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# Dirty Pictures—Not for Sale: Re-reading Bellocq's Storyville Portraits

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Dirty Pictures—Not for Sale: Re-reading Bellocq's Storyville Portraits

MA Thesis

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Claremont Graduate University, Claremont CA

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*“April 1911  
[...] I try to pose as I think he would like — shy  
at first, then bolder. I’m not so foolish  
that I don’t know this photograph we make  
will bear the stamp of his name, not mine.”<sup>1</sup>*

“Storyville Diary,” Bellocq’s Ophelia, Natasha Trethewey

*“Bellocq—whoever he was—interests us [...] as an artist: a man who saw more clearly than we do, and who discovered secrets. [...] Even if the pictures reproduced here had been widely known a half century ago, they would not have changed the history of photography, for they did not involve new concepts, only an original sensibility.”<sup>2</sup>*

Storyville Portraits, Lee Friedlander

## **The District**

In 1897—the year that two decriminalized red-light districts within city limits were formed—New Orleans was already internationally known as a place of titillating diversions, and the city possessed a convoluted history: it was founded by the French, ceded to the Spanish, and then brought back to French governance before becoming part of the United States in 1803 under the Louisiana Purchase. Until the end of the American Civil War (in 1862-64), the Union controlled New Orleans for two years while the rest of Louisiana remained part of the Confederacy.<sup>3</sup> More culturally autonomous in

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<sup>1</sup> Natasha Trethewey, “Storyville Diary,” Bellocq’s Ophelia (Graywolf Press, 2002).

<sup>2</sup> Lee Friedlander and John Szarkowski, Storyville Portraits (Little Brown & Co, 1970).

<sup>3</sup> Flag Officer David G. Farragut captured New Orleans for the Union in 1862. The Union then controlled not only the city but also its ports, which had been vital to the Confederacy for the transportation of both supplies and people. Refer to the pages on [http://www.historyofwar.org/articles/battles\\_new\\_orleans\\_1862.html](http://www.historyofwar.org/articles/battles_new_orleans_1862.html) for further reading.

comparison to other major American cities, New Orleans is a mélange of accumulated languages, cultures, and races. It was, and still is, an incredibly singular place.

For generations, its crucial location on the Mississippi River bolstered its leisure trade; the constant presence of travelers influenced the success of dance halls, gambling dens, and inns. There were also ubiquitous brothels: establishments that encompassed anything from a plain back room and single bed to luxurious bordellos later advertised in ‘Blue Books’<sup>4</sup> found at Basin Street’s busy train station. Although New Orleans had always generally been known for its array of prostitutes, it was not until the late 1800’s that politicians attempted to regulate prostitution by limiting it to specific districts. Ultimately, the districts were distinguished by the race of the patrons, with the more lucrative of the two being designated for white men. Known simply as The District or its later nickname, Storyville, this district was situated east of the Mississippi River, just above the St. Louis Cemetery No. 1 and the French Quarter.<sup>5</sup> Storyville would go on to become famous for its women, Mardi Gras festivities, and jazz music.<sup>6</sup>

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<sup>4</sup> Blue Books were extensive catalogues of Storyville women, and were arranged by attributes such as race, age, and specialties or fetishes. The Blue Books also included advertisements for brothels, rooms for let, job openings—contrary to the misperception that only prostitutes lived in Storyville, laborers and lower class families found cheaper lodging there—and of course, miraculous cures for sexually transmitted infections and impotence. Emily Landau’s essays on Storyville contain excellent background information on the Blue Books. Also see Alecia P. Long’s The Great Southern Babylon: Sex, Race, and Respectability in New Orleans, 1865–1920 (Baton Rouge, 2004).

<sup>5</sup> “Storyville” became known as such because of Alderman Sydney Story, who was the main proponent of the legislation that created the two New Orleans red-light districts. Though he was displeased with the development, the nickname stuck. See the Introduction to Storyville Portraits.

<sup>6</sup> The influence that Storyville musicians such as Jelly Roll Morton and Buddy Bolden had on jazz can be seen even today: a good exploration of the lineage is Robbie Robertson’s “Storyville Revisited: John Sinclair and Robbie Robertson,” *BOMB*, No. 38 (Winter, 1992), pp. 48-51.

By 1917, however, both red-light districts were disbanded, due in no small measure to pressure from the United States Navy and moralistic criticism from various New Orleans residents.<sup>7</sup> Currently, the land where Storyville once stood is home to the Iberville housing projects: very few of the original structures still stand.<sup>8</sup> Further, a successful effort—at least on the part of Americans—to downplay the district's history and a consequent lack of primary sources has distilled Storyville to a mythologized, sensationalized echo in narratives of American history and culture. One of the surviving resources for examining and discussing Storyville is the oeuvre attributed to French Quarter local E.J. Bellocq, which consists of portraits of some of Storyville's women. Photographer Lee Friedlander rediscovered Bellocq's portrait plates and exhibited the prints he made with them at the Museum of Modern Art in 1970. This inspired what appeared to be a short-lived interest in the place.<sup>9</sup> Questions about the context of viewing, spectatorship, and authenticity should be addressed when using the photographs as historical resources, but Bellocq's work is most useful and potentially impactful because it was not widely—if at all—circulated during his lifetime, and not necessarily because it was exhibited in a museum setting decades later. The photographs are stark and detailed in spite of the ideologies surrounding working class women and prostitutes, two categories that were almost synonymous in the late 19<sup>th</sup> century mind and are still stereotyped today.

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<sup>7</sup> L'Hote vs. the City of New Orleans, 1900.

<sup>8</sup> Alecia P. Long, "Poverty is the New Prostitution: Race, Poverty, and Public Housing in Post-Katrina New Orleans," *Journal of American History*, 94 (Dec. 2007), 795–803.

<sup>9</sup> Friedlander. And according to Smithsonianmag.com, "In 1958, 89 glass negatives were discovered in a chest, and nine years later [Friedlander] acquired the collection, much of which had been damaged because of poor storage. None of Bellocq's prints were found with the negatives [...]."

The measures that eventually closed Storyville were against all vice, including gambling and drinking, but the particular goal was to halt the spread of venereal diseases, which meant criminalizing women who practiced prostitution rather than prosecuting men who frequented prostitutes. Fallen females, so to speak, were responsible for tempting men into immoral situations. This exemplified a characteristically Victorian preoccupation with enforcing a classist, gendered, and anti-sex morality, a morality that should be assessed in terms of anxiety over modernity and the shifting social spheres of men and women, especially in an urban environment like New Orleans that blurred the lines between class and gender interactions. The Bellocq portraits are transgressive images because of their portrayals of the female body and the women as individuals, in spite of the fact that scientific discourse, popular culture, religious discussions, and legal ordinances all framed prostitutes in a particularly dehumanized light to uphold the apparent purity and beauty of a woman's body.

