
The Intimacy of Mother and Child: Mary Cassatt's *The Sun Bath (After the Bath)*

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The American-born painter Mary Cassatt (1844–1926) was one of the Impressionists working in Paris in the 1880s. In the 1890s, she enjoyed success with large-scale solo exhibitions in Paris and New York. In the first decade of the twentieth century, Cassatt advised the American industrialist Henry Osborne Havemeyer (1847–1907) and his wife Louisine (1855–1929) on their art collection. Cassatt's health began to fail in her later years. She was still producing pastels in 1913, but subsequently cataracts caused her eyesight to deteriorate, and she drifted away from painting. Mary Cassatt died at her home on the outskirts of Paris in 1926. The mother and child is a subject that Cassatt often depicted, but she remained unmarried her whole life and had no children herself.

This essay is, in the main, a consideration of *The Sun Bath (After the Bath)* (fig. 1) which Mary Cassatt painted in 1901. After establishing the context for the painting, I would like to demonstrate the implicit intent of the artist by focusing on the 1915 New York gallery exhibition at which this painting was shown.

Cassatt and the Impressionists

Mary Cassatt was born into an affluent household in Allegheny, a city near Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, in the United States, in 1844. At fifteen, she started to study painting at the Pennsylvania Academy of Fine Arts in Philadelphia. Cassatt moved to Paris in 1866, but since women were unable to enroll in the *École des Beaux-Arts* at the time, she learnt by copying paintings at the Louvre. She also studied with Charles Chaplin, Jean-Léon Gérôme, and Thomas Couture. In 1867, Cassatt started submitting works to the official Paris Salon. In 1868, *The Mandolin Player* (1868, private collection) became the first of her works accepted for the Salon. Although she left France in 1870 due to the outbreak of the Franco-Prussian War, she returned a second time and resumed showing works at the Salon.

In 1874, Edgar Degas (1834–1917) admired Cassatt's *Ida* (1874, private collection) when he saw it at the Salon. The following year, it was Cassatt's turn to be impressed by Degas' pastels, which she happened to see in a Paris gallery. Degas visited Cassatt's studio in 1877 and encouraged her to participate in the Impressionist group exhibition. When Cassatt's parents and younger sister Lydia took up permanent residence in France in the same year, Cassatt started to produce paintings for which her family members posed as models. In 1879, Cassatt first participated in the fourth Impressionist Exhibition. Subsequently, she showed works at the fifth Impressionist

exhibition in 1880, the sixth in 1881, and the eighth in 1886. Having participated in four out of the total of eight group exhibitions, Cassatt, working as an Impressionist painter, was portraying subjects that were based on the everyday lives of her contemporaries.

That said, as the art historian Griselda Pollock points out in her book *Vision and Difference*, the subjects treated by women painters, including Cassatt and Berthe Morisot (1841–1895), were limited. "They do not represent the territory which their colleagues who were men so freely occupied and made use of in their works, for instance, bars, cafés, backstage and even those places... such as the bar at the Folies-Bergère or even the Moulin de la Galette. A range of places and subjects were closed to them while open to their male colleagues who could move freely with men and women in the socially fluid public world of the streets, popular entertainment and commercial or casual sexual exchange."¹

The women Impressionist painters depicted theaters, parks and other public spaces that were accessible to bourgeois women, or the private sphere in the home. Such subjects were not, however, the exclusive domain of women painters; they were also depicted by men. Pierre-Auguste Renoir (1841–1919) is one example of an Impressionist who painted children in domestic settings. *Mlle Georgette Charpentier Seated* (fig. 2), which Renoir painted in 1876, shows Georgette, aged four at the time, wearing a blue dress and socks, seated in a chair, and smiling. The girl is the oldest daughter of Georges Charpentier, a publisher in Paris, and the painting shows us life in an affluent household in Paris. Renoir expresses the little girl's precocious nature. Apparently, Charpentier was pleased with the portrait, which he had commissioned. Subsequently, the Charpentier household became patrons who supported Renoir in the early years of his career.

