Camille Pissarro's *Turpitudes Sociales* : Challenging the Medical Model of Social Deviance

Elpida Vouitsis
McGill University, Montreal
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Table of Contents

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Abstract
The French temperance movement during the nineteenth century believed that it had discovered the source of social problems when it linked accidents, conjugal violence and crime to an increase in alcohol consumption by the working classes. In a swift attempt to curb these societal ills, the campaign led by the medical community targeted the working classes in France. This instigated the further alienation of the masses and allowed government officials to promote its own agenda of moral reform. In an effort to expose the elitist intentions of this state run temperance movement, this thesis analyzes four images from Camille Pissarro's unpublished album, *Turpitudes Sociales* of 1889, which represent similar imagery but with an opposite message. I will analyze these images from Pissarro's unpublished work in order to shed light on his incorporation of class relations and depiction of the bourgeoisie's negative impact on the French working classes.

Résumé
La communauté scientifique en France pendant le dix-neuvième siècle pensait avoir découvert la source de certains problèmes sociaux, en reliant la consommation de liqueurs fortes par les classes ouvrières et l'augmentation des accidents au travail, l'abus et les crimes. En espérant vaincre ce problème d'alcoolisme, les médecins ont mené une campagne de tempérance surtout dans les écoles. Cela a causé une aliénation entre les classes en France et a aussi aidé le gouvernement à promouvoir son projet de réforme morale. Cette thèse a pour but d'exposer les intentions corrompues du mouvement de tempérance français en analysant quatre images créées par Camille Pissarro et incluses dans son album inédit *Turpitudes Sociales* de 1889. Je vais discuter ces images qui démontrent la position de Camille Pissarro concernant la relation entre les classes en France et l'impact néfaste de la bourgeoisie sur les classes ouvrières.

Introduction

The year 1889 seems to have been marked by many events in different spheres of French culture. The Eiffel Tower was inaugurated, the medical community was making discoveries in relation to degeneracy and hereditary disorders tied to alcoholism and simultaneously, sociologists and criminologists were making equal headway by borrowing the findings of the French medical school.[1] The last decade of the nineteenth century in France was witnessing the union of professional and academic theories, which later fit with the social reform of the impoverished masses instigated by the French government as early as the 1870s. While a cooperative binding was taking place within privileged circles, a severe rift was being created with its marginalized other, the lower class. It seems that the medical findings on alcoholism and its effects were being translated into a working-class phenomenon, the most detrimental being the association of the lower classes with crime. This cast a suspicious and overbearing eye on almost all working-class activities, and managed to transform its survival into a criminal act.

Camille Pissarro made an album which he called *Turpitudes Sociales* in 1889 as a gift for his niece, Esther Isaacson, in London. He sent the album and a letter to her on December 29th, 1889. Unpublished in his lifetime, the work comprises twenty-eight pen and ink drawings, an illustrated title page and table of contents. Pissarro depicted many different scenes in this work and each was accompanied by a brief caption on the left page. The subject matter varies from image to image but the underlying theme concerns class relations. Most of the imagery documents the trials faced by the French working classes in the urban realm and a few images depict the middle class.

I will be analyzing four images found in *Turpitudes Sociales* that show similarities with the imagery and literature of the French temperance movement during the nineteenth century. I believe that Pissarro's specific portrayals of the working classes do not support the theories of the medical community but pose a challenge to its medical model of social deviance related to alcoholism. Rather than blaming the French working classes for the primary ills of society, Pissarro's work characterizes the bourgeoisie as the instigator of lower-class misery. Pissarro's four images differ from the dominant

[1] Henri Joly, Le Crime – Étude Sociale (Paris: Cerf, 1888) 1-22, 102-161, 277-308, 328-384. See Joly, La France Criminelle (Paris, 1889) 56-96, 170-79, 199-200.

portrayals of alcoholism because he exhibits sympathy for the working classes and portrays the bourgeoisie as the root of France's social problems and corruption.

Pissarro's album addresses the issue of class polarization. Apart from Pissarro's creation of the album in 1889, a year signaling the opposition between bourgeois aspirations of prosperity and the working-class' honoring of human struggle, all of the images represent divergences between middle-class and impoverished living situations. Pissarro's title page (Fig. 4) encompasses the underlying rhetoric of his imagery by contrasting a lone human against the Parisian background. This image essentially communicates a mood of adversity and human struggle, in a world increasingly dominated by bourgeois industry and decadence.

In *Turpitudes Sociales*, Pissarro elucidates his intentions in the title page (Fig. 4) when he portrays an old man personifying death looking towards the French capital. This anarchist message signals Pissarro's disparaging feelings in relation to wealth and industry. The table of contents is also illustrated and features a bourgeois man unloading the burden of the album's contents onto the back of a working-class man. This indicates the underlying theme of the album and the involvement of class relations in the ensuing imagery. The bourgeois and the worker are placed on opposite sides of the page where Pissarro delineates the album's subject matter. This indicates a divergence between the working classes and the bourgeoisie.

Although there has not been a vast amount of literature devoted to the analysis of Pissarro's *Turpitudes Sociales*, the articles that I will be summarizing allowed me to reconsider the formal and contextual aspects of the work more closely.

In his article, "Camille Pissarro's Turpitudes Sociales and the Late Nineteenth-Century French Anarchist Anti-Feminism," John Hutton analyzed the anti-feminist content in eight of the images in *Turpitudes Sociales*.[2] He argued that the oppression and exploitation of the working classes are readings that are incorrect and inadequate and often superimposed on the analysis of Pissarro's unpublished album.[3] I believe that the issue of unfair class relations deserves more attention, especially in relation to the temperance movement's efforts to disgrace the French working classes. In light of

[2] John Hutton, "Camille Pissarro's Turpitudes Sociales and the Late Nineteenth-Century French Anarchist Anti-Feminism," History Workshop: A Journal of Socialist and Feminist Historians 24 (1987): 34.
[3] Hutton 36.

Pissarro's recycling of recurring images in his unpublished album, Hutton's link between the portrayals of working-class women and Pissarro's anti-feminist ideals may be premature. Similar to the four images that I will be examining and their divergence from the dominant rhetoric proposed by the medical community, Pissarro's portrayal of working-class women may also be deviations from dominant notions about gender through the use of recurring visual imagery.

Pissarro's images in his unpublished album seem to redirect established preconceptions related to the working classes through the accompanying texts. The often short and highly politicized quotations do not condemn members of the French working classes but shed light on their living situations, therefore forcing the viewer to reconsider another side to each image. Furthermore, Hutton suggests that in Pissarro's *Petite Scène de la Vie Conjugale* (Fig. 19), included in *Turpitudes Sociales*, the working-class man violently abusing his wife may be a manifestation of severe oppression imposed on the working classes that is slowly taking its toll on domestic environments in the French urban realm.[4] Hutton is therefore making a direct link between public and private spheres. Although Hutton attempts to shed light on eight of the images in *Turpitudes Sociales* and Pissarro's anti-feminist belief system that was in line with Proudhon's *La Pornocratie*, he admits that much of the anarchist writings towards the end of the nineteenth century related the oppression of the working classes to the lavish lifestyles of the bourgeoisie.

Richard Thomson's article, "Camille Pissarro, 'Turpitudes Sociales,' and the Universal Exhibition of 1889," relates the prevailing sense of class struggle in *Turpitudes Sociales* to some of the major cultural and political events in France, as well as Pissarro's own struggles as an artist during the end of the nineteenth century.[5] Thomson also makes a correlation between Pissarro's images in *Turpitudes Sociales* and some "symbolic" subjects based on the life of the urban worker.[6] Thomson argues that the themes of poverty, repression, exploitation and crime are paired with quotations frequently

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[4] Hutton 49-50.
[5] Richard Thomson, "Camille Pissarro, 'Turpitudes Sociales,' and the Universal Exhibition of 1889," Arts Magazine 56.8 (1982): 84-85.
[6] Thomson 82.

employed in the anarchist journal *La Révolte*.[7] He states that Pissarro's images of working-class survival are ironic in relation to the centenary commemoration of the French Revolution and at the same time, "the triumph of the modern bourgeois state."[8] Thomson believes that Pissarro's creation of *Turpitudes Sociales* was triggered by his realization of this paradox, which I believe explains Pissarro's use of recurring visual imagery.

Paul Smith's article, "Parbleu: Pissarro and the Political Colour of an Original Vision," is not based on *Turpitudes Sociales* but the author documents Pissarro's cultural views and his community of supporters, which promoted the anarchist ideologies inherent in his artistic vision.[9] Pissarro's affiliation with writers such as Paul Alexis and Paul Adam, as well as his friendship with Cézanne are discussed by Smith. He claims that Adam's novel *Soi*, published in May 1886, even features a character named Vibrac who greatly resembles Pissarro in appearance and temperament.[10] Adam's character Vibrac expresses the same type of arguments about the relation between colour vision and anarchism that Pissarro states in his own letters.[11] Furthermore, Paul Adam's Impressionist protagonist also disagrees with many elitist notions related to high art and is often portrayed arguing with some members of the bourgeoisie about the meaning of some works in the Salon.[12] The effects and treatment of specific subjects admired by the rich and highly conservative Marthe forces Vibrac to reveal his true sentiments with regards to bourgeois values and notions of taste.[13] Smith argues that the novelist Paul Adam modeled Vibrac after Pissarro, for he too often wrote to his son Lucien about his extreme contempt for the bourgeoisie, an issue that becomes even more apparent in *Turpitudes Sociales*.[14]

Michel Melot, in his article, "Camille Pissarro in 1880: An Anarchist in Bourgeois Society," also discusses Pissarro's anarchist views but in relation to his printed

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[7] Thomson 82.
[8] Thomson 85.
[9] Paul Smith, "Parbleu: Pissarro and the Political Colour of an Original Vision," Art History 15.2 (1992): 225-31.
[10] Smith 229-33.
[11] Smith 231.
[12] Smith 231-33.
[13] Smith 231, 233.
[14] Camille Pissarro, "To Lucien Pissarro," July 1883, of Letters to His Son Lucien, ed. John Rewald, 4th ed. (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1980) 37.

works. Melot believes that the unstable lines in Pissarro's prints communicated an immediacy of vision. Melot suggests that Pissarro's abrasive and unfinished treatment of his printed works reveals a certain objectivity and preservation of the subject's essential visual components. The prints were therefore closer depictions of "reality" and not mere reflections.[15] Furthermore, Pissarro's exhibition of his prints in their different states emphasized the distinction between the artist's experience and objective reality, "(...) an idea unacceptable to the academic mind in search of an absolute ideal."[16] According to Melot, Pissarro's prints did not communicate an exclusive or even imposing view of reality but a range of uninterrupted views, all equivalent to one another.[17] Melot's investigation of Pissarro's printed works places the artist in an aesthetic category separate from the artistic norm of the Salon and furthermore, emphasizes Pissarro's desire to challenge accepted notions regarding artistic integrity.

The literature that I have discussed shares a common theme in relation to Pissarro's artistic goal. Hutton and Thomson suggest that Pissarro was renegotiating established cultural norms while depicting the urban working classes. Although Hutton's analysis investigates Pissarro's anarchist ideals and support of socialist thought, his discussion is focused on aspects of anarchism that are gender-biased and Pissarro's adherence to these anti-feminist ideals. Thomson's article, however, establishes a link between events that occurred during the French fin-de-siècle and Pissarro's recycling of issues published in anarchist journals, namely *La Révolte*. Thomson's analysis of living conditions for the French working classes is based on the underlying notion of class inequity and exploitation in a culture increasingly preoccupied with luxury.

Smith and Melot discussed Pissarro's work in terms of its formal elements and argue that he translated his political ideologies into his art. Rather than make an overt political statement however, Smith and Melot maintain that Pissarro's technique and use of certain colors forced the viewer to reconsider the nature of objective reality. The question that needs to be asked is how did Pissarro simultaneously respond to his bourgeoning anti-conformist sympathies that were in line with anarchist ideology and

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[15] Michel Melot, "Camille Pissarro in 1880: An Anarchist in Bourgeois Society," Marxist Perspectives (1979-80): 23-24.
[16] Melot 30.
[17] Melot 30.

how were his beliefs translated in his art? Was Pissarro's unpublished album, *Turpitudes Sociales*, the only instance when the fundamental core of his ideals was translated into visual imagery free of metaphorical reference?

Pissarro exhibited his works with the Impressionists from 1874 to 1886 and later, with younger and more aesthetically defiant artists such as Signac and Fénéon. Pissarro endured criticism throughout his career and was even isolated by some of his contemporaries, such as Degas and Gauguin, after the last Impressionist exhibition ended in June 1886. In some letters to his eldest son Lucien, Pissarro documented the progressive disintegration of his friendship with Gauguin which began in 1883. Pissarro believed that Gauguin was becoming too commercial and compromised his ideas in favor of financial success.[18] It seems that Pissarro's preoccupations about French culture had reverberations in the art world as well. The bourgeoisie, according to Pissarro, were savages with no intelligent expertise yet had the primary say in "every branch of human knowledge."[19] Pissarro was not fighting a battle with other artists: He was faced by an opponent too powerful to challenge, the capitalist state.[20]

Linda Nochlin, in her book "The Politics of Vision," stated that Pissarro's art was criticized in 1902 for lack of originality.[21] I believe, however, that Pissarro's ultimate objective involved a reassessment of predominant artistic and cultural ideals through the use of recurring visual imagery. The aforementioned articles correlate Pissarro's personal views with his art and argue that his ideas can be traced back to some existing belief system. I will also argue that some of the images in *Turpitudes Sociales* originated in a concrete scheme, although Pissarro did not support the correlations and findings of this cultural structure. He employed and then manipulated the dominant imagery of the temperance movement in order re-evaluate its paradigm of social deviance related to the French working classes. Pissarro's challenge of cultural and artistic ideologies clarifies his use of recurring imagery and accounts for the misinterpretations of his art.

In order to convey my findings with respect to Pissarro's subject matter in four of the images in *Turpitudes Sociales*, I will discuss the correlations between alcoholism and

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[18] Camille Pissarro, "To Lucien Pissarro," 31 October 1883, of Letters 44-45.
[19] Camille Pissarro, "To Lucien Pissarro," 28 December 1883, of Letters 50.
[20] Camille Pissarro, "To Lucien Pissarro," July 1883, of Letters 37.
[21] Linda Nochlin, The Politics of Vision: Essays on Nineteenth-Century Art and Society (New York: Harper & Row, Publishers, 1989) 61.

the working classes in the arguments of the temperance movement. The French scientific community maintained that aside from the biological damage of alcohol abuse on the human system, there existed three distinct social repercussions among the lower classes. Workplace accidents, conjugal violence and street crimes were increasing, as the consumption of alcohol by the French working classes simultaneously augmented.

These findings became universally accepted within the medical community and even prompted a methodical anti-alcoholism campaign in the French school system in 1895. In 1896, the Minister of Education, Émile Combes, extended this endeavor to the secondary schools, hoping that those nearing the age of employment would educate their future co-workers within the industry.[22] These scholastic anti-alcoholism manuals incorporated a balance between medical and literary examples as well as criminal and economic statistics, in an effort to publicize the nature of the problem. Thus, visual imagery became an integral part of this instructive experiment, the teachers often relying on the imagery employed by physicians to make a point.[23] However, my intentions are aimed at uncovering the misrepresentations of the working classes and the biased nature of the imagery employed by temperance advocates.

My analysis will focus on images from Pissarro's album depicting a workplace accident, a scene of domestic violence and three men assaulting a bourgeois. I will relate these images to the visual imagery used by proponents of French temperance to argue that Pissarro repeatedly used certain images to promote a negative portrayal of the bourgeoisie and an inoffensive view of the working classes. I will be referring mainly to these four images from Pissarro's *Turpitudes Sociales*, but will also incorporate some other key images from the album. These depictions highlight his extreme contempt for the bourgeoisie and may shed light on his motive for contradicting their beliefs.

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[22] Susanna Barrows, Robin Room and Jeffrey Verhey, eds., Proceedings of a Conference held in Berkeley, California, January 1984: The Social History of Alcohol: Drinking and Culture in Modern Society (Berkeley: Alcohol Research Group, 1987) 211-12.
[23] Barrows et al., eds., Proceedings 212-13.

Chapter 1
The Working Classes Defined by the Medical Model: Workplace Accidents

The pair of images that led me to evaluate the issue of alcoholism in nineteenth-century France were Pissarro's *Avant* and *Après l'Accident* (Figs. 1 & 2). In researching the subject matter portrayed by Pissarro, I was led to medical treatises and material published by proponents of the temperance movement in nineteenth-century France. It seems the example of the workplace accident was commonly employed by medical professionals in order to demonstrate the hazardous effects of alcohol consumption on the working classes.[1]

> Ah! Que d'accidents professionnels surviennent chaque jour qui sont imputés à un hasard, et qui sont en réalité dûs à l'usage de l'absinthe. Un individu tombe d'une échelle, heurte contre le pavé, fait une chute, se fait une entorse; (...) Voici un homme adonné aux boissons apéritives et qui un beau jour tremble, a des étourdissements, des vertiges; si cet homme est un couvreur et qu'il soit pris d'un vertige, il tombe dans la rue.[2]

In figure 1, Pissarro portrayed a man sitting on a scaffold held up by a rope. There is a bucket of paint dangling next to him, which is secured by a cord. Pissarro located the painter in the left foreground. The structure that the laborer is renovating is cropped at the top and bottom, allowing for a close-up of the worker. He appears to be straining himself slightly, as his left hand grips the supporting rope and his right arm, almost completely extended, applies the paint to the façade. The worker's head is looking up while he uses his left foot for support against the building's white exterior. The man renovating the façade takes up the left side of Pissarro's image.

On the right side of the image, Pissarro portrayed three zinc workers perched atop a gabled roof, hammering some shingles in place. This structure is shaded, indicating that it is further behind the white structure in the left foreground. Pissarro depicted the men hard at work with their backs turned toward the viewer. The painter in the left foreground seems deeply involved in the laborious task of painting the façade. A pipe is placed

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[1] Lucien Mayet, Études sur les Statistiques de l'Alcoolisme: Alcoolisme et Dépopulation; Alcoolisme et Tuberculose; Alcoolisme et Suicide (Paris: Imprimerie Vve Albouy, 1901) 28-30. See Amédée Louis Alfred Tourdot, De L'Alcoolisme dans la Seine Inférieure, thesis, (1886) 89-90. Tourdot discusses other types of workplace accidents engendered by alcohol abuse.

[2] Paul-Maurice Legrain, Absinthe et Absinthisme, 3rd ed. (Lausanne: Imprimerie Ch. Viret-Genton, 1905) 19.

distinctly in his mouth. Pissarro appears to have captured working-class labour in this image (Fig. 1). The detail of the painter smoking refers to a commonplace ritual for nineteenth-century working-class laborers. According to cultural historian Alain Corbin, smoking and drinking on the job were activities that characterized the rhythm of work in nineteenth-century France.[3] Pissarro, however, did not include any insinuation of a working-class drinking phenomenon in this image (Fig. 1). Furthermore, Pissarro did not depict any of the workers in this image pausing for a break or leaving their designated work area for a trip to the local *débit de boissons*, as assumed by temperance advocates. The idleness that so many medical officials warned against,[4] which increasingly came to symbolize alcohol consumption among the working classes is not present in Pissarro's portrayal of industrial labour.

The caption accompanying this image (Fig. 1) describes the event in two simple words, *avant l'accident*. At first glance, I was unable to identify a hazard in this image, nor was I able to pinpoint any type of obstacle that was hindering the work of the laborers. The man painting the façade seems securely supported by the scaffolding and the men laying zinc on the neighboring rooftop also appear to be experienced workers and deeply concentrated on the task at hand. Furthermore, Pissarro's treatment of the subject appears unrehearsed and he portrayed the workers undisturbed by any distractions. The painter's head is tilted up to assure that he is uniformly applying the paint on the structure and the heads of the roofers are looking down to make sure that they are properly placing the shingles. There is no involvement of alcohol in this image and therefore, Pissarro's image negates the common association of workplace accidents caused by alcohol consumption.

The accompanying image (Fig. 2) is also described by two words, *après l'accident*. Pissarro depicted a crowd of people looking over each other's shoulders at two men wearing hats and dark clothing, carrying a stretcher covered by a white sheet. It appears that one of the workers has fallen to his death. One of the onlookers is exhibiting a deep sense of loss, her two hands clutched together and clearly placed on her chest. The woman to her left is also stricken as she watches the stretcher pass, her mouth open in

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[3] Alain Corbin, Time, Desire and Horror: Towards a History of the Senses, trans. Jean Birrell (Oxford & Cambridge, Polity Press & Blackwell Publishers Ltd., 1995) 5-7.
[4] Corbin 8.

horror. A third woman seems to be rushing to the scene and she is located to the right of the grieving woman. Pissarro portrayed one of her feet in mid air and her right arm bent in a runner's stance. She too is obviously affected by the news and may be hurrying to the side of the anguished woman.

The two men carrying the stretcher are not exhibiting any emotion but are simply carrying the large load from the straps on their shoulders. Their appearance is very grim and they are wearing dark clothing and hats, their heads bowed down in an almost mechanical familiarity. Their disposition may indicate the frequency of this occurrence within the French urban environment. The crowd is standing in front of a white structure, with an arched entrance and windows with shutters. All of the structure's openings are dark, with no sign of life from an open window or the main entrance.

The crowd is quite large but only the three women, who appear affected by the unfortunate accident, are discernible from the rest of the gathering. On the left side of these three women is a young girl with long dark hair. She seems curious about the corpse on the stretcher but at the same time rigidly fixed upon the white glare of the sheet covering the victim. There are also a few men in dark top hats standing in the crowd. These are bourgeois men who have also rushed to witness the horrific scene. Pissarro carefully arranged these images and their compositional elements in order to highlight certain details. He made sure that the three women were at the front of the crowd, obviously affected by this accident. Yet Pissarro also made sure to include certain details, like the bourgeois onlookers, in an effort to communicate a different meaning in this pair of images.

Unlike proponents of the temperance movement, who highlighted alcohol consumption as the main cause of work-related accidents in their anti-alcoholism propaganda (Fig. 3), Pissarro objectively portrayed this misfortune and included members of the bourgeoisie in the following image (Fig. 2). Their presence may indicate Pissarro's feelings about unsympathetic bourgeois reaction in light of this working-class devastation. The temperance material, however, focused its imagery of workplace accidents on urban laborers and the burden of alcoholism on the shoulders of the working classes.

Pissarro did not describe in the captions accompanying figures 1 and 2, the cause underlying the accident. He simply characterized both images as sequential. Contrary to the didactic visual imagery disseminated by temperance leaders, Pissarro included a continuation of this dramatic accident. The temperance movement, however, focused its imagery on the accident itself, omitting any indication of the accident's effect on the victim's family. Furthermore, the bourgeoisie has an unspecified purpose in *Après l'Accident* (Fig. 2), which may point to Pissarro's reasons for challenging the medical community's stance on working-class alcoholism. In researching these images, a recurring motif was the fall from a high place. There are a number of circumstances that may have caused this accident. However, the medical community during the second-half of the nineteenth century attempted to portray the findings of their research on the paralyzing effects of liquors like absinthe on the nervous system through the workplace accident.[5]

In a widely disseminated image created by Gustave Phillippon with the collaboration of doctor Paul-Maurice Legrain towards the end of the nineteenth century (Fig. 3), the physician depicted this fall from a high place. Legrain's poster was published several times, even appearing in Spanish by the early twentieth century. It is not known if Legrain aided Phillippon in the illustration of the image but his name is printed at the top of the Spanish-language poster. The poster was made for use in schools. Legrain spent many years working at Asiles de la Seine treating alcoholic patients before becoming one of the leading proponents of temperance in France. [6] It was created after Pissarro's unpublished album. The image, however, differed greatly from Pissarro's treatment of the same subject. Legrain's caption located at the bottom of the image clearly states the cause of the worker's fall. Hard liquors like absinthe are blamed for causing disorders such as epilepsy, dizziness and vertigo and Legrain links them directly to the incident portrayed.

Legrain's image focuses in the left corner, on some rooftops and chimneys and on the right, the cropped arrangement of a gabled roof and part of its structure. Phillippon superimposed a traditional glass of absinthe and its spoon on the structure to the right, two distinct features of this *apéritif.* This addition further supports Legrain's caption,

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[5] Émile Bocquillon, L'Alcoolisme (Paris: Belin Grères, 1899) 21-24.
[6] Patricia E. Prestwich, "Paul-Maurice Legrain (1860-1939)," Addiction 92.10 (1997): 1257-59.

which related liquor consumption to neurological disorders that led to falls from high places. At the center of the action is a man who is falling from the roof where he was working. His limbs are sprawled open, his hat has flown off his head and his worker's tool has slipped from his right hand.

Legrain's image contains details that also add to the dramatic effect of the accident. The worker's left leg is caught on the corner of the structure from which he has fallen and Phillippon clearly illustrates a few shingles neatly arranged where the victim's foot is caught. This delineates the victim's purpose on the rooftop as well as his type of profession. However, he seems overdressed for a humble worker, another indication of the temperance movement's ignorance in matters of working-class life. Furthermore, Phillippon illustrated another man on the roof of the structure, trying desperately to extend his right arm to help his co-worker. He is gripping tightly to one of the raised window boxes on the roof and is looking with horror as the other roofer falls with nothing to soften the impact of his descent. It seems that temperance advocates like Legrain tried hard to communicate a message about working-class alcoholism by exaggerating certain elements in their visual propaganda for effect, while neglecting some basic details such as the urban laborer's attire. The man falling from the roof is wearing a jacket, but his co-worker is clad in a simple white shirt. This disproportion signals an exaggeration with regard to the representation of working-class men.

Legrain's image (Fig. 3) is aligned with the medical community's stance on alcoholism among the working classes, whereas Pissarro's portrayal negates the rhetoric of the temperance community by excluding certain biased elements. Pissarro expelled the reference to alcohol and instead referred to the bourgeoisie, in essence revealing the underlying manipulation of the alcoholism issue. In comparing both images (Figs. 1 & 3), the exaggeration in the temperance material is clear. The rooftops in the lower left corner of Legrain's image appear awkward and the part of the structure on the right is cropped intentionally in order to communicate a specific industrial profession and the habits commonly associated with the zinc worker. The most obvious correlation between liquor consumption and this work-related accident is the glass of absinthe conveniently superimposed on the structure from which the *zingueur* has fallen.

In Pissarro's image (Fig. 2), it is not clear which of the men has fallen to his death. I assume that it is the man painting the façade of the building in the foreground (Fig. 1) because Pissarro also portrayed the same bright exterior in *Après l'Accident*. This detail challenged the theories of French physicians and temperance advocates, especially the common association made between zinc workers and alcohol abuse.[7] Pissarro depicted a painter, securely stable on his scaffold, as the victim of a workplace accident and not one of the three men laying zinc on the rooftop of the shaded structure in the distance. Legrain's image, however, appears contrived and exaggerated in order to convince the viewer that there exists a link between industrial laborers and alcohol abuse. Pissarro's captions are terse, frustrating any overt connection to the medical community's stance on working-class alcoholism.

Unlike Legrain's image (Fig. 3), which was originally part of a series of posters showing the risks associated with certain occupations after having consumed hard liquors like absinthe,[8] Pissarro's images (Figs. 1 & 2) did not make any link to alcoholism nor did they feature any depiction of alcohol. The only addictive substance is present in figure 1, where the man painting the structure's façade is smoking a pipe. However, Legrain's image was part of a series of advertisements and it is easy to understand why the physician juxtaposed such obvious signs in his portrayal of a workplace accident. Legrain did not want viewers to assume the cause of this accident as anything other than alcohol consumption, and the glass of absinthe along with the bold caption reinforce his message.

Pissarro's goal was to reveal the biased nature of institutional power and challenging the rhetoric of the medical community was one way to expose this corruption. Furthermore, Pissarro's images reveal the partisan roots of temperance advocates upon investigation of certain elements. These details, such as the bourgeois men in the crowd (Fig. 2), expose the myths propagated by the temperance movement in its visual imagery and the bourgeois interests involved in the vilification of the working classes. The title page (Fig. 4) reinforced Pissarro's message concerning class relations and politics in France. In figure 4, Pissarro incorporated elements, such as the signs

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[7] Émile Zola, L'Assommoir (1877; Paris: Garnier-Flammarion, 1969) 69.
[8] Paul-Maurice Legrain and Gustave Phillippon, L'Alcoolisme, Le Buveur du XIXe Siècle , by Didier Nourrisson (Paris: Éditions Albin Michel, 1990) slide 13.

symbolizing death that were employed by the temperance advocates, in order to communicate a message different from the medical community's link between alcoholism and the lower classes. Pissarro represented:

> (...) un pauvre vieux philosophe, après avoir cru que c'était arrivé, regarde ironiquement la grande ville qui dort, il voit le soleil se lever radieux et en fixant bien attentivement voit écrit en lettres lumineuses le mot Anarchie; la tour Eiffel tâche de cacher le soleil au regard du philosophe, mais elle n'est pas encore assez haute et assez large pour dérober l'astre qui nous éclaire. Ce philosophe représente le temps, puisqu'il a un sablier près de lui, bientôt vide et qu'il va le retourner pour commencer une ère nouvelle, tu vois que c'est du symbolisme!...[9]

Pissarro's personal description of the title page (Fig. 4) was included in the letter written to his niece, which accompanied the unpublished work. The old philosopher with his long beard has placed his right hand over his ear while holding a scythe in his left. He is wearing a disheveled hat, a dark cloak and a pair of sandals. The hourglass is located on the philosopher's right side on a rock in the lower right corner of the image. The hill upon which the old man is perched stands high above Paris, a city distinguished by its abundance of chimneys, the close proximity of buildings, the residential rooftops and a structure in the left background that greatly resembles the façade of the stock exchange.