Concurrently, as Shannon Bell states, prostitutes were desired by men in private but disparaged in public because "the prostitute was female, but not feminine... [an] open performance of her female sexuality ran counter to contemporary notions of femininity as less sexual" than masculinity.<sup>10</sup> Similarly, representations of nudity were and still are subject to a complex set of cultural and aesthetic norms that operated on beliefs that female sexuality was necessarily submissive to male needs. Ideal images or texts of women, particularly in regards to pornography, would allow a space for men to construct a voyeuristic fantasy.

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<sup>10</sup> Shannon Bell, Reading, Writing, and Rewriting the Prostitute Body, Indiana University Press (June 22, 1994).

By the standards of his time Bellocq did not provide that space, which is subversive, as well as one of the potential reasons why he never published or sold his work. He represents contemporary prostitutes, not nude *objects d'art* that necessarily would not implicate a male viewer in the misogynistic practice of treating representations of women as objects and asserting mastery over them. One of the most expressive portraits, Friedlander's Plate 11, shows a woman who is completely naked on a divan, but she smiles comfortably and perhaps even self-deprecatingly.<sup>11</sup> The divan is positioned in front of a door, presumably to keep the room private, but the woman's posture is relaxed, not traditionally posed.<sup>12</sup> Her exposed underarms are also clearly unshaved, so the emphasis of the image is not on any ideal concept of beauty or sexuality. There are many portraits in the series that show women with prominent pubic and underarm or body hair, a naturalistic detail that would have been assiduously omitted or obscured from both pornographic images and high art paintings of the female form even during the late 19<sup>th</sup> and early 20<sup>th</sup> centuries.<sup>12</sup>

Conversely, the most prosperous Storyville madams were well aware that customers saw their girls as part of a glamorous service industry; they capitalized on the role itself by marketing their brothels as exotic escapes from moral constraints and daily life. This awareness was not limited to the madams. In a letter home, one girl remarked that for the first time in her life, "[my] labor is my own,"<sup>13</sup> which reveals a sense of agency and awareness that what she was doing was, in fact, part of an industry reliant

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<sup>11</sup> Friedlander. Refer to Figure 1.

<sup>12</sup> Refer to Figure 5 and compare with Figure 4 (Alexandre Cabanel's *La Naissance de Venus*), as well as Figure 9, in which a woman wearing sheer lingerie has obvious pubic hair. Compositionally, the body hair is almost in the center of the image.

<sup>13</sup> Emory Archives in conjunction with StoryvilleNOLA.com.

upon the whims of what were colloquially called sporting men.<sup>14</sup> The women in the portraits invite voyeurism and conjecture on the part of present-day viewers, but the context of the prostitutes in their everyday setting would have significantly subverted that ability for Bellocq's contemporary audience. The photographs reflect the quotidian, and although some (especially the ones in which the women are wearing lingerie) are still indubitably erotic, they are not overly sexualized. This is partially because Bellocq worked in local bordellos rather than a photographer's studio, which meant he worked within familiar confines for the women. The photographs are not thought to have been circulated, yet they are explicit, which suggests an intimate interest on the photographer's part.

There is, of course, an underlying issue of the intentionality of the photographer, and what place addressing it should have—if any—when there are few other records of Storyville, visual or otherwise, available for scholars. While Bellocq's portraits offer a perspective into a place that thrived because of prostitution, it is not moralized or sensationalized. The photographs do allow for a potential reinterpretation of a site, a reading that could foster a narrative of Storyville that recognizes it as a site of “complex scenes of power, agency, and difference” where spectators do not categorically see “prostitution as victimization, or sex as slavery.”<sup>15</sup> It would be simplistic and naive to

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<sup>14</sup> Contemporary euphemisms about prostitution made reference to sports, hunting and other outdoor activities, including the vernacular “sporting men” for patrons, “circus act” for a performance in a brothel, and “horsewomen” for either prostitutes, or alternatively, women who engaged in homosexual activities. The common theme was to characterize fast women, regardless of their sexual deviance, as “sporting,” and thus less feminine than proper, chaste women. For further reading, see Alan Richter's Dictionary of Sexual Slang: Words, Phrases and Idioms from AC/DC to Zig-Zig, (John Wiley and Sons: New York, 1993).

<sup>15</sup> C.P. Shimizu, “Screening Sexual Slavery? Southeast Asian Gonzo Porn and US Anti-Trafficking Law,” *Sexualities* (Vol. 13, No. 2) April 2010, p. 1.



imply that the women who worked in Storyville were utterly empowered. But they cannot be reduced to role of victims, or alternatively, whores.

Most importantly, the Storyville portraits create an alternative New Orleans history that relies upon what Walter Benjamin characterizes as the “trash of history”<sup>16</sup>—photographs of prostitutes, in this case—a type of trash which, according to Max Pensky in his analysis of Benjamin, is removed from:

Its embeddedness in a dominant, approved tradition of interpretation and reception, and [it is then] reconfigured, rescued from the history that consigns it to oblivion, yet in such a way that it shockingly reveals just that history for what it is: Hell, a history of catastrophe.<sup>17</sup>

This, for the Storyville portraits, is an almost literal rather than metaphorical statement given the exclusion of Storyville’s existence from mainstream history. Although historical and sociological scholarship on Storyville exists, there are probably an equal number of fictionalized accounts of the place, including Louis Malle’s film “Pretty Baby,” which is about the teenage daughter of a Storyville prostitute who becomes a whore herself and forms a bond with Bellocq,<sup>18</sup> and Natasha Trethewey’s book of poems entitled Bellocq’s Ophelia. The way that these fictional narratives are intertwined with verifiable facts about a predominantly obscured site complicates scholarly analysis: in fact, it raises the question of whether the goal of constructing a neatly linear, completely historicist account should be most relevant or pressing when trying to understand this unique site and twenty-year period in New Orleans history, or its meaning in a broader

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<sup>16</sup> Walter Benjamin, *The Arcades Project*, (Harvard University Press, 2002) p. 461.

<sup>17</sup> Max Pensky, “The Trash of History,” Melancholy Dialectics: Walter Benjamin and the Play of Mourning, p. 192.

<sup>18</sup> Felicia Feaster, “Pretty Baby,” TCM.com, <http://www.tcm.com/this-month/article/218277%7Co/Pretty-Baby.html>, (Accessed 4 January 2012).

context. Separating the fiction from history may be necessary, but it should be done at need rather than as a matter of course.

Reading and decoding the Storyville portraits is rendered difficult by the lack of primary sources, especially since there are few other available photographs of the site. Consequently, when reading the portraits alongside comparable photographs or especially paintings, it is problematic and reductive to fall into binary assumptions about prostitutes or women, two subjects that have been endlessly mined by historians and art historians. The figure of Bellocq is also complicated by the vague claims that either his photographs were faked—a theory that Malle dismisses in an interview about his research for “Pretty Baby” (released eight years after Friedlander exhibited at MoMA)—or that Friedlander fabricated both Bellocq and the photographs.