On the other hand, Cassatt's *Little Girl in a Blue Armchair* (fig. 3), painted in 1878, depicts a young girl who is lounging in an easy chair, apparently bored. The model was the daughter of a friend of Degas.² Wearing a white dress with tartan socks and sash, the young girl seems unspeakably bored. Cassatt's pet dog is sleeping quietly in the chair next to the girl. The painting was rejected for the Exposition Universelle in Paris in 1878, but Cassatt took the advice of Degas and reworked it (Degas retouched the background) before showing it at the fourth Impressionist exhibition in 1879.

The contexts vary, but the differences in the way the two artists look at the children in these paintings are also discernible in their subsequent works.

Mother About to Wash Her Sleepy Child (fig. 4) is one of Cassatt's early paintings of mothers with their children. The work was exhibited at the fifth Impressionist exhibition in 1880. In it, we see the bright color palette and rhythmical brush strokes that are characteristic of the Impressionists. The mother is about to wipe the body of the child, and the child is looking at her with a sleepy expression. The two of them exchange glances, creating an atmosphere of intimacy that is emphasized by the way Cassatt has cropped in closeup of the figures of the mother and child.

Renoir painted *Young Mother (Jeune mère)* (fig. 5) at around the same time. Seated on a chair, the figure of the mother is shown in full, making a more formal impression than Cassatt's work. Renoir painted it during a stay in Naples while traveling in Italy in the autumn of 1881. During his Italian travels, Renoir was, above all, fascinated by the paintings of the Renaissance master Raphael. Later in life he told the art dealer Ambroise Vollard that he still found it difficult to talk about his impressions of seeing the *Madonna of the Chair (Madonna della seggiola)* in Florence. "I went to see this picture just to have a good laugh—and I found myself in front of the most wonderfully free, solid, simple, alive painting it is possible to imagine—arms and legs of real flesh."³

From 1883 to 1884, Renoir tried to set up a new collective of artists, which he called the Society of Irregularists. He was also planning to publish a manifesto where he outlined his own artistic theories: "It's certain that if today you want to make a virgin with the same conviction as in the past, your virgin will be bad; you won't succeed... But do a young woman, in a polka-dot dress holding a child on her lap, with that you could make a masterpiece, provided that you look for your ideal in the exact nature of your model, without worrying about Saint Joseph."⁴

In light of these comments, it is possible to understand *Young Mother* (1881) as a modern portrait of the Madonna and Child in which Renoir has painted the young mother gazing downwards and the child on her knee looking straight ahead. The two of them are not exchanging glances.

As I have already pointed out, Cassatt was experimenting with style and technique in the traditional genre of paintings of mothers and their children, but even so, it seems that images of the Madonna and Child, overlapping with those experiments, provided the context for her paintings.⁵ In *The Family* (1893) (fig. 6), a seated woman is holding a naked infant. At her side, a girl with golden hair is gazing at the infant. The girl is holding a red carnation, which, in traditional images of the Madonna and Child, implies the passion of the Christ. In the background, we see a path running through a well-kept parkland. It is clear that these people are her contemporaries, but, by arranging the figures in the shape of a pyramid, Cassatt evokes the composition of Renaissance images of the Madonna and Child.

The Sun Bath (After the Bath)

The models for *The Sun Bath (After the Bath)* (fig. 1) are Jules and Antoinette, Cassatt's favorite models at the time.⁶ Consulting Cassatt's catalogue raisonné, we find that they both feature in several images of mother and child, and that Cassatt concentrated on the pair over a substantial period of time. The paintings in question are *Mother and Child (Baby Getting*

Up from His Nap) (c. 1899, Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York; B:342), *Mother and Child (The Oval Mirror)* (fig. 7), *Antoinette Holding Her Child by Both Hands* (c. 1899, private collection: B:339), *Jules Dried by His Mother* (c. 1901, private collection: B:332), and *Jules Standing by His Mother* (c. 1901, private collection: B:334). In *Mother and Child (The Oval Mirror)* and *Antoinette Holding Her Child by Both Hands*, Antoinette is wearing a white dress with a pattern of blue and white stripes. The same dress is depicted in *The Sun Bath*.