Pissarro made a statement with his opening image, one that described a French city becoming more industrialized and modernized with time. Although Pissarro stated in his letter to his niece that the man atop the hill was an old philosopher, he also greatly resembles the personification of death, characterized by the scythe over his left shoulder. In this image, Pissarro characterized wealth and materialism as the modern demon and the old man on the hill personified the resurrection of a forgotten way of life through anarchy. The meshing of two symbols, death and anarchy, may symbolize Pissarro's own view of the French urban environment, a struggle that could lead to the demise of the working classes without the initiation of mass insurgency.

This message is reinforced in Pissarro's last image in *Turpitudes Sociales*, entitled *Insurrection* but is not included in my analysis. The title page (Fig. 4) introduces the word *anarchie* in the distance and Pissarro invokes a bold solution in his final image. An

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[9] Camille Pissarro, "To Esther Isaacson," 29 December 1889, in Turpitudes Sociales (1889; Geneva: Reda, 1972) 2-3.

all-out war is taking place between the masses and what appears to be the French army guarding a tall structure behind a large cloud of smoke. The collective message of the title page (Fig. 4) and the final image is aligned with the notion of freedom from oppression or death as the two possible solutions for the working classes. Pissarro only depicted one human in this urban environment (Fig. 4) and the philosopher is not looking towards industrial change but anarchy as the solution. This is an appropriate image employed by Pissarro to redirect his message about class relations because he focused the old man's gaze on an expanding urban environment made possible through the investments of the wealthy. The album's ending seems to communicate the message that the only solution that could bring an end to oppression and exploitation of the French working classes is an anarchist upheaval.

The distanced view of the city functioned to set the stage for the upcoming images, ones that would eventually take the viewer inside the lives of the rich and poor living in the urban realm. The title page (Fig. 4) featured a distanced view of Paris and highlighted specific modern marvels like the Eiffel Tower. Pissarro communicated a sense of morbid celebration in this vast landscape of buildings and machinery, a gloomy cemetery wherein the grandeur and wealth of the bourgeoisie are enveloped. Pissarro's title page functioned as an introduction to the upcoming images and emphasized the destructive force of materialism on the lives of the working classes.

In an image included in Legrain's didactic anti-alcoholism manual, the *Démon Moderne* was personified as alcohol (Fig. 5).[10] The skeleton, with his scythe and cloak, is waiting for the hourglass to signal another death caused by alcohol abuse, while holding a glass specifically employed to serve absinthe. Time and mortality figure more prominently in Pissarro's title page (Fig. 4) because the hourglass is placed on a rock in the foreground. The hourglass in figure 5 is placed in the background and overshadowed by the *Démon Moderne* holding his scythe. The temperance image (Fig. 5) placed more emphasis on the personification of death through the imposing skeletal figure and a direct link to alcoholism through the glass of absinthe in its left hand. The image is not blurred and savage like Pissarro's treatment of a similar subject (Fig. 4) but features clean lines

[10] Paul-Maurice Legrain, L'Enseignement Anti-Alcoolique à l'École: 24 Leçons, Lectures, Pensées, Devoirs (Paris: Nathan, 1899) 130.

and obvious signs, like the gravestone in the background. The message communicated in Legrain's school manual was powerful and reinforced alcohol's deadly impact.

However, this image not only relates alcohol to death but also makes a statement about the working classes. As pointed out by Patricia E. Prestwich, if there existed such predominant consequences of alcohol abuse, like workplace accidents resulting in death, then some complexities of motivation and action can exist. It is important to "(...) distinguish what the temperance movement was and who these elites were."[11] Pissarro shared a similar view in light of institutional power and his images questioned the medical model in *Turpitudes Sociales*. As a result, the educational campaigns led by physicians and activists like Legrain near the end of the nineteenth century did not represent the values of the temperance organizations but more the values of the bourgeoisie that was making it harder for the lower classes to survive in the urban realm. This may have resulted in a misrepresentation of the working classes, especially in light of the alcohol issue. Legrain's image makes an ill-founded correlation between a very large portion of France's population and alcohol abuse, indicating the overtly elitist lens under which this issue was examined.

Pissarro's use of similar symbols in figure 4 may have been purely coincidental but when comparing his image with the *Démon Moderne* in figure 5, the subversive intentions of Pissarro's quest become clear. Perhaps if Pissarro had directly challenged the temperance community's position by alluding to its association of alcoholism with the lower classes, his imagery may have been interpreted as a manipulation of facts to condemn the bourgeoisie. Unlike the temperance advocates, who created visual propaganda and made questionable links between the working classes and alcoholism by overstating the severity of the issue, Pissarro challenged their findings by employing recurring imagery to convey an anti-authoritarian message.

The images in *Turpitudes Sociales* share a common theme: the oppression of the working classes by the bourgeoisie. Each image in Pissarro's album represents different instances of unequal class relations while qualifying the bourgeoisie as the instigator of working-class misery. Pissarro, however, omitted the presence of the bourgeoisie in most of his images because its effect on the lower classes was well documented in the early

[11] Barrows et al., eds., Proceedings 218.

stages of the album. The temperance community's propaganda, however, established and then repeatedly made allusion to the working classes in its visual imagery to serve as a constant reminder of their degenerate nature. In their conflict over class distinctions, the medical community had to eliminate any possibility of doubt over the liability of the working classes in relation to the alcoholism issue.

The proponents of this medical model, such as Legrain, may have been looking for solid ground to support a theory of social deviance, namely the school system.[12] Legrain's personification of alcohol as the modern demon, destroying the lives of the working classes, was a manipulation that Pissarro challenged.[13] Pissarro used the same sign to characterize the modern French city. Also, the year 1889 was pivotal in terms of technological advancement and political scandal. The Eiffel Tower's completion was celebrated and General Boulanger's election was later considered a regression in light of his totalitarian ambitions.[14] Pissarro's personification of the city as the underlying evil involved politicians, members of the bourgeoisie and the mechanization of industry as the root of the city's transformation. Pissarro introduced his album with a view of Paris (Fig. 4) and then immediately portrayed an entrepreneur and member of the bourgeoisie as the cause of lower-class adversity (Fig. 6).

The first image in the album is entitled *Le Capital* (Fig. 6). This image is important because from the beginning, Pissarro communicated an anti-capitalist message and showed extreme contempt for the bourgeoisie. The caption accompanying Pissarro's image is more detailed and the underlying message supports the bourgeoisie's ignorance in matters of working-class survival. The dueling forces in Pissarro's caption are the rich and the poor and the expression on the businessman's face is unsympathetic. Pissarro discussed his feelings concerning the injustices prevailing in modern French society in a letter to his son Lucien as early as 1883, indicating the pre-existence of Pissarro's trepidation in matters of politics and class relations.[15] The caption accompanying figure 6 undoubtedly reveals Pissarro's unchanged opinion of the bourgeoisie. "C'est la guerre

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[12] Barrows et al., eds., Proceedings 219.
[13] Legrain, L'Enseignement 2-6.
[14] John G. Hutton, Neo-Impressionism and the Search for Solid Ground: Art, Science, and Anarchism in Fin-de-Siècle France (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1994) 70-71. See Charles Sowerwine, France Since 1870: Culture, Politics and Society (New York: Palgrave, 2001) 60-61.
[15] Camille Pissarro, "To Lucien Pissarro," 5 July 1883, of Letters 36-37.

des dépossédés contre les dépossesseurs, la guerre des maigres contre les gras, la guerre des pauvres contre les riches, la guerre de la vie contre la mort. (Révolte)"[16]

In this image (Fig. 6), Pissarro portrayed a greedy capitalist, clutching a bag marked *capital* against his chest and surrounded by a crowd of starving citizens. The only two vertical objects in this image, illuminated equally to stand out from the rest of the picture's gloomy shading, are the bourgeois figure and the Eiffel Tower, twin symbols of materialism.[17] Pissarro makes a clear distinction between both classes, placing the bourgeois man on a pedestal and sending the message that the rich are located higher up on the ladder. The entire image is dark and gloomy but the elevated figure, the Eiffel Tower and the bridge in the background are bright and distinct, a further indication of Pissarro's views concerning French culture. Pissarro illuminated these symbols in order to call attention to their negative impact on the citizens in the foreground. Ultimately, Pissarro is communicating a powerful message about the interests and priorities of the bourgeoisie. Pissarro reinforced this message by contrasting areas of light and dark. He placed the impoverished citizens in the shade while highlighting the bourgeois symbols of wealth and corruption through a powerful source of radiance.

The crowd in figure 6 exhibits contempt for this bourgeois man but some of the people are turning to him for help. There are a few men in the crowd raising their arms in protest. This indicates the crowd's disapproval of the bourgeois standing above the average citizens. There is, however, a man in the lower right corner pleading to the overweight businessman for pity or perhaps some money, while another figure holds an emaciated baby up in the air seeking some gesture of mercy. The man on the pedestal looks suspiciously from the corner of his left eye down at the crowd, his pants too tight for his ample body and his right fingers covered in gold rings.

Pissarro opened his set of images with a depiction of the opposing classes inhabiting the French urban realm. The images immediately following figure 6 show the bourgeoisie as the central figure and allude to the corruption of capitalism, an overbearing government and its advocacy of bourgeois interests to the detriment of the working classes. Even though the bourgeoisie does not appear in every image, its

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[16] Camille Pissarro, Turpitudes Sociales (1889; Geneva: Reda, 1972) 3.
[17] Hutton, Neo-Impressionism 182-83.

presence is depicted early on in *Turpitudes Sociales*. In fact, the middle class is the central figure in seven of the twenty-eight images. This may have been an intentional manipulation by Pissarro in order to portray the most common vices associated with the bourgeoisie at the beginning of the album. It is obvious that gluttony is a characteristic of the bourgeois man in figure 6. This is also a recurring theme in *Le Temple du Veau d'Or* (Fig. 7).

Pissarro portrayed a crowd of men in top hats (Fig. 7), climbing and descending the stairs of the Parisian stock exchange, the structure that is barely noticeable in the far left of figure 4. The actions, exchanges and meetings between these members of the middle class are motivated by money and profit, greed being the most suitable term to describe this scene. In the letter to his niece, Pissarro wrote:

> Le temple du veau d'or, la bourse; vois donc sur le premier plan ces faces dignes de l'enfer de Dantes, affaires notant les fluctuations des valeurs, ce sont nos maîtres!... les vois-tu escaladant les marches, courant à la fortune ou à la banqueroute, des gros, des maigres, il y aurait en à faire l'intérieur au moment où ils hurlent comme des sauvages ce sera pour une autre série, ces monstres méritent une place dans ce recueil.[18]

Pissarro depicted a similar theme in *Les Boursicotières* but he portrayed instead women discussing matters of money. Pissarro's representation of middle-class women discussing stocks immediately followed *Le Temple du Veau d'Or* (Fig. 7) in *Turpitudes Sociales* but the image is not included in my analysis. The focus is centered on three middle-class women, who appear to be immersed in an important conversation, so interesting that a woman in the background is looking at the trio, trying to catch a part of their tête-à-tête. Here too, Pissarro portrayed another instance of materialism involving different members of the well-to-do French population. This image is strikingly similar to a commentary about the frugal old French women who increasingly participated in the *bourse des dames* in a British documentary published ten years before Pissarro's *Turpitudes Sociales*.[19]

Pissarro's portrayal of the bourgeoisie as the central figure of his images occurs at the beginning of *Turpitudes Sociales*. He may have done this in order to communicate the

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[18] Camille Pissarro, "To Esther Isaacson," 29 December 1889, in Turpitudes 3.
[19] George Augustus Sala, Paris Herself Again in 1878-79, 3rd ed., vol. 1 (London: Remington & Co., 1879) 233.

excessive lifestyles of the bourgeoisie and its subsequent impact on the lives of the poor. In *Le Suicide du Boursier* (Fig. 8), Pissarro portrayed a stockbroker who has taken his life. There is a revolver on the floor, directly beneath the corpse's right hand. The entire scene is gloomy, the only light coming from a table lamp in the upper right corner of the image. There is a portrait hanging above the dead man but only visible from the waist down. According to Pissarro's personal letter accompanying the unpublished album, he discusses the bourgeois' portrait with contempt. "Le suicide, le monstre se fait farté, je te ferai remarquer qu'il a fait faire son portrait par Bonnat!!! Quel châtiment!"[20]

The suicide of the stockbroker (Fig. 8) is portrayed by Pissarro to highlight the priorities of the middle class. The dead man appears to have been prosperous, indicated by the comfortable setting of his home and the portrait of himself that he had commissioned from Bonnat. Pissarro considered this detail worthy of criticism because it indicates a sign of vanity on the part of the rich. Léon-Joseph Bonnat was referenced by Pissarro in figure 8 to make allusion to the French painter's treatment of historical subjects and his reputation as a portraitist.[21] Perhaps the dead man was a figure of some standing or importance. Pissarro's detail of the stockbroker's portrait painted by Bonnat may indicate an event that occurred around 1889 or perhaps an actual portrait commissioned by the stockbroker before his suicide. Bonnat also happened to be a favorite of Republican officials according to art historian Miriam R. Levin.[22]

One year after Pissarro created *Turpitudes Sociales*, a coincidental event occurred in December 1890. Pissarro's collector, M. Dupuy, committed suicide. Pissarro discussed in a letter to his son Lucien Dupuy's motivation to take his own life. "Isn't that extraordinary! What is most sad is that this (...) youth killed himself because he believed he was bankrupt."[23]

According to Richard Thomson, Pissarro's depiction of the event was probably instigated by the fate of Louis-Aristide Denfert-Rochereau.[24] Louis-Aristide Denfert-Rochereau was a banker and the son of General Denfert-Rochereau, a colonel in the

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[20] Camille Pissarro, "To Esther Isaacson," 29 December 1889, in Turpitudes 3-4.
[21] Miriam R. Levin, Republican Art and Ideology in Late Nineteenth-Century France (Michigan: UMI Research Press, 1986) 157, 179-80.
[22] Levin 179-80.
[23] Camille Pissarro, "To Lucien Pissarro," 23 December 1890, of Letters 143.
[24] Thomson 84.

Franco-Prussian War of 1870.[25] Louis-Aristide took his life in 1889 when he failed in his attempt to contain the world's copper supply. His collapse was caused by a miscalculation of the extent to which the copper supply would increase under the stimulus of high prices.[26] The suicides of Denfert-Rochereau and Dupuy shared similar motivations and emphasize the risks of speculation and greed. This is the reason why Pissarro believed that *Le Suicide du Boursier* (Fig. 8) merited a place in *Turpitudes Sociales*.

There existed a vast divergence between Pissarro's view of the bourgeoisie and the portrayals of suicide disseminated by temperance advocates (Fig. 9). Although the depictions of alcoholism involved mainly the working classes, the campaign led by Legrain made rare allusions to the bourgeoisie's abuse of the same substance. This helped the temperance crusade emphasize the dangers of alcohol abuse by incorporating isolated middle-class tragedies into its ideological structure. The depiction of a wealthy businessman taking his life in figure 9 resembles Pissarro's image, especially the detail of the revolver falling from the man's right hand. However, the caption accompanying the image highlights the man's intoxicated state as the reason underlying his suicide, without the depiction of any alcohol in the scene.

Pissarro, on the other hand, did not consider alcoholism a threatening social issue but a means for the working classes to forget the miseries of their existence.[27] Legrain's image (Fig. 9) appeared in a textbook for grade school students in 1899. By this time, the didactic structure of the anti-alcoholism campaign incorporated some middle-class manifestations of alcohol abuse in order to emphasize its indiscriminate nature.[28] Toward the end of the nineteenth century, temperance material made allusions to notorious cases of alcoholism, namely Gustave Courbet's battle with the disease. "Ainsi l'alcool non seulement transforme parfois en assassins les égarés qui s'y livrent, mais tue encore les hommes de génie ou de talent qui ne savent pas suffisamment se défendre contre lui."[29]

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[25] Michel Poisson, Paris Buildings and Monuments, trans. John Goodman (New York: Harry N. Abrams, Inc., 1999) 375.
[26] William Clarke, Fabian Essays in Socialism (1889), ed. George Bernard Shaw (New York: The Homboldt Publishing Co., 1891) 47.
[27] Camille Pissarro, Turpitudes 47.
[28] Legrain, L'Enseignement 114-15.
[29] Legrain, L'Enseignement 115.

These atypical references were documented as exceptional cases but probably managed to disguise any motivations on the part of temperance advocates to target the lower classes. It is almost certain that an exaggeration of the alcoholism problem was eventually necessary in order to have a stronger impact on the younger generation. Pissarro, however, did not associate the demise of the bourgeoisie with alcohol abuse but with their obsession with money. Furthermore, Pissarro made a clear distinction between working-class alcohol consumption to alleviate the hardship of urban survival and the bourgeoisie's decadent expenditures on drink as an expression of cultural prosperity.

Similarly to *Le Capital* (Fig. 6), Pissarro created *Le Bagne* (Fig. 10) and placed the wealthy industrialist in the center of the image. The entire scene is dark and depressing, the only light coming from the furnace in the background where the workers are melting metal. The workers in *Le Bagne* are overworked and some have even collapsed. The caption accompanying the image represents this tension between the working classes and the bourgeoisie, from some commentaries published in the anarchist journal *La Révolte*. "Les pauvres sont assujettés à l'esclavage du salariat, enchainés au paupérisme perpétuel, maintenus dans l'ignorance, l'abjection, la misère et privés du nécessaire, sont condamnés à fournir par un travail excédant et abrutissant le superflu et le luxe du bourgeois. (Révolte)"[30] Furthermore, Pissarro's description of the scene, in the letter to his niece, graphically portrays his feelings with regard to the exploitation of urban laborers. "Le bagne! L'extrait tiré de la révolte en dit assez – Lui le brave patron est triomphant, il a un faux air de Louis-Philippe, il marche fier et inconscient; passe sans frémir à côté de tous ces êtres exténués, vannés, moulus, sales, sordides, pourvu qu'il aît de l'or!!"[31]

Pissarro believed that the working classes were subjected to slavery and some of the most miserable living conditions, in order to allow middle-class businessmen and industrialists to thrive. Pissarro's portrayal of the workplace accident (Figs. 1 & 2) is also in agreement with his anti-authoritarian belief-system. He intended to disclaim the correlations promulgated by elitist medical circles and supported by the French

[30] Camille Pissarro, Turpitudes 15.
[31] Camille Pissarro, "To Esther Isaacson," 29 December 1889, in Turpitudes 4.

government that linked idleness and alcohol abuse to the working classes.[32] Pissarro depicted urban laborers carrying out the duties of their trade, and disassociated the workplace accident from alcohol abuse. Pissarro focused on the men in figure 1 involved in different professional tasks, thus disclaiming the temperance movement's position on working-class alcoholism. Furthermore, Pissarro continued his narrative in figure 2 by portraying the effect of the misfortune on the working classes, a detail that would have been omitted by the medical community.

Pissarro did not agree with the crusade concerning the moral reform of the working classes.[33] Pissarro believed that the problem resided in government and within privileged circles, areas where corruption was rampant and the working classes were repeatedly the targets of discrimination.[34] This may explain Pissarro's treatment of his bourgeois subjects in *Turpitudes Sociales*, which he attributed early on to his humble temperament, honest lifestyle and sympathy for the working classes.[35]

The excesses committed by the bourgeoisie and portrayed by Pissarro at the beginning of his unpublished album transform the subsequent images into the outcome of middle-class greed and wealth. Pissarro's portrayal of a workplace accident does not highlight any negative associations with the working classes. Pissarro's focus on working-class labour forces the viewer to reconsider the disadvantaged position of the lower classes. The absence of the bourgeoisie in figure 1 evokes a sense of inequality in matters of urban survival and highlights the comfortable lifestyle of the privileged. Its reappearance in figure 2 sheds light on the bourgeois involvement in matters of cultural disproportion and its one-sided labeling of the working classes. Furthermore, the workers in figure 1 are in an unsafe environment, a workspace they must occupy in order to survive. The bourgeois men in figure 2 are securely on the ground, unfamiliar with the working conditions of the lower classes.

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[32] Susanna Barrows, "After the Commune: Alcoholism, Temperance, and Literature in the Early Third Republic," Consciousness and Class Experience in Nineteenth-Century Europe, ed. John M. Merriman (New York: Holmes and Meier Publishers Inc., 1979) 207-09. See Dr. A. Brière de Boismont, Bulletin de l'Association Française Contre l'Abus du Tabac et des Boissons Alcooliques 4, no. 1 (1872): 18.
[33] Barrows, Consciousness 205.
[34] Camille Pissarro, "To Lucien Pissarro," 5 July 1883 and July 1883, of Letters 36-37.
[35] Camille Pissarro, "To Lucien Pissarro," 20 November 1883, 31 May 1887, 5 June 1887, 17 November 1890, 23 December 1890, of Letters 47, 113, 115, 140, 143.

In Pissarro's album, the images portraying the accident (Figs. 1 & 2) were arranged immediately after *Les Ivrognes* (Fig. 11). Pissarro depicted two men stumbling out of a *débit de boissons*, too intoxicated to walk without each other's support. The image is a close-up of the two men, as the tavern owners stand in the doorway and look at the customers who have just left. Pissarro depicted a dark and partly shaded scene, the only light coming from inside the tavern. This band of light does not illuminate the two men, but part of the street in the lower right corner. The two men, however, are standing on the brink of this illuminated divide, their feet in the darkened area as the man without a jacket seems to be losing his balance. The worker may eventually stumble into this lit area but Pissarro cleverly positioned the two men in the dark. This may be a figurative indication of the dismal lifestyles of the working classes.

Pissarro's caption is distinct and may explain the reason underlying the men's inebriated state. "Les pauvres demandent au vin l'oubli de leurs souffrances."[36] *Les Ivrognes* (Fig. 11) is a representation of two men who have consumed wine during the night, which means their workday has ended. Pissarro's placement of figure 11, before his representation of the workplace accident (Figs. 1 & 2), implies a separation of the two events. He did not link the inebriated state of the two men to the accident that occurs in the next two pages. Pissarro's image (Fig. 11) challenges the medical community's belief that the majority of working-class laborers consumed alcohol on the job. Also, Pissarro does not make the association that Legrain does between hard liquors, such as absinthe, and workplace accidents (Fig. 3), by indicating that the two workers have a penchant for wine in the caption accompanying figure 11. The creation of *Turpitudes Sociales* took place in 1889 and according to the medical community, the working classes, by this time, were primarily consuming industrial liquors and *apéritifs*. By the last decade of the nineteenth century, the temperance community unanimously argued that wine was a substance neglected by the working classes and too expensive for them to afford. Pissarro appears to have supported an opposing view of this issue in figure 11.

Pissarro's *ivrognes* challenged the rhetoric of the medical community, which argued that working-class men in France would indulge in alcohol while neglecting their

[36] Camille Pissarro, Turpitudes 47.

jobs.[37] The assumptions concerning working-class men sneaking away to the *débit de boissons* before, during and immediately after work were in the schoolbooks.[38] The *lundi bleu* was transformed into a recurring example of the working-class man's lack of responsibility because according to the medical community and members of law enforcement, this was the day of the week when many laborers drowned their despair in alcohol over their return to work.[39] The temperance advocates overlooked the underlying reasons for the working-class' consumption of alcohol, which was often linked to the despair of the masses.[40] Instead, the temperance movement isolated the information related to the total amount of liquor consumed during the week in order to transform drinking into a lower-class vice.

Pissarro's caption accompanying figure 11 supports the idea of unfair class relations underlying the creation of his album. Pissarro stated that the men drink in order to forget their suffering. The temperance advocates, however, would have legislative and bourgeois audiences believe that these "pauses" to drink during a workday were undeniably linked to the inbred degeneracy and deviant nature of the working classes. Pissarro strove to reject these hypotheses by portraying both sides of the alcoholism issue.

One of the images preceding *Les Ivrognes* (Fig. 11) in *Turpitudes Sociales* also featured people drinking. In *La Vertu Récompensée* (Fig. 12), Pissarro represented a number of women and men in top hats sitting on the terrace of the *Café des Princes*. Pissarro arranged *La Vertu Récompensée* (Fig. 12) before *Petite Scène de la Vie Conjugale* (Fig. 19) and then placed *Les Ivrognes* (Fig. 11) after these two images in his unpublished album. Pissarro represented two instances of lower-class misery (Figs. 19 & 11) immediately after an image depicting the bourgeoisie socializing at an outdoor café. In figure 19, there is a man abusing his wife and in figure 11, two inebriated working-

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[37] Corbin 5-8, 166.
[38] Daniel Langlois and Henri Blondel, Manuel d'Antialcoolisme: À l'Usage des Lycées, Collèges, Écoles Primaires et Conforme Aux Dernières Circulaires Ministérielles, 3rd ed., (Cahors: A. Coueslant, 1904) 276-77, 343.
[39] Langlois and Blondel 274-75. See Scott W. Haine, The World of the Paris Café: Sociability Among the French Working Class, 1789-1914 (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1999) 78. According to law enforcement officials, Monday was the day of the week when the highest amount of arrests were made for public drunkenness.
[40] Yannick Marec, "Pauvres et Miséreux à Rouen dans la Première Moitié du XIXe Siècle," Marginalité, Déviance, Pauvreté en France XIVe-XIXe Siècles (Caen: Université de Caen, 1981) 163, 169.

class men. Pissarro stated, in the caption accompanying figure 11, that the poor drowned their sorrows in wine, not hard liquors. Is there a sequential logic to Pissarro's arrangement of these images (Figs. 12, 19 & 11)? Can the poor woman in figure 12, begging the bourgeois café customers for some change, be the victim of abuse in figure 19? Can one of the men in figure 11 represent the victim's husband, who has gone to the *débit* with a friend to drink his miseries away?

The bourgeois crowd in figure 12 is seated around small round tables and the two couples in the foreground seem to be indulging in a type of liqueur specifically served in a stout bottle with a short neck (Fig. 13). This is a typical absinthe carafe, also served in cone shaped glasses with short stems (Fig. 14).

Pissarro's reversal of roles, by portraying the bourgeoisie indulging in absinthe, runs counter to the claims disseminated by temperance advocates, who maintained that the abuse of hard liquors was a working-class phenomenon (Fig. 15). This image, created by Émile Bocquillon (Fig. 15), was included in a textbook destined for primary and secondary students. It is interesting that manifestations of alcohol consumption were depicted differently in relation to the working classes and the bourgeoisie. Pissarro communicated a certain dignity in the bourgeois crowd sitting outside on a terrace, unashamed of its public display of alcohol consumption. Pissarro was making a statement about the hypocritical nature of the bourgeoisie by attacking the alcohol issue, and further exposed the regulated dissemination of information by the temperance community. Through this image (Fig. 12), Pissarro was stating that the bourgeoisie also indulged in the same type of *liqueur* but that unlike the working classes, the middle class was not the portion of the French population targeted by the temperance crusade.

Bocquillon, however, portrayed working-class men inside a tavern drinking absinthe (Fig. 15). Was the medical community teaching France's youth that working-class alcohol consumption was an indoor activity, related to the drinker's disgrace and therefore isolation from social interaction? Pissarro's image (Fig. 12) associated the bourgeoisie's consumption of absinthe to entertainment and social bonding. Bocquillon's representation (Fig. 15) linked the abuse of the same substance by the working classes to progressive social alienation and estrangement from the family. The difference is

powerful and Pissarro's image (Fig. 12) reveals the innate hypocrisy of the bourgeoisie and its indulgence in similar working-class drinking habits.