Malle confides: “Actually a friend who works in a museum in Paris once told me that Bellocq’s photos are faked, but if you look carefully you see that this cannot be so because there are too many stupid little details that cannot be faked.”<sup>19</sup> Questions of provenance should not be ignored because they ideally would reveal physical trajectories and contextual nuances of material objects, but any implication that the photographs would be less valuable as representations of a singular historical moment and place if they were fabricated is irrelevant. In fact, even if fabricated— and I should note that at the time of this writing, I am not convinced that they were faked— they are still reliant on the contradiction of an ingrained set of 19th century tropes, or perceptions of femininity, for their effect and ability to be read. This shows exactly how embedded these ideas, ranging from the classic whore-virgin paradigm to Orientalist characterizations of non-white women, are within canonical historical and popular

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<sup>19</sup> Louis Malle, Malle on Malle (Faber & Faber, 1996).

culture narratives. Malle's observation that the photographs contain "too many stupid little details" not to be genuine implicitly calls into question the usefulness of using the concept of realism, or authenticity, to categorize photographic texts as either artworks or historical resources. It even points to the automatic instinct to classify them as either type of object rather than allowing for an amorphous discussion of their applicable merit as representations of particular moments, women, or places. Importantly, the Bellocq prints and their convoluted history suggest that these lines between artworks and artifacts are neither as opaque nor organic as they are believed to be.

In effect, these categories were constructed because of traditions put forth during the 19th century regarding academic disciplines, art, and the importance of linear historicism, which generally insists upon making the so-called veracity of texts or images tantamount to their significance. This may not always be the most productive means of understanding their value. The Storyville portraits' presence as simultaneous, possibly fabricated mythology, and concrete record is perhaps their most destabilizing power to an aesthetic and historical regime that is consistently hostile to women, femininity, and female sexuality as valid, rather than fetishized, subjects. The portraits challenge turn of the century ideas of femininity, as well as the idea of the prostitute as always immoral or exploited.

### **Identifying and Containing "Lewd Women"**

When the legislation that would create Storyville was first drafted, it culminated a series of city ordinances concerning “lewd” or “abandoned” women.<sup>20</sup> Lewd and abandoned applied only to women, not men, who engaged in socially unacceptable conduct, including prostitution and public drunkenness. When slavery was still legal, a white woman living in the same residence as a free woman of color also counted as lewd conduct.<sup>21</sup> The wording as well as the severity of the prescribed penalty was always gendered as a result of the rigidity of contemporary gender roles. Although, for example, being intoxicated in public was a crime for men, the penalties were not nearly as harsh as they were for women arrested in the same situation. Once Storyville became a legislative reality, any woman outside of its perimeter who was suspected of selling herself as a prostitute could theoretically be arrested. The point of The District was to contain prostitution, so transgressions were regarded as serious lapses.

Another issue given the racial and ethnic diversity in New Orleans was the segregation of the red-light districts. This was enforced by the race of the patrons rather than the women, as sex across the color line was one of New Orleans best-selling options. When there was some effort made to officially segregate the women of Storyville in early 1917, one of The District’s most successful madams, Lulu White, lobbied and fought against the proposition.<sup>22</sup> This was largely because she touted her self-proclaimed Octoroon background as a selling point, and her bordello, Mahogany Hall, featured black and mixed race women almost exclusively.<sup>23</sup> Ironically, given what

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<sup>20</sup> Emory Archives in conjunction with StoryvilleNOLA.com.

<sup>21</sup> Ibid.

<sup>22</sup> Emily Landau, *Know LA Encyclopedia of Louisiana*, Ed: David Johnson. <http://www.knowla.org/entry.php?rec=739> (Accessed 15 October 2012).

<sup>23</sup> Ibid.

few photographs are available of Lulu and the sumptuous Mahogany Hall, she and her women could and did pass as white. This reveals a prioritization of both skin color and the racial stratification going back centuries in the American South. It also reinforces the paradoxes surrounding contemporary views of prostitution and “fast women”<sup>24</sup> in general: although there was an urgent need to control women who were construed as immoral, there was also an obsession with them and the nuances of attraction were extremely varied, or even based on this thought of control. As such, interracial sex was considered taboo and desirable in late 19<sup>th</sup> century American, particularly Southern, culture. This fetishization of black women had a deep-rooted history in the power dynamics of slavery and persisted within many Orientalist fixations.

All of these factors are also tied to a predictable anxiety over sexuality, one that was often brought about by the close confines of city life and the disintegration of obvious, non-negotiable class and social boundaries because of physical proximity. A related concern was the merging of public and private space that the modern city actively necessitated through its cultivation of arcades, restaurants, main streets, and parks, because then anyone could be exposed to unsavory individuals such as prostitutes who sold their services in public. Sexuality, and in particular sexual fetishes and acts, thus became a form of pathology and diagnosis in the western world, in part because of the modern city and these mixed social geographies.

Like eugenics, pathologizing sex was another way of classifying and containing deviants and undesirable individuals during the 19<sup>th</sup> and early 20<sup>th</sup> centuries.<sup>25</sup> The work

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<sup>24</sup> “Punch Magazine,” (August 18, 1860), p. 67

<sup>25</sup> Michel Foucault’s extensive work on Bentham’s panopticon is invaluable to understanding this mentality. Pathology in general became a form of social policing as

of sexologists such as Havelock Ellis, who wrote the first English-language textbook on homosexuality,<sup>26</sup> and Richard von Krafft-Ebing was influential in turning sexuality into a means of diagnosis. This brought sex solidly into the medical and psychiatric sphere, whereas before, it had been a predominately moral and religious topic. While those implications were not erased, they became blended with the agendas of science. In particular, Krafft-Ebing's Psychopathia Sexualis (1886) situated any non-procreative or marital sexual act, whether heterosexual or not, as symptomatic of a psychosexual disorder.<sup>27</sup> Within Krafft-Ebing's definition, engaging in sex with a prostitute was a manifestation of mental illness. Storyville, then, was a logical extension of these traditions of pathology, an attempt at prescribing acceptable boundaries for deviant behavior in the hopes of curtailing it. Predictably, it only made prostitution more visible and viable: Storyville gained international notoriety. But under the scientific discourses of the day, the presence of prostitution in cities was a hallmark of physical and mental disease, if not classified as a disease of its own terms. Within this context, Bellocq infiltrated and documented a world that, in the context of authoritarian structures, was commonly treated as a literal, social, and cultural malady that entrapped otherwise good

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well as a “concrete” method of identifying people who were deviants. A medical diagnosis could lead to a person (often female) being committed to an asylum, medical knowledge was used to solve crimes, and it also was a factor in many pieces of 19<sup>th</sup> century legislation like the hygiene laws passed in Great Britain, which gave the police the right to examine prostitutes for visible signs of sexually transmitted infections (<http://www.britishpamphlets.org.uk/collections/>). For further reading on how these factors intersect with popular culture and perspectives on sexuality in the 19<sup>th</sup> century refer to D.A. Miller's The Novel and the Police.

