

THE EMPATHETIC GAZE: THERESA BERNSTEIN'S EARLY IMAGES OF WOMEN IN
NEW YORK CITY

by

VICTORIA BLANCHE NADEN

(Under the Direction of Janice Simon)

ABSTRACT

Theresa Bernstein's paintings, *Suffrage Meeting* (1914), *Suffrage Parade* (1915), *In the Elevated* (1916), *The Waiting Room—Employment Office* (1917), and *The Milliners* (1919), expose a new type of looking rarely explored by American artists in the early twentieth century. She revealed a variety of New York City women, including suffragettes, working women, immigrants, and the working-class, in a more empathetic manner. Bernstein's innovation is heightened by her association with the Ashcan School—a male dominated art group that painted in a manner that was viewed as masculine. Bernstein might have painted like a man, but her works reflected her unique viewpoint as a woman. By investigating Bernstein's early subject matter of women in terms of the political, social, and aesthetic movements of the time, I will demonstrate that she contributed to a significant shift in the representation of women in early twentieth-century American art, a shift from object to subject.

INDEX WORDS: Theresa Bernstein, Ashcan School, John Sloan, *Suffrage Meeting*, *Suffrage Parade*, *In the Elevated*, *The Waiting Room—Employment Office*, *The Milliners*, Robert Henri, Suffrage Movement, Voyeurism, Empathetic Gaze, Thematics of sight, Gibson Girl

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VICTORIA BLANCHE NADEN

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VICTORIA BLANCHE NADEN

Major Professor:	Janice Simon
Committee:	Alisa Luxenberg
	Isabelle Wallace

Electronic Version Approved:

Julie Coffield
Interim Dean of the Graduate School
The University of Georgia
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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

Throughout the twentieth century, Theresa F. Bernstein (1890-2002)—painter, printmaker, teacher, poet, celebrated storyteller, and art activist—was a prominent figure in the art circles of New York and the art colony in Gloucester, Massachusetts. During her early years as an artist, Bernstein enjoyed considerable success, but as time progressed she was slowly forgotten. Very few modern scholars have explored her works, only mentioning her in passing or briefly discussing major themes present in her art.¹ Museum curator Michele Cohen wrote a short biography of Bernstein in 1991, and Patricia Burnham commented on Bernstein's contribution to Modernism with her New York Realist style in two short articles, one in 1988 and the other in 2009.²

Several scholars, including Burnham, have called for a fuller evaluation of Bernstein's work, and only recently have some individuals answered the call.³ In 2013, with the help of Professor Gail Levin, a group of graduate students at the City University of New York developed an exhibition, expansive catalogue, and symposium devoted to Bernstein's long career.⁴ The

¹ Kristen Swinth briefly discusses Bernstein's self-expression and modernism in a chapter of her book; see Swinth, Kirsten. *Paintings Professionals: Women Artists and the Development of Modern American Art, 1870-1930* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2001), 163, 168, 179-80, 185-187. Mariea Dennison mentions Bernstein's

² Michele Cohen, *Echoes of New York: The Paintings of Theresa Bernstein* (New York: Museum of the City of New York, 1991), unpaginated; Patricia M. Burnham, "Theresa Bernstein," *Woman's Art Journal* 9, no. 2 (1988): 22-27; Patricia M. Burnham, "Theresa Bernstein," *Jewish Women: A Comprehensive Historical Encyclopedia* (1 March 2009), Jewish Women's Archive, <http://jwa.org/encyclopedia/article/bernstein-theresa>.

³ Burnham, "Theresa Bernstein" (1988): 27.

⁴ The exhibition catalogue, *Theresa Bernstein: A Century in Art*, consists of eight chapters: "Forgotten Fame" by Gail Levin, "The Ashcan School?" by Elsie Heung, "Theresa Bernstein in Gloucester" by Michele Cohen, "Theresa Bernstein and World War I in New York" and "Dada's Long Shadow" by Sarah Archino, "Theresa Bernstein's World in Still Life" by Patricia Burnham, "Theresa Bernstein's *Documentary Still*" by Gillian Pistell, and "Theresa Bernstein as Printmaker" by Stephanie Hackell; see Gail Levin, ed., *Theresa Bernstein: A Century in Art* (Lincoln, NE: University of Nebraska Press, 2013). I began researching Bernstein before the exhibition and catalogue was

exhibition catalogue explored themes such as Bernstein's association with the Ashcan School, the influence of war on her art, her Dada and still life works, and Bernstein as a printmaker.

Despite the recent scholarship, there has yet to be an in-depth investigation of Bernstein's early works that concentrate on modern American women's experiences in the city, which I will explore in the paintings, *Suffrage Meeting* (1914; Fig. 1), *Suffrage Parade* (1915; Fig. 2), *In the Elevated* (1916; Fig. 3), *The Waiting Room—Employment Office* (1917; Fig. 4), and *The Milliners* (1919; Fig. 5). By investigating Theresa Bernstein's early subject matter, primarily that of women, in terms of the political, social, and aesthetic movements of the time, I will demonstrate that she contributed to a significant shift in the representation of women in early twentieth-century American art. Bernstein had a unique vision distinct from her American contemporaries in that she painted in a masculine Ashcan-like style despite seeing through the eyes of the Other—as a woman, an immigrant, a working-class individual, and a working woman—a feat which allowed to empathize with those who were often disparaged or overlooked. Since such an investigation has not been undertaken, this thesis will add to a deeper evaluation and understanding of her paintings as well as augment scholarship in early twentieth-century American art and feminism.

Each chapter is based off of a work or a series of works, with the suffrage paintings forming the basis of the second chapter, *In the Elevated* as the third, *The Waiting Room—Employment Office* the fourth, and *The Milliners* the fifth. In every chapter, Bernstein's work is compared to that of the artists of the so-called Ashcan School as well as to popular imagery of the time. Bernstein's close association with these artists is significant when it comes to the

investigation of her early works, for the comparison illuminates Bernstein's art as innovative and radical.

With her lively brushstrokes and urban subjects, Bernstein has often been linked to the Eight, an all-male group from Philadelphia that later expanded into the well-known Ashcan School.⁵ A critic from *Art News* supposedly wrote, "Theresa Bernstein might as well have been labeled a Henrietta and elected as the ninth member of The Eight."⁶ Henrietta was a reference to Robert Henri, the founder and leader of the group. Theresa Bernstein's work was not derivative of Ashcan art, but instead offered something new and original to the particular movement. Art historian Elsie Heung goes so far as to argue that Bernstein had her own unique vision distinct from those of all of her contemporaries, especially the Ashcan School.⁷ This thesis proceeds from the assumption that downplaying Bernstein's connections to the Ashcan School lessens the significance of her actions and artworks because her involvement with the Ashcan School complicates and challenges the traditional readings of masculinity and femininity in art production.

Considerably modern in their subject matter, the Ashcan artists rejected the genteel subjects and refined styles of American impressionism and tonalism, and embraced instead

⁵ The Eight refers to the eight artists involved in the 1908 exhibition *Eight American Painters* at the Macbeth Galleries in New York City, which was an exhibition free from academic restrictions. The artists included: Robert Henri, Arthur B. Davies, William Glackens, John Sloan, George Luks, Everett Shinn, Ernest Lawson and Maurice Prendergast. "The Eight" was not invented by the painters nor was it used at the time of their 1908 exhibition. The term first appeared in the New York *Evening Sun*, issued May 15, 1907, by Frederick James Gregg who used it as a shorthand for what reporters earlier called "the Eight Independent Painters," "the Eight Secessionists," or "the Society of the Eight." The term "Ashcan School" was coined by an art critic and a dealer in the 1930s, and irritated the people it was used to describe. Five of the eight—Henri, Glackens, Luks, Shinn and Sloan—became known as the Ashcan artists, for their art depicted the "ashcans" of dirty cities. For more information, see William Innes Homer, "The Exhibition of 'The Eight': Its History and Significance," *American Art Journal* 1, no. 1 (1969), 54-55.

⁶ Quoted in Theresa Bernstein Meyerowitz, *The Journal* (New York: Cornwall Books, 1989), 40. The primary source is not cited. Bernstein was never formally affiliated with The Ashcan School. She met Henri in 1914 and began exhibiting with him shortly after. She was with Luks and Prendergast in the Eclectics group, which was founded in 1916, and she met Sloan in the early 1920s and together they helped form the Society of Independent Artists. Aside from her connections with these artists, her artwork itself caused critics to create associations with the Ashcan School. For more information, see Burnham, "Theresa Bernstein" (1988): 27.

⁷ Elsie Heung in Levin, ed., *Theresa Bernstein*, 78-91.

rough, urban subject matter and a crude style, which was often associated with masculinity.⁸

Robert Henri encouraged and emphasized the perception of Ashcan art as a masculine sensibility, stating “be a man first, be an artist later.”⁹ Even Bernstein’s work was seen at the time as rather masculine, which left many critics and viewers uneasy.¹⁰ Art critic Frederick James Gregg, for example, reviewed Bernstein’s first solo show at the Milch Gallery in the November 2, 1919 issue of the *New York Herald*, “There is nothing feminine about the paintings of Theresa Bernstein now on view at the Milch Galleries. It is with a man’s vision that this artist looks at her subjects... Then, having found what she wants, it is with a man’s vigor that she gets it down to stay.”¹¹

Even though Theresa Bernstein and several other women artists were clearly engaged in the same Ashcan School realism as Robert Henri, George Luks, Everett Shinn and John Sloan, they were never officially considered a part of the movement, nor were they included in the Eight’s first and only landmark show at the Macbeth Galleries in 1908.¹² It seems interesting then that Theresa Bernstein chose to paint in this particular style even though it never brought her any commercial and critical success. She could have followed her art training and taken up

⁸ Critics and the artists themselves viewed the Ashcan style as masculine due to the quick and rough application of paint as well as the exploration of “dangerous,” dirty places (proper) women were not encouraged to go. Bellows, above all, emphasized masculine virility in his art, especially in his images of boxers. For more information about the Ashcan art as masculine, see Rebecca Zurier, *Picturing the City: Urban Vision and the Ashcan School* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2006), 119-122.

⁹ Ellen Wiley Todd, *The “New Woman” Revised: Painting and Gender Politics on Fourteenth Street* (Los Angeles: University of California, 1993), 18-19.

¹⁰ Many female artists at the turn of the century and for the most part of the twentieth century were consistently inflicted with gendered readings that either denied female authorship or reduced it to an essentialized and often sexualized category of a different, subordinate “woman’s art.” For more information, see Wardle, ed., *American Women Modernists*, 130-131.

¹¹ Frederick James Gregg, “Theresa Bernstein a Realist in the Old Sense of the Word.” *New York Herald* (New York, New York), November 2, 1919.

¹² Women were not accepted into the group even though there were women engaging in the same Ashcan style realism, such as Bernstein, Abastenia St. Leger Eberle (1878-1942), and Ethel K. Myers (1881-1960). The Ashcan artists’ wives created art, but they were marginalized and largely eclipsed by the professional art-world success of their husbands; see Wardle, ed., *American Women Modernists*, 124-128. Married to artist William Meyerowitz (1887-1981), Bernstein was an artist’s wife too, but she managed to overcome the marginalization of “artist couple” marriages. Despite her marriage to a successful artist, Bernstein remained an artist in her own right.

American Impressionism, which had become evermore celebrated in American art by 1915.¹³

But, that was the style of gentility, a style that she apparently had no interest in pursuing.

Michelle Cohen argues that Bernstein was trying to identify with the American Realist tradition, tracing her heritage as “kind of the grandchild of [Thomas] Eakins” through her studies with Daniel Garber, a pupil of Thomas Anshutz who was a pupil of Eakins, but such reasoning seems too simplistic.¹⁴ According to art historian Rebecca Zurier, Ashcan art served as both a general meditation on urban life and a visionary portrait of a modern city for the twentieth century, it is possible that Bernstein chose such a style in order to comment on issues that were important to her, such as immigration, the working class, and women’s suffrage.¹⁵ Like artist John Sloan, Bernstein’s works are informed by Progressive politics, which favored the suffrage movement, immigrant, and working-class concerns.¹⁶

What seems to differentiate Theresa Bernstein’s work from that of the Ashcan School is what Zurier has called the thematics of sight. By the early twentieth century, as Zurier points out, “the changes in urban population, the new social mores, and the commercial practices that commodified sight created new arenas and occasions for looking.”¹⁷ In response to this rapidly

¹³ At the Philadelphia School of Design for Women (now Moore College of Art), Theresa Bernstein studied with American Impressionist landscape painter Daniel Garber. She also studied portrait painting with William Merritt Chase, an Impressionist painter, at the Art Students League in New York City. See Meyerowitz, *The Journal*, 9, 24, 39.

¹⁴ Cohen, *Echoes of New York*, unpaginated. Indeed, Bernstein’s bright, vivid color palette was likely influenced by her teacher, Daniel Garber.

¹⁵ For Zurier, Ashcan images exemplify the heightened awareness of sight, which she calls *urban visuality*—the habit of looking as a social and cultural practice in cities. By exploring the issues of class and immigration, the artists “helped to change the nineteenth-century characterization of the city as a place of ‘darkness and daylight’ to the Progressive Era’s vision of the city as the ‘hope of democracy’.” See Zurier, *Picturing the City*, 6-8.

¹⁶ Although Sloan insists that his art does not include social commentary, it is clear that his interests in Socialism impacted his art. See Patricia Hills, “John Sloan’s Images of Working-Class Women: A Case Study of the Roles and Interrelationships of Politics, Personality, and Patrons in the Development of Sloan’s Art, 1905-16,” *Prospects* 5 (1980): 157-196.

¹⁷ Zurier, *Picturing the City*, 6. Commodification created a shift in the codes of spectatorship from an exclusively male gaze to an accompanying female spectatorial gaze; see Laural Weintraub, “Women as Urban Spectators in John Sloan’s Early Work,” *American Art* 15, no. 2 (2001): 72. Women dressed in the latest fashion, with the intention of being looked at and looking at others.

changing urban vision, the Ashcan artists depicted “New Yorkers looking, peeping, watching, and scrutinizing, of seeing and being seen, as well as engaging in spectacle and display.”¹⁸ John Sloan, the most active participant in the thematics of sight, directed most of his attention towards urban women who were becoming involved in new forms of spectacle by displaying themselves as commodities.¹⁹ Although a substantial portion of Bernstein’s subject matter featured urban women, her act of looking differed from those of the Ashcan School. She did not depict various individuals watching one another; instead, Bernstein alluded to the new culture of looking, mostly by including female figures eyeing the painting’s potential viewer.²⁰ At the turn-of-the-century, there was a shift in the codes of spectatorship from an exclusively male gaze to an accompanying female spectatorial gaze.²¹

The differences between Bernstein’s and the Ashcan artists’ involvement with the thematics of sight are likely due to the most obvious difference between them: their sex. Since she lived during a time of great inequality between the sexes, she saw and experienced many things differently than her male counterparts. Unlike the Ashcan School’s urban vision, “she *saw* as a woman, incorporating into her art types and activities ignored by others, such as women at work, women artists, and suffragist parades,” contends Patricia Burnham.²² In addition to seeing as a woman, Bernstein experienced reality as an immigrant and as a modern working woman;

¹⁸ Zurier, *Picturing the City*, 4.