The bourgeois café crowd seems to be enjoying itself and is deeply immersed in conversation (Fig. 12). The only light is coming from a street lamp placed in the upper right corner by Pissarro. The central action, however, is taking place in the foreground. A heavy woman holding her infant in her left arm is standing in front of one of the tables begging a bourgeois couple for some money. No one seems to be aware of her presence. Pissarro's caption is simply *La Vertu Récompensée* but he does not seem to describe the morality of the mother holding her child. Pissarro is ironically describing the integrity of the bourgeoisie as it enjoys some of the finer luxuries at the café. Pissarro's image is a comment about unfair class relations but also about bourgeois duplicity. His caption does not imply a working-class drinking problem but a common activity related to bourgeois decadence and indulgence. The beggar is one of the few imposing vertical figures in the image but the mechanical smile on the seated bourgeois woman's face functions to eradicate the presence of the mother holding her infant. "La vertu récompensée. - C'est sur un air très connu. – C'est ainsi tous les jours, en plein boulevard, vers les 1h à 2h du matin."[41]

The medical community during the second half of the nineteenth century came up with a campaign that labeled the working classes as the tavern's most faithful customers.[42] According to the medical community, drinking was the worker's favorite past time and interfered with his responsibilities.[43] This correlation between the lower classes and drinking as early as the 1830s was communicated through visual imagery depicting the violent and brutish nature of the working classes and functioned ideologically to create a social rift between both classes.[44]

In a similar fashion, the images employed by the Ligue Nationale Contre l'Alcoolisme (Fig. 16) depicted the working class and the bourgeoisie in a comparative manner to exaggerate the characteristics of the impoverished masses and enhance the

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[41] Camille Pissarro, "To Esther Isaacson," 29 December 1889, in Turpitudes 6.
[42] Barrows, Consciousness 206-07.
[43] Barrows et al., eds., Proceedings 190.
[44] James Cuno, "Violence, Satire, and Social Types in the Graphic Art of the July Monarchy," The Popularization of Images: Visual Culture Under the July Monarchy, eds. Petra Ten-Doesschate Chu and Gabriel P. Weisberg (New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1999) 10-14.

civilized nature of the bourgeoisie.[45] In figure 16, the advertisement was a promotion for a cola-based *apéritif* as the bourgeois' sensible alternative to absinthe. The worker is not only portrayed as a heavy drinker but is also plagued by imminent death looming over his shoulder. Pissarro in figure 4 depicted the personification of death as the year 1889, when a city shrouded by celebrations of industry and machines, revealed a vast necropolis of material riches to the eyes of the old philosopher sitting on the hill top. Pissarro's image of death signaled the eradication of honesty, a decadent government and the rise of new industry. The materialism of the bourgeoisie was the epitome of death in Pissarro's eyes, the working classes were its victim.

There is an obvious divergence between the medical community's representation of the modern demon and Pissarro's own views. In figure 16, the bourgeois man is sitting straight and appears proud of his choice of drink. As a reward, he is being watched over by a beautiful and half-naked woman. The opposing message is the working-class man's brush with death and the bourgeois' celebration of life. Pissarro, however, did not make any flattering insinuations about the bourgeoisie in *Turpitudes Sociales*. He depicted the rich as an oppressive life force in the French urban realm. Pissarro did not necessarily reverse cultural roles in his unpublished album. He merely depicted the working classes in social situations that the upper class had already established while simultaneously lowering the bourgeoisie to the degrading level that it had solely reserved for the masses. For Pissarro, the working classes did not genuinely fit the mold of indecency and degeneracy but were forced in that position by the equally undignified nature of the bourgeoisie.

Pissarro drew his motivation from class relations and his sympathy for the plight of the destitute in order to challenge the assumptions made about the working classes. Furthermore, Pissarro's negative representation of the bourgeoisie, which included greedy slave drivers and introverted businessmen, was not imposed on the wealthy to contrast his sympathetic portrayal of France's working classes. Pissarro's images convey the notion that every act committed by the masses was a response to bourgeois control and unequal class relations.

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[45] Cuno 28.

Pissarro's album functioned like a story, with a beginning and an end. His images were not intended to be viewed separately but as part of a series. Each representation is therefore a continuation of the previous image, a documentation of working-class hardship. The presence of the bourgeoisie in some of the images signals a different epidemic affecting the lower classes in France during the nineteenth century. The bourgeoisie was the duplicitous plague preventing the impoverished from thriving in modern French culture. The social epidemic emphasized by Pissarro in *Turpitudes Sociales* was the marginalization of the working classes through the lifestyles of the decadent bourgeoisie.

According to Patricia E. Prestwich, who has published numerous works pertaining to France's alcoholism issue, the temperance movement made a hasty correlation between the working classes and their inundation of psychiatric wards and asylums during the second half of the nineteenth century.[46] Pissarro, however, depicted the working classes primarily involved in different types of labour, essentially disclaiming the temperance community's attempt to rewrite cultural history through psychiatric knowledge. The historian Jan Goldstein argued that the medicalization of alcoholism was characterized by a bid for power through psychoanalytical expertise.[47] In this light, the issue of working-class alcoholism provided temperance organizations with effective iconography while supporting the French government's evidence of the degeneration of the impoverished classes. Pissarro challenged the suggestion that psychiatric wards accommodating alcoholics increasingly became the most overcrowded medical environment in nineteenth-century France.[48] He portrayed members of the working classes involved in manual labour, therefore challenging the elitist assumptions on alcoholism. Pissarro revealed the underlying manipulation of the medical profession whose priority was to discriminate against the lower classes instead of treating their ailments.

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[46] Patricia E. Prestwich, "Drinkers, Drunkards, and Degenerates: The Alcoholic Population of a Parisian Asylum, 1867-1914," The Changing Face of Drink: Substance, Imagery, and Behaviour, eds. Jack S. Blocker Jr. and Cheryl Krasnick Warsh (Ottawa: Social History, Inc., 1997) 116.
[47] Jan Goldstein, Console and Classify: The French Psychiatric Profession in the Nineteenth Century (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987) 379.
[48] Prestwich, The Changing 123. See France, Conseil Supérieur de l'Assistance Publique, Fascicule 52, March 1895 : 36.

Pissarro's *Turpitudes Sociales* does not specifically outline a challenge to the French temperance community's paradigm, as much as it criticizes bourgeois manifestations of power. The underlying theme of the unpublished album is Pissarro's disclosure of bourgeois corruption and by association, political domination. Pissarro did not attempt to rewrite French history or reverse bourgeois and working-class roles. His depiction of the workplace accident (Figs. 1 & 2), the modern French city (Fig. 4) and manifestations of bourgeois greed and hypocrisy (Figs. 6-8, 10, 12) function as comments pertaining to the duplicitous nature of authority. The association between temperance advocates and certain members of the French government reveals more about the intentions of this scientific crusade and the biased nature of its medical model of social deviance, which sought to exaggerate medical theories on the effects of alcoholism in order to advance a political agenda of class conflict.

The year 1889 was shrouded by political scandal. It was also the year that Pissarro decided to create his album *Turpitudes Sociales*. The opposing forces in government at the time of Pissarro's creation of *Turpitudes Sociales* were the Republicans and the imminent election of Boulanger's party. The Republicans were not only in favor of the social reform of the masses but supported the temperance movement's efforts to marginalize the working classes. One of these politicians was Georges Perin. He believed that all crime would disappear with the elimination of poverty.[49] Georges Perin also happened to be in opposition to Boulanger, supporting the French Prime Minister Floquet and the Republican party.[50]

The French people, although disappointed with the government after the bloodshed caused by the Commune in 1871, actually had hope in Boulanger's administration. Boulé was a Blanquist official running in the same 1889 election, from whom Boulanger later drew support, amongst other disgruntled republicans and die-hard monarchists.[51] According to Richard Sonn, Boulanger's supporters considered themselves socialists of some sort.[52] Although the anarchist's solutions diverged from

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[49] Robert A. Nye, Crime, Madness, & Politics in Modern France: The Medical Concept of National Decline (New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1984) 85.
[50] "Sword Rules," Illustrated London News 28 July 1888: 1.
[51] Hutton, Neo-Impressionism 71. See also Richard D. Sonn, Anarchism and Cultural Politics in Fin-de-Siècle France (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1989) 36.
[52] Sonn 32.

those of the Boulangists and Blanquists, their shared disillusionment with the current system of government and common social background revealed a continuum of similar antipathies.[53] Boulanger appeared to be a more sensible and natural choice when compared to the Republicans in 1889, who seemed to advance the same ideologies that caused the suppression of the proletarians during the French Revolution in 1789.

Boulanger stood as a symbol of transformation although Sonn suggests that Boulanger himself "was far less significant than the passions to which the movement in his name gave rise."[54] Parisian Boulangism and anarchism, however, were strongest in the same areas, among the lower and lower-middle classes of the north and east centers of the city. Sonn suggests that Boulangism, anarchism and the extreme left represented a revolt not only of the impoverished but of the marginalized, all those whose voices were ignored by the French government.[55] The Republicans' aim, on the other hand, was to convince the bourgeois public that middle-class values and livelihood could be secured through the management of working and leisure activities by integrating science and technology into the legislative agenda. According to art historian Miriam R Levin, the Republican policy was motivated by economic self-interest and this was probably the root of Pissarro's basic hostility towards the Republican right.[56]

Pissarro, however, was not the only anarchist disillusioned by French politicians. Émile Pouget in the first issue of *Le Père Peinard*, which appeared on February 24th 1889, discussed some of the politicians and members of the specific parties involved in the January 27th by-election of that year. Boulanger's victory prompted Pouget to begin his attack against French politicians. Pouget associated the left and right, even the most extreme politicians, with greedy opportunists. The names he mentioned ranged from Basly and Boulanger, to Floquet and Freppel, all of whom Pouget believed were deceitful lawmakers. Pissarro may have also shared Pouget's opinion about politics, especially after Boulanger's corrupt associations and eventual dismissal from the French government.

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[53] Sonn 33-34.
[54] Sonn 31.
[55] Sonn 32-34.
[56] Levin 3, 5-6.

Was Pissarro's basic disillusionment with the French government related to the Republican's support of the temperance movement and its denigration of the working classes?[57] As early as 1883, Pissarro urged his son Lucien to distrust Georges Clemenceau because he pretended to work for the best interests of the lower classes but was not a socialist.[58] Clemenceau was regarded as a "bourgeois deputy" by Pissarro, a politician who wanted to come to power on the basis of a progressive program.[59] Clemenceau was also trained as a doctor in France upon his return from the United States in 1869. Was Clemenceau's developing agenda in the 1880s related to his support of an emerging scientific paradigm of political governance?[60] Clemenceau became prime minister of France twice, from 1906 to 1909 and then from 1917 to 1920. In 1909, Clemenceau's government was defeated and the socialist, Aristide Briand, succeeded him as prime minister. Ironically, Clemenceau's first period in office was marked by his hostility towards socialists and trade unionists.[61]

As previously stated, the Republicans were promoting a program based on science and new technology in order to protect the middle-class way of life. There was no plan, however, that involved the lower classes in this developing schema. The ostensible socialist agenda of politicians such as Clemenceau did not fool Pissarro. Nor did the artist place his faith in Boulanger, as had so many radicals. Boulanger took his own life in 1891 after the 1889 election scandal.[62] His disgraceful resignation occurred the same year that Pissarro sent *Turpitudes Sociales* to his niece Esther Isaacson.

What do these facts tell us about Pissarro's unpublished album? For the most part, Pissarro's contempt for the bourgeoisie is apparent in the letter which accompanied the unpublished album. Pissarro tells his niece that his images represent: "(...) les turpitudes les plus honnêtes de la bourgeoisie, (...) tu verras que les types sont plutôt maturs que chargés (...) et que je n'ai pas dépassé les bornes de la vraisemblance."[63] Pissarro compares the industrialist in figure 10 to Louis-Philippe, king of France from 1830 to

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[57] Barrows, Consciousness 209.
[58] Camille Pissarro, "To Lucien Pissarro," 5 July 1883, of Letters 36.
[59] Ibid.
[60] Patricia E. Prestwich, "French Workers and the Temperance Movement," International Review of Social History 25.1 (1980): 35. See Georges Clemenceau Le Grand Pan (Paris: 1896) 270.
[61] Sowerwine 85-88.
[62] Teddy Brunius, "Camille Pissarro – Social Critic," Konsthistorisk Tidskrift 69 (2000): 232.
[63] Camille Pissarro, "To Esther Isaacson," 29 December 1889, in Turpitudes 1-2, 8.

1848, a statement illustrating Pissarro's equivalent disdain for France's bourgeoisie and its politicians. For the most part, the vocabulary that Pissarro used to describe the middle class was aggressively opinionated and callous.

> Le veau d'or, le Dieu capital, la statue en un mot représentant la divinité du jour est le portrait d'un Bischoffheim ou d'un Oppenheim, d'un Rothschild, d'un Gould quelconque, il est sans distinction, vulgaire et laid, les pieds en pattes de canard, ne sont-ils pas ainsi typiquement j'entends.[64]

Pissarro blamed the bourgeoisie for the circumstances of the working classes. Unlike the medical community during the end of the nineteenth century that held alcoholism responsible for the demise of the working classes, Pissarro reproached the dishonest values of the bourgeoisie. Pissarro's representation of the workplace accident becomes symbolic of the long hours and dangerous work that the working classes must perform in order to survive, challenging the elitist claims of the temperance movement, which characterized lower-class laborers as slothful drunks.

The medical community argued that alcohol consumption was a symptom of economic misery and therefore, the moral disintegration common to the lower classes.[65] Alcohol thus became a symbol of some of the most undignified types of activity because it was associated with the lower classes. Pissarro, however, revealed the humble side of the working classes, and associated some corrupting behavioral patterns with the bourgeoisie. Rather than exclusively associate drinking with the misery of lower-class survival, Pissarro was also making a statement in figure 12 about the bourgeoisie. Pissarro's disdain for the bourgeoisie renders his depictions of the working classes a challenge to the medical community's model of social deviance and blames the privileged officials for tainting the character of the poor.

Pissarro's compassion for the working classes is not only apparent in *Turpitudes Sociales* but also in his letters to his eldest son Lucien. Pissarro's personal correspondence with his son up to and including 1889 is key. In these letters, Pissarro discussed his views on politics, the state of the art world as well as his feelings regarding France's bourgeoisie and the working classes. Pissarro voiced extreme contempt for corrupt politicians and firmly believed that they were responsible for social inequities.

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[64] Camille Pissarro, "To Esther Isaacson," 29 December 1889, in Turpitudes 2.
[65] Haine 88.

> Moreover, if you read the article "Revision" in the copy of *Le Proletaire* which I am sending you, you will see what we think of him and of all the celebrated republicans who promised so much; but don't worry, they give little. The gentlemen who resigned from their club on account of Clemenceau are extremely naïve, for he is a bourgeois deputy.[66]

In light of Pissarro's difficulties in selling his art and finding a profitable market especially after 1886, he often wrote to his son and described himself as a proletariat depending on the bourgeoisie to earn a living.[67] This may explain Pissarro's relation to the working classes and his sympathetic treatment of their daily struggles in *Turpitudes Sociales*. Pissarro considered his dealers like Durand-Ruel and Heymann as the profit makers, who would compromise the ideas of the artists they were promoting to accommodate the taste of the bourgeoisie, collectors who regarded works of art as a share of stock.[68] "I would much rather be a worker than a businessman who is actually nothing but a middleman or intermediary, and should properly conduct his business for the worker's profit. It is simply for being my agent that he takes the lion's share of the returns for my work!"[69] Pissarro was increasingly preoccupied with unfair class relations near the creation of *Turpitudes Sociales*. "Quelle blague! Belle affaire vraiment d'être bourgeois...sans le sou. Le bourgeois ne peut se conçevoir qu'avec des rentes. Tous ceux qui travaillent de leurs mains, de leur cerveau, qui créent le travail, quand ils sont dépendants des intermédiaires sont des prolétaires, avec ou sans blouse!"[70]

In *Turpitudes Sociales*, Pissarro depicted the working classes at the mercy of rich entrepreneurs and businessmen, much like Pissarro considered his own artistic career in the hands of small capitalist dealers and bourgeois buyers with no taste. Pissarro's representation of the accident conveys a sense of injustice, the workers involved in risky types of labour and most likely at the mercy of bourgeois employers. Pissarro employed recurring images but he portrayed the scene in a different light, emphasizing the hardships of the working classes and at the same time blaming the bourgeoisie for

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[66] Camille Pissarro, "To Lucien Pissarro," 5 July 1883, of Letters 36.
[67] Camille Pissarro, "To Lucien Pissarro," 5 March 1886, July 1886, 27 February 1887, 5 June 1887, of Letters 70-71, 77, 101, 115.
[68] Camille Pissarro, "To Lucien Pissarro," 7 January 1887, 15 May 1887, 31 May 1887, 10 July 1887, of Letters 89-90, 109, 113, 116-17.
[69] Camille Pissarro, "To Lucien Pissarro," 31 May 1887, of Letters 113.
[70] Camille Pissarro, "To Lucien Pissarro," 5 June 1887, of The Letters of Lucien to Camille Pissarro 1883-1903, ed. Anne Thorold (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993) 97.

instigating their miseries. However, not everyone agreed with Pissarro. Even Émile Zola, whose novels Pissarro sent to his niece Esther in London, did not communicate his sympathies for the working classes.[71] Pissarro was not in complete agreement with the subjects of his novels but nonetheless he often sent his niece Esther certain works by Zola. According to a letter written by Pissarro to Lucien on December 28th, 1883, what mattered was the reader's predisposition to certain ideas. This would decide whether or not the novel's message was grasped.

Zola's position on class relations and his attitude towards the working classes were exemplified in his novel *L'Assommoir*, originally published in 1877. The question, however, is what was Zola's political agenda? In 1887, Pissarro wrote to his son concerning Théodore Duret's anarchist feelings and opinion about Zola. According to Sonn, Duret was impressed by the uncovering of government corruption and a smearing of the Republican campaign.[72] Duret implied that Zola would sacrifice his beliefs for money, when his affiliations with William Busnach were discussed. Busnach was a wealthy businessman who collaborated with Zola in 1876, right before the publication of *L'Assommoir*. In a letter to Lucien, Pissarro discussed their relationship. "But that is absurd, nothing can be done any more, look, even Zola lowers himself to collaborate with Busnach, to earn a few cents."[73]

According to Michel Melot, Zola adhered primarily to a reformist position, in favor of changing the government from the inside as opposed to any mass upheaval.[74] This diverges from Pissarro's militant adherence to the anarchist movement.[75] Pissarro's anarchism may not have been discernible in the oil works he exhibited throughout the late nineteenth century, but the unpublished album of 1889 allowed him the freedom to express his support for mass insurgency. Pissarro wanted to redeem the working classes from all of the false associations disseminated by the elitist circles, including the temperance advocates. In order to attack the bourgeoisie, Pissarro challenged the relationship between the working classes and alcoholism and instead, portrayed the

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[71] Camille Pissarro, "To Lucien Pissarro," 22 July 1883, 19 October 1883, of Letters 38, 43.
[72] Sonn 173-74.
[73] Camille Pissarro, "To Lucien Pissarro," 17 March 1887, of Letters 103.
[74] Melot 36.
[75] Melot 40.

bourgeoisie involved in the activities that were commonly associated with the lower classes (Fig. 12).

Did Zola, however, consider alcoholism as a major problem affecting the working classes? According to the proponents of nineteenth-century French temperance and some twentieth-century literary and social historians, Zola was one of the first writers seduced by the theory of *dégénérescence alcoolique*.[76] Zola's narrative in *L'Assommoir* supported the medical model and vividly exemplified the three social repercussions associated with alcohol abuse. Zola depicted workplace accidents, domestic violence and crime in the streets of the Goutte-d'Or district. Furthermore, Zola also relied on the theories of Denis Poulot, an ex-worker turned factory foreman, who organized alcoholism's effects into seven categories.[77] Some of the characters in Zola's novel, namely Goujet and Coupeau, are considered literary examples of Poulot's prototype.

Poulot's first level was *l'ouvrier vrai*, a worker of exemplary sobriety and very similar to Zola's character Goujet.[78] The third level is *l'ouvrier mixte*, a worker easily influenced by his friends at work, whom Zola characterizes early on as Coupeau when he first meets Gervaise. Poulot names the fourth level *le sublime ouvrier*, which is once again the character Coupeau, a worker progressively overcome by laziness and an increasing number of trips to the *débit*.[79] These were the guidelines invented by Poulot and popularized by Zola in his novel.[80]

The workplace accident described in Zola's novel is a pivotal event that affects Coupeau's life twice. Zola first described how Coupeau vividly remembered his father's death, also a worker who laid zinc on neighborhood rooftops.[81] Then Zola portrayed Coupeau falling from the rooftop after losing his balance. These events serve as reminders of the ideological literature of the medical community, which stressed that more than half of the people with an alcoholic father would also become alcoholics.[82]

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[76] Didier Nourrisson, Le Buveur du XIXe Siècle (Paris: Éditions Albin Michel, 1990) 216.
[77] Prestwich, International 35-36. See Reinach, Contre L'Alcoolisme (Paris: 1911) 20. Reinach states that Poulot's book of 1870 Le Sublime Ouvrier was a source for Zola's *L'Assommoir*.
[78] David Baguley, "Event and Structure: The Plot of Zola's L'Assommoir," PMLA 90.5 (1975): 825.
[79] Nourrisson 199-200.
[80] Nourrisson 199.
[81] Zola, L'Assommoir 69.
[82] Paul-Maurice Legrain, "Un Fléau Social: L'Alcoolisme," Bibliothèque Scientifique des Écoles et des Familles 53 (1900): 14. This article was based on Legrain's large study conducted in 1889 Hérédité et

According to Baguley, Coupeau's character is the "documented representation of the stages of a chronic case of alcoholism down to the well-known delirium-tremens."[83]

Zola intended to end the drama in a melodramatic climax of "vitriol and violence" but decided instead that "le drame doit sortir des faits naturels."[84] Thus, Zola's *L'Assommoir* depicted the slow demise of Coupeau as his abuse of alcohol progressed.[85] He is first portrayed as a worker, surrounded by negative influences and the ever-present *assommoir*, which manages to detract many workers from their responsibilities. Coupeau not only succumbs to idleness and indulgence but begins exhibiting some of the alleged signs of *ivresse furieuse* so many medical professionals warned would lead to a fatal outcome for working-class men.[86]

It is interesting that the vices of indulgence (Fig. 6) and idleness (Fig. 12) that Pissarro associated with the bourgeoisie are reminiscent of the working classes in Zola's novel. This may have a lot to do with Pissarro's reasons for creating *Turpitudes Sociales* and his re-association of those same vices with the bourgeoisie. Zola's assertion that his drama had to originate from real life events is also questionable because the promulgators of this working-class disease were members of an elite medical community, whose efforts were later supported by a Republican French government.[87]

On a fictional level, Zola's novel functioned as a reinforcement of professional theories and was even widely employed as a model in anti-alcoholism manuals distributed to schoolchildren.[88] However, it is clear that there was an ideological agenda being promoted by the proponents of the French temperance movement as well as the French educational system. Jill Miller believes that the use of alcohol, as referenced in literature, was unquestionably inspired by what was going on in actual families, all the

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Alcoolisme: Étude Psychologique et Clinique sur les Dégénérés Buveurs et Familles d'Ivrognes (Paris: Octave Doin, 1889).

[83] Baguley 826.

[84] Émile Zola, Notes d'un Ami (Paris: Charpentier, 1882) 108.

[85] Henri Massis, Comment Émile Zola Composait Ses Romans: d'Après Ses Notes Personnelles et Inédites (Paris: Charpentier, 1906).

[86] Legrain, L'Enseignement 117.

[87] Prestwich, Addiction 1256.

[88] Langlois and Blondel 479-81.

more reason for writers to interchange themes, ideas and actuality within their narratives.[89]

However, it is important to realize that the medical community employed visual imagery (Fig. 3) in order to disseminate their message more effectively. Legrain also believed that the intelligence of the masses was simultaneously decreasing, which may explain the reason behind the incorporation of medical theories into more popular forms of art (Figs. 17 & 18).[90] This not only reveals a manipulation of professional findings but perhaps Zola's exaggeration of medical experiments in his own novels. It is also important to note that the studies conducted by the medical community during the second half of the nineteenth century on the effects of industrial liquors such as absinthe on humans were primarily tested on animals.[91] Patricia E. Prestwich is convinced that the literature on alcoholism and its effects on the lower classes in France may have been dramatized in order to get the message across more effectively.[92]

In figures 17 and 18, an unknown artist and Alfred Garmer represent Zola's protagonist Coupeau sitting at the *assommoir* and then falling from the rooftop. The factor that unites the two images is alcohol. These images were created in 1879, two years after Zola published his novel, and the correlation between the working classes and alcohol abuse is clearly delineated. Furthermore, these images were included in a two-volume work distributed in England. Pissarro, however, refused any insinuation of alcohol consumption by focusing on the workers performing their duties. Pissarro negated the temperance movement's association between idleness and the working classes by depicting the men renovating the residential structures. Pissarro's images of the working classes imposed a different meaning.

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[89] Jill Miller, "Les Enfants des Ivrognes: Concern for the Children of Montmartre," Montmartre and the Making of Mass Culture, ed. Gabriel P. Weisberg (New Jersey: Rutgers University Press, 2001) 80.
[90] Paul-Maurice Legrain, L'Alcoolisme, Ses Effets Pernicieux: Au Point de Vue physique, Intellectuel et Moral (Paris: 1895) 31.
[91] Barrows et al., eds., Proceedings 213. See Prestwich, International 35-36. Her article delineates the dramatization of the alcoholism issue by many officials during the nineteenth century. Also Patricia E. Prestwich, "Temperance in France: The Curious Case of Absinthe," Historical Reflections 6.2 (1979) 306. This highlights the medical experiments on animals. See Auguste Forel, L'Alcoolisme Comme Question Sociale (Paris: Fischbacher, 1910) 29-31. Forel discusses the relevance of animal testing and the similarities of results on humans.
[92] Prestwich, Addiction 1256.

Prestwich stated that this medical mission was led by a general concern for the health of the working classes and the hope that children would be the most suitable target audience. However, a certain complexity of motivation must have existed since the psychiatrist Édouard Toulouse also suggested that those lazy alcoholics be sent to penal colonies outside France.[93] This mind-set suggests an expulsion or elimination of the working classes from France, rather than the treatment of a serious problem.[94]

Zola also took this position in his novel, as Coupeau's neighbours joked that a bed was reserved for him at the Sainte-Anne asylum.[95] Zola communicated a sense of relief in Coupeau's neighbours when medical professionals allowed the course of Coupeau's "disease" to run its course, then finally dying of a *delirium tremens* attack.[96] Zola slowly broke apart Coupeau's family in *L'Assommoir*, firmly establishing the beliefs of the medical community, which dictated that working-class alcoholism would eventually destroy society. Prestwich, however, believes that this basic association between alcoholism and the lower classes is suspect.[97] "The more probable explanation of the rising rate of alcohol consumption in the late nineteenth century was France's industrial progress and its increasing prosperity."[98]

Zola became fascinated with the medical findings on degeneration brought on by alcohol abuse.[99] As early as 1847, Lucas' *De L'Hérédité Naturelle* and Morel's *Traité des Dégénérescences* of 1857, laid the foundation for future medical treatises, which dealt with more elaborate notions related to depopulation, mental illness and crime.[100]

Perhaps the proponents of the temperance movement required a model in order to exemplify their medical findings. The workplace accident depicted by Legrain (Fig. 3) represented the loss of sensory ability documented by the medical community in relation to the consumption of liquors like absinthe. According to Émile Bocquillon, this was due in large part to the liquor's effect on the brain, nervous system and the muscles, which

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[93] Prestwich, The Changing 129.
[94] Prestwich, Historical 306-07.
[95] Zola, L'Assommoir 394.
[96] Zola, L'Assommoir 435-444.
[97] Prestwich, International 37.
[98] Prestwich, International 37-38.
[99] Robert A. Nye, "Degeneration and the Medical Model of Cultural Crisis in the French Belle Époque," Political Symbolism in Modern Europe: Essays in Honor of George L. Mosse, eds. Seymour Drescher, David Sabean and Allan Sharlin (London: Transaction Books, 1982) 19.
[100] Nye, Political 20.

would weaken with time, causing one's reflexes to slow down.[101] It was described by other medical professionals as "une forme apopleptique de l'ivresse qui se caractérise par l'état comateux dans lequel le malade tombe rapidement."[102] Did the medical community misuse the workplace accident paradigm in order to depict specific consequences related to alcoholism?

The workplace accident would surely leave a lasting impression on children, especially since the assumed outcome was death. Although images were often employed towards the end of the nineteenth century in the anti-alcoholism manuals, the power of the written word cannot be overlooked. In *La Cheminée de Jérôme*, the author includes a fictional account of a child remembering his father's death. He tells the story through the eyes of a child in order to communicate the sense of loss without a father. The fictional narrative also exposed the sense of divide between the working classes and French entrepreneurs, perhaps the underlying moral of the story and motivation behind the efforts of various institutional establishments.

