

Munch's *Madonna*: Exposing Motherhood in Nineteenth Century Europe

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Late nineteenth-century Europe was characterized by the slow decline of Church power since the French Revolution, modern developments in science, and acceptance of physical and biological human needs; but more importantly, there emerged an ambivalent atmosphere governing the male population around the phenomenon of the New Woman.¹ The New Woman introduced new tenets of social, sexual, and economic freedom pushing the limits of patriarchal Europe. Thus, the dubiousness of the *fin-de-siècle* led to an artistic society that represented the cultural moment through daring compositions. The 1895 painting, *Madonna* (fig.1), by the Norwegian artist Edvard Munch, situates a uniquely late nineteenth-century image of motherhood epitomized by the icon of the Virgin Mary in relation to the New

Woman, demonstrating a shift in the nature of motherhood: that from a moral duty towards an option in a woman's life. The methodologies of iconography and feminism unravel the symbolically-charged painting, and serve as a means to understand the social implications of motherhood in nineteenth-century Europe.

Where does Munch's *Madonna* fit in the context of nineteenth-century cultural ambivalence towards the emerging New Woman? Although much of Munch's work has been viewed in a misogynistic light, criticized as the objectification of women in the extreme, and seen as a threat to the sanctity of motherhood, there may be room for more subtle interpretation. Munch's *Madonna* reflects the changing role of motherhood as a social arrangement, and the exploration of the feminine through the New Woman.

The Virgin Mary, icon of purity and paradigmatic image of the unconditional loving and caring mother, represents the idealization of motherhood *par excellence*. Characterized since Renaissance Mariological imagery as the embodiment of chastity, she is most often depicted as soft, delicate, fully clothed, and accompanied by the Christ Child. Mary is venerated for her infinite compassion and boundless affection towards her child. These characteristics are reflected in Raphael's *Tempi Madonna* (fig. 2) from 1508, where her erect posture can serve as a metaphor for the moral virtuosity of society. She smiles at Christ, embraces him, and presents herself as a caring mother. Raphael's *Madonna* embodies idealized motherhood, which is defined as "self-abnegation,

unstinting love, intuitive knowledge of nurturance and unalloyed pleasure in children.”² However, she is painted in Munch’s *Madonna* (fig. 1) in the most unconventional, even profane manner. The Virgin Mary appears alone in a rather dark and private environment, therefore, shifting the focus of the representation toward the female figure. Portraying her in the nude forces the viewer to question her identity as the Virgin Mary. Cast in the light of nineteenth-century secularized modern society, Munch’s *Madonna* diverges widely from the “traditional” depiction of the mother of God and is presented as the mother of modern society, the New Woman, with all the attendant ambivalence surrounding this new figure.

The deviation from the traditional Madonna reflects divergence from traditional values and beliefs experienced by Munch and his contemporaries. Following the rise of natural science and theories of evolution pioneered by Charles Darwin, religious perspectives were called into question. Europe suffered from a feeling of moral and social decay, referred to as “degeneration,” as a result of the emphasis on the biological sciences towards the end of the nineteenth century.³ In Munch’s own intellectual circles, Hans Jaeger personifies this “degeneration.” As leader of the Kristiania bohème in Kristiania, Norway, he had a radical nihilist philosophy, favoring free love—non-marital sexual relations—and the eroticization of women. This anarchist attitude defied the strict Lutheran upbringing of Munch by his father, Christian Munch.⁴ However, Munch’s distant and complicated relationship with his highly devout father, combined

with the loss of several family members, pushed him away from religious devotion. Munch and Jaeger’s close friendship in the 1880s introduced the former to the societal values “dedicated to the gods of machine and money, degrading human relations.”⁵ Thus, Edvard Munch’s experience in society at the *fin-de-siècle* was the culmination in microcosm of a long series of events which demoralized, secularized, and modernized Europe.

