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A New Matrix of the Arts:
A History of the Professionalization of Canadian Women Artists,
1880-1914

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A thesis submitted to the Faculty of Graduate Studies and Research in partial fulfillment
of the requirements of the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

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Abstract

This dissertation investigates the careers of a number of women, all born or residing in Canada, who were active as professional artists/entrepreneurs, painters, sculptors, illustrators and craft artists, both in Canada and abroad, between 1880 and 1914. The professional lives of many of the artists in the study group exemplified a new approach for women to the independent and active organization and promotion of their own careers. Implementing the theoretical writing of feminist art historians such as Griselda Pollock, this study demonstrates how the artists of the study group resisted gendered restrictions in art practice, including the gendering of criticism, subject matter rules, and other professional barriers. In their aspirations to lead self-determined, professional lives as independent single women, artists such as Laura Muntz, Sydney Strickland Tully, Harriet Ford, Elizabeth McGillivray Knowles, and Florence Carlyle were champions of a new ideal for women's working and private lives. The characteristics of their lives were those of the New Woman. During their lifetimes they contributed to a new model of the artistic professional in Canada, and in addition were modern role models for all Canadian women aspiring to a career.

This study initiates a comparative analysis of the professional art practices of the study group artists. It examines how the artists of the study group reacted to the challenges and opportunities of the time, to train, to establish a professional practice, run a studio, decide on what to produce and how to market the results to the public. I begin by charting the areas of education and the climate of professionalism. Subsequent chapters focus on identity, political engagement, and marriage and partnership choices. The second half of the thesis focuses on the studio, art production and exhibiting strategies, dealers and

clients, and critical reception. This research reveals how many Canadian women artists of the era expanded their art practice into areas that were traditionally dominated by men. The study has unearthed a previously unexplored and unacknowledged diversity of art production by the study group artists; a diversity that includes both “high” and “low” art forms. These artists worked not only as painters and sculptors, but obtained commercial commissions as muralists, interior decorators, editors, and founders of arts-related magazines, business franchises, and schools, as illustrators, writers, and cartoonists, and in the applied and craft arts as potters, jewelry, fabric, and furniture designers, makers, and entrepreneurs.

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For my mother
Rose Cartwright
with love and gratitude

Every image of the past that is not recognized by the present as one of its own concerns,
threatens to disappear irretrievably.

Walter Benjamin (1892-1940)
“Theses on the Philosophy of History,” *Illuminations*

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List of Abbreviations

AAM	Art Association of Montreal (superseded by Montreal Museum of Fine Arts)
ACWA	Archives of Canadian Women Artists, Carleton University, Ottawa
AGO	Art Gallery of Ontario (formerly Art Gallery of Toronto)
AO	Archives of Ontario (formerly Public Archives of Ontario, PAO), Toronto
ARCA	Associate Royal Canadian Academy
CNE	Canadian National Exhibition (formerly Toronto Industrial Exhibition)
CPR	Canadian Pacific Railway
CWM	Canadian War Museum, Ottawa
CWMF	Canadian War Memorials Fund
LAC	Library and Archives Canada (formerly National Archives of Canada), Ottawa
ML	Museum London, London, Ontario
MMFA	Montreal Museum of Fine Arts (formerly Art Association of Montreal)
NCWC	National Council of Women of Canada
NGC	National Gallery of Canada, Ottawa
NSCAD	Nova Scotia College of Art and Design (formerly Victoria School of Art and Design), Halifax
NYASL	New York Art Students' League
OCAD	Ontario College of Art and Design
OSA	Ontario Society of Artists
RA	Royal Academy, London, England
RACAR	<i>Revue d'art canadienne/Canadian Art Review.</i>
RCA	Royal Canadian Academy
SAA	Society of American Artists
SACC	Society of Arts and Crafts of Canada
TASL	Toronto Art Students League
TIE	Toronto Industrial Exhibition
TWLC	Toronto Women's Literary Club
WAAC	Women's Art Association of Canada
WAG	Woodstock Art Gallery, Woodstock, Ontario

Introduction

In order to work as a professional artist a woman requires an education, tools and materials; she must have a source of inspiration, something about which she feels it is worth making art and, not insignificantly, she requires some human support. That aspiring women artists would have access to these things may be taken for granted by many in today's world, however, in Canada one hundred and thirty years ago, women's access to art education, tools, and freedom in which to work was much in doubt. Yet, in the late nineteenth century the role of women was undergoing radical change and, while there was much in the social climate to discourage women from pursuing an artistic career, many women did just that during these years, working as professional artists/entrepreneurs in Canada and abroad. This dissertation will focus on the careers of a number of women, all born or residing in Canada, who were active as painters, sculptors, illustrators and craft artists between 1880 and 1914. Broadly speaking, this study will explore these women's professional art practices and undertake a comparative analysis of them, looking specifically at the areas of education and social climate, political engagement, marriage, and professional strategies including the studio, art production, exhibiting, dealers and clients, and critical reception. It will examine how the artists of the study group, who are listed in Appendix 1, worked as professionals, how they reacted to the challenges and opportunities of the time, to train, to establish a professional practice, run a studio, decide on what to produce and how to market the results to the public. This project explains what women artists did, how they did it, and what was unique to their experience, as artists who were women, and as Canadians.

Precisely what and how much survives of a person's life or career in the historical record, is an erratic uncertainty. The art historian Deborah Cherry asserts that, "the historical archive is a fissured, fragmentary monument to the past, shaped in and by historically specific relations between power and knowledge which have determined who is recorded, when, where and how."¹ In Canada the pre-1940 women's archive is especially fragmentary and this fact has had profound consequences for my research into the lives of historical Canadian women artists.² Many of the careers, achievements, and production by Canadian women artists of this period have been lost to art historical knowledge. This dissertation affirms that women did work as artists in Canada at this time. It will restore, in some cases only partially, the careers of a study group of fifty-seven women artists, many of whom were well known during their lifetimes, but who had subsequently been marginalized by the canon of art history. Their artistic practice spanned a broad range from critical and financial triumph, to that which might best be described as difficult and unfulfilled. These women worked not only as artists, but as editors, as entrepreneurs, illustrators, jewelry and fabric designers, writers, and cartoonists; their production included both "high" and "low" art. This study will not assume that the study group artists all followed the same 'path,' but instead, will reveal the diversity of their participation in the art world.

My examination of the process by which these women became and worked as professional artists will restore them to a (reconstructed) historical context. So that each artist/subject is not viewed in isolation, simply moving in its own orbit, this study will also recreate a network that is inclusive of a diversity of production, peers in the cultural professions, and of supportive structures such as studios, clients, and art dealers. The

professional lives of the study group artists encompassed multiple roles, and their work and personal life had much in common with other women working in the cultural professions in Canada.

One of the strands running through this dissertation is the struggle on the part of women, to become professional artists, a status claimed as masculine by middle-class men. Within the institutions and profession of artist in 1880s Canada, the era when this study begins, most women were positioned as amateurs, the very antithesis of the professional artist. That a significant number of women challenged the exclusivity of the definition of artist as masculine during the time period 1880 to 1914, is testimony to a heightened activity, constituting a rich and dynamic period in the history of Canadian art.

Before moving on to the literature review, it might be useful to discuss the factors that influenced the choice of timeframe for the dissertation. The timeframe, 1880 to 1914, has been chosen because of specific historical factors. As a starting point, the year 1880 marks the formation of the Royal Canadian Academy of Arts (RCA), the most prestigious Canadian art society of the time. While two other important art societies were established earlier, the Art Association of Montreal (AAM) founded in 1860, and the Toronto-based Ontario Society of Artists (OSA) in 1872, the inception of the RCA in 1880 launched the period as one of increasing institutional organization and formalization within the artistic profession in this country. The structure of the Canadian cultural world was further strengthened in the years between 1880 and 1914 by the establishment of other key organizations including galleries and art schools.

The Manitoba Society of Artists was formed in 1903, followed in 1912 by the opening of the Winnipeg Art Gallery, the first provincial art gallery in the Canadian

West; and the British Columbia Society of Artists was established in 1909. Also in this period, art schools were emerging at which Canadian men and women could obtain a professional level art education. In Toronto the Ontario School of Art³ opened in 1876 and accepted both men and women; here students were trained in the 'high art' skills of painting, and drawing; and by the late 1890s the school added classes in the applied arts, for example a wood carving class taught by study group artist Louise Beresford Tully.⁴ The Ottawa School of Art opened its doors in 1879, and study group portraitist Frances Rowley⁵ was one of the original painting instructors. In Montreal the AAM School was officially opened in 1879, but had its first intake of students in the fall of 1880. The AAM School had a high-art curriculum in these years; although the original intention had been to include classes in applied design, these plans were short lived.⁶

Artists in the study group founded and led a number of art schools at this time. Esther K. Westmacott,⁷ the first woman elected a member of the OSA in 1874, founded the Associated Artists' School of Art and Design in Toronto about 1884. Her school had the specific goal of offering women an education in the applied arts. Mary Phillips and Harriette J. MacDonnell⁸ were the new co-principals of the revamped Victoria School of Art in Montreal from 1892 to 1895. The Victoria offered both a 'high' and applied art curriculum at this time and was staffed by study group artist Mary Bell Eastlake, who taught there in 1892. In 1895 the school's name changed to the School of Art and Applied Design to reflect its new emphasis on the applied and craft arts such as ceramics, wood carving, and design, and by 1900 it had seventy-five pupils.⁹ The applied arts and crafts were also the focus of the curriculum taught at the short-lived First Technical School of Ottawa, a school founded in 1898 by study-group artist-designer Marion

Living.¹⁰ Outside Ontario and Quebec professional art training was available from 1887 at Halifax's Victoria School of Art and Design;¹¹ and at the Winnipeg School of Art which opened its doors in 1913. As this brief overview indicates, a number of important art institutions were operating in other provinces, yet the majority of professional art activities in Canada at this time occurred in the provinces of Ontario and Quebec.

To clarify then, at this time the Canadian art world was focused geographically on the provinces of Ontario and Quebec. Here the major annual exhibitions took place; these were specifically the AAM, OSA, and the late summer Toronto Industrial Exhibition (TIE), the latter under the auspices of the OSA. In addition, the important RCA exhibition rotated annually between Ottawa, Montreal and Toronto. The 1880 to 1914 timeframe also saw the founding of many private art clubs and exhibiting organizations in Canada: for example, the Arts Club of Montreal was founded in 1912 and held its first inaugural exhibition in its stylish new club rooms in 1913.¹² Many of the new art organizations in this period were founded in Toronto. For example, in 1886 the Toronto Art Students' League (TASL) was established. In September 1887 the Woman's Art Club was founded, in 1892 it was incorporated in Ontario as the Women's Art Association of Canada (WAAC).¹³ While it held annual exhibitions at local branches in Canadian cities from Winnipeg to Halifax, the WAAC was Toronto-based. Also in 1892, Lucius O'Brien hand picked the members of the Toronto-based Palette Club.¹⁴ Three other important Canadian cultural organizations were founded in Toronto in the first decade of the twentieth century, the Canadian Art Club was founded in 1907; the Heliconian Club, and the Arts and Letters Club, both opened their doors in 1908. Because many of the careers

of the study group were centred in Toronto, this dissertation is principally focused on this city and its environs.

The year 1914 marks the informal 'end point' for the dissertation; 1914 saw the beginning of World War I (1914-1918), an event which saw much change in the role of women and in society in general. While the art practices of some of the study group artists continue after this year, 1914 is the cut-off point for including later artists.

Literature Review

A literature review which included details relating to each study group artist would be unwieldy. To facilitate this review, a short biographical overview, including some principal scholarship and archival sources, is found on each artist in Appendix 1. The study group artists who constitute the present study were primarily active in Canada from the 1890s to the 1920s. A number achieved acclaim during their careers and thus were included in early twentieth-century Canadian art historical scholarship. Laura Muntz (fig. A-4) is singular among her Canadian colleagues for being included in the American Clara Clement (Waters') book *Women in the Fine Arts from the 7th Century B.C. to the 20th Century A.D.* (1904).¹⁵ This is likely due to the sale, in April 1904, of her painting, *Little Miss Shy*, at the prestigious Society of American Artists exhibition as reported in the *New York Times*.¹⁶ While Florence Carlyle also participated, exhibiting four paintings at this New York City venue, none of her works sold.

During the lifetimes of many of the study group, women artists received attention in Canadian texts published by two of the most important Canadian art critics of the time,

E.F.B. Johnstone and Newton MacTavish. In “Painting and Sculpture in Canada” in volume 12 of *Canada and Its Provinces* (1914), Florence Carlyle, then at the top of her career, received a close critique of her work by Johnstone. The first comprehensive survey of Canadian art, MacTavish’s *The Fine Arts in Canada* (1925), gave close and laudatory attention to both Carlyle and Laura Muntz, and included forty-five women artists (in his study of one hundred and eighty-nine artists). Indeed MacTavish’s inclusion of women artists is double the number referred to in the main survey texts published by J. Russell Harper and Dennis Reid over forty years later.¹⁷ The emerging canon of Canadian art had, in the meantime, devalued women artists’ contributions from the earlier era, effectively excluding many of them. Harper and Reid’s texts, it should be noted, reflect the canon and reinforce these exclusions.

The late-1960s saw the advent of the women’s movement and an emergence of interest in women’s history. At this time we see the first attempts at the recovery of women artists into the historical and cultural consciousness. This included the ground breaking work by Germaine Greer, *The Female Eunuch*, in 1970. Feminist art historian Linda Nochlin’s influential essay, “Why Have There Been No Great Women Artists?” followed in 1973. This, along with Greer’s *The Obstacle Course: The Fortunes of Women Painters and Their Work* (1979), and Griselda Pollock’s and Rozsika Parker’s landmark *Old Mistresses: Women, Art, and Ideology* (1981) were among the first to expose the patriarchal bias in art history.¹⁸ Among the leading writers on nineteenth century women artists are Pamela Gerrish Nunn whose *Canvassing* (1986), an anthology of writings by six women artists, and *Victorian Women Artists* (1987) gave visibility to Victorian women artists and their careers. Anthea Callen’s *Angel in the Studio: Women in*

the Arts and Crafts Movement (1979), closely followed by Rozsika Parker's *The Subversive Stitch* (1984), and others, made visible women's historical achievements in the textile and other applied and craft arts.¹⁹ The work of Griselda Pollock, beginning with her early *Vision and Difference: Femininity, Feminism and the Histories of Art* (1988), has been profoundly influential in her examination of the problematic feminine in the social history of art. Linda Nead in, for example, *Myths of Sexuality: Representations of Women in Victorian Britain* (1988), has contributed to the understanding of gender and visual representation.²⁰ Deborah Cherry's *Painting Women: Victorian Women Artists* (1993) examined the professional careers of British women artists in relation to each other, in such diverse areas as professional identity, production, and networking.²¹ In addition, the nine essays in Clarissa Campbell Orr's *Women in the Victorian Art World* have contributed to our understanding of women artist's experience in a broad, principally British, context.²² In *Sisters of the Brush: Women's Artistic Culture in Late Nineteenth-Century Paris*, and other publications, Tamar Garb has written extensively on women artists' activity in late nineteenth century France, in the areas of identity, education, production, portraiture and gender representation, and the development of feminism.²³

Work on nineteenth century American women artists has included Alice A. Carter's look at the careers of painter/illustrators Elizabeth Shippen Green and Violet Oakley in *The Red Rose Girls* (2000); Erica E. Hershler's examination of Boston-centred women artists such as Ellen Day Hale, and Lillian Westcott Hale, in *A Studio of Her Own* (2001); and Nancy Mowll Mathews' work on Mary Cassatt, including her biography, *Mary Cassatt: A Life* (1994).²⁴ Whitney Chadwick's counter-survey of the history of women

artists, *Women, Art, and Society* (1990), and surveys of American women artists by Charlotte Streifer Rubinstein, *American Women Artists* (1982), and Eleanor Tufts, *American Women Artists, 1830-1930* (1987), have emerged as the culmination of much of the earlier endeavor.²⁵

In 1975 the first significant scholarly research on nineteenth and early twentieth-century Canadian women artists was produced with Dorothy Farr and Natalie Luckyj's exhibition, *From Women's Eyes: Women Painters in Canada*.²⁶ Including forty-five women artists active in Canada between the seventeenth and mid-twentieth centuries, this exhibition catalogue was the first attempt to examine the historical contributions of these same women since the work of Johnstone and MacTavish in 1914 and 1925 respectively.

Since 1980 scholarly work on several study group artists has taken the form of exhibition catalogues, several Masters theses on specific artists, two of which examined the history of the Woman's Art Association of Canada (WAAC), and the Canadian Handicrafts Guild; and a doctoral dissertation.²⁷ The much anticipated survey of Canadian women artists by Maria Tippett, *By a Lady*, (1992) has been criticized as largely devoid of theoretical analysis. Indeed the discussion of women artists' work and careers in *By a Lady* leaves the reader with little insight; and fails to engage with issues of central importance to feminist art history, issues such as gendered experience, subjectivity, and biography.²⁸

Unlike any other woman artist in the years under study, much has been written on the painter Emily Carr. Accorded an almost iconic status in the Canadian imagination Carr has been constructed and reconstructed from many perspectives. While this large archive has ensured that her life and work is well documented, as Janice Helland has observed, it

has also “allowed critics and historians to be seduced by perceived ‘truths;’”²⁹ in other words, has tended to impose limits on thinking about this artist. Stephanie Kirkwood Walker’s, *This Woman in Particular: Contexts for the Biographical Image of Emily Carr* is not about Carr herself, but about the development of her biographical image and the various interpretations and approaches to Carr’s life.³⁰ Among the other materials on Carr are two editions of Maria Tippett’s *Emily Carr: A Biography* (1979 and 1994), neither of which addresses her biography in relation to the gendered experience of women artists.³¹ Doris Shadbolt’s *The Art of Emily Carr* (1979) engages in useful analysis of the artist and her work; while *The Life of Emily Carr* (1987) by Paula Blanchard draws comparisons between Carr’s career and work, and that of American artist Georgia O’Keeffe.³² Susan Crean’s biographical/fictional *The Laughing One: A Journey to Emily Carr* (2001) offers a revitalization of the genre of biography, and new ways of thinking about Carr.³³ Essays by Gerta Moray and Susan Crean in the exhibition catalogue, *Emily Carr: New Perspectives on a Canadian Icon* (2006), and Moray’s *Unsettling Encounters: First Nations Imagery in the Art of Emily Carr* (2006), explore this artist’s work with regard to racial, colonial and national issues, and with sensitivity to gender.³⁴ As will be discussed later in the Introduction, the magnitude of research and writing on Carr is one factor bearing on the decision not to include her in the present study group, although aspects of her production are referred to in the text, and a brief overview of her biography and references appear in Appendix 1.

Among recent scholarship on artists in the study group, Natalie Luckyj’s exhibition catalogue, *Helen McNicoll: A Canadian Impressionist* (1999) examines aspects of this painter’s biography and production.³⁵ Building on Luckyj’s research, Kristina Huneault’s

2004 article “Impressions of Difference: The Painted Canvases of Helen McNicoll” examines the importance of personal experience and feminism in McNicoll’s sunlit canvases of women and children in landscape settings.³⁶ Elizabeth Mulley’s doctoral dissertation entitled “Women and Children in Context: Laura Muntz and the Representation of Maternity,” (2000) brings a rather narrow focus to her examination of Muntz’s production, looking exclusively at the artist’s mother and child paintings, regrettable, especially since so little is known of Muntz’s other diverse production. Mulley’s subsequent article “Madonna/Mother/Death and Child: Laura Muntz and the Representation of Maternity,” reproduces the findings of her dissertation.³⁷ Brian Foss and Janice Anderson’s essays for the catalogue, *Quiet Harmony: The Art of Mary Hiester Reid* (2000)³⁸ have opened new doors in the research on an artist whose leadership in the Toronto art world, and artistic production define her as a central painter in the period under study.

Beginning in the 1970s and continuing to the present a number of books and exhibition catalogues have appeared on the sculptor partners, Frances Loring and Florence Wyle. For her book, *The Girls: A Biography of Frances Loring and Florence Wyle* (1972), Rebecca Sisler was able to interview many of their former friends and associates.³⁹ Christine Boyanoski’s well illustrated and researched exhibition catalogue *Loring and Wyle: Sculptors’ Legacy* (1987) contributed a scholarly approach, which attempted to situate the sculptors’ careers within the broader Canadian art historical context.⁴⁰ In her article “‘Heroes of a Different Sort:’ Gender and Patriotism in the War Workers of Frances Loring and Florence Wyle,” Kristina Huneault has explored how Loring’s and Wyle’s bronze statuettes for the Canadian War Memorial Fund (CWMF)

helped to present a new perception of the role and identity of female labourers during World War One.⁴¹ In my 1996 article, “Women Making Shells: Marking Women’s Presence in Munitions Work 1914-1918, The Art of Frances Loring, Florence Wyle, Mabel May, and Dorothy Stevens,” I expanded the examination of commissions by Canadian women artists for the CWMF, by looking at a variety of etchings, paintings and sculpture which depict Canadian women working at non-traditional occupations, images which challenged traditional expressions of women’s labour and war activities.⁴² Elspeth Cameron’s biography *And Beauty Answers: The Life of Frances Loring and Florence Wyle* (2007), draws heavily on previous biographies of the two sculptors, but fails to situate them within the context of their professional women artist colleagues in Canada, or generally within the broader Canadian cultural context of the time.⁴³ The present dissertation will take up the challenge of these two goals, namely context and connections with colleagues in the arts, and with dealers and critics, for artists in the study group. While many of the contributions in the above review constitute a significant leap forward in the scholarly knowledge of the study group, much remains for investigation.

Several expansive approaches to the careers of nineteenth and early twentieth century women artists have been of particular importance to this dissertation. While not focused exclusively on women, Marilyn McKay’s *A National Soul: Canadian Mural Painting, 1860s-1930s* (2002), discusses mural work by women artists in the study group, for example Harriet Ford and Mary Hiester Reid; and opens the door to our understanding of their diverse and varied art production.⁴⁴ Similarly, Ellen McLeod’s *In Good Hands: The Women of the Canadian Handicrafts Guild* (1999) reveals the diversity of production, entrepreneurial skill, and leadership of women artists.⁴⁵ Three of the artists in the study

group (Ethel Seath, Mabel May, and Emily Coonan) are discussed in Barbara Meadowcroft's *Painting Friends: The Beaver Hall Women Painters* (1999).⁴⁶ While Meadowcroft's book focuses on a period slightly later than this dissertation, she explores the careers and production of the Beaver Hall women painters in relation to each other and the connections she establishes between the artists recreates a rich historical context for the group. While she is concerned with a predominantly British context, Griselda Pollock's *Differencing the Canon: Feminist Desire and the Writing of Art's Histories* (1999) has helped to set goals and contribute theoretical insights to this project. In addition, Deborah Cherry's *Painting Women* (1993) demonstrates the insights to be gained by an examination of the professional careers of women artists in relation to each other; her study of British women considers such diverse areas as professional identity, production, and networking.⁴⁷ In *Professional Women Painters in Nineteenth-Century Scotland* (2000), Janice Helland has investigated how women painters engaged in the commercial aspects of the art world in Britain.⁴⁸ Helland looks at women painters as professional workers and entrepreneurs, and her examination of their studio life and production explores the diversity of their activity.

Research Goals and Methodology

The goal of this dissertation is to make a contribution to the project of recognizing women's lives, production, and culture; rescuing them from anonymity so that they are understood as part of Canadian history and as contributors to our present. What was missing in the scholarship on Canadian women artists of this period was a broad

comparative analysis, one which would examine the lives and careers of a relatively large number of women artists, active in these years; to make connections and discuss the patterns that are suggested by the artists' decisions and production. Scholarship in this area of Canadian art has tended to be narrow in focus, and substantially denied for most Canadian women artists in the period 1880 to 1914. Indeed, the present study was suggested by what I perceived as missing in the scholarship on Canadian women artists. In this dissertation I look specifically at what I have learned about their art practices, will discuss the patterns and facts that have emerged; and reveal the multi-faceted narratives around women artists' lives and careers. There are several integral aspects of this thesis which distinguish it from other examinations of Canadian women artists: the relatively large size of the study group, a comparative approach, the restoration of a broader context and, in particular, the revelation, and inclusion of, the broad diversity found in the study group's art production.

When conducting my primary research I trailed after the subjects in the study group, through the archives, through academic theses, books, articles, catalogue essays, through interviews with people who knew them. I read their letters and looked at their work. I read about their production that is not extant. I searched through microfilmed newspapers for exhibition reviews, and for art and social columns. I thought about their personalities and their relationships (intimate and otherwise). I looked at their photographs, their studios, and the events they attended. These efforts helped to build a context, and ultimately to make connections between the study group artists.

Much of the research for this dissertation was done through and in archives of varying kinds, in Canada and the United States, over a period of more than ten years. Archives

that were used ranged from the structured records of auction houses, of national, provincial, and university collections to the informally organized archives which I discovered. The latter were often in precarious states and conditions, in for example, the furnace rooms of church basements, and dimly lit closets of art associations; here paintings jiggled in their frames, held there only by the efforts of a rusting nail or two, and hundred year old scrapbooks pasted with valuable ephemera, threatened to crumble to dust as we turned the pages. Indeed, the survival of material on and by women artists must be recognized as a key factor influencing both the choice of artists in this project and ultimately the questions that were asked. This research has suggested that several artists in the study group, such as Winnifred Kingsford, Mabel Cawthra, and Edith Patterson, were significant players in the context of Toronto in this period, but, as their biographical outlines in Appendix 1 reveal, information on their careers and production is frustratingly difficult to locate. Yet, this study uncovered and utilized a number of previously overlooked archival sources, for example the archives of the Women's Art Association of Canada; the Florence Carlyle papers in the Woodstock Art Gallery; and in the United States, the Knoedler Art Gallery Archives; the Warshaw Archive of Advertising Art at the Smithsonian; and the William Chase/Shinnicoch School archive. As there is no central archival source for reviews, as such, much time was spent compiling my own archive of exhibition reviews and art/social columns from microfilms of newspapers and periodicals. Many pleasant and rewarding discoveries emerged from the research: an undiscovered archive of advertising art at the University of Delaware Library; a previously unresearched collection of paintings, including an important work, *Summer* (c1901) by Florence Carlyle, at the Granite Club in Toronto; the revelation of

the power of the work and personality of Elizabeth McGillivray Knowles (figs. A-2, and 5.5); and not least, the uncovering of a previously unknown diversity of production for these women artists.

Important figures in the study group are painters Laura Muntz and Florence Carlyle (figs. A-4 and 1-5), who in the first decade of the twentieth century were known in Canada as the leading child portraitist and as one of the leading painters of figures, respectively. (Fig. A-3) Mary Hiester Reid (fig. A-1), known for her flower studies, and leading portraitist Sydney Strickland Tully (fig. A-5) are also key artists in the period. Less well known artists have also been included in the study group, such as painters Gertrude Spurr, Mary Bell Eastlake, and Sophie Pemberton (fig. 1-4), and multi-talented Harriet Ford who worked as cultural writer, painter, muralist, and jewelry designer, (fig. 1-4); these choices broaden the understanding of the versatility of women's professional activity in Canada. More "ghostly" women artists, those whose presence in the historical record is discontinuous, are also included in the study group to assist in the 'mapping' of the wider conditions of art production. With these artists, what little is known about their careers and production leads one to expect that they are significant. This latter category includes Sydney Tully's sister, Louise Beresford Tully, a British-trained artist who worked in leather and wood; and the enigmatic painter Henrietta Moodie Vickers (act. 1890-1903) (fig. 4-3) who, like the Tully sisters, was related to the artists and authors Catharine, Susanna and Agnes Strickland.⁴⁹ Much less well known than their brother, the internationally known painter Paul Peel (1860-1892), the two Peel sisters, Mildred and Clara (figs. 1-2, and 4-1), are included in the study group and their contrasting careers form an interesting illustration of the influence that marriage had on a woman artist's

professional practice. Marginalized and forgotten by the canon, the fascinating career and production of painter Elizabeth McGillivray Knowles (figs 5-4 to 5-6) is partially restored by her central place in this dissertation. Knowles married her art teacher, attained professional success in Canada and the United States, and became known as the “Rosa Bonheur of the barnyard.” (Fig. A-2) Her critically successful paintings of lone pine trees, such as *The Dreamer* (fig. 1-3) inspired Canadian poets; and she was also a leading cultural arts hostess in Toronto in the years prior to 1914. Another artist to emerge from obscurity in this dissertation is Mabel Cawthra. (Fig. 6.4). Born into a wealthy Toronto family informally known as the “Astors of Canada,”⁵⁰ Cawthra’s work as a handicraft artist, a business entrepreneur, and as the first President of the Society of Arts and Crafts of Canada, was significant. These are some of the artists in the study. Because of the large size of the study group, fifty-seven artists, and the difficulty of discussing each member here, as an aid to the reader I have included an Appendix, with biographies and references of these and several other related artists.⁵¹

While her production is briefly mentioned at certain points, the West-Coast painter Emily Carr is peripheral to the study group, for a number of reasons. As previously mentioned, there are a large number of publications about Carr’s life and production; but this alone is not reason enough to exclude her. This study is principally concerned with artists, the majority of whom were overwhelmingly Toronto-centred; and for whom urban concerns are reflected in their production and lives. In contrast to the artists of the study group, Carr and her production tended to be rural and wilderness-based.

The approach used in the present study is centred in feminist theory, and draws on interdisciplinary scholarship, and the strengths of postmodern theory which leaves room

for ambiguity, for complexity, and contradictions. This dissertation recognizes the challenges inherent in writing biography, and accepts that all historical sources are inevitably flawed and potentially unreliable. While writing about the study group artists, it is recognized that historical formulations of identity are continuously negotiated, a process that is never complete. “All representation has a politics; it also has a history,” Linda Hutcheon has asserted in *Remembering Postmodernism*; “issues of gender, class, race, etc. are now part of the discourse of the visual arts / literary arts. Social history cannot be separated from the history of art: in both, memory is at work.”⁵² In response, this dissertation seeks to be sensitive and open to historical context and the personal; it does not claim to be definitive or “the last word.” The history of this period and of these artists is ultimately unfixed and its writing is an ongoing process. It will not, to use Deborah Cherry’s phrase, “rest” in one history written here.

The role of gender in the making of both art and the artist is central to feminist art history as is the belief that women artists, simply because they are women, were treated inequitably within a society and art world; a world which was organized to prioritize male viewpoints and concerns, and which promoted narrowly constructed ideals of femininity to govern women’s lives.⁵³ Within this patriarchal paradigm the artists of the study group negotiated their professional art practice. My analysis is informed by feminist theory, and I have drawn on the work of Deborah Cherry, Linda Nead, Linda Nochlin, Pamela Gerrish Nunn, Clarissa Campbell Orr, and Griselda Pollock.⁵⁴

The first methodological point organizing this study is the goal of rectifying the gaps and omissions in our art historical knowledge in order to reinstate women artists and their production in the art historical canon.⁵⁵ This task is ongoing, and is an important focus of

this dissertation. In Canada, as elsewhere in the world, hand in hand with restoring the archive is the difficult task of reinstalling women in the canon of art history. As Pollock asserts, the task of revising the canon, that which sanctions which art we should study, also involves grappling with the terms that created the neglect of women artists, and at its centre involves the analysis and critique of the hierarchy of gender.

The canon makes a division between high art and craft art forms. The former, painting and sculpture, was seen as truly creative; while the latter, textile arts, illustration, and jewelry design, has traditionally been viewed as ‘merely decorative,’ dexterous production. This downgrading came about in part because such production was associated with traditional production by women, and so was classed as quintessentially -- ‘feminine;’ devalued because it did not fit into the ‘high’ art classification and so lacked status. This division has been challenged on behalf of Western women and non-Western cultures in general because feminist art historians have exposed the capriciousness of the entire value system, arguing that such valuations of art by the canon are culturally biased and influenced by gender, and not based on excellence.⁵⁶ In addition to reclaiming historical knowledge about the women artists in the study group, I have consciously chosen an expansive methodological approach, which addresses diverse art production by the study group, including media and material that has been systematically devalued by the canon, such as textile art, illustration, comics, calendar painting, and ceramics. In her discussion of women artists and the development of modernity, Griselda Pollock has argued that we must discover “past resistances” and examine how women producers “developed alternative models for negotiating modernity and the spaces of femininity.”⁵⁷ I believe there are resistances present in the strategies that the study group employed to

work successfully as professional artists. For example, even for a woman to attempt a professional art career was a “resistance” to traditional social expectations. And, in addition, women who diversified their professional art practices to include crafts, and non-traditional areas and venues such as commercial commissions for murals, illustration, clock cases, or jewelry were, in a sense, going one step further and developing alternative models to the norm for women of the time.

The inclusion of their entire *oeuvre*, specifically incorporating this production diversity, is important for what it contributes to the project of establishing the wholeness of our cultural history: The cultural historian Raymond Williams wrote about the necessity of not exaggerating the importance of one cultural element. Williams argued against valuing what he termed, emergent cultural elements or ‘high’ art forms, over the popular, or “dominant,” cultural elements.⁵⁸ Historians, he believed, should look at all the components which define activity in artistic culture and not privilege one area of cultural production over another. Williams’ theories in this regard are applicable to the ongoing project of a more inclusive recovery of women artists’ total art practice. Such a history would include Mary Bell Eastlake’s jewelry creations, Mary Riter Hamilton’s work with textiles, Harriet Ford’s furniture and jewelry work, and Florence Carlyle’s calendar paintings.