There is also an extant study for *The Sun Bath*. In *Sketch for the Sun Bath* (fig. 8), Antoinette, her eyes closed, reclines on a white blanket spread out on the ground as if for an outdoor picnic. Jules sits in front of her with a straight back, his left hand resting on his thigh, and the right hand on the white blanket. The brushwork is bold in the manner of a study, but the light pouring through the trees illuminates both figures and the white blanket. The techniques that the Impressionists used in the 1870s and 1880s are also used in this study by Cassatt.

The Sun Bath, with Three Figures (fig. 9) is another work on a similar theme. It is an unfinished work where the figures are only outlined, but it may also be a study related to *The Sun Bath*. Here, Jules, on the left, is extending one hand towards the women. It is believed that Antoinette was the model for both women, one face depicted in profile and the other in two-thirds view. Cassatt appears to have experimented with the positioning of the mother and child. The woman drawn in profile on the right side seems to be gazing at Jules and smiling. According to the description in the catalogue raisonné, this study and the one mentioned above have the same view of dark greenery in the background.⁷

Compared to these studies, the two figures in *The Sun Bath (After the Bath)* are carefully positioned. Cassatt has used soft brush strokes and a pale color scheme, creating a gorgeous touch with the addition of the pink flowers behind the pair (described as lavender magnolia in the catalogue raisonné). Rather than a painting of a mother and child enjoying a picnic outdoors, the completed work resembles a modern Madonna and Child.

Americans in Paris

Cassatt spent most of her life in France. After settling in Paris in 1874, she returned to the United States only a handful of times. She was awarded the order of Chevalier of the Legion d'honneur in 1904, but for the French, Cassatt remained an American in Paris. Something that is also reflected in the title of a retrospective at the Jacquemart-André Museum in Paris in 2018: *Mary Cassatt, une impressionniste américaine à Paris/ Mary Cassatt, An American Impressionist in Paris*. Cassatt also exhibited many of her works in the United States. For example, from 1879 to 1894, she continued to present work at the American Art Association exhibition in New York.

The murals Cassatt painted for the Chicago World's Fair (World's Columbian Exposition) were an important assignment in the United States.⁸ In the spring of 1892, Mary Fairchild MacMonnies (1858–1946) and Cassatt, two American painters working in France, were commissioned to paint two murals to decorate the north and south tympana of the Woman's Building at the Chicago World's Fair. Based on the theme of

the advancement of women, MacMonnies painted *Primitive Woman* and Cassatt *Modern Woman*. (Neither mural is extant.) The Chicago Fair was held from May 1 to October 1 in 1893, but Cassatt never visited the venue

The French art dealer Paul Durand-Ruel (1831–1922), who famously represented the works of the Impressionist painters early on, met Cassatt in 1881, likely through Degas, and bought her paintings.⁹

In her seminal essay “Why Have There Been No Great Women Artists?”, the art historian Linda Nochlin argues that women had been excluded from the systems that supported the arts. This is her description of women artists: “From the legendary sculptor Sabina von Steinbach, in the thirteenth century, ...down to Rosa Bonheur the most renowned animal painter of the nineteenth century, ... all, without exception, were the daughters of artists. In the nineteenth century, Berthe Morisot was closely associated with Manet, later marrying his brother, and Mary Cassatt based a good deal of her work on the style of her close friend Degas.”¹⁰

Certainly, Degas was an important presence in Cassatt’s life, but Nochlin underestimates her. From 1879 to 1880, a period when Cassatt made frequent visits to Degas’ studio to learn print techniques, she worked closely with him, but after the eighth Impressionist Exhibition in 1886, the works of the two artists began to diverge. Degas’ influence on Cassatt is constantly pointed out, but we had to wait until 2014 and the *Degas/Cassatt* exhibition at the National Gallery (Washington D.C.) for a serious look at Cassatt’s influence on Degas.¹¹