This new “degenerated” society, consumed by the importance given to human interactions, created space for new kinds of relationships, including free love between men and women. In Munch’s case, he mentions several times his inability to commit and be exclusive to one love because it got in the way of art.⁶ However, he enjoyed the liberty, boldness, and daring attitudes of the New Woman. This new freedom of the body is reflected in the *Madonna*’s arching posture. Taking control over her body, she finds herself willing to participate in free love and to bend the limits of patriarchal Europe. Munch narrates in his private journals an encounter which reveals his feelings towards free love. He writes: “one evening in a/ café I remark—/Don’t you think/two like us/—we have seen/life—you are rich/and free—why—/shouldn’t we/take advantage of/avail/benefit from/make love useful together/—and meet without/love’s coercion.”⁷ Munch’s tolerance toward non-marital sexual relations is apparent in these words as he openly proposes to this woman in a café and treats it as an ordinary activity. Yet, although free love brought a kind of liberty, it also corrupted the emergence of the New

Woman.

Though the New Woman revolutionized the conventional understanding of womanhood, her freedom was condemned by Europe's patriarchal society. More precisely, decadent and misogynistic intellectual circles portrayed the liberation of womanhood through representations of the "*femme fatale*," or the "deadly woman." As explained by historian Virginia Allen, "artists and poets created femme fatales in their work as an expression of what they saw in women who were beginning to declare their sexual as well as political freedom."⁸ This image of an empowered woman who claims her subjectivity was corrupted through the objectification of the female body and an emphasis on its "evil" nature. Although men fantasized about the erotic image of women and benefitted from women who indulged in their "sexuality without concern for her lover of the moment,"⁹ men also desired the prior idealization of womanhood and motherhood that persisted in society. This society, therefore, exposed a dichotomy in the sentiment towards the New Woman: she was desired as a sexually-active being yet she was longed for as an idealization of compliance and integrity. The New Woman remained overshadowed by the long western tradition of the obedient woman and continued to be ostracized in artistic circles.

Trademarks of the *femme fatale* can be seen in Munch's rendering of the Madonna figure. In Munch's *Madonna*, the uncertainty, pessimism, and materialism that characterized the decadence of the

fin-de-siècle are firmly embedded in her obscure and sensual character. Munch's rendering of the pale yellow nude body emerging from the swirls of blues and browns in the background evokes gloomy sensations which are further articulated in the deep circles surrounding the eye orbits. This decadent ambiance can be further perceived in the series of lithographs of *Madonna* (fig. 3) where Munch's dark lines create an even greater ominous feeling. Any idea of purity has been abandoned completely as she appears nude and in the full ecstasy of love, underscoring a society rooted in concrete, physical expression. Moreover, she fully embodies the implications of the *femme fatale* for whom sex and death are intertwined. Munch has emphasized this aspect through the dark palette, contrasted with crimson red and fiery orange, as well as by her long black locks of hair blowing around and wrapping her body. The placement of the arms behind her evokes the impression of vulnerability and total voyeuristic exposure pertaining to the *femme fatale*.

In Munch's life, this image of the *femme fatale* was represented by Dagny Juel. Arriving in Berlin in 1892, Munch marked this period by his friendships with Stanislaw Pruszewski and August Strindberg. They comprised a male-dominated, intellectual circle in Berlin where philosophy, art, and literature were discussed. Dagny Juel¹⁰ was introduced and accepted into the male group of artists and intellectuals as a longtime acquaintance from Munch's Kristiania. She interacted, smoked, and voiced her opinions with the rest of them. The Swedish writer Adolf Paul