It may be argued that recovery of the art production and work of Canadian women artists that has occurred to some extent since the mid-1970s has tended to concentrate on the high art, with minimal acknowledgement of other artistic production. This results in a distorted view of women artists’ professional careers and production, for as Bridget Elliott and Janice Helland point out, often the less valued parts of a woman artist’s

oeuvre, the applied arts and crafts, are allowed to “deteriorate and disappear” by an art world that values and preserves only the paintings and other so called ‘high’⁵⁹ art production. The diverse additional production of these women, whether it was applied craft art or writing, was seen as valuable by the artists themselves and by the public and academy of the time. For example this diversity of work was exhibited in Royal Canadian Academy (RCA) exhibitions, and Ontario Society of Arts (OSA), Applied Art exhibitions; it was discussed in private correspondence, and was included in contemporary reviews and articles. It was retained over time by the artists. Mary Hiester Reid’s original poster design, which appeared as a periodical cover in 1895, was exhibited along with her “high” art production seventeen years later at her memorial exhibition.⁶⁰

I specifically mention this because in recent writing on Canadian women artists, often their involvement in the applied and craft arts has been devalued, downgraded, or simply omitted from their art practice. For example Dorothy Farr and Natalie Luckyj’s landmark catalogue from 1975, *From Women’s Eyes*, was important in the initial recognition of the existence of many Canadian women artists. However it gave precedence to discussion of the high art production of these artists. Recent exhibition catalogues of the works of artists Mary Hiester Reid and Harriet Ford make brief mention of some of the diverse aspects of their art practice. However in Reid’s case, her work on poster and small furnishings designs is ignored, and in Ford’s case her work in applied art and craft is briefly mentioned as evidence of her “versatility,” but no details are made available.⁶¹ Similarly in a recent exhibition catalogue essay on Mary Riter Hamilton’s career, her work in fabric decoration is mentioned only minimally.⁶² The emphasis in

these key publications is on the artist's "fine" art, namely their traditional painting production.

There is a problem with the inclusion of only the high art production in such exhibitions and writings, specifically; it concerns not being able to see anything beyond this production, for whatever reason. Whether the reason is that it is devalued, or that there are difficulties in the archive with regard to acquisition, presentation, or that it falls outside of what is expected. In any case, there is a decision made of what to present and include. The result is that such writings on Canadian women artists are often the first public or scholarly attention to the artist in decades, and thus the message implied to the public and academy is that the work discussed, or on view, is representative of the artist. It suggests that nothing very much different exists and if it does exist, and is referred to in a brief mention in the catalogue, as often happens with the applied art and crafts production, then the implication is that it is of minimal importance.

The third methodological point organizing this study is the recognition that the social processes of sexual difference which have structured women's social positions, practices, identity, sexuality, and their representations should be addressed and exposed in the historical record. Sexual difference is confirmed and maintained by structures such as the canon, the regulating definition of 'femininity,' and other social mechanisms relating to education, professional practice, and women's sexual and personal lives. This dissertation aims to expose and thus interrupt these structures of difference.⁶³

In early feminist scholarship, spatial metaphors were a key way of thinking about women's struggle and transformation. The theory of the 'separation of spheres' was central to early feminist theories.⁶⁴ Essentially the separation involved two spatial

systems, one for women, and the other for men and 'fallen' women. This system saw women confined by social dictums to the domestic spheres of home and family. Only specific and circumscribed areas within the public sphere were thought to have been readily accessible to them (parks, the theatre), and then only if appropriately accompanied or chaperoned. In this analysis women were largely excluded from the public sphere, which included most work, business, and the entertainments of the city. The public/private split metaphor has recently come into question, the new thinking being that the divisions were more permeable; and, as Linda Nead has demonstrated in her study of nineteenth century London, *Victorian Babylon*, women had much more accessibility to the public sphere, and to city life, than previously thought.⁶⁵ The reality was that in the late nineteenth century, perhaps as an influence of feminist activism and the trope of the "New Woman," women, including the study group artists, resisted the ideal which placed them only within the domestic world. They moved, studied, and worked freely in the city and abroad, and they encountered adventure, risk, and erotic possibilities in the public sphere. Like the two women protagonists in Canadian writer Sara Jeannette Duncan's *A Social Departure: How Orthodocia and I Went Round the World by Ourselves* (1890), they engaged with the public world of travel abroad, unchaperoned, with no itinerary, no plans. In addition, study group artists were involved in commerce, and worked as entrepreneurs. They searched for adventure and finding their limits, for as the "New Woman" narrator in *A Social Departure* states, "There is a satisfaction that is difficult to parallel in getting as far as you can go."⁶⁶

Feminist theory tells us that all women speak with different voices. How then, can we discern an authentic feminist voice and history if experience remembered across time

is discursive? The approach taken in this dissertation draws on historian Joan W. Scott's work which advocates as a central goal in analysis a return to "experience," not to take experience as "real" or as an *a priori* given, but to historicize experience. Thus the focus is not to list historical "facts," but to analyze the production of this knowledge itself. The relationship between "facts" and the discursive is recognized as key, and "experience" is made up of the processes of historical naming, of the re-telling and remembering, of the assigning of meanings.⁶⁷ In this approach, the exploration of social climate and of historical context becomes a key line of enquiry.

This dissertation foregrounds the activity of women artists as a verb, as labour, and not only a noun as in the "work" or product, for as Janet Helland has pointed out, the actual labour involved in women artists' work has receded from view. In other words, their activity as cultural workers has been largely rendered invisible by society and history.⁶⁸

Chapter Content:

This investigation begins with the climate for women artists in Canada, the barriers they encountered, and how they reacted to them. Chapter One, "Social Background and Education," charts the various choices artists in the study group made, and explores what a professional education meant for Canadian women's experience in practice, and how it contributed to the formation of their identities. In this chapter I will also examine issues of social class, family lineage, and ethnicity for the artists in the study group.

In Chapter Two, "The Climate of Professionalism," I look specifically at the boundaries and barriers that the study group faced, for example in exhibiting societies.

Chapter Three, “The Pressing Need to Organize: The Politics of Professional Practice - Identity, the New Woman, and Women’s Societies,” considers how the artists in the study group positioned themselves in public, political and social arenas in relation to the trope of the “New Woman,” including political activism and feminist groups, and women-only professional and cultural societies in Canada and elsewhere. This chapter attempts to answer the question: How did women’s ideas and relationships with these groups enable or restrict the construction of their identity as professional artists?

Chapter Four, “With Mixed Results: Marriage and Partnerships,” seeks to understand the choices the study group made with reference to marriage and other intimate partnerships. It also considers the results for their careers, of the decision, which a number of women made, to marry a fellow artist; or to marry at an older age than the norm.

Chapter Five, “The Studio Space,” introduces a focus on professional strategies and the material circumstances of women artists’ lives. This chapter will explore how, for the artists of the study group, the studio space held central importance, both as a symbol and as functional physical space, for their identities as professionals and their art practice. Chapter Five’s examination of the studio will lead off the analysis of other material circumstances, specifically art production, exhibiting, and critical reception.

The title of Chapter Six, “‘The Genre Attracts Her’: Production and Diversity,” signals a look at the art production of the study group, including a broad range of diversification as revealed by this dissertation. In addition to painting, sculpture and print making, areas of discussion include production in the areas of mural painting, illustration, jewelry and textile art, furniture design, and other applied and craft arts.

Chapter Seven, “The Balance Sheet of Business: Exhibition and Sales,” continues the exploration of how the study group worked as both professional artists and entrepreneurs, by looking at aspects of profit and income, such as sales, marketing, exhibition patterns, and clients, and the role of critics and critical reception.

Notes to Introduction:

- ¹ Deborah Cherry, *Painting Women: Victorian Women Artists* (London: Routledge, 1993), 6.
- ² Helen Buss and Marlene Kadar eds., "Introduction," *Working in Women's Archives: Researching Women's Private Literature and Archival Documents* (Waterloo, Ont., Wilfrid Laurier University Press: 2001), 1.
- ³ The Ontario School of Art has gone through several name changes. Still located in central Toronto, since 1996 this institution has been known as the Ontario College of Art and Design (OCAD).
- ⁴ See Appendix 1 for a biographical entry on Louise Beresford Tully.
- ⁵ See Appendix 1 for a biographical entry on Frances Rowley.
- ⁶ Ellen Easton McLeod, *In Good Hands: The Women of the Canadian Handicrafts Guild* (Montreal, Kingston, London, and Ithaca: Carleton University and McGill-Queen's University Press, 1999), 76.
- ⁷ See the biographical entry on Esther Westmacott in the Appendix. See also, McLeod, *In Good Hands*, 74.
- ⁸ See Appendix 1, "Study Group Biographies and References," for each study group artist mentioned.
- ⁹ McLeod, *In Good Hands*, 31.
- ¹⁰ Study group artist Marion A. Living (see Appendix 1), was the founder of the short-lived First Technical School of Ottawa. See McLeod, *In Good Hands*, 75, 85, n. 18.
- ¹¹ The Victoria School of Art and Design survives today as the Nova Scotia College of Art and Design (NSCAD), also known as NSCAD University.
- ¹² The Arts Club, *Portrait of A Club* (Montreal: The Arts Club of Montreal, 1962), 8.
- ¹³ McLeod, *In Good Hands*, 38.
- ¹⁴ Dennis Reid, *Lucius O'Brien, Visions of Victorian Canada* (Toronto: Art Gallery of Ontario, 1990), 118-119.
- ¹⁵ Clara Clement (Waters), *Women in the Fine Arts from the 7th Century B.C. to the 20th Century A.D.* (New York: Hacker Art Books, 1904), 245.
- ¹⁶ Muntz's sale mentioned in, "The American Artists," *New York Times*, 28 April 1904, p. 8.
- ¹⁷ J. Russell Harper, *Painting in Canada: A History* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1966); and, Dennis Reid, *A Concise History of Canadian Painting* (Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1973).
- ¹⁸ Germaine Greer, *The Female Eunuch* (Paladin, 1970), and *The Obstacle Course: The Fortunes of Women Painters and Their Work* (New York: Farrer Strauss Giroux, 1979); and, Linda Nochlin, "Why Have There Been No Great Women Artists?" in *Art and Sexual Politics*, edited by Thomas B. Hess and Elizabeth C. Baker (New York and London: Macmillan, 1973), 1-44; and, Rozsika Parker and Griselda Pollock, *The Old Mistresses: Women, Art and Ideology* (London: Rowledge & Kegan Paul, 1974).
- ¹⁹ The 1980s and 90s saw the publication of additional work on women and craft. See, Isabelle Anscombe, *A Woman's Touch: Women in Design from 1860 to the Present Day* (London: Virago Press, 1984); Judy Attfield and Pat Kirkham, eds. *A View from the Interior: Feminism, Women and Design* (London: Women's Press); Cheryl Buckley, *Potters and Paintresses: Women Designers in the Pottery Industry 1870-1955* (London: Women's Press, 1989); and, Jude Burkhauser, ed., *Glasgow Girls: Women in Art and Design, 1880-1920* (Edinburgh: Canongate Publishing, 1990).
- ²⁰ Lynda Nead, *Myths of Sexuality: Representations of Women in Victorian Britain* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1988).
- ²¹ Deborah Cherry, *Painting Women: Victorian Women Artists* (London and New York: Routledge, 1993).
- ²² Clarissa Campbell Orr ed., *Women in the Victorian Art World* (Manchester and New York: Manchester University Press, 1995).
- ²³ Tamar Garb's publications include, *Sisters of the Brush: Women Artistic Culture in Late Nineteenth-Century Paris* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1994); *Bodies of Modernity: Figure and Flesh in Fin-de-Siecle France* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1998); "L'Art Feminin': The Formation of a Critical Category in Late Nineteenth-Century France," *Art History* 12, no. 1 (March 1989), 39-65; "'Unpicking the Seams of her Disguise:' Self-Representation in the Case of Marie Bashkirtseff," *Block* 13 (1987/8): 79-86.
- ²⁴ Charlotte Streifer Rubinstein, *American Women Sculptors* (Boston: G.K.Hall, 1990); Erica E. Hershler, *A Studio of Her Own: Women Artists in Boston, 1870-1940* (Boston: Museum of Fine Arts, 2001); Nancy Mowll Mathews, *Mary Cassatt: A Life* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1994).

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- ⁴⁶ Barbara Meadowcroft, *Painting Friends: The Beaver Hall Women Painters* (Montreal: Véhicule Press, 1999).
- ⁴⁷ Griselda Pollock, *Differencing the Canon: Feminist Desire and the Writing of Art's Histories* (London and New York: Routledge, 1999). Deborah Cherry, *Painting Women: Victorian Women Artists* (London and New York: Routledge, 1993); see also, Cherry, *Beyond the Frame: Feminism and Visual Culture, Britain 1850-1900* (London and New York: Routledge, 2000).

⁴⁸ Janice Helland, *Professional Women Painters in Nineteenth-Century Scotland: Commitment, Friendship, Pleasure* (Aldershot and Brookfield, VT: Ashgate, 2000). Also, Helland, *The Studios of Frances and Margaret Macdonald* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1996; Helland, "Frances Macdonald: The Self as Fin-de-siècle Woman" *Woman's Art Journal* 14, no. 1 (Spr./Sum., 1993): 15-22.

⁴⁹ A brief biographical outline on Susanna Strickland Moodie, and Catharine Parr Traill are included in Appendix 1.

⁵⁰ Mabel Cawthra was the only daughter of Mrs. John Cawthra, of Devon House, 150 Beverley Street, Toronto. Sandra Gwyn, *The Private Capital* (Toronto: Harper and Collins, 1984), 347.

⁵¹ I have included biographical outlines on Catharine Parr Traill and Susanna Moodie, important Canadian artist/writers from an earlier generation; however they are not in the study group. See, Appendix 1, "Study Group Biographies and References."

⁵² Linda Hutcheon, "Afterword," in Mark Cheetham, with Linda Hutcheon, *Remembering Postmodernism: Trends in Recent Canadian Art* (1991), 129.

⁵³ Rosemary Betterton, ed. *Looking On: Images of Femininity in the Visual Arts and Media* (NY: Pandora Books, 1987).

⁵⁴ Notably, recent work by Linda Nead, *Victorian Babylon: People, Streets and Images in Nineteenth Century London* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2005); Griselda Pollock, *Differencing the Canon: Feminist Desire and the Writing of Art's Histories* (London and New York: Routledge, 1999); and Deborah Cherry's *Painting Women*; and *Beyond the Frame: Feminism and Visual Culture, Britain 1850-1900* (London and New York: Routledge, 2000).

⁵⁵ Griselda Pollock's "three positions" discussion of feminism and the art historical canon, in Chapter 2 of *Differencing the Canon* has suggested the methodological structure used here. Pollock, *Differencing the Canon*, 23-29.

⁵⁶ *Ibid*, 25.

⁵⁷ Griselda Pollock, *Vision and Difference: Femininity, Feminism and the History of Art* (London: Routledge, 1988), 90.

⁵⁸ Raymond Williams quoted in Maria Tippett, "The Writing of English-Canadian Cultural History, 1970-85," *Canadian Historical Review* 67, no. 4 (1986): 556.

⁵⁹ Bridget Elliott and Janice Helland, eds., "Introduction," *Women Artists and the Decorative Arts 1880-1935: The Gender of Ornament* (London: Ashgate, 2002), 10.

⁶⁰ See bottom right framed cover in photograph of Reid's Memorial Exhibition in 1922 in Foss, *Quiet Harmony*, p. 22. Reid's poster originally illustrated the cover and page 6 of *The Women's Globe* (18 April 1895).

⁶¹ Dorothy Farr and Natalie Luckyj, *From Women's Eye* (Kingston: Agnes Etherington Art Centre, 1975). Brian Foss and Janice Anderson, *Quiet Harmony: The Art of Mary Hiester Reid* (Toronto: Art Gallery of Ontario, 2000); and Jennifer C. Watson, *Harriet Ford* (Hamilton, Ont.: Art Gallery of Hamilton, 2001).

⁶² Amos, *Mary Riter Hamilton*.

⁶³ *Ibid*, 26-28.

⁶⁴ Pollock, "Modernity and the Spaces of Femininity," in *Vision and Difference*, 50-90.

⁶⁵ For women's presence and movement within the city space, see Nead, *Victorian Babylon*, 70-71.

⁶⁶ Sara Jeanette Duncan (Mrs. Everard Cotes), *A Social Departure: How Orthodocia and I Went Round the World by Ourselves* (New York: Appleton, 1890), 51.

⁶⁷ Joan W. Scott, "The Evidence of Experience," *Critical Enquiry* 17 (1991): 792.

⁶⁸ Janice Helland, *Professional Women Painters*, p. 67.

Chapter One: Social Background and Education

[The girls in my art class] were all original types...who had broken away from custom and tradition, decided against gardening, tea-parties, and the old women of the parish. This had required energy.

American painter Cecilia Beaux (1855-1942), from her autobiography, *Background with Figures* (1930).¹

Women artists of the “first generation” who trained and worked in the early-to-mid-nineteenth century viewed their younger sisters, those women artists who came of age in the 1890s to 1900, as having had an easier time than themselves with regard to attaining an art education to “professional” standards.² Middle-class women’s access to art education in the last quarter of the nineteenth-century has been identified by Janice Helland as the most important factor in women achieving professional success. Similarly, in the Canadian study group, education appears to have been a major factor in the success of women artists. In the late-nineteenth century and early-twentieth century Canadian middle-class women started to obtain access to art education in the canonical centres, both in Canada and abroad, access which brought with it the imprimatur of a “professional” level of training.³ What this meant for Canadian women and how it contributed to the formation of their identities will be explored in the following pages. In this chapter I will begin with an examination of the social location of the artists in the study group and will attempt to relate this to educational and other professional choices such as art production.

Social Location, Ethnicity, and Education:

The women in the study group shared several common traits. They were middle-class and white; their fathers were professionals. Each of the women was well educated for the time, and most of them were single when they achieved their professional success. These traits are significant to the following section of this discussion of education which focuses on consideration of class or social location, ethnicity, and the potential impact of these factors on the art production of the study group.

Middle-class, white, well educated, single, with professional fathers, these traits of women in the study group correspond closely to those of the first generation of Canadian women journalists of the same era, as identified by Marjory Lang.⁴ There are two inconsistencies between the respective professions for women. Journalism appears to have offered better remuneration than art, and this factor likely influenced the women's choice of career; for as Lang observes, women chose paid journalism because of the need to support themselves. Second, Canadian women journalists appear to have been better educated than women artists of the time. Lang reports that a few journalists had postgraduate degrees.⁵ In contrast, while most women in the study group took advanced level art training at schools of art in Europe or the United States, few women artists in the study group attended university.

The fathers of many of the women artists were educated to work at a profession. Harriet Ford was the daughter of David B. Ogden Ford, a successful Brockville barrister.⁶ Mary Bell (later Eastlake), was the daughter of the engineer Andrew Bell who was

known in the 1890s for, among other things, building a dam across the Ottawa River. Her uncle, Dr. Robert Bell was director of the Dominion Geological Survey of Canada.⁷

A marked uniformity of ethnicity may be observed among the study group. Several in the study group, Mary Hiester Reid, Frances Loring and Florence Wyle, were American-born. Most of the others were of British ancestry, and a number, including Charlotte Schreiber, Gertrude Spurr, Mary E. Wrinch, and Edith Patterson, were born in England.⁸

Historical or social antecedents were frequently identified in contemporary articles on artists with background deemed interesting or unusual, serving to “locate” each artist for the readers. This process of naming, or assigning meaning, according to feminist historian Joan W. Scott, contributes to the subject’s identity, and helps to make up “experience.”⁹ For example, Mary Bell Eastlake’s descent from United Empire Loyalists was discussed in an article in the *Toronto Globe* newspaper in May of 1889. Eastlake was described as “‘a Canadian of the Canadians,’ having a liberal share of good old U.E.L. [United Empire Loyalist] blood in her veins.”¹⁰ In a Canadian magazine article published in 1909 Elizabeth McGillivray Knowles was identified as “of English descent, her maiden name...Beach, being of Devonshire.”¹¹

In her research on Victorian women artists Deborah Cherry has observed that friendships between women art students were primarily organized along class lines.¹² Class-specific factors such as education and access to funding made it highly likely that women artists in this generation were from the middle and upper-middle classes.¹³ Mary Cassatt studied among her social peers at the Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts, and her best friend Eliza Haldeman came from a family of equally distinguished social standing.¹⁴

Cherry's findings are also generally applicable to Canada and to the women in the study group. In fact, the Hagarty sisters, Winnifred Kingsford, Laura Muntz, and Estelle Kerr and their families, were included in the 1903-4 edition of the aptly named *Society Blue Book of Toronto, Hamilton, and London*.¹⁵ Sydney Strickland Tully, Laura Muntz, Mabel Cawthra and many of their fellow artists in the study group, were from middle and upper-middle class backgrounds with access to leisure, education and materials. The two sisters, Clara and Sophia Hagarty were the granddaughters of Sir John Hawkins Hagarty, a Chief Justice of Ontario.¹⁶ The Hagarty sisters' social location was affirmed in one article which related that Clara and historian and journalist Professor Goldwin Smith had partnered each other in games of tennis at his Toronto home, the Grange.¹⁷ Toronto sculptor Winnifred Kingsford was the daughter of a magistrate, and grandfather of engineer and historian William Kingsford, author of *History of Canada* (1887), who was supportive of her career efforts.¹⁸ Sydney and Louise Tully's mother was Maria Strickland, the daughter of Lieutenant-Colonel Strickland, who was the brother of author-artist Susanna Moodie. Their father, Kivas Tully, worked for many years as a government consulting engineer and was the architect for Trinity College, University of Toronto, and the Bank of Montreal and the Customs House in Montreal.¹⁹ The Tully sisters, Sydney and Louise, lived in the family home in Toronto's prestigious Rosedale area where, in December 1898, Sydney was interviewed by the art columnist Jean Grant who appears to have been conscious of the family wealth. She wrote that, Sydney Tully works, "in an ideal studio overlooking some of the lovely ravines of Rosedale, in sight of hills ...and a broad expanse of sky," Grant continued. "Sky is expensive in Toronto, very expensive."²⁰

Privilege and private means carried with it special circumstances that fostered and encouraged an artistic career. As Natalie Luckyj has observed, the wealthy, privileged family background of Canadian artist Helen McNicoll made it possible for her to live with works of art in the family home in Montreal and gave her access to private art collections such as that of family friend William Van Horne.²¹ Rendered deaf by a bout of scarlet fever when she was two, McNicoll was educated at home by private tutors. McNicoll's father, David McNicoll, was the Vice-President of the Canadian Pacific Railway.²² Sophie Pemberton grew up in a mansion known as "Gonzales" on 1200 acres of land near Victoria. In these early years, before leaving for years of art studies abroad, she had a studio overlooking the sea and mountains. (Fig. 1-4) Her father, Joseph Despard Pemberton, was the first Surveyor General of Vancouver Island.²³

Although she was born in Brockville, Ontario, and educated in Toronto and abroad, Frances Elswood Richards was the daughter of the Honourable Albert Norton Richards, Q.C., who served as Lieutenant-Governor of British Columbia. Her uncle was Chief Justice Sir William Buell Richards, the first Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of Canada. In 1887 Frances Richards painted her uncle's official portrait, which remains in the Supreme Court collection. The artist married into the English aristocracy the following year. Her sister, Emily, was the wife of Canadian author, Henry J. Morgan.²⁴

Circles of acquaintances offering support to women artists within the Canadian art community were also primarily middle-class. For example, art "salons," at the homes of George and Mary Reid, and of Elizabeth and F. McGillivray Knowles (figs. 5-5 and 5-6), and later the home studio of Frances Loring and Florence Wyle (4-5), were meeting places for Toronto artists run by middle-class artist couples.

While the class background of the women in the study group was uniformly middle-class there was considerable variation in economic circumstances. For other women artists in the study group, although middle-class in social background, their economic circumstances were not as favorable. There is a similarity between these women artists and women journalists in Canada during the same period. Marjory Lang observes that the first generations of women journalists were white, middle class, and well educated; that their families could afford to educate them, but the family incomes did not enable them to live as “leisured ladies.”²⁵

A number of women in the study group grew up in such circumstances. For example, painter Florence Carlyle was the daughter of a provincial school inspector with a large family in Woodstock, Ontario. Little money was allotted for the advanced education of the girls in the family and Carlyle had to pay for her art education abroad with her own earnings, a loan from her brother, and with money her mother raised from taking in boarders. Eva Bradshaw from London, Ontario, left her nursing training to pursue art studies and was very short of money, to the extent that on occasion she accepted a little money from her art teacher, Florence Carlyle.²⁶ One might speculate that a lack of money kept E. May Martin, the eldest daughter of nine children of the landscape painter T. Mower Martin (1838-1934), from pursuing advanced art training abroad.²⁷

Mary Riter Hamilton, formerly Mary Saul, grew up in a small frame house on a farm in Bruce County, Ontario. Her father was a farmer. She was married at age eighteen and widowed five years later. Her early widowhood, with no dependents and perhaps with money from her late husband's estate, appears to have enabled her to pursue art training.

In 1896, the same year she was widowed, Hamilton traveled to Berlin to study, and the next year she was in Paris.²⁸

Social Class and Production:

Little of the art production in the study group appears to have been concerned with issues relating to the poor. Nor are there many discernible links between the art practice or production and the many immigrant populations entering Canada at the time. The exceptions to this are significant for what they express about the artists' middle-class social location and art production.

In her paintings and commercial artwork for calendar reproduction Florence Carlyle represented women working at domestic tasks such as baking, washing clothes, or cleaning. In *The Garden* Carlyle depicted her sister, Maude, hanging out the laundry. These representations are ambiguous. While they situate women within the domestic world, the "spaces of femininity," it is unclear whether these are meant to represent working-class or middle-class women, especially since Carlyle and her sisters all performed light household chores in their own and their parents' homes, yet had some hired domestic help to undertake the heavier chores and cooking.

Carlyle was not concerned with depicting poverty in her paintings as was her close friend Sarah B. Holden. In '*I was an hungered*' *Matt. 25: 35* (1896) Holden depicted a child seated at a table, eating out of a bowl and gazing directly at the viewer. There is, as one reviewer observed in 1896, "the pathos of famine in the child's eyes."²⁹ In a society with little or no social assistance the plight of widows and orphans could be one of

grinding poverty. Holden chose to represent this theme in *Widowed but not Forsaken*, exhibited the following year. Contemporary reviews speak of it as showing a young mother holding a sleeping baby, in shadows lit only by the “light of a solitary candle [expressing] the loneliness, the grief.”³⁰

Some of the artists may have expressly chosen not to engage with issues of class in their art production. In her dissertation on Laura Muntz’s paintings of women and children, Elizabeth Mulley asserts that Muntz gives no information, in either dress or domestic surroundings, which hints at her subjects’ social class, unlike the representations of women and children by Mary Cassatt and Berthe Morisot. Mulley observes that Muntz’s aim is to imply “commonality and universality,”³¹ yet Muntz’s subjects do not seem to specifically include the poor.

Mary Phillips and Mary Dignam were directly involved in their professional arts practices with the Canadian Handicrafts Guild (CHG), an arts organization expressly concerned with the poor and immigrant populations of Canada. The philosophy of the CHG placed value on crafts made by immigrants and aboriginal peoples and this manifested itself in direct involvement with immigrant women and children, for example the Guild educated immigrant children in handicrafts during the 1920s.³²

Women’s Choices for Obtaining an Art Education at Home in Canada

When women pursued advanced art education at this time, whether it was through classes at the local women’s art association in a small Ontario town, or in a Paris atelier, it had some very clear repercussions for the women individually, and for women artists as

a group. It functioned to break down the isolation of the domestic or private sphere of women and to move them into a more public and institutional world.³³ The classroom of the art school might be the first opportunity a woman had to encounter other women who shared her professional aspirations.

Girl's Schools, Ladies Colleges, and Private Classes

Art instruction in private studio classes or through classes at ladies colleges, or private girl's schools were two ways in which women gained their initial instruction. Mary Hiester Reid, in partnership with her husband, painter George A. Reid, taught a private "studio class" in Toronto for a number of years through which a significant number of Canadian artists passed. They are known to have taught Mary Wrinch, Hattie Blackstock and Mary Riter Hamilton, with these artists specifically listing both George and Mary Reid as their teachers.³⁴ The Reids' Toronto home, in Wychwood Park, was an artistic centre. The artist couple hosted special evenings at their home for the art community such as the one reported in a newspaper article in 1900 at which Harriet Ford gave an "art talk," likely attended by young aspiring artists.³⁵ A number of George Reid's private art students stayed on with him to pursue "advanced work" and sometimes rented studio space close to that of Reid himself. An example of this was Henrietta Vickers (b.1870) who was a student of Reid from about 1894 to 1897. In these years she shared a studio with Mary E. Wrinch, located beside George Reid's studio in the Yonge Street Arcade Building. These relationships seem to have been close and influential with

students serving as models for the teacher. Vickers was the subject of two of Reid's paintings executed in the mid-1890s.³⁶

Another Toronto artist couple, whose studio in their home was a centre of teaching and a social gathering place for Toronto area artists from the 1890s to ca.1916, when the couple moved away from Toronto, was Farquhar McGillivray Knowles (1859-1932) and Elizabeth Annie Beach McGillivray Knowles. A photograph of the interior of the couple's home in Toronto (fig. 5-6) was published in *The Home Journal* of December 1909. It was called "The Studio" and located at 340 Bloor Street West.³⁷ The photograph shows the large two-storied room with a second story gallery at one end, described as studio, workshop and residence, "full of interest for those with aesthetic propensity... filled with various treasures of literature and art."³⁸

Frances Richards (later Rowley) began her art studies in a general academy, "Miss Dupont's School," in Toronto.³⁹ Also in Toronto, E. Wyly Grier taught art classes at a private school for girls, Havergal College, and gave private classes as well. An article published in 1911 attests that his students included Mary Riter Hamilton (b.1873), whom he encouraged to continue her studies abroad.⁴⁰ Harriet Ford studied art from 1870 to 1878 at Toronto's Bishop Strachan School which, like Havergal, was a private Anglican girl's school. Here she won the school's senior drawing prize in her final year. Mary Wrinch also attended Bishop Strachan, enrolling in 1889, at age twelve, as a resident and remaining there for four years. Marion Nelson Hooker began her art studies at the Grantham Academy in St. Catharines, Ontario under Charles Blisset Millner (1805-1895), and later in the early-1880s was given private painting lessons by Millner at his

home.⁴¹ At London, Ontario's private Anglican school for young ladies, Hellmuth College, the art classes were taught by Charles Chapman (1827-1887).

After the mid-1870s art students wishing to continue their education in Canada could attend the first professionally-run art school in Canada. Founded in Toronto in 1876 by the OSA it was called at this time, the Ontario School of Art and Design. In the mid-1880s and 90s, when a number of study group artists attended, it was called the Toronto School of Art.⁴² For the purposes of this study it shall be referred to as the OSA school in Toronto. A number of artists in the study group received their initial art training here or at institutions run on similar lines located in other urban centres, for example in Montreal at the Art Association of Montreal school. Another such school of art was the Western School of Art and Design, founded in 1878, in London, Ontario. This school had evolved out of art classes offered at the Mechanics Institute. In 1880 there were 457 pupils attending classes here and in 1884 it became an affiliate of the OSA school in Toronto.⁴³ On the east coast, in Halifax, Nova Scotia, the Victoria School of Art and Design boasted one hundred and forty-seven pupils in 1900. The Ottawa School of Art and Design was founded in 1879.

It is surprising to note that in 1900 the Hamilton Art School, in Hamilton, Ontario, had a larger population than the OSA school in Toronto, with two hundred and six students registered in 1899. It was the only Canadian art school in 1900 listed as offering a summer school.⁴⁴

Laura Muntz studied at the nearby Hamilton School of Art in 1881 for her initial art instruction and then soon moved on to the OSA school. Florence Carlyle and Sydney Strickland Tully both attended the OSA school in Toronto. (Fig. 2-1) Elizabeth Beach

also studied at the Toronto institution during the 1880s where she met Farquhar McGillivray Knowles (1859-1932), one of her instructors, whom she married in 1890.⁴⁵ Mary Wrinch also began studies there in 1893 when she was sixteen years old.

Teachers were of a high caliber at the Toronto's OSA school and included John Fraser, one of the first teachers employed, Lucius R. O'Brien, Marmaduke Matthews, Robert Harris, and Charlotte Schreiber, who was the sole woman teacher at this institution during the years she taught there, 1877 to 1880.⁴⁶ In the year 1900, when there were 170 pupils registered, the school had a broad emphasis including the 'high' arts and the applied arts and handicrafts. The teaching staff in the year 1900 included, for drawing and painting, George Reid, F. McGillivray Knowles, and William Cruikshank; and in the area of applied and craft arts, Robert Holmes taught "design," Gustav Hahn taught classes in "industrial design and modeling." Louise Beresford Tully began teaching at the school during the 1890s; during the 1900/1901 school year she taught classes in "wood carving and leather work".⁴⁷

Classes were first offered at the newly formed Art Association of Montreal (AAM) School in 1879.⁴⁸ While the School of the AAM tended to have a smaller student enrollment compared to the OSA school in Toronto, 67 compared to 170 in the Toronto institution in the same year, the Montreal school played an important role in the initial education of women artists in the era under study, 1880 to 1914.⁴⁹ For example, in the mid-1880s both Mary Bell Eastlake and Sarah Holden received their initial art education at the AAM School under the instruction of Robert Harris and William Brymner.⁵⁰ Younger generations of women from the study group followed. Between 1900 and the outbreak of World War I, in 1914, Henrietta Mabel May, Emily Coonan, Mabel

Lockerby, Ethel Seath, Helen McNicoll, and Nina M. Owens were among the women who studied here.⁵¹ Although located in Montreal, a city with a large French-speaking population, most of the women who studied at the AAM School and their instructors in the era under study were from the English-speaking community.⁵² The AAM School employed well known artists on the teaching staff: Robert Harris, C.E. Moss as water colour instructor, and William Brymner who was director and teacher from 1886 until 1921.