¹⁹ Ibid., 265.

²⁰ Elsie Heung contends that Bernstein’s works focus on public spaces yet capture her figures in moments of private introspection, resulting in a drastically different mode of looking than the Ashcan School. I disagree. Indeed, Bernstein did depict moments of private introspection, but even in those scenes she implies a female spectatorial gaze, either by representing a woman peering out at the viewer or suggesting her own female gaze through her writings and compositions. I will explain this further throughout my thesis.

²¹ Sloan even explores the emergence of the modern female onlooker in his early images, as Ruth Iskin and Weintraub points out, in which he depicts women in the act of looking; see Weintraub, “Women as Urban Spectators,” 72. *Sunday Afternoon in Union Square* (Fig. 21), for instance, shows two women on a bench watching the two women strolling along. For more on the gaze and the codes of looking, see Patricia Mathews, “Returning the Gaze: Diverse Representations of the Nude in the Art of Suzanne Valadon,” *The Art Bulletin* 73, no. 3 (1991): 417.

²² Burnham, “Theresa Bernstein” (2009).

essentially, she saw as the Other because she was the Other.²³ Even though she belonged to a middle-class family, Bernstein identified with the working-class because she understood the ramifications of being an Other. Moreover, while Ashcan artists arguably viewed their subjects from a distance as a detached observer, Bernstein appears to be both observer and participant in her early portrayals of the urban city.²⁴ Concerning her suffrage pictures, Bernstein not only depicted these events but also marched in similar parades, attended similar meetings, and eventually cast her first vote. Perhaps because these subjects were personally meaningful for her, Bernstein paintings established a new mode of looking—the empathetic gaze. Her empathetic gaze resulted in images that illustrate solidarity and unity, while Ashcan works strived for a more cinematic gaze, dramatizing differences to create a greater contrast between individuals and their circumstances.

²³ I use the term, the Other, in the sense that anyone who was not the idealized white, middle-class American male was put into the category of the Other. A great number of women were working by 1910. Women were stenographers, typewriters, book-keepers, accountants, telegraph and telephone operators, female retail merchants, dressmakers, milliners, seamstresses, servants, waiters, and factory workers, among others; see C.E. Persons, “Women’s Work and Wages in the United States,” *The Quarterly Journal of Economics* 29, no. 2 (1915): 204-205.

²⁴ Even though she never appears literally in her images, Bernstein incorporates herself through either the intimate subject matter closely related to her own situations and experiences or the inclusion of people who were close to her during her life. For more discussion of the Ashcan School as the detached observer, see Rebecca Zurier, Robert W. Snyder, and Virginia M. Mecklenburg, *Metropolitan Lives: The Ashcan Artists and Their New York* (Washington, D.C.: National Museum of American Art, 1995), 87; Sara F. Meng, “Peggy Bacon and John Sloan: Their Urban Scenes, 1910-1928,” *Woman’s Art Journal* 25, no. 1 (2004), 19.

CHAPTER 2

THE “NEW SUFFRAGIST”: PAINTINGS OF THE SUFFRAGE MOVEMENT

Theresa Bernstein’s paintings, *Suffrage Meeting* (1914; Fig. 1) and *Suffrage Parade* (1915; Fig. 2), are innovative for their time because they not only represented a radical movement that changed history forever, but also offered a more original, positive, and non-stereotypical depiction of suffrage than did most American images of the early 1900s. With the suffrage movement reaching its peak in pageantry at the turn of the century, both pro- and anti-suffrage imagery appeared frequently in newspapers, magazines, and even fine art. Illustrators regularly depicted women, specifically suffragettes, who questioned the established laws of society with masculine features and/or primitive forms. A 1913 illustration in *Life Magazine* (Fig. 6) by Rodney Thomson, for example, sarcastically depicts three different physical interpretations of militants: the top column, entitled “As They Are,” portrays the women as old, fat, ugly, somewhat masculine, and angry; “As They Think They Are” (the middle column) represents them as saints, heroines, and angels; and the bottom column, “As They Appear to the Police and Shopkeepers,” shows them as menacing, devilish creatures, complete with horns, pointed ears, and nasty, threatening teeth. In another example, Charles Gibson’s anti-feminist caricature “A Suffragette’s Husband” (Fig. 7; 1911), shows an overbearing wife emasculating her tiny husband by her size and demeanor. To such illustrators and many of their readers, her political involvement automatically made her a nasty and less desirable woman—an aspect that is more evident when compared to Gibson’s beautiful, young Gibson Girl (a version of the New Woman) who is seen as independent and free, yet removed from all politics. Gibson’s *Stepped*

On (1901; Fig. 8), for instance, also shows a tiny, frail man contrasted with a disproportionately larger and formidable woman, only this time the female protagonist is young, beautiful, and attractively strong.²⁵ Certainly, the Gibson Girl is also emasculating the man, but since there is no overt suggestion of politics in the image, she can look attractive and desirable because she does not threaten the laws of society, unlike the suffragette.

To counteract the abundantly present anti-suffrage images, pro-suffrage artists cleverly transformed their images into positive analogues of that of the New Woman: youthful—often marked as a mother or worker—, brave, strong, and free.²⁶ For example, Boardman Robinson’s “The Type Has Changed” (Fig. 9) of 1911 sharply contrasts the anti-suffrage’s old hag depicted on the left with a more modern and attractive suffragette on the right. Here, Robinson played directly off anti-suffrage imagery, as he altered the iconic Gibson Girl type, frequently viewed as nonpolitical, into a political activist.

In addition to the appropriation of the New Woman/Gibson Girl image, many pro-suffragists reached back to historical iconography. Nell Brinkley’s 1916 cartoon “The Three Graces” (Fig. 10), for instance, draws on mythological imagery, modernizing them in the latest fashion to suggest the ultimate modern woman.²⁷ The potential power of this adaptation of mythological figures is suggested in the caption of Brinkley’s cartoon: “Any man who loves and reveres his mother and his country should idolize, if he worship at all, the three graces, Suffrage,

²⁵ In a biography of the illustrator by Fairfax Downey, Gibson makes it clear that he does not approve of women’s political organizing by stating, “In a mass of women, you lose entirely the irresistible appeal of the individual... They are rather terrifying en masse. You don’t get the usual feeling but a chilly sensation and you think you ought to see a doctor... Architecturally women don’t fit into a parade. They lack the swing of soldiers, and the careful selection a stage manager uses in picking a chorus is impossible.” Gibson quoted in Fairfax Downey, *Portrait of an Era as Drawn by C.D. Gibson: A Biography* (New York: Scribner’s, 1939), 318, in Patterson, *Beyond the Gibson Girl*, 30.

²⁶ Prieto, “Portrait of the Artist,” 174.

²⁷ “The Three Graces” cartoon depicts three allegorical figures, Suffrage, Preparedness, and Americanism. Preparedness is the most interesting allegorical figure out of the three because the allegory seems unclear. Perhaps, she symbolizes the preparedness for war since the questions of America joining the First World War was a real issue, especially in 1916—just one year before the United States joined the Allies.

Preparedness, and Americanism."²⁸ The Suffragette is now beautiful, young, fashionable, and, most importantly, godlike as she rises up over the water, and towers over the viewer.

Other pro-suffrage works of art, as historian Laura R. Prieto points out, conceived the so-called "New Suffragist" as both the artist herself and an everywoman, which is exemplified in Bernstein's suffrage paintings from 1914 to 1916. In Prieto's reading, the everywoman is any and every woman, inclusive of all types, classes, and ages; the everywoman is "the woman of today."²⁹ Bernstein's *Suffrage Meeting* features an outside gathering at night with a soapbox orator standing above a crowd of intent listeners below, consisting mostly of women, with a few male onlookers on the far right edges. Unlike Gibson's "A Suffragette's Husband," Bernstein's male figures are not emasculated, but ordinary. Her female figures vary in age, class, and attractiveness. Neither divinely beautiful nor unnaturally hideous, they represent the average woman of that era, a woman one would see shuffling about New York City of the 1910s.³⁰

As the "New Suffragist," Bernstein is inclusive, embracing a variety of types. While the woman in the fur coat, just below the orator, is likely from the upper class, the mother and child to the left of her belong to a lower class, most likely, working class. The mother is not wearing a modern hat, which most women—even those with very little means—sport at the time, and her clothes are frumpy, ill-fitting, and simple.³¹ Bernstein also includes middle-class women in her work. For example, the woman carrying the flowers signals a middle-class status with her fashion, but the clothes do not appear overly expensive. The woman with flowers dons a small hat with a little adornment atop, likely feathers, and a matching, well-fitted coat and full-length skirt. Throughout the entire image, Bernstein mixes and juxtaposes figures from all different

²⁸ Quote in Prieto, "Portrait of the Artist," 173.

²⁹ Ibid., 174. The everywoman is about non-specificity, which is a tool used to avoid stereotyping.

³⁰ I use the term, "average woman," in the sense that she is not idealized or grotesque, but appears realistic.

³¹ Diana Crane, *Fashion and its Social Agendas: Class, Gender, and Identity in Clothing* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2000), 60-71.

classes, being careful not to stereotype the movement and the people attending the meeting.

There are no grotesque or idealized stereotypes in Bernstein's *Suffrage Meeting*; it is a realistic scene. Even a viewer at the time read the work as depicting a "crowd made up of very real women and men."³²

Similarly, the marching women in the *Suffrage Parade* present a diverse group of proud and strong suffragettes: some tall and some short, some skinny and some plump, some old and some young. Although very different, they all wear the same white uniform, strategically unifying them—an aspect evidently significant to Bernstein, for she stresses the white of the suffragette's uniforms by contrasting it with the black that dominates in the depiction of the crowd. They are all one: age, appearance, or social/economical standing does not, and will not, separate them. The blurring or lack of detail in the suffragette figures also suppresses their individuality to emphasize their unity to the cause.

The foreground holds the central focus of the painting. These figures watching the parade are given age and class distinctions. The woman in black in the center foreground is middle-aged and wealthy with her big, fancy hat and white gloves; her attire and conscious, stiff pose suggest a woman who never had to work. In contrast, the female in red on the far left represents a youthful, working woman from a middle-class family, as her fashion and demeanor proclaim. The modern working woman broke the rules of "genteel femininity," acting more freely and wearing brash, brightly colored outfits that drew attention to physical appearance.³³ By applying

³² "Studio and Gallery," 1915, Macbeth Gallery Papers in Dennison, "Babies for Suffrage," 27.

³³ Crane, *Fashion and its Social Agenda*, 60-61. This lady in red is extremely fashionable in her brightly colored cloche hat and matching coat. Employed working-class women staged a carnivalesque inversion that undermined the middle-class definition of "lady" by dressing in elaborate styles; see Nan Enstad, *Ladies of Labor, Girls of Adventure: Working Women, Popular Culture, and Labor Politics at the Turn of the Twentieth Century* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1999), 10. I identify the lady in red as middle-class because, although simple, her outfit seems to be of decent quality, perhaps velvet. There are two other women in the image (behind the central figure that is looking out towards the viewer) that appear to be middle-aged and from the middle class. I focus on the two women in red, as opposed to the two more hidden women, primarily because they draw more attention to the viewer.

the same red paint to both figures, Bernstein wanted to call attention to the differences between the two women. Interestingly, the same red is also used for the banners the suffragettes are carrying, implying the inclusivity of the Progressive movement. The central female figure in the foreground also invites the viewer into the fraternity of suffragists, with her engagement in the potential viewer as she stares pointedly out at him or her.

Rather than depicting an established type as many other artists did, Bernstein illustrates the ordinary, 1910s women, including herself, in her scenes.³⁴ In the very few self-portraits she created, Bernstein implied her ordinariness. Bernstein's *Self-Portrait* (1914; Fig. 11), for instance, is a modest depiction of the artist, in that she did not embellish or exaggerate her appearance to make herself more appealing to the viewer. When compared to a 1919 photograph of Bernstein (Fig. 12), her lack of idealization is confirmed, for her *Self-Portrait* bares great similarities to that of her photograph. In her self-portrait Bernstein appears in such a way that she could easily blend into a crowd, with her simple dress, plain hairstyle, and muted palette; she was the everywoman she so often suggested in her work. Moreover, her presence could be implied in her two suffrage paintings through her identification with the women in the image. Coming from a middle-class immigrant family, Bernstein could have identified with the woman holding the flowers or the lady in green standing next to her in the *Suffrage Meeting*, for they are both from the same social class as Bernstein, as their fashion suggests. She could also relate to the working-class woman on the left of the *Suffrage Meeting* either by her own immigrant background since a majority of the working-class in the United States were immigrants,³⁵ or by

As for the men in the crowd, they represent the middle- and upper-class as suggested by their hats (bowler versus top hats).

³⁴ Bernstein's ordinary woman is not an established type, for she is not idealized or depicted grotesquely, but shown as an average urban woman.

³⁵ Josef Barton, "Becoming American: Immigration and Assimilation in Late 19th Century America" (Lecture at the National Humanities Center, Durham, NC, August 16, 2011), http://nationalhumanitiescenter.org/ows/seminarsflvs/BA_note2.pdf.

her lifelong family friend, Kate, who was a working-class immigrant herself. Most likely, Bernstein identified with the suffrage speaker because not only do they come from similar social classes or have similar political beliefs, but also look alike, with comparable profiles and the low bun, which Bernstein sports in her very few self-portraits.³⁶ By suggesting her own presence in her suffrage series, Bernstein offers an additional pro-suffrage image to the public. The female artist then becomes a new suffragette type—a novel idea few female artists produced in their works.

The “New Suffragist” could also be perceived as Bernstein herself through her suffrage images because she not only sketched and painted these events, but also participated in the parades and meetings. She was as much a part of these events as any of the other individuals depicted in her images. Bernstein even cast her first vote with enthusiasm, as she later suggests in *The Journal* (1991), claiming that one of her first votes was for Prohibition, which was the subject of referenda between 1917 and 1919.³⁷ In reminiscing about the *Suffrage Meeting* in *The Journal*, Bernstein writes of the moment when she partakes in the meeting as well as sketches the progressive gathering.³⁸ Her statement emphasizes her presence and involvement in the suffrage movement.

