was misleading and unrepresentative.⁹⁹ This has certainly been the case for Eva Gonzalès, who is frequently bracketed together with Berthe Morisot, Mary Cassatt, and Marie Bracquemond under the

⁹⁵ Sainsaulieu, *Catalogue Raisonné*, 5. Translation: “The lives of Eva and Jeanne were tightly entwined, both in art and in love.”

⁹⁶ Sainsaulieu, “Expressive Red”, 207.

⁹⁷ Roger-Marx, 2. Translation: “The modern François Boucher.”

⁹⁸ Pollock, 248.

⁹⁹ Garb, *Women Impressionists*, 5. Admittedly, the female Impressionists also betray similarities in style and subject matter, which is arguably another criterion for so grouping them. However, such a grouping often emphasizes communal identity at the expense of individual identity and downplays differences in technique. For this reason, it is just as misleading as a grouping based on gender alone.

taxonomic category of 'female Impressionists.' The purpose of this paper, then, was to depart from this approach and analyze Gonzalès in terms of both how her contemporaries 'saw' her and how she 'saw' herself. While Chaplin, Manet, Mirabeau, and Deraismes 'saw' Eva Gonzalès through the prism of her gender, Gonzalès 'saw' herself through the prism of her younger sister Jeanne.

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Illustrations



Figure 1. *Portrait of E.G.*, 1870 by Edouard Manet



Figure 2. *Maria Tomasa Palafox, Marquesa de Villafranca*, 1804, by Francisco Goya



Figure 3. *Une Loge au théâtre des italiens*, 1874, by Eva Gonzalès



Figure 4. *Dans la loge*, 1874, by Edouard Manet

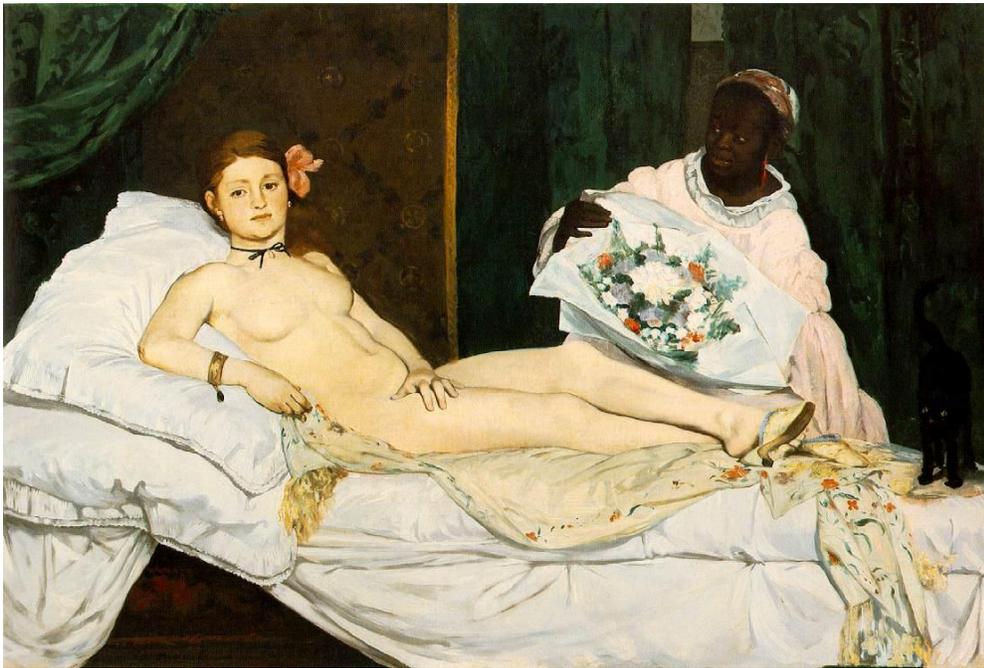


Figure 5. *Olympia*, 1863, by Edouard Manet



Figure 6. *La Loge*, 1874, by Pierre-Auguste Renoir



Figure 7. *La Mariée*, 1879, by Eva Gonzalès



Figure 8. *La Mariée*, 1879, by Eva Gonzalès