Women as Teachers and Roles Models of the New Professional Woman

Beginning in urban centers in the late 1880s aspiring women artists had the advantage, not readily available to earlier generations of Canadian women, of studying with successful practicing women artists.⁵³ The options included being taught by women artists in co-educational art institutions, in art classes at ladies' colleges, in private art academies founded or directed by women, or in private classes in the woman artists' studio.

Women taught in some of the larger art institutions prior to 1914: Louise Tully and Charlotte Schreiber at the OSA school in Toronto; Marion E. Mattice, Mabel Ireland, and Margaret Fraser taught at the Hamilton Art School in Hamilton, Ontario. In addition, Clara E. Galbraith, the president of the Hamilton Branch of the WAAC, taught water colour painting and ceramics at the Hamilton school. In Montreal, women art teachers at the AAM School in 1901 included Alberta Cleland who taught drawing, F. D. Nutter, and Berthe Le Moyne.⁵⁴ After graduating from the Victoria School of Art and Design in

Halifax, Nova Scotia, Marion Kate Graham, ceramicist/china painter Alice M. Egan, and landscape painter Edith Agnes Smith (1867-1954), all joined the teaching staff of that institution at the turn of the century.⁵⁵

Ladies' colleges and private girl's schools eventually employed a number of study group artists. Painter E. May Martin taught at the Presbyterian Ladies' College, on Bloor Street in Toronto.⁵⁶ She had begun as a temporary replacement for her father, T. Mower Martin, and one year later took over his position as principal art instructor.⁵⁷ Laura Muntz was art director and instructor of drawing and painting St. Margaret's College in Toronto. In 1900 Muntz also supervised the construction of a new art room for the college, well-known for its modern art department. Other teachers in the department were Miss Harrison and Mrs. Kitchen who instructed china painting, Mrs. Kenley 'art needle work,' and Mrs. A.R. Williams wood-carving.⁵⁸ At Havergal College Miss Nainby taught in the art department alongside E. Wyly Grier. Emma Windeat taught at Glen Mawr.

At similar schools outside of Toronto, Mrs. W.F. Cockshutt taught wood-carving at Brantford Ladies' College, in Brantford, Ontario; and in the nearby city of Hamilton, Mary Ella Dignam taught in and was the director of the Art Department at Moulton College, a ladies' college associated with McMaster University. Mlle. C. Van den Broeck and Miss L.A.M. Jones taught art alongside Charles Chapman at Hellmuth College in London Ontario. By the century's end, Mlle. Van den Broeck had replaced Charles Chapman as head of the art department. After graduating from this academy in 1889 London artist Emily Gunn became the assistant art teacher.⁵⁹

In Belleville, Ontario, Emma Clarke taught art at Albert College; while in nearby Whitby at the 1890s at the Ontario Ladies' College, Florence McGillivray was employed as a teacher of art.

Outside of Ontario, in Sackville, New Brunswick at Mount Allison Ladies' College, Ethel Ogden and Bessie McLeod were art teachers. Painter Edith Smith was an art instructor at two Halifax, Nova Scotia schools, the Halifax Ladies' College, and the Victoria School of Art and Design.⁶⁰

In addition to the institutional teaching appointments discussed previously, from the mid-1880s and after, a shift occurred with increasing numbers of women teaching art in their own private studio classes or in schools which they founded and directed themselves. A number of women artists advertised in the classifieds in local city newspapers for private pupils to form classes in their own studios. Out of five entries under the heading "Artists" in the *Free Press* of London, Ontario, on April 4th, 1896, four were women. One of these was Emily Gunn, known to have exhibited at the Women's Art Club of London. Gunn had taught in the city for several years because a similar advertisement ran in the London newspapers in December 1894 for "pupils in all branches of art" to join her classes at her Dundas Street studio.⁶¹ Also in London, Ontario, Florence Carlyle offered art classes in the years around 1904, in a private studio, located downtown in the Masonic Building.

Painter Esther K. Westmacott, daughter of Stewart Westmacott who was drawing master at Upper Canada College, founded a co-educational art school in Toronto in the mid-1880s called the Associated Artists School of Art and Design, located in the Yonge Street Arcade. One of the teachers at Esther Westmacott's school was Mary Ella

Dignam, who took over the running of the school in 1889.⁶² Mary Dignam was one of Estelle Kerr's first art teachers.

Ten years later, in 1898 Laura Muntz opened an art studio with her friend Wilhelmina Hawley in this same multi-storey Toronto building, the Yonge Street Arcade. Their classes were based on the Parisian art system, which emphasized the human figure. A column appearing in *Saturday Night* in March 1899 described their studio teaching activity: "a very interesting life class is that of Miss Muntz and Miss Hawley, conducted at their studio...Miss Muntz conducted the work in oils, Miss Hawley in water colors."⁶³ Sources dating from the artist's lifetime claim that Estelle Kerr continued to study under Muntz in Toronto.⁶⁴ Ten years later, in 1908 Muntz, was living in Montreal and her students included Lilius Torrence Newton.⁶⁵

Sydney Strickland Tully and her sister Louise opened a teaching studio in Toronto in the late 1880s, which was described in the local media as being designed to run along the lines of a "French atelier class." Clara Sophia Hagarty, who was seventeen in 1888, was taught by Sydney Tully.⁶⁶ The Tully sisters' involvement with teaching the younger generation of artists in Toronto continued into the mid-1890s. The "Art Notes" column from November 1895 announced that Louise Tully had begun teaching both beginner and advanced classes in wood carving.⁶⁷

Following, or in one case during, art studies abroad study group artists often incorporated teaching into their career plans, yet some emphasized it more than others. In 1895 Laura Muntz interrupted her art studies in Paris with several months' short-term employment, teaching in George Reid's private studio classes in Toronto. One of her students during this time was Mary Wrinch (b.1877).⁶⁸ For Laura Muntz and Sydney

Tully teaching seems to have been moderately important, yet did not dominate their professional practice. Other artists placed teaching more emphatically in their careers, for example May Phillips and Harriette J. MacDonald (act. 1888-1907) were co-principals, in 1892, of a revamped Victoria School of Art in Montreal (not to be confused with the Victoria School of Art and Design in Halifax). Throughout the 1890s this Montreal institution employed a number of women art teachers. For some, such as Mary Bell Eastlake in 1892, and Margaret Houghton in 1897, teaching at the Victoria School of Art was only a brief staging post in their art careers.⁶⁹

An Education Abroad:

Following initial art instruction at one of the larger artist-run schools in Montreal or Toronto, and perhaps some private instruction with established Canadian artists in studio classes, most women in the study group traveled outside of Canada for months or years of advanced art education in the canonical centres. The AAM annual report for 1905 noted that, “letters from students who have gone on to continue their studies in Paris and elsewhere, show that they at once take a very good place in the different schools they have chosen to attend.”⁷⁰ The experience of this travel was an important factor in itself in the formation of their identity as professionals. Institutional cloistering of women art students in art classes when abroad had both negative and positive effects. One unintended benefit was that comradely feeling with like-minded women students was intensified by spending time in women-only classes, and by the social strictures and

economic benefits which favoured women traveling together, and sharing studio space and exhibition venues, some of which were exclusively female.

Among the three major destinations, numbers are equally divided between those having attended schools in New York City, London, and Paris. One pattern seen is that a significant number in the study group chose to attend art school in England before moving on to study in France. This may be related to the fact that many of the women's families were originally from Great Britain and they may have felt some affinity for the "mother country," or called on family connections for their first sojourn abroad.

For the earliest generation of artists in the study group, those who came of age in the mid-1870s, traveling outside of Canada for art training appears to have been a necessity, for women who wanted professional recognition. Elizabeth Armstrong Forbes (b.1859) is said to have received her first art training at the New York Art Students' League with William M. Chase.⁷¹ After studies in a general academy "Miss DuPont's School" in Toronto, Frances Elswood traveled to Paris in the 1870s as a fellow-student of Marie Bashkirtseff, who mentions her in her *Journal*.⁷²

In the 1880s Sydney and Louise Tully both studied in London, England. Sydney chose the Slade School of Art, in London for two years. This may have been due to its reputation of "giving to both sexes fair and equal opportunities" as the article "The Slade Girls" published in the *Magazine of Art* in 1883 explained.⁷³ When she enrolled here, from 1884 to 1886, the Slade was a relatively new art school. Since its foundation in 1871, it had adopted policies, such as equal opportunities for women and reinstating the Old Master tradition of concentrated study of the life model by making countless rapid drawings. By the 1890s the Slade had gained the reputation as the most progressive art

school in London. Louise Tully, with an interest in the applied Arts and Crafts, attended the South Kensington School of Art. Sophie Pemberton left Victoria about 1890 to attend the South Kensington School of Art where her studies were punctuated by frequent trips back to her family home in British Columbia.⁷⁴ In the 1880s Harriet Ford attended two London schools, the St. John's Wood School and the Royal Academy School.⁷⁵

Other women in the study group may have chosen this pattern because they had been born in Britain. For example, English-born Mary Wrinch, after initial instruction in Canada chose to study in London at the Grosvenor Art School and with Alyn Williams in the late 1890s.⁷⁶ Similarly, Laura Muntz, born in Radford, England but raised in Canada, enrolled in London's St. John's Wood School for a short term of study in 1887.⁷⁷ Yorkshire-born Gertrude Spurr Cutts studied at the Lambeth School of Art also in London, about 1880.⁷⁸

A significant number of women in the study group attended classes at the artists' colonies located in the villages of Newlyn and St. Ives, Cornwall, one after the other over a twenty year period, beginning with Elizabeth Armstrong-Forbes who first lived and worked in Newlyn in 1885.⁷⁹ Mary Bell Eastlake studied in St Ives in the late 1880s.⁸⁰ Newspaper reviews reveal that while living in St. Ives in 1898, Harriet Ford sent work back to the RCA exhibitions in Canada.⁸¹ Eight years later, in 1906, Helen McNicoll was drawn to study in St. Ives.⁸²

The second of the three major city destinations for women to pursue art education abroad was New York where a significant number of the women in the study group received instruction. Two patterns emerge, with about half of these women enrolling in New York schools after studying in Great Britain. The other, followed especially by

Canadian-born women, was to study in New York immediately after their Canadian studies and then to go overseas to Europe. Many women in the group studied at the Art Students' League (ASL) in New York. In the 1880s the ASL was located at 38 West 14th Street and moved to its present location in Manhattan at 215 West 57th Street in 1892.⁸³

As the *Toronto Globe* newspaper of May 1889 reported, Mary Bell Eastlake followed her Canadian studies, with further studies “for two years in New York at the Union League Club,” in Manhattan under Champigny, and at the Art Students' League of New York.⁸⁴ Mary Bell, as she was then known and May Phillips attended the same women-only classes together at the ASL in January 1887. Phillips wrote home from New York: “I have joined a composition class at the League with Minnie [Bell], which will be something for me to work for.”⁸⁵ May Phillips and Mary Dignam, who would later play important roles in the Women's Art Association of Canada and the Canadian Handicrafts Guild, both attended the ASL in the 1880s.⁸⁶ Contemporary Toronto painter M. Cary McConnell [active 1890-1900] also studied art in New York.⁸⁷

In the early years of the twentieth century Toronto-born Estelle Kerr studied illustration for about two years at the Art Students' League which announced that it had recently added classes and lectures in this new area in 1903.⁸⁸ This training was central to her later professional practice in Canada since her illustrations and magazine covers appeared in books and periodicals such as *Canadian Courier* and *Canadian Magazine*.⁸⁹

While study in New York before going to Europe was a common pattern among Canadian-born women like Bell, Dignam, Kerr, and Phillips, the women in the study group who were born in Great Britain tended to follow a slightly different path. Gertrude

Spurr immigrated to Canada when she was thirty-two years old, in 1890. Prior to this she received her initial education at the Scarborough School of Art and at the Lambeth School of Art in the early 1880s.⁹⁰ In the 1890s she opted to move to New York City and study at the ASL.⁹¹ English-born Mary Wrinch followed a similar pattern, choosing to study in New York schools after attending schools in England. She attended the ASL in about 1900, a few years after Spurr.⁹²

In the second half of the nineteenth century Paris was the centre of modernity and had much to offer women art students. Aspiring artists had been going to Paris in growing numbers since the mid-1860s. In the United States especially, the French academic art tradition attracted growing interest. Canadians too were studying art in Paris in increasing numbers; William Brymner, Maurice Cullen, Robert Harris, and James W. Morrice were all drawn to Paris in the 1880s by the art training available there. William Blair Bruce met his future wife, the Swedish sculptor Carolina Benedicks, while on sketching holiday at Grez, and they got to know each other while both were students in Paris.⁹³ Paul Peel, who had moved to Paris in 1881 (fig. 1-2), introduced Toronto artists Mary Hiester Reid and her husband George to various atelier studies during their stay in the city from 1888 to 1889.⁹⁴ (Fig. A-1) So immensely popular was a pilgrimage to Paris as part of an artist's education at this time, that it is estimated that more than one hundred and fifty Canadian artists visited France for study or instruction between 1867 and 1914.⁹⁵

For the women in the study group, art studies in Paris often tended to follow those in Britain and the United States. This remained true from the 1880s through the first decade of the twentieth century. Mildred Peel studied in Paris in the mid-1880s, (fig. 1-2) living intermittently with her brother and traveling with him in France and Italy. Unlike Mary

Hiester Reid and Mildred Peel, however, most study group artists were unmarried or had no close male family member to live with them in Paris, so a number traveled or lived abroad together. Economic practicalities were also a factor which encouraged women artists to club together in living arrangements. As arts writer Clive Holland explained in his 1904 article "Lady Art Students' Life in Paris," such co-operation among two or more girls was not unusual and enabled them to have a far larger studio-apartment and to live more economically than on their own.⁹⁶ For example, Laura Muntz shared living-studio quarters in Paris with Wilhelmina Douglas Hawley (1860-1958); and in 1888 Canadian artist Mary Bell joined her friend, painter Margaret Houghton in Paris and here they lived together and studied in the same school. Bell continued to correspond with her friend May Phillips, with whom she had attended classes at the Art Students' League in New York City the previous year.⁹⁷ Bell and Houghton traveled extensively together to Brittany and then to study in St. Ives, Cornwall. Interviewed in Montreal by the *Ladies Pictorial Weekly* in June 1892, one year after returning to Canada, Bell explained that when in Paris with Houghton they were so close that they always attended the same classes; she felt that their friendship created a "life of freedom" in Paris for them both.⁹⁸

Close friendship also enabled the careers of aspiring artists Florence Carlyle from Woodstock, Ontario and Sarah Baldwin Holden from Belleville, Ontario in their first sojourns abroad. Both women attended the Académie Julian in the early 1890s and sent work back to Canadian exhibitions. One Montreal reviewer of the AAM exhibition in March of 1895, perhaps in an attempt to create an identity in Canada for the young artists, informed readers that the two friends were together in Paris and pursuing advanced art studies.⁹⁹

While studying in France, Laura Muntz and Florence Carlyle shared the experience of Parisian atelier studies during the early 1890s and their friendship continued when they returned to Canada. Muntz and Carlyle shared studio/apartment premises in New York City at 67 West 23rd Street in 1904.¹⁰⁰ Carlyle also included artist Edith L. Ravenshaw, from Surrey, England, in her circle of supportive friends in Paris. Edith Ravenshaw later married Canadian portrait painter Andrew Dickson Patterson and moved to Toronto. Here, as related in a newspaper article of the time, she and Carlyle had a joyous reunion at an OSA exhibition in Toronto after eight years apart. In the March 1903 article, Ravenshaw and Carlyle who were both exhibiting work at the exhibition, spent time reminiscing about the “pranks and fun they enjoyed together in Paris.”¹⁰¹

In her memoir of her years in France in early 1890s, Carlyle gives us a glimpse of the experience for a Canadian woman in Paris who was on her own for the first time. She traveled to France in the autumn of 1890 with artists Paul Peel and his sister Mildred Peel, and after arriving in Paris the Peels helped her to find accommodation and briefly showed her the city before they traveled on to Rome.¹⁰² There were several housing options for women studying in Paris at this time; residence in a pension or a hotel was the most expensive, and was considered a very dull and unadventurous choice.¹⁰³ If a woman was more independent and wished to experience the bohemian life she opted for an *appartement au deuxième*, or *au troisième*, with the less expensive rooms upwards toward the sky.¹⁰⁴ Carlyle chose the emancipated life in her own apartment at number 18 Rue de Milan. Her accommodation likely consisted of a bedroom, sitting-room and studio all in one, and a small bathroom and kitchen. In letters to her family she described the sitting room with its French windows, a large mirror hung on its white and gold walls,

and a blue lounge and table.¹⁰⁵ Her letters may have exaggerated the elegance of her accommodations because in her memoir she recorded how she had to store her bread rolls under an upturned crock to keep them from the livestock.¹⁰⁶

Even in cosmopolitan France, women participating in the public sphere of travel and work, and wishing to retain their untarnished reputations had to do so within the boundaries and rules of respectable behaviour. In the early 1890s the activities of American women art students in Paris, described at the time as “free and easy,” drinking absinthe, smoking, growing lax in their moral views, entertaining men or “keeping house for all sorts of men” in their studios, were the subject of numerous articles in American journals, and their behaviour was commented on in England and France.¹⁰⁷ In September 1893, in an attempt to regulate their behaviour, the American Girls’ Club in Paris was established through philanthropic donations to provide room, board, and social activities designed to encourage moral rectitude among young American women studying in the city.¹⁰⁸ As Janet Wolff in her discussion of the *flaneur* explains, whereas in the late nineteenth century respectable middle-class women could not go alone to a café in Paris, men were unrestricted in their freedom to travel.¹⁰⁹ Polite society frowned upon women who visibly participated in the public world.

Such artificial social constraints did not seem to greatly inhibit the independent spirits of the women in the study group who traveled great distances to study in London and Paris. These Canadian women had perhaps read these same articles, or assimilated the advice offered by American May Alcott Nieriker, a painter and sister of Louisa May Alcott, in her book *Studying Art Abroad and How to Do it Cheaply*, published in 1879.¹¹⁰ This was an early self-help book for women wishing to study art in Paris giving practical

specifics on everything from the best teachers to the general expenses involved in living in a city such as London and Paris.

In the late autumn of 1890, as Florence Carlyle settled into her small rooms in Paris at age twenty-six, money was short, but it seemed to her as if life and art would not be life anywhere else but in Paris. She studied at the Académie Julian and other studios in Paris and did not return home to Woodstock, Ontario until 1896. Florence Carlyle's memoir relates how she and her friends traveled around the city of Paris and to their art schools on the tops of trams because it was cheaper and they could see the city better; how they went on impromptu sketching trips to the country; scoured markets for interesting bric-a-brac and textiles to use as backdrops in paintings; sat sketching under the chestnut trees, or wandered the Luxembourg Gardens alone for hours imagining the days prior to the French Revolution, about which Carlyle's great-uncle Thomas Carlyle had written.¹¹¹ Carlyle explains that days were spent working at classes. At lunch time sometimes they pooled their food for informal feasts in the large school studio rooms. They placed boards over chairs to make a large table; sheets of paper became their tablecloth, and the stove, that was normally lit to keep the studio room at a constant temperature so that the nude model would be warm, was put to use by the women students to boil a pan of water to cook their eggs for lunch.¹¹²

In the evenings they entertained fellow students in their apartment-studios. While often located up many flights of stairs, they were light and airy, and had gloriously uninterrupted views across the Parisian rooftops. If the woman art student was "emancipated," as one 1904 source wrote, her guests included both men and women.¹¹³ The complete 'art' experience immersed them; they arranged their living quarters as they

chose; the niceties of Victorian Canada were left far behind. As Carlyle describes in her memoir, and a photograph of Winnifred Kingsford's Paris rooms reveals (fig. 2-3), the walls of the women students' studio-apartments were decorated with colourful fabrics and rugs, and with sketches and postcards tacked up haphazardly; horizontal surfaces were cluttered with paint pots, books, and souvenirs. Works in progress such as sculptures, were placed on pedestals, and canvases leaned against the wall or rested on easels, as seen in the photograph of Kingsford's room (fig. 2-3), and in Sarah Holden's *A Corner of My Studio* (1887). (Fig. 5-2) Furniture appears to have been minimal; Kingsford's Paris rooms included an unadorned wooden crate used as a pedestal for a sculpture. (Fig. 2-3) More elegant accommodations may have included a chaise longue covered with pillows, as seen in Carlyle's *The Studio* (fig. 5-1); and rattan chairs, like that in which Kingsford is seated, or deeply upholstered arm chairs, in which to relax and smoke a cigarette, as depicted in a sketch done in Paris about 1896 by Wilhelmina Hawley, the room-mate of Laura Muntz.¹¹⁴ (Fig. 2-2)

A Favourite School:

During the period under study, 1880 to 1914, about half the women in the study group went to Paris for art instruction, lasting from months up to five or six years, as in the cases of Emily Carr, Florence Carlyle, and Laura Muntz respectively. In this early period Canadian women gravitated toward one or other of two schools in this city: the Académie Julian and the Académie Colarossi. (Fig. 2-4) In large part Paris was a city which was attractive to women artists because of the advantages it offered for

independence and for access to life drawing in the ateliers.¹¹⁵ Although Maria Tippet claims in her book, *By a Lady*, that by 1890 women had a wide range of classes in the atelier system to choose from, the reality was not as simple or as positive as the author presents.¹¹⁶ Private ateliers had originally been established to prepare male art students to enter the principal art academy of France, the state-supported *École des Beaux-Arts*. By 1890 Paris had a reputation for progressive women's art education, but many art schools were still organized in terms of sexual difference. Some like the *École* admitted no women until 1897.¹¹⁷ Others like the *Académie Julian* limited female members or restricted their access to training. These barriers to women's art education grew out of attitudes of the time that characterized women as "special," as separate and as little more than amateurs. As a result women were often assigned to classes separate from men and restricted from attending the life-class with male colleagues, who drew from the nude male model. For women this was regarded as a morally improper and 'unnatural' setting.¹¹⁸

Elizabeth Armstrong, before she married Stanhope Forbes, had spent several months during the early-1880s working at the artists' colony in Pont-Aven in Brittany. In an interview published in *Saturday Night* in 1888 Mildred Peel reminisced about the time she spent, two years earlier, studying in Paris at the studio of Benjamin Constant. Clara Peel, Mildred's sister, with whom she shared a Toronto studio, also had the desire to continue her art education abroad and told the interviewer that she too "[intended] taking a course of study in Europe" soon.¹¹⁹ Sydney Tully, in Paris just after Mildred Peel, attended the equally popular *Académie Julian* from 1886 to 1888.¹²⁰ In 1890 she enrolled at the *Académie Colarossi* for three months and then switched back to classes at the

Académie Julian. In the spring of 1888 Mary Bell Eastlake joined her friend Margaret Houghton in Paris, where Houghton was already established in a school.

More women in the study group went to Paris during the following decade than any other. In 1890 Florence Carlyle arrived in Paris, and also in this year Harriet Ford was enrolled in classes at the Académie Colarossi.¹²¹ However, Laura Muntz's education abroad was interrupted, perhaps for financial reasons. After a brief period of study in England, she returned home to Canada where she opened a studio in Hamilton, Ontario above Thompson's Art Store and taught art.¹²² Finally in the fall of 1891 Laura Muntz traveled to Paris to begin study at the Académie Colarossi. With an eye to her finances she obtained work as a monitor at the Académie and this paid the cost of her tuition fees. She remained at this school until 1898, returning to Toronto in 1895 for a few months to teach at George Reid's studio. Her colleague Sophie Pemberton moved directly from the South Kensington Schools in London to the Académie Julian in Paris where she studied from 1896 to 1899.¹²³

The inexorable pull of Paris for Canadian women artists was still strong in the years just prior to the outbreak of World War I. Frances Loring spent time at the Académie Colarossi following studies in Geneva and Munich. In these years Emily Carr also enrolled in classes at the Colarossi; and Henrietta Mabel May and Emily Coonan two close AAM School friends, journeyed together to Paris.¹²⁴

The single-sex environment for study experienced by these women enhanced the bonds of friendship and comradely feelings. These are evident in Florence Carlyle's journal entry which describes her experience of working in an all-women life drawing class in a Paris art school in the early 1890s, (fig. 2-4) "The grating and scratching of

charcoal begins,” she wrote. “Oh, the thrill of those silent hours, standing shoulder to shoulder in the army of ardent, splendid, hard working women....What a union of pent-up feeling and purpose!”¹²⁵ Friendships between women art students endured because in addition to companionship, they offered mutual support and encouragement for private and professional endeavours in a climate that offered little. Sometimes these friendships turned into lasting partnerships, Laura Muntz studied for a total of seven years at the Académie Colarossi in Paris, and here she met and established a long-lasting friendship with Wilhelmina Douglas Hawley (1860-1958) from New York City. Hawley and Muntz studied and traveled Europe together, and acted as each others’ models. Muntz painted Hawley in 1897, and they shared a studio on Rue Notre-Dame-des-Champs 111 in Paris. (Fig. 2-2) In 1898 they both moved to Toronto where they opened a joint teaching studio in the Yonge Street Arcade, between Richmond and Adelaide Streets.¹²⁶ Other examples of Canadian women sharing studio space, and the significance of such space to women will be discussed further in Chapter 5.

Summer Schools of Art

Following the setting up of their professional practices, Canadian women artists in the study group from time to time attended one of the popular summer schools for further refinement of techniques, or to update their skills. For example, Sydney Tully attended C. Lazar’s open-air class for landscape painting in Southern England in the summer of 1893.¹²⁷ Perhaps because of the relative ease of travel, the women in the study group tended more often to journey to the north-eastern American states and Atlantic seaboard

to attend summer schools. The painter William Merritt Chase, described as the most important American teacher of his generation, attracted Canadian women artists to his summer school. Begun in 1891 the Shinnecock Hills Summer School of Art, near Southampton, Long Island, of which Chase was the President and principal teacher, soon became the most famous summer art program in the United States. In 1899 it had 105 pupils in its summer school which ran from June 1st to October 1st. Nearly two-thirds of the students were professional artists.¹²⁸ Therefore, it was not unusual for Sydney Tully, by this time a practicing professional artist, to have attended his school in the summer of 1894.¹²⁹ A pupil of Tully's, portrait painter Clara Sophia Hagarty, also attended Shinnecock, as may the Toronto painter Emma S. Windeat.¹³⁰

Gertrude Spurr and Marion H. Nelson Hooker first met each other when they both attended an annual summer art school together in Vermont taught by George B. Bridgeman. Bridgeman was a former Canadian who was teaching at the Art Students' League in New York. According to Hooker's papers Gertrude Spurr also attended summer schools with Berge Harrison and John Carlson, and enrolled in the New York Art Students' League summer school in Woodstock, New York State, in the years from 1900 to about 1905.¹³¹

Two Canadian artists also ran a popular summer school in the United States. George and Mary Reid spent up to four months annually in Onteora, New York, in the Catskill Mountains where they taught classes in "out-door painting" to which their Toronto area students would come.¹³² This project was perhaps inspired by Chase's popular summer school at Shinnecock. Portraitist Caroline L. Hillyard from St. Mary's, Ontario, studied under George Reid at the OSA school in Toronto and attended Reid's summer classes at

Onteora.¹³³ The Reid's summer Ontario classes also attracted established artists such as Harriet Ford who attended in 1894.¹³⁴

A pattern emerges of women artists receiving their initial art training in Canada. Generally there were three main choices available to them for their initial art education: education at organized institutional school classes, for example at women's colleges or at co-educational schools of art such as the OSA school in Toronto; smaller, private studio classes such as those offered by male and female artists, or in several instances by artist "couples" such as George and Mary Hiester Reid; or small art schools founded or directed by women, such as Muntz and Hawley's "French atelier" inspired studio class. Another related option for women was to attend classes offered by local women's art associations, such as those run by the Women's Art Club of London, Ontario, and taught by local women artists. Education in one or a combination of these options was the way that women's initial art training in this era evolved, especially, it seems, among women who came of age in the mid-to-late-1890s, like Mary Wrinch, Henrietta Vickers, Estelle Kerr, and Dorothy Stevens. A number of study group women pursued professional level art training abroad, attending schools in equal numbers in England, New York, and Paris. In addition to gaining them necessary instruction, the time studying outside of Canada appears to have been an emancipating experience, one in which they frequently founded lasting friendships with fellow women students.

Once women gained access to art education at professional levels, study group artists began to find institutional employment teaching art principally in ladies' colleges. To a lesser extent women were employed to teach art in established co-educational art

school settings such as the AAM School.¹³⁵ Yet, perhaps because the positions were less prestigious or poorer paying, it was by far more common for women artists to be offered employment at ladies' colleges. Each of these women teachers of art offered role models of successful women artists working as professionals for the younger generation of women in the study group, those who came of age post-1900.

Notes to Chapter One:

- ¹ Cecilia Beaux, *Background with Figures* (Boston and New York: Houghton Mifflin, 1930), 118.
- ² Jan Marsh and Pamela Gerrish Nunn, *Women Artists and the Pre-Raphaelite Movement* (London: Virago Press, 1989), 117.
- ³ Janice Helland, *Professional Women Painters in Nineteenth-Century Scotland* (London: Ashgate, 2000), 6.
- ⁴ Marjory Lang, *Women Who Made the News: Female Journalists in Canada, 1880-1945* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1999), 30
- ⁵ Ibid. 31-34.
- ⁶ Jennifer Watson, "Harriet Ford: An Expatriate Rediscovered," *Harriet Ford* (Hamilton: Art Gallery of Hamilton, 2001), 27.
- ⁷ "Prominent Women – No. 13 Miss. Bell," *Ladies Pictorial Weekly* (Toronto) (18 June 1892), 390.
- ⁸ Gertrude Spurr was born in Scarborough, Yorkshire, England. Schreiber was born in Woodham, Essex, England. See J. Russell Harper, *Early Painters and Engravers in Canada*, 81, 281. Wrinch was born at Kirby-le-Soken, Essex, England, see, Muriel Miller, "Famous Canadian Artists, Mary E. Wrinch," *Onward* (January 1940), 58.
- ⁹ Scott, "The Evidence of Experience," 792.
- ¹⁰ "Success of a Young Canadian Artist in France," *The Globe* (Toronto), 2 May 1889.
- ¹¹ "In a Toronto Studio," *The Home Journal* (Dec. 1909): 10, 26.
- ¹² Cherry, *Painting Women*, 102.
- ¹³ Deborah Cherry, *Beyond the Frame: Feminism and Visual Culture, Britain 1850-1900* (London and New York: Routledge, 2000), 10-11.
- ¹⁴ Nancy M. Mathews, *Mary Cassatt*, 18
- ¹⁵ The word "blue" in the title may refer to the term "blue-blood," meaning a wealthy, established, or noble family. *The Society Blue Book of Toronto, Hamilton, and London, A Social Directory, 1903-4 edition*. (Toronto: W.W. Tyrrell & Co., 1904.)
- ¹⁶ J.W. Leonard, *Woman's Who's Who of America, 1914-1915* (New York: 1914), 351.
- ¹⁷ Irene B. Hare, "Close-ups of Toronto's Women Artists, # 5 Miss Clara Hagarty," *Sunday World*, undated clipping, c. 1919.
- ¹⁸ William Kingsford, *The History of Canada*, 10 vols. (Toronto: Rowsell and Hutchinson, 1887 to 1898).
- ¹⁹ Kivas Tully (1820-1905) was also the architect for St. Catherines Town Hall; Welland County Court House; and Victoria Hall in Cobourg, Ontario. H. Morgan, *Canadian Men and Women of the Time* (Toronto, 1898), 1023. Maria Strickland (d.1883) was the eldest daughter of Lieut.-Col. Strickland of Lakefield, Ontario.
- ²⁰ Jean Grant, "Studio and Gallery" *Saturday Night* (10 Dec. 1898), 15.
- ²¹ Natalie Luckyj, *Helen McNicoll: A Canadian Impressionist* (Toronto: Art Gallery of Ontario, 1999), 19.
- ²² David McNicoll was First Vice-President of the Canadian Pacific Railway from 1903 on. Joan Murray, "Introduction," in *Helen McNicoll, Oil Paintings from the Estate* (1976).
- ²³ Nicholas Tuele, *Sophia Theresa Pemberton 1869-1959* (Victoria: Art Gallery of Greater Victoria, 1979), 18.
- ²⁴ Richards married William Edwin Rowley, see Morgan, *Types of Canadian Women*, 296.
- ²⁵ Lang, "Women Who Made the News," 30.
- ²⁶ This information was taken from an interview with London artist Albert E. Templar who knew Eva Bradshaw. Nancy Poole, *The Art of London, 1830-1980* (London, Ont.: Blackpool Press, 1984), 71.
- ²⁷ Jennifer Watson, *Water Colours by E. May Martin* (Oshawa: The Robert McLaughlin Gallery, 1980): 5-6.
- ²⁸ Robert Amos, *Mary Riter Hamilton* (Victoria: Art Gallery of Victoria, 1977), 5.
- ²⁹ "I was an hungered," *Montreal Witness*, 2, April 1896. The painting is illustrated in the newspaper.
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- ³¹ Elizabeth Mulley, "Women and Children in Context: Laura Muntz and the Representation of Maternity," Ph.D. diss., McGill University, 2000, 115.
- ³² McLeod, *In Good Hands*, 35, 153.