The exhibitions at Galerie Durand-Ruel became popular once Cassatt had established her own style of painting. Although Durand-Ruel purchased around four hundred of her paintings, he did not buy her paintings as consistently as those of Monet, Renoir, and Pissarro because Cassatt had some financial support from her family. In 1891, Cassatt had her first solo exhibition at the Galerie Durand-Ruel in Paris, but the gallery clearly focused, in showing her work, on their New York gallery, where they showed Cassatt’s work twenty-five times as opposed to twelve times at the Paris gallery. In 1886, Cassatt presented work at the first Impressionist exhibition in New York, organized by Durand-Ruel. In 1895, she had a large-scale solo exhibition at the Galerie Durand-Ruel in New York.¹² Subsequently, Cassatt’s work was regularly presented at the gallery in New York.

A woman and an American, Cassatt was excluded from the definition of the Impressionist painters as French and men. But, her importance for the Galerie Durand-Ruel in New York is clear. Cassatt herself probably understood this very well.

The 1915 Exhibition

Galerie Durand-Ruel bought Cassatt’s *The Sun Bath (After the Bath)* around 1901 and retained ownership of the painting until 1949. In 1903, 1917, and 1920, the painting was shown at solo exhibitions of Cassatt’s work at the gallery in New York. *The Sun Bath (After the Bath)* was also shown at the *Masterpieces by Old and Modern Painters* exhibition (April 6–24, 1915) at the M. Knoedler & Co. Gallery in New York. In the exhibition catalogue, the painting is described as *No. 45 APRÈS LE BAIN, 1901*.¹³

Sponsored by Louisine Havemeyer, the exhibition was in support of women’s suffrage. The three colors used for the poster symbolized the movement for women’s suffrage: violet

to suggest dignity, white for purity, and green for hope.¹⁴

In the United States, at the federal level, women’s right to vote had been passed by Congress as the Nineteenth Amendment to the Constitution in 1919, and ratified in 1920.¹⁵ The women’s suffrage movement had been active since the middle of the nineteenth century, and by the early twentieth century, eleven states, mainly in the Western part of the country, had legislated women’s right to vote. Although the laws were incomplete in many other states, women’s votes were recognized. Louisine had taken an interest in women’s suffrage since her youth, but she became more actively involved over a period of several years after her husband died in 1907. In 1912, she lent the M. Knoedler & Co. Gallery works from her collection for the loan exhibition of paintings by El Greco and Goya in support of women’s suffrage. In May the same year, she also participated in a demonstration on Fifth Avenue in New York. In 1914, her old friend Mary Cassatt told her that she had to continue working with the movement.

Mrs. Havemeyer had been thinking about organizing a solo exhibition by Degas at Galerie Durand-Ruel to benefit the women’s suffrage movement when, in the spring of 1914 while traveling with Cassatt in the south of France, she came up with the idea of organizing a two-artist exhibition of works by Cassatt and Degas. Cassatt was delighted with the idea and said that if such an exhibition materialized, she would hope it was for the cause of women’s suffrage.¹⁶ Cassatt promised to send four works that she still had in her possession (including one oil and one pastel) to Mrs. Havemeyer via Galerie Durand-Ruel. Although Mrs. Havemeyer had initially considered the Durand-Ruel in New York as the venue, by the end of 1914, she decided to switch to the M. Knoedler & Co. Gallery. As a result of the change of venue, the concept broadened to include the works of the Old Masters.

Cassatt assisted with the selection of works for the exhibition. For example, in a letter to Mrs. Havemeyer dated February 1, 1915, she writes, “I think the best thing you could do would be to get the Colonel to lend his Degas also in the Old Masters room to lend some of your finest Courbets. There would be a chance to show Courbets beside Rembrandts.”¹⁷ Cassatt actually made the request for the work herself on February 28.¹⁸ Unfortunately, the request seems to have been refused, but in a letter to Mrs. Havemeyer dated March 12, Cassatt says that she expects to be able to borrow a Degas from another collector.¹⁹ In a letter to Mrs. Havemeyer dated July 5, however, she was in low spirits because Joseph Durand-Ruel had pointed out that its connection with the women’s suffrage cause was keeping many people away from exhibition.²⁰