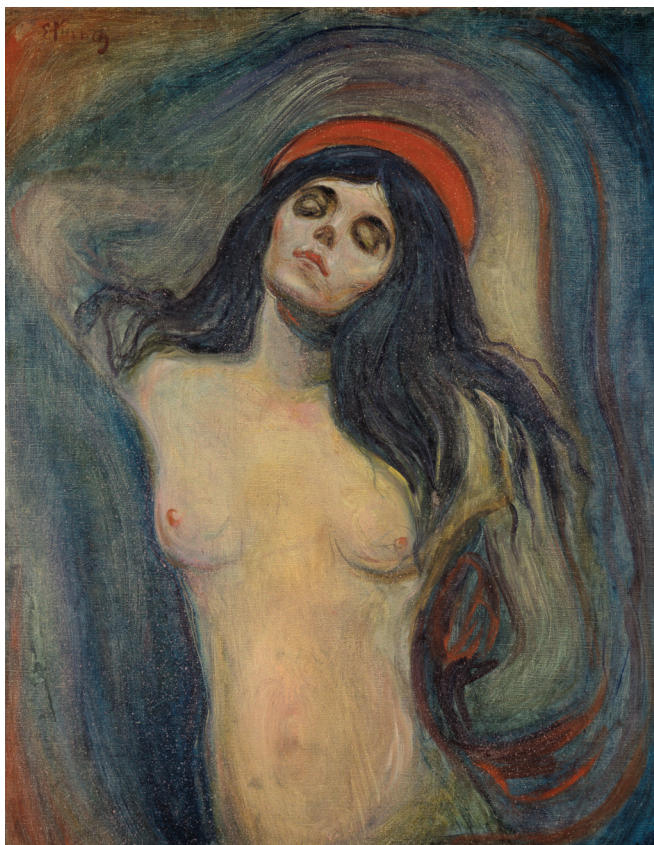


Fig. 1 Edvard Munch: *Madonna* 1894
 Oil on canvas
 90 x 68.5 cm
 Munch Museum, Oslo
 MM M 68 (Woll M 365)
 Artwork: © Munch Museum / Munch-Ellingsen Group /
 ARS, NY 2012.
 Photo: © Munch Museum
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 Artists Rights Society (ARS), New York.



Fig. 2 Raphael, *The Tempi Madonna*. 1507. Oil on poplar,
 75.3 x 51.6 cm. Inv. WAF 796. Alte Pinakothek, Bayerische
 Staatsgemäldesammlungen, Munich, Germany.
 Photo: bpk, Berlin / Alte Pinakothek / Art Resource, NY.



Fig. 3 Edvard Munch, *Madonna*. 1895-1902. Lithograph and
 woodcut, composition: 23 13/16 x 17 1/2" (60.5 x 44.5 cm);
 sheet (irreg.): 33 11/16 x 23 3/8" (85.6 x 59.3 cm).
 © 2012 The Munch Museum / The Munch-Ellingsen Group /
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 Photo: © The Museum of Modern Art/Licensed by SCALA /
 Art Resource, NY.

recounts that Dagny was perceived by her sister as the personification of sin and by her girlfriends as a whore.¹¹ She was not aesthetically beautiful, but “it was the combination of intelligence, spirituality, inviolability and sensuality that comprised her fascination.”¹² Although apparently disreputable due to her divergence from the “obedient woman,” she was “the one woman in whom Munch forgave everything, the only one who made the transition from sensual goddess to mother and saint.”¹³

Though this transition from a sexual sphere to a sacred one is explained by Munch’s infatuation with and admiration of Dagny’s character, there is no conclusive evidence of a romantic relationship. She was desired by the four friends of the group—Pryszewski, Strindberg, Munch, and Dr. Carl Ludwig—but ultimately married Munch’s longtime friend Pryszewski. She became a dedicated wife and renounced her promiscuous behavior.¹⁴ Though *Madonna* was conceived after Munch’s idealization of his sexual relationship with Millie Thaulow,¹⁵ the image is modeled after Dagny in her physical traits: the slim torso, the small waist, the pale face, and half-smile. More significantly, Munch’s depiction may not simply embody the *femme fatale*’s evil nature, but may attempt to suggest his own wholesome relationship to Dagny.