<sup>26</sup> Havelock Ellis coined the term “invert,” which became the vernacular for homosexual during the late 1800's. He did not approve of the word “homosexual.” See “Studies in the Psychology of Sex. Vol. I., Sexual Inversion,” by Havelock Ellis and ‘An Unknown People,’ by Edward Carpenter, Review by: H. S., *International Journal of Ethics*, Vol. 9, No. 2 (Jan., 1899), pp. 261-262.

<sup>27</sup> Richard Kraft-Ebbing, Psychopathia Sexualis, F.A. Davis Company, 1894.

men and was also indicative of society's ills as a whole. Consequently, it was the prostitutes themselves—the women—who were dehumanized in the public's eyes. They were rendered ultimately responsible for the presence of this disease: in essence, they would have been equivalent to carriers. Indeed, as historian Jill Matus observes, even “the condition of being female was inherently pathological” from a medical perspective.<sup>28</sup> Women were far more often diagnosed with sexual disorders like hysteria, the “symptoms” of which are facets of what are known today as biological or cognitive sexual urges and development.<sup>29</sup> Therefore, it was completely logical within the time's mentality to consider prostitution a medically explicable but glaringly moral lapse that was instigated by women.

### **Representing Storyville—A Struggle**

Storyville was a site of contradictions and paradoxes that Bellocq illuminates in his portraits. Even the portraits are contradictory on their own, as they are simultaneously stationary yet subject to numerous interpretations according to the 21st century eye. Bellocq's “original sensibility” noted in Storyville Portraits establishes a sense of humanity and individuality in a place that might otherwise have been regarded as a social disease. In Plate 3, a woman is in front of a white sheet: she wears a simple dress, she sits on a stool or a chair, and her pet dog is on her lap.<sup>30</sup> She smiles at the camera, and more importantly the dog looks comfortable with both or all of the humans present.

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<sup>28</sup> Jill Matus, “Disclosure as ‘Cover-up’: The Discourse of Madness in Lady Audley's Secret,” *University of Toronto Quarterly* 62.3 (Spring 1993): 334-355, p. 343.

<sup>30</sup> Friedlander, Storyville Portraits, Plate 3.

Although it is known that the woman is a prostitute because she poses naked in at least one other photograph, Bellocq has captured a moment in her daily life and the photograph speaks of familiarity.<sup>31</sup>

If the dog disliked the photographer or the woman felt uncomfortable, it would have shown: the picture would be tense or the dog would not have been still long enough for it to be taken. What photographs like these reveal is a much more nuanced testament of these women's lives in Storyville. Though still discussed in terms of oppression and exploitation today, prostitution could potentially grant a large amount of financial or personal autonomy to an 1800's woman. While this was by no means universally true for every woman and prostitution remained a grim option for most, Storyville boasted a comparatively high number of wealthy madams and working girls who succeeded by virtue of their business acumen and tenacity. Among these women were Josie Arlington, who amassed enough money to build a new, lavish "mansion" to house herself and her girls, and the previously mentioned Lulu White, who was known as "The Queen of Diamonds" for the amount of real diamond jewelry she adorned herself with nightly.<sup>32</sup> Of course, discussing any issues of female autonomy when women are confined to working in culturally degraded professions and living in specific spaces is, in itself, problematic. Nonetheless, Storyville was one part of New Orleans where women could be seen working for themselves on a daily basis. This bred its own hierarchies of power

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<sup>31</sup> See Plate 16 in *Storyville Portraits* (Figure 8); this image was used in a 2002 issue of *Archeology Magazine* when it ran a special article about excavating the foundations of several Storyville establishments. Storyville was also the subject of a presentation at the 2002 Archeological Society of America conference, which was held in New Orleans. Friedlander's print was sold at auction (by Christie's New York) in 2011:

<http://www.christies.com/lotfinder/photographs/e-j-bellocq-new-orleans-c-1911-1913-5515816-details.aspx>.

<sup>32</sup> Emory Archives in conjunction with StoryvilleNOLA.com.



between madam and working girl, and complicated the already complex lines of race and nationality in Storyville and wider New Orleans.

Indeed, the western concept of femininity and female beauty during the 1800's often hinged upon what Edward Said terms in Orientalism as establishing "the Other" and defining what one was by dictating what one was not.<sup>33</sup> Orientalist, or at the least racist mentalities meant that black women, and especially Creoles and Octoroons or Quadroons in New Orleans, were popular among sporting men because they were regarded as more animal—therefore less feminine and not subject to the same strict moral obligations— than other, especially white, women. From a 19th century perspective, this arguably made it more common and even imperative in terms of survival for women of color to be prostitutes or mistresses, a perception that also saved the integrity of white men who wanted mistresses or to frequent courtesans. In terms of selling power, emphasizing one's "otherness" or exoticism—similarly, the term "French" in a Blue Book could signify that a woman was either literally French or possessed notable sexual skills—was definitely an asset.

Emily Landau states, "Sex across the color line was, according to a prominent citizen in the 1910's, Storyville's 'notorious attraction,'" and this is, according to the advertisements and newspapers, consistently true and often overtly acknowledged.<sup>34</sup> Otherness functioned as any combination of the erotic, the dangerous, or the desirable; as a selling point it was integrated with everyday experiences and the potential to be bought. This theme was echoed in not only pornography, but also in the art and even popular culture of the century. The short-lived but popular subgenre of sensation

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<sup>33</sup> Edward Said, Orientalism, 1st Vintage Books edition (October 12, 1979).

<sup>34</sup> Landau.

fiction, which originated in London and was concurrently published in the United States for approximately a decade starting in the 1860's, is a strong example of the way anxiety about immorality, and otherness, were combined to titillate an audience to great monetary success. Patrick Brantlinger connects the themes of sensation novels' risqué content with the fact that they exploited readers' darker interests:

Partly because of its generally exploitative approach to controversial issues like bigamy and adultery, the sensation novel was felt to be disreputable by most contemporary reviewers. Henry James, for example, writes [...] with half-contemptuous admiration, [of the books] as 'clever' and 'audacious' literary tricks that their author has managed to bring off by applying a 'thoroughgoing-realism' to the 'romance' of 'vice.'<sup>35</sup>

A genre that several female authors commandeered,<sup>36</sup> sensation fiction employed tropes such as the fast or fallen woman, an ultimate "other" that opposed the moral, upstanding woman, and played upon the "romance of vice." There was clearly a fascination with immorality and vice that permeated many 19<sup>th</sup> century cultural products, and it was made more powerful by the fact that the traits were defined by strict, superficially non-negotiable binaries. And if anywhere embodied the "romance of vice" in order to exist, it was Storyville.

As Linda Nochlin observes in "Lost and Found: Once More the Fallen Woman" regarding disparities between the "masculine" sense of "fallen" and the "feminine" sense of the same term,

Fallen in the feminine, however—understood as any sexual activity on the part of women out of wedlock, whether or not for gain—exerted a peculiar

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<sup>35</sup> Patrick Brantlinger, "What is 'Sensational' about the Sensational Novel?", *Nineteenth-Century Fiction*, Vol. 37, No. 1 (Jun., 1982), p. 6.