There were three exhibition galleries: a large gallery where the paintings by Cassatt and Degas were shown and two smaller galleries for the Old Masters (fig. 10). Mrs. Havemeyer lent at least twenty-two works from her collection, while many other works were loans from clients of the M. Knoedler & Co. Gallery. The catalog lists eighteen works by Old Masters (Bronzino, Van Dyck, Holbein, de Hooch, Rembrandt, Rubens, Terborch, and Vermeer), twenty-three paintings by Degas, and eighteen by Cassatt for a total of fifty-nine paintings. Recent research indicates that in addition to the eighteen Old Masters, there were twenty-seven works by Degas, twenty-nine by Cassatt, a photographic portrait of Cassatt, and a portrait of

Degas by Constantin Guys.²¹ When adding in the eight paintings by Cassatt that were not included in the catalog, we find that Degas and Cassatt had about the same number of works in the exhibition (or perhaps there were more by Cassatt).

Mrs. Havemeyer gave a talk about Degas and Cassatt on April 6. She only spoke this once about art, and the occasion was to raise funds for the Woman's Political Union, an organization for women's suffrage of which she was a member.²² The admission fee to Mrs. Havemeyer's talk and a private viewing was five dollars. (The usual admission was one dollar.)

Mrs. Havemeyer prepared a manuscript for the lecture, which was about her many years of exchanges with Degas and Cassatt.²³ At the event, she spoke at greater length about Degas, but she did not forget to explain the importance of Cassatt. "She (Cassatt) could do without him (Degas), while he needed her honest criticism and her generous admiration... Degas's admiration for Miss Cassatt was unbounded, but there was always a little dart in his remarks. 'I will not admit a woman can draw like that!' he exclaimed, as he stood before one of her pictures. And again he said of that picture of the boy standing by the mirror, which now hangs before you: 'The greatest picture of the nineteenth century,' and added sarcastically: 'It is the little Jesus and his English nurse.'²⁴ In this way, Mrs. Havemeyer put across the message that Cassatt was indispensable to Degas.

The exhibition was a success. In a letter to Mrs. Havemeyer, Cassatt congratulated her on the exhibition and commented, "The time has finally come to show that women can do something."

Considering the movement for women's suffrage, we find that in addition to appreciation for the way women had entered traditionally male professions during World War I, the movement also recognized activities in areas that were traditionally regarded as women's domains.²⁵ The image of the mother and child was regarded as a proper motif for women painters, but to be an active contributor in this field was also a means of showing one's own value. We can perceive the ideas of Mrs. Havemeyer and Cassatt, supporters of women's suffrage, in Cassatt's *The Sun Bath (After the Bath)* and her other mother-and-child images, which were displayed across a whole wall at the M. Knoedler & Co. Gallery in 1915.

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(Translated by Ruth S. McCreery, The Word Works, Ltd.)