³⁶ Both Bernstein and the speaker have small foreheads, straight, round noses, and circular faces. Most suffragettes were upper- and middle-class individuals; see Robert P.J. Cooney, Jr., *Winning the Vote: The Triumph of the American Woman Suffrage Movement* (Santa Cruz, CA: American Graphic Press, 2005). Bernstein could have also identified with women in the *Suffrage Parade*, especially the suffragettes marching in the parade.

³⁷ Meyerowitz, *The Journal*, 45-46. The actual date Bernstein cast her first vote is unknown. New York granted women the right to vote in 1917 (see Dennison, “Babies for Suffrage,” 28), but New York did not ratify the 18th Amendment, which addressed Prohibition, until January 29, 1919. However, New York had several elections concerning Prohibition in 1917, (April) 1918, and 1919. Following Bernstein’s statement then, one of her first votes occurred between 1917 and 1919, shortly after the victory for suffrage in New York. For more information concerning Prohibition, see Ernest H. Cherrington, *The Evolution of Prohibition in the United States of America: A Chronological History of the Liquor Problem and the Temperance Reform in the United States from the Earliest Settlements to the Consummation of National Prohibition* (Westerville, Ohio: The American Issue Press, 1920), 357-374.

³⁸ Meyerowitz, *The Journal*, 45.

For Bernstein, it was not just about creating a new and more positive image for suffragettes, but also about generating works that inspired dialogue and awareness. In speaking of her contributions to the suffrage movement, Bernstein claimed that she convinced a few people to vote for women, “but my main weight in this direction was through my work, which was exhibited and discussed.”³⁹ Ultimately, painting was Bernstein’s voice, and stands as her most-lasting contribution to suffrage activism.

Indeed, in a 1991 interview by Muriel Meyers, Bernstein asserted that out of all of her paintings, the *Suffrage Parade* and *Suffrage Meeting* counted among the most significant ones (along with *In the Elevated*, *The Waiting Room* and *The Milliners*) because regardless of what people (mostly men) said at the time, “we’re people who have a right to express ourselves.”⁴⁰ Bernstein continued her assertion:

So I made one painting on 96th Street and Broadway (these were all night scenes) and the lights would only glimmer on the outline of a figure, a woman carrying a basket of food or a man holding his newspaper would linger while the speaker would cajole them and tell them why it was important for women to have the same point of expression to be able to make a decision. Maybe it would be good for women and it might not be good for men; it might be good for everyone. That was what they were doing and I did the painting.⁴¹

Here, Bernstein’s description of painting this suffrage event went beyond following some realist tradition of painting modern life, but to highlight and spread the radical notion that women too deserved the right to vote, to express themselves.

³⁹ Bernstein discussing the *Suffrage Meeting* (1914), in *Ibid.*, 45.

⁴⁰ Theresa Bernstein Meyerowitz, interview by Muriel Meyers, Oral History, American Jewish Committee, Dorot Jewish Division, New York Public Library, July 17, 1991, Tape 2, 55-56.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, 56.

Aside from her emphasis on the freedom to vote, Bernstein's choice of night scenes is also intriguing. For a woman to go out at night alone, without a chaperone, was still a progressive act at the time. Secondly, night scenes of New York City streets suggested modernity because the dark, especially, advertised the powers of modern electricity.⁴² The *Suffrage Meeting* implicates modernity even more with the depiction of the cinema—a new, modern invention—depicted behind the standing speaker.⁴³ A few artists, including John Sloan, explored various aspects of the cinema, such as the dialogue between observer and observed as well as the nuances of movie theater behavior.⁴⁴ As Antonia Lant points out, the most interesting movie theater behavior that artists addressed was the temporary obliteration of various classes, races, and sexes when the lights went down and the movie began.⁴⁵ All of these aspects could have inspired Bernstein in her pictures of the suffrage movement, especially the merging and obscuring of classes, which occurs frequently in her early works.

Newsreels and short films of the time, which occasionally featured the suffrage movement, might have also influenced Bernstein's addition of the cinema.⁴⁶ Moreover, the aspect of film also draws more focus and significance to the orator. Due to the suffrage speaker's

⁴² The "City Electric" was a Manhattan trope where artists, according to Wanda Corn, tried to capture the "'moony sheen' of street lamps, the necklace of lights across Brooklyn Bridge, the thousands of 'eyes' in skyscrapers, the moving light chains of the elevated, car, and buggy headlights, and an occasional lighted store window;" see Wanda Corn, *The Great American Thing: Modern Art and National Identity, 1915-1935* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1999), 171.

⁴³ I assume the bright yellow square object in the left background represents an outdoors cinema because the depiction is similar to her other, more obvious, paintings of the cinema, such as *Open Air Show* (1912-1913) and *Reading the War News* (1915). The shape and color of the screen is especially similar to that of *Reading the War News*. It is interesting that a similar shape and color also appears in the *Suffrage Parade*. The square object in the left middleground is likely a window of a storefront, but it still seems to recall the cinema.

⁴⁴ Nancy Mowll Mathews, ed., *Moving Pictures: American Art and Early Film, 1880-1910* (Manchester: Hudson Hills Press, 2005), 122 & 159; Katherine Manthorne, "John Sloan's Moving-Picture Eye," *American Art* 18, no. 2 (2004): 80-95.

⁴⁵ Lant in Mathews, ed., *Moving Pictures*, 159-164; Zurier, *Picturing the City*, 65.

⁴⁶ Some short films that spotlighted the movement include *Franchise Parade*, Tarrytown, N.Y. (1915) and *Suffrage Parade*, New York City (1915); see "The Silent Era: Women on Screen," Moving Image Section: Motion Picture, Broadcasting, and Recorded Sound Division, George Kleine Collection, *Library of Congress*. http://memory.loc.gov/ammem/awhhtml/awmi10/silent_women.html. A few newsreels also addressed the suffrage movement by showing parades, meetings, and women voting in their first elections; see "Pathe Newsreel: Woman Suffrage-Famous Women-Old New York 1900's (No Captions)," *Internet Archive*. <https://archive.org/details/ADC-10127b>.

position in relation to the cinema screen, the orator becomes the subject of the show, and thus further highlighting her importance in the painting.

Whether intentional or not, Bernstein's constant emphasis on the "right to express ourselves" in the interview with Meyers must not be discounted. Rather than simply saying that women deserve the right to vote, Bernstein left it up for a wider interpretation, especially in the realm of art. Being able to vote was just one aspect of a much larger issue for Bernstein. Considering the limitations female artists encountered around the time Bernstein made her suffrage series, it is clear that her primary focus when discussing the *Suffrage Parade* and *Suffrage Meeting* was on the issue of self-expression. During that time, many female artists were consistently inflicted with gendered readings that either denied female authorship or reduced it to an essentialized and often sexualized category of a different, subordinate "woman's art."⁴⁷ By the early twentieth century, "woman's art" typically consisted of portraiture, figure painting, and landscapes because many believed that the three genres required less talent, focus, intellect, and creativity than other genres, which were all things women presumably lacked.⁴⁸ The freedom of expression in art, rather than be limited to what artists, critics, and viewers considered lesser genres, appears to be of great importance to Bernstein. Her images alone speak of such freedom, for she painted what she felt was most important, not what others expected from her as a female artist. In fact, she did the exact opposite of the art standard for women: she chose a style considered the most masculine in American art at the time.

⁴⁷ Wardle, ed., *American Women Modernists*, 130-131.

⁴⁸ By 1900, there were promising new careers for women in figure painting, portraiture, and landscapes. Women artists focused more on portraiture than any of the other genres though. Indeed, male artists also painted portraits, but it was more problematic for them because portraiture was linked to the feminine. Consequently, male artists did not want to be seen as portraitists. For more information on "women's art," see Swinth, *Painting Professionals*, 71-85.

Bernstein's courageous and radical intentions for her suffrage works are further revealed by her and another artist, Helena Smith Dayton (1879-1960), who created works that directly dealt with the suffrage debate for the 1915 "Exhibition of Painting and Sculpture by Women Artists for the Benefit of the Woman Suffrage Campaign."⁴⁹ Despite the shows overtly political premise, the only two works that straightforwardly addressed the debate were Bernstein's *Suffrage Meeting* and Dayton's *He Can Vote* (c. 1915; Fig. 13), a sculpture that portrayed "an empty headed youth of the type whom men despise and women do not pity," states one reviewer.⁵⁰ Although Dayton's work indirectly dealt with suffrage too, one viewer argued that "the movement itself is reflected in only a single canvas, Theresa Bernstein's able 'The Suffrage Meeting'."⁵¹ The rest of the show consisted of images of babies and mothers, a subject that was more expected and more successful for female artists at the time. One reviewer described the gallery as "fairly overrun with babies and very young children," while another in the *Christian Science Monitor* stated, "The one note that is struck repeatedly is on the mother and child theme."⁵² Granted, there is a mother and child depicted in the far left foreground of Bernstein's *Suffrage Meeting*; however, the two figures do not fit in to the typical mother and child iconography, as did the other images in the suffrage exhibition.⁵³ Bernstein's involvement with the exhibition demonstrates her progressive tendencies, but the fact that she was one of only two

⁴⁹ Dennison, "Babies for Suffrage," 27.

⁵⁰ "Suffragists Art to Aid Campaign," *Brooklyn Eagle*, September 28, 1915, Macbeth Gallery Papers, in Dennison, "Babies for Suffrage," 27; "Woman's Art for Suffrage Cause a Fine Exhibit," Macbeth Gallery Papers, in Ibid. Dayton also created two animated sculpture films entitled *Suffrage Girls* and *A Pair of Antis*; for more information, see Dennison, "Babies for Suffrage," 27.

⁵¹ "Women Artists Give Suffrage Benefit Exhibit," *Christian Science Monitor*, October 2, 1915, 21, in Levin, ed., *Theresa Bernstein*, 30.

⁵² "Women...Scorn Men...Deify Babies;" "Woman Suffrage Art;" "Woman Artists Give Suffrage Benefit Exhibit;" "Joyous Art of Suffragettes," in Dennison, "Babies for Suffrage," 27.

⁵³ Throughout her entire career, Bernstein only painted four mother and child images: *Mother and Child* (1920), *Mother and Child* (1928), *Mother and Child* (c. 1930s), and *Mother and Child* (c. 1930s). These four paintings were created around the same time period she became a mother. Bernstein birthed a child of her own, Isadora G.R. Meyerowitz, on January 29, 1920, but the baby died three months later from pneumonia. *Mother and Child* (1920) is based off a picture of herself holding Isadora; see Levin, ed., *Theresa Bernstein*, 47.

artists who dealt with the issue directly in this significant exhibition only further shows how new and innovative her work was at that time, especially for women artists.

A few years before Bernstein created her suffrage series, John Sloan made two pro-suffrage illustrations, which were published in Mary Alden Hopkin's 1912 article "Women March" in *Collier's* magazine (Fig. 14 & 15). According to Ellen Todd, Sloan's drawings offer a middle ground to suffrage art by retaining the anti-suffragist iconography of the suffragette as a mature, older woman, as opposed to a more youthful woman seen in pro-suffragist imagery, but presenting their faces and poses as pleasant and nonthreatening.⁵⁴ "Hooray, Hooray for Mother," the pendant to the illustration of women marching, depicts a distinguished and enthusiastic father with his three children happily cheering for their mother who is presumably marching for the vote below. Compared to Gibson's anti-feminists cartoon "A Suffragette's Husband," which shows an overbearing and manly wife with her emasculated husband, Sloan's drawing offers a more positive female image of male response to suffrage.⁵⁵

While Sloan depicts a neutral, but constructive interpretation of suffragettes, Bernstein followed pro-suffragist imagery more closely, which was believed to be more beneficial for the suffrage movement, by portraying the everywoman.⁵⁶ Bernstein's *Suffrage Parade*, for instance, generalizes the marching suffragettes, making it impossible for the viewer to identify one

⁵⁴ Todd, *The "New Woman" Revised*, 29-30.

⁵⁵ Ibid.

⁵⁶ Prieto, "Portrait of the Artists," 174-175. Interestingly, Sloan strongly promoted women's rights, often contributing drawings to feminist magazines such as *Woman's Journals* and *Woman Voter*. His wife Dolly was even a suffragette. Like most people of the time, however, he still struggled with an inherited view of gender roles. According to Janice Coco, Sloan's drawings and writings reveal that he was capable of compassion as well as disdain for the modern woman. See Janice M. Coco, "Re-Viewing John Sloan's Images of Women," *Oxford Art Journal* 21, no. 2 (1998): 87.

particular class or age group. Bernstein's suffrage scenes are more provocative and less conventional than Sloan's because they avoid specificity and negative stereotypes.⁵⁷

Aside from content, Sloan's and Bernstein's works significantly differ in medium. While a great number of suffrage cartoons were made, very few artists created "high" art images of the subject. Of the few known examples, sculpture was the more frequent medium. For example, Ella Buchanan created a sculpture called *The Suffragist Trying to Arouse Her Sisters* (c. 1911), and Gertrude Boyle produced *Woman Freed* (c. 1920), both of which were widely known from photographic reproductions in popular magazines such as *Woman Voter* and *Suffragist*. As for paintings, in addition to Bernstein's suffrage series, cartoonist Ida Sedgwick Proper presumably produced a painting of a suffrage event, *The End of the Suffrage Parade, Union Square* (c. 1910s).⁵⁸

From very early on, as evident in the suffrage paintings, Bernstein was breaking new ground with her choice of style and subject matter. Her everywoman figures broke with contemporary stereotypes. Her purpose and use of the paintings were courageous and unprecedented. Sloan might have created pro-suffrage images, but they were never as positive or made in fine art media as were Bernstein's paintings. Of course, Bernstein's innovation did not

⁵⁷ Sloan's two illustrations were more pointed like a political cartoon, whereas Bernstein's suffrage paintings contained no psychology. Her two paintings did not relate to individuals; it was more about the collective. In doing so, one is left with just the event. This is very different than Bernstein's later three works, *In the Elevated*, *The Waiting Room—Employment Office*, and *The Milliners*, which begin to focus more on the individual than the collective.