- ³³ Helland, *Professional Women Painters*, 9.
- ³⁴ "The Art of Mrs. M.R. Hamilton as Revealed in Her Pictures," *Montreal Daily Star*, Jan. 1912. "A Canadian Woman Artist," *Saturday Night*, (16 Dec. 1911), n.d. Norma Phillips Muir, "Anatomical Art," *Maclean's Magazine* 42 (1 August 1929): 55.
- ³⁵ "In her interesting little talk," Unidentified newspaper clipping, Toronto newspaper c1900, WAAC scrapbook.
- ³⁶ Miller, *George Reid*, 67; see also Fern Bayer, *The Ontario Collection*, 10, 101.
- ³⁷ "Brush is Laid Down by Talented Artist," *The Globe* (Toronto), 5 Oct. 1928.
- ³⁸ "In a Toronto Studio," *The Home Journal* (Dec. 1909), 10.
- ³⁹ Henry Morgan, *Types of Canadian Women* (Toronto: 1903), 296.
- ⁴⁰ John Collins, "Pictures from Paris," *Canadian Courier* 26 (25 Nov. 1911).
- ⁴¹ Virginia Berry, *Vistas of Promise: Manitoba 1874-1919* (Winnipeg: Winnipeg Art Gallery, 1987), 56.
- ⁴² The school went through several name changes in the late nineteenth century: from 1884 to 1891 it was known as the Toronto School of Art, after which it became the Central Ontario School of Art and Industrial Design, similar to its original name The 1884 name change is said to have been prompted by the OSA severing its connection with the art school. In 1891 the school changed its name to the Central Ontario School of Art and Industrial Design. F.N. Levy, ed. *American Art Annual 1907-1908* (Boston: Noyes, Platt & Co., 1908), 134. Nancy Poole, *The Art of London, 1830-1980* (London: Blackpool Press, 1984), 29.
- ⁴³ Poole, *The Art of London*, 28-29.
- ⁴⁴ Florence N. Levy, ed. *American Art Annual, 1900* (Boston: Noyes, Platt & Co., 1900), 214.
- ⁴⁵ "Trained as Musician – Success at Art," *Star Weekly* (25 March 1927), n.p..
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- ⁴⁷ See "School Reports" chart in, Levy, *American Art Annual 1900-1901*, 214-215. See also, *100 Years Evolution of the Ontario College of Art* (Art Gallery of Ontario, 1976), 63-69.
- ⁴⁸ Florence N. Levy, ed. *American Art Annual, 1898* (Boston: Noyes, Platt & Co., 1898), 126.
- ⁴⁹ These statistics are for the 1899-1900 session. Levy, *American 1900-1901*, 215.
- ⁵⁰ "Prominent Women, # 13, Miss Bell," *Ladies Pictorial Weekly* (18 June 1892), 390. J. Russell Harper, *Early Painters and Engravers in Canada* (University of Toronto Press, 1970), 167-168.
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- ⁵² Monique Nadeau-Samier, *Nina M. Owens (1869-1959)* (Sherbrooke, Que.: Art Gallery of Sherbrooke, 1992), 15-21.
- ⁵³ One woman who did teach in Canada in an earlier period was Jeanne-Charlotte Allamand Berczy (1760-1839), who taught art in Montreal in c1800.
- ⁵⁴ "Art Association Classes, 28th Year of Instruction Opens on October 1," *The Gazette*, 20 August 1908; see also, Karen Antaki, "H. Mabel May (1877-1971) The Montreal Years: 1909-1938," Master's thesis, Concordia University, 1992, p.12.
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- ⁵⁶ Jennifer Watson, *Watercolours by E. May Martin* (Oshawa: The Robert McLaughlin Gallery, 1980), 7.
- ⁵⁷ NCWC, *Women of Canada: Their Life and Work*, 221. Jean Grant, "Studio and Gallery," *Saturday Night* (10 Dec. 1898), 15; and "Studio and Gallery," *Saturday Night* (30 June 1900), 9.
- ⁵⁸ Jean Grant, "Studio and Gallery," *Saturday Night* (30 June 1900), 9.
- ⁵⁹ Poole, *Art of London*, 23.
- ⁶⁰ National Council of Women, *Women of Canada: Their Life and Work* (1901).
- ⁶¹ *London Free Press*, 1 Dec. 1894, p. 6
- ⁶² McLeod, *In Good Hands*, 37, 85.
- ⁶³ Jean Grant, "Studio and Gallery," *Saturday Night* 12, no. 19 (25 March 1899): 9.
- ⁶⁴ Text on the back of photo of Kerr by M. O. Hammond, c1932, located at NGC library.
- ⁶⁵ Muntz was still teaching in Montreal in 1914. Liliias Torrence Newton went on to have a successful career as a portraitist. Margaret Bell, *Everywoman's World* (June 1914): 7.
- ⁶⁶ J.W. Leonard, *Woman's Who's Who of America, 1914-1915* (New York: 1914), 351.
- ⁶⁷ Lynn C. Doyle, pseud., "Art Notes," *Saturday Night* 30 Nov. 1895), n.p.
- ⁶⁸ Joan Murray, *Sparkling Water: Mary Wrinch and Her Contemporaries* (Toronto, 1971).
- ⁶⁹ *Lovell's Montreal Directory*, 1895-96, v. 1, 336; and *Lovell's Montreal Directory*, 1896-97, v. 2, 890.

- ⁷⁰ *Art Association of Montreal, Annual Report (1904-05)*, 7, as quoted in Karen Antaki, "H. Mabel May (1877-1971) The Montreal Years: 1909-1938," Master's thesis, Concordia University, 1992, 12-13.
- ⁷¹ "Art and Artists," *Saturday Night*, (4 April 1891): 11.
- ⁷² Morgan, *Types of Canadian Women*, 296.
- ⁷³ Sydney Strickland Tully's Artist Information Form, completed by artist, n.d., Artist clipping file, NGC archives, Ottawa. Charlotte Weeks, "The Slade Girls," *Magazine of Art* 6 (1883): 329.
- ⁷⁴ Nicholas Tuele, *Sophia Theresa Pemberton* (Victoria: Art Gallery of Greater Victoria, 1978), 18-19.
- ⁷⁵ Artist information form, c1912, NGC archives.
- ⁷⁶ Wrinch was born at Kirby-le-Soken, Essex, England, and Gertrude Spurr was born in Scarborough, Yorkshire, in Northern England.
- ⁷⁷ Muntz studied here for three months after which an illness in the family forced her to return to Toronto. N. MacMurchy, "To Paint all Day is the Delight of Miss Muntz," *Toronto Star* (Toronto), 11 July 1914.
- ⁷⁸ David Richie and James Paget "Canadian Artists William Malcolm Cutts and Gertrude Spurr Cutts," *Antique Showcase* (May 1987), 27.
- ⁷⁹ Rosemarie L. Tovell, *A New Class of Art* (Ottawa: National Gallery of Canada, 1996), 65.
- ⁸⁰ "Prominent Women, #13 Miss Bell," *Ladies' Pictorial Weekly* (Toronto) 3, No. 25 (18 June 1892), 390.
- ⁸¹ "The Art of Canadians," *Toronto Star* (Toronto), 12 March 1898, 3.
- ⁸² Natalie Luckyj, *Helen McNicoll: A Canadian Impressionist* (Toronto: Art Gallery of Ontario, 1999), 34.
- ⁸³ Florence N. Levy, ed., *American Art Annual 1903-1904* (American Art Annual: New York, 1903), 205.
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- ⁸⁵ May Phillips to Mrs. W.A. Phillips, Jan. 30, 1887. File #628, Phillips. See McLeod, *In Good Hands*, note 41, p. 45.
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- ⁸⁷ J. Russell Harper, *Early Painters and Engravers in Canada* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1966), 205.
- ⁸⁸ Levy, *American, 1903-1904*, 205.
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- ⁹¹ Colin S. MacDonald, ed. *A Dictionary of Canadian Artists* (Ottawa: Canadian Paperbacks, 1967), 161-2.
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- ⁹³ J.W.L. Forster, *Under the Studio Light: Leaves from a Portrait Painter's Sketch Book* (Toronto: Macmillan, 1928), 22.
- ⁹⁴ David Wistow, *Canadians in Paris, 1867-1914* (Toronto: Art Gallery of Ontario, 1979), 4; and Muriel Miller, *George Reid: A Biography* (Toronto: Summerhill Press, 1987), 52-55.
- ⁹⁵ Sylvain Allaire, "Les Canadiens au salon officiel de Paris entre 1870 et 1910: sections peinture et dessin," *The Journal of Canadian Art History*, 4, no. 2 (1977/78): 145-149.
- ⁹⁶ Clive Holland, "Lady Art Students' Life in Paris," *International Studio*, 21 (1904): 227.
- ⁹⁷ Ellen McLeod, *In Good Hands*, n. 41, p. 45.
- ⁹⁸ "Prominent Women, No. 13, Miss Bell," *Ladies Pictorial Weekly*, (18 June 1892): 390.
- ⁹⁹ "The Spring Exhibition," *Montreal Star*, 7 March 1895, 1.
- ¹⁰⁰ See, the *Society of American Artists 26th Annual Exhibition*, p. 70, Watson Library, Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York. Peter Hasting Falk, ed., *The Annual Exhibition Record of the Art Institute of Chicago 1888-1950* (Madison, CT.: Sound View Press, 1990), 638.
- ¹⁰¹ "Social and Personal," *Saturday Night* (14 March 1903): 3; and, "Fine Show of Pictures," *Mail and Empire* (Toronto), 7 March 1903, 15.
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- ¹⁰³ Holland, "Lady Art Students' Life," 226.
- ¹⁰⁴ Holland, "Lady Art Students' Life," 226.
- ¹⁰⁵ In 1921 when she revisited Paris, Carlyle was reminiscing about her first studio-apartment in a letter to her brother. Florence Carlyle to Russell Carlyle, 1 Dec. 1921. Artist files, WAG, Woodstock, Ont.

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- ¹⁰⁷ Emily Meredyth Aylward, "The American Girls Art Club in Paris," *Scribner's Magazine* (Nov. 1894), 594; M.E. W. Sherwood, "American Girls in Europe," *North American Review* (June 1890), 681-89; and Mildred Stapley, "Is Paris Wise for the Average American Girl?" *Ladies Home Journal* (April 1906), 16, 54; see also, M.L. Girault, "Paris of the Distorted Vision," *Ladies' Home Journal* (May 1906), 35
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- ¹¹³ Holland, "Lady Art Students' Life," 226.
- ¹¹⁴ Carlyle, "A Week of Student Life in Paris."
- ¹¹⁵ Cherry, *Painting Women*, 63.
- ¹¹⁶ Tippet, *By A Lady*, 45.
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- ¹¹⁸ Cherry, *Painting Women*, 53-54.
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- ¹²² "Art Review," *Hamilton Spectator*, Hamilton, Ontario, 22 March 1947.
- ¹²³ Tuele, *Sophia Teresa Pemberton*, 20.
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- ¹²⁵ Florence Carlyle, "A Week of Student Life in Paris," originally published in the "Women's Kingdom," *Toronto Mail*. Reprinted as "Student Life in Paris as Told by the Late Florence Carlyle," *Sentinel-Review* (Woodstock, Ont.). 10 February 1936, Artist Files, WPAG, Woodstock, Ont.
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- ¹²⁹ "Anyone who has given more than a passing glance," *The Week* (Jan. 1895): 187.
- ¹³⁰ "Members of the Shinnecock Summer School of Art," Typewritten list included in correspondence from Renee Minushkin, The Art Museum Parrish, to the author, 8 Sept, 1998; see also, J. W. Leonard, *Woman's Who's Who of America 1914-1915* (New York, 1914), 351.
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Chapter Two: The Climate of Professionalism

I do not wish them to have power over men; but over themselves.

Mary Wollstonecraft (1759-97), *A Vindication of the Rights of Woman* (1792)

Between March 1897 and May 1898, at a time when a growing number of Canadian women artists were working to have their cultural and professional aspirations legitimized by art institutions and society, two cartoons lampooning women artists and their work appeared in the Toronto based publication *Saturday Night*.¹ (Figs. 1-1 and 1-6) While of dubious amusement value, these cartoons reveal much about contemporary attitudes toward women artists seeking to gain access to professional status and establish a viable artistic practice in Canada. These comics are fragments of a past that can never be retrieved in its entirety, not only because the past does not fully survive in the archive, but because these fragments are not self-evident truths; they require interpretation.

Saturday Night published one of the few regular art columns, “Studio and Gallery.” The column provided comprehensive coverage of Toronto art exhibitions plus rumors and social gossip relating to the broader Canadian art world. Ironically, cartoons deriding women artists often appeared adjacent to the “Studio and Gallery” column. The publication of cartoons lampooning women artists in *Saturday Night* appears to have been carefully timed to coincide with the holding of important art exhibitions, for example the RCA exhibition, in the city of Toronto. The force and influence of the comic would thus be magnified as the public’s attention was focused on the media coverage of

the exhibition itself. As Griselda Pollock points out, a comparable situation occurred in late nineteenth-century France where the appearance of comics lampooning women artists was directly related to the important annual event of the Salon exhibitions in Paris.²

The WAAC exhibition for 1897 opened on the first of March at the prestigious commercial Robert's Art Galleries at 79 King Street West in Toronto and received coverage from the Toronto newspapers and in the *Canadian Home Journal*.³ Eight paintings by Canadian women artists from the exhibition were the object of ridicule in a cartoon in *Saturday Night* entitled *Impressions – Woman's Art Exhibit*. (Fig. 1-1) The above-mentioned cartoon, a caricature of the women's exhibition and their artwork, appeared in the 6 March edition of the magazine. While the cartoon does not specifically name the Women's Art Association of Canada (WAAC), it would have been obvious to Toronto readers from the descriptions of the paintings that the cartoonist had visited the then current ninth annual spring exhibition of Canada's premier national women's art society, the WAAC.

Strategically situated on the first page of the magazine, the cartoon was captioned "Impressions – Woman's Art Exhibit," and the numbers and titles of paintings directly linked it with the WAAC exhibition which was still on view in the city. While the cartoon accurately maintained the correct title of each work, the cartoonist had recreated the subject matter into ridiculous parodies of the original.

By comparing painting titles with the cartoon's caption we know that the exhibition included Florence Carlyle's painting, *Spinning Woman*, a study of an elderly peasant woman working at her spinning wheel, which had been completed while Carlyle pursued

art studies in France. After six years of study abroad she had brought her best work to show in the season's Canadian art venues. The painting is recast at the top-right corner of the cartoon as number "8, Spinning Woman" a woman shown furiously pedaling a bicycle. This 'scandalous' figure, dressed in trousers and kicking up clouds of dust in her 'unfeminine' haste is clearly meant to be a derision of the contemporary phenomenon of the liberated "New Woman." In this instance, women artists are being associated with the New Woman, who was known for her distinctive characteristics of personal freedom, independence, and who embraced dress reform and exercise.⁴

Emma Windeat's painting, *A Shady Corner*, is metamorphosed into a depiction of a robber lurking in the shadows for his approaching victim. Eliza Harding's *Still-life* is parodied by a gagged and bound man, while Ethel Heaven's painting, *Reflection*, is lampooned by an image of an amorous couple revealed in silhouette to an onlooker. In the upper left corner of the cartoon Miss Dalton's still-life, *Chrysanthemums*, is similarly ridiculed, recast as oversized boutonnières. Whether acknowledged or not, the cartoonist's intent was clearly to deride the work and image of Canadian women artists.

Janice Anderson has recently suggested that artists like Mary Hiester Reid, who painted still-lives of flowers, subjects considered 'suitable' for a woman, and who worked within the limits of the patriarchal system, experienced less criticism and more acceptance from the Canadian art world of the time.⁵ Reid was well-known for her flower paintings and did not seem to challenge her husband George Reid's position as a pre-eminent painter of genre and figure subjects. Reid did not generally exhibit with the WAAC and did not exhibit in the ninth annual exhibition in Toronto.⁶ However, acceptance of society's strictures regarding suitable subjects for women artists was a

flawed strategy for negotiating barriers to professional acceptance. This is clearly demonstrated in the cartoon by its lampooning of the WAAC paintings' subjects, many of them in the "suitable" area of still-life paintings.

The reality in Toronto, as in all urban Canadian centres at this time, was that there existed a confrontation between women and professional art practice. Gains by women were balanced by the continuing social dictums which disapproved of women working as professionals. This indelicate disparaging of their character, intelligence, and talent made women artists the 'butt of the press' and 'figures of fun.' Further, while employing the guise of humour, the comics demonstrated social attitudes toward women that women artists had little choice but to negotiate in the quest for acceptance as professionals in Canada. The cartoonist, and presumably the editor, saw women as fair game to be made the butt of a joke, placed as they were on the fringes of the exclusively male preserve of professional practice. It would be hard to imagine a similar lampoon occurring with respect to the Academician's paintings at that year's Royal Canadian Academy exhibitions. Academicians were, with one notable exception, all male.⁷ Such dismissal of the work of women artists by the cartoonist in "Impressions" undoubtedly echoed the opinions of some who held that women would never be taken seriously as professional artists. In this case humour was used to play a role in resisting social change.

In a similar vein, in May of 1898 a cartoon entitled *Explained, Bazar* appeared in *Saturday Night* magazine. (Fig. 1-6) It was located adjacent to the "Studio and Gallery," column which contained a comprehensive review of the OSA's annual exhibition in Toronto. In this show study group artists exhibited alongside male colleagues.⁸ The

comic's placement might have caused it to be misread as an artist's sketch of the actual exhibition.

In the comic a young man and woman are shown conversing in hushed tones at an art exhibition. They glance up at the veiled woman in the foreground, the object of their whispers, who is intent on looking at the art on display. The man says, "How is it Miss Halftones never puts the date on any of her pictures." His companion replies, "Well, you see, last year she signed one Jane Halftones, '97, and someone asked her why she put her age on her paintings."

The content of the cartoon conveys an attitude of patronizing condescension on the part of the couple toward the woman artist. The amusement value of the cartoon, as with so many of the comics directed at women artists, relies largely on the gender of the artist being female. Women artists, as in this comic, are too often portrayed as unyouthful and unlovely: *Explained*, *Bazar's* painter, unmarried and without a male escort, is presented as a sad and pitiable character. In a heavy handed pun the artist's name "Miss Halftones" implies that her painting is second rate and lacking in originality. A 'halftone' refers to the printed mass reproduction of an illustration of an 'original' work of art by mechanical means. This portrayal of a woman artist clearly dismisses women as serious art professionals. In addition to implying that art by women is not quite 'up to snuff,' the cartoon further suggests that the woman artist herself is rumoured to have placed demure concerns about her age, before her responsibility to uphold artistic tradition and date her painting. Traditions of the art professional, this cartoon implies, are beginning to be eroded by the presence of women artists. One might speculate on whether or not this cartoon may have been directed at Florence Carlyle. By May of 1898 she had exhibited

with notable success; significantly, she rarely dated her work. This cartoon appeared concurrently with reviews of the OSA exhibition in April-May 1898 in which Carlyle exhibited two paintings.

Women and the Definition of a Professional:

The Oxford English Dictionary defines professional as “belonging to, connected with” a profession, someone who is “performing for monetary reward,” in other words the opposite of amateur.⁹ Sociologists define professionalism using two approaches, namely the ‘trait’ and the ‘functionalist’ models. The former focuses on formulating a list of attributes which are said to represent the common core of professional occupations, namely, “skill based on theoretical knowledge, specific training and education, testing the competence of members, organization, code of conduct, and altruistic service.”¹⁰ The ‘functionalist’ approach is concerned with those elements which have a functional relevance for society in general, or to the professional-client relationship. This approach looks at whether or how the profession functions to serve society or clients.¹¹

It is necessary to understand the term professional as a present-day concept, in order to relate the term to this study and consider how the term “professional” was defined during the late-nineteenth century, further what the designation “professional woman artist” may have meant in Canada between 1880 and 1914. The question of what is meant by the term “professional woman artist” for the purposes of this dissertation became relevant when I selected the artists for inclusion in this study. All are considered to have been professionals, and the characteristics that made them so include issues of

“belonging” to the profession, and of their being paid for their labour and product. They were recognized as professionals by their colleagues because of the quality of their work. All had received professional level art education and had exhibited with, or were members of artist societies. Through whatever venue they presented their work, whether they worked in the areas of newspaper illustration, calendar art, traditional galleries, or privately commissioned murals, and whether or not they required the money to live, each of these women sold their art production. These characteristics make up the meaning of professional woman artist for the purposes of this study.

“Professional” was a new category in nineteenth-century Britain. At this time the term generally applied to the law, medicine, and the Church. Emerging alongside the older professions were new professional institutions, professional language, and formal organizations that were formed for new middle-class occupations during the nineteenth century, such as those of engineer and architect.¹² These formal organizations controlled entry into and access to these professions and in some cases provided or regulated specialist training, thereby regulating professional practice. The professions were especially associated with and controlled by the upper-middle class. Furthermore, professionalism was strictly gendered and was claimed by men as a masculine sphere of influence.¹³

The profession of artist was emerging at this time concurrent with the establishment of institutional organizations such as Royal Academy in England. One might ask why it was so difficult for these organizations and institutions to associate women with their activities. Other professions evolved within the public sphere as masculine preserves. Similarly the art profession instituted restrictions upon the participation of women. In

art, as in other professions, the language of the profession reflected the prevailing belief systems of the day. An example of this can be seen in the institutions, schools, and art societies of the art profession of the time such as the *École des Beaux Arts* in France, the RA and RCA, the Arts and Letters Club in Toronto, and the Arts Club of Montreal, where women's access was restricted. Generally speaking, the prevailing episteme tends to be reflected in the norms of the profession. For example, in the organizations of the professional artist, the socialized construct 'masculinity' was the norm, and the artist was assumed to be a man.

Developing alongside this in the nineteenth-century was the emergence of a new understanding of the amateur. The word, derived from French, initially described a person who has a taste for, or love of, an occupation. It was only at the beginning of the nineteenth century that the term developed its pejorative implication and at the same time acquired its modern meaning as an antonym of professional.¹⁴ Therefore, the definition of the professional artist came to be understood as the antithesis of the amateur: the serious professional versus the Sunday afternoon "dabbler." The professional was as a rule white, middle-class, and male, someone who was educated to specific standards in accepted institutions, who was accredited by art societies, who sold work in public, taught, and who was ideally practicing these professional activities on a full-time basis.

The professional woman artist as understood in Canada in the late nineteenth century was defined in relation to the accepted male ideal as outlined above. There was an additional barrier for women, however, the association between women and amateurism. During the nineteenth century the concept of the amateur artist became strongly linked to that of femininity.¹⁵ The amateur artist pursued an activity without seeking pecuniary

gain, and this made it acceptable for women to pursue the social accomplishments of drawing, watercolour painting, china painting, and embroidery, for example, since such amateur pursuits were compatible with the social strictures of middle-class “femininity.”

The woman amateur artist was considered by Victorian painters such as Samuel Baldwin to reflect an ideal of femininity. She was herself the subject of art. She was sensitive, suitably modest in her ambition, a “womanly” ideal, and her art production was considered inconsequential and tentative.¹⁶ As will be discussed in the critical reception section of chapter seven, Canadian reviews of women-only art clubs include references to ‘pin-money’ earned, the ‘steady improvement’ seen in the artwork, and the charming teas held at the exhibitions. The amateur woman artist was no threat to the male monopoly of professional artist. Therefore, the image of middle-class women as amateur artists was encouraged and reinforced by nineteenth-century society.

In the late-nineteenth century the category of amateur was firmly associated with women artists and their art production. The traditional relationship of women to amateurism was a stumbling block to their acceptance into the profession, since amateurs by definition didn’t support themselves by sales of art production.¹⁷ The generally accepted strictures on women’s association with commerce were another difficulty for aspiring women professionals. Deborah Cherry has pointed out in her work on British women artists of this era that in addition to being in conflict with the norms of feminine behavior, women were not encouraged to pursue activity as professional artists because earning money would have challenged the exclusive right of men to do so in the public sphere.¹⁸ This conflict made the required association between professional artist and

monetary reward for sales a serious problem for the woman artist, whether or not the woman artist lived solely by her art production.

These three factors, the association of women artists and their production with amateurism, the conflict between “femininity” and professionalism, and the social strictures on women’s involvement with commerce, were detrimental to women artists in Canadian society prior to World War I. Notwithstanding these barriers, however, by the late 1880s women in Canada such as Charlotte Schreiber and Sydney Strickland Tully were beginning to find acceptance on the margins of the profession of artist. By examining the careers of women working as professional artists during the last quarter of the nineteenth-century in Canada, we know that the definition of a professional woman artist included women who lived by the sales of their art products. In this study artists — Florence Carlyle, Mary Bell Eastlake, Laura Muntz, Gertrude Spurr, Harriet Ford, Sarah Holden, and Mildred Peel supported themselves in this way. The definition of the professional woman artist also included women of independent financial means, and those who did not necessarily need the income from their work to live, like the sisters Louise and Sydney Tully of Toronto, and Helen McNicoll of Montreal. Also included were married artists such as Elizabeth McGillivray Knowles, Mary Hiester Reid, Mary Bell Eastlake, and several others such as Gertrude Spurr, Mary Wrinch Reid, Laura Muntz, and Dorothy Stevens, who married when their careers were fully developed. These artists, according to the norms of the time, were partially supported financially by their husbands.

Whichever the case, whether living by the sales of their art or not, these women artists were consistently and profoundly involved with marketing, seeking commissions,

exhibiting, and sales. These were the monetary aspects of art production and this work was an accepted part of the definition of a professional woman artist at this time. There are three factors which seem to have helped women override the traditional barriers to professional careers.

One factor may have been that of a mother's unrealized wish to have pursued a professional career herself.¹⁹ Emily Youmans Carlyle (1834-1913), the mother of the artist Florence Carlyle, had trained as a teacher and had taught briefly at a girl's school. Upon marriage she gave up her teaching career but encouraged her daughter to pursue professional level art training, taking in boarders to support her daughter's studies in Paris.²⁰

Deborah Cherry, in her study of Victorian women artists, discusses another factor, the example of a relative working as an artist or writer, which may have helped to override barriers to a professional career. This role model may have facilitated the transition from amateur to professional training and practice for a daughter of the house.²¹ Examples of the role model mode may be seen in three of the Canadian women artists in the study group: Sydney Strickland Tully, Louise Beresford Tully, and Henrietta Moodie Vickers. Sydney Tully and her sister Louise were great-nieces of writers Susanna Strickland Moodie (1803-1885) who published *Roughing it in the Bush* in 1852, and Catharine Parr Traill (1802-1899) who published *The Backwoods of Canada* in 1836, and their sister Agnes Strickland (1796-1874) who wrote *The Lives of the Queens of England*.²² Their cousin, Henrietta Moodie Vickers, also living in Toronto, was the grand-daughter of writer-artist Susanna Moodie.²³ The three Canadian women artists had another role model relative, the botanical artist Agnes Moodie Fitzgibbon (1833-1913)

who was a daughter of Susanna Moodie. Fitzgibbon was an aunt of Henrietta Vickers, and cousin of the Tully sisters, and had illustrated Catherine Parr Traill's book, *Canadian Wild Flowers*, published in 1868.²⁴ The examples set by Sydney, Louise, and Henrietta's women relatives who worked as professionals in the arts, as well as Kivas Tully (1820-1905) the architect father of the Tully sisters, may have encouraged these women to pursue professional careers.²⁵

Mildred Peel had the examples of her artist father and brother. Her father had a monument business in London, Ontario and she began her work in sculpture with him. In addition, her brother, Paul Peel, was an acclaimed artist in Canada when she was beginning her professional career.²⁶ (Fig.1-2)

Similarly Elizabeth McGillivary Knowles' professional art career was mentored by her uncle-by-marriage, the artist Frederic Marlett Bell-Smith (1846-1923). In a 1927 interview Knowles recalled how as a child she was fascinated to watch him paint in his studio. Later when the family moved to Toronto her father wished her to study piano but Bell-Smith, knowing of her preference to study art, "tactfully suggested that I should attend the Ontario School of Art just to see if, perhaps, I had not a greater talent in painting than in music."²⁷ She attended the OSA school for 5 years and later had a successful career as a landscape and miniature painter in Canada and the United States. In 1909 her celebrated painting of pine trees in moonlight entitled *The Dreamer* (fig. 1-3) had inspired the writing of two poetic tributes which appeared in *The Home Journal* in December 1909; the first by Toronto poet, physician, and mystic, Dr. Albert Durrant Watson (1859-1926), and the second by Dr. T. B Richardson.²⁸

Family friend, artist William Charles Forster (1816-1902), is said to have encouraged Laura Muntz in her early years. He facilitated her move from the Muskoka family farm to the city of Hamilton to help with family childcare, and to Toronto to study at the Ontario School of Art.²⁹

The inspiring role model might also have been provided by a woman art teacher. Charlotte Schreiber, who taught Sydney Strickland Tully at the OSA school between 1877 and 1880, was just such a role model.³⁰ Family letters reveal that the artists Agnes Fitzgibbon and Sydney Tully were “great friends,” a fact which seems to indicate that the younger Tully sister, Sydney, in particular, may have had a close, personal female friend/mentor, a professional working in the fine arts, as role model.³¹ Hence the example of a relative, friend, or teacher, working as a successful artist may have been one factor which helped women to override traditional societal barriers, and transition from amateur to professional art practice.

Social climate

In the Victorian ideal a woman was the spiritual guardian of the home, a secular temple, which she kept as a haven from the public sphere of the male commercial world outside. Femininity, the star in this ideal, was as far as possible from the reality of the career woman. Women’s involvement in paid work clashed with the traditional divisions between male and female roles. The reality was that working-class and poor women had always worked, and were obliged to do so out of financial necessity, while at the same time caring for their families.³² Working-class women’s work outside the home, for

example, in factories or as servants, was tolerated, but was not accepted in the concept of the “ideal” woman. Gendered social expectations influenced the aspirations and expectations of working-class and middle-class women. Society expected a woman to aspire to the ideal of marriage and children, with a husband who would support her; in the case of working-class women, thus alleviating the “shameful” need to support herself and her family.³³

So while there was a certain tolerance for poor women working outside the home, in contrast middle-class women, especially married women, who entered the work force were viewed as aberrations. Words came into common usage at this time that expressed society’s attitudes toward working women. One example of the new language, which relates to money earned by women, particularly by middle-class working women, is the term ‘pin money.’ The etymology of the term is from references to the safety pin, or hair pin, connoting a housewife’s work, and has a disparaging connotation to an annual allowance given by men to women for dress, and other minor household expenses. In this context, for women entering the work force, ‘pin money’ meant money earned by a woman for private expenditure.³⁴ Pin-money was seen as a supplement to a husband’s earnings.

How may we understand why society evolved such a term? The French philosopher Jacques Derrida has observed that meanings in language are produced by differences and distinctions that society needs to make. In his view the meaning of the term comes from what is not said, thus undermining the fixity of meaning and creating a vagueness or looseness related to the *aporia* in the text. Central to this system is Derrida’s concept, *différance*, wherein there is instability in the meaning of a term, a slippage of meaning,

with its meaning derived from traces and echoes of other words or, in other words, by its relation to what it is not.³⁵ In the context of the term “pin-money,” a newspaper review of the Women’s Art Club of London, Ontario art exhibition in December 1894 used the phrase in the headline: “How Many London Ladies Secure Extra Pin-Money.” The article also commented that the artists, “sell their paintings for the ‘cold cash’ ...and, with one or two exceptions, are not in any way dependent upon these sales for a livelihood... It is this desire to make a little extra pin money, as well as for the pleasure that the work affords, that so many are interested in it.”³⁶ The writer’s words reinforce society’s belief that paid work was incompatible with women’s traditional roles. Speaking for the artists, the writer of the article surmises that the artists’ motivation was solely one of pleasure, and that they were not interested in the monetary rewards of art; since to earn a living from sales of her art products would bring a woman artist dangerously close to the line between the socially sanctioned amateur and the “aberrant” professional.

Derrida’s ideas on language and meaning may be used to help us understand the meaning of this term, part of the new language for describing women and work. The term “pin-money” is used here to describe a small amount of money earned by women artists, and derives some meaning from the related term “family wage,” a concept which emerged in the 1840s referring to a man’s wage which was intended to support him and his family.³⁷ The meaning of “pin-money” remains unfixed in precise meaning. What is **not** said associates it with the dilettante, amateurism, or ‘dabbling’ in an amateur or uncommitted way, very different from serious professional work.

Marjory Lang has observed that a similar contemporary prejudice existed with regard to women journalists in Canada during the same era. Society assumed that women

journalists only needed “pin-money” while in fact most had urgent financial need.³⁸

Ironically, given the pay differential between men and women during the nineteenth century, economic necessity appears to have been a significant factor, which may have forced middle-class women to override the traditional barriers to professional careers in writing and art.

Financial necessity was frequently given as the reason for women artists and writers to take up their brushes and pens professionally, and put aside family and social objections.³⁹ Put another way, in nineteenth-century England, Deborah Cherry has documented that economic pressures were blamed for driving women into an ‘unladylike’ way of life, the implication being that women would not choose to become professional and work for a living if there were another option.⁴⁰

Was this factor of financial necessity, which provided the impetus for women to override the traditional barriers to achieve a career, applicable to the Canadian historical context? There may be some areas of concordance. Historian Marjory Lang has found that first generations of Canadian women journalists working in the late nineteenth century are cited as having had an “urgent financial need for a regular salary.”⁴¹ Amounts paid to women workers were not based on how much they needed but were dictated by how much they were seen as needing, whether “pin-money” or at best a “living-wage,” versus the larger “family wage” paid to men. The term living-wage refers to the minimum hourly wage necessary for a person to achieve some arbitrarily defined standard of living.⁴² The concept of the “family wage” was used as the justification for paying men more than women.