Notes

1. Griselda Pollock, *Vision and Difference: Feminism, Femininity and the Histories Art* (New York: Routledge, 1988), pp. 79–80.
2. In a letter to the art dealer Ambroise Vollard written around 1903, Cassatt says that the model is the child of a friend of Degas, and that Degas corrected the background. (The letter is in the archives of the Smithsonian American Art Museum.) Kimberly A. Jones, "Mary Cassatt's *Little Girl in a Blue Armchair*: Unraveling an Impressionist Puzzle," *Archives of American Art Journal*, Vol. 53, No. 1/2 (Spring 2014), pp. 116–121.
3. Ambroise Vollard (Narita Shigeo, tr.), *Runowaru wa kataru* [Renoir: An Intimate Record] (Tokyo: Azuma Shuppan, 1981), p. 105.
4. Robert L. Herbert, *Nature's Workshop: Renoir's Writings on the Decorative Arts* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2000), Appendix F, Grammar, 1883–1884, pp. 133, 220–221.
5. The following paper perceives Cassatt's images of mothers and children as portraits of the modern family configured mainly around the interest in children. Abe Asuka, "Mary Cassatt no boshizo—kindaiteki na boshikankei no tanjo wo megutte," *Furansu Bunka Kenkyu* (Dokkyo University, Faculty of Foreign Languages, Department of French), 2019, Vol. 50, pp. 1–3.
6. Adelyn Dohme Breeskin, *Mary Cassatt: A Catalogue Raisonné of the Oils, Pastels, Watercolors, and Drawings* (Washington D.C.: Smithsonian, 1970), p. 144, no. 336.
7. Breeskin, op. cit., p. 142, no. 337.
8. For information about The Woman's Building at the 1893 World's Fair in Chicago, see the following papers: Carolyn Kinder Carr and Sally Webster, "Mary Cassatt and Mary Fairchild MacMonnies: The Search for Their 1893 Murals," *American Art*, Vol. 8, No. 1 (Winter, 1994), pp. 52–69; John Hutton, "Picking Fruit: Mary Cassatt's 'Modern Woman' and the Woman's Building of 1893," *Feminist Studies*, Vol. 20, No. 2 (Summer, 1994), pp. 318–348; Ezaki Satoko, "A Portrait of the New Woman: Mary Cassatt's Mural, Modern Woman, for the Woman's Building at the 1893 World's Columbian Exposition in Chicago," *Pacific and American Studies* 3 (2003) pp. 95–114; Regina Megan Palm, "Women Muralists, Modern Woman and Feminine Spaces: Constructing Gender at the 1893 Chicago World's Columbian Exposition," *Journal of Design History*, Vol. 23, No. 2 (2010), pp. 123–143; Kusunoki Mikie, "Two Women at the World's Columbian Exposition of Chicago in 1893: Ellen Swallow Richards & Mary Stevenson Cassatt," *Journal of Yasuda Women's University* 47 (2019), pp. 211–218; Ajioka Kyoko, "19-seikimatsu no 'Modern Woman' ga mirai ni tsunago to shita koto wa?" *Les Simones*, Vol. 2 (2020), pp. 53–60.
9. For more about the relationship between Cassatt and Durand-Ruel, see the following paper: Flavie Durand-Ruel Mouraux, "Mary Cassatt (1844–1926) and Paul Durand-Ruel (1831–1922), A Dynamic Duo," in *Mary Cassatt: An American Impressionist in Paris*, exh. cat., Musée Jacquemart-André, Paris, March 9–July 23, 2018, pp. 144–153.
10. Linda Nochlin, "Why have there been no great women artists?" *ARTNews* 69 (January 9, 1971).
11. *Degas/Cassatt*, National Gallery of Art, Washington, May 11–October 5, 2014.
12. Ninety-eight works were shown at the large-scale solo exhibition at the Gallery Durand-Ruel in Paris in November and December 1893.
13. Loan exhibition of *Masterpieces by Old and Modern Painters* at the Galleries of M. Knoedler & Co., April 6th to 24th, 1915. Digital record of the catalog (including letter of invitation) accessed online at the Thomas J. Watson Library, The Metropolitan Museum of Art. Accessed September 30, 2020 <http://library.metmuseum.org/record=b1458882>
For more about this exhibition, see the following papers: Rebecca A. Rabinow, "The Suffrage Exhibition of 1915," in *Splendid Legacy: The Havemeyer Collection*, exh. cat., The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1993, pp. 89–95; Griselda Pollock, "Some Letters on Feminism, Politics and Modern Art: When Edgar Degas shared a space with Mary Cassatt at the Suffrage Benefit Exhibition, New York 1915," in *Differencing the Canon: Feminist Desire and the Writing of Art's Histories* (New York: Routledge, 1999), pp. 201–245; Ruth E. Iskin, "The Degas and Cassatt 1915 exhibition in support of Women's suffrage," in Maia Wellington Gahtan and Donatella Pegazzano, eds., *Monographic Exhibition and the History of Art* (New York: Routledge, 2018), pp. 26–37.
14. Louisine W. Havemeyer, "The Suffrage Torch: Memories of a Militant," *Scribner's Magazine*, May 1922, p. 529.
15. To mark the 100th anniversary of women's suffrage in the United

States, the Baltimore Museum of Art is presenting *2020 Vision*, a program dedicated to female-identifying artists. For more about women's suffrage in the United States, see Takamura Hiroko, "Women's War Efforts in World War I and Woman Suffrage in U.S. and Canada: Focusing on Legislative Debates," *Bulletin of Toyo Gakuen University*, 2004, No. 12, pp. 49–58.