⁵⁸ Prieto, "Portrait of the Artists," 173-174. Images of Proper's *The End of the Suffrage Parade, Union Square* cannot be found, and thus is only known through Prieto and what she has heard about the artwork through various unspecified sources. However, I found images of Buchanan's *The Suffragist Trying to Arouse Her Sisters* (in September 1911 *Woman Voter*) and Boyle's *Woman Freed* (in May 1920 *Suffragist*) in the two magazines they were reproduced in, but the reproductions are of very poor quality. Buchanan's is a small, allegorical plaster cast that has the Suffragist standing in center with Vanity and Prostitution clutching the right side of her, while Wage Earner and Conventionality is clutching the left; see *The Woman Voter*, September 1911, 25. Boyle's depicts a woman almost like she is heroically flying, with her arms spread out, towards the sky, holding a cloth, and her head looking towards the cosmos; see *The Suffragist*, May 1920, 62. Both are very heroic and allegorical, which is something Bernstein steered away from in her own images.

end with her suffrage paintings. Bernstein's *In the Elevated* continues to present the viewer with a variety of ordinary people, steering clear of stereotypes, and to create an original scene that highlighted women's everyday lives as they negotiated their way through the busy city.

CHAPTER 3

IN THE ELEVATED

Bernstein's *In the Elevated* (1916; Fig. 3) appears to be an everyday scene set in a modern elevated train in New York City, with its ordinary subject matter and broad Ashcan-like brushstrokes. However, her image of the elevated train was distinct from other works that took up this same subject.

Following the Rapid Transit Commission of 1875, the elevated train (also known as the "El") began to appear frequently in magazine articles, novels, photographs, and paintings. In 1890, William Dean Howells described in extensive detail the numerous adventures his main characters had while riding the elevated train in his novel, *A Hazard of New Fortunes*. Later, in 1903, a popular one-minute film, *Elevated Railroad, New York*, showed different views of the elevated train.⁵⁹ By the turn of the century, as historian Douglas Tallack notes, the El began to make a casual appearance in the paintings of New York, especially in the paintings of the Ashcan School. Most of their works show the exterior of the elevated train amidst the hustle and bustle of the city below. John Sloan's *Six O'Clock, Winter* (1912; Fig. 16), for example, shows the city not from inside the elevated train, but alongside it, during the evening rush hour when working men and women were trying to make their way through the packed crowds to get to their various destinations.⁶⁰ Typical of Ashcan art, Sloan's train is depicted at a distance, above the dynamic city.

⁵⁹ Douglas Tallack, *New York Sights: Visualizing Old and New New York* (New York: Berg, 2005), 63.

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, 69-71.

Although most images captured the El from the outside as it swiftly sped on by, Everett Shinn created an image of the interior of the cars, a pastel entitled *Sixth Avenue Elevated after Midnight* (1899; Fig. 17). Shinn's decision to depict a moment after midnight is interesting because women were not expected to be out so late, as it was frowned upon for any woman, chaperoned or not. Accordingly, only men occupy Shinn's moody nighttime interior of the El. Shinn's portrayal of the elevated train was not unusual, for most images of the interior of the El, or even of travelers boarding the train, around the turn of the century show men as dominant. The February cover of *Harper's Weekly* in 1890 (Fig. 18), for instance, illustrates two women attempting to make their way through a distressing mob of aggressive men to board the elevated train car along with everyone else. Their location in the foreground further emphasizes how little of an appearance women make in such a scene of people boarding the train; men far outnumber women as they crush to fit in the train, their bowler and top hats firmly indicating their gender. The two separate women are truly alone in this daring expedition. At first glance, the woman on the right appears to be traveling with her child since the boy is in such close proximity to her, but under closer examination the boy looks like a messenger, as suggested by his particular hat and the package he carries under his arm. The fashionable woman in the left foreground is unquestionably alone, and is dangerously armed with a very long and pointed parasol. Still, at this time, it was seen as more appropriate for women to be accompanied by at least one other person, preferably a male family member; the proper (less threatening) woman was never to be seen in public alone. The New Woman was challenging such conventions, causing uneasiness amongst the general population, as perhaps suggested in the *Harper's Weekly* illustration, with the lone New Woman on the left boldly striding forward, ready to defend her way through the crowd of men with her intimidating parasol.⁶¹

⁶¹ Compared to the men in the image, the woman on the left appears timid and not as aggressive. However, she does

When women did appear alone in, or boarding, the elevated train, rarely were they shown in a positive manner. “Emancipated Woman” (1900; Fig. 19), for example, depicts a lone woman in a scandalous and unladylike pose, leisurely smoking a cigarette—which was unheard of for a respectable lady—surrounded by gawking men. Naturally, this sort of image was not how the New Woman wished to display herself to the general public; instead, she desired an image that evoked morals, strength, intellect, and independence in order to protect her from hostility and ridicule.⁶²

Unlike the more typical EI iconography that either shows men dominating the scene or a disgraceful woman alienated due to her public behavior, Theresa Bernstein’s *In the Elevated* offers a different interpretation, particularly in its women figures dominating her interior scene of the elevated train. The greater number of women in Bernstein’s work is even more striking when compared to a painting with a similar composition, Shinn’s *Sixth Avenue Elevated after Midnight*, which she may have seen in Philadelphia or New York where he frequently exhibited his pastels.⁶³ Both compositions consist of a wide foreground hurtling back to a vanishing point, and although Shinn’s vanishing point is left of center and Bernstein’s is right of center, the

look more confident and assertive in comparison to the woman on the right because she is striding forward with her back straight and head held high, while the woman on the right is hunched over in a hesitant pose.

⁶² Martha Banta, *Imaging American Women: Idea and Ideals in Cultural History* (New York: Columbia University, 1987), 82-85.

⁶³ Shinn had an exhibition of his pastels at the Pennsylvania Academy of Fine Arts from April 9 to May 8, 1900, which Bernstein could have attended since she was living in Philadelphia at the time. It is more likely, however, that Bernstein saw his work later in New York after she moved there in 1911 because he exhibited regularly, especially in places she was known to frequent often. Plus, she moved around in the same circles as Shinn and was at least acquaintances, if not friends, with a few of the original Eight, such as Robert Henri, John Sloan, George Luks, and Maurice Prendergast, who she exhibited with around the time she was making *In the Elevated*. She clearly found Shinn to be a significant figure in the American art world since he asserted himself as an artist of native caliber during a time modern European art was reaching immense popularity. See Meyerowitz, *The Journal*, 40. Perhaps, another inspiration for Bernstein’s *In the Elevated*, as Levin suggests, was Anders Zorn’s etching of Isabella Garner (1892) because Zorn depicts a woman in black, wearing a big hat, and sitting against a window in the train, which are things similar to Bernstein’s painting. See Levin, ed., *Theresa Bernstein*, 37. Bernstein’s painting, however, shows the woman from a different perspective than Zorn’s, and the woman in Zorn’s is shown accompanied by at least one other person, whereas Bernstein’s woman is alone. It is very likely that Bernstein received much of her inspiration from Honoré Daumier’s carriage scenes, such as *The Third-Class Carriage* (c. 1863-5), because she (and the Ashcan artists) greatly admired Daumier’s work. In fact, Henri encouraged students to study the works of Daumier, praising his insight into modern life; see Zurier, *Picturing the City*, 115-6, 183.

similarities are profound. Both display a man reading a newspaper in the foreground, and in Bernstein's original sketch for the painting (Fig. 20) she, too, included the train conductor standing farther in the distance.⁶⁴ Bernstein may have intentionally recalled Shinn's earlier image to bring attention to her significant iconographic alterations as well as the rapidly changing public realm experienced by women in America's most modern city—New York City.

In discussing Bernstein's image of the elevated train, art historian Sara Meng notes that her work perfectly conveys the sense of ease men felt in public, by sharply contrasting the stiff and alert posture of the unaccompanied female passenger on the right to the comfortably relaxed ones of the male passengers.⁶⁵ The contrast between the two figures in the foreground seems especially significant to Bernstein, for in her one extant study of the elevated train the man reading is cropped to the point of being barely visible, but in the final work he becomes a key component in the scene. The fact that Bernstein made such a drastic alteration in the composition reinforces the importance of the two figures.⁶⁶

The man reading could be Bernstein's way of recalling Shinn's *Sixth Avenue Elevated after Midnight* in order to connect or contrast herself to that of the Ashcan tradition. Even if that

⁶⁴ Bernstein made this sketch in the train when she was travelling on Columbus Avenue; see Meyerowitz, *The Journal*, 61. For her final painting, Bernstein included more of the man holding the newspaper, and drastically changed the two women sitting next to the man holding the newspaper. In the sketch, the two women are sitting side by side, with the one sitting closest to the window just steering ahead and the other looking down at perhaps a book. The final work shows the lady closest to the window now sitting on the opposite side of the on the right, peering out through the window, which is interesting because it suggests the act of looking that was frequently conveyed in images of the Ashcan School. The woman closest to the aisle is now looking slightly down with nothing in her hands, which is a significant aspect I will discuss later. Most importantly, compared to the sketch, the final work displays the class differences more.

⁶⁵ Meng, "Peggy Bacon and John Sloan," 20. In this article, Meng compares Bernstein's *In the Elevated* to Peggy Bacon's (1895-1987) illustration, *The Elevated* (1919), which happens to be a scene incredibly similar to Bernstein's, with a composition consisting of a woman sitting in the right foreground and a row of men sitting across from her. According to Meng, based on extant correspondence and published interviews with Bacon, it would appear that she and Bernstein were not yet acquainted with one another at this time. However, it is likely that Bacon was aware of Bernstein's painting.

⁶⁶ Bernstein's father was the model for the man reading in the train and her mother was the model for the woman on the right. They seemed to serve as models here, as suggested in her writings and interviews of Bernstein. See Meyerowitz, *The Journal*, 61.

were the case, the evident juxtaposition between the two foreground figures, which is not present in Shinn's, needs to be considered. The contrast between the stiff and alert lone woman and the relaxed man reading, indeed, has a larger meaning. It reveals the realities of the public realm where men and women moving about the city in the beginning of the twentieth century experienced it very differently, with men in control.⁶⁷ Bernstein also disclosed the realities of society in the 1910s by representing the working woman in a realistic form. Journalist Robert J. Cole observed in 1916:

Teresa Bernstein has brought travelling humanity in New York home to the consciousness... The rush hour is past. A man reads a paper as if that were his work for the day. The woman opposite him is wholly unoccupied, hand and brain. But the one whose back is partially turned to us tells a whole story in the slight inclination of her head and in the humorous line of her cheek. She is a worker who hasn't time to enjoy all the fun of life as it goes by. So she saves the leavings of her busy hours to think over in the precious breath or two between tracks...⁶⁸

As Cole suggests, Bernstein did not idealize the working woman's life as so many artists did before her, but instead exposed the realities of travel to and from work.⁶⁹ Aside from the critic suggesting that the woman with her back slightly to the viewer is a working woman, one could also identify her as such through her modest clothing. Rather than sporting an embellished coat

⁶⁷ The juxtaposition between the man reading and the woman not also implies a different type of engagement, where one is still connected with the world through the press, the other lost in thought. On a different note, what can be said about Bernstein's scene of women dominating the El? Perhaps Bernstein was only trying to offer a new and more positive interpretation of women moving throughout the city, or maybe this is truly what (and how) she saw when travelling on the elevated train herself. Regardless, the significance here is that Bernstein created a new and original scene that highlighted women, mostly working women, and their everyday lives.

⁶⁸ Robert J. Cole, "Sculpture at Women's University Club Interior of New York Elevated," *Studio and Gallery, Evening Sun*, 1916, unpaginated.

⁶⁹ Working women were from all social classes, but in the case of this chapter I am talking about (lower and upper) middle-class workers. Since many of these women were involved in the suffrage movement, and they belonged in the same social class as Bernstein, it is probable that Bernstein identified with these women.

and hat decked with materials like feathers, fur, and vibrant ribbons, the woman dons a simple black hat and coat. There are other women in Bernstein's image that do wear more modern, stylish clothing.⁷⁰ In the left background, for instance, there is a lady wearing an extravagant hat with large green feathers, and in the right middle ground the lady closest to the lone female figure dons a lavish green coat with fur trimming and a red broad-brimmed hat with flower embellishments. The setting and appearances Bernstein created for her women in the elevated were uncommon in art for that time.

Typically, working women were depicted at leisure, wearing their most fashionable clothes. Sloan's *Sunday Afternoon in Union Square* (1912; Fig. 21), for example, shows two youthful, working women—the main, central figures—dressed in their best attire, happily strolling along Union Square on their day off.⁷¹ Bernstein's working women, on the other hand, are not necessarily at leisure, but in the moment between work and time off. The women are neither cheerful nor miserable, but in a state of contentment or at least acceptance of their situation. They do not belong to the myth of the happy worker that many artists expressed in their art. For instance, Sloan's *The Return from Toil* (1913; Fig. 22) shows attractive, young women smiling and laughing as they leave work for the day. Lastly, Bernstein depicted her women as average, neither unflattering nor becoming, which was not typical in the iconography of the modern female worker. Most images show the workers as attractive, with her fashionable hats and tight-fitting clothing as well as good looks. In most cases, they are even sexualized to the point that they become objects for the male gaze, as suggested in Sloan's *Sunday Afternoon*

⁷⁰ Similar to her suffrage paintings, Bernstein depicts a scene that includes people from various class structures. For example, the woman in the green-feathered hat in the left background and the men sitting next to her are likely upper middle-class because they are dressed in finer clothing. Plus, middle-class men often wore bowler hats, which these men wear; see Crane, *Fashion and its Social Agendas*, 81. The red-hatted female on the right middleground is also from the middle-class, with her nice, somewhat expensive, attire.

⁷¹ Zurier identifies the two central figures in Sloan's *Sunday Afternoon in Union Square* as working women, but does not explain why she classified them as such; see Zurier, *Picturing the City*, 276.

in *Union Square* in which the man directly behind the two central figures is clearly eyeing the women.⁷²

Aside from revealing the nature of society in the beginning of the twentieth century, Bernstein's solitary woman who denies the gaze of the artist or viewer with her stiff pose draws further questions, especially when compared to such figures in works by the Ashcan School. Like the French Impressionists, the Ashcan School implied a certain gaze similar to the Parisian flâneur, which was a type of seeing privileged to men.⁷³ Men had the freedom to move about the entire city, even the most dangerous areas, whereas most women were never given such a luxury. As the bearer of the gaze, men naturally direct their gaze at, and take pleasure in, women, placing them in the position of the erotic object. Both men and women have learned to see the world through male eyes. The "gaze," in general, is essentially male in a patriarchal society; the male gaze may not always be male, but it is always male-dominated.⁷⁴ From her presentation of the woman on the right, Bernstein seemed aware of these notions and attempted to challenge them. Bernstein made the woman less accessible to the viewer by placing her to the far right and

⁷² Urban women were becoming involved in new forms of spectacle by displaying themselves as commodities so, in a sense, they desired everyone to look at them, even if that means being looked at in sexual way. See *Ibid.*, 265-6.