<sup>36</sup> Authors such as Mary Elizabeth Braddon were extremely successful in the sensation genre, although Wilkie Collins and other male authors have also become "canonical" to today's readers. Brantlinger discusses this, and other scholars such as Eva Badowska have interpreted the success of women writers in sensation fiction as one prelude to the feminist movements of the 20<sup>th</sup> century.

fascination on the imagination of nineteenth-century artists, not to speak of writers, social critics, and uplifters [...].<sup>37</sup>

The thought of sexual activity outside of marriage or “falling” was fascinating, even if only to demonstrate or commentate upon a particular morality as in the context of sensation novels. However, Bellocq does not uphold the trope of the prostitute being necessarily fallen, and at the same time he does not “other” the women. The subjects of his photographs are human, which is what makes his works an invaluable source for constructing a more thorough representation or narrative of Storyville. While they are images and should be treated as being a narrative construct on their own terms, they do not fall into the Victorian or late 19th century binaries concerning prostitution, the feminine, or even artistic subject versus object. By portraying the women with their pet dogs or in their finest Sunday clothes, the photographs muddle the understanding of Storyville that a 19th century audience would have had. That understanding was necessarily founded on the idea that prostitutes were fast, fallen women and therefore did not need to be known by any other identity.

Whether men who patronized The District or women who were wives and mothers held this understanding makes no difference: it was ingrained to be singular and sensational, and the brothels, madams, and prostitutes in Storyville all—to varying extents—cultivated that image because it was what kept them in business. The extraordinary way in which “[Bellocq] seems to have gathered [the women’s] confidence enough to allow them to be exactly what they felt they were,”<sup>38</sup> reflects the individual sitters’ self-perceptions and provides a contrast to popular perceptions of Storyville. It is

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<sup>37</sup> Linda Nochlin, *Woman, Art, and Power, and Other Essays*, Westview Press; (October 20, 1989), p. 57.

<sup>38</sup> Friedlander, p. 15.

a counterpoint to the advertisements in the Blue Books and “The Sunday Sun,” a New Orleans newspaper, which were meant to sound exuberant and promising. What Bellocq’s portraits give to the narrative of Storyville is perspective: one, Plate 4, may be of Lulu White, but the rest are comparatively anonymous in the 21st century.<sup>39</sup> They probably were more representative of the majority of women who worked in and defined Storyville, and the portraits could be regarded as more of a “cultural memory” than a true documentary. This is a particularly useful mindset in light of the lack of scholarship done on Bellocq. In Tangled Memories, Marita Sturken suggests,

Cultural memory [...] is unstable and unreliable. Its authenticity is derived not from its revelation of any original experience but in its role in providing continuity to a culture [...] and the fundamental materiality by which that culture is defined.<sup>40</sup>

The portraits give new “continuity” to the cultural memory of an eradicated site by recording the faces and bodies of some of its forgotten women; Storyville itself fostered a particularly bawdy and resistant counterculture. However, this continuity is given in a way that is not compatible with 19th century culture at large, which would have expected prostitutes to be depicted either in a sensationalized—eroticized—or demonized manner. Proper women—in particular, white women of the middle and upper classes—were not supposed to be aware or in possession of their sexuality. The way that female nudity was represented was always embedded in these expectations. And as John Berger establishes, even the concepts of naked and nude are traditionally

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<sup>39</sup> The woman depicted here (see Figure 6) seems to be a young Lulu White, earlier in her career—circa 1910 or 1912—and she is the only identifiable woman in Friedlander’s set of Bellocq images because other photographs, such as mugshots, of her are available.

<sup>40</sup> Marita Sturken, Tangled Memories: The Vietnam War, the AIDS Epidemic, and the Politics of Remembering (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1997), p. 259.

two separate categories that separate the obscene or uncomfortable from the artistic.<sup>41</sup>

When these categories are applied to Bellocq's nude portraits, their nudity in fact becomes nakedness. Nudity is sensualized; it leaves room for voyeurism and in extreme cases the virtual rape of the body that is portrayed. Bellocq does not act as a voyeur in the sense that his compositions, if he gave them thought in an artistic or aesthetic way, make it plain that the viewer looks at a woman who is conscious of the fact that she is being photographed. More importantly, she is allowed to gaze back at the viewer.

Conversely, a nude image allows for sublimation or the titillation of sexual urges, which involves anxiety and the ultimate ability to fantasize via the image. A nude would allow for, as Jacques Lacan posits, "The same satisfaction as if I were fucking. That's what [sublimation] means. Indeed, it raises the question of whether in fact I am not fucking at this moment."<sup>42</sup> Although today's viewers do potentially have that space when looking at Bellocq's photographs, it would not have existed as neatly for the 19th century viewer, and certainly one who lived in or had visited New Orleans. The settings of the nudes, many of which were rooms in brothels, leave no question of the women being prostitutes because they include unmade beds, sofas, and suggestive decorations like erotic postcards. These all would have been pictorial and cultural markers for a 19<sup>th</sup> century audience that the women in the portraits were not chaste or proper, apart from the obvious indicator that some of the women are unclothed. There are even, in two photographs, university pennants and a Christmas card, respectively: the results of using the same room for multiple purposes or as a personal bedroom and space for

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<sup>41</sup> "Ways of Seeing," John Berger and Mike Dibb, BBC, 1972. Film.

<sup>42</sup> Jacques Lacan translated by Alan Sheridan, The Four Fundamental Concepts of Psychoanalysis (W.W. Norton & Co, 1998), p. 166.

clients.<sup>43</sup> The presence of accessories such as jewelry and shoes on women in various states of undress, as well as a degree of awareness that someone is looking at them also would indicate to a 19th century capitalist audience that they are fallen women. The accessories were not invested with historical nostalgia or performativity as they are today, and at the very least, to confront the viewer with eye contact indicated a lack of feminine decorum.

Unlike nudity, nakedness is a representation of life rather than a specific fetish or ideal. A naked image's context does not allow for the consumption of the image without a concurrent acknowledgement of the experiences that it represents. In the case of prostitution, the reality was that sex was being bought and sold, but most crucially, actual women were the individuals providing the service. Because of city life and its blurred distinctions between particularly the middle and working classes—New Orleans was no exception to this development—prostitutes could assimilate into nearly any public environment given the right kind of clothing and bearing. This is why Manet's *Olympia*, for example, was so provocative when it was first shown: Manet disrupted an established set of cultural norms concerning how women, specifically undressed women, should be portrayed. He also injected the image of a prostitute into a decent public venue—the Salon exhibition.