One woman who had an urgent financial need was journalist Madge Macbeth (1880-1965) who was widowed with two small children and was required to work through financial necessity. She supported her family by working as a journalist, art reviewer and magazine writer. She also published articles with major Canadian publications such as *Maclean's Magazine* and the *Canadian Courier*, and was also a photographer.⁴³ In this context of relatively low pay for women, Macbeth expressed hostility toward “unencumbered single working women” since they were paid the same as she was, yet could afford to work for less. According to Macbeth, this fact made it harder for her to find good paying work.⁴⁴ Her thinking underlines the tensions that accompanied middle-class women into the workplace, and points out the possible advantages, either real or imagined, unmarried women in the professions may have had over those with family responsibilities.

Canadian artist Laura Muntz combined the two areas of teaching and a successful practice in child portraiture, yet still grappled with the financial pressures of being a woman artist. She warned her niece, with aspirations to become a sculptor, of these difficulties in a letter, “[Life as a professional artist is] such a hard life for any woman.”⁴⁵

The working world in the last-quarter of the nineteenth century was filled with prejudices and assumptions regarding women workers. One American photographer who employed women in his workshops ca. 1899 said that women employees lacked permanency, saw a job in any “trade or business, as a stepping-stone to matrimony.” He continued, “If a man marries, it does not necessarily change his occupation, but it is ordinarily an incentive to advancement... Women when married rightly expect that they

are to be no longer breadwinners, and rarely pursue their occupations with the earnestness and intensity that they would if the idea of marriage were not constantly before them.”⁴⁶

Yet some women saw possible benefits to being paid a lower wage than their male colleagues. One manufacturer was quoted in an *Art Journal* article from 1872 as saying that employers did not object to employing women since women worked for lower wages than men. The writer of the article, presumably a woman, questioned the justice of this scheme and asked if good work “by a woman” did not warrant good payment? Yet the article ended on a compromising note, “While we [women] endeavour to secure the good work, [we] leave for the present the question of its just reward, [we] nevertheless, *accept the position thankfully.*”⁴⁷ This testimony of women’s gratitude for employment, whether or not they received pay equal to their male colleagues, appeared in an art journal. We may surmise two things from this. First, women were openly exploited for their labour. Second, the author was discussing “art-work for women,” as the title of the 1872 article tells us, so, presumably women who found employment in the arts, like women in the general working population, seem to have been largely socialized to accept the pay differential. They may have accepted it as the price to be paid for having a career and being in the financial sphere, traditionally a male preserve.

This notion is supported by an essay on “Pictorial Illustration” written in 1899 for a book meant as a guide to women seeking careers. The author, Izora C. Chandler, warns women that if a man’s work is equally as good as theirs, “a man’s work will be taken every time if it...costs no more.”⁴⁸

While little data is available regarding the levels of pay for women working in the professions, Marjory Lang in her research on late-nineteenth century women journalists

in Canada has documented that pay for women writing for serials was comparable to that of teaching.⁴⁹ Earnings for women working in art-related professions are difficult to discuss with accuracy. We see from Lang's findings that levels of pay apply equally to women teachers of art. In one American handbook from 1899, teaching art is said to pay best of all, with lessons bringing in \$25 per month for each student, or two dollars a lesson.⁵⁰

Some publications of the time, such as the 1899 American publication *What Women Can Earn: Occupations of Women and Their Compensation* discuss earnings in a general or random fashion.⁵¹ In the art-related areas many women working as "oil painters" are cited as earning \$500 a year, while a few earned more than \$1,000 yearly.⁵² Portrait painting paid better, from \$2,500 to \$4,000 annually, but success was dependent upon an established practice.

The areas of commercial applications of art were often well paid and in some cases supported women artists through financially difficult periods. American women working in industrial design made anywhere from \$8 a week to begin, with the highest paid woman earning \$35 weekly, or annually between \$400 and \$1,800. This presupposes regular work with one of the manufacturers on anything from book covers to carpets. Women working in photographic retouching earned from \$8 to \$20 per week.⁵³

Illustration work often paid extremely well, especially if the artist was working for American commercial clients. In 1903 Florence Carlyle's painting, *When Mother Was a Girl* was awarded first prize in the "figure subjects" category in a painting competition offered by a New York City firm, the Osborne Calendar Company. The Osborne Company subsequently reproduced *When Mother Was a Girl* on a calendar and circulated

the image in a postcard format. Carlyle received \$500 for the painting and a contract to paint twelve pictures a year for the company at a salary of \$5000.⁵⁴

Even greater financial success was achieved by Jessie Willcox Smith who was the most popular children's illustrator in the United States in the early twentieth century. About 1900 she was commissioned for magazine covers for such periodicals as *Harper's Bazaar* and *Scribner's Magazine*, and earned up to \$1,800 for one cover. Her income from her art production was estimated at \$12,000 per year in 1910.⁵⁵

The areas of work into which middle-class women entered appear to have been influenced by social expectations. Some occupations were deemed more suitable for women and this seems to have had an influence on some women artists' choices. Sally Mitchell observes that for women writers by the late-nineteenth century the career of writing fiction for serials had lost its moral taint. Writing for women was seen to be a good career because it could be done at home in privacy and safety.⁵⁶

Another widely held belief of the era was that women were thought to be especially suited to the area of child portraiture, or in the words of an article entitled "The Child Interpreters" published in May of 1900 on American women illustrators, "compositions depicting child life...are distinctly the faculty of woman's delicacy and insight to portray."⁵⁷ Anne Higonnet, writing about Mary Cassatt, famous for her child paintings, has pointed out that gendered and commercial pressures were very strong in the late-nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, and that these influenced even the most successful woman artist's choice of subject. "[Women artists] spent their entire careers on childhood, as if they had never contemplated a viable alternative."⁵⁸ By 1900 women had made inroads in the area of illustration. However, in this genre, gendered subject

matter restrictions influenced women illustrators such as Maud Bogart and Jessie Willcox Smith toward working in child illustration, an area which was thought to be appropriate for women.⁵⁹

Canadian women artists who made child portraiture an important part of their *oeuvre* included Laura Muntz, one of Canada's best known child portrayers in the years 1895 to 1930, and Sydney Strickland Tully, who received many portrait commissions from wealthy Canadians, a number of which were of children.⁶⁰ Tully's adult subjects included Professor Goldwin Smith, Mrs. W.H. Moore, and Mrs. Kate Reed. A pastel by Tully entitled *Study of a Child's Head* was reproduced on the cover of the OSA catalogue for 1903.⁶¹ One artist who worked in the area of illustration as well as conventional portraiture was Estelle Kerr. *Saturday Night* described her as an artist whose "strongest point" was child portraiture.⁶² From 1910 to 1912 Kerr illustrated and wrote a cartoon strip for the *Canadian Courier* entitled "Why Willie and Lillie Were Late," which featured the adventures of two children.⁶³

The Changing Ideal for Women:

Earlier, I pointed out that working-class and poor women had always worked outside the home. It was the entry of middle-class women into the workplace in significant numbers that was disruptive to the society of the time and may have had implications for their class standing. Anthea Callen has pointed out a link between middle-class women and paid work in mid-nineteenth century England, where accepting paid work at this time meant a lowering of social status.⁶⁴ "Well-bred Ladies," even if destitute or unmarried,

did not work. If they did so, it was in areas deemed suitable. Often this work was seen as what Roszika Parker and Griselda Pollock have described as extensions of the domestic sphere. These included certain areas of art such as needlework and china painting, teaching, and child care.⁶⁵

Little evidence is available to support the idea that in late nineteenth century Canada engaging in paid work actually lowered a middle-class woman's social class. At this time the women in the study group, like many Canadian middle-class women, were grappling with an emerging new identity. We can see from the study group that the realities of their lives included a conflation of the traditional concepts of the feminine 'ideal' pursuant to which they were raised, with exciting realities appearing in the 1890s, such as the working women, and the independent, cigarette-smoking "New Woman." As Griselda Pollock has observed, nineteenth-century women artists may have accepted the 'ideal,' in whole or in part, while at the same time they resisted the gendered construction of femininity that restricted their participation in the public sphere and in professional practice.⁶⁶ The majority of women in the study group, especially those born during the 1860s and 1870s, appear to have embraced to varying extents the new and daring notions of professional practice and many of the characteristics of the "New Woman," while prudently choosing not to jeopardize their middle-class social status.

The ideal of domesticity, sometimes referred to as the "cult" of domesticity, was strong in Canada during the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. This ideology emphasized the sanctity and purity of family life and idealized the moral tasks of women as mothers and wives. Maternal feminism, which cast women's nurturing and domestic role as "natural," became the avenue that helped to extend the woman's private role into

the public sphere. The beliefs of maternal feminism had a wide acceptance among women of all classes and education in Canada, including women involved in the woman's suffrage movement, the Women's Christian Temperance Union, and other women working for political and social reform at the time in groups such as the National Council of Women of Canada (NCWC). Maternal feminists saw women as morally superior to men. Therefore, their goal was to bring women's force to bear for social change. Briefly stated, this is why maternal feminists advocated the vote for women.⁶⁷

Social class was an important factor in the socialization of the women in the study group because as middle-class women they had exposure to the widely accepted views of maternal feminism. Generally speaking, these ideas were widely accepted among educated women, professionals, artists, and writers. While we view such ideas at a social and temporal distance, for many of the women studied in this dissertation the beliefs and arguments of maternal feminism would have been a lived reality. It is important to acknowledge these widely held beliefs as a possible influence in the lives of the women in the study group, because they may have played a part in their personal life decisions, for example, decisions to marry and have children.

One important concept for feminist historians studying the history of nineteenth century middle-class women has been the ideology of separate spheres, wherein women are closeted within the private domestic world and masculinity is associated with the public world. This concept of separate spheres has been called into question by developments in the analysis of spatial boundaries and accounts of women's access to urban space. Women may have had more access to urban life and spaces, and the lines

delineating private space and public space may not have been as rigid and clear-cut, as previously thought.⁶⁸

The matter of how deeply women artists of the era internalized conservative maternal feminist beliefs becomes apparent in looking closer at Laura Muntz's mother-and-child paintings. Elizabeth Mulley points out in her dissertation on Muntz that the artist challenged contemporary perceptions of motherhood by picturing maternity as ambiguous.⁶⁹ In some of her mother-and-child paintings Muntz appears to have resisted the socially accepted notion of motherhood as strictly positive and natural, daring to show a dark side to maternity, for example, oblique or symbolic references to infant mortality. In contrast to this, when considering the artist's work in an equally important area of her art production, child portraiture, Muntz appears to have been influenced by and accepting of the conservative social attitude that approved of women artists painting children. This is seen in her decision to concentrate a large portion of her production specifically in the area of child portraiture.

Thus a contradiction existed in the lives of the women we are studying. On one hand they sought to enter professional practice, and resisted the gendered role expectations of the period by pursuing a goal that had traditionally been a male preserve. On the other hand, they seem to have accepted the "ideal" of femininity and of maternal feminist beliefs, at least in part, as revealed in their professional and private lives, for example, as seen in Sophie Pemberton's decision to abandon her successful professional career after marriage; (Figs. 1-4 and 4-2) and in Florence Carlyle's idealization of the subject matter of a bride on her wedding day, in her painting *On the Threshold* (1912). Mary Bell returned to Canada in 1891 after over three years advanced art studies in Paris and St.

Ives, Cornwall, and began her professional art practice in Montreal in one of the accepted areas of painting for women, like Laura Muntz, as a painter of children's portraits.⁷⁰

Professional Aspirations for Women:

British census records tell us that numbers of women listing themselves as professional in the category "author, editor, writer," more than doubled from 255 to 660, in the twenty years between 1871 and 1891, suggesting a striking rise in the numbers of women entering the profession in these years.⁷¹ According to the Canadian census for 1891, in that year there were 756 journalists in Canada. Women constituted 4.6% of the total number of journalists, or 35 of that number, with more than one-half of the women journalists working in Ontario.⁷² The work force saw a surge of women entering the field between 1870 and 1900. Yet, in 1900, while there were over 2,000 American women journalists, they constituted only 7% of the total journalists in the United States.,⁷³

Articles and books on women's professional career options such as *What Women Can Earn* (1898) began to appear in the 1890s.⁷⁴ This book had originally appeared in serial form in the "Women's Pages" of *The New York Tribune* in 1898. The fact that the publishers recognized the market for publishing women's potential career opportunities in "leading trades and professions" attests to the numbers of women of all classes interested in pursuing paid work at that time.

Keeping pace with the growing number of women working in the professions during the 1890s, there was also an emerging persona of the professional career woman. Aligned

with this was the influential trope, which originated in fiction, of the liberated New Woman. The assumed nature of femininity was resituated by the spectre of the New Woman and by the campaign for women's suffrage that emerged in the 1890s. In her work on images of women in the suffrage movement, Rosemary Betterton has observed that the textual and visual images of the New Woman that emerged at this time came to stand for or symbolize what was crucial to each side in the suffrage, "modern woman" debate.⁷⁵ Thus, in the 1890s and years following, both the "reality," and the textual and visual images of the New Woman, who was economically self supporting, flouted conventions, and pursued educational and career goals, influenced and reflected contemporary attitudes and experience. For example, there were the fictionalized stories of women working as writers for magazines, or more serious "modern woman" novels such as Ella Hepworth Dixon's (1857-1932) *Story of a Modern Woman* (1894). The book was presented originally in serial form in a woman's weekly magazine. Like Dixon herself, the novel's heroine was a woman writer struggling to make a living working as a journalist in the 1880s. *Winding Paths* (1911) by Gertrude Page is another in this genre which presents a career women's struggle to be independent and the realities of her loneliness, lost social position and tawdry love life.⁷⁶

Clearly, the idea of a professional career as an option for women was in circulation throughout the last decade of the nineteenth century and following. But we might ask: What, in 1900, was the reality of the climate in Canada for women vis-à-vis professional work?

There was a strong and widespread prejudice against professional education for women, as seen in the belief among Canadian middle-class women of the time that there

was an incompatibility between being a woman and being a professional. This point is illustrated by Gillett in her history of women at Montreal's McGill University. In 1890 McGill student Octavia Richie received a letter from a friend. The friend advised Richie, "[don't] spoil your self as a woman to become a [professional]." ⁷⁷

Professional women, educated women, and feminists angered the conservatives because they threatened the status quo. A wave of anti-feminism ran through Canadian Victorian society in the period from about 1880 to 1910 partly in reaction to the first wave of the feminist movement. In Canada at this time anti-feminism was reacting to such social developments for women as increased employment opportunities, organized feminist demands for political rights, and for women's sexual and reproductive autonomy. Veronica Strong-Boag points out in her study of first-wave antifeminism, that influential Canadian anti-feminists included physician Sir Andrew Macphail, and writers Professor Goldwin Smith and Stephen Leacock. ⁷⁸ These men publicly presented anti-feminist opinions in their writings that, at heart, expressed an anti-modern narrative of a world at risk. In this view, for example, feminists were seen by Goldwin Smith as a menace to the progress of the human race. In a similar vein, in his essay entitled "The Woman Question" published in 1915, Leacock argued that modernism in general and feminism in particular were the most significant threats to the traditional values he wished to see preserved. Macphail published against women suffragettes. Feminists were seen as threatening so-called "laws of nature," notably the essentialist belief that women's "natural" function of bearing children prescribed their domestic and subordinate place in the order of society. ⁷⁹

The National Council of Women of Canada (NCWC) published *Women of Canada: Their Life and Work* to celebrate the achievements of women in time for the 1901 World Exposition in Buffalo, New York. The most prominent areas in the report deal with women's achievements in the categories "charities and reform," "social life," and "church work," with the least attention given to "professions and careers."⁸⁰ The choices and emphasis reveal the ambiguity and contradictions in social attitudes of the time. On one hand the NCWC report acknowledges that having a profession was an option for women in Canada. The careers of well-known Canadians such as writer and performer Pauline Johnston; writers and journalists Sara Jeannette Duncan, Agnes Maule Machar, Estelle Kerr, Alice "Faith Fenton" Freeman, Agnes "Amaryllis" Scott, and Kathleen "Kit" Blake Coleman; musicians such as Mary Hewitt Smart a teacher of singing at the Toronto Conservatory of Music and first President of the Heliconian Club; and painters such as Laura Muntz and Florence Carlyle, attest to this.⁸¹ The existence of women's professional associations such as the Canadian Women's Press Club, Toronto's Heliconian Club, and the Toronto Women's Literary Club (TWLC) supports the point that work in the professions was a viable option for Canadian women,.

The ambiguity and contradictions revealed by the NCWC publication which privilege the traditional areas of women's involvement in church, social life, and charity, reflects the social reality of Canada in 1900. The middle-class women who wrote the report may have given these areas pre-eminence because they were influenced by maternal feminist beliefs. The following example, which occurred in Toronto several years prior to the NCWC publication, further illustrates the difficulties Canadian women faced in pursuing a professional career.

In 1896 Toronto-based artist, writer, editor, and lecturer, Harriet Ford, was on the receiving end of a very public anti-New Woman attack. Throughout the 1890s Ford epitomized the characteristics of the Canadian New Woman. She was professionally active in an urban setting, financially independent, and worked full-time as a writer and lecturer.⁸² In March 1896 Ford's entry for the Toronto Horse Show poster competition was awarded the winning design, which featured a woman riding a horse. Ford's winning poster design was discussed in an article published in *Saturday Night* magazine. Here, the anonymous writer of the article derided the poster design, referring to the woman rider depicted there, as an ungainly and ridiculous figure, a "giantess in blue." The writer continued, "[in the poster] there is ...a lady looking for a horse that will fit her, and unless this New Woman is constructed [so as to] enable her to shut up like a telescope, she won't find a horse...that will carry her without letting those feet drag far behind...A woman is [associated with] every trouble, but not always a nine-foot woman." The writer's remarks are specifically anti-New Woman in tone and may have been directed at the artist Harriet Ford. Again the reviewer referred to the colour of the poster, describing its yellow background as a "yellow universe." "My reason is turning yellow,"⁸³ concluded the anti-feminist reviewer. The colour yellow perhaps symbolizes to the reviewer the world of chaos, representing Stephen Leacock's "world at risk."

The next example provides further evidence of the complexity of social relations with regard to working and professional women in Canada in the years around 1900. The Saturday column "At the Mermaid Inn" ran in the Toronto *Globe* [from 1892 to 1893] and included essays on literary and social concerns of the day. It was written by Wilfred Campbell, Archibald Lampman, and Duncan Campbell Scott, who have been described

as three of the most important Canadian literary figures of the late-nineteenth century.⁸⁴ One of the concerns of the column was the changing position of women. The writers were sympathetic to women as a group whom they saw as disadvantaged and downtrodden by Canadian society. They condemned the fact that Canadian women were obliged to live under legal, moral and social inequities and advocated that women receive equal rights and opportunities.⁸⁵ Lampman, in particular, expressed what were likely seen as controversial opinions. He wrote about liberating women and saw women as “quite fitted” to do all occupations that men do intellectually and for “many of the physical” occupations as well.⁸⁶

The previous examples suggest that discrimination in Canada toward professional working women existed within some women’s groups, and was also implicit in widely held social ideas such as those expressed by proponents of maternal feminism. With some few exceptions such as the writings from “At the Mermaid Inn,” publicly expressed attitudes towards professional women and the New Woman in the work of Canadian writers, academicians, and in newspapers were largely negative.

Canadian role models for women successfully working as professional writers, performers, and editors, appear to have been known to Canadian girls and women. Pauline Johnson, also known as Tekahionwake, who was one of the most famous Canadian poets and performers by 1900, was a successful author of essays and stories, and had written a column entitled “Outdoor Pastimes for Women,” published in New York in *Outing Magazine* in the early 1890s.⁸⁷ Women also had a presence, albeit briefly, in Canada during the mid-1890s in the area of magazine editing. Artist and lecturer Harriet Ford was founding co-editor alongside George Reid (1860-1947) and Carl Ahrens

(1863-1936), of *Tarot*, a short-lived art magazine published in Toronto.⁸⁸ While it ran for only two issues in 1896, Ford's inclusion on the editorial team was a significant achievement. It is also significant as an exception, since few women artists appear to have gained acceptance as professionals among many of their male colleagues in mid-1890s Toronto. So what does this tell us about the climate for women aspiring to careers in other cultural areas?

Women entering literary careers may have faced fewer barriers than women seeking to work in the visual arts. Bridget Elliott and Jo-Ann Wallace have observed that compared to women writers, women artists faced greater financial burdens to maintain professional necessities. Women artists were fewer in number than women writers and faced the additional barrier of acquiring a lengthy, highly specialized training, often involving expensive, socially controversial travel abroad. Artists also required expensive equipment and studio space to begin and maintain a professional practice.⁸⁹

The factors of training and travel were relevant to women across Canada who aspired to professional art education. Although it was not an absolute necessity to study abroad, for example, Elizabeth McGillivray Knowles studied only in Toronto, it was the norm among men and most Canadian women traveled enormous distances for their art studies in this period. For example, Sydney Strickland Tully attended classes in England and France for four years, from 1884 to 1888, and in addition, attended summer school classes in England and the United States.⁹⁰ Mildred Peel trained in Paris in 1886 in the studio of Benjamin Constant and returned to the city for further studies in 1890, when she traveled with her brother, artist Paul Peel and the young Florence Carlyle.⁹¹

Other women compromised and studied intermittently when they could afford to do so, or earned money while studying abroad. Florence Carlyle studied in France for five years. With limited financial resources Carlyle's initial selection of an art school in Paris was largely dictated by cost. She would later manage a small amount of additional funds by drawing portraits of several American students she had met, and "by dint of rigid economy."⁹² Laura Muntz studied in London, England in 1887, and in Paris from 1891-1898, financing her studies by working as a monitor and managing the models for free tuition fees at the Académie Colarossi.⁹³

Women-only cultural associations were important support systems for women living in Canadian urban centres from the 1870s onward. Putting aside for the moment the question of whether women writers or artists faced fewer barriers, one institution that sought to provide support to women employed professionally in the arts generally, whether in art, music, literature or drama, was the Toronto Heliconian Club. The club was founded in 1909 and offered membership to women who had "achieved some level of distinction," presumably working as professionals, in the above areas.⁹⁴ Women in the study group who claimed membership included Elizabeth McGillivray Knowles, who was the first vice-president, Laura Muntz, Mary Wrinch, and Estelle Kerr.⁹⁵

The Toronto Women's Literary Club (TWLC) is the best known organization of the literary club movement that swept Canada in the last half of the nineteenth century with the founding of reading clubs by women in small towns and urban centres. By establishing and joining these early women's clubs women hoped to construct a literary and liberal education for themselves. Such clubs were especially appealing to middle-

class women and many, for example the TWLC, attached a social purpose and sometimes political commitments, to their agenda.⁹⁶

Another women's club, the Saturday Reading Club, was founded in the town of Woodstock, Ontario in the mid 1880s. Florence Carlyle, one of the artists in the study group, was a member as were a number of women who went on to literary careers: the poet and writer Isabel Ecclestone Mackay (1875-1928); Ethel Margaret Russell (b.1875) who became a well known writer of children's poetry; Blanche B. Hume who later worked as an editor in Toronto; and Byrne Hope Sanders who worked as a ghost writer, editor of a women's page, and in the 1920s became the editor of *Chatelaine*.⁹⁷

Women-only art societies such as the Women's Art Association of Canada (WAAC), the most prominent during the period, emerged in Canada in the late 1880s. Large urban centres such as Montreal and Toronto tended to offer women greater access to cultural groups. The WAAC also linked women living in smaller towns to their urban sister-artists by opening branches and organizing touring exhibitions to small towns such as St. Thomas, Ontario, and in distant cities such as Winnipeg, outside of central Canada.

The realm of the public forum, made up of the exhibition venues for the artist's production, represented the culmination of the artist's labour. Involvement or membership in artist's organizations, whether they were women-only or women-inclusive, and even with those who privileged male members, was vital for aspiring women artists. Integration into these societies was of paramount importance for women who wished to be considered as fully-fledged professionals and to function successfully within the marketplace.

Jealous guarding against newcomers, principally women, was evident in Canadian art societies such as the Royal Canadian Academy of Arts (RCA) which, with one exception, barred women from Academician status until 1933. Between 1880 and 1933 women artists were barred from holding full Academician status and could only advance to the level of "Associate."⁹⁸ No rationale was given for the policy. In 1880, however, a recent immigrant from England, Charlotte Schreiber was made one of the founding Academicians of the RCA. Why did this happen?

In the Canada of 1879 and the decade following there were a number of qualified, professional women artists who were deserving candidates for the honor of Academician status. Esther Westmacott was the first woman member of the OSA. She and longtime OSA and Toronto Industrial Exhibition exhibitor Emma S. Windeat (b.? -1926), elected as Associates to the RCA in 1887, were both active professional artists.⁹⁹ Canadian-born Frances Elswood Rowley studied art in Paris and was a fellow-student of Marie Bashkirtseff. Throughout the 1880s Rowley painted portraits for the Supreme Court of Canada and the Canadian Parliament, and headed the Ottawa Art School.¹⁰⁰ Other potential candidates, whose careers in Canada followed close on the heels of the 1880 election, included Frances M. Jones Bannerman (1855-1944) who exhibited at London's Royal Academy (RA) throughout the 1880s and was elected as an Associate of the RCA the following year.¹⁰¹ Sydney Strickland Tully was another potential candidate for Academician status in the 1880s.¹⁰² Tully, elected to the RCA in 1890 as an Associate, was a leading portrait artist in Canada, well-known for her painting of Professor Goldwin Smith.¹⁰³ Another candidate was Sarah Baldwin Holden, who in 1886 won the second

prize for artists under thirty at the Art Association of Montreal (AAM) and at the 1893 Chicago World's Fair won a gold medal for painting.¹⁰⁴

It is significant that in 1880 few Canadian women had Schreiber's particular British background. Her work as an artist in England included illustrating several books, and exhibiting paintings at the RA, which she did as early as 1855.¹⁰⁵ It may be argued that Schreiber's exhibition record at the prestigious RA would have been the deciding factor in her election as an Academician to the Canadian Academy.

A "men-only" member rule was in force at the Canadian Art Club, and one of the most influential Canadian cultural associations, the Arts and Letters Club. According to Maria Tippett, at its inception in Toronto in 1908, the Arts and Letters Club was striving to create something uniquely Canadian in the arts.¹⁰⁶ Unfortunately for women artists of the time, the Arts and Letters Club perpetuated traditional sexist values which excluded women as members until the 1980s.

Women artists appear to have had more success at full integration into arts organizations in some regional groups such as the OSA and in small, select art exhibition groups. The level of acceptance meted out to women artists had much to do with the attitudes of their male colleagues who were in positions of power within these organizations. For instance, Lucius O'Brien appears to have had a strong relationship with women artists and they seem to have gravitated toward him as a teacher. In his Toronto "Studio Drawing Club" in February of 1890 all but one of the twelve students listed were women.¹⁰⁷ O'Brien hand picked the members, both men and women, when the Palette Club was formed in 1892 as a private exhibition organization. Among the original members were Mary Hiester Reid, Sydney Strickland Tully, and Harriet Ford,

who joined in 1894.¹⁰⁸ Two years later Ford became a co-editor of the short-lived *Tarot* arts magazine.

With these gains, including Laura Muntz's successful studio classes, and Louise Beresford Tully's classes in woodcarving, the art world of Toronto in the mid-to-late 1890s appears to have been a place of opportunity for professional women artists. But appearances can be deceptive. The reality in Toronto, as in all urban Canadian centres at this time, was that there existed a confrontation between women and professional art practice. The lives of women artists, themselves a part of the social fabric of the time, held many contradictions. The beliefs held and expressed by women artists themselves with regard to their combining a professional career with marriage and children is a case in point.

There is evidence of a commonly held belief among professional women artists active in Canada in the 1890s and early years of the twentieth century that women should not attempt both marriage and a career. Laura Muntz wrote to her niece, later a professional artist, "I was afraid for you. It's such a hard life for any woman and I wanted you to marry and have children...and you can't do both – don't try to do both."¹⁰⁹

Florence Carlyle also believed that a woman could not successfully combine a professional art career and marriage. The memoirs of her cousin Helene Youmans relate how Carlyle was asked when she was in her 50s if she had ever thought of marrying. The artist is quoted as explaining, "I have always regarded marriage with deep reverence. Love such as that must make one feel complete, nothing can come between." She quoted from Elizabeth Barrett Browning's Sonnet #43, *Sonnets From the Portuguese*: "How do I love thee? Let me count the ways," she gave emphasis to the closing lines, "...I love thee

with the breath, Smiles, tears, of all my life!—and, if God choose, I shall but love thee better after death.” As Youmans related, there was a long silence after Carlyle finished speaking. Then she said very quietly, “That is the way I love my painting. There is no other way.”¹¹⁰ Many of the artist’s friends and her niece had wondered what Carlyle’s thoughts were on marriage but sensing the artist’s reticence to discuss the topic, where she herself was concerned, they never questioned her until that evening.

Carlyle’s unequivocal answer left no question that she, like many women artists of her generation, believed that as a woman artist she had to make a clear choice between marriage and her professional career as an artist. The opinions of Muntz and Carlyle are cited here to illustrate how the inequities of the time influenced the women artists’ transmission of knowledge to other women artists and to the next generation. This process of re-telling by women, of their naming and making sense of their experience, as historian Joan W. Scott has argued, is a key factor in understanding how a woman constructs her identity.¹¹¹

Throughout the last decade of the nineteenth century the social climate for women artists in Canada was complex and changing, with progressive elements intermingling with conservative attitudes. As Anthea Callen has pointed out in her article on the subject, the socially radical Arts and Crafts movement was progressive in many areas.¹¹² However the movement reproduced patriarchal ideology in, for example, the area of the sexual division of labour with fewer women represented in the area of design. How might we consider Callen’s observations with regard to the Canadian context? With these issues and questions in mind let us consider two contrasting examples from circa 1900.

In 1905 Canadian artist Eva Bradshaw's experience painting decals for furniture decoration in a workshop in Rochester, New York was an unhappy one. She was frustrated with the workshop's emphasis on production rather than quality and she returned home to London, Ontario, after only a few weeks. Thereafter, Bradshaw pursued a financially distressed and modest art practice in London as a teacher and painter.¹¹³

In contrast, Harriet Ford's work in Toronto as a co-founder and co-editor of the arts and crafts inspired *Tarot* magazine in 1896, and her subsequent success in designing and creating arts and crafts inspired jewelry and furniture, suggest that women artists could successfully work in design and create periodicals in Canada at this time.¹¹⁴

Ford's endeavours were artistically motivated but she was acting in an entrepreneurial way, and not in Bradshaw's experience, as a cog in the wheel of a large workshop. These contrasting experiences for women artists encapsulate the social climate of the time. A number of women such as Florence Carlyle and Harriet Ford, employed imagination, perseverance, and displayed considerable ability to take personal and business risks. They were successful in finding strategies that took them beyond the strictures in place on women working as professional artists, and which led women artists like Ford into new professional terrain.

In conclusion to this chapter I should like to pose two questions. First, how are we to summarize the social context in which the women in the study group lived and worked? Second, how are we to make sense of the contradictions raised in this exploration of social climate for working women and professional women artists in late nineteenth century Canada?

The social relations with regard to working and professional women, including women artists, in Canada in the years around 1900 were complex and contradictory. Gains by women were balanced by the continuing social disapproval of women working as professionals. With some few exceptions, publicly expressed attitudes towards professional women and the “New Woman” in the work of Canadian writers, academicians, and in newspapers were largely negative.

Conservative opposition to women working and pursuing professions did not always have a male face. Discrimination in Canada toward professional working women existed within some women’s groups and was implicit in widely held social ideas such as those expressed by maternal feminists. Anti-professional attitudes are revealed by the opinions and actions of women responsible for the 1901 NCWC report. Women artists’ choices and attitudes toward combining marriage and children with professional practice also tended to be conservative, with good reason. These attitudes reveal the hard realities forced on women who wanted to pursue professional practice: the onus was on the woman herself to prove to society that she was a serious professional by eschewing or delaying marriage. Such a choice was not required of their male colleagues.

Yet some positive things were happening. A contradiction is seen in the fact that some men supported women wishing to work as professionals, as in the case of Archibald Lampman and the other authors of the Toronto newspaper column “At the Mermaid Inn,” who advocated that women receive equal rights and opportunities. Also on a positive front, it appears that Canadian role models for women successfully working as professional writers, performers, and editors, were known to Canadian girls and women by the 1890s. However, this gain is tempered somewhat when we consider that class-

specific factors such as education and access to materials made it highly likely that women artists during these years were from the middle and upper-middle classes.

Women entering literary careers in Canada may have faced fewer barriers than women seeking to work in the visual arts. Compared to women writers, women artists faced a greater financial burden: education, equipment, and start up costs were greater for artists. These findings appear consistent with the experience of Canadian women who successfully ran professional art practices.

Institutions and educators of the time tended to define women as amateurs not professionals. As Griselda Pollock has written, institutions have played an important role in creating canons, the canons of art which traditionally marginalized women artists.¹¹⁵ Furthermore, because of exclusionary policies in some art associations in Canada, women artists sometimes had more success at full integration into arts organizations that were regional groups or small, select art groups, such as the Palette Club. In certain areas of endeavor, such as child portraiture and illustration, women were gaining acceptance by 1900. However, social restrictions remained in place with regard to which areas of art were deemed most suitable for women. Social resistance to the acceptance of women artists as professionals was evident in critical reception of publicly exhibited work by women. In the examples of two comics deriding the work of WAAC women artists and *New Women*, humour was used to play a role in resisting social change.

Notes for Chapter Two:

¹ “Explained, Bazar,” *Saturday Night* (14 May 1898): 9. “Sending-in-Day at the R.A.,” *Saturday Night* (1 May 1897): 15. “Impressions – Woman’s Art Exhibit,” *Saturday Night* (6 March 1897) 1. For the purposes of the present discussion the term ‘cartoon’ and ‘comic’ will be used interchangeably to refer to a satirical or “amusing drawing with or without caption,” appearing in a newspaper or magazine and a “comic paper [drawing]...with narrative mainly in picture(s).” O.E.D.