> Ni par la faute du bâtiment, ni par la faute du métier. L'échafaudage était bien établi, le travail sans danger; mais ton père est venu là en descendant de la barrière; la vue était trouble, les jarrets ne se connaissaient plus, il a pris le vide pour une planche et il s'est tué sans excuse. (...) Quand le malheureux s'est écrasé là sur le pavé, sais-tu ce qu'a dit le tâcheron? 'Un ivrogne de moins, enlevez et balayez!'[103]

Is this fictional account implying that all industrial workers are potential alcoholics who will lose their balance and fall to their death? Pissarro depicted a man supported by scaffolding (Fig. 1) but nowhere did he imply that alcohol abuse was the cause of the worker's fall. Is it impossible to believe that perhaps the faulty support system of ropes and wooden boards may have been the cause of the worker's fall, in both Pissarro's image and the fictional narrative in Steeg's manual? Perhaps the moralizing effect described by Dr. Charles Richet in reference to Zola's *L'Assommoir* was not linked to his reinforcement of medical theories but the vast dissemination of misinformation

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[101] Bocquillon, L'Alcoolisme 23-26.
[102] N. Claude, Rapport Fait au Nom de la Commission d'Enquête sur la Consommation de l'Alcool en France (Paris: P. Mouillot, 1887) 57.
[103] Jules Steeg, Les Dangers de l'Alcoolisme 3rd ed., (Paris: Librairie Classique Fernand Nathan, 1901) 7-8.

regarding the working classes in France.[104] Zola's novel popularized the models later used by medical professionals in their educational campaign.

Pissarro may not have wanted to publish *Turpitudes Sociales* out of fear that his images would support the textual treatises of the medical community linking alcoholism and workplace accidents. His decision to distribute the album to family members may have been a wise choice, given the propensity of elitist medical communities to incorporate popular works like Zola's novel into their own propagandistic agenda.[105] Pissarro's representation of a workplace accident was simply described *l'accident* in an effort to convey a meaning free of institutional references and biases related to the working classes.

Pissarro's depiction of a worker suspended by ropes while working on the façade of a structure does not recall the negative implications of idleness associated with the working classes. As T.J. Clark stated in "Farewell to An Idea," it is a nineteenth-century question, "whether every type of looking at the lower classes has to be intrusive and disciplinary."[106] Pissarro's depictions of working-class citizens engaged in different types of occupations (Figs. 1 & 10) convey a sense of recognition and acknowledgement, that is dissimilar to the obtrusive surveillance instigated by temperance advocates and government officials.

Pissarro captured specific moments in the lives of the working classes in order to emphasize the way meaning can be misconstrued and then imposed on a subject. His decision to distribute privately *Turpitudes Sociales* does not imply that his visual imagery was unrelated to the social. In light of Pissarro's unwillingness to conform to the artistic standards of the nineteenth century, and his belief that contradiction had to be imposed on existing systems,[107] he remarked in a letter to Lucien in 1891 that promoting an ideal through artistic creation was becoming a more difficult task. It seems that the misinterpretation of Pissarro's revolutionary artistic message was one of these obstacles.

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[104] Nourrisson 241-43.
[105] Legrain, L'Enseignement 84-85.
[106] T.J. Clark, Farewell to An Idea: Episodes from a History of Modernism (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1999) 87.
[107] Camille Pissarro, "To Lucien Pissarro," 8 July 1891, of Letters 179.

> No, they do not understand us, they do not see the hidden meaning, the mysterious beauty of the thing artistic; it will take twenty years to uncrook the eyes even of those who devote themselves to art! And that applies to all of them, but all! I think this is due to the general trend of the period, it has not yet produced a man capable of imposing his ideas on the masses. (...) Perhaps I am out of date, or my art may conflict and not be conciliable with the general trend which seems to have gone mystical. It must be that only another generation, free from all religious, mystical, unclear conceptions, a generation which would again turn in the direction of the most modern ideas, could have the qualities necessary to admire this approach. I firmly believe that something of our ideas, born as they are of the anarchist philosophy, passes into our works which are thus antipathetic to the current trend.[108]

André Fermigier remarked in an introduction to the unpublished album that *Turpitudes Sociales* was the only instance that Pissarro allowed his true emotions to speak through his art. However, one thing is certain: Pissarro never gave up his quest to support the cultural uprising of the working classes. Passing on his beliefs to Lucien may have been another way for Pissarro to advance the idea of anarchist solidarity. According to Fermigier, Pissarro's correspondence with his son is proof that he was constantly renegotiating institutional power and questioning established political systems.

> Sa correspondance avec son fils Lucien nous le montre néamoins vigoureusement engagé, vigilant sur les affaires et les hommes de l'époque, très attentif aussi à dénoncer les déviationnistes, les révisionnistes et tous les fauteurs de perversions idéologiques risquant de retarder l'arrivée de la Révolution sociale.[109]

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[108] Camille Pissarro, "To Lucien Pissarro," 13 April 1891, of Letters 161-163.
[109] André Fermigier, "Pissarro et l'Anarchie," introduction, Turpitudes Sociales, by Camille Pissarro (Geneva: Éditions d'Art Albert Skira, 1972) 4-5.

Fig. 1 Camille Pissarro, *Avant l'Accident* in Turpitudes Sociales, 1889 (Original Pen and Ink, Éditions d'Art Albert Skira, Switzerland. Reprinted Geneva: Reda, 1972)

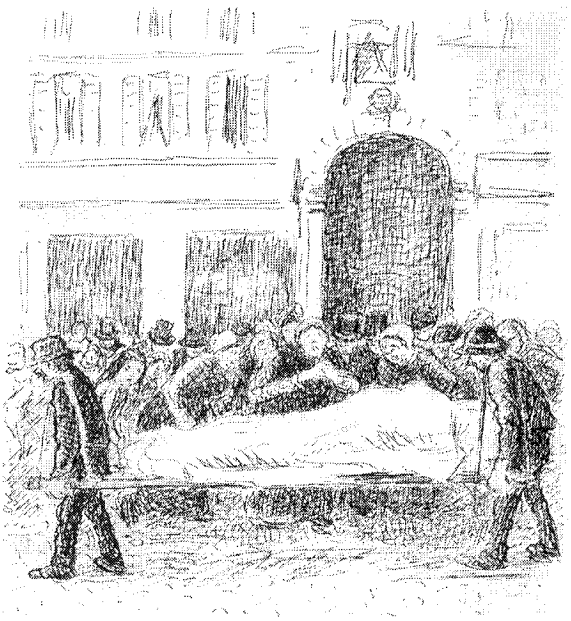


Fig. 2 Camille Pissarro, *Après l'Accident* in Turpitudes Sociales, 1889 (Original Pen and Ink, Éditions d'Art Albert Skira, Switzerland. Reprinted Geneva: Reda, 1972)

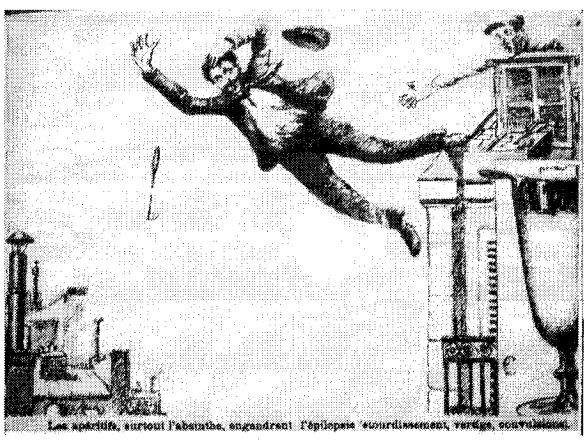


Fig. 3 Paul-Maurice Legrain & Gustave Phillippon, *L'Alcoolisme*, late 19th century poster depicting the risks associated with alcoholism and certain occupations. (in Didier Nourrisson's *Le Buveur de XIXe Siècle* 1990)

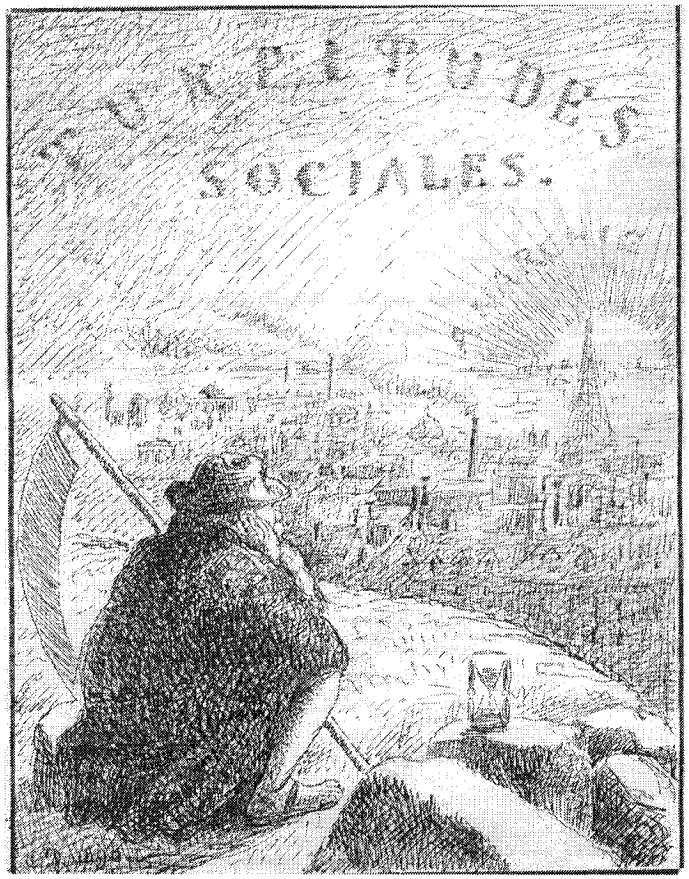
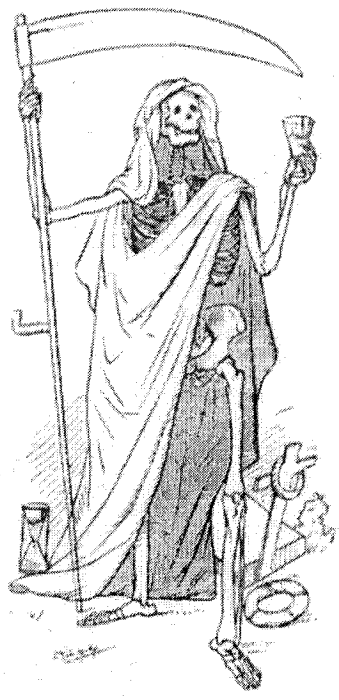


Fig. 4 Camille Pissarro, title page in Turpitudes Sociales, 1889 (Original Pen and Ink, Éditions d'Art Albert Skira, Switzerland. Reprinted Geneva: Reda, 1972)



Le démon moderne.

Fig. 5 Artist Unknown, *Le Démon Moderne* in Paul-Maurice Legrain's L'Enseignement Antialcoolique à l'École, 1899

Fig. 6 Camille Pissarro, *Le Capital* in Turpitudes Sociales, 1889 (Original Pen and Ink, Éditions d'Art Albert Skira, Switzerland. Reprinted Geneva: Reda, 1972)

Fig. 7 Camille Pissarro, L*e Temple du Veau d'Or* in Turpitudes Sociales, 1889 (Original Pen and Ink, Éditions d'Art Albert Skira, Switzerland. Reprinted Geneva: Reda, 1972)

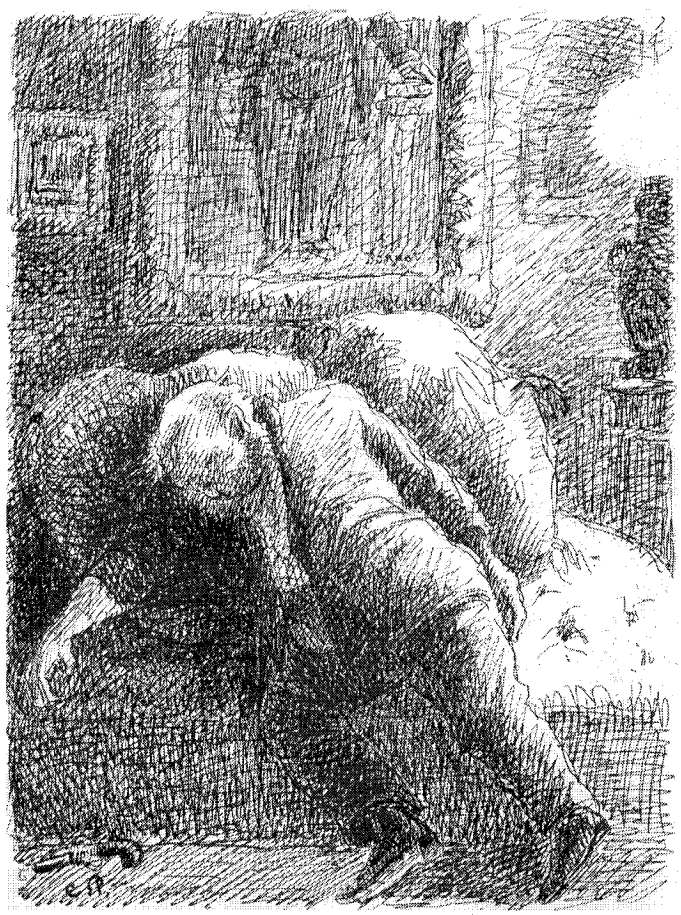


Fig. 8 Camille Pissarro, *Le Suicide du Boursier* in Turpitudes Sociales, 1889 (Original Pen and Ink, Éditions d'Art Albert Skira, Switzerland. Reprinted Geneva: Reda, 1972)

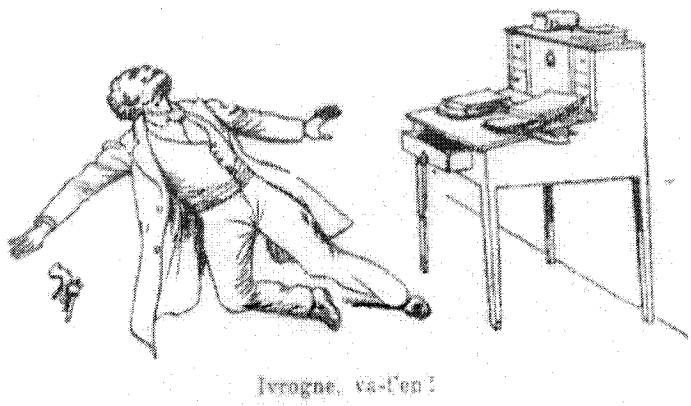


Fig. 9 Artist Unknown, *Ivrogne, Va T'en!* in Paul-Maurice Legrain's L'Enseignement Antialcoolique à l'École, 1899

Fig. 10 Camille Pissarro, *Le Bagne* in Turpitudes Sociales, 1889 (Original Pen and Ink, Éditions d'Art Albert Skira, Switzerland. Reprinted Geneva: Reda, 1972)

Fig. 11 Camille Pissarro, *Les Ivrognes* in Turpitudes Sociales, 1889 (Original Pen and Ink, Éditions d'Art Albert Skira, Switzerland. Reprinted Geneva: Reda, 1972)

Fig. 12 Camille Pissarro, *La Vertu Recompensée* in Turpitudes Sociales, 1889 (Original Pen and Ink, Éditions d'Art Albert Skira, Switzerland. Reprinted Geneva: Reda, 1972)

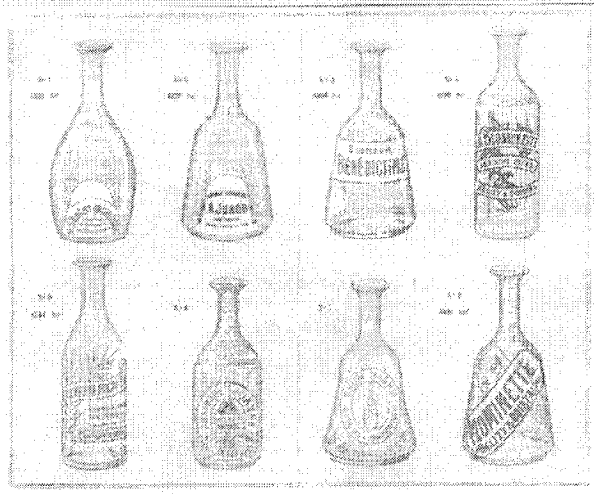


Fig. 13 Various types of absinthe carafes from the *Verreries Legras* pricelist. This list was originally published for the 1889 and then reprinted for the 1900 Universal Exhibition in Paris. The short neck and stout shape are characteristics of the absinthe carafe.

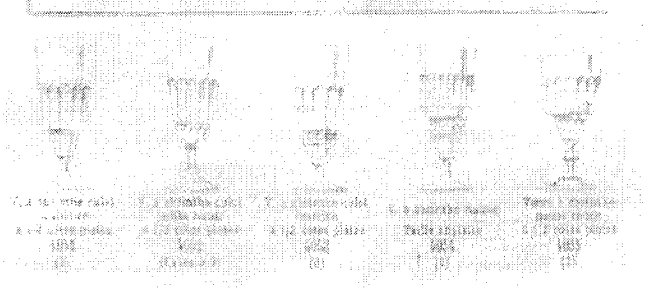
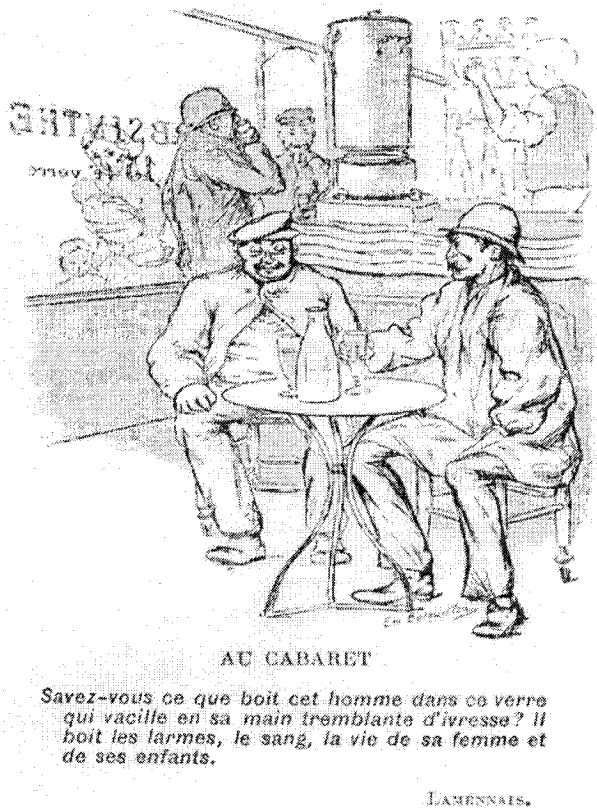


Fig. 14 These are absinthe glasses from the *Verreries Meisenthal* and *Portieux* catalogs published in the nineteenth century. They stand out due to their cone-like shape and small stem.



AU CABARET

Savez-vous ce que boit cet homme dans ce verre qui vacille en sa main tremblante d'ivresse? Il boit les larmes, le sang, la vie de sa femme et de ses enfants.

LAMENNAIS.

Fig. 15 Émile Bocquillon, *Au Cabaret* in L'Alcoolisme, 1899

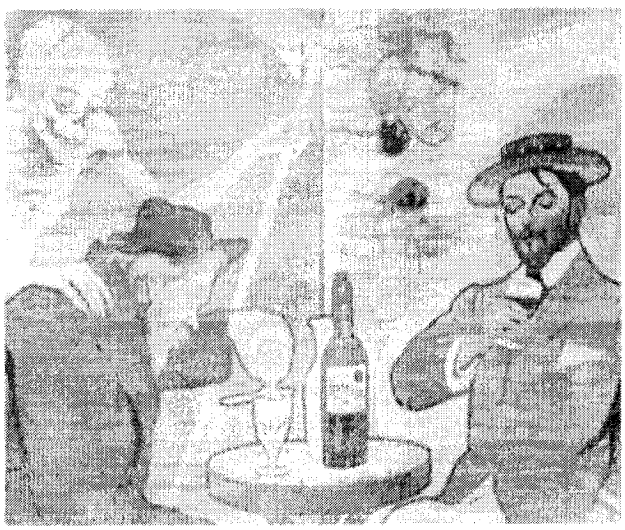
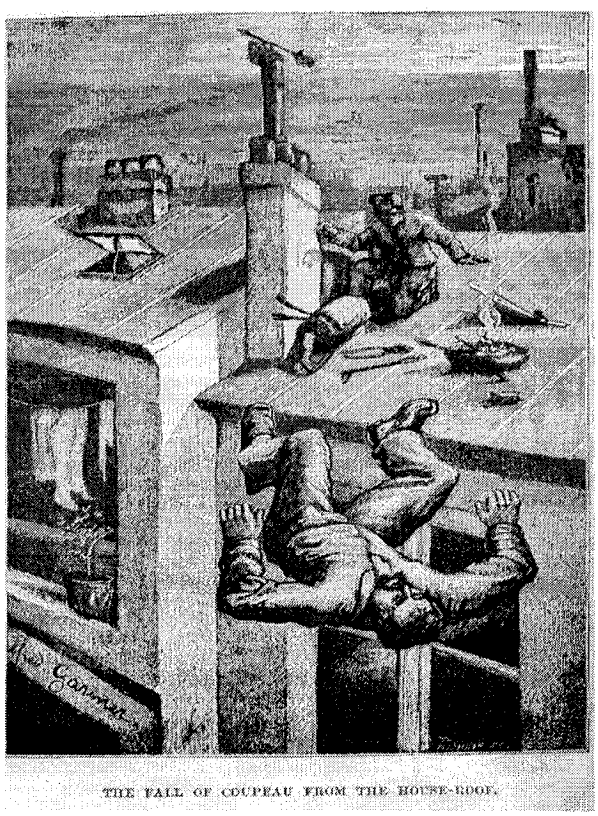


Fig. 16 Artist Unknown, *La Kolamarque* in Le Courrier Français, circa early twentieth century. This is a detail of an advertisement for the cola-based apéritif Kolamarque. These posters were produced by both temperance organizations and manufacturers of rival absinthe products, such as Kolamarque, Byrrh and St Raphael.

GERVAISE AND COUPEAU AT THE ASSOMMOIR.

Fig. 17 Artist Unknown, *Gervaise and Coupeau at the Assommoir* in George Augustus Sala's Paris Herself Again, 3rd ed. Vol. 2, 1879



THE FALL OF COUPEAU FROM THE HOUSE-ROOF.

Fig. 18 Alfred Garmer, *The Fall of Coupeau from the House-Roof* in George Augustus Sala's Paris Herself Again, 3rd ed. Vol. 2, 1879

Chapter 2
Learning About Alcoholism's Impact on the Family: Domestic Violence

Pissarro's image depicting domestic violence also shares similarities with the representations of abuse propagated by the temperance movement (Fig. 19). The theoretical findings of medical professionals characterized the aggressive nature of the alcoholic as a loss of sensible judgement followed by irrational behaviour.[1] Much like the illustrations of workplace accidents that were employed by the temperance community to portray a medical condition, the visual imagery depicting abuse also referred to the recurring theme of conjugal violence as an example. Pissarro, however, incorporated elements from the visual imagery disseminated by the medical community in order to disrupt the ideological meaning of the images depicting domestic abuse.

The scene in Pissarro's image (Fig. 19) is very gloomy, the only light coming from a candle placed on a table in the background. Pissarro portrays a man waving a long stick while dragging a woman by her hair. There is a chair placed in the lower right corner and a bed positioned next to the table in the background. Pissarro's caption describes the scene as *Petite Scène de la Vie Conjugale.*[2] His choice of words does not imply an unusual event but a common occurrence of married life. In the letter to his niece, the words Pissarro employed to describe the image are sardonic in tone, almost as if attributing the cause of the violence to some undisclosed factor. "Petite scène de la vie conjugale! C'est encore une des phases de la vie conjugale très connue. – C'est étonnant comme le mariage adoucit les mœurs."[3]

Pissarro's caption and his description of the image in his letter to his niece, implies a certain deterioration after years of marriage. However, Pissarro's sympathy for the working classes sheds light on his reasons for including this image in his unpublished album. According to Fermigier, Pissarro's aim was to document the ills of modern bourgeois culture most often condemned in the anarchist press.[4] The medical community

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[1] Jean-Pierre Gallavardin, Alcoolisme et Criminalité: Traitement Médical de l'Ivrognerie et de l'Ivresse (Paris: Baillière, 1889) 1, 34. See Legrain, L'Alcoolisme 17-18. Legrain's study provides greater detail and more examples of the alcoholic's loss of moral reason. See also Bocquillon 24-25.
[2] Camille Pissarro, Turpitudes 45.
[3] Camille Pissarro, "To Esther Isaacson," 29 December 1889, in Turpitudes 6.
[4] Fermigier 7.

towards the end of the nineteenth century, however, would have linked domestic violence to working-class alcoholism. Certain important details of the room's interior in Pissarro's image refute the prototypical representations of domestic violence promoted by temperance advocates. The furniture is not disrupted and the chair in the lower right corner is not overturned. This communicates the sense that the conflict is not irrational or driven by uncontrollable impulses. Furthermore, there are no decorations on the walls or any substantial amount of furniture: just a chair, a table and a bed. Pissarro accurately conveys a sense of deprivation in the household, especially through the candle in the dark room, which is the only source of light.

Pissarro does not explain the reason for the abuse, but the image immediately preceding figure 19 in Pissarro's album is *La Vertu Récompensée* (Fig. 12). In this image, Pissarro depicted a crowd of bourgeois men and women gathered at a café, while a woman holding her child beseeches a couple for some money. It is interesting that Pissarro followed this image (Fig. 12) with his scene of domestic violence (Fig. 19) because the conflict portrayed by Pissarro may have involved matters of money or lack thereof. Perhaps the woman, who enraged her husband to the point of inflicting physical abuse, reported upon her return home that her night of panhandling was not a success. As argued in chapter 1, Pissarro's arrangement of his images in *Turpitudes Sociales* seem to follow a pattern which link the miseries of lower-class life to the lavish lifestyles of the bourgeoisie. The juxtaposition of middle-class and working-class couples in figures 12 and 19 is also significant.

The medical community, however, was convinced that the majority of conjugal violence cases were related to the working-class man's abuse of alcohol. The testimonies in medical pamphlets, studies and treatises relied heavily upon examples of conjugal violence instigated by men to show the devastating effect of alcoholism on lower-class French families.[5] Some medical experts maintained that all the ills committed by a working-class husband, such as lying, stealing and physical abuse were caused by alcohol.[6]

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[5] Barrows et al., eds., Proceedings 212.
[6] Gallavardin 111.

However, it can be assumed that French authorities were prone to exaggeration in order to arrest working-class men. This was facilitated by a law was passed in 1873 concerning the repression of drunkenness.[7] The threat of prison was believed to be a deterrent and the methodical campaign led by the temperance movement maintained that all persons under the influence of alcohol would be arrested.[8] Another leading physician, Bergeret, believed that the majority of the women who presented themselves with bruises, scratches and internal injuries caused by rape were all victims of an alcoholic man.[9] It seems that concealing the multiple factors leading to domestic abuse among the working classes under the cover of an anti-alcoholism campaign helped the lawmakers who wanted moral reform. Domestic abuse was transformed into a primary example of alcoholism's impact on lower-class French families. Conjugal violence gave authorities a pretext to arrest working-class men.

However, Bergeret contradicted his own support of the medical findings on alcohol abuse because he stated, in a lengthy publication, that some female victims of abuse resorted to extremes to seek reprisal.[10] Even early proponents of this medical model who associated alcoholism with specific problems among the lower classes had reservations about making distinct connections. Bergeret also questioned the link between alcoholism and workplace accidents. The passage included in Bergeret's 1870 treatise highlights the doctor's disbelief in alcohol as the cause of an accident without proper investigation.

> Un ivrogne est trouvé mort un matin au bas de l'escalier de pierre qui conduit à la porte de sa maison. La justice m'envoie relever le cadavre. (...) La justice fut obligée, faute de témoignage, d'accepter la version et d'admettre que cet homme, rentrant ivre, était tombé de manière à s'enfoncer ainsi le crâne contre un de ces cailloux. Mais j'ai toujours pensé qu'elle l'avait assommé d'un coup de marteau, durant son sommeil, et avait traîné ensuite son cadavre au pied de l'escalier pour faire croire qu'il s'était assommé en tombant. C'était une femme très-adroite, profondément artificieuse, d'un caractère dur, sauvage, et qui était bien

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[7] Anne-Marie Vibert, "Délinquance et Délinquantes dans la Région de Caen XIXe – XXe Siècles," Marginalité 204. See Gaston Macé, Un Joli Monde (Paris: G. Charpentier et Cie., 1887) 112-116 for a detailed perspective of this law and its misuse.

[8] Steeg 52.

[9] L.F.E. Bergeret, De L'Abus des Boissons Alcooliques: Dangers et Inconvénients pour les Individus, la Famille et la Société (Paris: J.B. Baillière et Fils, 1870) 235-239.