A similar disruptive quality is also what makes Bellocq's work resonant. He did not try to romanticize or fictionalize the women; rather, he seems to have worked with them in their portraits, allowing for a range of expression and scenarios. In this respect, the purposefully “nude” images that were prevalent and popular during the 1800's

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<sup>43</sup> Many of the other portraits include university pennants, piles of books or notebooks, and pillows. See Figure 5.

function as a denial of their contemporary context; they also ignore the implications of disregarding that context.<sup>44</sup> Nude images always have the potential to be exploitative, though more often, they create a false sense of nostalgia and security. Representing the female body as truly “naked” was an acceptance of a troubling, new reality; therefore it was unsettling as well as potentially subversive to any accepted representational and aesthetic practices.

### **Representing the Prostitute and Modernity**

Prostitutes figure prominently in the conceptions of modernity put forth by Parisian critic Charles Baudelaire, a writer and poet whose ideas about the modern, decadence, and ephemerality shaped the academic work of Theodor Adorno<sup>45</sup> and especially, Walter Benjamin.<sup>46</sup> In Baudelaire’s poem “Les Plaintes d’un Icare,” the speaker establishes a polarity between the idea of the whore as something one can possess or use almost as a drug, and less gratifying pursuits. Effectively a counterpart to Benjamin’s “trash of history,” Baudelaire’s prostitutes are juxtaposed with something necessarily more

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<sup>44</sup> The nude image characterized here had its strongest hold in the *carte-de-visite*, or popular postcards. However, even high art during the mid-late 1800’s and early 1900’s also held their enormous share of in-vogue nudes, ranging from the work of the Pre Raphaelites and Aesthetes in London, to the Academics in Paris. As A. Smith notes on page 50 of The Victorian Nude: Sexuality, Morality, and Art, “*Photographs* of the female nude thus were not readily acceptable as art, transgressing as they did the borders distinguishing art from life.”

<sup>45</sup> Theodor Adorno, “Reconciliation Under Duress,” p. 158: “All such categories as decadence, formalism, and aestheticism can be traced back to Baudelaire, who shows no interest in an unchanging essence of man [...] but rather in the essence of modernity.”

<sup>46</sup> For more on themes of anxiety and modernity, as well as the impact of Charles Baudelaire on discourses surrounding history and culture, see Walter Benjamin’s The Writer of Modern Life: Essays on Charles Baudelaire, (Belknap Press of Harvard University Press: 2006).

permanent, or the futile quest for something less fleeting, more meaningful, than what modern life had to offer. Baudelaire writes:

The lovers of whores are  
Happy, cheerful, sated;  
But for me, my arms are broken  
Because I hugged the clouds.

It is thanks to the incomparable stars,  
Blazing in the depths of the sky,  
That my consumed eyes can only see  
The memories of suns.

In vain I wished to find  
The center and the end of space;  
I know not under what burning eye  
I feel my wings breaking;

And burned by love of beauty,  
I will not have the sublime honor  
Of giving my name to the abyss  
Which will serve as my tomb.<sup>47</sup>

The underlying theme, of course, is that although prostitution was not new to the western world, modern cities enabled it to be practiced professionally and within brothels that were run as businesses. This is overtly explored in “Pretty Baby” when Violet’s (Brooke Shields) virginity is auctioned off to the highest bidder, nominally with her mother’s (Susan Sarandon)—a Storyville prostitute—consent.<sup>48</sup> The promise that a customer will be satisfied with his purchase is implicit, yet the transaction itself is indeed a transaction rather than a human or even sexual experience. Brothels within the city become nothing more than another business, a shop akin to the *Bon Marche* or more aptly, the butcher’s. Instead of being human, prostitutes are consumable

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<sup>47</sup> Charles Baudelaire, “Laments of an Icarus,” *Les Fleurs du mal* (Paris: Poulet, Malassis et Debroise, 1857). Author’s translation.

<sup>48</sup> “Pretty Baby,” Dir. Louis Malle, Perf. Susan Sarandon, Brooke Shields, Kenneth Carradine. Paramount, 1978, Film.



commodities, and while everyone—according to Baudelaire and to some extent Benjamin—is a type of commodity under capitalism and the city structure, this is incredibly obvious in the lives of whores. They make their living by selling their bodies, which ironically enough were probably the only things that one could sell and be criticized for selling. Storyville, however, turned brothels into an industry complete with a variety of choice and an impressive profit.

Pointedly, Benjamin terms inert, stubborn historicism as “the brothel” because it strips lived experience from the events of history by confining them to a narrative that is contrived or prostituted according to whim. As M. C. Boyer writes, history itself constantly “[seduces] random and scattered events into its universalizing panorama,” and historicism, as well as classification, were hallmarks of the western world in the 19<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>49</sup> But the extension of selection is exclusion; traditional history in the United States has often excluded Storyville. It has generally forgotten the fact that stories and urban folktales came from lived experiences of the women who worked in The District. Their lives have been scattered in the sense that what remains for consideration is fragmented into films, poetry, legal records, newspapers, letters, some photographs, and various portraits. This fragmentation is often contingent on the value placed on prostitutes, which, while often romanticized and fetishized by 21st century popular culture into something aesthetic or sexually empowering, is only a commodity, disposable value. Historicism can reduce experience to hollow events, and similarly, the offensiveness—or appropriateness—of prostitution relies on the reduction of women’s sexuality to a commodity. This is in spite of the female body still being used for

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<sup>49</sup> M.C. Boyer, “The City of Collective Memory: Its Historical Imagery and Architectural Entertainments,” p. 135.

advertisements, as art object, or a marker of a woman's overall worth even in the 21<sup>st</sup> century.

Prostitutes, especially in the context of art history, have been discussed almost to the point of repetition and redundancy. This illustrates the way that representations of the female body, whether of prostitutes in the paintings of Degas and Lautrec, or the private courtesans in Manet's *Olympia* and *Nana*, are inevitably aestheticized when absorbed into any discussions. They are also, as in Baudelaire's poems, used as metaphors for social, personal, or philosophical issues. This is a problematic practice because it assimilates female nudity and appearances into purportedly acceptable contexts such as artistic practice rather than confronting them as aspects or markers of a particular way of life that is the result of choice, manipulation, or necessity. The Storyville portraits all to varying degrees forestalled a full categorization as an art object until Friedlander exhibited them, exactly because they appear to be ostensibly documentary rather than aesthetic or artistic. Because they are photographs and not paintings, they carry a preconceived air of veracity and utility even if they are ephemeral and modern in physical form.

The iconoclastic potential of the prostitute was well demonstrated by the reception of *Olympia*, the infamous painting of a Parisian courtesan and her maid: the initial reaction was comical disbelief and moral outrage. These were probably both covers to the truer discomforts with modernity and modern, realist art styles as such, rather than the presence of another naked female as the subject of a painting. Critic Felix Jahyer scoffed in a popular newspaper review, "Such indecency... I cannot take [Manet's] intentions seriously... He has made himself the apostle of the ugly and

repulsive.”<sup>50</sup> The controversy inspired when it was exhibited at the Paris Salon of 1865, the yearly exhibition in Paris, was unsurprising. Manet flouted the ideals upheld by his generation’s acclaimed Academic nudes, including Alexandre Cabanel’s *La Naissance de venus* (*The Birth of Venus*). Cabanel’s work is exemplary of Academic standards, and gleans its impact from its smooth brushstrokes and mythological content that carried no reference to either the modern day or any living woman.