This wholesome relationship with Dagny can be represented by the holiness of the Madonna suggested through several stylistic devices. As an iconographic marker, Munch’s thick brushstrokes create a crimson halo behind her head in order to signify her

sacredness. However, her implied holiness embodies the “modern soul” of the nineteenth-century. The “modern soul” refers to the new mindset in Europe, one which is detached from conservative religious life and revolutionized by bohemian revelry, and as quoted from Munch, “subject to the instabilities of modernity.”¹⁶ Some of these instabilities of modernity were produced by developments on the reproductive front, relating to the physiology of women, childbirth, and contraception. These reproductive conditions may be symbolically embedded in the crimson red of the Madonna’s halo, since red represents the color of blood, including the blood of menstruation and childbirth. Ultimately, reproduction was the primary function of women since “female physiology, specifically that of the uterus, defined the female role.”¹⁷

Combining the traditional and the modern in *Madonna* leads to a daring dualism which triggered the religious sensitivities of Europe at the time of the painting’s exhibition in the Berlin Secession and which still accrues to the work. When the painting was exhibited in Berlin in 1902 for the first time, Munch’s contemporaries thought of the painting as an “unstable conjunction of blasphemy and divinity.”¹⁸ Though subject to the eye of the beholder, the Madonna’s face induces a range of emotion from sexuality to death to the tenderness of a mother, and she is portrayed with the soft and delicate facial features distinctive of the Virgin Mary. Even though the halo is the only concrete symbol related to the Virgin Mary in the painting, its meaning is inescapable. Munch bridges the divinity of Madonna and the hu-

manity of the New Woman through the theme of love. Love functions as an underlying emotion that pertains to all women, whether in the realm of the divine or the natural world. Munch first painted *Madonna* as part of the “Love” series¹⁹ and later incorporated the painting into the *Frieze of Life* exhibition of 1902 under the section titled “Seeds of Love.”²⁰

In the *Frieze of Life*, Munch exposes the cycle of life and uses the Madonna painting to interconnect themes of love, life, and death. As the Virgin Mary, she is the epitome of maternal love and giver of life. As the New Woman, she is sexually charged, guardian of her own body, and possessor of reproductive rights. Munch encircles the female figure in thick brushstrokes producing a cyclic motion that evokes the cycle of life from birth to death. The symbolic meaning can be extended into the biological sphere indicating physiological states of motherhood which undergo the stages of reproduction, fecundation, and childbirth.²¹ In the original painting, the frame of the canvas contained the image of an embryo in the lower left corner and spermatozoa moving clockwise throughout the frame, further underscoring the subject of life-giving. Munch suggestively uses red on specific areas of the body pertaining to reproduction, such as the navel and the breasts, as well as the frame, all of which, including the fetus and the sperm, are carried over in the lithographic version of the *Madonna* (fig. 3). The emphases on childbirth do not seem arbitrary; they ultimately raise questions about the maternal image of the New Woman.

Combined with the eroticism of the period, the presence of references to life continues throughout the composition. Reflecting upon the painting, Munch wrote:

The pause when the entire world halted in its orbit. Your face embodies all the world's beauty. Your lips, crimson red like the coming fruit, glide apart as in pain. The smile of a corpse. Now life and death joins hands. The chain is joined that ties the thousands of past generations to the thousands of generations to come.²²

The words of Edvard Munch not only confirm the passage from birth to death implied in the *Frieze* as a whole, but also echo the feeling of pessimism and death that revolved around the *fin-de-siècle* and its links to ambivalence about the New Woman. Munch reveals the pessimistic concern with the empowering of woman and especially, her decisions concerning procreation. Women's choice to reject motherhood was affected by the attitudes of the decadence movement, and the wider availability of both contraception and employment outside the home.²³ This rejection was strengthened by the scientific revelations that offered opportunities to practice radical methods of abortion;²⁴ thus, women acquired freedom to control their own bodies, concomitantly producing uncertainty within the male population. Men like Munch were not only troubled by ideas concerning the end of civilization circulating

at the turn of the century, but also about prolonging the human race when women now had the power to reject procreation.²⁵ In the *Frieze of Life*, Munch indicates the Madonna's vital role by presenting motherhood as the link between generations. He relates the subject of motherhood to that of death, previously interpreted as the death of the mother in the natural cycle of motherhood: the high maternal mortality trajectory of intercourse, conception, and death.²⁶ However, in Munch's *Madonna*, the relation between life and death not only speaks of the death of the mother but also implies the power held by the mother in her choice to conceive. The fetus on the frame can either symbolize the conception of a new life, or if seen as a variation on the skull and crossbones motif, it can symbolize the natural death of the embryo, or abortion for which the New Woman bears responsibility.