⁷³ In fact, John Sloan's statement—"I never felt the desire to mingle with the people I painted, but observed life as a spectator rather than a participant"—closely resembles that of Charles Baudelaire's artist/flâneur notion in which the flâneur, as Griselda Pollock states, "symbolizes the privilege or freedom to move about the public arenas of the city observing but never interacting, consuming the sights through a controlling but rarely acknowledged gaze, directed as much at other people as at the goods for sale." Sloan quoted in *Ibid.*, 264; Pollock quoted in Griselda Pollock, "Modernity and the Spaces of Femininity," in *Expanding the Discourse: Feminism and Art History*, edited by Norma Broude and Mary Garrard (Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1992), 253. For more information concerning the masculine flâneur, see Victor Fournel, "The Art of the Flânerie," 1858, in Charles Harrison, Paul Wood, and Jason Gaiger, eds., *Art in Theory, 1815-1900: An Anthology of Changing Ideas* (Malden, Massachusetts: Wiley-Blackwell, 1998), 491-493; Charles Baudelaire, "The Painter of Modern Life," 1863, in *Ibid.*, 493-506; Janet Wolff, "The Invisible Flâneuse: Women and the Literature of Modernity," *Theory, Culture and Society* 2, no. 3 (1985): 37-46. Art historian Laura Weintraub contends that the modern female onlooker was analogous to the Parisian flâneur, in which she refers to art historian Ruth Iskin who states that there is "a shift of pictorial codes of representation from an exclusive single male gaze to an accompanying female spectatorial gaze and a new paradigm of crowd spectatorship that includes some women alongside men." See Weintraub, "Women as Urban Spectators," 72.

⁷⁴ Under the patriarchal system, women have learned to judge themselves according to internalized standards of what is pleasing to men, asserts scholar Mary Devereaux. For more discussion on the male gaze, see Mary Devereaux, "Oppressive Texts, Resisting Readers and the Gendered Spectator: The New Aesthetics," *The Journal of Aesthetics and Art Criticism* 48, no. 4 (1990): 337-347; P. Mathews, "Returning the Gaze," 415-430.

dressing her in all black so that she could easily get lost in the shadows.⁷⁵ Her stiff and alert pose indicates that she is aware of the potential of an observer's gaze, including that of the painting's viewer(s). The woman on the right acts as a blockade, guarding or impeding the passage back, with her impassive, strong profile and obstructing black silhouette.⁷⁶ There is a difference between being indifferent towards the gaze and purposely not engaging with the viewer or anyone else in the train, which the lady in black is clearly achieving the latter with her pose and costume. Her purposefulness of not engaging the viewer indicates Bernstein's protest or questioning against the traditional gaze.

Bernstein's lady in black did not wish to display herself as a commodity like so many women were beginning to do, as suggested in Sloan's *Sunday Afternoon in Union Square*.⁷⁷ The two women in Sloan's image dressed themselves in their finest with the very intention of being looked at by both men and women, which they unmistakably achieved. Rather than confirming the right to look like Sloan's women, Bernstein's woman attempts to avoid or even deny the gaze. Dissimilar from the Ashcan artists, Bernstein employed an act of looking that was male/active, and made it female; she *saw* as a woman, among other identities.

Unlike so many of her male counterparts, Bernstein did not display her women as sexual objects for male consumption, but dressed them in such a way that is neither appealing nor unappealing. Sloan's images of women are often sexually charged, as evident in a subway scene entitled *Reading on the Subway* (1926; Fig. 23). With the sensually bare legs as the focal point and the erotically suggestive advertisement, "Rub with Sloan's Ointment," to the left of the female, this print epitomizes the notion of the male gaze, in which the woman is constructed as

⁷⁵ Compared to all of the bright, vivid colors surrounding her, the woman's black silhouette is further emphasized.

⁷⁶ Her hand on her parasol also suggests the guarding of passage into the picture. For starters, it recalls a train conductor's hand on the brake. Secondly, the potential blocking of the aisle is similar to Shinn's train conductor who blocks the aisle with his leg in the left middleground.

⁷⁷ Zurier, *Picturing the City*, 265-66.

an object of male desires. Since Sloan's female does not confront the spectator, but is preoccupied with a book instead, the (male) viewer is given the right to look and appraise, making the image even more erotic. In contrast, Bernstein's woman remains on guard, not occupying herself with things like reading. Such a pose could make a potential viewer uncomfortable to gaze at for long, for the viewer could easily get caught looking. The sexualized gaze in Sloan's subway scene is further emphasized by the presence of the male voyeur peeping at the lone woman through a glass window located behind her. Bernstein's work, however, does not offer such a gaze, or such sexualized connotations. She transgressed the established ways of looking—the male gaze that observes women as a sexual object.

Voyeurism, so clearly present in Sloan's work, must also be addressed when it comes to the discussion of the gaze. Voyeurism, also known as peeping and scopophilia, is defined as a function of (male) sexual curiosity, shyness, or fear of strangers, and is enacted to give the observer a sense of power over the unsuspecting people they watch.⁷⁸ It is not simply about sexual desires, however; it is also about knowledge and the desire for control. In the context of feminist studies it is about agency and the negotiation of one's subjective or objective position in relation to spectatorship.⁷⁹ According to Heung, there are no voyeuristic tendencies in Bernstein's Ashcan-like images, in which she argues that while Sloan made the private public, Bernstein made the public private.⁸⁰ However, there are indeed some voyeuristic qualities in

⁷⁸ Meng, "Peggy Bacon and John Sloan," 22. When I speak of voyeurism in terms of Bernstein's work, I use the term in a more general way. I am talking about the idea that Bernstein appropriates the male gaze by being the observer (active/male), not the observed (passive/female), and looking at and in such a way that is privileged only to men (i.e., peeping at people in private moments).

⁷⁹ Janice M. Coco, *John Sloan's Women: A Psychoanalysis of Vision* (Newark: University of Delaware Press, 2004), 60-61.

⁸⁰ According to Heung, Bernsteins' works focus on public spaces, yet manage to capture her figures in moments of private introspection, and thus make the public private; see Heung, "The Ashcan School?", in Levin, ed., *Theresa Bernstein*, 89. In many cases, this is true, but the fact that Bernstein often made the public private does not mean that her paintings cannot be voyeuristic. If anything, it makes her images even more voyeuristic because Bernstein is peeping on individuals during an assumed private moment, and thus violating their privacy.

Bernstein's work, and perhaps the reason of such avoidance from art historians to discuss voyeurism in her work has to do with the issue of gender in the conversation of the gaze.

Bernstein might not have spied on people through their windows as Sloan regularly did, as evident through his drawings, paintings, and diary entries, but she did frequently observe individuals, without them being aware. Several of her images even emphasize the unawareness of the figures depicted. In *The Readers* (1914; Fig. 24), for instance, Bernstein depicted figures that are completely wrapped up in their books, and are therefore unaware of any voyeuristic gaze.⁸¹ This element is even present in her scene of the elevated train, with the man reading the newspaper. Bernstein suggested the voyeuristic tendencies inherent in her process when she recalls certain moments of sketching for later works. When discussing the *Polish Church, Easter Morning* (1916; Fig. 25), for instance, Bernstein implied her voyeurism by emphasizing the unpleasant moment she experienced when a few of the figures depicted in the image angrily approached her to express their displeasure in her sketching them without their permission, especially during what is regarded as a private and personal moment (such as praying).⁸² Typical of voyeurs, Bernstein transgressed the right to privacy. The fact that Bernstein depicted one female figure (in a cream hat and white dress located in the middle of the composition) looking directly at the viewer seems to suggest that Bernstein wanted to call attention to her voyeuristic

⁸¹ It is interesting that Bernstein chose to depict men reading or engrossed in something, completely unaware of her prying eye, more so than women. Based off of my reading of *In the Elevated* as well as her beliefs concerning equal rights, I believe that she did it to indicate the gender dissimilarities present in modern society, revealing the differing circumstances the genders experienced at the time where men were more comfortable with their surroundings than women because they were dominant and in control.

⁸² It was such a bad experience that one of the parishioners threw her drawings on the ground, while others grabbed at her sleeves, trying to prevent her from sketching them; see Bernstein, *The Journal*, 43. Bernstein also observed men very closely. For *Carnegie Hall with Paderewski* (1914), Bernstein recounted that she followed around the man in the painting until she was afraid that she would be arrested as a mad woman; see "Inspiration for Pictures," Levin, ed., *Theresa Bernstein*, 26.

gaze.⁸³ She reminded the viewer that she, a female, can be a voyeur too, thus challenging the whole notion of voyeurism.⁸⁴

When it comes to voyeurism, the difference between John Sloan and Theresa Bernstein seems to be that Sloan is more comfortable with depicting the actual voyeur in the image, as seen in a 1912 sketch (Fig. 26), for example, whereas Bernstein was not. In Sloan's sketch, he depicts himself as a male voyeur who looks through his binoculars down at a woman who appears to be waving back at him, which consequently confirms and condones his act of looking. Bernstein, on the other hand, never showed herself as a voyeur in her works; instead, she implied her voyeurism through her journal entries and figures that peer out to the viewer.⁸⁵ In a sense, Bernstein made the viewer—whether it be male or female—a voyeur, whereas Sloan made himself or a male figure in a work the voyeur.⁸⁶ Regardless of the differences, Bernstein was still engaged in an act of looking that was active and, up to this moment, typically reserved for men.

While *In the Elevated* might appear ordinary at first glance, it is clear that it not only offered new and original representations, but also revealed gender-specific conditions of the early twentieth century. Bernstein's image submits a resistance to dominant representations of

⁸³ Similar to the suffrage paintings, there are a compilation of people in *Polish Church, Easter Morning*, consisting of both male and female varying in age, class, and appearance.

⁸⁴ According to Mary Ann Doane, a woman cannot be a voyeur because for a voyeur, they need the distance between self and the image, between desire and its object. Women cannot distance themselves because they *are* the object; see Mary Ann Doane, "Film and the Masquerade: Theorizing the Female Spectator," in *The Sexual Subject: A Screen Reader in Sexuality*, ed. John Caughie (New York: Routledge, 1992), 231. Thinking in a more simple and literal interpretation, I believe that women can be voyeurs because they can (literally, not metaphorically) distance themselves from the unsuspected object they are observing. When I label Bernstein as a voyeur I am using the term more loosely. I do not believe that she has any sexual desires for the objects she observes and paints. She is a voyeur because she peeps on people that are in private moments, unaware of her looking, which is a type of gaze traditionally privileged to only men.

⁸⁵ Bernstein's *Outing on the Hudson* (1914) does depict a woman on the right looking through binoculars, which could place her in the position of a female voyeur.

⁸⁶ Sloan depicts another male figure, beside himself, as a voyeur in his etching, *Night Windows* (1910). The etching is a congested scene of buildings with a male voyeur on top of the building on the left looking down through a window on the right, which happens to be preoccupied by a woman dressed in her nightgown, getting ready for bed. While Sloan depicts the act of voyeurism, Bernstein acknowledges the painting's viewer and their potential act of voyeurism. Perhaps the reason for such disparity between the two artists is due to their differing sexes. Sloan represented voyeurs in his images because he knows about voyeurism—being a male viewpoint—to thematize it in his work, whereas Bernstein, as a woman, does not feel comfortable or understands enough to depict it explicitly.

middle-class working women. She gave them dignity in situations in which it was often denied them.⁸⁷ Moreover, her art questioned, if not challenged, the (male) gaze, by denying the idea of woman as a sexual object, as well as suggesting that women can look and be voyeurs like men. Bernstein's voyeurism was likely not driven by sexual curiosity,⁸⁸ whereas Sloan's arguably was, but she still peeped at people like a male voyeur would, thus reversing and appropriating the (male) gaze.

Bernstein's innovative, radical tendencies continue into the next chapter with her painting, *The Waiting Room—Employment Office* (1917; Fig. 4). In these works, Bernstein's gaze evolved, moving from a rejection of the male gaze/voyeurism to confrontation and appropriation of the gaze.

⁸⁷ More and more women began working during this time, which meant a greater need for encouragement, support, and a positive image.

⁸⁸ I assume that her voyeurism was not driven by sexual curiosity because nowhere in her writings does she suggest such a thing.

CHAPTER 4

THE WAITING ROOM—EMPLOYMENT OFFICE

Bernstein's painting, *The Waiting Room—Employment Office* (1917; Fig. 4), explores similar themes as *In the Elevated*, such as the empathetic gaze and acknowledgement of the viewer as well as imagery of working women, but also addresses issues just as important to her.⁸⁹ As a Jewish immigrant, Bernstein found it important to depict immigrants in their daily lives, but to do so in a more respectable and unстереotypical manner than had been done in early twentieth-century American art.⁹⁰ Immigrants depicted in art and popular illustrations generally appeared stunted, unattractive, and almost barbaric. Although Ashcan artists attempted to elevate lowly subjects, such as immigrants, by declaring them as worthy of being painted as the upper classes, their images still revealed a conflicting attitude towards immigrants. In all, types rather than individuals dominated. One of William Glacken's character types, for instance, included the Lower East Side Jews that were based off of established clichés, in which he would show hook-nosed, bearded men shrugging their shoulders and talking about money, while the massive, formidable women with scowling demeanors would haggle with puny shopkeepers.⁹¹ The closest the Ashcan artists got to capturing the humanity of their subjects, as Zurier and historian Robert Snyder point out, was in the portraits of individuals, but even then the portraits recalled established types.⁹² Bernstein's images of immigrants, however, avoided grotesque stereotypes,

⁸⁹ That very same year (1917), America joined the First World War, which resulted in a massive influx of female workers. As the men went off to war, it was up to the women to do the jobs they left behind.

⁹⁰ Bernstein was born in Krakow, Poland on March 1, 1890. Her family emigrated to the United States when she was just a year old. See Levin, ed., *Theresa Bernstein*, 18.

⁹¹ For information on Glacken's types, see Zurier, *Picturing the City*, 191, 206-214.