[10] Bergeret 239.

> capable d'employer toutes ces précautions pour mettre la mort de son mari sur le compte d'une chute accidentelle.[11]

It seems that alcohol abuse suited the purposes of the medical community in proving its disastrous outcome, and the French authorities in labeling working-class men alcoholics. Bergeret also contended that most separations between working-class couples were caused by alcohol abuse.[12] The law of 1873 was passed with the hope of curbing the progression and eventually eliminating alcoholism. However, the interests of the medical community were being satisfied and it seems that the more violent the nature of the abuse on women, the stronger the medical community's case in relation to the savage outcome of an alcoholic's temper. Bergeret described the internal injuries of some women he examined as probable signs of rape by an alcoholic partner.[13]

However, the social historian Alain Corbin also stated that Bergeret was an extremist practicing French medicine during the nineteenth century. Bergeret's exaggerations and overstatements make it easier to grasp the underlying intentions of the medical community and elucidate the establishment of a medical model.[14] Why did these doctors dismiss all other possibilities and why were they unable to make a link between the proliferation of domestic violence cases and this new law passed in 1873? It seems that the medical community was satisfied with the results of their professional findings, especially in reference to the new regulation concerning the repression of drunkenness but what about other cases of domestic violence, where alcoholism was not a factor? Were these instances ignored by French authorities and medical professionals?

Pissarro's image (Fig. 19) challenges the visual imagery of the temperance movement in relation to domestic abuse. Although the images in Pissarro's *Turpitudes Sociales* do not easily give away their meaning, the general mood of his twenty-eight drawings, according to Fermigier, is somber and more than half of them take place during the night.[15] In *Petite Scène de la Vie Conjugale*, Pissarro depicted a violent nocturnal scene that is dramatically rendered through the contrast of shade and the eruption of the candle's glare. Pissarro is essentially conveying a mood in figure 19, one that is not

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[11] Bergeret 239-40.
[12] Bergeret 239.
[13] Bergeret 235-37.
[14] Corbin 140.
[15] Fermigier 8.

intended to intrigue but to appall the viewer. In my opinion, the distress raised by Pissarro's image of domestic violence is not focused on the act of abuse as much as it is intended to stir the emotions of the viewer, especially in relation to the images that precede figure 19 in Pissarro's album. Although I do not discuss all of Pissarro's drawings in my analysis, some of the images before *Petite Scène de la Vie Conjugale* feature impoverished French citizens taking their lives, starving, condemned vagabonds by the French state and resorting to any means necessary in order to survive. Pissarro's image depicting domestic violence (Fig. 19) has the same intention, to shock the viewer into realizing the deplorable living conditions of the working classes.

The abuse inflicted on the family members of the drunk was not so much a new symptom of severe drunkenness as it was a manipulation of the boundaries separating the working classes and the bourgeoisie. The association of alcohol abuse with some of the most horrendous types of activities being preached by proponents of the medical community signaled an epidemic affecting the lower classes in France. One has to wonder whose interests were really at stake, when such a vast amount of information was being disseminated by the temperance advocates about the drinking problem of the working classes.

According to Prestwich, Paul-Maurice Legrain was one of the most successful temperance advocates of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Legrain possessed a knack for using propaganda, especially images, in order to get his point across (Fig. 3).[16] The medical anxieties about the working-class alcohol problem soon found an audience, particularly among the members of the French government, social reformers and novelists. In the words of Georges Clemenceau, alcoholism represented the complete social issue and was perhaps the necessary support required by Legrain to begin an anti-alcohol campaign based on action rather than words.[17] It seems that politicians and the medical community were concerned about similar issues regarding the working classes. Within two years of Legrain's founding of the Union Française Antialcoolique in

[16] Prestwich, Addiction 1256.
[17] Prestwich, Addiction 1256-57.

1895, the doctor received permission to establish branches in the army and the public school system.[18]

This didactic campaign instigated by Legrain and other medical professionals, as well as the French government, maintained the importance of focusing their hopes on the next generation since the last few decades of trying to reform the drinking habits of adults were a failure.[19] This didactic campaign, supported by the Republican government, indicates a convergence of similar interests. In an effort to promote abstinence by qualifying alcoholism as a working-class disease, the prospect of curing this epidemic seemed feasible to medical officials because it was supported by the government's stance on class relations. The vilification of the working classes through the temperance rhetoric strengthened the position maintained by the ruling classes about the moral reform of the impoverished. Like most physicians and government officials, proponents of the temperance movement paid less attention to the abuse of alcohol than to the specific conditions of its use.[20]

Legrain's father was an artist and he often commissioned him to create posters and other works stressing the horrors of alcoholism. Prestwich states that Legrain was a firm believer in the power of propaganda and even collaborated in creating certain images for his temperance posters.[21] Legrain most often included the images depicting the effects of alcohol abuse in his educational pamphlets distributed to primary school children[22] (Figs. 20 & 21). The various efforts of the medical community, backed by the support of government officials, relied on its supporters to carry the message further.

In figure 20, the unknown artist portrays a scene of domestic violence about to take place. The mother and her child are cornered and appear to be frightened by the father, who has broken a plate and knocked over other items in the household. The overturned chair was a sign widely employed in images depicting domestic violence. In another scene (Fig. 21) included in Legrain's manual, doctor Galtier-Boissière also depicted a menacing father and his frightened family huddled together. There are some

[18] Prestwich, Addiction 1257.
[19] Bocquillon 2.
[20] Barrows, Consciousness 208.
[21] Prestwich, Addiction 1257, 1259.
[22] Legrain, L'Enseignement.

items, like the crooked picture on the wall and the toppled chair, which represent a household once again disrupted by violence.

Pissarro also made use of these elements in his image representing domestic violence (Fig. 19) but he manipulated them slightly to convey a different meaning. The chair in Pissarro's image is not overturned but upright and there is nothing in the room connoting the disorder commonly associated with alcoholic rage that so many medical professionals warned against.[23] Unlike the images in Legrain's didactic manual, Pissarro did not depict the woman standing in a corner, too alarmed to react and anticipating her husband's physical abuse. Pissarro portrayed the abuse happening rather than allow the anticipation of violence imply alcohol as the cause. The images employed by Legrain, however, make use of the woman's frightened demeanor and the aggressor's imposing presence as a representational device highlighting his inebriated state. Pissarro's image (Fig. 19) is more tragic and was perhaps created by Pissarro to show how family life was affected by misery and squalor. The images of abuse included in the didactic material, however, functioned on an ideological level and probably helped students associate alcohol abuse with the likelihood of male aggression.

The most influential device employed by the temperance movement was the didactic material. The widely distributed anti-alcoholism school manual by Daniel Langlois and Henri Blondel was already in its third publication by 1904. The contents were primarily based on the temperance material disseminated by acknowledged members of the medical community as well renowned French authors like Zola.[24] Many social historians, such as Susanna Barrows and Patricia E. Prestwich, have documented the temperance movement's use of Zola's *L'Assommoir* in their didactic efforts as a dramatization of the working-class alcohol problem.[25] Temperance advocates such as

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[23] Tourdot 26-28. See Paul-Maurice Legrain, Hérédité et Alcoolisme: Étude Psychologique et Clinique sur les Dégénérés Buveurs et les Familles d'Ivrognes (Paris: Octave Doin, 1889) 46-47, 51-57. Legrain's study implied that these examples of alcoholic rage were hereditary and primarily passed on by alcoholic males, implying that most cases of violence were instigated by a long line of inebriated family members. The violence would come to an end only when the family line was extinguished.

[24] Nourrisson 246-254.

[25] Prestwich, International 35-36. See Susanna Barrows, Distorting Mirrors: Visions of the Crowd in Late Nineteenth-Century France (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1981) 71-72. Barrows argues that although Zola intended *L'Assommoir* to be viewed as a commentary on poverty, scientists adopted his novel as a model to cast a villainous light on working-class alcoholism.

Legrain employed Zola's narrative to establish the presence of alcohol in numerous working-class male activities.[26]

Are there any parallels between Zola's intentions in writing *L'Assommoir* and Pissarro's decision to distribute privately *Turpitudes Sociales*? According to Barrows, Zola's novel was assimilated into the rhetoric of the temperance movement after much criticism about his views on the French working classes and the ruling class' disregard for their misery.[27] By the time Zola was ready to begin his writing, "bourgeois perceptions of the problem of drink had been dramatically reshaped and the myth of the inebriated, subversive worker had been rooted in the law of the land."[28] Zola's intentions were aimed at representing working-class alcoholism as a result of overwork, misery and fatigue. He avoided any exceptional events in an effort to pinpoint the real causes of proletarian drinking. However, Zola's intended audience was the bourgeoisie and although he wanted to clarify the issues related to the causes of working-class alcoholism, public opinion was extremely divided and Zola's intentions were misread.[29]

Did Pissarro avoid public distribution of *Turpitudes Sociales*, fearing that his visual imagery documenting unjust class relations and working-class hardship, would be viewed by a bourgeois audience and his intentions misconstrued? Richard Terdiman, author of *Discourse/Counter-Discourse*, analyzed the discursive and ideological power of newspaper culture as well as the *roman d'éducation* in nineteenth-century France. His theories concerning the subversive power of specific discourses apply to the intentions of Zola's novel and to Pissarro's decision to privately distribute *Turpitudes Sociales*. In this lengthy study, Terdiman contends that subversion was a pivotal aspect of nineteenth-century counter-discourses.[30] Barrows argues that Zola's intentions were aimed at revealing the corruption of the bourgeoisie and the French government by depicting the miserable living conditions of the working classes in *L'Assommoir*.[31] Terdiman asserts

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[26] Prestwich, Addiction 1261. See Prestwich, The Changing Face of Drink 123. Prestwich states that an increasing amount of psychiatrists assumed that the typical alcoholic resembled Zola's character Coupeau from *L'Assommoir*.
[27] Barrows, Consciousness 212-13.
[28] Barrows, Consciousness 213.
[29] Barrows, Consciousness 214.
[30] Richard Terdiman, Discourse/Counter-Discourse: The Theory and Practice of Symbolic Resistance in Nineteenth-Century France (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1985) 87.
[31] Barrows, Consciousness 212-13.

that counter-discursive works contested the structures of control and its imposition of power.[32]

However, Terdiman also argues that these counter-discursive works could integrate themselves into the system of the culturally standardized and therefore emerge into a dominant form before eventually being absorbed into the network of the ideological.[33] This happened to Zola when his novel was originally admonished for vilifying certain aspects of French culture. These criticisms came mostly from Republicans who proclaimed themselves spokesmen for the working classes.[34] However, Zola's novel was later deemed an exemplary model and advocated by the temperance movement, for its effective delineation of the causes of alcoholism, ignoring the author's own statements about poverty, inhumane living conditions and dismal prospects for the working classes.[35] Zola's *L'Assommoir*, which was first intended to educate the bourgeois public about the deplorable living conditions of the working classes, was assimilated into the prosaic warnings of the medical community and portions of its narrative were controlled to emphasize lower-class alcohol abuse.

By 1878, when an illustrated edition was published, Zola's *L'Assommoir* was a commercial success and featured illustrations by André Gill and Renoir (Fig. 22).[36] In figure 22, André Gill depicted a household interior that highlights an intoxicated man on the floor. The door is open, indicating his recent return home, while his wife and children stand behind it. They appear frightened and disturbed by the man's state. The foot of the bed and an overturned chair in the lower right corner are visible in the image. The shabby interior is further emphasized by the dingy wallpaper and dilapidated wooden floor.

Although Pissarro's image (Fig. 19) is different, he too depicted a bare interior with little or no decoration. Pissarro also placed a chair in the lower right corner but his was not turned over. Pissarro replaced Gill's huddled family members at the foot of the

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[32] Terdiman 86-87.
[33] Terdiman 120-21.
[34] Barrows, Consciousness 214.
[35] Barrows, Consciousness 215. See Langlois and Blondel 479-81. Specific passages were employed in these school manuals to highlight the most gruesome and undignified types of behavior under the influence of alcohol. See also Legrain, L'Enseignement 84-85. Legrain employs a passage from Zola's *Rougons-Macquart* series to shed light on the fatal nature of alcoholism.
[36] Nourrisson 242-43. See Phillip Dennis Cate, "The Spirit of Montmartre," The Spirit of Montmartre: Cabarets, Humor, and the Avant-Garde, 1875-1905 (New Jersey: Rutgers, The State University of New Jersey, 1996) 22.

bed, with a wooden table. Although the composition of both images appears similar, Pissarro manipulated certain elements in order to disrupt the prototypical model of the male drunk. According to Hutton Pissarro's image is neither sentimentalized nor eroticized but deliberately crude.[37] A possible explanation can be found, however, in Proudhon's *La Pornocratie* of 1875 and later elaborated in part four of *De La Justice.* In 1875, Proudhon wrote that social collapse transformed ordinary men into beasts, due to unequal and unprofitable labour, an arduous life, a harmful marriage and an even more tedious generation, factors which rendered family life impossible.[38] Pissarro, a faithful supporter of Proudhon's social theories as early as the 1880s, may have intended his scene of domestic abuse to symbolize the desperation of working-class men. At the same time, however, his image (Fig. 19) also seems to demystify the temperance community's visual propaganda and pinpoints specific representational elements repeatedly employed to vilify the working classes.

Perhaps with the help of illustrations, the virtues of Zola's *L'Assommoir*, as an effective model of alcoholic degeneration were progressively acknowledged. By the end of the nineteenth century, it was used in various didactic manuals. The most dramatic portions of its narrative were employed by temperance advocates to represent the severity of working-class alcoholism.[39] It appears that early on, the anti-authoritarian message of Zola's novel was recognized but in its transitional phase, the temperance movement transformed the novel into the abstinence bible.

It is not known where this paradigm of household violence originated but the dissemination of images highlighting the inebriated male stumbling into his home was employed as early as 1878 in the illustrated version of Zola's *L'Assommoir.* On its own, Zola's novel instigated many other second-rate authors to illustrate more dramatically the effects of alcohol abuse. According to Nourrisson, it appears that anti-alcoholism became a popular topic for writers and playwrights towards the end of the nineteenth century.[40] The next phase of the temperance crusade focused on visual propaganda and the

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[37] Hutton, History 49.
[38] J.-P. Proudhon, La Pornocratie (Paris: 1875) 161. Also discussed by Hutton, History 50.
[39] Nourrisson 242-44. See A. Rauzy, "*L'Assommoir* et les débuts de la Lutte Antialcoolique," Psychologie Médicale 10 (1986): 1557-1560.
[40] Nourrisson 244.

dissemination of postcards and posters by some of the most recognized temperance artists.[41]

This natural progression of temperance material culminated in the French school system. The moralizing Republican paradigm of education fit naturally with its claims that alcoholism was the next social epidemic plaguing the lower classes. A great deal of material published by the medical community as early as the 1870s, was being reissued and redistributed in large numbers to schools throughout French urban centers. Jules Simon and Jules Ferry strongly supported this didactic temperance endeavor.

Simon was a member of the Académie des sciences morales et politiques and the Académie Française. He was a senator throughout his life and held the position of Minister of Public Instruction, Religion and Fine Arts from 1871 through 1873 and again from 1875 to 1877.[42] Ferry was also a prominent legislative figure. He was the Minister of Public Instruction and Fine Arts and later the prime minister of France.[43] Both men supported the Republican party in France and had direct influence on the education system.

By 1882, Jules Ferry extended his didactic program into secondary and collegial levels of education. There were entire sections devoted to sobriety and temperance, as well as chapters delineating the dangers of alcoholism.[44] It was only near the end of the nineteenth century that these educational guidelines incorporated different perspectives in the curriculum. Along with Legrain, Steeg and other medical professionals, the French education ministers throughout the last decade of the nineteenth century declared France's youth as its last hope. The next step was the school system's incorporation of moral, medical, political and economic points of view into the regular scholastic curriculum.[45] By the end of the nineteenth century, through the converging efforts of the medical community and the French government, an intensive educational structure based on temperance propaganda was securely in place.[46]

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[41] Nourrisson 244.
[42] Levin 4.
[43] Ibid.
[44] Nourrisson 247.
[45] Nourrisson 248.
[46] Nourrisson 249.

The schoolbook distributed by Langlois and Blondel featured an image widely employed by temperance advocates about the link between alcoholism and domestic violence (Fig. 23). This is one example of the manipulated visual imagery employed in didactic textbooks, which portrayed the apocalyptic outcome of alcoholism while surpassing the boundaries of authenticity.[47] By the early twentieth century, these images of domestic violence graphically showed repercussions for the wives of alcoholics (Fig. 23). The chair that was repeatedly placed in the interior of a room and usually overturned in order to indicate a disruption in the household, is represented as a weapon employed by the inebriated man in figure 23. In figures 20 and 21, the intoxicated man is depicted as a menacing brute who has managed to frighten his family with the threat of violence. The chair is either overturned following a disruption or employed to intimidate anyone from approaching. The image on the cover of Langlois and Blondel's anti-alcoholism school manual is insinuating a much more violent version of the working-class man (Fig. 23). This manipulation of the imagery may have been intentional in order to create a more menacing model and therefore instigate a larger degree of apprehension in school children in relation to alcohol consumption. The visual imagery disseminated by temperance advocates portrayed children (Figs. 20-22), whereas Pissarro's image (Fig. 19) depicted a working-class couple.

However, the visual imagery in the didactic material was not featured alone. The visual and textual representations of alcoholism's horrendous impact in the domestic environment were multi-dimensional and repetitive. The temperance promoters contrasted the virtues and decency of the family with the brutality of the inebriated man. The didactic campaign promoted a curriculum based on fear and this tactic was very successful amongst French students.[48] Some of the original material created to promote the ills associated with working-class alcoholism dates back to the 1870s, when the first temperance organizations were formed. In 1873, the Société Française de Tempérance held a contest and offered five hundred francs "to the author of a work – be it in the form of a novella, narrative, maxim, or illustration – which presents the most gripping tableau

[47] Nourrisson 249-52.
[48] Nourrisson 245.

of the dangers of alcoholism."[49] Some of the entries worthy of mention were a "a map of the state of drunkenness across the cantons of misery, crime, insanity and illnesses," proverbs that would later become student dictations, a poem about a drunken worker who kills his wife and a range of fictional tales about proletarian drunkards who sink to the lowest levels of personal and cultural misbehavior.[50]

The progression of the temperance movement, from distinct lobby groups that were addressing government officials and private circles in order to first gain support, took approximately thirty years to become a powerful public school campaign through the convergence of private initiatives and medical concerns.[51] It is not known if these contests to promote the French government's view of alcoholism were a success but it can be assumed that the entries were repeatedly employed in the didactic campaign of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

The manual by Langlois and Blondel is most recognized for its length, republication and mix of words and images to convince the student population that alcoholism would lead to the cultural demise of France. It made up the prime curriculum in high school, as did Legrain's didactic material.[52] The popular literary examples often included in the educational material were Zola's *l'Assommoir*, Maupassant's *Le Petit Fût*, Jules Simon's *L'Ouvrière* and Baudrillard's *Histoire d'une Bouteille*.[53] The most graphic and poignant parts of these novels were transcribed into the school manuals to highlight the contentions made by the medical community about alcoholism's negative impact on the family.

The scene of the inebriated man with the chair is placed in the table of contents of Langlois and Blondel's school manual (Fig. 23), serving as a reminder of alcoholism's impact on the individual, the family and society. The image on the left of the menacing husband highlights a man drinking alone (Fig. 24). The scene on the right side of the abusive husband focuses on a man panhandling (Fig. 25). This illustrates the impact of

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[49] Barrows, Consciousness 215.
[50] Ibid.
[51] Nourrisson 249. See Barrows Consciousness 210-11. She highlights the privileged position of early temperance advocates and the non-medical background of some of the supporters. Barrows also mentions that of the 302 Parisian members of the Société française de tempérance, 89 percent resided in the expensive areas of the capital, while none lived in the poorer sections of Paris.
[52] Nourrisson 251.
[53] Ibid.

alcoholism on France's economy and the increase of impoverished citizens living on the streets (Fig. 25). These poignant images were often reinforced with statistics concerning France's economy and figures related to the total amount of alcohol consumed in some French urban centers.[54] However, the rising cost of living was never mentioned in this didactic material, nor was there any attention paid to the expenditures of the bourgeoisie on alcohol. It seems that the persons in charge of gathering information and disseminating it to France's student population were highlighting certain aspects of the alcoholism issue in order to inflate the nature of the problem.

The treatises and medical findings published during the nascent years of the temperance crusade were recycled and their direction reinforced. The contents of Bergeret's lengthy medical investigation of 1870 were purely textual but its title, *De l'Abus des Boissons Alcooliques: Dangers et Inconvénients pour les Individus, la Famille et la Société*, recalls the visual transformation of this maxim on the cover of Langlois and Blondel's textbook (Figs. 23-25). This indicates that the temperance organizations never updated their curriculum but merely accentuated words through visual propaganda in order to attract a larger audience.

Pissarro also employed words in *Turpitudes Sociales* in order to accentuate his images, although the length of his captions pales in comparison. The difference resides in Pissarro's personification of the bourgeoisie as France's modern fiend. Pissarro's captions also discredit the claims of temperance organizations to disgrace the working classes, through an ideological campaign linking its drinking habits to the main social problems affecting France. Pissarro essentially employed recurring visual imagery popularized by the temperance community and reversed working-class and bourgeois roles through the accompanying captions. However, Pissarro's unpublished album of drawings was an isolated attempt to challenge the rhetoric of social deviance that was promoted by the medical community and the French government.

The extensive size of some of the didactic manuals relied on literary narratives, poetry and songs along with visual imagery repeated in every chapter, in order to remind the students of a vision every time they would encounter an anti-alcoholism

[54] Langlois and Blondel 419-423. See Legrain, L'Enseignement 145-147. Also Legrain, Bibliothèque 12-15.

advertisement or slogan on the street. Some examples in Langlois and Blondel's textbook featured scenarios that recalled the visual imagery of the abusive husband entering his home and intimidating his family. These poems and songs were formats that could be easily absorbed and memorized by children.

Tibutant et jurant l'homme arrive au logis ;
Comme le dieu du mal, le pauvre y est admis.
Ses enfants, qui, tantôt, en une plainte amère,
Criaient qu'ils avaient faim à cette pauvre mère,
Ses enfants effrayés ne sentent plus leurs maux,
Et la femme qui pleure en voyant ses marmots
N'ose faire un reproche à la cruelle brute.
Depuis plus de quatre ans, elle est là qu'elle lutte.
(...) Robert avait goûté le sinistre breuvage
Qui remplit tous les cœurs de fureur et de rage.
Chaque soir, il rentra plus ivre et plus méchant,
Esclave désormais d'un funeste penchant.
(...) Que lui font les douleurs de cette triste mère,
Lorsqu'elle songe au sort que prépare le père
Aux tendres chérubins arrachés du Néant!
Toujours à la maison cet homme est maugréant :[55]

The song included in the same schoolbook recalls the image of the abusive husband in the table of contents and the accompanying images emphasizing alcohol's impact on individual and social levels. These narrative examples were usually accompanied by homework and questions, in order to reinforce the student's recognition of alcoholism's negative consequences and the scope of its impact.

L'alcool est l'ennemi! De celui qui domine
Il ravit sans tarder le courage et le cœur ;
Vers la tombe, avili, le buveur s'achemine,
Répandant sous ses pas la honte et le malheur.
L'alcool est l'ennemi! L'innocente famille
Sous ses coups du foyer voit s'écrouler la paix ;
Dans l'avenir pour elle aucun astre ne brille,
Ses deux rêves d'espoir sont éteints pour jamais.
L'alcool est l'ennemi! Dans notre France aimée,
Des mains de nos soldats il fait tomber le fer ;
Nos antiques vertus s'échappent en fumée
Et sous nos cieux s'annonce un éternel hiver.[56]

[55] Langlois and Blondel 154-55.
[56] Langlois and Blondel 229.

In Legrain's school manual, the first image depicts a working-class male sitting on a chair in an intoxicated state (Fig. 26). The caption accompanying Legrain's image is direct and highlights the outcome of his inebriation. "L'ivrogne voit la vie en rouge, il est abruti et il fait peur."[57] It is interesting that these scholastic campaigns featured images and narratives that ignored a vital aspect of working-class life. The men allegedly abusing their families were never depicted at work or even involved in any sort of labour. This accentuates the ideological nature of the temperance campaign. It sought to educate school children about alcoholism among the working classes and the dramatic increase in its consumption of liquors like absinthe, without portraying the men earning any money to pay for their drinking habits. The visual imagery included in these didactic manuals immediately emphasized working-class alcohol consumption and the outcome of this uncontrollable addiction.

Pissarro's album, however, places a great deal of emphasis on working-class labour. The underlying message being communicated by Pissarro in his images stressed the industrious nature of the working classes and the idleness of the bourgeoisie. This is different from the material promoted by temperance proponents, which maintained the bourgeoisie's discipline and sobriety and the working-class' laziness and hedonism.[58]

> Now one can understand the bestial and savage faces of the workers in the uprising, the thefts, the massacres, and the arson; the insanity, the imbecility and idiocy which affected such a large number of them; their vicious instincts, their lack of morality, their laziness, their tendency toward crime, and in the long run, their reproductive impotence.[59]

Susanna Barrows argues that temperance efforts before the German defeat of the French in 1871 were not successful. A *Société de Sobriété* based in Amiens disappeared almost immediately after its formation in 1835. Other equally transient appeals for moral reform were voiced in Aix, Rouen and Versailles as the Second Republic was being disbanded in 1851. Temperance leaders admitted that these associations were absolutely unproductive, and were disconnected attempts to reform the drinking habits of the

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[57] Legrain, L'Enseignement 2.
[58] Barrows, Consciousness 217. See M. Leclerc and Dr. L. Lunier, "Moyens Pratiques de Substituer dans les Habitudes des Populations des Boissons Salutaires telles que le Café, le Thé aux Boissons Alcooliques," La Tempérance 1 (1873): 400-480.
[59] Barrows, Consciousness 209. See Dr. A Brière de Boismont, "De la Proportion Toujours Croissante de l'Aliénation Mentale Sous l'Influence de l'Alcool," Bulletin de l'Association Française Contre l'Abus du Tabac et des Boissons Alcooliques 4.1 (1872): 18.

masses.[60] These reformers pushed for governmental reorganization but accomplished little. Barrows claims that the "experience of the Commune enlarged the sphere of public concern about alcoholism far beyond the ranks of titled patriots. After 1871 much of the bourgeoisie used alcoholism as a code word for working-class irrationality and as an overreaching explanation for the French defeat."[61]

The contrived relationship between politics and medicine allowed the new myth of the alcoholic revolutionary to emerge, and the massacres, which ensued from the fallout of the Paris Commune, justified the medical attempts in the interest of national health. On an ideological level, the manipulation of the proletarian drunkard provided a satisfactory resolution to the concerns of the men in power, while the rationalization of a medical campaign of social repression benefited political and elitist circles.[62] The pattern that emerged from the Commune was a reinforced dissonance between France's social classes. The alcoholism issue also became split along these cultural lines, while the political and medical communities refused to admit that alcoholism was a problem that could cross class boundaries.[63]

Rather than support the working-class drinking myth in his image depicting domestic violence (Fig. 19), Pissarro focused on the confrontation between a husband and wife. The central action highlights the difficulties of lower-class family life. This insinuates the conditions under which the working classes must survive and the barriers they must overcome.

The introduction of industrial alcohols, such as absinthe, onto the French market can represent one of these obstacles, and indicates the priorities of the government and its subsequent manipulation of its own system during the second half of the nineteenth century to exploit and then criticize the working classes. The socialist, Auguste Forel, warned against the effects of alcohol abuse in his 1910 treatise *L'Alcoolisme Comme Question Sociale*, but also alluded to the greed of the French government and bourgeois entrepreneurs. According to Forel, alcoholism prevented the working classes from leading a resistance against the government. Forel's statement highlights the underlying

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[60] Dr. L. Lunier, "De l'Origine et de la Propagation des Sociétés de Tempérance," La Tempérance 1 (1873): 1-23.
[61] Barrows, Consciousness 208.
[62] Barrows, Consciousness 209.
[63] Ibid.

tactic of French officials in allowing hard liquors such as absinthe to be distributed to the masses by passing a law in 1875.[64] It also points to the medical community's ruse in seeking support from the French government for its temperance programs.