Manet, conversely, disregarded these conventions by using thick, fast brushstrokes and a modern context. His courtesan could have been any of the expensive prostitutes frequented by the Parisian elite, which rendered the painting disconcerting. In fact, she was recognizable as his current favored model, Victorine Meurent, who was in nine of his paintings and could have also worked as a prostitute.<sup>51</sup> Although Manet’s style was disturbing to the vast majority of art critics, it was the fact that he openly acknowledged an aspect of modernity—one that was offensive to a bourgeois audience who was accustomed to seeing nudity and nude women within the confines of a very prescribed aesthetic order—that made him “the apostle of the ugly and repulsive.” While prostitutes were certainly part of Parisian life, putting one in a Salon exhibited painting was not acceptable. It implicated, rather than accommodated.

In terms of content and atmosphere, Manet’s paintings of prostitutes and the Storyville portraits bear superficial similarities. Bellocq used contemporary women and brothels in his portraits; Manet took inspiration for his paintings from daily life in much the same way. Both men convey the fact that when faced with the spaces they represent in their images, outsiders and specifically spectators “no longer feel at home.” In looking

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<sup>50</sup> Felix Jahyer, as quoted in “Various Authors on Manet’s *Olympia*,” *Art in Theory* (Malden, MA: Blackwell, 2011).

<sup>51</sup> Eunice Lipton, *Alias Olympia*, Cornell University Press (January 21, 1999).

at these images, the spectator becomes “conscious of the inhuman character of the metropolis.”<sup>52</sup> There can be no comfortable, pleasurable immersion in the representations of these prostitutes because they are too confrontational and immediate. In Bellocq’s pieces, this discomfort comes from the way that the women are in possession of their surroundings—in spite of how the public views their work—and they are comfortable with him and the space they inhabit; their photograph is taken to convey a moment. Although it is evident by their settings, clothing—or lack thereof—and poses that they are prostitutes, their familiarity with the photographer, evident in their relaxed body language and often, smiles, the emphasis is not totally on their profession. The emphasis is on their humanity or even femininity in spite of their work. Manet’s *Olympia* and his later painting of a courtesan, *Nana* (1877) both share this sense of realism and ephemerality, though to a different effect. In the prior artwork, Olympia’s accessories and the presence of her black maid, as well as the way her hand is covering her vagina from the stare of the male spectator, all suggest that what is about to take place is a monetary transaction. In *Nana*, a young courtesan is about to entertain a well-dressed client who waits on a sofa in a sumptuously decorated room. Manet conveys a commodity or service exchange rather than purposefully or accidentally emphasizing a woman’s experience as a prostitute.

Furthermore, while comparing the two men’s work allows for a contextual understanding of 19<sup>th</sup> century representations of prostitutes and modernity, it must be remembered that Manet considered himself an artist and was working with the intent that his artworks could be exhibited and ideally sold. He was a painter, whereas forty

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<sup>52</sup> Walter Benjamin, “Paris, the Capital of the Nineteenth Century,” p. 43.

years later, Bellocq worked with a camera. Bellocq never called himself an artist and his photographs were only called art after his lifetime. By all accounts he was a strange, private man who worked as a professional photographer for catalogues and possibly the United States navy. As far as it is known, his portraits were not circulated and he was reportedly a friend of the prostitutes whose portraits he took, which suggests a much different motive than Manet's. Yet both he and Bellocq were working within similar cultural structures that governed what images of women could be displayed or consumed. I generally infer that Bellocq did not mean for his work to be consumed as either art or pornography, regardless of what he did with them himself. It is possible that some of the prints were meant for use in the Blue Books in a way akin to today's headshots.<sup>53</sup> Friedlander, however, constantly refers to Bellocq as "an artist" in the Storyville Portraits book compiled during the 1970 exhibit.<sup>54</sup> This label necessitates a reassessment of the constructed story that is conveyed through the photographs, especially because Bellocq was apparently not acting as a man who held any artistic self-perception. His work was reproduced numerous times from its original plates in order to be exhibited. Because of the way these images were returned to the public sphere during the 20<sup>th</sup> century via an exhibition in an art museum, they have been largely untouched as a potential historical narrative but have been assessed for their aesthetic or artistic merit.

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<sup>53</sup> Another possibility is that, similar to the headshots taken by actors and actresses today for agents, the more formal portraits that Bellocq made were used by women to advertise themselves to either prospective employers or customers. See Landau's entry on KnowLA.com: <http://www.knowla.org/entry.php?rec=739>. This is, however, unlikely, since they do not surface in any Blue Books I have seen.

<sup>54</sup> Friedlander, Storyville Portraits.

Today, Storyville is a hazy memory discussed in New Orleans histories and the history of jazz, but it remains covered over by tenement buildings. This is symptomatic of the long 19<sup>th</sup> century and particularly its end, a time of ephemerality and transition. Value was assessed according to monetary standards, whether the value in question concerned a person or material goods. The fact that photographs, records, and writings are what remain of the once prosperous, internationally known red-light district is paradoxically appropriate. Along with the existing photographs and records of Storyville and its Blue Books, Bellocq's photographs convey what Benjamin identifies as a sublimated desire "to preserve the traces" of modern life. Specifically, he observes, "Even if [man is] unable to give his earthly being permanence, it seems to be a matter of honor with him to preserve the traces of his articles and requisites of daily use in perpetuity."<sup>55</sup> Bellocq, characterized as a man who was almost never without his bulky camera both in his youth and old age, was seemingly fascinated with preserving the "traces" of a neighborhood that existed blocks from his home.

He can be regarded as a flâneur in Baudelairean terms, a city wanderer with no discernable family obligations and an interest in observing and then retelling the stories of his surroundings. This is not to say that he saved his neighborhood, or particularly rescued the women he portrayed: in fact, his work could also be regarded as a grappling for control. In a city that was constantly changing and evolving, Storyville was an exemplary microcosm of the contradictory, frenetic activity that characterized 19<sup>th</sup> century urban life. The District was subject to and formed by social, cultural expectations, but it was also at the mercy of the national and international economies

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<sup>55</sup> Walter Benjamin as quoted by Eva Badowska, "On the Track of Things: Sensation and Modernity in Mary Elizabeth Braddon's *Lady Audley's Secret*," *Victorian Literature and Culture*, (Cambridge: Mar 2009), Vol. 37, Issue 1, p. 2

and the variable presence of disposable income. However, its most popular commodities were often human: women who, for myriad reasons, were prostitutes.