⁹² Zurier, Snyder, and Mecklenburg, *Metropolitan Lives*, 122-25.

showing them as real individuals who varied in age, appearance, personality, and ethnicity. *The Waiting Room—Employment Office*, for instance, depicts a variety of women doing different things: one woman dressed in East European garb patiently crochets in silence, while the younger lady with recognizably Irish features sitting next to her looks out to the viewer; the third woman casually reads, which was unusual for a working-class person, especially one of women; the one with the strong bone structure located closest to the viewer sits in a stiff pose and anxiously clasps her large hands together, while the more robust woman on the right hovers tensely over the phone.⁹³ The ethnicity of the women in the foreground also varies, as the strong bone structure woman on the far left is likely Northern European, possibly German, while the others—except for the Irish woman—appear to be from different places in Southern and Eastern Europe, such as Italy, Russia, and Poland.⁹⁴ As for the three figures in the middleground, the man and female figure on the right are likely Eastern Europeans, and the fair skinned, red-headed woman is probably Scottish or Irish.

The women in Bernstein's painting can be identified specifically as immigrants through their appearances and occupations as well as by Bernstein's own description. In an interview (1991) with Meyers, Bernstein identifies these figures as immigrants:

'The Waiting Room' is possibly one of my most significant motives because these were women who were immigrants, they came to this country, they could not speak the language. But there was a central employment office that understood their many

languages and was able to get them to sit there, and the resume in those days consisted of

⁹³ Burnham identifies the crocheting lady's clothes as Eastern European and the middle figure looking out at the viewer as Irish; see Burnham, "Theresa Bernstein" (1988): 23.

⁹⁴ In mid-nineteenth century, most immigrants came from Northern Europe, primarily Ireland, Germany, and Scandinavia. By the beginning of the twentieth century, most immigrants were Russian, Italian, and Polish. By 1910, about seventy-five percent of New York City's inhabitants were immigrants or children of immigrants; see Chuck Holmberg, "The Ethnic, Urban, Working Class," *It's the Booze Talkin': Prohibition and the Gangster Film*, American Studies at the University of Virginia (2003), <http://xroads.virginia.edu/~ma03/holmgren/prohib/euwc.html>.

sitting in the office and waiting to be called to a job, which was generally a live-in job. In the early days women were not coming to work by the day as they do today; they came to work and the women they worked for had a place for them to live, they gave them their food and their lodgings and they gave them a small amount of money, not very much. That kind of an individual interested me very much. I felt that they were the backbone to the development of the immigrant body that became American.⁹⁵

Here, Bernstein makes clear that immigration and working-class women were especially significant themes to her. According to Levin, Bernstein was able to empathize with those subjects because she knew both the scene and the personal subjects firsthand.⁹⁶ *The Waiting Room—Employment Office*, in particular, was personal for Bernstein because that is where she met her close friend and family housekeeper, Katie.⁹⁷

Although the full extent of Bernstein's political leanings remains ambiguous, it is evident that she empathized with the economic plight of women and other minorities, especially since she identified with a few of them.⁹⁸ Heung, however, argues that Bernstein's art did not contain social commentary because all of her pictures were just variations of urban crowds; they were events that Bernstein happened upon and captured.⁹⁹ This was not the case in her suffrage paintings, and this is not the case now. *The Waiting Room—Employment Office* tells a story, a story rarely told, about the lives of immigrant and working-class women.¹⁰⁰ Bernstein may not

⁹⁵ Meyerowitz, interview by Meyers, Oral History, Tape 2, 59-60.

⁹⁶ Levin, ed., *Theresa Bernstein*, 50.

⁹⁷ Meyerowitz, *The Journal*, 45.

⁹⁸ Depictions of working-class women, as Prieto points out, were significant to the new iconography of the suffrage movement because they acted as the object and reason for woman suffrage; see Prieto, "Portrait of the Artist," 175. Since Bernstein's painting concentrates on working-class women, and she was known for her involvement in the suffrage movement, it is likely that her paintings had, to some extent, a connection to woman suffrage.

⁹⁹ Heung in Levin, ed., *Theresa Bernstein*, 85.

¹⁰⁰ Besides Bernstein, there were others who preserved the humanity and dignity of working-class individuals too. A fellow suffragette and female artist, Abastenia St. Leger Eberle, also represented the contemporary world in a realist fashion, showing poor immigrant women toiling at their tasks in her small-scale sculpture. Eberle's *Windy Doorstep*

satirize in order to stress the injustice of the social and political system, but her empathy suggests the desire for equality. Heung claims that Bernstein saw herself as belonging to a more privileged socio-economic class than the women in *The Waiting Room—Employment Office*, and therefore did not comment on the larger society forces that governed the women's destiny.¹⁰¹ She based this assumption off of Bernstein's discussion in *The Journal* of what the waiting room painting was based on—the moment she first met Katie:

When I was still in my early teens, my mother took me to an employment office. She said, 'you pick out a girl you think we could engage to be with us and take care of the house on 29th Street.' I chose Katie, who became a devoted friend and a part of our family.¹⁰²

As the statement suggests, Bernstein saw the women as individuals that could be a part of her family. The statement, "[T]o be with us," makes it clear that Bernstein did not see herself in a more superior position than the unemployed women, but as a part of their community.

In addition to the originality of its empathetic representation of immigrants, Bernstein's *The Waiting Room—Employment Office* is innovative in its unusual setting. Not many images depicted unemployed individuals waiting for a job. George Bellows's *Men of the Docks* (1912; Fig. 27) captures men waiting for work, which was dictated by the arrival and departure of ships, but these men are already employed; they are just waiting for the next job to come in. Depicting

(1910) depicts a working-class immigrant woman hard at work, absorbed in the act of sweeping.¹⁰⁰ Eberle focused attention on her figure's routine labor, "a labor made beautiful by the graceful and agile movements of her sweeper's body," states Melissa Dabakis; see Melissa Dabakis, *Visualizing Labor in American Sculpture: Monuments, Manliness, and the Work Ethic, 1880-1935* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 132, 134. Similar to Bernstein, Dabakis brings attention to the lives and labors of working-class women, and does so in a compassionate way. The difference between Bernstein and Eberle is the amount of figures each artist represents. While Eberle depicts a single figure, Bernstein's painting consists of a group of figures. Since Eberle's sculpture is a single figure, her work becomes emblematic of the immigrant working-class, and therefore a type. Bernstein, on the other hand, gives the viewer a variety of individuals, not a type.

¹⁰¹ Heung in Levin, ed., *Theresa Bernstein*, 85.

¹⁰² Quoted in Meyerowitz, *The Journal*, 22.

an employment office (where none of the individuals waiting had a job) was new in American art. It was not until later in the 1930s that artists began depicting similar subject matter.¹⁰³ Like most of society, Ashcan artists were believers in the myth of the happy poor, rarely depicting the tough realities of not being able to find work. The poor were often depicted at leisure, but when they were shown working, they were depicted as cheerful. Sloan's *Scrubwomen in the Old Astor Library* (1910; Fig. 28), for instance, depicts three scrubwomen joyfully talking to one another as they work, making their work seem almost pleasant and easy.¹⁰⁴ Bernstein's painting of the waiting room, on the other hand, does not show the lighter sides of working-class life by making them appear joyful or unfazed by the working conditions that essentially engulfed their lives. Bernstein revealed the more tedious side of their lives: the sitting and waiting for a job that they might not receive that day or the next. Granted, Bernstein's waiting women do not look glum, but they are far from being merry like the poor in Sloan's work.¹⁰⁵

The comparison between Sloan's scrubwomen painting and Bernstein's waiting room brings up another significant element of Bernstein's work—the complexity of space and its implications for the different modes of looking. Sloan's *Scrubwomen in the Old Astor Library* implies an expansive, unconvoluted space with an evident foreground, middleground, and

¹⁰³ Isaac Soyer, for instance, depicted an American employment office in 1937 in his painting, *Employment Agency*.

¹⁰⁴ Sloan's *Scrubwomen in the Old Astor Library* is about class divisions, contrasting the female workers with the prestige and wealth of the library. The title itself suggests the contrast between the wealthy and low-income people since the Astor family was famously known for their wealth in New York City; see "History of the New York Public Library," *New York Public Library*, <http://www.nypl.org/help/about-nypl/history>.

¹⁰⁵ Although Sloan portrayed the happy poor frequently in his paintings, he also depicted working-class women in unflattering situations or appearances, more so in his etchings and prints. *The Woman's Page* (1905) illustration, for example, depicts a burly working-class woman in a messy and chaotic bedroom, possibly fantasizing about what it would be like to be the wonderfully skinny and stylish female in the paper she is reading during her very limited time off from work and other responsibilities. Such a harsh contrast between the unsightly working-class woman and the attractive middle-class woman worsens the appearance of the female and her environment. Since Sloan was a member of the Socialist party and was concerned with problems of women in the economic and political system, he likely dramatized the unsightly appearance of the woman and her surroundings to call attention to the cruel class distinctions and inequalities present in American society; see Zurier, Snyder, and Mecklenburg, *Metropolitan Lives*, 112-115. By doing so, however, Sloan lowers the working-class woman's image and her lifestyle. Unlike Sloan, Bernstein gives her unemployed women dignity, which she does so by presenting fewer stereotypes and individualizing her figures.

background, whereas Bernstein's painting consists of a densely packed, complex space whose middleground and background are difficult to read. The two women with their backs to the viewer and the man standing near the redheaded woman in the white hat seem to be in a different room, unconnected from the figures in the foreground.¹⁰⁶ The lone male further implies the separation between the foreground and middleground, for the waiting room is filled with only women, while the middleground introduces a new scene with a male. Since the background appears to be a window to the outside or a mirror reflecting the outside, with buildings and passersby, the middleground is perhaps a café and the man is then a waiter. If this were the case, it sharply contrasts inside and outside, with the unemployed looking for work and the presumably more well-off at leisure. The juxtaposition of the individuals being served and the unemployed women is further enhanced by the way the figures are presented to the viewer. While the foreground figures are individual portraits, the figures behind them are types—more well-dressed types. In doing so, Bernstein's painting then becomes a social commentary on class distinctions, with the empathy aimed towards the working-class figures.¹⁰⁷ Unlike others, such as the Ashcan painters, Bernstein gives her unemployed women dignity.

The complexity of space continues in the background, as it is difficult to determine whether it is a window looking out to a street scene or a mirror reflecting the outside. The foreground is also convoluted because the far right and left figures are cut off as if to suggest that there is something beyond the picture plane. In addition to the unusual compositional space, the female figure's direct gaze at the viewer is another aspect in Bernstein's mode of looking.

Bernstein challenged the traditional male gaze, more so than *In the Elevated*, by having her

¹⁰⁶ The red dot on the man's head is unusual because it almost looks like a flower—one that would belong on the Irish lady's hat in the foreground. Perhaps this was Bernstein's way of connecting the presumably working Eastern European-looking man to the unemployed immigrant women in the foreground.

¹⁰⁷ Even though Bernstein gives more empathy to the woman in the foreground than the others behind them, she still depicts the individuals behind in a positive manner, avoiding negative stereotypes.

ordinary, immigrant woman confront the gaze of the viewer, creating an awareness and discomfort in the painting's viewer. Bernstein's art highlights an important change in modern urban culture, especially important for women, where the traditional system of looking—female as the passive observed versus male as the active observer—was starting to be contested.

As Heung contends, Bernstein was a practitioner of urban vision, but in a different strain than that of the male artists from the Ashcan School.¹⁰⁸ While Ashcan artists frequently examined the theme of voyeurism, which was part of the new culture of looking in their work, Bernstein had a more complicated relationship with the theme. The male gaze can be voyeuristic because men can distance themselves from the object, whereas women cannot since they are so often the object. Interestingly, this distance and closeness are visually played out in a comparison between Sloan's *Hairdresser's Window* (1907; Fig. 29) and Bernstein's *The Waiting Room—Employment Office*.¹⁰⁹ Sloan, as well as the crowd below, distance themselves from the individuals they observe, whereas Bernstein gets very close to the women in her painting; she does not create a boundary between her and the observed as Sloan did with the window. Bernstein's women beholding the viewer could be a comment on the gendering of voyeurism, challenging the potential of a voyeuristic gaze.

The Waiting Room—Employment Office was progressive for its time because not only did it depict women, immigrants, and workers with sympathy when that was uncommon in art, but also challenged the traditional spectatorial gaze. Bernstein represented a urban vision that was

¹⁰⁸ Heung in Levin, ed., *Theresa Bernstein*, 88-89.

¹⁰⁹ I chose Sloan's *Hairdresser Window* as the example, as opposed to his more overtly voyeuristic works, such as *Night Windows* (1910), because I wanted to compare Bernstein's paintings with other paintings, not etchings or sketches from Sloan's journal. Plus, I wanted to use an example that was more suggestive when it came to the theme of voyeurism. *Night Windows* literally displays a voyeur on the roof of the building on the left peering down at a woman, wearing nothing but her nightgown, preparing herself for bed.

only addressed with similar frequency and in terms of its social implications by the male artists of the Ashcan School.

It is not until later, with *The Milliners* (1919; Fig. 5), that Bernstein fully developed her ideas that she previously introduced in *The Waiting Room—Employment Office* as well as in the suffrage paintings and *In the Elevated*. As I read it, *The Milliners* is the culmination of her early works representing urban women.

CHAPTER 5

THE MILLINERS

Bernstein's later 1910's painting, *The Milliners* (1919; Fig. 5), ties all of the previously discussed paintings together. *The Milliners* is a scene of six working women sitting around a circular table, making hats for sale. Compared to other depictions of milliners, Bernstein's painting is unusual, as most millinery images picture hat makers either working in shops or interacting with costumers. Bernstein's image is also unique in that her painting is American, as most works of milliners are primarily French, created by French artists, such as Edgar Degas, Édouard Manet, and Pierre-Auguste Renoir.¹¹⁰ Unlike Bernstein, very few of the French artworks represent milliners merrily at work in their home. Degas's *The Milliners* (c. 1882; Fig. 30), for instance, depicts two women working on hats in a shop, with one figure (on the left) appearing gloomy and possibly distraught. While Degas makes the work seem unpleasant, Bernstein creates a more enjoyable atmosphere where work appears less awful.

Solely depicting females, *The Milliners* is about women, as were the suffrage paintings (Fig. 1 & 2), *In the Elevated* (Fig. 3), and *The Waiting Room—Employment Office* (Fig. 4).