² Griselda Pollock, *Differencing the Canon* (London and New York: Routledge, 1999), 258-259.

³ Reviews include; “Art,” *Canadian Home Journal* (March 1897): np. Scrapbook WAAC Archives, Toronto. See also, “Women Artists’ Work,” *Mail*, March 1897, np. unidentified clipping, Scrapbook, WAAC Archives.; and, Lynn C. Doyle, “Art,” *Saturday Night* (6 March 1897): 9.

⁴ Lucy Bland, “Marriage Laid Bare: Middle-Class Women and Marital Sex, 1880s to 1914,” in *Labour and Love: Women’s Experience of Home and Family*, edited by J. Lewis (Oxford: Blackwell, 1986), 133.

⁵ Janice Anderson lecture, 24 Sept. 2001, Carleton University Art Gallery, Ottawa, Ont. Janice Anderson, “Negotiating Gendered Spaces: The Artistic Practice of Mary Hiester Reid,” 27-47, in Brian Foss, *Quiet Harmony: The Art of Mary Hiester Reid* (Toronto: Art Gallery of Ontario, 2000).

⁶ Her name is absent from the catalogue. “Catalogue of Ninth Annual Exhibition of the Woman’s Art Association,” 1897. Library Collection NGC, Ottawa.

⁷ Charlotte Schreiber was elected to Academician membership in the RCA in 1880, no other woman was elected to Academician until 1933.

⁸ *Saturday Night* (14 May 1898): 9.

⁹ OED, “professional”.

¹⁰ Terence J. Johnson, *Professions and Power* (London: Macmillan Education, 1972), 23.

¹¹ Johnson, *Professions*, 23.

¹² Deborah Cherry, *Painting Women: Victorian Women Artists* (London: Routledge, 1993), 9.

¹³ Cherry, *Painting Women*, 9.

¹⁴ Greg Smith, “Watercolour: Purpose and Practice,” in S. Fenwick and G. Smith, *The Business of Watercolour: A Guide to the Archives of the Royal Watercolour Society* (Ashgate, 1997), 18-19,

¹⁵ Smith, “Watercolour,” *Business of Watercolour*, 19.

¹⁶ Pamela Gerrish Nunn, *Victorian Women Artists* (London: The Women’s Press, 1987), 6.

¹⁷ Janice Helland, *Professional Women Painters in Nineteenth-Century Scotland: Commitment, Friendship, Pleasure* (Aldershot and Brookfield, VT: Ashgate, 2000), 105-106.

¹⁸ Cherry, *Painting Women*, 9.

¹⁹ Ibid 26.

²⁰ Jenkins’ Art Gallery, *A Memorial Exhibition of the Late Florence Carlyle, ARCA* (Toronto: Jenkins’ Art Gallery, 1925), 14.

²¹ Cherry, *Painting Women*, 26.

²² Susanna Moodie was the author of articles and books including two about her Canadian experience, *Roughing it in the Bush* (1852), and *Life in the Clearings* (1853). Catharine Parr Trail published books on nature studies including *Canadian Wild Flowers* and *Studies of Plant Life in Canada*.

²³ Charlotte Gray, *Sisters in the Wilderness* (Toronto: Viking, 1999), descendents chart.

²⁴ Florence MacDonald, “Strickland Family Artists,” *Canadian Collector* (April 1967): 6.

²⁵ Henry Morgan, *Canadian Men and Women of the Time* (Toronto, 1898), 1023.

²⁶ “Art and Artists,” *Saturday Night* 1, no 10 (Feb. 4, 1888): 3.

²⁷ “Trained as Musician – Success at Art,” *Star Weekly* (25 March 1927), np.

²⁸ “In a Toronto Studio,” *The Home Journal* (Dec. 1909): 10, 26.

²⁹ Margaret Fallis, Laura Muntz” (1985): 2, Laura Muntz Lyall artist file, ACWA.

³⁰ Ibid, Chronology page.

³¹ Letter from Mrs. Vivian Cowan (nee Tully), a niece of Sydney Tully’s, to Margaret Fallis, (24 June 1985). Margaret Fallis, “Sydney Strickland Tully A.R.C.A. 1860-1911,” Essay transcript, 1985, p. 16. S.S. Tully artist file, ACWA.

³² The major employer of working class women during the period 1850-1920 was domestic service; after 1850 women were employed in manufacturing and factory work, see, Chapter 5 “Continuity and Change in Women’s Work,” in Alison Prentice et al, *Canadian Women: A History* (Toronto: Harcourt, 1996), 111-117.

- ³³ Jane Errington, *Wives and Mothers, Schoolmistresses and Scullery Maids: Working Women in Upper Canada 1790-1840* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1995); Mariana Valverde, *The Age of Light, Soap, and Water: Moral Reform in English Canada, 1885-1925* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1991); Janice Action, ed., *Women at Work: Ontario, 1850-1930* (Toronto: Canadian Women's Press, 1974).
- ³⁴ "Pin-money," *OED*.
- ³⁵ Jacques Derrida, *Of Grammatology*, trans. Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1976), 93.
- ³⁶ "What Our Women Can Do. How Many London Ladies Secure Extra Pin Money," *Free Press* (London, Ontario), 1 Dec. 1894.
- ³⁷ Anthea Callen, "Sexual Division of Labour in the Arts and Crafts Movement," Chapt. 10 in *A View from the Interior: Feminism, Women and Design*, edited by Judy Attfield and Pat Kirkham (London: The Women's Press, 1989), 152.
- ³⁸ Margory Lang, "Separate Entrances: The First Generation of Canadian women Journalists," *Rediscovering Our Foremothers: Nineteenth-Century Canadian Women Writers* (Ottawa: University of Ottawa Press, 1990), 86-87.
- ³⁹ Cherry, *Painting Women*, 9.
- ⁴⁰ *Ibid* 9.
- ⁴¹ Lang, "Separate Entrances," in *Re(Dis)Covering Our Foremothers*, 1989, 86.
- ⁴² Lang, *Women Who Made the News*, 119.
- ⁴³ See for example, Madge Macbeth, "Canadian Women in the Arts," *Maclean's Magazine* 27, no. 12 (Oct. 1914), 23-25, 105-108; and Lilly Koltun, ed., *Private Realms of Light: Amateur Photography in Canada, 1839-1940* (Markham, Ont.: Fitzhenry & Whiteside, 1984): 46.
- ⁴⁴ Lang, *Women Who Made the News*, 119-20.
- ⁴⁵ Letter from Elizabeth Muntz, to Marie Douglas, (14 July 1964). Cited in Margaret Fallis essay, June 1985, ACWA archives, Carleton University.
- ⁴⁶ Geo. G. Rockwood, "Rockwood Employs Women," in Grace H. Dodge et al., *What Women Can Earn: Occupations of Women and Their Compensation* (New York: Stokes, 1899), 229.
- ⁴⁷ Anonymous, "Art-work for Women", *Art Journal*, (1872), 66, quoted in, Anthea Callen, "Sexual Division of Labour in the Arts and Crafts Movement," in *A View from the Interior: Feminism, Women and Design*, edited by Judy Attfield and Pat Kirkham (London: The Women's Press, 1989), 151.
- ⁴⁸ Izora C. Chandler, "Pictorial Illustration," Dodge, *What Women*, 225.
- ⁴⁹ Lang, *Women Who Made the News*, 30.
- ⁵⁰ Dodge, *What Women*.
- ⁵¹ *Ibid*.
- ⁵² *Ibid*. 220.
- ⁵³ *Ibid*. 222, 231, 249.
- ⁵⁴ Osborne Company calendar title leaf for *Always Room for One More* (New York: Osborne Company, c1907), artist files, Woodstock Art Gallery. See also, Richnitzer, "Nations Acclaim London Artists," 1.
- ⁵⁵ Pat Likos, "The Ladies of the Red Rose," *Feminist Art Journal* (Fall 1976), 14-15. See also, Regina Armstrong, "Representative American Women Illustrators: The Decorative Workers," *The Critic* (June 1900): 523.
- ⁵⁶ Sally Mitchell, "Careers Girls Writing Trash," *Victorian Periodicals Review*, 109.
- ⁵⁷ Regina Armstrong, "Representative American Women Illustrators: The Child Interpreters," *The Critic* (May 1900): 418.
- ⁵⁸ Anne Higonnet, "Two Ways of Thinking about Mary Cassatt," in Kristen Frederickson and Sarah E. Webb eds., *Singular Women: Writing the Artist* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2003), 108.
- ⁵⁹ Pat Likos, "The Ladies of the Red Rose," *The Feminist Art Journal* (Fall 1976): 14.
- ⁶⁰ "Laura Muntz Lyall, ARCA," *Saturday Night* (January 1931).
- ⁶¹ A pastel drawing of Kate Reed by Tully, dated 1902, is in the collection of the McCord Museum, in Montreal.
- ⁶² Margaret Bell, "Women and Art in Canada," *Every Woman's World* (June 1914), 30. See also, "Miss Estelle Kerr's Exhibition – A Painter of Children," *Saturday Night* (27 Feb. 1926), 23.
- ⁶³ Estelle M. Kerr, "Why Willie and Lillie Were Late," *The Canadian Courier* (6 Jan. 1912): 19.
- ⁶⁴ Callen, "Sexual Division of Labour," 153.

- ⁶⁵ Rozsika Parker, and Griselda Pollock, *The Old Mistresses: Women, Art and Ideology* (London, Rowledge & Kegan Paul, 1974), 95.
- ⁶⁶ Griselda Pollock, *Vision and Difference: Femininity, Feminism and the Histories of Art* (London and New York: Routledge, 1988), 80-81.
- ⁶⁷ See for example, Nancy M. Sheehan, "Women Helping Women: The WCTU and the Foreign Population in the West, 1905-1930," *International Journal of Women's Studies* 9, no. 5 (1983): 395-411; Linda Kealey, ed., *A Not Unreasonable Claim: Women and Reform in Canada, 1880s-1920s* (Toronto: Women's Press, 1979); Catherine L. Cleverdon, *The Woman Suffrage Movement in Canada* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1974).
- ⁶⁸ Deborah Cherry, *Beyond the Frame: Feminism and Visual Culture, Britain 1850-1900* (London and New York: Routledge, 2000), 31-32.
- ⁶⁹ Elizabeth Mulley, "Women and Children in Context: Laura Muntz and the Representation of Maternity," Ph.D. diss., McGill University, 2000. See also, Mulley, "Madonna/ Mother/ Death and Child: Laura Muntz and the Representation of Maternity," *Canadian Art Review/RACAR*, 25, 1-2 (1998): 84-93.
- ⁷⁰ "Prominent Women, No. 13, Miss. Bell," *Ladies Pictorial Weekly* (18 June 1892): 390.
- ⁷¹ Sally Mitchell, "Careers for Girls: Writing Trash," *Victorian Periodicals Review* 25, no. 3 (Fall 1992), 109.
- ⁷² *Census of Canada 1891*, vol. 2 (Ottawa: Queen's Printer, 1893), 189.
- ⁷³ Marion Marzolf, *Up From the Footnote* (New York: Hastings House, 1978), 26.
- ⁷⁴ Dodge, *What Women*, iv.
- ⁷⁵ Rosemary Betterton, "'A Perfect Woman' The Political Body of Suffrage," in *An Intimate Distance: Women, Artists and the Body* (London and New York: Routledge, 1996), 48.
- ⁷⁶ Mitchell, "Careers for Girls," 110.
- ⁷⁷ Margaret Gillett, *We Walked Very Warily: A History of Women at McGill* (Montreal: Eden Press Women's Publications, 1981), 279.
- ⁷⁸ Veronica Strong Boag, "Independent Women, Problematic Men: First-and Second Wave Anti-Feminism in Canada from Goldwin Smith to Betty Steele," *Social History* (1996): 2, 3.
- ⁷⁹ Strong Boag, "Independent Women," 6, 7, 22
- ⁸⁰ National Council of Women of Canada, *Women of Canada: Their Life and Work* (1901), v-vii.
- ⁸¹ For more on early women journalists see, Marjory Lang, "Separate Entrances: The First Generation of Canadian Women Journalists," 77-89, in *Re(dis)covering Our Foremothers: Nineteenth-Century Canadian Women Writers* (Ottawa: University of Ottawa, 1989).
- ⁸² Ford gave a series of lectures on art at the OSA art gallery in April 1895, and at the Students' Union, University of Toronto, in circa March 1896, and also gave talks on developments in art to her Toronto colleagues at the home of George and Mary Reid. "Art Notes," *Saturday Night* (13 April 1895): 9; Lynn C. Doyle, "Art Notes," *Saturday Night* (14 March 1896): 9; she also published in international art journals. Harriet Ford, "The Work of Mrs. Adrian Stokes," v. 19, no. 85 *Studio* (April 1900), 149-156.
- ⁸³ "Art," *Saturday Night* (28 March 1896): 9.
- ⁸⁴ Barrie Davies, *At the Mermaid Inn: Wilfred Campbell, Archibald Lampman, Duncan Campbell Scott in The Globe 1892-3* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1979).
- ⁸⁵ Davies, *At the Mermaid*, 47-48.
- ⁸⁶ Davies, *At the Mermaid*, 138, 314.
- ⁸⁷ Carole Gerson and Veronica Strong-Boag, ed., *E. Pauline Johnson Tekahionwake: Collected Poems and Selected Prose* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2002), xxvii. See also, Veronica Strong-Boag and Carole Gerson, *Paddling Her Own Canoe: The Times and Texts of E. Pauline Johnson (Tekahionwake)* (Toronto and London: University of Toronto Press, 2000).
- ⁸⁸ Mary F. Williamson, "'Description Fails...' Periodical Illustration in 19th Century Ontario," in *The Art and Pictorial Press in Canada: Two Centuries of Art Magazines*, Karen McKenzie and Mary F. Williamson, eds., (Toronto: Art Gallery of Ontario, 1979), 18.
- ⁸⁹ Bridget Elliott and Jo-Ann Wallace, *Women Artists and Writers: Modernist (im)positionings* (London: Routledge, 1994), 154.
- ⁹⁰ Margaret Fallis, "Sydney Strickland Tully ARCA, 1860-1911," Chronology, Essay transcript, 1985. ACWA artist file, Carleton University.
- ⁹¹ Nancy Poole, *The Art of London*, 66.

- ⁹² Florence Johnston (niece of Florence Carlyle,) interview with author, Woodstock, Ontario, August 1993. And, Madge Macbeth, "Canadian Women," 24.
- ⁹³ Margaret Fallis, "Laura Muntz Lyall ARCA, 1860-1930," Chronology, Essay transcript, 1985, ACWA artist file, Carleton University.
- ⁹⁴ Heliconian Club pamphlet, Heliconian Club, Toronto.
- ⁹⁵ J. W. Leonard, ed., *Woman's Who's Who of America*. (New York, 1914), 464. Mulley, "Women and Children," 126. "Toronto Women Artists Exhibit at Heliconian Club" Unidentified Toronto Newspaper clipping, c1928.
- ⁹⁶ Heather Murray, "Great Works and Good Works: The Toronto Women's Literary Club, 1877-1883," Veronica Strong-Boag, et al., eds. *Rethinking Canada: The Promise of Women's History*, 4th ed. (Toronto: Oxford University Press, 2002), 104-107.
- ⁹⁷ Jean Bannerman, *Leading Ladies: Canada 1639-1967* (Dundas, Ont: Carrswood, 1967), 232. "The New Outlook," *Sentinel-Review* (Woodstock, Ont.), 10, July 1925. Henry J. Morgan, "Russell, Mrs, Ethel Margaret," *The Canadian Men and Women of the Time* (1912), 983.
- ⁹⁸ Charlotte Schreiber was elected to Academician status at the RCA founding in 1880. Minutes of General Assembly, Montreal, April 8th, 1899. The Amendment to the Constitution of 1897 in regard to Clause 9, Section 10. National Archives, Ottawa, RCA Minute Books 1899, MB 28, I 126, vol. 17, p.120.
- ⁹⁹ Windeat and Schreiber were the only 2 women artists to exhibit oil paintings at the 1881 TIE art exhibition. , *Catalogue of the TIE Art Department*, 1881, 16. Weaver, "Pioneer Canadian," 33.
- ¹⁰⁰ Henry Morgan, *Types of Canadian Women* (1903), 296.
- ¹⁰¹ Carol Lowrey, *Visions of Light and Air: Canadian Impressionism* (New York: Americas Society Art Gallery, 1995), 141
- ¹⁰² Tully studied at the Slade, London from c 1884-6, and the Académie Julian, Paris from 1886-8, and in 1889 opened the studio in Toronto's Yonge Street Arcade, she was elected a member of the OSA in 1888. *The Canadian Who's Who*, Toronto: Musson, 1910, 225; and, Jean Grant, "Studio and Gallery," *Saturday Night* (10 Dec. 1898): 15.
- ¹⁰³ Sisler, *Passionate Spirits*, 279-289.
- ¹⁰⁴ Mary Ella Dignam, "Art," Chapt. 1 in *Women of Canada: Their Life and Work* (National Council of Women, 1901), 223; and, Rebecca Sisler, *Passionate Spirits: A History of the Royal Canadian Academy of Arts, 1880-1980* (Toronto and Vancouver: Clark, Irwin & Co., 1980), 44.
- ¹⁰⁵ Schreiber exhibited at the R.A. under the surname Morrell. J. Russell Harper, *Early Painters and Engravers in Canada*, p. 281; and Emily P. Weaver, "Pioneer Canadian Women," *Canadian Magazine* XLIX (1917): 34-35.
- ¹⁰⁶ Maria Tippett, *Making Culture: English-Canadian Institutions and the Arts before the Massey Commission* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1990), 8.
- ¹⁰⁷ The only male student was Carl Ahrens (1863-1936). *Studio Journal* (6 Feb 1890).
- ¹⁰⁸ Dennis Reid, *Lucius R. O'Brien: Visions of Victorian Canada* (Toronto: Art Gallery of Ontario, 1990), 118-120.
- ¹⁰⁹ The niece's name was Elizabeth Muntz, who was a sculptor in England. Elizabeth Muntz to Marie Douglas, 14 July 1964, quoted in M. Fallis, "Laura Muntz," p. 15.
- ¹¹⁰ Helene Youmans Key, "Reminiscences of Florence Carlyle," Typewritten manuscript, Florence Carlyle archive, p. 26, Woodstock Art Gallery, Ont.. Elizabeth Barrett Browning, *Sonnets From the Portuguese* XLIII, in Christopher Ricks, ed. *The Brownings: Letters and Poetry* (Garden City, New York: Doubleday, 1970), 194.
- ¹¹¹ Joan W. Scott, "The Evidence of Experience," *Critical Enquiry*, 17 (1991): 792.
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- ¹¹⁴ Bell, "Women and Art in Canada," 15.
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Chapter Three:

The Politics of Professional Practice: Identity, the New Woman, and Women's Societies

The Queen is most anxious to enlist every one who can speak or write to join in checking this mad, wicked folly of 'Woman's Rights,' with all its attendant horrors, on which her poor feeble sex is bent, forgetting every sense of womanly feeling and propriety.

Queen Victoria (1819-1901) in a letter to Theodore Martin, 29 May 1870.

Women in the study group faced a disjuncture between the gendered identity of femininity and the emerging 'new' model of the self-determined, emancipated woman in the late nineteenth century. Yet in Canada during this era these two generalizations about women's identities, easily viewed theoretically as opposites, seldom reflected the reality of women's choices and experience at the level of the individual. Within the context of this contested definition this chapter will consider how the artists in the study group positioned themselves in relation to public, political and social arenas including the trope of the "New Woman," political activism and feminist groups, and women-only professional and cultural societies in Canada and elsewhere. How did women's relationships with these ideas and groups enable or restrict the construction of their identity as professional artists?

In her introduction to *Canvassing*, a book containing excerpts from six Victorian women artists' memoirs, Pamela Gerrish Nunn writes that compared to their male colleagues, the self-images and professional identities expressed by women artists were much less concerned with self-importance. When writing about themselves as artists

these women minimized their achievements and, in contrast to their male colleagues, did not present themselves as remarkable.¹ To work as a professional, to publicly discuss themselves as professional artists, involved contradictions for women. Clearly, in Nunn's study the artists' ways of publicly telling about themselves and their careers reflected the social pressure on women to exhibit modesty. This fact reminds us of the challenge that social strictures posed for women when forming their professional identity.

Rosemary Betterton has explored the ways in which the construction of identity may involve feelings of displacement. Implicit in the term "displacement" is that the subject's identity is changing, unfixed, and fragmented; it is in a process of reconfiguration in a challenging and difficult social environment.² The process of struggle to reconfigure one's identity, according to Elizabeth Grosz, may place the subject in a position that is both "perilous and enabling... [the latter aspect may be] a positive movement towards self-production...and a transformative struggle."³

How do these ideas apply to the formation of professional identity for the women in the study group? They experienced a process of reconfiguration of their identity from that which was presumably in keeping with traditional expectations for women to a new identity as professional artist. In the process, a period of displacement may have occurred during which the aspiring artist experienced a fragmented and unfixed identity. To one degree or another self-production of this new identity as professional probably involved some form of struggle which was transformative for the woman despite the influence of social strictures that required women to discuss their achievements, if at all, with reserve and modesty.

This observation may be demonstrated through the example of Mary Fitzgibbon who wrote an art column for the Toronto *Globe*. In April 1901, Fitzgibbon wrote, “[this column is written] by one who has no pretensions as a “critic.” As the arts columnist for one of Canada’s most important newspapers Fitzgibbon’s description of her own professional role was at least self-depreciating and at worst, demeaning.⁴

Nancy Gruskin has made a similar observation with reference to the “culturally imposed modesty” of early twentieth-century architect Eleanor Raymond. When asked about obstacles she encountered as a woman Raymond was evasive, and with regard to her professional success she answered, “I was lucky. I never had to go out after a job. I know it was just because of my very good luck [that] that’s what happened to me.”⁵

The “New Woman”

Canada during the 1890s saw campaigns for women’s rights and emancipation gathering strength. These gains coincided with a backlash in society, in some respects, against professional working women. While some gains in women’s access to professional level education had been made by the late 1890s, women artists still did not enjoy equality with their male colleagues. In this climate, a number of women in the study group appear to have laid claim to the image of the “New Woman.” At a time when their traditional identity was under question and fragmenting, the artists may have found in the “New Woman” a helpful and enabling image of the modern, professional woman that both reassured and offered a useful template on which to model an identity.

As historian Lucy Bland relates, the 1890s have tended to be ignored in the history of feminism. Yet the 1890s were the decade that saw the rise of women's societies; it was the decade in which the cause of women's suffrage gained momentum; it saw debates over women's rights in marriage and on the issues of her bodily rights and freedoms; and in Britain in 1895 the terms 'feminist' and 'feminism' were first used.⁶ It was also in this decade that the trope of the "New Woman" emerged from literary sources.

The feminist novelist Sarah Grand (1854-1943) is said to have invented the term 'New Woman' in an 1894 article. The characteristics and beliefs of the New Woman were developed and communicated to society through fiction in New Woman novels, for example Sarah Grand's *Heavenly Twins* (1893), and Ella Hepworth Dixon's *The Story of a Modern Woman*. The trope of the "New Woman" was widely known, this broad distribution assisted by the fact that often the stories appeared in modestly priced publications. For example, *The Story of a Modern Woman* reached a broad audience in 1894 when chapters appeared in weekly serial form in *The Lady's Pictorial*.⁷ In Canada Sara Jeanette Duncan's book *A Social Departure: How Orthodocia and I Went Round the World by Ourselves* (1890), originally appeared in serial form in 1889 in the Toronto *Globe* and the Montreal *Star* newspapers.

The image of the New Woman also became part of the visual culture of the era. Historians have viewed the light-hearted depictions of a physically attractive New Woman created by men such as illustrator Charles Dana Gibson and painter John Sloan as an image meant to soothe anxieties over social change. But what did the New Woman look like? What did people in 1890s Canada think she looked like and what were her characteristics and beliefs?

Costume and dress historian Cynthia Cooper describes how Canadian women as early as 1896 had access to illustrations which depicted the New Woman's dress and accoutrements. (Fig. 3-1) Books like *What to Wear at Fancy Balls* were published to help women dress up for the costume balls popular in Canada at the time.⁸ These publications pictured the New Woman dressed in sporting clothes wearing a "tam o'shanter," her hat is surmounted by a bicycle lamp, she wears gaiters on her boots, has a gun slung across her shoulder, and carries a betting book, cigarette, and latch key.⁹ The items are representative of her independent spirit and her defiance of convention and social norms such as her involvement in active sports, her open involvement in hitherto male pursuits such as gambling, shooting, smoking, and her physical freedom of movement to and from the home represented in the latch key. The New Woman's hat, the plaid "tam," was often worn by women in the British Women's Suffrage movement. Not represented in the parody costume were the New Woman's education, her ability to earn money and be financially independent, and her desire for the right to self determination with regard to marriage and having children, and political participation.

The controversy over the acceptable feminine persona, the "woman question" of the 1890s, continued until World War I and shortly after, when suffrage was finally granted for women. There seems to have been little agreement on who the New Woman really was. Was she the "Bluestocking" who pressed for the vote and equal employment opportunities, the so-called "wild woman" social insurgent, or was she the more conventional church-going Women's Christian Temperance Union (WCTU) activist? Potentially she could be any of these. While it is unclear how many Canadian women saw themselves as New Women in this period, their involvement may be viewed on a

continuum that ranged from membership in social reform groups such as the WCTU and “signing the pledge” to the enthusiastic adoption of a New Woman lifestyle of self-determination.

By the mid-1890s the trope of the New Woman had developed into a signifier of modernity, and a cultural icon which had special meaning and potential for women professionals. The trope of the New Woman was a modern definition of womanhood infused with feminist values which had the potential to serve as a model for women’s independence, public identity, and professional life.¹⁰ The trope of the “New Woman” became a symbol around which to rally.

The women artists in the study group lived and worked in an environment where a significant number of their female contemporaries in the cultural professions were linked with social activism. Women were engaged in social and political issues including women’s suffrage, in groups such as the Dominion Enfranchisement Association, the WCTU, the National Council of Women of Canada (NCWC), and the Toronto Women’s Literary Club (TWLC), The Imperial Order of the Daughters of the Empire (IODE), and the Young Women’s Christian Association (YWCA). The self-directed lives of many of these women had much in common with the characteristics of the New Women.

Significantly, a full twenty-five percent of the activists of the early Canadian women’s movement were women working in cultural professions, and many of these worked as journalists and writers.¹¹ This affiliation between Canadian women writers and feminist activism is also reflected in the history of the TWLC. Founded in 1876 it was a club for women to read, discuss, and debate literary subjects and a wide variety of

other topics. The TWLC also was affiliated with some of the campaign for women's suffrage and in 1883 it renamed itself the Canadian Woman Suffrage Association.¹²

One of the New Woman professionals associated with the women in the study group was Mary Agnes Bernard Fitzgibbon. Mary Bernard was born in Toronto, but she married, moved abroad and gave birth to a daughter. In 1896 she moved back to Toronto permanently and pursued a literary career. Her culture and arts column "Driftwood," written under the *nom de plume* "Citoyenne," or "Lally Bernard" combining her father's and mother's surnames, was published in the "Women's Page" of the *Globe*. Fitzgibbon was a professional role model for Canadian women; living a public life as a writer, an active member of the NCWC, and the Honorary President of the Canadian Women's Press Club.¹³ Fitzgibbon was a well known figure in the arts and social scene in Toronto where she participated in the Toronto Victorian Era Costume Ball in 1897 (fig. 3-2). She was proclaimed the most beautiful woman at the ball and was drawn in costume by Canadian portraitist E. Wyly Grier.¹⁴ Fitzgibbon's career is especially relevant to the women in this study because as part of her leadership role as journalist and art critic in the years around 1900, women artists and their production appear to have had an equal and fair presence in her arts column, an unusual feature for the time.¹⁵

Another "New Woman" of the period was Sara Jeanette Duncan who, in the 1880s, wrote for various newspapers. In 1886 she was the first woman to work full time for the *Toronto Globe*. She left newspaper work to write fiction. Her first novel, *A Social Departure*, chronicled her adventures while traveling unchaperoned with another emancipated woman journalist. Duncan's novels have received recent attention for their astute analysis of emerging nationalism and women's emancipation.¹⁶

Other examples of New Women working in Canada in the time period under study include journalists such as Alice Freeman, “Faith Fenton;” Agnes Scott, “Amaryllis;” Florence Hamilton Randel; Kathleen “Kit” Coleman; writer Agnes Machar; and the writer, poet, and performer Pauline Johnson, each of whom led self-determined lives.

A number of women in the study group lived the life of the New Woman. In the early 1890s Florence Carlyle had left small town Woodstock, Ontario and was living as an art student in Paris. Carlyle’s memoir, written by her in the early twentieth century, reveals her pleasure in her freedom of movement throughout the city, specifically her early morning journey to classes at the Académie Julian at 5 rue de Berri.

Breakfast done, you don cloak and tam, catch up your painting traps...down six or seven flights of stairs, emerging into the streets as the bells chime half-past seven... [Traveling by bus] you clamber to the top...it is three cents cheaper on top...The streets are filled with mist and steam from the horses’ nostrils, groups of blue bloused workmen...white coiffed women trundling carts of fresh-made bread, glimpses of the Seine, Notre Dame outlined through the mist.¹⁷

Carlyle’s textual description creates a self-portrait of herself as a New Woman. She lived in Paris from 1891 until about 1895 when the trope of the New Woman was first emerging. Carlyle specifically describes herself wearing the sporty “tam,” the tam o’shanter hat that was a widely known part of the dress of the New Woman. She recalls how she traveled alone on public transportation around the metropolis of Paris, exhibiting

independence and bravura. Her personal freedom is organized around work and living unchaperoned in rented accommodation abroad, not in the family home.

Although Florence Carlyle was related through her maternal line to Letitia Creighton Youmans (1827-1896) the first President of the Dominion Women's Christian Temperance Union in Canada, the artist is not known to have been directly involved with women's political or activist groups.¹⁸ However, several of Carlyle's paintings suggest that she may have been influenced by activist philosophy, specifically the social purity movement popular in the late Victorian era. This movement advocated that men match the high sexual purity standards that were enforced on women of the era. The social purists were not in favour of sexual liberation.¹⁹

The title of Carlyle's painting of two identically dressed women, *The Heavenly Twins* (c1900), may have been inspired by the best selling book of the same title published in 1893 by New Woman novelist Sarah Grand. In the plot of the book male and female twin siblings played at cross dressing and same-sex relationships. The book created a scandal and challenged sexual codes, exposing the sexual double standards in the institution of traditional marriage. The book's plot concerns the female twin denying her husband sexually as a protest against his "syphilitic body." Carlyle's choice of title for her painting suggests that as a New Women she may have felt some sympathy with ideas expressed in the novel.

Another of Carlyle's paintings may have expressed elements of the artist's personal morality. Journalist Blanche Hume visited the artist in her Woodstock, Ontario studio in 1912. During a tour of the studio they stopped in front of a painting of a street scene. As Hume describes it and quotes Carlyle in her article, "The central figure was a young

girl with startled eyes and a look, half of fear, and half of wonder...the figure of a man...beside her, and on whose arm hers rested timidly while a car and chauffeur waited beside them. ‘*Conscience*, perhaps I shall call it that...or *The Still Small Voice*, [it] is only just begun,’ [the artist explained]. ‘I want her eyes to have a certain expression...So far...her face expresses only petulancy...she has a heart and soul. I am sure of it,’ [she added].”²⁰ This painting remains unlocated; however, we can tell from this discussion that it dealt with the elements of city life, romance, and the temptation that men and riches held for young women. In it Carlyle was exploring aspects of contemporary women’s experience in modern scenes, where hints of intrigue or impropriety appeared. A suggestion of the artist’s personal morality, implied in her discussion of the painting, may indicate that while she herself lived the independent life of the New Woman, Carlyle did not advocate sexual freedom for women.

As Ann Ardis explains in *New Woman, New Novels: Feminism and Early Modernism*, novels such as *The Heavenly Twins*, and Dorothy Leighton’s *As a Man is Able* (1893) by New Women authors, criticized men’s sexual corruption and held up the Victorian ideal of female purity to explain the moral superiority of women.²¹ In this way the New Woman was linked to the social purity movement, which advocated the need to reform society and to extend the vote to women. Thus, in a painting such as *Conscience*, and in her choice for the title of *The Heavenly Twins*, Carlyle might have been indicating her sympathy with both the social purity movement and the ideals of the New Woman.

Another New Woman in the study group was painter Harriet Ford. Ford had much in common with Carlyle; they were almost exact contemporaries; neither woman married; both held strict professional attitudes toward their profession. Although neither came

from particularly well-off families both had acquired a first class art education abroad. In their careers both women exhibited risk taking and imagination in order to earn their living and be financially independent, Ford in the diversification of her art practice to include mural painting, founding and editing an art magazine, and working as an art lecturer, Carlyle in supplementing her income by working at commercial art contracts in the United States.

Little evidence is available that points to the direct political engagement of the artists in the study group. Isabel MacArthur, who was President of the WAAC's Winnipeg Branch in 1910, was an active member of the WCTU and the Young Women's Christian Association, was treasurer for the NCWC's Winnipeg Branch, and was active in organizing the Free Kindergarten movement in the early years of the century.²² MacArthur's activism in groups such as the WCTU may, in fact, underline the minimal political involvement of the artists in the study group. Generally speaking, women in the study group appear to have had little direct engagement with activist or feminist groups, although in Florence Carlyle's case, for example the influence of activist ideas and ideals may be seen in her life and work. We might ask why, given their professional involvement, education, and freedom of movement, there was not more direct involvement with activism.