The controversy and cultural disapproval surrounding prostitution in America has not dissipated. In the same way that the legislation that created Storyville relied on a loophole that did not fully, literally legalize prostitution, there are ongoing, 21<sup>st</sup> century campaigns that conflate voluntary prostitution or sex work with human trafficking or sex slavery rather than investigations of what circumstances shape—and have shaped—the necessity of the sex work industry itself, or what can be done to alleviate them.<sup>56</sup> In spite of liberal and even feminist claims to the contrary, this suggests that the deeply moralistic perspective on sex, nudity, and the body that was so pervasive during the 19<sup>th</sup> century still colors these issues. They are still viewed in an inherently dualistic fashion and are often assimilated into broad academic, aesthetic, and political discourses, rather than deconstructed or understood within their own contexts, because of the historical discomfort. There is not much viable space for the Storyville portraits in a representational or historical vocabulary that has relied upon reducing the female body to an object that can be mastered. Therefore, I have regarded the portraits as objects and visual representations that can subvert and enrich these discussions, or these vocabularies, by allowing us to conceptualize New Orleans, women, and gender in new ways. In part, as Lawrence Grossberg says, “We must embrace temporality in the celebration of imagination, as the attempt to discover new ways of belonging to time. Indirectly, I am arguing against the modern fragmentation of imagination, reason

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<sup>56</sup> Specifically, the recent and heated discussions around Proposition 35 in Los Angeles County are a concrete example of this tendency:

<http://articles.latimes.com/2012/oct/30/local/la-me-prop35-20121031>.

(cognition), and affect (emotion, desire, et cetera).<sup>57</sup> One of the main reasons why the Storyville portraits are intriguing is because they do possess more “affect” and perhaps melancholia than similar images. When Friedlander mentioned that these photographs “would not have changed the history of photography,” he was probably correct: they are not, in terms of subject or style, particularly unique or innovative. At best, they are haphazard.

Further, once closed, Storyville’s buildings were razed in the early 1930’s to make way for housing projects. It was almost as though the land’s earlier association with brothels and prostitutes ruined it beyond any other use. The prostitution moved and it did eventually subside, while the verve and gaudiness of Storyville faded into New Orleans mythologies. Bellocq’s—or Friedlander’s—photographs contribute to our understanding of Storyville by allowing for an alternative to the flamboyance: they may give indications of how some women saw themselves rather than how they marketed their bodies. Tellingly, it is the mysterious photographer’s name—still a man’s name—that is attached to the images. In itself, this is another symptom of the culture of modernity that both gave rise to and destroyed Storyville. It was the culture that judged these images atypical instead of acceptable, only after engaging with everything prostitution had to offer.

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<sup>57</sup> Lawrence Grossberg, “History, Imagination, and the Politics of Belonging,” Without Guarantees: In Honor of Stuart Hall, p. 159.



## Images Referenced



Figure 1—Friedlander's Plate 11 ( all plates are in Storyville Portraits unless otherwise noted)



Figure 2—Friedlander's Plate 3

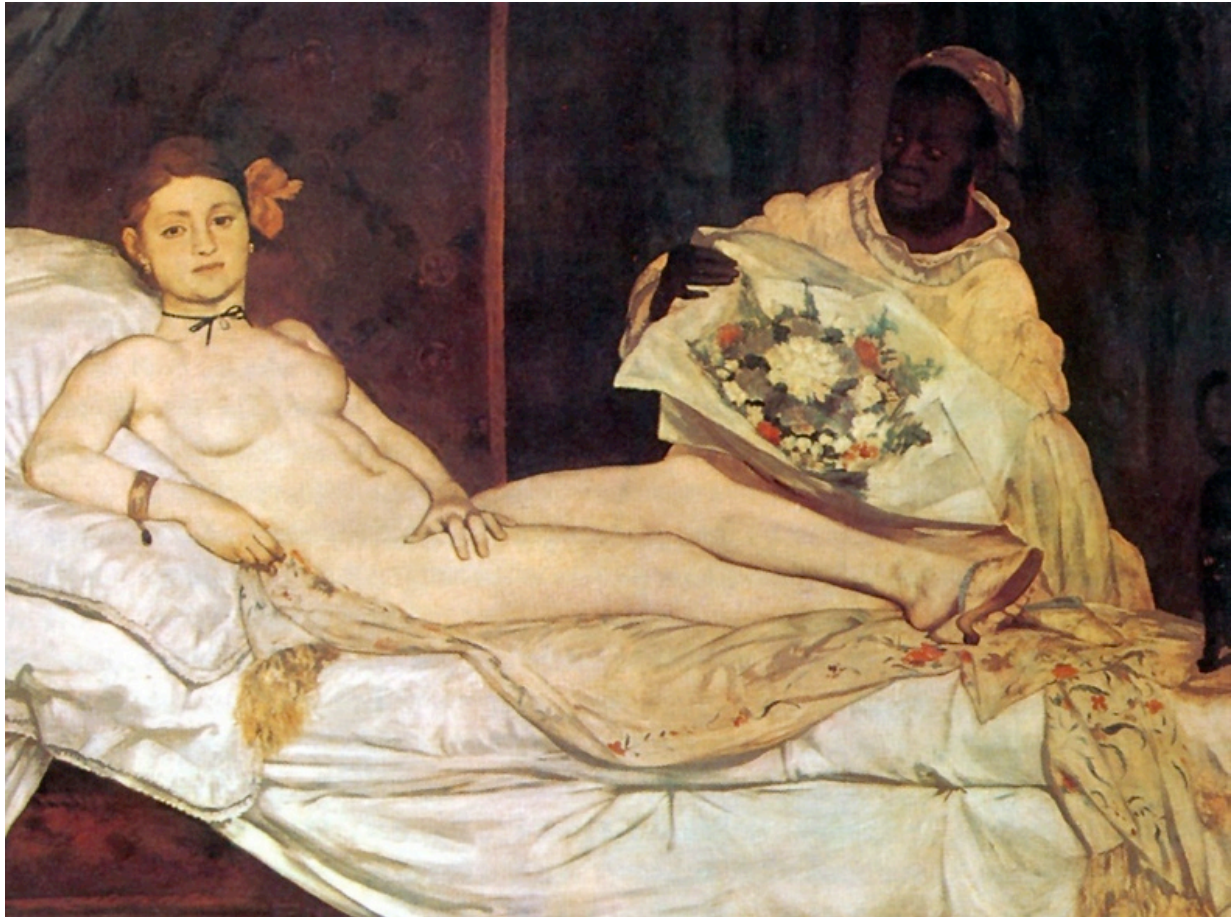


Figure 3-- Manet's *Olympia* (1863)





Figure 4-- Cabanel's *La Naissance de Venus* (1864)



Figure 5-- One of many examples of the ubiquitous university pennants present



Figure 6-- Friedlander's Plate 4 (thought to be Lulu White)





Figure 7-- Manet's *Nana* (1877)



Figure 8-- Friedlander's Plate 16 (sold by Christie's)





Figure 9-- unnumbered Bellocq print

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