This responsibility for reproduction is thus a product of the "modern soul" and carries dualistic repercussion; it is an advantage and a liberation, yet it carries the burden of death and amoral behavior produced by the "instabilities of modernity." In terms of procreation, modernization clearly embraced scientific advances in the field of contraception. Knowledge of some sort of contraceptive practices had been present since the beginning of time, but had grown more reliable in the eighteenth-century.²⁷ At first, contraceptive methods were only available to the higher social classes not only because of their resources to pay, but also because of their ability to access secret knowledge about the procedures. When in the nineteenth-century diffusion of informa-

tion and practice spread to all social classes, it dramatically affected the social order. Promulgation of this information was condemned by societal values and punished by the authorities. The combination of availability of contraceptives and a rise in promiscuity apparent throughout the eighteenth century into the nineteenth century led to increased prostitution, low birthrates, and an overall freedom of the body. Now "social order was grounded in natural order."²⁸ The use of contraceptives was nonetheless viewed as against the laws of nature because, in the context of Darwinian theory, "evolutionary success for women, meant reproductive success."²⁹ Even most feminist movements of the period remained opposed to their use because they found contraceptives, in terms of evolutionary theory, to go against the natural order which recognizes motherhood as the primary responsibility for women.

Women's movements in the mid-nineteenth century focused on the "maternal dilemma," referring to the ability to combine motherhood and work. Due to the high demand for working women in the industrial sectors, the working mother immediately seized upon the development of contraceptives in order to control the number of children she bore. Having children was expensive and time-consuming, time which single mothers as well as working mothers could not spare. Childbirth was also "fatal" for the New Women as it restricted them to traditional female roles; thus, motherhood in the context of nineteenth-century industrialization became a social function rather than a moral duty. Though the "maternal dilemma" was

a liberating debate for women, it further fueled the anxiety suffered by men. Society, in general, found the maternal dichotomy of the New Woman to detract from the idealization of womanhood. The empowering qualities of “passion, ambition, virile energy, the love of strong excitement, self-assertion, fierceness, [and] undisciplined temper”³⁰ that gave definition to the working mother were effectively diminished by the convention of the *femme fatale*.

Throughout the nineteenth-century, women’s movements and feminist philosophy grew stronger and aimed for equality of marriage and the liberation of women in marriage. Nonetheless, married women were in a state of “powerlessness over [their] fortune, powerlessness over [their] children.”³¹ The New Woman favored free love and chose to reject child-bearing in order to take control over her own life. Another position championed by feminist movements considered motherhood a right rather than a natural obligation. There is no final resolution of the perception of motherhood at the end of nineteenth century because even within the feminist movements, the array of visions of what constituted women’s progress varied immensely. However, they shared opinions concerning the nature of their opposition to enforced motherhood, stating it:

was not to motherhood itself, but to motherhood as a coerced service to a patriarchal family and state, and when free to control their own reproductive decisions (a freedom that

was defined in many different ways) women would willingly become mothers.³²

It is not surprising that particularly during the second half of the nineteenth century when women were openly gaining freedom in the work place, the home, and over their bodies, patriarchy projected deep ambivalence, a dark vision, and ultimate rejection of the New Woman.

This anxiety was the result of misunderstanding and a lack of knowledge surrounding the psychological, biological, and emotional needs of the female. While explaining how each of Munch’s paintings relates to the *Frieze of Life* as symbols of the different aspects of love, biographer Sue Prideaux identifies the *Madonna* painting as the representation of the “mystery of sex.”³³ This “mystery” has manifestations in biological, emotional, and religious subjects. In *Madonna*, Munch points towards the “mystery” of the biological implications of sexual reproduction in the circular brushstrokes surrounding the abdomen of the female figure, further emphasized by the light source in the painting. Her breasts and navel have a vivid glow, and her nipples have a touch of red; these symbols of maternity seem to imply pregnancy. However, the “mystery” may refer not only to the biological process of pregnancy, but in concert with the disembodied fetus on the frame, its prohibition or termination. Moreover, this “mystery” signifies the lack of psychological understanding of the female at this point in time as indicated by the rejection of the New

Woman into society.