Bernstein made women the protagonists, whereas Ashcan artists featured male protagonists,

¹¹⁰ Edgar Degas developed a great number of images concerning millinery. From 1879-1910, he created about seventeen pastels and four oil paintings of milliners; see Gloria Groom, "Edgar Degas: *The Millinery Shop*," *Chicago Tonight* (2013): 218, <http://chicagotonight.wttw.com/sites/default/files/article/file-attachments/Edgar%20Degas-The%20Millinery%20Shop.pdf>. Other artists that created works concerning milliners include Albert Marquet (French, 1875-1947), Paul Signac (French, 1863-1935), Pablo Picasso (Spanish, 1881-1973), Eva Gonzalès (French, 1849-1883), Jacques-Joseph Tissot (French, 1836-1902), Marie Louise Catherine Breslau (Swiss, 1856-1927), and Richard E. Miller (American, 1875-1943), among others. Miller's *The Milliners* (1909) is different from Bernstein's painting because Miller's is painted in an American Impressionist style and romantically shows the back of one well-off milliner casually at work. Miller's painting is more about leisure and pleasure than it is about work. Indeed, Bernstein makes the work look pleasurable, but she still emphasizes work more so than Miller by showing several of the women meticulously working. I also found an illustration in *Puck* magazine (1912) that depicts milliners, but it is unclear as to whether they are men or women sewing because their backs are to the viewer and they are all covered up with layers of coats and hats since it was extremely cold in the workroom.

often making women secondary figures in their art. In all of these paintings, Bernstein empathetically explored the life of the Other, which included women, more specifically, working-class, middle- and lower-class working women, and immigrants.

Similar to *The Waiting Room—Employment Office*, *The Milliners* depicts women who can be identified as immigrants through their appearances and occupations as well as by Bernstein's own description. The women who modeled for *The Milliners* are Bernstein's mother- and sisters-in-law who emigrated to New York from Russia in 1908.¹¹¹ Her own mother and family friend, Katie, who were both immigrants themselves, also figure in the painting.¹¹² The millinery industry was a vocation that attracted both immigrant and Jewish workers.¹¹³ As in her earlier paintings, Bernstein did not follow the traditional depiction of immigrants. She avoided negative stereotypes, showing variances primarily in age and personalities, with the oldest meticulously working on a hat (above left), while the younger, more self-absorbed female admires herself in a newly made hat in the left foreground. Another, perhaps the youngest of the six women, diligently sews in the right foreground, and two others to her right are too distracted to sew—one (upper right) amusingly glances at her sister in the hat, while the other (middle right) curiously engages the viewer. Bernstein's immigrant women are individuals, not types. She empathizes with them, taking her subjects on their own terms. Compared to those of the Ashcan artists, Bernstein's images are more realistic in terms of the individual and her occupational circumstances.

¹¹¹ The names of Bernstein's sisters-in-law were Sophie, Bessie, and Minna; see Meyerowitz, *The Journal*, 45. William Meyerowitz was born in Ekaterinoslav (later Dnepropetrovsk), Russia on July 15, 1893; see Gail Levin, "William Meyerowitz (1887-1981)," *Theresa Bernstein*, http://theresabernstein.newmedialab.cuny.edu/?page_id=4235.

¹¹² Katie Kahlke was a Catholic Polish immigrant, and Bernstein's family emigrated from Poland, but her mother's family is from Ukraine and father's originally from Spain; see Levin, ed., *Theresa Bernstein*, 18-19.

¹¹³ *Ibid.*, 50.

Works by the Ashcan artists, especially Sloan, are cinematic and include humor, whereas Bernstein's work has an element of sincerity.¹¹⁴ As I will argue, Bernstein readily empathized with her subjects because they were familiar and dear to her. Like her other four paintings, *The Milliners* is an image that is close and personal to Bernstein, for it is comprised of her family and friend. The *Suffrage Meeting* and *Suffrage Parade* were dear to her because it represented a movement that was important to her—the suffrage movement. *In the Elevated* represented a part of her own middle-class, working life, and *The Waiting Room—Employment Office* consisted of immigrants and working-class individuals who Bernstein identified with due to her ethnic and personal background. Out of the Ashcan artists, Bernstein followed Henri's beliefs most closely, probably even more so than Henri himself. Henri saw his sitters as his people, stating, "Each man must seek for himself the people who hold the essential beauty, and each man must eventually say to himself as I do, 'these are my people and all that I have I owe to them'."¹¹⁵ Similarly, Bernstein's women are her people.

This type of personalization in Bernstein's art was not typically included in other artist's work. Sloan, however, personalized his work by implying his political beliefs and personal life, mostly concerning his wife. In *Sixth Avenue and 30th*, *New York City* (1907; Fig. 31), for example, Sloan had a personal investment in the predicament of the central female figure dressed in white who appears to be walking home from either the tavern or brewery on the right with a bucket of cheap beer, especially since his wife, Dolly, struggled with alcoholism.¹¹⁶

¹¹⁴ Zurier, *Picturing the City*, 2, 16; Coco, "Re-Viewing John Sloan's Images of Women," 92.

¹¹⁵ Robert Henri quoted in Robert Henri, *The Art Spirit* (Philadelphia: L.B. Lippincott Company, 1923), 150.

¹¹⁶ The signboards on the right advertise taverns and a brewery. According to Zurier, the white dress that sets her apart from the others suggests that she has gone out without adequate clothing, and her gesture implies vulnerability. A few individuals stop to stare at the woman in white, including two prostitutes (located at the right of the woman in white). Zurier argues that this painting was personal to Sloan because Anna Marie (Dolly) was an alcoholic who likely resorted to occasional prostitution in order to support her habit. See Zurier, *Picturing the City*, 290-291.

The communal family nature of *The Milliners* is emphasized by the composition's circular arrangement created by the women sitting at a round table, which implies unity. Unity was a reoccurring notion in Bernstein's work, as discussed earlier in my discussion of her suffrage paintings and, more subtly, in *The Waiting Room—Employment Office*. The *Suffrage Parade*, for instance, suggests solidarity with the suffragette's concordant political beliefs, matching outfits, and unified march, as well as the color similarities that tie the two female onlookers to the suffrage party. The closeness of the unemployed women in the painting of the waiting room creates a harmonious atmosphere of community.

The communal nature of Bernstein's paintings is stressed further by her ingenious manipulation of space, specifically her ability to create a painting that invites the viewer into the scene. In *The Milliners*, Bernstein left a space for someone to enter and sit between the two bottom figures. The direct gaze of the woman at the middle right, then, works in two capacities: one is to engage the viewer in a conversation of the gendered gaze, and the other is to extend an invitation to the potential viewer. All five of Bernstein's paintings include such an invitation. The *Suffrage Meeting* provides a vacant spot on the left, close to the orator; the woman in the center of *The Suffrage Parade* who acknowledges the viewer incites one's interest to join in on the parade festivities; *In the Elevated* leaves several seats for one to hop on and ride; and, *The Waiting Room—Employment Office* includes a woman engaging the viewer as well as provides an intimate space that makes the viewers feel like they are actually sitting with the figures.

The circular composition in *The Milliners* also brings to focus the importance of fashion, for all of the women are circling around hats. Hats were an important part of Bernstein's discourse, as women in her earlier paintings all wear distinctive hats. While the two foreground figures in the *Suffrage Parade* wear strikingly different hats—one red and simple and the other

black and elegant—the women in the *Suffrage Meeting* sports a diverse collection from extravagant head pieces to nothing. *In the Elevated* depicted several hats, including men's bowler hats, ranging from simple black hats to brightly-colored and lavish hats like the red or large green feathered hats donned by women in the background. There was a diversity of fashion in *The Waiting Room—Employment Office* too. The woman reading on the left wears a hat with large embellishments, while the female figure sitting next to her carries a hat (on her shoulder) with red flowers on it. Also, the redheaded woman in the middleground models a white broad-brimmed picture hat, and a few women in the background appear to be wearing hats of similar style.

Fashion, according to Zurier, provided a way of constructing a public self that formed part of the urban semiotic.¹¹⁷ By dressing in the latest fashion, women acknowledged that they were going to be looked at, and, in fact, welcomed it. New Yorkers used clothing to communicate with strangers. Even Bernstein acknowledged the effects that fashion had on the urban culture of looking that developed in the early twentieth century, in which she states, “Hats were at one time an important finish to a woman's costume. She wasn't considered completely dressed without a hat.”¹¹⁸ Bernstein's depiction of a woman modeling a hat and looking at herself in the mirror directly speaks to the new, rapidly changing urban vision as more people were looking and engaging in spectacle and display; she put herself in the role of consumer. The other woman watching the one in the hat confirms the idea that Bernstein's painting is a depiction of the new urban vision because the figure is also participating in an act of looking.

The Milliners is about different types of absorption, encompassing the various modes of looking presented in her earlier paintings. The women all look in different ways. Most

¹¹⁷ Ibid., 76.

¹¹⁸ Bernstein quoted in Meyerowitz, *The Journal*, 45.

importantly, of all the paintings with figures engaging the viewer, it's the female, not male, figures that look out at the viewer. By doing so, Bernstein challenged the traditional male gaze by asserting a female gaze. The cinema was likely a modern source of inspiration for Bernstein's female gaze. The early "cinema of attractions"—termed by film historians—was filled with "self-conscious devices in which characters broke the frame, shocked the audience, clowned for the camera, and otherwise called attention to the artificiality of the scene," states Zurier.¹¹⁹

Bernstein's (female) gaze also extends to her subject matter. Bernstein represented women differently than most of her peers, in that she realistically depicted urban women's lives, without sexualizing them or placing them in a secondary position. Through her works, she challenged injustices she herself probably experienced as a female, a working woman, a Jewish immigrant, and a female artist. She questioned the gendered expectations of art by painting in a style considered masculine and only suited for male artists, while confronting the traditional male gaze.

In the 2013 exhibition catalogue, Levin asked why Bernstein has been forgotten in the history of art, and I believe I have an answer.¹²⁰ It was her unconventional, not yet established, mode of looking that made it difficult for people to understand and accept her work. There was not a set language or ready-made reference for Bernstein's empathetic gaze, which embraced a variety of types. Bernstein's early images of some New York City women are significant to the history of American and feminist art because they introduced new subject matter as well as challenged the traditional gender codes attached to art and art making.¹²¹ Hopefully, with this

¹¹⁹ Zurier, *Picturing the City*, 64.

¹²⁰ Levin, ed., *Theresa Bernstein*, 14-77.

¹²¹ Bernstein's innovative subject matter likely inspired later artists to create some of their most significant work, such as Peggy Bacon's *The Elevated* (1919) and Isaac Soyer's *Employment Agency* (1937). Bernstein's influences on Bacon and Soyer's work have yet to be explored likely because most scholars are unaware of Bernstein's art.

thesis, others can begin to appreciate Bernstein's art for its innovative subject matter and social commentary.

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Figure 1: Theresa Bernstein, *Suffrage Meeting*, 1914. Oil on canvas, 28 x 35 in. Private Collection.

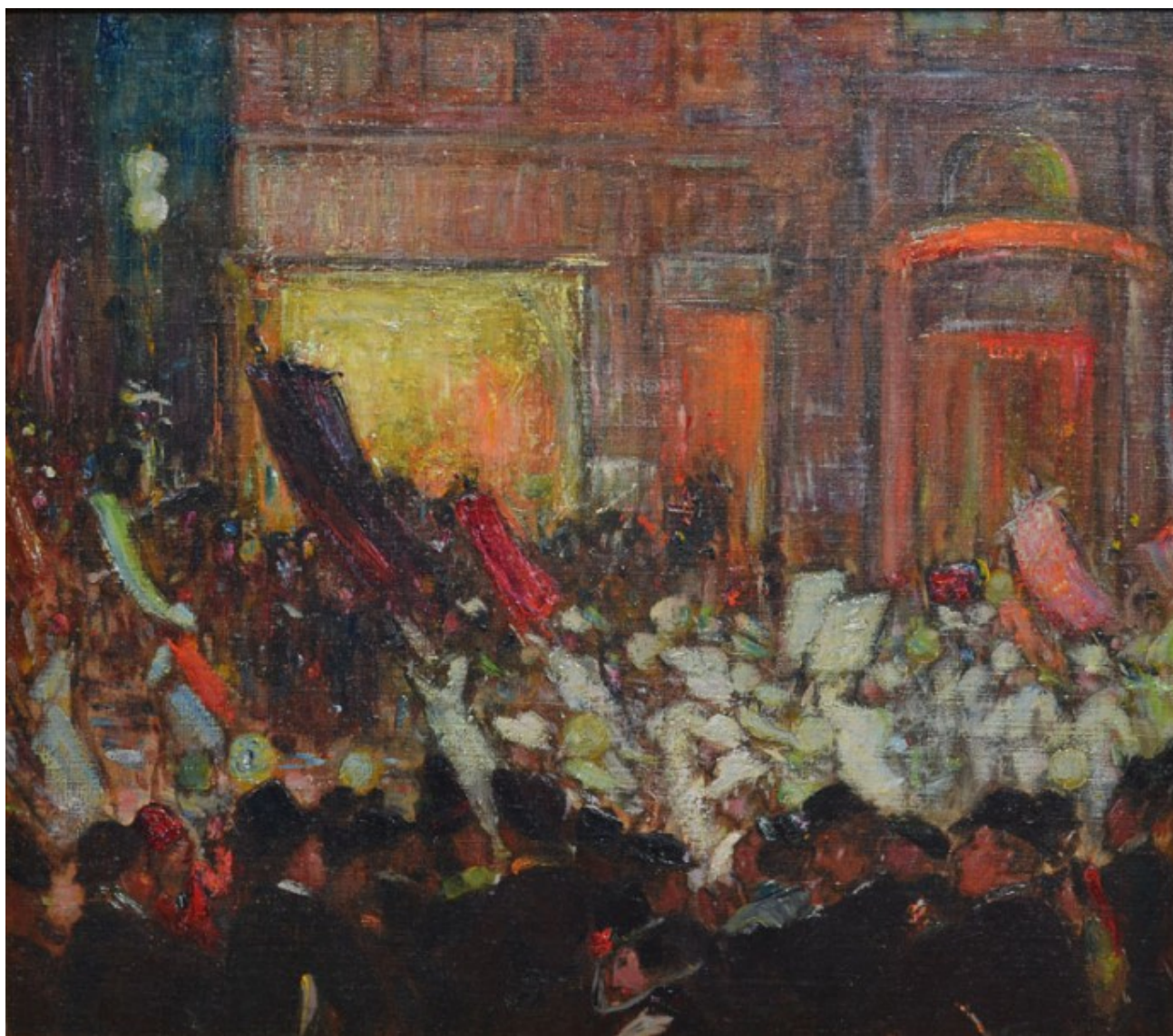


Figure 2: Theresa Bernstein, *Suffrage Parade*, 1915. Oil on canvas, 17 x 19 in. Peter M. Greendyke Collection.



Figure 3: Theresa Bernstein, *In the Elevated*, 1916. Oil on canvas, 30 x 40 in. De Young, Fine Arts Museum, San Francisco, California.