> Nous avons souvent entendu des personnes affectant d'être d'opinion très avancée, parlant au nom du socialisme, formuler des objections contre l'antialcoolisme. Le mouvement antialcoolique, disent-elles, détourne les ouvriers de leur véritable but, la lutte contre le capital, et favorise l'exploitation de la classe ouvrière par les capitalistes, qui peuvent diminuer d'autant plus le salaire des ouvriers, que ces derniers réduisent leurs dépenses en n'achetant plus d'alcool. Leur grand cheval de bataille, c'est qu'il faut combattre les causes du mal, en l'occurrence, l'état capitaliste. (...) N'oublions pas que le capital alcoolique est le pire de tous, car il prend au travailleur, non seulement son argent, mais sa raison et sa santé, il facilite énormément l'exploitation de celui auquel l'alcool fait perdre la tête.[65]

The formulation of industrial alcohols and hard liquors took decades to introduce and then distribute into the French market.[66] The associations, however, between the working classes and its abuse of these new substances appears to have been a pressing priority for the temperance advocates.[67] The advancements in French industry related to alcohol production were too important to neglect, even though its impact would eventually have negative consequences on the masses. A certain antagonism is present and emphasizes the government's support of industry and wealth as opposed to the health of its working-class population.

Alcohol consumption was considered a social activity during the eighteenth century. It was an experience characterized by the "merry drunkenness of our fathers" who drank only wine.[68] It became a serious issue during the nineteenth century, primarily because drinking became associated with the worker's favorite repose and interfered with his responsibilities.[69] This was largely due to the introduction of industrial alcohols in the bars and cafés, which were sold at inexpensive prices and that the working classes could easily afford.[70] There was no pressing drinking problem during the Ancien Régime in the

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[64] Legrain, L'Alcoolisme 8.
[65] Forel 9, 24, 45-46.
[66] Legrain, L'Alcoolisme 7-9.
[67] Legrain, L'Enseignement 6.
[68] Barrows et al., eds., Proceedings 211.
[69] Barrows et al., eds., Proceedings 190.
[70] Barrows et al., eds., Proceedings 211.

late eighteenth century. Alcohol consumption was an activity of cultural exchange, related to leisure and "a constructive element in the culture of tavern sociability."[71]

Along with the fiscal crisis and stagnant economy preceding the Second Empire up until 1851, a rapidly rising but disparate modernization from the Second Empire until 1914 and the catastrophe brought on by the *phylloxera aphid* from the 1870s through the 1890s, a dramatic increase in the consumption of other alcoholic drinks plagued the French working classes.[72] The increasing price of food, compared to hard liquor, indicated a new Paris becoming more than ever the capital of luxury and leisure.[73] The negative effects of Haussmannization, which separated the worker from his home, forced him into the cafés for his lunch, which cost the urban worker twice what the same meals would have cost at home.[74] This economic crisis affecting the working classes produced another phenomenon in its drinking habits. In an effort to curb the rising cost of living since 1788, café owners kept the prices of alcohol down by diluting wine with water and enhancing it with spirits and other chemicals.[75] It seems that the alcoholism epidemic grew out of a necessity to continue making profits in the alcohol industry following an increase in the cost of living and the devastation of the vineyards from 1870 to 1890, by a lice attacking plants that caused a shortage of grapes.[76] The financial desire of entrepreneurs to maintain their profits made the price of alcohol more affordable for the working classes but labeled them degenerates.[77]

The second half of the nineteenth century was witnessing a revolution in alcohol fabrication and consumption. These new processes, derived from the distillation of alcohol from beets, potatoes and cereals ensured a soaring in the quantity of hard liquors on the market and a simultaneous decrease in prices. "In an era of economic crisis, it had a decisive price advantage over wine."[78] However, the act of drinking progressively lost its connotations of festivity as a communal pastime during the nineteenth century. As

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[71] Barrows et al., eds., Proceedings 190.
[72] Haine 89-92.
[73] Haine 93.
[74] Jacques de Riviers, "Serrurier-Forgeron," Ouvriers de Deux Mondes 1st ser., 5.42 (1875): 252.
[75] Haine 95. See "Faits Divers," L'Illustration 4 Dec. 1875: 36.
[76] Doris Lanier, Absinthe: The Cocaine of the Nineteenth Century (North Carolina and London: McFarland & Company, Inc., Publishers, 1995) 18.
[77] Haine 94.
[78] Haine 96.

alcohol consumption became individualized, going from the occasional weekly binge to a daily expenditure for most working-class citizens, it became increasingly related to social disorder and behavioral problems.[79] The charges brought against defendants for frivolous behavior linked to alcohol consumption slowly "gave way to the recognition of the pathological problems of drunkenness."[80]

How did alcoholism become such a serious concern within the medical community during the second half of the nineteenth century? Why were officials only considering the problem at this stage and not during previous centuries? Legrain explained the history of alcoholism as following two distinct phases. The first was the French population's abuse of its national alcohol, wine, and the second was marked by a modern manifestation, namely a different kind of alcoholism. This phase began with the incorporation of industrial liquors such as *absinthe*, *bitter*, *vermouth*, *vulnéraire* and *l'eau de mélisse* into the French market, the effects of which were completely different from those caused by wine consumption.[81] In his own words, Legrain characterizes this second phase as the beginning of the problem of alcoholism in France:

> C'est vers 1824 surtout, qu'en France l'industrie de l'alcool a commencé à prendre de l'extension par la distillerie des céréales et de la pomme de terre, l'industrie française ne pouvant négliger indéfiniment une source de bénéfices qui, dans les pays voisins, avait donné d'excellents résultats. C'est cette époque que l'alcoolisme date en France. Cette maladie collective est donc bien, chez nous du moins, une maladie du siècle.[82]

Once this cost-efficient, industrial alcohol entered into commercial distribution, the ills of its effects rapidly progressed. Wine and alcohol abuse spread within every social class and its progressive proliferation was facilitated by advances in modern technology and machinery, which made possible more rapid means of production.[83] Another problem occurred when on August 2nd, 1872, a law was passed that did not require bar owners to have a license to distribute alcohol and further exacerbated in 1875, when the law allowed raw distillers of alcohol to distribute their product to the masses. These rulings, Legrain commented, were leading towards "une pente qui devait être fatale

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[79] Haine 107-08.
[80] Haine 116-17.
[81] Legrain, L'Alcoolisme 7.
[82] Ibid.
[83] Legrain, L'Alcoolisme 7-8.

à la santé publique."[84] However, there was never any mention in the medical findings of the lawmakers who allowed these decrees to pass, nor any comment about their motivations to mass distribute industrial alcohol to the lower classes.

The government's decision to allow alcohol distillers to produce hard liquors without a license was benefiting the economy and stimulating the medical community to scrutinize more closely the habits of the lower classes. In an effort to characterize working-class alcoholism as the underlying corruption of this cultural issue, doctors needed to promote the government's stand on the moral reform of the masses. This involved a certain vilification of the working classes, and may have even prompted doctors to publish their findings related to the "biological" effects of alcohol abuse. According to some medical studies, alcoholism was a hereditary disease that was passed on from generation to generation among the lower classes.

In 1889, Legrain conducted a large study with the assistance of Valentin Magnan, another leading proponent of the temperance movement. Together, they made charts of the family descendants of severely alcoholic patients being treated at specific asylums where they had previously worked, such as Asiles de la Seine. This study was based on the lives and family members of critically alcoholic patients and depicted results that would support some elitist claims concerning the inbred immorality of the working classes. All of the second-generation descendants of male alcoholics were affected with acute biological disorders but more importantly, Legrain's study revealed that these children were born with the same penchant for excessive drinking.[85]

What does this medical discovery reveal about the relationship between the government's plan for social reform and the medical community's findings related to the inbred depravity of the lower classes? Legrain's lengthy study was published in 1889, almost twenty years after the dissolution of the French Commune and half a century after the first temperance efforts launched in the 1830s. Was the Franco-Prussian War and the defeat of the French, the instigator of this new alliance between the government and the medical community? Can we assume that the distribution of industrial liquors to a wider segment of France's population was an intentional tactic promoted by the government in

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[84] Legrain, L'Alcoolisme 8.
[85] Legrain, Hérédité 46-47, 51-57.

order to confirm its opinion about the character of the working classes? It seems that the vilification of the masses functioned to elevate the reputation of the bourgeois community. It also provided a reason for French officials to blame the loss of the Franco-Prussian war on the degenerate behavior of the working classes.

In contrast to Legrain's depiction of the typical male worker (Fig. 26), Pissarro portrayed, in *Turpitudes Sociales*, members of the working classes engaged in physical labour (Figs. 1 & 10). Pissarro also depicted male workers pausing for some rest by an open fire in figure 27. The image is entitled *Les Esclaves au Repos* and features four men in the dark, as one of them pours something to drink from a large jug. The only description of this image (Fig. 27) is in the letter Pissarro dedicated to his niece. "Les esclaves au repos, vus sur nature ici, une soif inextinguible les tient à la gorge, ils boivent, pour éteindre le feu qui consume leurs entrailles."[86]

Contrary to the claims of the medical community, which argued that male members of the working classes consumed liquors such as absinthe at various times during their workday,[87] Pissarro depicted the men enjoying a refreshing substance, most probably water, in between a shift at work or at the end of a long day. More importantly, Pissarro depicted the men in a dark, unfamiliar environment, isolated from the prying eyes of the bourgeois woman featured outside the cabaret in Bocquillon's image (Fig. 15), and secluded from the scrutiny of the medical community (Fig. 26). Pissarro disrupted the prototypical portrayal of working-class men at the *débit de boissons* and represented instead, four men engaged in meaningful social interaction minus the presence of any alcohol. Furthermore, the gloomy environment brought to life by the burning fire was not intended to show the viewer how French workers take repose. Pissarro's night scene was aimed at revealing the dramatic contrast between working-class and bourgeois activities when compared, for example, to figure 12.

Pissarro described his image (Fig. 27) as a group of slaves depicted in their assigned environment, most assuredly instigated by bourgeois interests, as a burning fire consumes their soul. The intensity of the bonfire is not so much a literal representation of warmth and comfort for the slaves as it is Pissarro's figurative symbol of motivation to

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[86] Camille Pissarro, "To Esther Isaacson," 29 December 1889, in Turpitudes 4.
[87] Lanier 22.

break the bonds of working-class oppression imposed by the bourgeoisie. Much like the shining light overlooking Paris in figure 4, the beam of radiance almost within the worker's reach in figure 11 and the lone candle radiantly gleaming in figure 19, Pissarro's incorporation of a solitary but commanding source of light in some of the most dismal working-class environments, communicates a sense of hope that the impoverished may one day overcome their domination. The medical community, however, maintained that the working-class' most menacing ruler was alcohol and that the fire burning within their stomach was the toxic blend of poisons in industrial liquors.[88]

> (...) ils éprouvent souvent des rapports aigres, et une sensation pareille à celle que produirait un fer brûlant dans le gosier et l'estomac. Leur palais blasé éprouve souvent un dégoût qui leur fait rechercher les épices, et celles-ci vont porter à leur tour l'incendie dans les voies digestives. (...) Il n'est pas douteux que cet état d'excitation habituelle use insensiblement les ressorts de la vie, et mine sourdement l'existence de celui qui s'y livre. On a comparé poétiquement, et avec beaucoup de justesse, la vie à un flambeau allumé : ceux qui abusent de l'excitation alcoolique activent imprudemment cette flamme mystérieuse qui consume lentement leur organisation, tout en l'animant; (...) L'homme qui se fait l'ami des boissons fermentées devient bientôt leur adorateur, et, à la fin, leur esclave. Dans ce cas, plus peut-être que pour d'autres passions, l'habitude fait peser sur l'homme son tyrannique empire. (...) Cet homme est un esclave des boissons spiritueuses; ce sont elles qui l'ont réduit à cet état d'abjection où l'homme est évidemment fort au-dessous de la brute.[89]

Pissarro effectively employed the use of light and dark in his images to highlight certain aspects of lower-class life in France. The dark interior in figure 19 represents the hardship of working-class survival but the solitary source of light shining from the candle functions as a symbol of hope. Pissarro repeatedly used a source light in most of his images depicting the lower classes as a method to emphasize its painstaking labour (Figs. 1, 2 & 10) and as a metaphor insinuating a sense of prospect for their future (Figs. 4, 11, 19 & 27). Pissarro, however, also made use of obscurity and illumination in some of the images depicting the bourgeoisie (Figs. 6, 8 & 12). This play of light and dark, however, connoted a different meaning about the middle class.

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[88] Langlois and Blondel, 111-12, 114. See Bocquillon 6, 14, 33-34. See also Legrain, Absinthe. Legrain and Bocquillon discussed in detail the effects of absinthe on the human's inner organs.
[89] Bergeret 42, 44-45.

In figure 6, Pissarro highlighted the Eiffel Tower and the bridge in the background as well as the plump bourgeois on the pedestal. This use of light, however, was not intended as a tribute to these modern symbols of wealth and prosperity but as a device to shed light on the weight of these material symbols on the lower classes. In figure 8, Pissarro represented a bourgeois stockbroker who has taken his life. Pissarro placed a very bright lamp in the upper right corner of the image as a sign calling attention to the worthless nature of the bourgeois man. The lamp may also have a double meaning, symbolizing renewed hope for the working classes in light of the cowardly passing of a member of France's corrupt bourgeoisie. In figure 12, Pissarro included a bright street lamp in the right corner of the image, behind the crowd of bourgeois men and women. This illumination calls attention to the manifestation of drinking and indulgence of the middle class, while simultaneously clarifying misinformation about the alcoholism issue that was promoted by temperance advocates and supported by the French government.

Pissarro employed the contrast of light and dark to negate myths about the lower classes and shed light on bourgeois corruption. The commanding sources of light in these images helped Pissarro elucidate his position on class relations and revealed certain ideologies present within nineteenth-century French culture. The predominant myth related to alcoholism and domestic violence was the insinuation that most cases of abuse were a direct result of the introduction of industrial liquors into the French market and sold to the lower classes. The perpetuation of this ideology was based on the increase in alcohol consumption among the lower classes and the steady rise in cases of violence.[90] Prestwich suggests that this parallel statistic was used as a scapegoat for the ills in modern French society, and labeled alcoholism a working-class disease.[91]

> This assumption was buttressed by a variety of studies which purported to prove, by a means of long parallel columns of statistics on the rising rate of criminality, suicide and insanity, that alcoholism was a working-class disease that would eventually destroy society. Not only were these statistical studies often invalid – as one critic argued, you could display alcohol consumption figures and taxation figures in parallel columns and argue that increased taxation was driving Frenchmen to drink – but the basic association of alcoholism with poverty is suspect.[92]

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[90] Prestwich, International 37.
[91] Prestwich, International 36-37.
[92] Prestwich, International 37. See Émile Duclaux, L'Hygiène Sociale (Paris: 1902) 206. Duclaux first pointed out the relationship between taxation and crime rates.

In his 1976 study "Crime and the Development of Modern Society," Howard Zehr also discussed the statistical analogies between alcohol consumption and cases of violence in nineteenth-century France. Similar to Prestwich's assumption that these correlations were suspicious, Zehr also argues that juxtaposing consumption statistics in order to make revelations about increases in crime and violence is unreliable. Zehr tracked the progression of certain crimes in France during the nineteenth century, in relation to alcohol consumption, using charts and diagrams. In his chapter on "Patterns of Violent Crime," Zehr documented patterns of growth and decrease as the per capita wine consumption in France fluctuated in a similar trend.[93]

However, Zehr suggested that these figures are not entirely accurate. "The correspondence between peaks and troughs in wine consumption and in assault before 1870 was excellent – almost perfect."[94] Zehr argues that other figures of alcohol consumption in France are inadequate and that the diverging connection between wine and violence may reflect a change in the drinking habits of the French, due in part to higher standards of living.[95] Zehr actually disproves the temperance community's link between hard liquor consumption and violence committed by the lower classes. Zehr's figures show that a correlation between alcoholism and violence was present in statistics up to 1870 but involved wine, not industrial liquors such as absinthe. Furthermore, Zehr states that higher standards of living were associated with *liqueurs* and *apéritifs* and it was in fact the bourgeoisie that prospered throughout the nineteenth century. Does this mean that the other forms of alcohol, such as *apéritifs* and hard liquors, were the bourgeois choice of drink during the nineteenth century? After all, Zehr argues that these other liquors were displacing wine consumption after 1870 due to more advanced patterns of existence.

> A better argument is that trends in assault rates reflected changes occurring in society and the economy. Urbanization and industrialization progressed fairly steadily during the nineteenth century in France, but the greatest impact was felt before 1870. The fact that growth rates were higher for assault between 1831 and 1850 than after 1870 thus might be attributed to the high rates of social and economic change combined with

[93] Howard Zehr, Crime and the Development of Modern Society: Patterns of Criminality in Nineteenth-Century Germany and France (London: Croom Helm Rowman & Littlefield, 1976) 90.
[94] Zehr 98.
[95] Ibid.

> the novelty of the experience during the early period. Moreover, the large increase in violence during the 1850s and 1860s parallels the tremendous urban and industrial expansion of the Second Empire, the era when rates of violence grew most substantially coincides with the most dynamic decades, in terms of urban and industrial growth, of the nineteenth century.[96]

Zehr also stressed that correlation analysis, using independent variables, in this case alcohol consumption and crime rates, can lead to a causal connection but sometimes, a third independent factor, such as social conditions, can reveal much more about these relationships.[97] Zehr suggested that assault and alcohol consumption may have been expressions of the same underlying social tensions and cultural conflict. These factors could have set up situations that were conducive to both alcohol consumption and interpersonal violence. Thus, Zehr concluded that a direct causal connection between alcohol consumption and violence is far from proved.[98]

The convergence between the rising rate of alcohol consumption during nineteenth-century France and the proportionate increase in violence during the same period emphasizes the expansion of the boundaries of this social issue. It could have been a manner for legislators to detract attention from more pressing issues such as miserable living conditions for the lower classes. Pissarro challenged the link between alcohol abuse and domestic violence by depicting it as a common occurrence within lower-class households, and refuted the medical community's claim that abuse was a new manifestation that came as a result of working-class alcoholism.

Pissarro's violent portrayal of domestic abuse when compared to the visual imagery of the temperance material reveals the ideological nature of the medical community in qualifying alcoholism's impact as a modern manifestation. Domestic abuse did not reveal a new occurrence within modern culture but simply moved up on the priority list of French authorities during the nineteenth century once aligned with working-class alcoholism. It was transformed into new occurrence that managed to raise questions among the bourgeoisie in relation to the working classes. Domestic abuse was not the underlying concern for temperance advocates but a means to denigrate the

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[96] Zehr 91.
[97] Zehr 99.
[98] Ibid.

working classes after the French government envisioned a dual purpose in raising concern about alcoholism among the impoverished. Pissarro's image (Fig. 19) does not intrigue the viewer nor allow one to predict the outcome of the abuse. The graphic brutality of the conflict displaces hypothetical speculation with regards to the cause of the violence and brings out instead the misery of lower-class life.

On the surface, it appears that the temperance crusade merely accentuated problems already present within French culture by associating them with working-class alcoholism. The medical model of social deviance promoted by temperance officials seems to have created a cultural trend, especially in light of its campaign within the public school system. The repetitive propaganda and recurring visual imagery were tools employed by those in power to detract attention from other social issues. I argue that Pissarro's album exposes the underlying doctrine of the temperance images by depicting working-class problems in a different light while highlighting the corruption of the bourgeoisie. Pissarro's images function as reminders concerning the power of visual imagery and the propagandistic lure of established systems of knowledge.

Furthermore, it was only when alcoholism became characterized as a working-class epidemic that medical officials began investigating the issue and its effects on the human system. The government's stance on class relations was not only validated through professional findings but its biased views of the working classes were overshadowed by medical proof. Pissarro essentially manipulated elements like the upright chair and physical confrontation between husband and wife (Fig. 19), to call attention to the pre-existence of domestic violence. Pissarro's focus on the interior of the home and the confrontation further alludes to the private nature of this incident. If one looks closely at the images of domestic abuse disseminated by temperance advocates (Figs. 21 & 22), the front door is open and the aggressor is walking through the entrance of the domicile. It seems that the restricted and personal space of the working classes was being invaded by the imposing value system of the medical community and authoritarian belief system of the French government.

Fig. 19 Camille Pissarro, *Petite Scène de la Vie Conjugale* in Turpitudes Sociales, 1889 (Original Pen and Ink, Éditions d'Art Albert Skira, Switzerland. Reprinted Geneva: Reda, 1972)

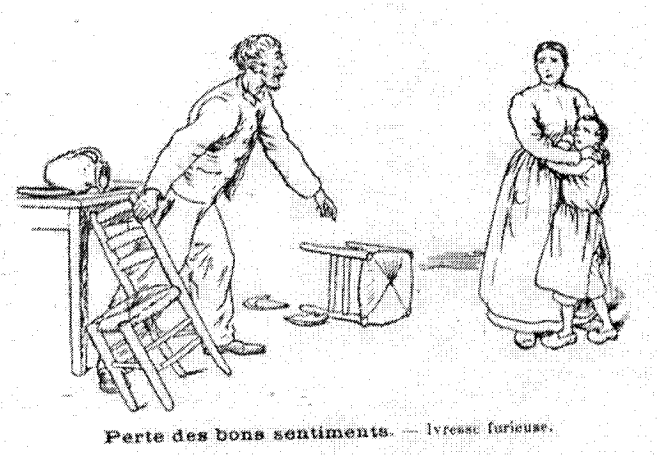

Fig. 20 Artist Unknown, *Perte des Bons Sentiments – Ivresse Furieuse* in Paul-Maurice Legrain's L'Enseignement Antialcoolique à l'École, 1899

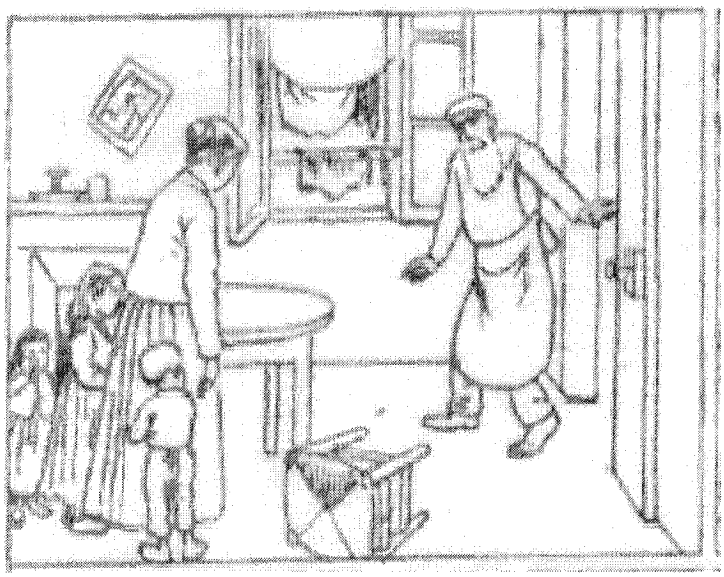

Fig. 21 Docteur Galtier-Boissière, *Comment Peut Être Sauvé un Alcoolique*, excerpt from 20 Bons Points Anti-Alcooliques, c. late 19th. Century (in Paul-Maurice Legrain's L'Enseignement Antialcoolique à l'École, 1899)

Fig. 22 André Gill, *L'Homme Ivre* from Le Journal Illustré, 1880 Wilson Library, University of Minnesota (in Jill Miller's *Les Enfants des Ivrognes* in Montmartre and the Making of Mass Culture, ed. Gabriel P. Weisberg 2001)

Fig. 23 Artist Unknown, title page in Daniel Langlois and Henri Blondel's Manuel d'Antialcoolisme 1904

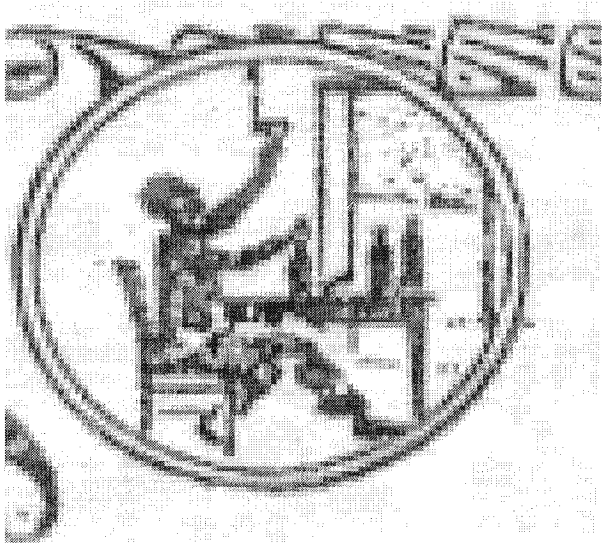

Fig. 24 Artist Unknown, title page in Daniel Langlois and Henri Blondel's Manuel d'Antialcoolisme 1904

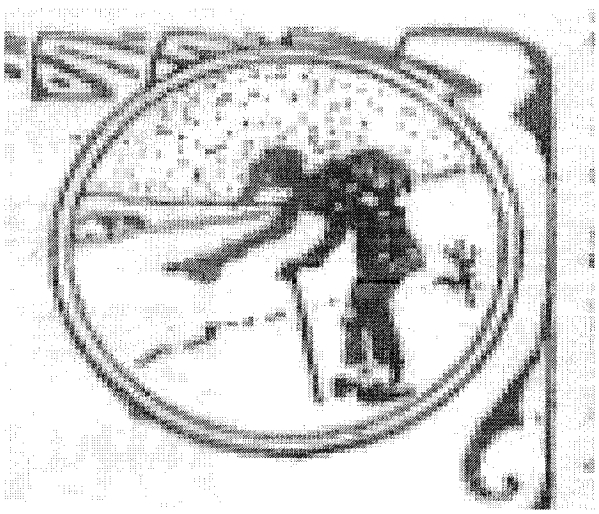

Fig. 25 Artist Unknown, title page in Daniel Langlois and Henri Blondel's Manuel d'Antialcoolisme 1904

L'ivrogne voit la vie en rouge,
il est abruti et il fait peur.

Fig. 26 Artist Unknown, *L'Ivrogne Voit la Vie en Rouge, Il est Abruti et Il Fait Peur* in Paul-Maurice Legrain's L'Enseignement Antialcoolique à l'École, 1899

Fig. 27 Camille Pissarro, *Les Esclaves au Repos* in Turpitudes Sociales, 1889 (Original Pen and Ink, Éditions d'Art Albert Skira, Switzerland. Reprinted Geneva: Reda, 1972)

Chapter 3
French Authorities, Alcoholism and the Link to Crime

Camille Pissarro's image *Les Strugleforlifeurs* (Fig. 28) shares a common theme with the material of the French temperance movement. The medical community was convinced that alcoholism among the lower classes led to specific crimes. Pissarro's image (Fig. 28) depicts an assault by three working-class men, a crime that is similar to the law enforcement's description of street felonies committed by the proletarian population. According to statistics, the most common offense was theft, largely outweighing other crimes as early as the 1860s and committed by the working-class population within urban environments.[1] Many of these delinquents were said to be between the ages thirty and thirty-four,[2] men with families and children to feed.[3]

In order to prove their alcoholism/crime theory, the temperance advocates made a statistical correlation between an increase in alcohol consumption and a proliferation of crimes.[4] As Legrain stated, "And if alcoholism is increasing at the same time as criminality, has not one the right to establish a causal relationship between these two facts as one has already done between alcohol and madness?"[5]

The difference, however, between the temperance community's view on crime and Pissarro's treatment of the same subject in *Turpitudes Sociales* is in the term used to describe figure 28. *Struggleforlifer*, according to the Larousse dictionary, describes the idiom as "celui qui met en pratique les théories du struggle for life, c'est-à-dire l'anéantissement des faibles par les forts (en d'autres mots, la concurrence vitale). La locution anglaise *struggle for life* a cours en France depuis le succès des livres de Darwin."[6] Pissarro describes this term in the letter to his niece:

> Strugleforlifeur – Ce patois nous vient d'outre-manche, c'est admis dans le highlife autre patois d'outre-manche. Avoue qu'il est dans une piteuse

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[1] J.-L. Ménard, "Délinquance et Délinquants dans l'Arrondissement de Cherbourg 1843-1860," Marginalité, Déviance, Pauvreté en France XIVe-XIXe Siècles (Caen: Université de Caen, 1981) 176, 178, 183, 187.
[2] Vibert, Marginalité 211.
[3] Benjamin F. Martin, Crime and Criminal Justice Under the Third Republic: The Shame of Marianne (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1990) 8, 15-17, 32, 34.
[4] Langlois and Blondel 195-201. See Legrain L'Enseignement 137-140.
[5] Paul-Maurice Legrain, "L'Année du Crime et L'Alcool," L'Alcool 2 (May 1897): 61. See Paul Masoin, Alcoolisme et Criminalité (Paris, 1891) on the alcohol-crime relation.
[6] Larousse du XXe Siècle en six volumes, (Paris: Librairie Larousse, 1928) 493.