At an emotional level, Munch himself was never able to engage in a stable relationship with a woman. Reflecting upon this, Munch writes:

what do you want to do?—the Bible calls/free love/whore—/But what should/one do—/For marriage/bad luck/and sorrow have not/prepared me/Or is it my mission/What benefit/is?/And if I/am incapable of/a great love—when/its roots is/pulled plucked out of/my soul/—And marriage/without love/which stops there/it stops/does not move/stops there/ besides that, in/addition/is idle halts/ remaining in place/stuck fast/If like now never/for me the portal to the upper rooms of love/can be opened— /I shall remain/in darkness/—day in day out/—year after year/...again.³⁴

His private journals reveal a confused emotional drive towards women and free love. He is torn between the excitement and the burden induced by love, and he condemns matrimony because “marriage gets in the way of art.”³⁵ On a religious level, the “mystery of sex” reads as the mystery surrounding the Immaculate Conception. This inevitably introduces religious considerations, while also reiterating the duality of physical and spiritual love. For Munch, “an artwork is a crystal. A crystal has a soul and a mind, and the artwork must also have these.”³⁶ In

the mysteries of the *Madonna*, he attempts to capture the soul and mind of nineteenth century Europe, detached from conservative religious underpinnings and advancing into spiritual freedom and liberation of the body.

In accordance with the rebellious character of the New Woman, *Madonna* carries the excitement of nineteenth century women’s redefinition of femininity projected onto the realm of the divine. As a product of an anguished patriarchal society whose moral values had been corrupted and longing for a return to the idealization of womanhood, Munch generates an image charged with social and religious anxiety complicated by medical and biological interventions.³⁷ Part of the Symbolist movement and an era of decadence, he diverges significantly and meaningfully from the traditional portrayal of the Madonna. Munch’s *Madonna*, though divine in nature, embodies the “modern soul” of decadent nineteenth-century Europe, and thus, is considered ‘blasphemous’ for the audience of the time and for all time. Munch’s *Madonna* in her erotic posture exposes her nude body to the viewer, signifying her as object of desire; yet she also reflects the result of the struggle of social, religious, and scientific views of nineteenth century Europe. The Madonna is no longer portrayed as the loving mother who is subordinated to her child, but as the *femme fatale* who has released herself from obligatory motherhood and now carries within her the seeds of life, and thanks to the proliferation of contraception and abortion, death. Finally, Munch’s unconventional sacred image captures the transition

of nineteenth-century Europe to modernity, exposing the status of motherhood as a social arrangement dependant on the liberation of the New Woman.

ENDNOTES

- 1 For more information about the New Woman see Whitney Chadwick, "Modernism, Abstraction, and the New Woman, 1910-1925" *Women, Art, and Society* (London: Thames & Hudson, 2007), 252-278.
- 2 Rozsika Parker, *Mother Love/Mother Hate: The Power of Maternal Ambivalence* (New York: Basicbooks, 1995), 22.
- 3 Richard Olson, *Science and Scientist in Nineteenth-Century Europe*, trans. Robert Baldick (London: Pall Mall Press, 1971), 277.
- 4 Edvard Munch was son of Christian Munch, a doctor and medical officer, who as son of a priest followed strict religious practices. Edvard's childhood was marked by the severe religious upbringing of his father. In Munch's words "my father was temperamentally nervous and obsessively religious—to the point of psychoneurosis." Sue Prideaux, *Edvard Munch: Behind the Scream* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2005), 2.
- 5 Michael Burleigh, *Earthly Powers* (Great Britain: Harper-Collins Publishers, 2005), 368.
- 6 J. Gill Holland, ed. *The Private Journals of Edvard Munch: We Are Flames Which Pour out of the Earth* (Madison: University of Wisconsin, 2005), 88.
- 7 *Ibid.*, 35.
- 8 Virginia M. Allen, *The Femme Fatale: Erotic Icon* (New York: Whitston, 1983), xi.
- 9 *Ibid.*, 4.
- 10 Dagny Juel was the daughter of a Kongsvinger physician and the niece of the current prime minister of Norway.
- 11 Sue Prideaux, *Edvard Munch: Behind the Scream* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2005), 143.
- 12 *Ibid.*, 144.
- 13 *Ibid.*, 145.
- 14 *Ibid.*, 147-150.
- 15 Edvard Munch met Millie Thaulow in 1885 as wife of Dr. Carl Thaulow. She was Munch's first love yet marked by the anxieties of dealing with an adulterous romance.
- 16 Kynaston McShine and Patricia G. Berman, *Edvard Munch: The Modern Life of the Soul* (New York: Museum of Modern Art, 2006), 36.
- 17 Shelley Wood Cordulack, *Edvard Munch and the Physiology of Symbolism* (New Jersey: Fairleigh Dickinson UP, 2002), 68.
- 18 McShine, *Edvard Munch: The Modern Life of the Soul*, 39.