Figure 4: Theresa Bernstein, *The Waiting Room—Employment Office*, 1917. Oil on canvas, 30 x 40 in. The Jewish Museum, New York, New York.



Figure 5: Theresa Bernstein, *The Milliners*, 1919. Oil on canvas, 40 $\frac{1}{4}$ x 50 $\frac{1}{4}$ in. Farla Krentzman Collection.



Figure 6: Rodney Thomson, *Militants*, in *Life Magazine*, volume 61, no. 1587, March 27, 1913.



Figure 7: Charles Dana Gibson, "A Suffragette's Husband," in *Other People*, 1911.



Figure 8: Charles Dana Gibson, *Stepped On*, 1901.



Figure 9: Boardman Robinson, “The Type Has Changed,” in *New York Tribune*, February 24, 1911.



Figure 10: Nell Brinkley, “The Three Graces,” in *International News Service*, 1916.



Figure 11: Theresa Bernstein, *Self-Portrait*, 1914. Oil on canvas, 23 x 18 in. Martin and Edith Stein Collection.



Figure 12: Theresa Ferber Bernstein and William Meyerowitz in their wedding portrait, 1919.



Figure 13: Helena Smith Dayton, *He Can Vote*, c. 1915, location unknown.



Figure 14: John Sloan, Illustration for Mary Alden Hopkins, "Women March," *Collier's*, May 18, 1912. Crayon, ink, pencil on white paper, 8 ½ x 11 in.

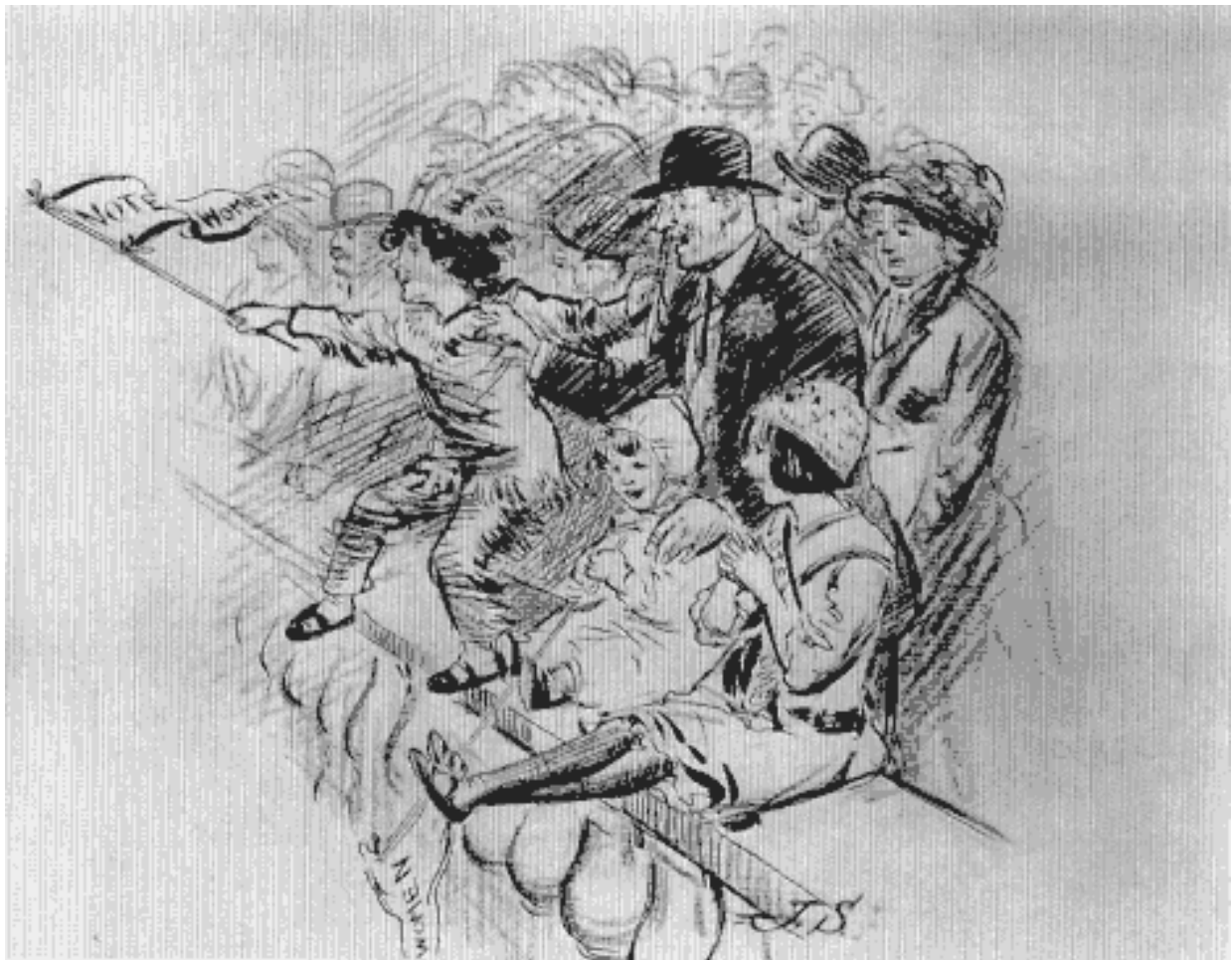


Figure 15: John Sloan, "Hooray, Hooray for Mother," 1912. Illustration for Mary Alden Hopkins, "Women March," *Collier's*, May 18, 1912. Ink and charcoal with traces of gouache on paper.



Figure 16: John Sloan, *Six O'Clock, Winter*, 1912. Oil on canvas, 26 1/8 x 32 in. Phillips Collection, Washington, D.C.



Figure 17: Everett Shinn, *Sixth Avenue Elevated after Midnight*, 1899. Pastel, Gouache and Watercolor on Paper, 8 x 12³/₈ in. Karen A. and Kevin W. Kennedy Collection.

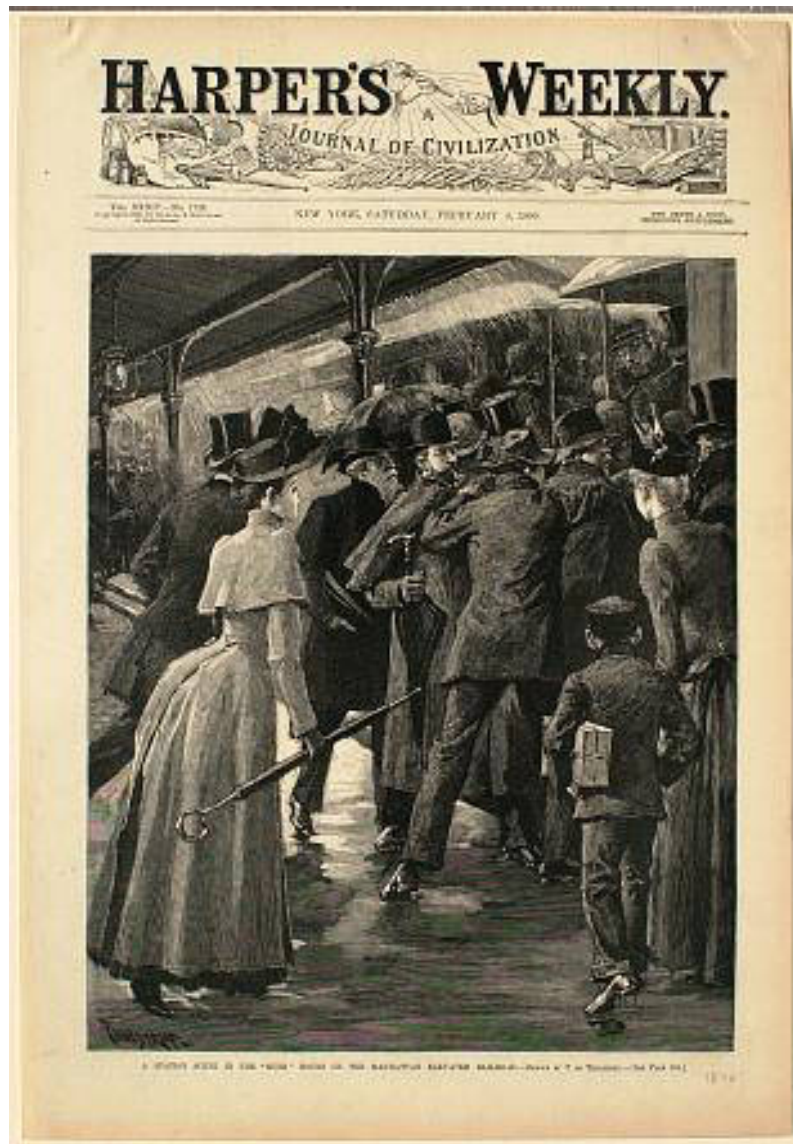


Figure 18: Thure de Thulstrup, “A Station Scene in the Rush Hours on the Manhattan Elevated Railroad,” in *Harper’s Weekly* cover, February 8, 1890.



Figure 19: "Emancipated Woman," 1900.



Figure 21: John Sloan, *Sunday Afternoon in Union Square*, 1912, Oil on canvas, 26 1/8 x 32 1/8 in. Bowdoin College Museum of Art, Brunswick, Maine, Bequest of George Otis Hamlin.

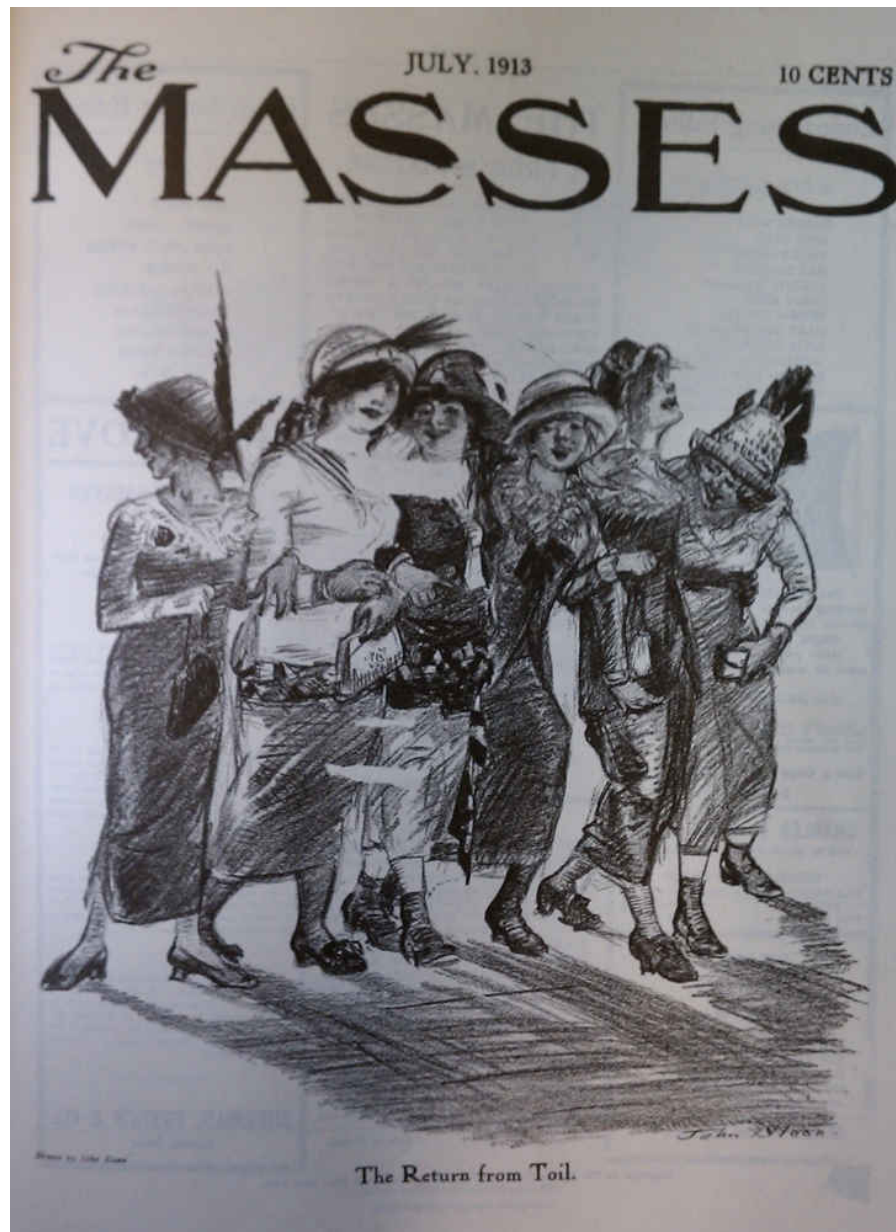


Figure 22: John Sloan, “The Return from Toil,” in *The Masses* cover, July 1913.



Figure 23: John Sloan, *Reading in the Subway*, 1926. Etching, Plate: 4 15/16 x 3 7/8 in., Sheet: 10 x 8 1/2 in. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.



Figure 24: Theresa Bernstein, *The Readers*, 1914. Oil on canvas, 40 x 50 in. Martin and Edith Stein Collection.



Figure 25: Theresa Bernstein, *Polish Church, Easter Morning*, 1916. Oil on canvas, 40 x 50 in. Martin and Edith Stein Collection.



Figure 26: John Sloan, Sketch from a letter to Robert Henri, November 13, 1912. Ink on paper, 10 x 8 in. Delaware Art Museum.



Figure 27: George Bellows, *Men of the Docks*, 1912. Oil on canvas, 45 x 63 ½ in. The National Gallery, London.



Figure 28: John Sloan, *Scrubwomen in the Old Astor Library*, 1910. Oil on canvas, 32 x 26 in. Munson-Williams-Proctor Institute; Museum of Art, Uitca, New York.



Figure 29: John Sloan, *Hairdresser's Window*, 1907, oil on canvas, 31 $\frac{7}{8}$ x 26 in. Oil on canvas, 31 $\frac{7}{8}$ x 26 in. Wadsworth Atheneum, Hartford, Connecticut, The Ella Gallup Summer and Mary Catlin Summer Collection Fund.



Figure 30: Edgar Degas, *The Milliners*, c. 1882. Oil on canvas, 23 $\frac{5}{8}$ x 29 $\frac{1}{2}$ in. The J. Paul Getty Museum, Los Angeles.



Figure 31: John Sloan, *Sixth Avenue and 30th Street, New York City*, 1907. Oil on canvas, 26 $\frac{1}{4}$ x 32 in. Philadelphia Museum of Art.