> position le "bourgeois" pendant que ces bandits lui font restituer par la force l'argent qu'il a volé par la force.[7]

In figure 28, Pissarro depicted three men assaulting a bourgeois on the side of a street. The assailants have the bourgeois surrounded against a wall, while one man appears to be strangling the victim. The man on the right side of the image is not using any force to harm the bourgeois. On the contrary, the assailant's left hand is visibly inserted in the victim's coat. The only other elements in the image are the bourgeois' top hat and umbrella scattered on the sidewalk. A streetlamp on the left side of the image is the only source of light illuminating the scene. In the background, the wall leads into a gloomy alley. We can make out the lone figure of a well-dressed woman standing on the corner, partly concealed by the darkness.

John Hutton agrees with Richard Thomson that the woman in Pissarro's image (Fig. 28) is a prostitute who has lured the bourgeois victim.[8] Thomson stated that many working-class thieves would employ this common tactic in most street crimes of the nineteenth century.[9]

> The drawing represents the climactic moment of a common street crime of the period. The newspaper *Paris* reported on June 15, 1886 that thugs had attempted 'to murder a 30-year-old worker, who had just been propositioned by a woman on the Boulevard de Clichy...Two thugs, who were watching events from a distance, leapt on the worker at a signal from the woman and pushed him into the Passage Alfred Stevens;' the man was knifed three times but survived. Pissarro depicted the moment during such a robbery when the victim is actually being attacked while the prostitute stands guard.[10]

If Pissarro was drawing on such a description, he has also altered it somewhat. He has depicted three men assaulting a well-to-do bourgeois man rather than a young worker. The near invisibility of the woman further emphasizes the impossibility of knowing her role. Pissarro depicted a theft taking place, but his description of the event in the letter to his niece implies retaliation on the part of the thieves for the robbery committed by the bourgeoisie. Pissarro described *strugleforlifeurs* as a dialect stemming from across the Channel and implied that the term originated from the English language

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[7] Camille Pissarro, "Letter to Esther Isaacson," 29 December 1889, in Turpitudes 6.
[8] Hutton, History 52.
[9] Thomson 87.
[10] Ibid.

and was used by those living the "highlife". Pissarro essentially depicted an assault and employed the term popularized by the bourgeoisie to describe this type of theft. Since Pissarro's intention in creating *Turpitudes Sociales* was to reveal the hypocrisy of the middle class, it is logical that he portrayed opposing connotations of this term. Pissarro negated the meaning of the term *strugleforlifeur* popularized by the bourgeoisie in order to associate the idiom with its original definition. This is substantiated by Pissarro's description of the image in the letter to his niece, where he stated that the three men were seeking retribution for the money taken from them by the bourgeoisie.

Pissarro's image (Fig. 28) may be a reference to low wages earned by the working classes, especially in light of his belief that they were treated as slaves.[11] In figure 29, the well-known temperance artist Jean-Louis Forain portrayed a similar theme to Pissarro's *Strugleforlifeurs* in the March 4, 1907 issue of *Le Figaro*. The implication of theft alluded to in Pissarro's description of *Les Strugleforlifeurs* is clarified in Forain's image. The image shows three workers who have just robbed a bourgeois man. Forain also included the detail of a top hat on the ground, a sign indicating of the victim's social position. There are also some papers scattered on the floor, by the feet of the man on the far left. The caption is located at the bottom of the image and depicts one of the men making a statement to the bourgeois victim. One of the thieves tells the bourgeois that Caillaux will take much more. The assailants are definitely members of the working classes because they refer to the man they have robbed as their social rival. The worker holding the victim's money looks back at the bourgeois. The thief speaking to the victim may be any one of the three workers, perhaps one of the men closest to the bourgeois.

Nourrisson stated that Forain was one of many artists who depicted the relationship between alcoholism and cultural deviance in the late nineteenth century.

> Pour leur propagande, les zélateurs de la tempérance utilisent de plus en plus l'image, plus accessible, plus suggestive pour un public populaire. (...) Les meilleurs dessinateurs mettent leur talent au service de la bonne cause: citons simplement les caricatures de Forain (« Les Crimes de l'Alcool »), de Burnand (« L'Alcool Tue »), ou de Willette (« Esclave Volontaire »).[12]

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[11] Pissarro, Turpitudes 15, 17. These captions in Pissarro's unpublished album refer to the working classes as slaves.

[12] Nourrisson 244.

In this image (Fig. 29), however, Forain disrupts the medical model. Instead of alcohol, Forain satirized the political and economic motivations of the working classes to commit theft, indicating that there were many other factors leading to crimes committed by the working classes in the nineteenth century.

Forain also published a book containing 189 drawings in June 1897 entitled *Doux Pays*. His images are arranged by date, starting in January 1894 under Sadi Carnot's presidency and ending with drawings related to Félix Faure's leadership. The majority of the images deal with political issues, such as corruption in government and the upholding of bourgeois interests. Almost every image is dated, has a bold title at the top and a dialogue at the bottom, much like figure 29. Some of the images involving the French working classes are entitled *Le Péril Anarchique*. One drawing in particular, dated April 1894, features a working-class man holding a knife in his right hand while a law enforcement officer has him pinned against a wall.[13] It seems that Forain questioned institutional power and unequal class relations by representing events that occurred in fin-de-siècle France. Forain portrayed the upheaval that occurred in Carmaux within the glass making industry and the strikes led by workers towards the end of 1896.[14] Forain's images in *Doux Pays* seem organized with their titles and dates but much like figure 29, the dialogue is difficult to assign and extremely sarcastic in tone. The middle class figures prominently in Forain's 1897 publication to emphasize its impact on the lives of the lower classes.

According to Robert A. Nye in *Crime, Madness, & Politics in Modern France*, Forain's reference to Caillaux (Fig. 29) alludes to Georges Clemenceau's replacement of Jean-Marie Sarrien in the French government and his appointment of new ministers.[15] Sarrien was the Minister of Justice during the mid 1880s,[16] before becoming the Prime Minister of France for a short period, from March to October 1906. Sarrien resigned from his position in 1906 due to illness.[17] This selection of cabinet members occurred when Clemenceau replaced constituents of the Alliance Démocratique in favor of loyal

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[13] Jean-Louis Forain, Doux Pays (Paris: Librairie Plon, 1897) 29. The caption at the bottom of this image states "Le geste est beau."
[14] Forain 157, 178-79. These images feature the incidents at Carmaux from July to November 1896.
[15] Nye, Crime 187-88.
[16] Gabriel Désert, "Aspects de la Criminalité en France et en Normandie," Marginalité 255.
[17] Nye, Crime 188.

Radicals and Radical-Socialists, among them Guyot-Dessaigne in Justice and Joseph Caillaux, a proponent of the income tax, in Finance.[18] It is a fact that Clemenceau was in opposition to Jules Ferry and his government.[19] In 1881, he denounced the scandalous behavior of the Ferry ministry and announced his break from mainstream Republicans.[20] Clemenceau was in favor of replacing religion with a type of scientific morality, which was seen as a progressive force in French history.[21] According to Nye:

> Republicans were convinced that political leadership belonged to those schooled in the methods of scientific politics. In practice these politicians combined a radical conception of democratic sovereignty with a biological notion of society that employed organic metaphors and stressed social solidarity.[22]

The social harmony discussed by Nye, however, did not refer to all members of France's population. This new paradigm of political authority, based on the progress of science, benefited the middle class and created a wider gap between the bourgeoisie and the masses. The pattern that emerged from Clemenceau's cultural reforms was an association between humanity and science that had prospered throughout the nineteenth century and was made official by Clemenceau's government during the twentieth century.[23]

The institutionalization of social disorder was not a paradigm solely promoted by medical specialists. During the 1890s, the growing popularity, among reformers and government officials, of the medical model of social deviance had prompted medical specialists to apply their paradigm to various cultural phenomenon.[24] By the early twentieth century, the outlook on deviance had become extremely politicized. In fact, most images of the worker-vagrant were largely the work of the French politicians.[25] Forain's image (Fig. 29) depicted workers resorting to theft because the income tax decree introduced by Clemenceau was deducting more from their pockets. Forain's representation also supports Pissarro's statement in conjunction with *Les*

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[18] Nye, Crime 188.
[19] Nye, Crime 51, 53.
[20] Nye, Crime 51-52.
[21] Nye, Crime 68.
[22] Ibid.
[23] Nye, Crime 190.
[24] Nye, Crime 173.
[25] Ibid.

Strugleforlifeurs. The act of burglary is elucidated by Forain and adds meaning to Pissarro's image. It substantiates the motivation on the part of the workers to commit theft in order to survive. Pissarro's image (Fig. 28) portrays the survival of the fittest in a society increasingly dominated by bourgeois interests. The medical community, however, would have the public believe that acts of theft were instigated by an incendiary combination of political issues and hard liquors consumed at the *débits*. This furthered the medical connotation of alcoholism as a lower-class vice and popularized a medical model of cultural disorder.[26]

According to Robert A. Nye, there was a link between the medical community and the French government. Furthermore, Nye argues that the medicalization of social deviance was increasingly applied to a wider array of subjects.[27] A local Bordeaux physician, Phillippe Tissié at the Third National Patronage Conference in 1896, posited the existence of two types of social vagrants, the ones driven by conscious imitation and those motivated by pathological disorders, namely alcoholics.[28] This Conference included mostly members of government and social reformers, such as René Bérenger, who believed that vagrancy posed a social danger. These discussions and conferences appeared in the *Revue Philanthropique* and adopted a more modern medical perspective to validate solutions to eliminate this social epidemic.[29] The problems of *vagabondage* and the inundation of urban streets by the impoverished developed into a language of social deviance. Initially, these were seen as political manifestations of disorder dating back to the 1890s involving the anarchist principle of actions rather than words. Nye argues that these political acts of subversion were considered dangerous but nonetheless random during the 1880s.[30] Only near the end of the nineteenth century were these urban manifestations transformed into examples of social deviance to support the medical community's theory of working-class degeneracy.

> The problem with anarchism, from the point of view of those attempting to find the means to repress it, was that it attacked all forms of authority in society, while claiming legal immunity traditionally associated only with acts against the political arm of the state. (...) To meet this threat, the

[26] Nye, Crime 157-58.
[27] Nye, Crime 173.
[28] Nye, Crime 174.
[29] Nye, Crime 174-75.
[30] Nye, Crime 178.

> politicians passed the *lois scélérates* between 1892 and 1894, which specifically defined anarchist activities as offenses in common law against society (*délits sociaux*) punishable by death.[31]

The French legal experts quickly abandoned the particular theory of political crime and replaced it with one that punished the effects of these acts. The lawmakers justified this course of action with the notion that anarchists were by nature a subhuman species whose crimes were expressions of madness and the unprovoked degeneracy of common criminals.[32] That a merging of criminal and psychological patterns was made with such ease is proof of the powerful influence of the medical model of social deviance during the late nineteenth century and its manipulation to assimilate matters of politics into its rhetoric. There are two important concepts embedded in this transitory moment in the history of anarchism and the medicalization of social disorder. The first involves the tendency of politicians to vilify a group of political extremists through the scientific terminology that had previously been reserved for marginal social occurrences.[33] The second point was the advocacy that these extremists posed a social threat, rather than the usual judgments regarding the criminal act. Therefore, all administrative measures to combat anarchism were validated in advance, thus making the elimination of political criminals a justifiable act.[34]

This merging of medicine and politics appears to have enveloped many issues involving the lower classes, and later, matters regarding political extremism and other acts of social upheaval. The predetermined medical findings and association of alcoholism's repercussions in three major areas of French culture were distinct in their representation of its impact through visual imagery. The written propaganda disseminated by temperance advocates depicting alcoholism's impact on the individual, family and society, however, were general enough for subsequent political reformers to extend this image to combat acts of insurrection and hostility towards the government.

The alcoholism issue was a concern for many medical professionals and by studying the lower classes, even psychologists strove to create a science of mass behavior

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[31] Nye, Crime 178.
[32] Jean-Pierre Machelon, La République Contre les Libertés? Les Restrictions aux Libertés Publiques de 1879 à 1914 (Paris, 1976) 404-06, 408-10.
[33] Nye, Crime 179.
[34] Machelon 411. See Nye, Crime 180.

that would later benefit the goals of politicians. Analysts of crowd behavior borrowed from the medical findings on alcoholism. By the late nineteenth century, all these comparisons substantiated their beliefs that the crowd was proletarian.[35] Barrows argues that these equations "(...) owed less to the threatened sensibility of conservatives in the eighties than to an inherited tradition of class prejudice – a tradition which persisted through the Enlightenment and the first half of the nineteenth century."[36] In this vein, alcoholics were presumed to be male members of the working classes, who were irrational, reckless, uncultured and irresponsible.[37]

The medical community's association of alcoholic working-class men with crime appeared about twenty years after the term alcoholism was coined by the Swedish doctor Magnus Huss in 1852.[38] By the early 1870s, alcohols and hard liquors such as absinthe and vermouth were believed to be the root of most social ills, including crime, revolution, economic deterioration and violence.[39] By examining the sales of hard liquors and the fourfold increase in per capita alcohol consumption of spirits from 1830 to 1890, French scientists concluded that such consumers belonged overwhelmingly to the urban working classes. These correlations and statistics disturbed scientists and politicians alike.[40]

French physicians believed that the epidemic of alcoholism outlived its victims, and argued this in their studies on the hereditary effects of alcohol abuse.[41] The bad seed of alcoholism was passed on from one generation to the next, according to the scientific laws of heredity. Among the numerous biological disorders associated with alcoholism, such as epilepsy and insanity, there was a genetic disposition for crime.[42]

> The race degenerates, because, according to a well-known saying, the drunkard sows nothing worthwhile. Children born of intemperate parents, carry from birth the germs of the sickness, die prematurely, or else lead a listless existence, useless to society, depraved and possessing all the bad instincts.[43]

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[35] Barrows, Distorting Mirrors 43-44.
[36] Barrows, Distorting Mirrors 44-45.
[37] Barrows, Distorting Mirrors 46.
[38] Barrows, Distorting Mirrors 61. See Prestwich. The Changing 115. Prestwich states that the term was invented by Magnus Huss in 1849, but substantiates Barrows' timeline of alcoholism's crossover into cultural matters, occurring in the early 1870s.
[39] Barrows, Distorting Mirrors 61.
[40] Barrows, Distorting Mirrors 62-63.
[41] Barrows, Distorting Mirrors 63-64.
[42] Barrows, Distorting Mirrors 64.
[43] J. Lefort, Intempérance et Misère (Paris: Librairie Guillaumin, 1875) 4.

Immediately after the Franco-Prussian War, concern over alcoholism had merged with a French temperance crusade and an appeal to the government to enact legislation. In an effort to stop the tide of alcoholism, doctor Théophile Roussel successfully had a law passed on April 23, 1873, which specified a range of fines and imprisonment for offenses linked to drunkenness.[44] Those offenders who had been previously convicted on similar charges risked the loss of their right to vote, to bear arms, to serve on a jury, or to hold public and administrative office.[45] It is clear that to avoid any criticism or accusations of prejudice, French lawmakers put into practice restrictive penalties that applied to the upper levels of France's population, knowing in advance that most of the social restrictions associated with drunkenness were not benefits previously available to the lower classes.

During the next twenty years, the French government initiated a didactic campaign aimed at its youth, from school children to college students. French officials wanted every level of society to share their opinions about the working-class population. The propaganda was written in conjunction with medical professionals and disseminated with the help of temperance organizations and the French government. The first organization involved in educating French students was the *Société Française de Tempérance*, founded by doctors Bergeron and Barth in 1872.[46] The benefits of such reform campaigns, the doctors claimed, would reach all of France. "Alcoholism would decline, strikes and riots would subside, crime would practically disappear, and the institution of the family would be revitalized."[47]

According to Barrows, however, this solution was not as effective as expected. Unable to convince urban workers and their children to adopt the pledge of abstinence, medical experts dramatized the impact of alcoholism and exaggerated certain aspects of its physical effects.[48] Popular science, it seems, had a limited audience. Not all working-class citizens would scrutinize Legrain's medical findings or reconstruct Magnan's family trees of degeneracy. Whatever science could not accomplish on its own through

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[44] Barrows, Distorting Mirrors 65-66.
[45] Barrows, Distorting Mirrors 66.
[46] Ibid.
[47] Barrows, Distorting Mirrors 67.
[48] Barrows, Distorting Mirrors 69.

the didactic material was embellished and strengthened through literature.[49] Émile Zola's *L'Assommoir*, as mentioned in previous chapters, was widely employed by medical professionals to reach a larger segment of the working-class population when portions of its narrative were reproduced in schoolbooks.

Zola's novel does depict the effects of alcohol abuse and its link to crime. These connections are analyzed by Coupeau, Gervaise and their neighbours, who read and discuss the *faits divers* in one of the local newspapers. The attempted theft that is described resembles Pissarro's theme in *Les Strugleforlifeurs*. Perhaps Zola intended to portray the hardship of lower-class survival but it is also obvious why the medical community incorporated Zola's prose into its rhetoric. The basic theme in Zola's novel is working-class life, but an underlying theme is alcoholism and its disastrous effects on members of the lower classes. Portions of Zola's story could thus be appropriated and redirected to comply with medical claims about alcoholism's impact on French families and society as a whole. This is a passage from Zola's *L'Assommoir* where the characters are quoting directly from the newspaper:

> Un crime épouvantable vient de jeter l'effroi dans la commune de Gaillon (Seine-et-Marne). Un fils a tué son père à coups de bêche, pour lui voler trente sous... Mais ce qui les enthousiasma, ce furent les exploits du marquis de T..., sortant d'un bal à deux heures du matin et se défendant contre trois mauvaises gouapes, boulevard des Invalides; sans même retirer ses gants, il s'était débarassé des deux premiers scélérats avec des coups de tête dans le ventre, et avait conduit le troisième au poste, par une oreille.[50]

The isolation of these events may have been important for temperance proponents in order to redirect the meaning of the passage and imply that alcohol was the cause of the young murderer's savage behavior. The passage cited above is followed by the description of an assault attempt by three ruffians on an elite member who was leaving a glamorous ball. The marquis, as Zola described him, was able to overpower the hooligans and bring one of them to justice. This passage also glorifies the marquis as an agile competitor, gifted in self-defense as well as offense. The working-class men, however, can be regarded as incompetent, even in large numbers, when compared to the aristocrat.

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[49] Barrows, Distorting Mirrors 69-70.
[50] Zola, L'Assommoir 279-80.

Once again, the separation of this event from the rest of Zola's narrative enabled temperance advocates to illustrate the effects of alcoholism on a person's state of mind, and reinforce the laws concerning drunkenness. According to Barrows, French physicians were so convinced of alcoholism's effects that they ignored features such as squalor, miserable living conditions and destitution as causes of working-class alcoholism.[51] In their enthusiasm over their medical findings, the medical community blamed hard liquors for all of France's social dilemmas.

> From *L'Assommoir* and from medical treatises, literate Frenchmen formulated an image of alcoholism unparalleled in its ferocity. On the basis of current research, they concluded that alcohol drove human beings to savagery, murder, insanity, and ultimately to the pollution of the race.[52]

In the majority of didactic anti-alcoholism manuals, the medical professionals separated the effects of alcoholism into three categories. In Legrain's "L'Enseignement Antialcoolique à l'École" of 1899 and Langlois and Blondel's "Manuel d'Antialcoolisme" of 1904, the perspective on alcoholism started from an isolated investigation of its effects on the individual and then progressively included a broader focus, implicating the alcoholic's family and then society as a whole. The sections pertaining to alcohol's cultural impact involved matters of criminal activity and insanity, the latter being the instigator of most crimes committed in France during the nineteenth century according to the medical community.

> Sous le nom de crime, nous ne désignons pas seulement l'homicide, mais en outre, toute une multitude d'actes défendus par les lois: voies de fait, vols, faux, escroqueries, abus de confiance, actes immoraux, etc., etc. (...) mais le facteur principal de la criminalité est certainement aujourd'hui l'abus des boissons alcooliques, l'alcoolisme en un mot.[53]

Legrain reiterated this statement in one of his school manuals, stating that a recent statistic showed that of five hundred criminals in prison, three hundred and twenty three were alcoholics.[54]

> Une des conséquences les plus redoutables de l'alcoolisme est la perversion des sentiments moraux. La répartition de la criminalité coïncide dans l'ensemble avec celle de la consommation alcoolique. Partout où l'on

[51] Barrows, Distorting Mirrors 71.
[52] Barrows, Distorting Mirrors 72.
[53] Langlois and Blondel 195.
[54] Legrain, Bibliothèque Scientifique 13.

> boit de l'eau-de-vie avec excès, les alcooliques remplissent les bagnes et les prisons.[55]

In figure 30, an unknown artist illustrates Legrain's argument in his didactic pamphlet. This reinforced the message to schoolchildren due to the obvious presence of the *débit de boissons* in the background and the authorities forcing an alcoholic worker to comply. The caption underneath the image undoubtedly associates alcohol abuse with crime, *L'Ivrognerie conduit aux délits, aux crimes*. The social implications of alcoholism and its impact on crime were also explained in the schoolbook.

> Frais de répression des criminels. – On estime que les deux tiers des criminels sont des produits de l'alcool. Or il y a en France 28,000 prévenus par an pour lesquels les frais de justice, du service des prisons, de transfèrement, de transportement, etc., s'élèvent à 23,500,000 francs. C'est encore une nouvelle somme de 9 millions à porter au compte de l'alcoolisme.[56]

According to Legrain, the problem was growing at an alarming rate due to the biological effects of alcoholism on one person. The French working-class population would eventually become inundated with alcoholics and criminals, while witnessing a significant decrease in the mental state of the lower classes.[57] An earlier study conducted by Dr. Valentin Magnan in 1895, "Les Dégénérés; État Mental et Syndromes Épisodiques," supported Legrain's argument in relation to degenerate behavior.

> Par le fait même de son état mental, le dégénéré devient souvent un délinquant; c'est un fait d'observation courante. (...) Déséquilibré, c'est-à-dire inapte à diriger régulièrement ses opérations intellectuelles, jouet conscient ou inconscient d'impulsions ou de sentiments qui font de lui un être quasi automatique; souvent faible d'esprit et par suite facilement suggestible, on comprend que plus que tout autre, il doit se laisser solliciter par les occasions du crime, par les causes qui, dans l'état de société, peuvent le déterminer. Dans ces circonstances, l'acte dont il se rend coupable semble bien être, pour une part, le produit de son dérangement intellectuel; (...) C'est une affaire d'antagonisme entre l'intensité de la cause déterminante et le degré de résistance cérébrale de celui qui commet le crime;[58]

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[55] Legrain, L'Enseignement 138.
[56] Legrain, L'Enseignement 146.
[57] Legrain, L'Alcoolisme 31.
[58] Valentin Magnan and Paul-Maurice Legrain, Les Dégénérés; État Mental et Syndromes Épisodiques (Paris: Rueff, 1895) 181.

The medical studies linking alcoholism to crime were established by Legrain and Magnan's large treatise of 1889, "Hérédité et Alcoolisme," which showed that a biological penchant for drinking and immoral behavior were passed on by one alcoholic in the family. However, the medical expert who instigated the French trend was Cesare Lombroso, whose 1876 study "L'Uomo Delinquente," laid out the characteristics of the inborn criminal. Lombroso was appointed professor of legal medicine at the University of Turin in 1876 and he quickly gathered a group of doctors and lawyers to support his theory.[59] The Lombrosians, as they were called, were the earliest and most forthright group of criminal anthropologists.

In France during the 1880s, there were two distinct sets of guidelines governing the social sciences. On one side were the defenders of a classical set of laws, who were largely penal authorities, and on the other were those for whom Lombroso's criminal anthropology provided a unifying lens, psychologists, neurologists and doctors of legal medicine.[60] In 1885, there was no existing model that might breach this gap between the two disciplines. Yet, within approximately five years, and right around the time when Legrain's study on alcoholism and biological determinism appeared in 1889, the medical model of social deviance had been established and securely occupied that middle ground. This paradigm generated enough pertinent knowledge to meet the needs of the medical community and supported the claims of social reformers and government officials in relation to the classical codes that needed to focus on the criminal rather than the crime committed.[61] The plan was for an assertive and self-validating popular and scientific position that would not only attract the specialist but convince the enlightened bourgeois public. According to Robert A. Nye:

> The contributors to this new theory of crime brought a systematic and rigorous approach to the environmental interpretation that moved considerably beyond the old formulas and into the domain of the modern social sciences. The leaders of this new movement were mostly French. Although contributions came later from theorists elsewhere, it was the French who first picked up the gauntlet thrown down by Lombrosian biological determinism.[62]

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[59] Nye, Crime 98-100. Lombroso's followers were Enrico Ferri and Raffaelle Garofalo who soon became the leaders of the new positivist school in Italy.
[60] Nye, Crime 101.
[61] Ibid.
[62] Nye, Crime 102.

There were numerous conventions on criminal anthropology held in Italy from 1885 to the end of that decade. The First International Congress of Criminal Anthropology in Rome was mostly attended by Italians but the French were also well represented. The divergence between Italian anthropologists and the French school was established by a French legal doctor, Alexandre Lacassagne. He established a direct criticism of the Italian system, "warning against the gratuitous use of such unproved words as atavism and Darwinism."[63] According to Lacassagne:

> The important thing is the social milieu. Permit me a comparison drawn from a modern theory. The social milieu is the mother culture of criminality; the microbe is the criminal, an element that gains significance only at the moment it finds the broth that made it ferment.[64]

The Paris Congress of 1889, four years later, was an opportunity for French medical professionals, psychologists and legal doctors to discredit the theories of Lombroso and his team of anthropologists. Present at the Parisian Congress was the criminal judge and sociologist Gabriel Tarde, the outspoken Lacassagne and Dr. Valentin Magnan, the head of the Sainte-Anne asylum in Paris, where alcoholics and degenerates made up the majority of the hospital's population.[65] Together with the pivotal dissection of the Lombrosian doctrine, which resulted in a series of medical inquiries that were inadequately answered and defended by the Italian school, the French depended on two major elements. First, the objectionable nature of Lombrosian theories to the legal community, in light of the Italian school's desire to eliminate the problem of crime by expelling criminals or extinguishing them through capital punishment.[66] Second, the idea that crime was not provoked by hereditary factors alone but by causes in which the social environment played an immediate or circuitous role.[67] This second congress appears to have laid the foundation for the French medical model of social deviance that gained momentum and support through to the twentieth century. Although French sociological theory from the period 1885 to 1900 may appear relatively primitive to a modern audience, the refutation of the Italian theory of inborn criminality in favor of the broadly

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[63] Nye, Crime 103.
[64] Actes du Premier Congrès International d'Anthropologie Criminelle (Rome: 1885) 166. See Nye, Crime 104.
[65] Nye, Crime 106-107.
[66] Nye, Crime 105, 107.
[67] Nye, Crime 107.

convenient and socially interpretive approach was a convincing accomplishment for the French.

Perhaps in order to redeem its reputation and counter France's top ranking in the statistics on alcohol consumption in Europe throughout the nineteenth century,[68] the French medical community and its legislators felt they had to lead the debates in both the social and medical arenas. This would prove to neighboring European countries that despite the stigma of having the highest rate of alcoholism and hard liquor consumption in Europe, France was nonetheless able to advance in medicine and other social disciplines. Perhaps France's disgraceful statistics motivated the privileged community to bridge medical findings and legislative goals into one unifying principle. One of the branches that supported the government and the medical findings on alcoholism was the French law enforcement.

Many socialists during the 1890s spoke of this contrived relationship between government and law enforcement, making a direct link to its exemplification of state power. At meetings and speeches given by socialists, a reiterated theme was opposition to the police, who many believed were decorated spies and terrorist prefects.[69] At Castres, in 1895, the Minister of Justice Aristide Briant described the Prefect of the Tarn "as a grotesque imbecile, an evil puppet, valet to the rich and aggressor against the poor. And he complained of the presence of three *commissaires de police* in the room."[70] However, this clandestine activity described by political activists did not begin during the 1890s. It was well documented and confirmed the suspicions of socialists during the 1890s by former prefect of police, Gaston Macé, whose memoirs serve as a reminder of the French government's stronghold in various sectors of French society as early as 1887.

The section in Macé's book, "Un Joli Monde" of 1887, that is pertinent to my study and to Pissarro's image *Les Strugleforlifeurs* (Fig. 28) is his description of the same

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[68] Claude 138-141. See Legrain, Bibliothèque Scientifique 6-7, 10. These charts in Legrain's findings show the consumption of absinthe in France tripling from 1885 to 1892 and placed France as the leader in the consumption of hard liquors over other countries in Europe. See also Bocquillon 38-43. Bocquillon also charted the progression of alcoholism in France over a period of 60 years and argued that while it was diminishing in other European countries, the phenomenon was worsening in France.

[69] Joan W. Scott, "Mayors Versus Police Chiefs: Socialist Municipalities Confront the French State," French Cities in the Nineteenth Century, ed. John M. Merriman (New York: Holmes & Meier Publishers, Inc., 1981) 238.