Answers may be found in the circumstances surrounding the formation of a woman's identity as a professional in a difficult social environment. One explanation may lie in Deborah Cherry's observations regarding the negative consequences of involvement with political activism for women artists in the late nineteenth century. From her studies of women artists in Britain during the same time period Cherry has

observed that a career in fine art for women demanded that the artist observe a strict professionalism and an exclusively artistic identity. Direct involvement with women's rights and other forms of activism during the late nineteenth century was seen as distracting, or at worst polluting, because it was thought to direct the artist's energies away from her professional practice of art.²³ Women's association with amateurism is recalled in this context, because the worst that could happen for a woman artist involved in political activities was that she be regarded as an amateur.

It appears that generally speaking political activism was more easily tolerated with careers in design, perhaps due to its association with trade. In the late nineteenth century public and open association with politics, particularly to be labeled a feminist activist, remained a thing to be avoided by women pursuing careers in areas as diverse as medicine and the arts. "It would prejudice the cause of women in medicine" wrote physician Elizabeth Garrett "to be too openly associated with politics."²⁴ The work of Bridget Elliott and Jo-Ann Wallace supports these findings. These authors have observed that women writers and artists privately and publicly distanced themselves from any association with feminist groups.²⁵ Thus, during the 1890s, a number of well-known British artists, including Anna Lea Merritt and Marianne Stokes, and a younger generation of women emerging at this time, including Gwen John, Vanessa Bell, and Edna Clarke-Hall, similarly distanced themselves from feminist causes.²⁶

By the start of World War I in 1914 the social deterrents which kept women artists from involvement in political activities in the late nineteenth century may have been on the wane. Women artists were publicly lending their names and contributing towards causes such as women's suffrage. For example, Mary Cassatt was a passionate supporter

of the women's suffrage movement. In 1915, four years before women gained the vote in the United States, she donated some of her paintings to a benefit exhibition at a New York City gallery, the proceeds of which went to support the Woman Suffrage Campaign.²⁷

In the Canadian context the archives are fragmented and incomplete. Few links have been discovered, to date, which tie women artists in the time period directly to involvement with political activism and to groups such as the TWLC, the Women's Press Club, Dominion Enfranchisement Association, or the WCTU. The closest example from the study group that may compare to Cassatt's support of suffrage is that of Florence Carlyle's participation in a women-only exhibition entitled *Paintings by Women Artists* in April 1908.²⁸ In the opening years of the twentieth century the M. Knoedler Galleries in New York City, where the exhibition in which Carlyle participated was held, appear to have been supporters of the woman's suffrage campaign and the careers of women artists. In April 1912 Knoedler's sponsored an exhibition in support of woman suffrage and, as mentioned above, in April 1915 they sponsored a second exhibition in support of the woman suffrage campaign fund.²⁹

During the late nineteenth century women artists in Canada appear to have observed an exclusively artistic identity, keeping to a strict professionalism that, with few exceptions, did not include direct involvement with political activism. However, judging from the extent of their involvement in women-only cultural associations these groups appear to have been an acceptable part of the Canadian woman's professional artistic identity. How did the women artists in the study group position themselves with respect

to professional societies generally, to women's cultural societies, and lastly, to "women-only" art associations and exhibitions?

Few direct links have been found between women in the study group and political activism. Significantly, however, a number of women in the study group were associated with formal, gender-exclusive, cultural groups with arts interests, and importantly, groups such as the WAAC, and various reading groups. A few were associated with the NCWC, an association with somewhat more overt political/reform goals. The late nineteenth century in Canada saw an explosion in the number of women-only clubs founded. This change was fueled by women's need for mutual and self improvement. At least twenty women-only literary clubs were established in the fifteen years from 1885 to 1900 in Ontario alone. Most were active in a blend of cultural and civic activities.³⁰ This movement was widespread as seen in the 'clubwoman' movement in the United States.³¹ This link between women artists and cultural groups has an early historical precedent. In Britain as early as 1859 the Ladies Reading Room founded by poet, essayist and feminist Bessie Rayner Parkes (1829-1925) was operating in the heart of London as a popular place of reading, relaxation and assistance for working women. The subscribers included many artists and the Reading Room was decorated by the work of women artists.³²

Among the common goals of women's cultural societies, of paramount importance was a liberal education for themselves and other women, and the improvement of women's moral and physical welfare. In Toronto, examples include the Heliconian Club and the WAAC. In small towns such as St. Catharines, Dundas, and Woodstock, Ontario, women's historical and art societies, and women's literary groups, often titled "Saturday Morning [Reading] Clubs" flourished. Artist Florence Carlyle and close friend, poet

Isabel Ecclestone Mackay belonged to Woodstock's reading club. These literary clubs were focused on meaningful instruction for women which took the form of discussion, debate, composition, reading and delivering papers, offering performance and exhibition venues for women in the arts including theatre, music, and the visual arts.³³

Women-only cultural groups were an enabling strategy offering advantages which were commonly available to their male colleagues, namely, access to a physical and conceptual space to gather with colleagues, and a professional site, which enabled women cultural workers to exchange concerns and ideas about their careers. This might include commenting on each other's work, sharing ideas, and learning more about their profession. In present day parlance such a site would promote "networking." These groups supported and created what might be thought of as loose communities of mutually supportive women, who may or may not have identified themselves as a group, but who knew each other professionally. This increased contact between women from various cities and professions would have lessened the isolation of women working in the cultural professions.

A further history of affiliation between women artists in the study group and women-only cultural groups emerges in the Canadian context. For instance the Women's Canadian Historical Society of Toronto boasted several artists as members, including Mary Agnes Fitzgibbon (1851-1915) the grand-daughter of Susanna Moodie. In 1896 three painters from the study group were among the fifty-seven founding women members: Emma S. Windeat, Mary Dignam, and Mary Hiester Reid.³⁴ In other cultural groups study group women were active: Florence Carlyle was a member of Woodstock's Saturday Reading Club; Margaret Houghton was present at the first meeting in April

1894 to form a Montreal branch of the WAAC;³⁵ and Mary Dignam was a founder and President of the WAAC.

In addition, a significant number of study group artists were associated with the NCWC principally through their direct membership in the Woman's Art Association of Canada (WAAC) which was one of the first societies to become affiliated with the NCWC. The NCWC, established in 1893, was a more political women's association than the WAAC. The NCWC had a role in reform activities, they challenged education restrictions and working conditions for urban poor and immigrant women³⁶ and, in addition, celebrated and supported the activities of women artists in the Dominion. The study-group artists who were associated with the NCWC appear to have only been involved in arts-related activities. For instance the NCWC national meeting in Montreal in 1897 concluded with art journalist Mary Agnes Fitzgibbon speaking on the woman artist's role in depicting the history of Canada. Her speech was illustrated with "magic" lantern views of paintings by established artists Charlotte Schreiber and Mary Dignam, and young painters Florence Carlyle, Sarah Holden, Harriet Ford, and Margaret Houghton, who had only recently returned from studies in Europe.³⁷ Other artists in the study group served on organizing committees for art-related NCWC projects. For example, in 1900 Florence Carlyle and Mary Dignam served on the NCWC Sub-Committee of Arrangement for "Art, Handicrafts, Drama and Music" for the Women's Department's exhibition in the Canadian Section at the Pan-American Exposition in Buffalo, New York.³⁸

‘Women-only’ Art Exhibitions and Art Societies:

The following section will explore the significance of women-only art groups with their associated exhibitions; and of specially organized “women-only” exhibitions, exclusive venues for the art production of women. It will look at what importance these held for the careers of the artists in the study group, and ask why some women maintained links to such exhibitions throughout their careers while others never associated with them, or discontinued their association when their careers matured.

Women artists have long been grouped together and categorized as separate from the accepted definition of professional art practice by art institutions. Such practices as separate classification or exclusion for women were seen in exhibitions, schools of art, and art societies where membership was tiered or sometimes included a separate class for ‘ladies.’ The formation of women-only art societies was one strategy formulated by women to deal with separate categorization. In Britain the Society of Women Artists was formed in 1856. American women founded the Ladies’ Art Association in New York in 1867. Also in the United States the National Association of Women Artists was formed in 1889.³⁹ The *Union des Femmes Peintres et Sculpteurs*, the first all-women exhibiting society in France, began in 1881.⁴⁰ These societies were established to address the exclusionary policies of the art world, and largely male organizations, of the time.

In Canada, the WAAC and the Heliconian Club were the most popular women-only cultural groups for the artists in the study group and both clearly promoted women’s professional work in cultural areas. Yet it is significant that, unlike the TWLC, another well-attended women-only cultural group in Toronto which had as one of its goals the

enfranchisement of women, neither the WAAC nor the Heliconian Club were specifically politically oriented.

By far the most popular women-only cultural or arts groups among the artists in the study group were the WAAC and its branch associations across Canada. Founded in Toronto in 1890 and with branches across the country from St. John to the Prairies, this women-only art group was well organized, and many of the women in the study group belonged to it as members or exhibited with it during their careers.

Almost as popular as the WAAC among study group artists, was the Toronto Heliconian Club. Founded in 1909 with a total of 59 members, the Heliconian Club aim was to offer a meeting place for professional women working in music, art, and literary professions, specifically “to give women in the arts and letters an opportunity to meet socially and intellectually.”⁴¹ Artists from the study group who are known to have been members include Mabel Cawthra, Estelle Kerr, Elizabeth McGillivray Knowles, Marion Long; Frances Loring, Laura Muntz, Mary Hiester Reid; Dorothy Stevens, Mary Wrinch, Florence Wyle. Artists held prominent management positions here. Estelle Kerr, Dorothy Stevens, Mabel Cawthra, and Marion Long each served as President; Elizabeth McGillivray Knowles as first Vice-President.⁴²

Aims of women’s art societies generally focused on the ideal of community and support between women and the goal of forging spaces in which to train and promote women in their quest for professional status. Furthermore, these societies wished to lay claim to a collective identity and to promote the cultural presence of women as both artists and patrons. For instance, in April 1899 the WAAC took the lead in promoting Canadian portrait artists, including work by both men and women, when it organized an

integrated exhibition, *The Loan Portrait Exhibition*, at Toronto's Temple Building at Bay and Richmond Streets.⁴³

In addition to the direct promotion of art by women artists such societies had diverse goals and provided useful opportunities for women. Simply put, women-only art societies provided support, instruction, models, critics and a place in which to show work, all of which helped women to become visible to their contemporaries. As in the examples of France's *Union des Femmes* and the Canadian WAAC, central goals included the altruistic aims of supporting younger and emerging women artists, of educating the next generation of women, providing high profile exhibition venues, and selling work.⁴⁴ The WAAC created courses, lecture programs, and offered experience in art administration for women at a local and national level. One 1897 newspaper article found in the WAAC archives reported that, among the seventy-odd members at their St. Thomas, Ontario branch "some copy and some do original work; some are amateurs and some are critics; all are united and interested in one another's welfare."⁴⁵ Such women-only art societies, as Tamar Garb describes in her book on the *Union des Femmes*, "nourished the ambitions" of women artists.⁴⁶

Participation in women-only associations, as Janice Helland has observed, was in different forms.⁴⁷ It involved everything from teaching or attending classes to mentoring emerging artists as Florence Carlyle did with London, Ontario, artists Eva Bradshaw and Caroline Farncomb, lecturing to women's groups and the public as did Harriet Ford, acting as patrons, as did Lady Aberdeen and Princess Louise, or loyally exhibiting with women-only groups as in the case with Charlotte Schreiber.⁴⁸

At a personal level women-only art groups facilitated institutional connections which frequently grew into personal friendships and partnerships between women. As Helland has pointed out, these friendships involved both private and public life and were not brought about by family, as was traditional, but by career.⁴⁹ Thus mutual endeavours were facilitated as between a number of Canadian women who were close companions in Paris during student days, first in the late 1880s when Mary Bell joined Margaret Houghton, with both having initially trained at the AAM School in Montreal, and in the early 1890s when friends, aspiring painters Sarah Holden and Florence Carlyle were close friends, studying in the same classes while in Paris.⁵⁰

While women-only art and cultural associations discussed here did address genuine needs of women artists, there were several things they did not do. In Canada they do not appear to have critiqued the status quo, staged demonstrations or had a political agenda. Yet, women-only art societies appear to have played a significant role in the careers of emerging and established professional women artists in the study group. In addition to seeking exhibition venues with integrated societies most women in the study group appear to have also exhibited with women-only exhibitions, yet there is significant variation in the timing of their involvement, which might be continuous, sporadic, or only at the beginning of their professional careers. For example, in May of 1891, near the beginning of her professional career, Mary Hiester Reid exhibited three paintings at the WAAC exhibition, yet Reid seldom, if ever, exhibited with the WAAC after this date. In the mid-1890s on their return to Canada after art studies in France emerging artists Florence Carlyle and Sarah B. Holden submitted paintings to the annual WAAC exhibitions.⁵¹ Carlyle continued to exhibit regularly with the WAAC until just after 1900

when she attained critical and financial success as a painter. Holden, who had been part of the move to form a Montreal branch of the WAAC in 1894, continued to exhibit with the WAAC until her marriage in the early years of the new century. Both Holden and Carlyle exhibited with the WAAC after they attained membership as Associates in the more prestigious Royal Canadian Academy.

Established, financially successful artists also saw value in exhibiting with women-only societies, and supported them despite being regularly accepted at other, more reputed, mixed venues. One explanation for this may lie in the example of British artist Louise Jopling who continued to exhibit with the Society of Female Artists after becoming successful because of the loyalty she felt to women-only art associations and the solidarity she wished to express with her fellow women artists.⁵² Whatever their reasons for doing so, this pattern is evident in the careers of other successful artists. At the height of her career in the 1890s Mary Cassatt exhibited with women-only art groups such as the Woman's Art Club of New York. Cassatt also participated in specially organized women-only group exhibitions such as "The Work of the Women Etchers of America" in 1887.⁵³ Cecilia Beaux, known in her time as one of the best female portraitists, exhibited with the Woman's Art Club of New York in 1900.⁵⁴ In Canada, the successful artist and at that time only woman Academician with the RCA, Charlotte M. Schreiber, exhibited with the WAAC in 1895 and 1897. Successful American painter Rhoda Holmes Nicholls regularly exhibited with the Canadian WAAC throughout the 1890s.⁵⁵ And at the height of her career in 1908, as noted above, Florence Carlyle exhibited in a women-only exhibition at the Knoedler Galleries in New York City.

In addition to her membership in integrated art societies such as the RCA, Canadian Elizabeth McGillivray Knowles belonged to at least four women-only art groups at the height of her career: the National Association of Women Painters and Sculptors in New York, the League of American Pen Women, the Toronto Heliconian Club, and was one of the “fifty women painters” admitted as members to the American Women’s Association.⁵⁶ This number is slightly higher than most of the other artists of the study group because Knowles moved to New York City at that time. Overall, however, the artists in the study group frequently belonged to women-only art groups or exhibited in women-only group exhibitions.

As in Knowles’ case, living abroad exposed women to other women-only associations and several of those artists who lived abroad for a time joined organizations outside Canada. For example, while living in England, Harriet Ford became a member of the Woman’s International Art Club, based in London.⁵⁷ Also while working in London Sydney Tully was elected a member of the 91 Art Club and exhibited with them in 1895. The 91 Art Club was a women-only artist club located in London’s Chelsea area, whose membership was limited to ninety-one.⁵⁸

The other extreme is also represented in the study group. As previously mentioned, Mary Hiester Reid only exhibited with the WAAC early in her career. Other successful artists of the same generation followed a similar pattern or did not exhibit at all with the group. Significantly, at the *Loan Portrait Exhibition* in 1899, organized by the WAAC yet open to both male and female artists, both Sydney Tully and Laura Muntz exhibited work and in addition Muntz designed the exhibition poster.⁵⁹ Tully did not have a history of exhibiting with the women’s association up until this time, nor did her association

continue. Laura Muntz's association with the WAAC only took place in the years from 1898 to 1900.⁶⁰ Mary Bell, Harriet Ford, and Sydney Strickland Tully, active professionals in 1890s Canada, are not known to have exhibited with the WAAC. To understand these variations among women of similar background pursuing the same goal of a professional art career, one must examine the broader implications of exhibiting with a woman-only art club.

The factors which influenced women artists to seek the gender exclusivity of women-only art societies included the desire for an education in art. The aims of the Woman's Art Club of London, Ontario, a branch of the WAAC, are representative of women's art societies in general: to promote women's art training and to encourage professional practice. A London, Ontario, newspaper article from 1897 offers us an account of the fortitude, commitment, and energy of the founders and members of this all-women exhibiting society who worked to establish "a school for original art training, and to have a work-room accessible at all times to the students...to provide opportunity for all girls who may discover the artistic faculty and desire to improve it...qualifying themselves for a professional career."⁶¹

Some women-only associations gave women artists the opportunity to show work in solo or joint exhibits in a prestigious public venue. We may conclude that some women joined these societies to find a venue for their art production. At women-only art societies women were able to mount exhibitions of their work in group exhibitions. For example as art students and early in their professional careers, women such as Florence Carlyle and Sarah Holden exhibited with the WAAC in a bid to increase their public visibility. The Heliconian Club, although not exclusively a club for visual artists,

maintained an active art “section” which served the needs of women artists. In part this may have been due to the early influence of founding member and first vice-president of the Heliconian Club, the painter Elizabeth McGillivray Knowles.⁶² In one newspaper review of November 1916 the Heliconian Club was cited as the venue for Elizabeth McGillivray Knowles’ solo exhibition of her miniature paintings.⁶³ In 1920 a collection of approximately 75 paintings by Mary Hiester Reid and George Reid, her husband, were on view at the Heliconian Club.⁶⁴

There were distinct benefits and roles played by women-only art societies and exhibitions such as the WAAC in Canadian metropolitan areas and smaller towns. The WAAC and its affiliates, such as London, Ontario’s Woman’s Art Club, helped to link Canadian women artists by professional interest and facilitated a network of friendships between the members. By 1897 the WAAC had grown to have hundreds of members across Canada from Manitoba to New Brunswick. The exhibitions often toured from branch to branch with local artists having the opportunity to exhibit alongside professionals. Annual WAAC exhibitions were held in smaller centres such as Portage la Prairie, Manitoba, and St. Thomas, Ontario, where the opportunities for women to show work was limited. The meager opportunities available to women in small population centres are shown by the fact that rural communities were sometimes unable to sustain women-only art clubs. This was the case with the Portage la Prairie branch which formed in 1896 and became inactive in 1901.⁶⁵

The present research suggests that during the late 1890s and opening years of the twentieth century women’s art clubs, such as the WAAC, open to amateur and professionally aspiring women may have functioned as a bridge for women to move from

exhibition in a local and socially acceptable venue to national public exposure with male colleagues, moving toward professional practice. Such views as a reticence toward public display had origins reaching back to social expectations and the women's amateur tradition in the early nineteenth century. One example of this may lie in links Florence Carlyle made in London, Ontario, about 1900, when she was teaching and trying to create a market for her work in that city. Carlyle became a friend and teacher of London, Ontario, painter Caroline Farncomb (1859-1951). Farncomb exhibited with the WAAC from 1893 and also with its London affiliate, and eventually, beginning in 1897 and continuing until 1908 with integrated regional and national exhibitions such as the OSA, AAM, and RCA.⁶⁶ Similarly, London painter Eva Theresa Bradshaw (1871-1938) began her exhibition history with the local women's club and, after art studies with Florence Carlyle in about 1902, first exhibited with the RCA and, although she was never elected as an Associate, Bradshaw continued to show work intermittently with the RCA until 1924.⁶⁷ Therefore, it appears that women-only art groups, as well as role modeling by women teachers may be factors which helped women artists move from women-only venues toward exhibiting with national groups showing work by men and women.

As mentioned above, early in her career Florence Carlyle seems to have made the decision to become affiliated with the Woman's Art Club of London, Ontario (WACL), a branch of the WAAC, in an effort to build upon her previous contacts with an artistic community in close proximity to her home in Woodstock. This was a sound professional strategy since WACL exhibitions attracted much local attention and the patronage of area residents. In 1908, eleven years after her initial exhibition, and eight years after she had ceased to exhibit with the WAAC and the WACL, Carlyle exhibited with the Knoedler's

women-only exhibition. Why was the Knoedler's exhibit an acceptable venue for Carlyle while the WAAC in the same year would not have been? Carlyle likely chose to participate in the women-only Knoedler's exhibition because of the prestigious venue and high caliber of fellow exhibitors, 52 other women artists from the United States and Britain. Carlyle was the sole Canadian artist represented.⁶⁸ The location of the exhibition was fortuitous at a time when she was working at a successful practice in New York City and hoping to gain more professional American recognition. Knoedler's was a respected commercial gallery which had recently featured an exhibition of portraits by Philip Laszlo. It was located in a cluster of galleries at 355 Fifth Avenue, only blocks away from Macbeth Galleries which had recently hosted the sensational exhibition of *The Eight*.⁶⁹

A pattern has emerged so far of women-only exhibitions and societies having been valuable in women artists' professional lives during the last decades of the nineteenth century. However, in the opening decade of the twentieth century from about 1900 to 1910, while such groups were still a factor, the research on the study group has revealed that they were becoming less important. Increasingly women strove for integration into societies consisting of both men and women. Yet it appears to have been a complex change for women artists. Women-only societies and exhibitions had served valuable roles in helping to establish professional careers. The following questions may help us refine our ideas about the changing role of women-only art societies throughout the course of a woman artist's professional life.

Women-only clubs and their exhibitions appear to have remained venues of opportunity for women whether they were beginning their careers or already established

and seeking to expand their careers into other areas. Reading through an old newspaper review of the Society of Women Artists exhibition at which Mary Bell Eastlake exhibited, I was surprised by the date of the exhibit: “1924.” It was a relatively late date, one would think, for professional artists to participate with women-only art societies.⁷⁰ Not only had Bell exhibited with this Society of Women Artists, based in London, England, when she was a well established professional artist, but Dorothea Sharp, the successful British painter and close friend of Canadian artist Helen McNicoll, was also represented in the same exhibit. Yet, how does one understand their actions and motivations? How did the relationship of a woman artist with women-only art groups and exhibitions enable or restrict a woman artist’s professional practice? If some women never became involved with such societies, why was this so? In point of fact involvement with women-only exhibitions had a potential for negative public exposure.

In 1897, paintings by artists exhibiting with the WAAC were the object of ridicule in a cartoon entitled *Impressions – Woman’s Art Exhibit*.⁷¹ (Fig. 1-1) The cartoonist derided the work and image of women artists, and the subjects of their art as frivolous ‘women’s subjects.’ It would be hard to imagine a similar lampoon occurring with respect to the Academicians’ paintings at that year’s RCA exhibition, Academicians who were, with one notable exception, all male.⁷² By the turn of the century, women artists increasingly did not want to be ghettoized on the fringes of the art world, in women-only art exhibitions. Mary Cassatt exhibited a number of paintings with the Woman’s Art Club exhibitions in 1891 and 1894; however in 1904 she refused to allow her New York dealer to lend paintings by her to an exhibition of this same club. While supportive of those women she considered to be professional artists, by 1904 Cassatt apparently viewed the

Woman's Art Club as in the same league as "some of the most amateur exhibitions of women artists in America." She wrote to her dealer advising, "I doubt that this practice [of exhibiting with them] will do me any good, nor you."⁷³ This realization may explain why artists such as Reid, Tully, Ford, and Muntz by and large chose to decline exhibition opportunities with the WAAC.

My research into this study group suggests that women artists' relationships to women-only art societies altered over the course of their professional lives. Several patterns have emerged. Women-only exhibitions first became available in Canada during the 1890s with the inception of the WAAC and its sister organizations. Most of the artists in the study group who were practicing during the decade 1890 to 1900 opted to exhibit with them to some extent. The most common pattern has the artist exhibiting with women-only groups early on in her career. If the artist was successful in professional practice, she frequently continued exhibiting with the WAAC while at the same time showing her works in integrated venues such as those of the OSA, AAM, and RCA. Furthermore, if she exhibited with and attained Associate status with the RCA, the artist's association with women-only exhibitions tended to decrease markedly or cease altogether. These patterns apply to those women in the study group such as Sarah Holden, Gertrude Spurr, Florence Carlyle, and Mary Hiester Reid, who began their careers or pursued professional training during the late 1880s to about 1900.

Florence Carlyle was a regular exhibitor with the Canadian WAAC and its affiliated WACL for the first four or so years when she returned home from her Parisian art studies. However, even though she continued to exhibit work in Toronto where the WAAC was based, once her career was established she stopped this connection with

women-only art associations; with one exception, the previously discussed Knoedler's 1908 exhibition.

A number of artists in the study group began their careers in the 1880s and 90s; however, women-only exhibitions played only a minimal role in their careers. These include Mary Hiester Reid, Mary Bell, Mary Riter Hamilton, Laura Muntz, Sydney Strickland Tully, and Helen McNicoll. Mary Hiester Reid exhibited with women-only art groups only very briefly at the beginning of her career. Her work appeared at the 1891 Women's Art Club, later WAAC, spring exhibition in Toronto.⁷⁴ Reid may have been influenced by the example of her artist husband and, with a minor exception early in her career; she chose integrated exhibitions over women-only venues for her art production. Similarly, Mary Riter Hamilton's involvement with the WAAC relates only to her early career. The one time she exhibited with the WAAC was at their First Annual Exhibition of the Winnipeg Branch in 1895.⁷⁵

In 1887 the forerunner of the WAAC, the Women's Art Club, was founded in Toronto, that same year Laura Muntz began her professional art training in London, England. She returned to Canada for a short time before pursuing art studies in Paris. As far as is known Muntz did not exhibit with Canadian women-only art associations until 1900 when she not only exhibited with the group, but also became convener for their Sketch Club, and the following year served on the WAAC Art League Advisory Board. Around this time her involvement with the WAAC seems to have been part of a broader plan to establish herself as an artist, art educator, and leader in the Toronto art world. Here she taught at Havergal College, established a teaching studio in the Yonge Street

Arcade, and served on the Executive Council of the Arts Department of the Central Canadian Exhibition.

Thus, women-only art groups were helpful in assisting the initial launch of an emerging artist. Also, as in the case of Florence Carlyle and Laura Muntz who chose to associate with women-only art opportunities as established artists, such venues could be of help in further extending their careers into new geographical areas. Other artists, such as Charlotte Schreiber, may have continued to exhibit with the group out of feelings of loyalty.

For those in the study group, such as Henrietta Mabel May and Emily Coonan, who began their careers between 1900 and 1914 this pattern changes. Elizabeth McGillivray Knowles, whose career gained impetus in c1905, avoided participating women-only art club exhibitions. Few women in this time period chose to launch their professional careers by exhibiting with women-only societies. Women artists who began their professional careers after 1900 seem to have seen less value in a professional connection with women-only art associations than the preceding generation had.

Germaine Greer's comment on women's art groups in *The Obstacle Course* that "the women who might have given the organizations real clout stayed away" does not apply fully to the Canadian context. While it may relate somewhat to those artists in the study group who launched their careers post-1900, Greer's observation is only partly applicable to the study group artists emerging in the earlier period, 1885 to 1900; only partly applicable because of the limited state of the art world in Canada in those years. Maria Tippett has observed that a cultural life was not developed to any extent in Canada prior to 1900.⁷⁶ In this context a number of successful artists in the study group saw the

wisdom of involvement with women-only associations in the initial years of their careers and, as in the case of Laura Muntz in Toronto and Carlyle in New York City, used this association to extend their careers.

What factors, then, may be said to have influenced the move away from women-only societies toward integration with mixed art societies which included men and women? These approaches, both the united front and common purpose of women-only art societies, and the integrated exhibitions including men and women, offered benefits for women. Increasingly in the first decade of the twentieth century women artists found that it was to their advantage in establishing a professional identity, not to organize together as women. Generally speaking feminist movements at the turn-of-the-century tended to reject special categorization of women artists.⁷⁷ Women's art societies and clubs, it was argued, tended to reinforce the stereotype that women artists were separate and distinct from their male colleagues, and that women required a separate sphere.

In 1900 this view was echoed in an article published in an American literary magazine by one of the first generation of American women artists Anna Lea Merritt (1844-1930). In "A Letter to Artists: Especially Women Artists," Merritt stated that the organizers of woman-only exhibitions were well meaning but that such exhibitions did not advance the cause of professional women artists: "recent attempts to make separate exhibitions of women's work were in opposition to the views of the [women] artists concerned, who knew that it **would lower their standard...** What we so strongly desire is a place in the **large field**. [Women-only exhibitions] work us harm."⁷⁸

Women-only exhibitions, whether organized by women's art groups such as the WAAC or those held in prestigious venues such as the Knoedler's Galleries on Fifth

Avenue which included some of the top American women artists in their lineup, were not considered “fully professional” societies or exhibitions; they were seen as second class by the larger art world.

The attitude that women-only exhibitions were second class is evident in the critical reception of the time. A review of one WAAC exhibition began with the headline, “Amateurs in Art: The Woman’s Club Spring Exhibition.” “[These] artists...easily rank in the first class among amateurs,” was the backhanded compliment by one Canadian critic in March 1896.⁷⁹

Julie Graham observes in her article on American women’s art groups that ultimately one of the downfalls of such groups was that they did not often attract nationally-known artists.⁸⁰ This is not true in the Canadian context prior to 1900, since the WAAC exhibitions did attract some internationally known artists. And while the Knoedler’s 1908 *Exhibition of Women Artists* differed from WAAC exhibitions in its focus on well-known international artists and in its venue at an important New York commercial gallery, as in the WAAC example, the critical reception seems to question their professional status. The critic for the *American Art News*, who attended the opening on the twentieth of April, commented that the eighty-two pictures by “prominent women artists [are]...both interesting and important.” He continued on a different note, [the exhibit] “is greatly superior in quality and effect to that of the Woman’s Art Club [of New York]...nearby. It is a question as to why the Woman’s Art Club did not have the [Knoedler’s] pictures...in their display...Is it possible that there is friction or trouble between the two bands of feminine painters? Can such passions dwell in celestial minds?”⁸¹

The critic's tone of gentle mocking toward not only the amateur women artists of the Woman's Art Club of New York, but toward the professional and prominent women artists at the Knoedler's exhibition is significant. It confirms the difficulties that professional women artists even in such a cosmopolitan city as New York as late as 1908 still had to negotiate to attain the modest hope of consistent respect for their status as professionals.

Critical reception of the Knoedler's exhibition reinforces the notion that exhibitions open only to women, while assisting in claiming an identity for women artists throughout the nineteenth-century, were by 1908 clearly fraught with pitfalls and had largely outlived their usefulness for professional women artists.⁸² The push was on by artists in the study group to exhibit and sell their art production at integrated exhibitions. Were they gaining ground in these venues? The incontrovertible commercial evidence, the main support of a professional art practice, is convincing. The Royal Canadian Academy archives reveal that the roster of twelve artists who sold pictures in the first week of the RCA exhibition held in Ottawa in April 1903 included five women: Florence Carlyle, her protégé Eva Bradshaw, Gertrude Spurr, Laura Muntz, and Mary Hiester Reid, all members of the study group. Each sold at least one painting, and selling prices were up to par, ranging from \$15 to a respectable \$75.⁸³ At the 1903 Montreal exhibition *Works of Canadian Artists* that summer Laura Muntz sold her painting *My Neighbor's Child* for \$350, and Mary Bell and Elizabeth McGillivray Knowles, also marked sales of paintings.⁸⁴ Increasingly, the trend was for women in the study group to work for inclusion throughout all professional, commercial and institutional avenues of the art world.

This chapter asked the question, how did women's relationships with ideas such as the trope of the New Woman, and groups such as women-only associations, affect the construction of their identity as professional artists? For some artists in the study group the trope of the New Woman and the role models of Canadian New Women colleagues such as Sara Jeanette Duncan, likely functioned as enabling images of the modern, professional woman that offered a useful template on which to model their identity. A number of women in the study group, such as Florence Carlyle, Gertrude Spurr, Laura Muntz, Sydney Strickland Tully, and Harriet Ford, appear to have laid claim to the image of the "New Woman." The facts of their lives mirrored those of the New Woman emerging in the mid-1890s: living independent self-supporting lives outside the family home, traveling un-chaperoned and often forgoing, or delaying, marriage and children in order to devote themselves to their profession. In their work the artists sometimes indicate their sympathy with social movements of the day and the ideals of the New Woman.

Generally speaking the artists in the study group, although in some cases they had some connections to groups such as the NCWC, were not overtly politically active. This may be because during the late nineteenth century direct involvement with women's rights and other forms of activism was seen by society and those in the art world as distracting, or at worst, was thought to divert the artist's energies away from her professional practice of art.

Women-only art and cultural associations appear to have played a significant role in early identity formation of many of the artists in the study group who launched their careers in the 1880s and 1890s. Women's attraction to gender-exclusive formal groups,

for example the WAAC and the Heliconian Club, was facilitated by their education, class, and proximity. In the undeveloped Canadian art world prior to 1900 that largely excluded or limited women artists, women-only cultural groups affirmed their professionalism. Perhaps because of the limited opportunities for women artists that existed in Canada prior to 1900, the study-group artists active in these earlier years tended to exploit the multiple benefits offered by these groups. These benefits included networks among women culture workers, personal and professional friendships and mutual support, and opportunities to launch and expand their careers. While women-only professional cultural associations such as Toronto's Heliconian Club continued to assist the professional life of women well into the twentieth century, in the years following 1900 the woman artist's identity as a professional began to be hindered rather than enhanced by exhibition with women-only art associations. Increasingly in this era women artists saw full inclusion as a realistic aspiration and integral to their identity as professionals.