16. Rabinow, op. cit., p. 89.
17. Nancy Mowll Mathews, ed., *Cassatt and Her Circle: Selected Letters* (New York: Abbeville Press, 1984), pp. 319–320.
18. Mathews, op. cit., pp. 321–322.
19. Mathews, op. cit., pp. 322–323.
20. Mathews, op. cit., pp. 324–325.
21. Iskin, op. cit., pp. 26–37.
22. Havemeyer, op. cit., p. 529.
23. The text of the talk is recorded in a notebook entitled *Mrs. H. O. Havemeyer's Remarks on Edgar Degas and Mary Cassatt*. Digital record accessed online at the Thomas J. Watson Library, The Metropolitan Museum of Art. Accessed September 30, 2020 <http://library.metmuseum.org/record=b1722921>
24. *Mrs. H. O. Havemeyer's Remarks on Edgar Degas and Mary Cassatt*, n.p.
25. Takamura Hiroko, "Women's War Efforts in World War I and Woman Suffrage in U.S. and Canada: Focusing on Legislative Debates," *Bulletin of Toyo Gakuen University*, 2004, No. 12, pp. 49–58.

List of illustrations (pp. 4–11)

- fig. 1—Mary CASSATT, *The Sun Bath (After the Bath)*, 1901, Oil on canvas, 74.0×93.0cm, Artizon Museum, Ishibashi Foundation, Tokyo
- fig. 2—Pierre-Auguste RENOIR, *Mlle Georgette Charpentier Seated*, 1867, Oil on canvas, 97.8×70.8cm, Artizon Museum, Ishibashi Foundation, Tokyo
- fig. 3—Mary CASSATT, *Little Girl in a Blue Armchair*, 1878, Oil on canvas, 89.5×129.8cm, Collection of Mr. and Mrs. Paul Mellon, National Gallery of Art, Washington / Courtesy National Gallery of Art, Washington
- fig. 4—Mary CASSATT, *Mother About to Wash Her Sleepy Child*, 1880, Oil on canvas, 100.3×65.7cm, Mrs. Fred Hathaway Bixby Bequest, Los Angeles County Museum of Art / www.lacma.org
- fig. 5—Pierre-Auguste RENOIR, *Young Mother (Jeune mère)*, 1881, Oil on canvas, 121.3×85.7cm, Barnes Foundation / Courtesy of the Barnes Foundation, Merion and Philadelphia, Pennsylvania
- fig. 6—Mary CASSATT, *The Family*, c. 1892, Oil on canvas, 81.9×66.4cm, Gift of Walter P. Chrysler, Jr., Chrysler Museum of Art
- fig. 7—Mary CASSATT, *Mother and Child (The Oval Mirror)*, c. 1899, Oil on canvas, 81.6×65.7cm, H.O. Havemeyer Collection, Bequest of Mrs. H.O. Havemeyer, 1929, The Metropolitan Museum of Art
- fig. 8—Mary CASSATT, *Study for The Sun Bath*, Oil on canvas, 38.1×58.4 cm, Georgia Museum of Art, University of Georgia; Extended loan from the Joan M. MacGillivray 1957 Trust
- fig. 9—Mary CASSATT, *The Sun Bath, with Three Figures*, c. 1901, Oil on canvas, 65.5×92.0cm, Private collection / From: Adelyn Dohme Breeskin, *Mary Cassatt: A Catalogue Raisonné of the Oils, Pastels, Watercolors, and Drawings*, Washington D.C., 1970, p. 145, cat.no. 337.
- fig. 10—Installation of Works by Cassatt in the Main Gallery, *The Old and Modern Painters exhibition*, April 6–24, 1915, New York, Knoedler Gallery / Courtesy of the Getty Research Institute, Los Angeles, California (2012 M.54)