- 19 Edvard Munch exhibited his "Love" painting series in 1895 including: *Mysticism*, *Two People*, *Two Eyes*, *Kiss*, *Vampire*, *The Loving Woman*, *Madonna*, *Sphinx*, *Separation*, *Hands*, *Jealousy*, *Evening*, *Insane Mood*, *The Scream*, and *Vignette*.
- 20 *Frieze of Life* was Edvard Munch's first exhibition at the Berlin Secession in 1902. The exhibit was divided in thematic sections. Seeds of Love presented: *The Voice* (1893), *Red and White* (1894), *Eye in Eye* (c. 1895), *The Dance on the Shore* (c.1900), *The Kiss* (c.1892) and *Madonna* (1894). The Flowering and Passing of Love included: *Ashes* (1894), *Vampire* (1893), *The Dance of Life* (1899-1900), *Jealousy* (1895), *Sphinx or Woman in Three Stages* (1893-5) and *Melancholy* (1894-1895). Anxiety showed *Anxiety* (1894), *Evening on Karl Johan* (1894), *Red Virginia Creeper* (1898-1900), *Golgotha* (c. 1900) and *The Scream* (1893). The final wall took the theme of Death: *The Deathbed*, *Fever* (1895), *Death in the Sick Room* (1893), *Hearse on Postdammer Platz* (1902), *Metabolism* (c. 1898), and *Dead Mother and Child* (1893-1899).
- 21 Cordulack, *Edvard Munch and the Physiology of Symbolism*, chapter 6.
- 22 Philippe Julian, *Dreamers of decadence: symbolist painters of the 1890's*, trans. Robert Baldick (London: Pall Mall Press, 1971), 40.
- 23 Annie Besant, *The Law of Population*, 1877. She informs that Norway and Switzerland are two countries with lowest birthrates.
- 24 Sharon L. Hirsh, *Symbolism and Modern Urban Society* (United Kingdom: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 167.
- 25 Ibid., 177.
- 26 Ibid., 177.
- 27 Norman Edwin Himes, *Medical History of Contraception* (New York: Schocken Books, 1970), 210.
- 28 Shari L Thurer, *The Myths of Motherhood: How Culture Reinvents the Good Mother* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1994), 221.
- 29 Ibid., 221.
- 30 Patricia Hollis, *Women in Public: 1850-1900 Documents of the Victorian Women's Movement* (London: Allen and Unwin, 1979), 20.
- 31 Ann Taylor Allen, *Feminism and Motherhood in Western Europe 1890 - 1970: the Maternal Dilemma* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005), 46.
- 32 Ibid., 88.
- 33 Prideaux, *Edvard Munch: Behind the Scream*, 150.
- 34 Holland, *The Private Journals of Edvard Munch: We Are Flames Which Pour out of the Earth*, 50.
- 35 Ibid., 88.
- 36 Prideaux, *Edvard Munch: Behind the Scream*, 120.
- 37 Olson, *Science and Scientist in Nineteenth-Century Europe*, 277.