[70] Scott, French Cities 238.

term and distortion of facts related to crime in France. Macé described his covert operations in specific cabarets, with agents Oiseau-Mouche and Porthos. However, Macé admits that most of the time, the customers were aware that they were police officers in disguise. The cabarets, commonly referred to as *les salons du peuple*, were designated as working-class environments and any intrusion by a member of the law was not welcome.

> -On ne fait pas de mal ici, mais on est méfiant quand même...vous savez...le mouchard est suspect.
> -Quelle est votre profession, en dehors de celle-là?
> -Forgeron.
> -Et vous gagnez?
> -Six francs par jour.
> -Vous pourriez mettre quelques sous à la caisse d'épargne?
> -Pourquoi faire?...J'aime mieux les boire.
> -Et quand vous serez vieux?
> -Eh bien...je ne serai plus jeune.
> -Et après?
> -Après...après...je sais plus...et puis est-ce que ça vous regarde, vous...tiens!
> Et maussade, le forgeron ivrogne, tourna le dos au jeune homme.[71]

Obviously, Macé controlled portions of his narrative and highlighted specific conversations with members of the working classes. The previous passage substantiates the medical community's opinion about a working-class alcohol epidemic and its contention that most laborers spent their time drinking. After Macé's description of some surreptitious missions in the cabarets, he admits to the younger police officer, M. René, that their identity was known early on. The law enforcers were aware that these assignments were dangerous, especially if a brawl broke out over their presence. However, Macé was convinced that these operations were necessary to uphold the peace. This is misleading since he admits that the customers were well aware of police presence and could modify their behavior accordingly.[72]

Macé's memoir shows how law enforcement agents had already painted a clear picture in their minds of the working classes. The conversations and descriptions recounted by Macé highlight lower-class alcoholism and support the medical

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[71] Macé, Un Joli 78-79.
[72] Macé, Un Joli 121-22. Macé recounts a conversation he had with his agents about their presence being known in other drinking establishments. The passage highlights the ability of working-class citizens to detect police surveillance.

community's view about the degenerate nature of the working classes. Furthermore, towards the end of "Un Joli Monde," Macé discusses the term *la lutte pour la vie* and describes it as a maxim popularized during the nineteenth century by a growing population of criminals and wrong doers.[73] He believed that it was often put into practice by those who would ask themselves the best way to support their basic needs by means of criminal activity.[74] Macé stated that one would come across those truly in need, begging on street corners, but that these vagrants actually made up a minority of those inhabiting the Parisian streets. "La majorité se destine au vol; elle se compose d'un ramassin de fainéants, d'ivrognes, de faux estropiés, simulateurs de crises épileptiques, prêts à demander de l'argent un couteau à la main."[75]

In figure 31, Decaux illustrates Macé's interpretation in a work entitled *Struggle for Life!* This image appeared in the November 17, 1889 issue of *Le Courrier Français*. Hutton stated that Decaux's portrayal (Fig. 31) compared to Pissarro's *Les Strugleforlifeurs!* (Fig. 28) is more explicit and melodramatic.[76] The image is similar to Pissarro's, with the deserted street turning into an alley. However, Pissarro depicted the Darwinian expression from the point of view of the three working-class men and focused the action on the aggression against the bourgeois man. Decaux, on the other hand, anticipated the assault by focusing the view on the ragged, disoriented man awkwardly holding a knife in his right hand. Similar to the temperance images that anticipated the domestic violence by focusing on the aggressive working-class man, Decaux's image focuses on the ragged man's demeanor rather than showing the actual assault.

The victim is to the left and behind the perpetrator and Decaux conveys a sense of blind, misguided fury by positioning the aggressor in the wrong direction. Furthermore, although the assailant's wife holds a young infant and appears to be in distress, her right arm is visibly positioned on her husband's right shoulder. She is either preventing her husband from committing a crime or clutching him in fear. The expression on her face is obviously troubled.

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[73] Macé, Un Joli 281.
[74] Macé, Un Joli 281-82, 286-87.
[75] Macé, Un Joli 286-87.
[76] Hutton, History 52.

The victim's shadow down the street is also interesting. Decaux depicted a silhouette resembling a guillotine. This specifies the fate that lies ahead for the aggressor and indicates that his struggle for life will end in death. The guillotine resonates with the long debate over the death penalty from its inception until the twentieth century. In 1792, the death penalty was administered through the guillotine, an effective deterrent in the eyes of the French government for crimes such as treason, conspiracy, destruction of public property by arson or bombing, premeditated murder and certain mutilations.[77] Le Pelletier, a reform-minded politician, saw the death penalty as necessary but believed that supplementary measures were needed, such as effective policing and the repression of vagrancy and begging ("the richest source of crimes").[78] More importantly, it served to correct France's "monstrous inequality in the contrast between wealth and poverty."[79]

> For crime, that deadly malady of the body social, too often requires a painful and unfortunate remedy; but in politics as in medicine, the art that prevents illness is a thousand times more certain and more beneficial than the art that cures it.[80]

According to Wright, the death penalty and its application would be among the central issues that would dominate the dispute over the crime problem in France for the next two centuries.[81] Abolitionists campaigned throughout the late eighteenth century, the whole of the nineteenth century, and much of the twentieth, finally attaining their goal in 1981. Capital punishment was given priority in Napoleon's Penal Code of 1810, which was based on the principle of social defense through intimidation.[82] The policy distinguished thirty-six crimes punishable by death and was largely imposed by a sovereign government. The abolitionist movement gained momentum after Napoleon's time, based on the premise of rehabilitation.[83] It was only in 1832 that these reformers managed to have the Penal Code revised, which reduced the number of capital offenses to twenty-two and forced the courts to consider mitigating circumstances. The

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[77] Gordon Wright, Between the Guillotine and Liberty: Two Centuries of the Crime Problem in France (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1983) 225.
[78] Wright 32.
[79] Ibid.
[80] Ibid.
[81] Wright 33.
[82] Wright 167-68.
[83] Wright 168.

revolutionaries of 1848 swiftly eradicated the death penalty for political crimes and this was upheld until 1939.[84]

The abolitionist movement during the second half of the nineteenth century was confronted by a challenge that would continue to detract from their efforts to abolish the death penalty for the next three decades. The Penal Code called for public executions, based on the belief that their deterrent effect would be wasted if the ordinary population could not witness the painful fate of criminals.[85] Some legislators began to question this position, on the grounds that public executions brought out "the beast in men" and therefore provoked rather than prevented more crimes. This argument erupted in the *Corps Législatif* in 1870 when a republican deputy, François Steenackers, introduced a decree to end public executions.[86] Politicians on the left quoted Gambetta and argued that the public would suspect a conspiracy if executions were carried out in private, insisting that public executions would eventually turn people against capital punishment. The demise of the Empire only six weeks later ended that round of abolitionist efforts.[87]

Debates about the privatization of executions from about 1870 to 1898 appear to have diverted the efforts of abolitionists. Many Socialists continued to suspect that the governing body's intention was to detract their objective for real abolition through these legislative delays. Up until 1906, many conservative deputies fought against abolitionists within French government to reaffirm capital punishment on the grounds that there existed beasts with human faces who must be eliminated.[88] For the first time since its introduction, the guillotine was placed in storage until 1908. However, out of rising fear and emotional public reaction from the bourgeoisie, advocates of severe repression and certain mass-circulation newspapers "seized upon a few dramatic and bloody crimes as evidence that the lives and property of Frenchmen were gravely threatened."[89] The popular press exaggerated the new phenomenon of gang thefts and so-called "apaches"

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[84] Wright 168-69.
[85] Wright 169.
[86] Ibid.
[87] Wright 169-70.
[88] Wright 170-71.
[89] Wright 171.

and thus encouraged a sense of panic. The *Société des Prisons* did not approve of assassins and bandits being caught and convicted only to await pardon in their cells.[90]

Other measures were accepted, such as solitary confinement with no possibility of release but only because the death penalty was simultaneously reinstated. There were long debates that lasted in Chamber from July to December 1908. Many political celebrities defended the reform bill in opposition to capital punishment, such as Maurice Barrès, Jean Jaurès and Aristide Briand. They believed that abolition of the death penalty did not instigate an increase in crime rates in other European countries and warned that the common criminal was not a barbarian challenging common morality but simply a malefactor that should be treated as a criminal.[91] When the long dispute ended on December 9, 1908, the socialist reformers were overwhelmingly defeated by a vote count of 334 to 210. Two months later, the first executions in three years were carried out and a kind of customary routine set in while juries "continued to recommend the death penalty more often than they had done before 1906."[92]

Decaux's image (Fig. 31) clearly illustrates his opinion about crime and its link to degenerate behavior. Decaux's portrayal of the imminent guillotine in his image also reveals the dramatization of certain events and acts of violence by the popular press, which may have encouraged legislative efforts to reinstate capital punishment in 1908. Decaux's image was published in 1889 and during this time, many medical professionals and sociologists in France believed that criminals and alcoholics belonged in the same category and that these social threats had to be imprisoned on the basis of degenerate behavior. Criminal activity, in the eyes of the French school, had social origins such as poverty and alcoholism.[93] The survival of the working classes was transformed into an unlawful act. Pissarro, however, dismissed the opinion held by social reformers and medical experts by portraying criminal activity as a means for the lower classes to survive.

Alcoholism was not deemed a curable disease. Instead it was believed that elimination of these deviants was necessary. The *Académie des Sciences Morales et*

[90] Wright 172.
[91] Wright 172-73.
[92] Wright 173-74.
[93] Wright 118-122.

Politiques announced a prize competition for the best manuscript on penal philosophy, specifically on advanced notions about the fundamental principles of punishment in 1886. Only two mediocre entries were received and the Académie tried again in 1888. There were two winners declared in 1888, the magistrate Louis Proal and the professor of law Georges Vidal.[94] Proal argued that criminals were not abnormal or innately immoral but weak beings exposed to temptations and passions. He defended the idea that social flaws contributed to crime and should be corrected but Proal insisted that the essential sources of criminal behavior were human passions and that solely the threat of punishment could deter those persons too weak to resist.[95]

> If criminals were treated as merely sick, if there was no shame attached to crime, if prisons were to become hospitals and jailers no more than nurses, honest folk would be reduced to asking for a place in these refuges, for society would no longer be secure.[96]

If the alcoholism problem in France originally caught the attention of the medical community in the second half of the nineteenth century, why were their solutions in line with criminologists and lawmakers by its last decade? Did the French school, after discrediting Lombroso's hereditary theories on crime in 1889, envision a means for justifying the abolition of alcoholism by conflating the alcoholic with the criminal? Decaux's image seems to illustrate this theory. His aggressor is neither a calculating criminal nor the prototypical image of the inebriated worker at the *débit de boissons*. Decaux portrays a desperate family resorting to crime in order to survive. It appears that this issue was never on the government's priority list and Decaux's image reaffirms the elitist notion of the inbred degeneracy of the lower classes. The barefoot assailant with his disheveled appearance and disoriented state of mind appears to be blinded by passion. Knife in hand, he seems prepared to resort to any means. However, Decaux's portrayal (Fig. 31) conversely reaffirms the stance of social reformers and politicians in reference to the depravity of the working classes. The knife in the man's right hand translates his survival into an act of aggression, which the government was prepared to punish on the grounds that a criminal seed was present amongst the masses.

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[94] Wright 124.
[95] Wright 124-25.
[96] Louis Proal, Le Crime et la Peine (Paris: Alcan, 1892) xx-xxxii, 231-33.

Decaux's detail of the outlined guillotine is a symbol highlighting the assimilation of medical and penal doctrines in matters of working-class repression and reform. The bourgeoisie was repelled by the dreadful conditions of working-class poverty that were represented in the popular press and in novels like Zola's *L'Assommoir*. These controlled portrayals of the lower classes led to its association with alcohol abuse and eventually crime. The classic stereotype of the criminal as a villain detached from the rest of society, supported by Lombroso's theory of the inborn criminal, gave way to the notion of a criminal element within the lower-class social fabric.[97] The medical model of social deviance validated the reinstatement of capital punishment after the Fall of the Commune in 1871, while justifying past legislative attempts to reform the lower classes. Once this new image of crime aligned itself with popular scientific theories, the designation of alcoholism as a working-class epidemic also brought to mind criminal activity and a negative picture of the impoverished. France's unfortunate statistics on alcohol consumption contained the solution to validating a century of penal and legislative efforts for social reform, while allowing emerging disciplines, such as sociology and medicine, to reaffirm class differences.

Gaston Macé, the former prefect of police, never stated his political inclinations in "Un Joli Monde," of 1887. Macé's memoir aimed to pinpoint the locus of crime and the factors that instigated common offenses in French urban environments. The narrative is manipulated to expose the identities of tavern customers and Macé effectively contains his experiences to highlight working-class environments, inside the bars and on the streets. His encounters with inebriated working-class citizens even expose some of the medical literature on the hereditary effects of alcoholism.

> L'ivresse est héréditaire dans sa famille: sa mère est morte à Sainte-Anne, à la suite d'un *delirium tremens*; son père, après une tentative de suicide, a fini ses jours récemment à l'hôpital; elle-même est maintenant près de sa fin; l'alcool accomplit son œuvre néfaste; (...) En sortant de l'assommoir, son église, elle tombera en pleine rue et la Morgue sera sa dernière exposition. Connue de tout le monde, elle ne sera réclamée par personne et son cadavre servira d'étude à la clinique.[98]

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[97] Bonnie L. Grad and Timothy A. Riggs, Visions of City and Country: Prints and Photographs of Nineteenth-Century France (Worcester: Worcester Art Museum, 1982) 110.
[98] Macé, Un Joli 84.

Macé also discussed the French law passed on February 3rd, 1873 concerning the repression of drunkenness, which was introduced six months after a decree was introduced that did not require a license to distribute hard liquors. The result, Macé stated, was an annual decrease in the number of drunks sent to the police station but "les délits et les crimes ont augmenté dans des proportions considérables."[99] Macé attributed these statistics to the growing popularity of industrial alcohol, such as absinthe and other pure liquors, within working-class environments.[100] Macé also directly related these establishments where one could purchase industrial alcohol, as a refuge for delinquents. He made an observable connection between the prevalence of hard liquors and the increasing crime rate in France.

> J'ai fait opérer, dans chaque quartier, un relevé aussi exact que possible des établissements interlopes fréquentés par les gens suspects. (...) Dans ces maisons mal famées vient se fondre l'argent des ivrognes, des mendiants de profession, des prostituées, des voleurs et des assassins.[101]

However, Macé may have allowed his sympathy for the working classes to overcome his professional judgment at some point during his career. In 1897, he produced another memoir entitled "Crimes Impunis." Macé still held the same position with regards to the relation between alcohol abuse and crime, and maintained that the crimes committed under the influence of alcohol were becoming more frequent and hainous. "Ce sont les résultats de l'émancipation des marchands de vins,"[102] According to Macé, merchants began selling less wine and larger amounts of hard liquors to the masses when the 1872 law allowed vendors to distribute without a license. However, Macé directly related the crimes instigated by alcohol to the social offenses committed by the French state. He believed that authorities often placed these desperate citizens into criminal categories and increasingly neglected the misery of their daily struggles.[103]

> Certains savants considèrent les criminels comme des malades irresponsables, c'est-à-dire dépourvus de raison; cet argument est des plus arbitraires. Il n'a que l'avantage de simplifier les controverses et de donner satisfaction aux adversaires de la peine de mort.[104]

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[99] Macé, Un Joli 112-113.
[100] Macé, Un Joli 89, 116-117.
[101] Macé, Un Joli 118.
[102] Macé, Crimes Impunis (Paris: Bibliothèque Charpentier, 1897) 71-72.
[103] Macé, Crimes 73.
[104] Macé, Crimes 73-74.

Macé did not count these impoverished criminals amongst France's mentally ill, those commonly categorized as insane due to the heinous nature of their crimes. He believed that these common criminals, those who would steal to make a living, were calculating and deviant, characteristics born out of feelings of cultural injustice. Macé argued that these delinquents had merely allowed the horrors of living in poverty to overcome their better judgment and would eventually move from petty crime to murder if the reward was greater.[105]

According to Macé, these criminals were acting on the same premise and with similar ideals as revolutionaries such as Ravachol. He stated that they shared the same philosophical and social preoccupations as some of the most notorious political extremists and that their only regret was being caught.[106] Pissarro probably would have agreed with Macé's point of view in "Crimes Impunis," for he depicted the former prefect's concept of *struggle for life* as early as 1889 and justified the act of aggression against the bourgeois man as a form of cultural survival. It took Macé approximately ten years to finally see through the eyes of the lower classes and validate Pissarro's representation of working-class survival.

In 1887, Macé had perhaps considered these issues from a purely institutional standpoint. He may have focused too much importance on the reasons underlying the crimes committed in French cities, thus affirming the position held by the bourgeoisie about the consequences of working-class alcoholism, rather than the causes of their suffering.[107] Macé's 1887 memoir accomplished the same objective as the popular press and legislative reports, which focused the spotlight on the crime rather than the conditions of its execution. Perhaps increased exposure to human interaction with the working classes was the deciding factor that helped Macé see past the elitist rhetoric and consider the issue from the point of view of those whose lifestyles were being exploited in the name of social reform.

This was ironically the same time that Legrain, the celebrated authority on alcoholism, began treating working-class alcoholics in 1897 at the Ville-Evrard

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[105] Macé, Crimes 74-75.
[106] Macé, Crimes 74-75.
[107] Marec, Marginalité 162-69.

asylum.[108] Within less than a decade, Legrain, like Macé, discovered a deeper bond with the actual subjects. Although Legrain admitted in 1911 that his attempts to cure alcoholic patients were a complete failure,[109] he did admit to a better understanding of their plight. Nye claims that although doctors relied on scientific and clinical studies to seek answers related to alcohol abuse, the psychological reasons for drinking must have affected them along the way.[110]

In a rare commentary, Legrain described the state of the alcoholism issue, beyond the boundaries of medicine, three years after establishing his practice at Ville-Evrard on May 1st, 1897.

> (...) living in permanent contact with these victims, I began to understand that the time was no longer appropriate for these platonic efforts that consist of blustering at every turn against the modern scourge ... I saw women and children in my office in states of moral and material destitution that would melt a stone ... I received urgent letters describing, in a simple and moving manner, the most horrible distress and, gradually, I understood this poignant fact that the real problem was not inside the asylum but without ... I was overcome by fear; I felt disarmed in the face of so much horror.[111]

The correlation between alcoholism and crime may have been questioned by Macé and Legrain during the last few years of the nineteenth century. However, up until 1895, government officials insisted that a link between alcohol consumption and crime existed and prospered. In 1858, the correlation was made purely by accident by Delangle, a judiciary expert, who asked if the rise in felonies had anything to do "pour une certaine part du moins, à l'abondance de la récolte de vin, succédant en 1857 à la disette des années antérieures."[112] This made even more sense to Delangle, when in the same year he examined the number of murders committed in cabarets or by people under the influence of alcohol, which had simultaneously increased.[113] It seems that the French authorities had answered their own question about why criminal activity was escalating. While Minister of Justice Jean-Marie Sarrien stated in 1885 that one of the leading causes of

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[108] Prestwich, Addiction 1259.
[109] Prestwich, Addiction 1260.
[110] Nye, Crime 155.
[111] Paul-Maurice Legrain, "Le Patronage des Buveurs: Question Grave d'Assistance," Revue Philanthropique (1900) 7.
[112] Désert, Marginalité 254-55.
[113] Désert, Marginalité 255.

criminal activity was alcoholism, he maintained that other more revealing factors affected the increase in crime, such as immigration from rural to urban environments and "l'esprit de luxe qui envahit les classes inférieures de la société."[114]

Despite the opinion of legislators such as Sarrien, the French government in 1895 came up with the term *alcoolisme-violence*, in order to define more precisely the effects of alcoholism.[115] The elaborate findings of the government's annual report in 1907, devoted to criminality, delinquency and alcoholism, was summed up with a poignant concluding remark. This officially established a connection between alcoholism and crime and further alienated the working classes.

> C'est la violence, à n'en pas douter, qui constitue la criminalité spécifique des alcooliques et des ivrognes. L'augmentation des meutres simples, comme celles d'ailleurs des coups et blessures ayant entraîné la mort sans intention de la donner, doit être attribuée surtout aux progrès de l'alcoolisme.[116]

Decaux's image (Fig. 31) was created in 1889 and exhibited the elitist notion that the working classes were incorrigible delinquents, influenced by their corrupt social environment and eventually destined to advance their own demise. Pissarro's image created in the same year (Fig. 28), however, does not depict the involvement of the working classes in criminal activity due to its weak character and uncontrollable reliance on alcohol, but as a sign of its awareness of social inequity. These diverging perspectives and representations of crime by Decaux and Pissarro shed light on a conspiracy far beyond the boundaries of Macé's police surveillance. Pissarro's depiction of *Les Strugleforlifeurs!* appropriated the themes and recurring images disseminated in the popular press and memoirs like Macé's, in an effort to expose the myths propagated by the so-called experts delegating behind institutional barriers.

The alcoholism-crime connection was well established by French authorities and a bourgeoning medical community towards the end of the nineteenth century, but Pissarro negated these correlations by representing the working-class men in an act of survival. In his 1887 memoir, Macé described the growing popularity of theft, coined *le vol à l'esbrouffe et à la bousculade*, which the former prefect maintained was the result

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[114] Désert, Marginalité 255.
[115] Ibid.
[116] Désert, Marginalité 256.

of hard liquor consumption by criminals, "*pour se donner du coeur au ventre*, comme disent les agents, et recommencer leur néfaste besogne."[117] Macé maintained that acts of theft committed by three to five assailants assured a successful mission and made up for blunders by less capable criminals. The *vol à l'esbrouffe et à la bousculade*, according to Macé, was a full-time job and even included intervals at local bars and cafés.[118] Macé also stated that the bourgeois population feared this type of criminal the most due to their hostility when apprehended.[119] Like Legrain (Fig. 30), Macé also established a link between the basic principle of aggression and alcoholism.

Pissarro's re-evaluation of this activity challenged the assertions made by authorities concerning the motivation of the impoverished to commit crimes. Pissarro portrayed three men aware of their urban environment and social inequity. In this way, he did not believe that the working classes required any type of rehabilitation. He maintained as early as the 1880s, that the bourgeoisie and its decadence was the defective core of French culture.[120]

> See, then, how stupid the bourgeoisie, the real bourgeoisie have become, step by step they go lower and lower, (...) they are mistaken about everything. (...) And the same thing has held true in literature, in architecture, in science, in medicine, in every branch of human knowledge.[121]

This passage sheds light on Pissarro's motivation to add new meaning to already established cultural paradigms involving the working classes. He wanted to retrieve the reputation of France's impoverished classes from the negative portrayal by French officials and the unsympathetic press. He did so by depicting the bourgeoisie as the instigator of lower-class misery. Pissarro reinvented the model described by Macé in "Un Joli Monde," wherein three assailants assaulted a lone victim. Pissarro's representation of theft sought to achieve an image of France's working classes that was in line with his sympathies for those less fortunate. Furthermore, the symbolism of Pissarro's three men was a sign of collective solidarity in the struggle to survive.

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[117] Macé, Un Joli 158-165.
[118] Macé, Un Joli 158-162.
[119] Macé, Un Joli 165.
[120] Camille Pissarro, "To Lucien Pissarro," 4 June 1883, 13 June 1883, 28 December 1883, January 1886, of Letters 34-35, 49-50, 66.
[121] Camille Pissarro, "To Lucien Pissarro," 28 December 1883, of Letters 50.

Fig. 28 Camille Pissarro, *Les Strugleforlifeurs!* in Turpitudes Sociales, 1889 (Original Pen and Ink, Éditions d'Art Albert Skira, Switzerland. Reprinted Geneva: Reda, 1972)

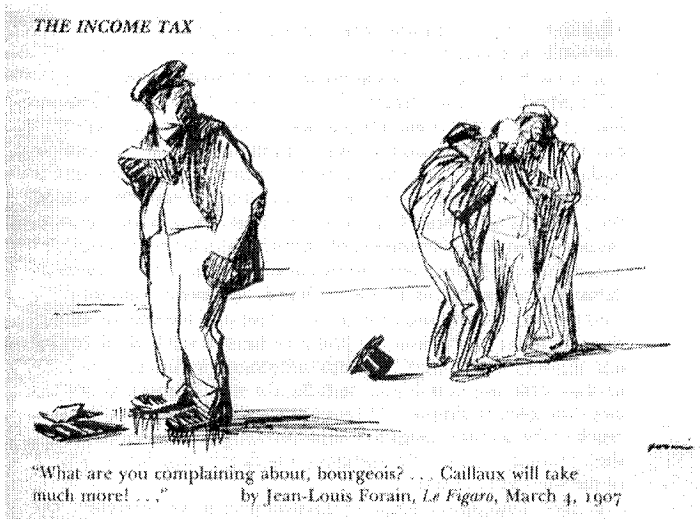

Fig. 29 Jean-Louis Forain, *What Are You Complaining About, Bourgeois? Caillaux Will Take Much More!* in Le Figaro Mar. 4, 1907 (in Robert A. Nye's Crime, Madness, & Politics in Modern France 1984)

L'ivrognerie conduit aux délits, aux crimes.

Fig. 30 Artist Unknown, *L'Ivrognerie Conduit Aux Délits, Aux Crimes* in Paul-Maurice Legrain's L'Enseignement Antialcoolique à l'École, 1899

Fig. 31 Decaux, *Struggle for Life!* in Le Courrier Français Nov. 17, 1889. (in John Hutton's *Camille Pissarro's Turpitudes Sociales and the Late Nineteenth-Century French Anarchist Anti-Feminism*, History Workshop 24, 1987)

Conclusion

My analysis of Pissarro's images in *Turpitudes Sociales* was aimed at clarifying the artist's motivation in creating this private album. Pissarro's sympathy for France's working classes is apparent in the unpublished set of drawings, in which he depicted the negative impact of bourgeois lifestyles on the lower classes. The miserable living and work conditions of the working classes were portrayed by Pissarro to convey the inequity in the urban environment. The letter written to his niece Esther Isaacson is the only document that clarifies, in part, the meaning of certain images in *Turpitudes Sociales*. The rest, Pissarro told his niece, was up to her to figure out.

> J'avais écrit à ton instruction à ce sujet une série de commentaires sur chaque dessin, j'ai pensé ensuite qu'il vallait mieux te laisser le soin de les faire toi-même. Mais en dehors de ces dessins il y a beaucoup à dire à propos de la recherche du beau actuel, du beau en général, quel est-il à notre époque de Humbug? Serait-ce le beau grec? Ce beau paien, froid, réglé me paraît être en dehors de nos idées philosophiques.[1]

The unpublished set of drawings contains twenty-eight images but Pissarro only cited twenty-two in his letter to Esther. Pissarro's niece was not the only person who attempted to elucidate the meaning of his images. My analysis involved figures 1, 2, 19 and 28, in order to shed light on similar imagery disseminated by temperance advocates. Although Pissarro mentioned *Les Stugleforlifeurs!* (Fig. 28) and *Petite Scène de la Vie Conjugale* (Fig. 19) in his letter, the reasons underlying the assault on the bourgeois and the domestic abuse were not clarified. Once these images were aligned with *Avant* and *Après l'Accident* (Figs. 1-2), I was able to link the subject matter with the visual imagery disseminated by the French temperance movement during the second half of the nineteenth century.

As mentioned in previous chapters, Zola's novel, *L'Assommoir*, was misunderstood and criticized when first published. Zola's intentions were to portray different instances of working-class life in nineteenth-century France. His graphic writing style, however, which Pissarro believed was "too photographic",[2] allowed the medical community and social reformers to overlook social problems in favor of focusing on

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[1] Camille Pissarro, "To Esther Isaacson," 29 December 1889, in Turpitudes 8.
[2] Camille Pissarro, "To Lucien Pissarro," 28 December 1883, of Letters 49.

working-class alcoholism. Perhaps Pissarro was able to avoid the same type of scrutiny by privately distributing *Turpitudes Sociales* in 1889. Pissarro's portrayal of the workplace accident, domestic abuse and crime may have been considered the perfect prototypes depicting working-class alcoholism by members of the scientific community, had the images been extracted from the context of Pissarro's album. Even though Zola may have intended to depict the misery of working-class life, his honest depiction of the habits of average citizens allowed the medical community and social reformers to isolate and appropriate parts of his narrative, twisting the novelist's prose to their own ends.

The images in Pissarro's unpublished album function much like Zola's *L'Assommoir*. Pissarro depicted different instances of working-class labour, family life and leisure activity, but unlike Zola, he made the bourgeoisie's presence a pivotal factor at the beginning of *Turpitudes Sociales*. Pissarro elucidated his position on class injustice and also alleviated the burden of shame imposed on the working classes by the medical community's paradigm of social deviance. *Turpitudes Sociales* enabled Pissarro the freedom to depict his political and cultural beliefs in a visual language too graphic to expose yet at the same time, too distressing to ignore.

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