Notes to Chapter Three:

- ¹ Pamela Gerrish Nunn, *Canvassing: Recollections by Six Victorian Women Artists* (London: Camden Press, 1986), 17.
- ² Rosemary Betterton, *An Intimate Distance: Women, Artists and the Body* (London: Routledge, 1996), 182-183.
- ³ E. Grosz, "Judaism and Exile: the Ethics of Otherness," *New Formations*, 12: 77, quoted in R. Betterton, *An Intimate Distance*, 183.
- ⁴ Lally Bernard, [Mary A. Fitzgibbon], "Driftwood," *The Globe* (Toronto), 13 April 1901, 19.
- ⁵ Eleanor Raymond (1888-1989). Nancy Gruskin, "Designing Women: Writing about Eleanor Raymond," in K. Frederickson and S. Webb, eds., *Singular Women: Writing the Artist* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2003), 147, 150.
- ⁶ Lucy Bland, "The Married Woman, the 'New Woman' and the Feminist: Sexual Politics of the 1890s," in Jane Rendall ed. *Equal or Different: Women's Politics 1800-1914* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1987), 142.
- ⁷ Such as, Grant Allen, [Olive Pratt Rayner, pseud.], *The Typewriter Girl* (Pearson, 1897); Eliza Lynn Linton, *The Rebel of the Family*. 3 vols. (London: Chatto & Windus, 1880), Reprinted, Broadview Press, 2002; and, Olive Schreiner [Ralph Iron, pseud.], *The Story of an African Farm* (London: Chapman and Hall, 1883).
- ⁸ Cynthia Cooper, *Magnificent Entertainments: Fancy Dress Balls of Canada's Governors General 1876-1898* (Hull, Que. and Fredericton, N.B.: Canadian Museum of Civilization and Goose Lane Editions, 1997), 36.
- ⁹ Description from Arden Holt, *Fancy Dress Described, or What to Wear at Fancy Balls*, 6th ed. (London: Debenham & Freebody, 1896; and, Gladys Beattie Crozier, "The Art of Choosing Fancy Dress," *Everywoman's Encyclopedia* (1906), 1058.
- ¹⁰ Nancy Cott, *The Grounding of Modern Feminism* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1987), 7.
- ¹¹ Carol Lee Bacchi, *Liberation Deferred: The Ideas of the English-Canadian Suffragists 1897-1918* (Toronto: University of Toronto, 1983), 6.
- ¹² Heather Murray, "Great Works and Good Works: The Toronto Women's Literary Club, 1877-1883," in Veronica Strong-Boag, et al. eds. *Rethinking Canada: The Promise of Women's History*, 4th ed. (Toronto: Oxford University Press, 2002), 103.
- ¹³ Barbara Freeman, *Kit's Kingdom: The Journalism of Kathleen Blake Coleman* (Ottawa: Carleton University Press, 1989), 141.
- ¹⁴ See Grier's engraving reproduced in Cooper, *Magnificent Entertainments*, 109-110, 127, and 109. Photograph of Fitzgibbon in costume; see Henry J. Morgan, ed., *Types of Canadian Women*, (Toronto: William Briggs, 1903), 116.
- ¹⁵ See for example, "Driftwood," "For the Home," and "At the Breakfast Table," columns by Fitzgibbon which appeared in the *Globe* between 1901 and 1902.
- ¹⁶ Susan Butlin, "'Un-Orthodox': Mapping Spatial Variation in the New Woman Fiction of Sara Jeanette Duncan and Florence Carlyle" (paper presented at the annual meeting of the British Association of Canadian Studies, University of Durham, Durham, England, April 2007). See also Rosemary Sullivan, "Introduction," to reprint of Sara Jeanette Duncan's *Pool in the Desert*, ed. Gillian Siddall (1903; reprint, Peterborough, Ont. and Orchard Park, NY: Broadview Literary Texts, 2001).
- ¹⁷ Florence Carlyle, "A Week of Student Life in Paris," originally published in the "Women's Kingdom" column, *Toronto Mail*, (n.p., n.d.). Reprinted as "Student Life in Paris as Told by the Late Florence Carlyle," *Sentinel-Review* (Woodstock, Ont.). 10 February 1936, n.p., Artist Files, Woodstock Art Gallery.
- ¹⁸ Emily P. Weaver, "Pioneer Canadian women, IV, Mrs. Letitia Youmans," *The Canadian Magazine* (June 1917), 170-174. Letitia Creighton married Arthur Youmans of Picton, Ontario in 1850. Youmans was related to Emily Youmans, Florence Carlyle's mother.
- ¹⁹ Sally Ledger, *The New Woman: Fiction and Feminism at the fin de siècle* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1997), 112-113.
- ²⁰ This painting remains unlocated. Carlyle quoted in Blanche B. Hume, "Florence Carlyle, ARCA" *Daily Sentinel-Review* (Woodstock, Ont.) 10 July 1925.

- ²¹ Ann L. Ardis, *New Woman, New Novels: Feminism and Early Modernism* (New Brunswick and London: Rutgers University Press, 1990), 84.
- ²² Angela Davis, "Laying the Ground: The Establishment of an Artistic Milieu," *Manitoba History* 4 (1982).
- ²³ Deborah Cherry, *Beyond the Frame: Feminism and Visual Culture, Britain 1850-1900* (London and New York: Routledge, 2000), 150.
- ²⁴ Cherry, *Beyond the Frame*, 150.
- ²⁵ B. Elliott and J.-A. Wallace, *Women Artists and Writers: Modernist (Im)positionings* (London and New York: Routledge, 1994), 153.
- ²⁶ Cherry, *Beyond the Frame*, 150.
- ²⁷ The exhibition entitled "Loan Exhibition of Masterpieces by Old and Modern Painters for the Benefit of Woman Suffrage" was held at the galleries of M. Knoedler and Co., in New York City from April 6 to the 24th, 1915. Kevin Sharp, "How Mary Cassatt Became an American Artist," in *Mary Cassatt: Modern Woman*, Organized by Judith A. Barter (New York: Harry N. Abrams and The Art Institute of Chicago and, 1998), 169.
- ²⁸ Knoedler's Galleries, *Exhibition of Paintings by Women Artists*, April 20th to May 2nd, 1908. Archives, Knoedler's Gallery, New York.
- ²⁹ See, the Knoedler's April 1912 exhibition in support of woman suffrage, which was entitled "Paintings by El Greco and Goya." Sharp, "How Mary Cassatt Became," 175, note 83.
- ³⁰ Murray, "Great Works and Good Works," 117, note 19.
- ³¹ See for example, Anne R. Gere, *Intimate Practices: Literary and Cultural Work in U.S. Women's Clubs, 1880-1920* (1997); and Theodora P. Martin, *The Sound of Our Own Voices: Women's Study Clubs 1860-1910* (1987).
- ³² A work by Barbara Bodichon was purchased for the room, see Cherry, *Beyond the Frame*, 21.
- ³³ Isabel Ecclestone Mackay (1875-1928). Murray, "Great Works," 103.
- ³⁴ *Woman's Canadian Historical Society of Toronto, Transaction No. 1* (Toronto: William Briggs, 1896), 24.
- ³⁵ McLeod, *In Good Hands*, 90.
- ³⁶ Prentice, *Canadian Women, A History*, 200-204.
- ³⁷ "Women and Art: The Conference in the Art Gallery a Very Successful Affair," Unidentified Montreal newspaper, May 1896. WAAC Scrapbook, WAAC Archives, Toronto.
- ³⁸ National Council of Women of Canada, *Women of Canada, Their Life and Work* (Ottawa: Minister of Agriculture, 1900, NCWC reprint, 1975), vii.
- ³⁹ Julie Graham, "American Women Artists' Groups: 1867-1930," *Woman's Art Journal* 1 (Spring/Summer 1980): 7, 10.
- ⁴⁰ Cherry, *Painting Women*, 65-67. Tamar Garb, *Sisters of the Brush: Women's Artistic Culture in Late Nineteenth-Century Paris* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1994), 4.
- ⁴¹ "Toronto Heliconian Club: A Meeting Place for Professional Women in The Arts and Letters," Brochure, 2002, Toronto Heliconian Club.
- ⁴² Heliconian Club papers; and "Heliconian Club Gets its Membership", Unidentified Clipping, 25 Jan. 1914, 15, Toronto Heliconian Club fonds: F 1182-1, Box Mu 8092, AO.
- ⁴³ M. E. Dignam, "The Loan Portrait Exhibition," Unidentified newspaper clipping, c April 1899, Scrapbook, WAAC Archives; and see also, *Loan Portrait Exhibition Catalogue*, 3rd to 15 April 1899.. WAAC Archives, Toronto.
- ⁴⁴ Garb, *Sisters of the Brush*, 5-6.
- ⁴⁵ "The Art Exhibit," *London News* (London, Ontario) 27 April 1897. See Scrapbook, WAAC Archives, Toronto.
- ⁴⁶ Garb, *Sisters of the Brush*, 7.
- ⁴⁷ Helland, *Professional Women Painters*, 5.
- ⁴⁸ Charlotte M. Schreiber exhibited with the WAAC in their annual exhibition held in Toronto, in March 1897; and in May 1897 with the St. John Branch, where she exhibited *Terriers* (#4), *Longing for the Hunt* (# 70), and *Our Protector* (#76). See 'List of Exhibitors,' in, Women's Art Association, *Catalogue of Ninth Annual Exhibition of the Women's Art Association* (Toronto: Women's Art Association, 1897), 4; and, *St. John Branch of the Women's Art Association, First Annual Exhibition* (St. John, N.B.: Women's Art Association of Canada, 1897), 1-3; WAAC Archives, Toronto

- ⁴⁹ Helland, *Professional Women Painters*, 6.
- ⁵⁰ See description of Carlyle and Holden being together in Paris, in, "The Spring Exhibition," *The Star* Montreal, 7 March 1895.
- ⁵¹ Carlyle and Holden exhibited in the 1897 WAAC exhibition at Robert's Art Galleries, Toronto. WAAC Catalogue 1897, NGC Library, Ottawa.
- ⁵² Louise Jopling (1843-1933). Pamela Gerrish Nunn ed., *Canvassing: Recollections by Six Victorian Women Artists* (London: Camden Press, 1986), 142.
- ⁵³ Cassatt exhibited with the Woman's Art Club of New York in Feb. 1891 and Feb. 1894. See "Lifetime Exhibition History," in Barter, *Mary Cassatt: Modern Woman*, 357.
- ⁵⁴ In this article Beaux is referred to as having exhibited with the club the previous year, 1900. "The Woman's Art Club, Annual Exhibition Held," *New York Times*, 15 Nov. 1901.
- ⁵⁵ Rhoda Holmes Nicholls (1854-1930). Schreiber exhibited three paintings at the 1895 exhibition in London, Ont., see "Art Club Exhibition," *Free Press* (London, Ont.) 13 March 1895. See also, *Woman's Art Association of Canada Exhibition Catalogue, March 1897*, WAAC Archives, Toronto.
- ⁵⁶ L. Scott Brewster, "She Paints Chickens," *Toronto Star Weekly*, 21 May 1927.
- ⁵⁷ See, undated, handwritten, "Information Form," filled out by Ford, in, Harriet Ford artist file, Archives, NGC.
- ⁵⁸ Margaret Fallis, "Sydney Strickland Tully ARCA 1861-1911, Unpublished paper c 1985, ACWA Artist File, Carleton University, p. 5.
- ⁵⁹ M.E. Dignam, "The Loan portrait Exhibition," Unidentified Newspaper clipping, c April 1899. Scrapbook, WAAC Archives, Toronto.
- ⁶⁰ Julia Gualtieri, "The Woman as Artist and Subject in Canadian Painting (1890-1930): Florence Carlyle, Laura Muntz Lyall, Helen McNicoll, Master's thesis, Queen's University, 1989, 159.
- ⁶¹ "The Woman's Art Club, Exhibition of Paintings at the "Y" Rooms," Unidentified London, Ont. Newspaper, c March 19, 1897, Scrapbook, WAAC Archives, Toronto.
- ⁶² J.W. Leonard, ed., *Woman's Who's Who of America 1914-1915* (New York, 1914), 464.
- ⁶³ "Miniature Exhibition, Mrs. MacGillivray Knowles' Pictures at Heliconian Club," *Toronto Star*, 16 Nov. 1916.
- ⁶⁴ "On the Walls of the Heliconian Club," *Toronto Globe* (Toronto), 9 Nov. 1920.
- ⁶⁵ Virginia Berry, *Vistas of Promise: Manitoba 1874-1919* (Winnipeg: Winnipeg Art Gallery, 1987), 32. Miss R. Deeks, *Historical Sketch of the Women's Art Association of Canada* (Toronto: Women's Art Association of Canada, 1912), 2,3, WAAC archives, Toronto.
- ⁶⁶ She frequently exhibited in Toronto at the Toronto Industrial Exhibition and OSA exhibitions and was elected an OSA member in 1908; and exhibited with the RCA from 1900 to 1902.
- ⁶⁷ Bradshaw was never elected an Associate of the RCA. Sisler, *Passionate Spirits*, 280.
- ⁶⁸ "Paintings Shown by Women Artists," *New York Times*, 21 April 1908, 8; and, Knoedler's Galleries, *Exhibition of Paintings by Women Artists* (New York, 1908), Knoedler's Library Archives, Knoedler & Company, N.Y.
- ⁶⁹ *The Eight* opened on February 3, 1908. "Calendar of New York Special Exhibitions," *American Art News*, 6 (18 April 1908): 6; "Calendar," *American Art News*, 6 (25 April 1908): 6.
- ⁷⁰ "Women Artists," *Morning Post* (London, Eng.), 4 February 1924.
- ⁷¹ "Impressions – Woman's Art Exhibit," *Saturday Night* 10, no. 16 (6 March 1897): 1.
- ⁷² Charlotte Schreiber (1834-1922) was elected to Academician membership in the RCA in 1880. No other woman was elected to Academician until 1933.
- ⁷³ Kevin Sharp, "How Mary Cassatt Became an American Artist," in Judith A. Barter, *Mary Cassatt: Modern Woman* (Chicago and Washington, D.C.: The Art Institute of Chicago, 1998), 163. See also note # 53 above.
- ⁷⁴ Women's Art Association of Canada, *Historical Sketch* (Toronto, 1912), 2.
- ⁷⁵ WAAC, *Winnipeg Branch, First Annual Exhibition catalogue*, WAAC archives, Toronto.
- ⁷⁶ Maria Tippett, *Making Culture: English-Canadian Institutions and the Arts before the Massey Commission* (1990), x.
- ⁷⁷ For further discussion of the strategies involved in negotiation of sexual difference in nineteenth-century British art institutions see Chapter Four in, Cherry, *Painting Women*, 65-77.
- ⁷⁸ Emphasis mine. Anna Lea Merritt, "A Letter to Artists: Especially Women Artists," *Lippincott's Monthly Magazine*, 65 (1900), 463-69.

⁷⁹ "Amateurs in Art," *Free Press* (London, Ontario) 19 March 1896.

⁸⁰ Julie Graham, *Woman's Art Journal* v.1 (Spring/Summer 1980), 11.

⁸¹ "Exhibitions Now On," *American Art News*, 6 (25 April 1908): 6.

⁸² "Paintings Shown by Women Artists," *New York Times* 21 April 1908, 8; "Women Artists at Knoedler's," *American Art News*, 6 (25 April 1908): 6.

⁸³ Sales: Bradshaw sold *Roses*, \$30; Carlyle sold *Before Her First Communion; The Studio*; \$25 each and *The Little Housewife*, \$15; Muntz sold *Sissy In the Woods*, \$30; and *Little Red Head*, \$35; Reid sold *Roses*, \$75; Gertrude Spurr sold *Bridge on the Torrent Walk, Dolgelley, North Wales*, \$20; "R.C.A. Pictures on View at Ottawa," *Saturday Night* (25 April 1903): 4; see also, "Art Exhibition: Connoisseurs Select Some of the Best," RCA clipping scrapbook 1903, MG 28 I 126 Vol. 15, p.27, National Archives, Ottawa.

⁸⁴ Sales information source, marked exhibition catalogue, *Catalogue of the works of Canadian Artists which will be on view in the Art Gallery, 23 Phillips Square*, opened June 19, 1903, Catalogue in collection of the library/archives, National Gallery of Canada, Ottawa.

Chapter Four

With Mixed Results: Marriage and Partnerships

“The chief obstacle to a woman’s success is that she can never have a wife. A wife. . . keeps his house; writes his letters. . .wards off intruders. . .[is] always an encouraging and partial critic. A husband would be. . .useless. . .never do any of these disagreeable things.”

Anna Lea Merritt (1844-1930) “A Letter to Artists, Especially Women Artists,”
Lippincott’s Monthly Magazine (1900)

“I preferred to keep my own name. I believe I have been able to give it some renown. . . And then, as in religion, art also has its vestals.”

Rosa Bonheur, quoted in Anna Klumpke, *Memoirs of an Artist* (1940)

In 1880s Canada, when this study begins, marriage for women was an expectation rather than an option, regardless of class. Yet the present research has revealed that a large proportion of the women in the study group did not marry, and that their decisions of when and whom to marry are interesting ones and seem to reflect a deep-seated anxiety relating to the continuance of their careers. This chapter will explore the choices the study group made with reference to heterosexual marriages and other friend/partnerships. Why did they make the choices they did and in what context were these decisions produced? Finally, what was the potential impact on their careers?

While initially a journalistic invention, the New Woman role model, lived in part by many of the artists of the study group, facilitated a societal reexamination of the traditional role of women in marriage. Much of the New Woman discontent centered on the bearing of children and stay-at-home life of marriage, a lifestyle deemed appropriate for middle-class women and an aspirational ideal for many poor and working-class women. The New Woman also brought to the institution of marriage questions relating to women's sexual activity, specifically the construction of sexuality and their control over reproduction, questions which reflected a broader concern for women of the time. In keeping with contemporary beliefs of the sexual purity movement, many New Women deplored the double standard of marriage, which turned a blind eye to male sexual license and the consequent risk to women's health from syphilis and other sexually transmitted diseases.¹

As previously mentioned, contemporary fiction, for example *The Heavenly Twins* (1893) by Frances Bellenden Clarke (1854-1943) writing under the name Sarah Grand, presented challenging questions with regard to the injustices and cruelties of traditional domestic and sexual expectations for women in marriage. Similarly, in her book *A Room of One's Own* (1929), Virginia Woolf (1882-1941) explored the historical constraints that hampered women's creativity. Woolf imagined that Shakespeare had a sister Judith who was born with the same desire to create as her brother, but was deprived of the education and opportunity to nurture it. Judith Shakespeare's taking of her own life expresses the social repression of women's creativity. Her desire to write placed her at odds with society. The author had created an image of a woman confined, embittered, perhaps driven mad by the frustration of a desire to write and the clash of this with social

expectations to marry, bear children, and confine her interests and energy to the domestic sphere. In *A Room of One's Own* the author, socialized in bourgeois English culture in the late nineteenth century, revealed her own experience and that of contemporary women, specifically embodying in this story women's anxiety-producing struggle to work as creative artists. Woolf's fictional story has resonance in the cultural historiography of the artists of the study group.

Much in the contemporary fiction of the time covered by the study mirrored the realities of the artists with whom we are concerned here, and addressed real conflicts between marriage and career. As the quotations which introduce this chapter reveal, in a traditional marriage a woman's art production took a second place to home, husband, children, and hostess duties. Central to women artists' fears was that their autonomy would be lost or eroded by marriage. Deborah Cherry's research on British women artists in the Victorian era² has revealed that many were disinclined to marry for these reasons, and the experience of the Canadian artists in the present study also shows itself in these terms.

In feminist understanding both the home and workplace have a political dimension. For the women of the study group the art workplace facilitated economic independence, creativity, and engagement with the public world of business, travel, and other experiences. Home was a place of memories, nostalgia, as well as being a location for familial relations. Attractive as these things may seem, as Valerie Walkerdine points out in *Democracy in the Kitchen: Regulating Mothers and Socialising Daughters*, the home may also be a trap.³ Home is a site of social relations that are structured by power and inequality. Gendered behavior is centred on and emanates from the home. In the home

woman is culturally constructed as Other, for as Simone de Beauvoir (1908-1986) wrote in her seminal book *Le deuxième sexe* (1949), “One is not born, but rather becomes, a woman. No biological, psychological, or economic fate determines the figure that the ...female presents in society...this creature...described as feminine.”⁴ For most women home is the location of unpaid labour. For the artists of the study group, solving the conflicts of desire between career and marriage was difficult. There was no getting around it. For every woman in the study group the conflict had to result in a solution, either confrontation or acceptance.

They solved the conflict of desire in varying ways. Some made the conscious decision not to marry. The opposite solution for the conflict also occurred, with some artists abandoning their careers entirely. Examples of this will be seen in the lives of Edith L. Ravenshaw Patterson, Sarah Holden, and Sophie Pemberton. Others found a solution in lessening professional activity and production, a good example being the career of Laura Muntz. A choice made by many was to marry later than was usual for women of the time. Gertrude Spurr did this, as did Mary Wrinch. Others believed that they may have found a way around the fears that marriage would destroy their careers by marrying an artist colleague.

A large proportion of women in the study group took the first option and did not marry. In the late nineteenth century these women would have been described by the term spinster, ironically a term which in its origins relates to a woman's economic realities. At one time any woman who did not marry and had no means of financial support had no option but to support herself by working in a ‘spinning house,’ a workhouse for poor women which employed them in spinning.⁵ Originally the term

spinster simply indicated the marital status of an unmarried woman and had little or no pejorative meaning attached. In the Victorian era women who did not marry often remained in the parental home, and unmarried daughters and sisters were seen as financial burdens, women who had “failed” to fulfill their feminine duties. It was during this time that the terms spinster and spinsterhood gradually acquired a negative connotation.⁶ The iconoclastic ideas of New Women and feminists emerging at the end of the nineteenth century provided a new ideal for women, broadened educational and work options for middle-class women, and gradually eroded the stigma associated with remaining unmarried.⁷

New Women fiction by women presented these choices where women might break with tradition and have adventures, and in so doing debated the dilemma of choosing between career and marriage. In American writer Eleanor Hoyt’s 1901 short story “Women are Made Like That,” the young American art student Elizabeth, chose a career as an artist over marriage to a rich fellow-American she met while studying in Paris.⁸

Sara Jeanette Duncan (1861-1922) from Brantford, Ontario is another feminist writer and contemporary of the study group artists. This journalist and novelist lived the characteristics of the professional, risk-taking New Woman. In 1886 Duncan became the first woman to work full time for the Toronto *Globe* newspaper, where she was in charge of the *Woman’s World* department. Her first book *A Social Departure: How Orthodocia and I Went Round the World by Ourselves* (1890) was based on Duncan’s actual trip around the world with Lily Lewis who wrote for the Toronto newspaper *The Week*. In the fictional *A Social Departure* the two heroines make a similar journey around the world by themselves with no chaperones and no itinerary, on a trip that, following the

title, was in many ways a departure from social norms. The narrator of *A Social Departure* intimated that the trip had an ulterior goal. Early in the novel she says to the reader: “There is a satisfaction that is difficult to parallel in getting as far as you can go.”

In the context of the present chapter concerning marriage and partnerships, it is the irony of the book’s ending and of Duncan’s own choices that are salient for this discussion. Duncan met her future husband while in India during her actual trip around the world in 1888. In *A Social Departure* the narrator, presumably Duncan herself, is questioned by a woman friend on arrival back home: “Do you think...that it is entirely safe and wise for young ladies to travel by themselves?...I equivocated, ‘I am afraid the wisdom of it must always depend upon the young ladies themselves; and as to the danger – you see what befell Orthodocia!’”⁹ Orthodocia was engaged to a man she met while on the trip.

The emancipated women readers in 1890s Canada, perhaps some of the artists in the study group, may have appreciated the irony of the last sentence; that the greatest danger a woman could experience while on a trip around the world was not robbery, kidnapping, or physical assault, but marriage. Judging from how many in the study group chose not to marry, perhaps many would have nodded their heads in agreement.

A picture of the organization of marital choices of the study group, while incomplete due to the fragmentary state of the archive, has emerged from my research. Those who did not marry include Eva Bradshaw, Florence Carlyle, Emily Carr, Caroline Farncomb, Margaret Houghton, Estelle Kerr, E. May Martin, Sydney Strickland Tully, and Louise Beresford Tully.

Those who married at any age include Cecile B. Davis, Mary Bell (later Eastlake), Mary Ella Dignam, Elizabeth Armstrong Forbes, Mary Riter Hamilton, Sarah Holden, Marion Nelson Hooker, Elizabeth McGillivray-Knowles, Laura Muntz, Nina Owens, Edith Ravenshaw Patterson, sisters Clara and Mildred Peel, Sophie Pemberton, Mary Hiester Reid, Charlotte Schreiber, Gertrude Spurr, Dorothy Stevens, and Mary Wrinch. The ages at which they married varied between those marrying in their teens and twenties, including Cecile B. Davis, Mary Williams Dignam, Mary Bell Eastlake, Mary Riter Hamilton, Nina Owens, Clara Peel, and Elizabeth McGillivray-Knowles. Several chose to marry when in their thirties and forties. And four artists, Mildred Peel, Laura Muntz, Gertrude Spurr, and Mary Wrinch married when in their fifties.

Nina Owens and Mary Riter Hamilton became widows early on in their art careers, and Owens had children to raise by herself. While there may be others, as far as is known only four artists in the study group married and bore children. In addition to Owens, these were Elizabeth Armstrong Forbes, Mary Dignam, and Clara Louisa Peel. However, several of the artists became mothers when they married widowers with children. As far as can be concluded from information in the archival record it appears that a number of artists in the study group had long-term friend/partnerships with women. A relatively large number in the study group, chose to marry men who were artists. In and of themselves these observations do not constitute experience or assign meaning, they require interpretation and for that we must gather together the context and the fragments of experience in women's life stories.

Marriage has long been a debated life choice for women who were attempting to sustain a professional career. A belief that marriage would jeopardize independence and

freedom and ultimately erode or destroy their career likely began with the first women entering professional life and remains an issue of concern today. Statistics show that the average age at marriage for Canadian women rose steadily during the last half of the nineteenth century from a low of 22 years in 1851 to 26.6 years at the beginning of the 1890s, a decade when educational and work force options expanded for women, and when the New Woman model was part of the scene.¹⁰

Very early marriage was relatively rare for these artists. One obvious reason for this is that the study group is largely made up of women artists who are known, at the very least, to have acquired a professional art training and to have begun work as artists.

Women who married young were less likely to have attained these achievements. In addition, early marriage was a relatively uncommon choice among the successful artists of the study group because they believed that they had to choose between marriage and a career. Not only did they believe that marriage would jeopardize their independence and freedom to work at their art practice, but the study group artists likely shared the belief of other women professionals of the era who thought that working full time at a career would inhibit a woman's ability to be a good mother. "[A career as a professional artist is] such a hard life for any woman," Laura Muntz warned her niece, "I wanted you to marry and have children...and you can't do both – don't try to do both."¹¹

Mary Riter Saul from Teeswater, Ontario, was possibly the youngest in the study group to marry. She married Alex Hamilton when she was eighteen in 1891, was widowed after several years, and never remarried. Possibly because of the brevity of her marriage and the fact that she had no children to support, her marriage does not seem to

have impeded her career. Also to her advantage is my speculation that she may have benefited financially from her husband's death.

Her colleague Mary Ella Dignam also married a man from outside the art community but the similarity in their married and family life is limited to this one fact. In 1880, at age twenty-three Mary Ella Williams, from Port Burwell, Ontario, married John Dignam who had a chinaware business, and sustained a long marriage during which she bore three children.¹² Her marriage provided financial security and children, but unlike most women in the 1880s she was not constrained by conventions of living together continually. Soon after the birth of her first child in 1881 Mary Dignam lived abroad intermittently, studying art at the New York Art Students' League; subsequently she studied in Paris. Her husband apparently tolerated the physical freedom his wife required in marriage. While she returned home intermittently, he remained at home in Toronto and was assisted in the care of the children by his unmarried sister.

Mary Dignam's freedom within her marriage is rare within the experience of the study group artists. While there is no definitive answer as to how she financed her travels and study abroad between 1881 and 1886 when she returned to Toronto to teach, it is likely that she financed it herself as she earned money by escorting groups of women art students on summer painting trips to Europe. Although she gave birth to two more children at ten year intervals, in 1887 and 1897, Dignam retained her professional freedom to work and travel. She founded the WAAC, was active with the NCWC, continued to paint and exhibit, and in 1898 was described by art columnist Jean Grant as the "most progressive woman in art in Canada."¹³

Hamilton and Dignam's experiences appear to have been the exceptions that prove the rule. The study group artists knew from first hand experience that early on many women friends of their generation had had hopes and plans of professional careers that were never realized, plans that were diverted by marriage. The examples of several artists in the study group demonstrate this point.

Twenty-six year old Clara Louisa Peel was interviewed in February 1888 in her Church Street studio in Toronto where she was working on a portrait bust.¹⁴ She said she hoped to study art in France like her older sister Mildred, but twelve months later, in January 1889, she married Reuben Booth Belden. The Peel sisters were from a middle-class background. Their father, John Robert Peel, worked as a stonemason and ran a monument business in London, Ontario, and was a drawing master. In marrying Belden, Clara Peel acquired upper middle-class status and financial security. Belden, who was fourteen years her senior, was a partner in Belden Brothers, the proprietors of the Art Publishing Co. and publishers of *Picturesque Canada* and county atlases.

A portrait of Clara, a gift from her brother Paul Peel an internationally renowned painter, shows the aspiring sculptor in 1890 shortly after her marriage.¹⁵ (Fig. 4-1) She pensively meets the gaze of the viewer and is dressed, not as a bohemian artist, but as a fashionable Toronto matron. Clara had two children in this marriage, and although she socialized with the art community in Toronto, she never fulfilled her desire to have a career as a sculptor.

Cecile B. Davis from Uxbridge, Ontario who studied art alongside her cousin, Florence Carlyle, when both women were in their teen years, married when she was in her early twenties and, like Clara Peel, never progressed as an artist.¹⁶

Mary Bell Eastlake and Elizabeth McGillivray Knowles both chose early marriage and experienced the complexities implicit in marriage to a more established, dominant artistic personality. As will be discussed later in this chapter, these two artists were able to overcome these constraints.

The decision of several artists in the study group to marry after working professionally, with moderate success, for only a couple of years, is a confusing finding. It seems to contradict the understanding that, after having attained a professional education, secured their autonomy, set up a business, and having begun to enjoy, as the sister of artist Evelyn de Morgan wrote, “years of happy aspiration and achievement,” women artists would be very reluctant to jeopardize such hard-won achievements by marrying. How do we explain such a contradiction? Perhaps there is no need of a definitive explanation. Contradictions naturally occur in human behaviour and in the historical narrative. In the process of writing a historical analysis, disjuncture, gaps and contradictions occur in what art historian Kristen Frederickson terms an “honest telling.”¹⁷ The approach of the present study is to include contradictions which have emerged from the archive. The following two examples demonstrate the rich nuances which may be added to the analysis by such findings.

The figure painter Sarah Baldwin Holden remains an enigmatic figure. Her early career is documented until the late 1890s. In 1893 she won a gold medal at the Chicago World’s Fair. This was a tremendous achievement for a young artist as the other Canadian gold medal winners included art leaders Horatio Walker and Robert Harris. The following year she was one of twenty artists at the first meeting to form a society of women artists, held at Mary Phillips’ St. Catherine Street studio in Montreal.¹⁸ One year

later in 1895, Holden was elected an Associate of the RCA; she became an acknowledged Canadian portraitist and exhibited regularly to critical acclaim until about 1900. After this point we begin to lose track of her. We do know that in 1901, Mary Dignam recorded in her history of the work of Canadian women artists that Miss. Holden, “one of the foremost Canadian artists [was] temporarily resident abroad.”¹⁹ Several years later, in 1907, when she resigned as an Associate of the RCA, Holden disappeared from public and professional life. The mystery of the demise of her career may be partially explained by her marriage sometime between these two dates. She lived in Montreal and traveled abroad until 1903 when she married a Mr. Hunter, and subsequently moved to the United States.²⁰ Four years later, the career of Sarah Holden was ended formally when she resigned her professional distinction “ARCA,” Associate of the RCA, a hard won credential that she and her colleagues Sydney Tully and Florence Carlyle had achieved less than a decade before.

In 1899 Sophie Pemberton from Victoria, British Columbia, was the first woman to be awarded the Prix Julian for portraiture, for *Little Boy Blue*, receiving a gold medal and 100 franc prize, from the Académie Julian in Paris. Nine years previously she had sailed for London, England, to begin her professional training. Throughout the 1890s her work appeared extensively in France, in Canada, where she exhibited at the Art Association of Montreal (1895), and in England where she exhibited in conventional venues, such as the Royal Academy of Arts, and at unconventional feminist locales like the 91 Art Club, a London-based arts association for women artists.²¹ (Fig. 1-4) Her professional career grew quickly with two of her paintings well received at the Royal Academy in London in 1903 and 1904 when she turned thirty-four, *Un Livre Ouvert*, and *Verlaine's Friend*, a

portrait of a Parisian model Bibi la Purée, who was famous for drinking vast amounts of brandy in the studio. The beginning of a decline in her exhibition participation is marked by her marriage in September 1905 to Canon Arthur Beanlands (fig. 4-2), a minister at Christ Church in Victoria and a widower with several young children. She continued painting, with a new focus on landscapes of her native Vancouver Island. Following her and her husband's move to southern England, in 1909 the Doré Gallery in London held an exhibition of this work to an enthusiastic reception. Her professional career declined abruptly following this. Widowhood did not revive her professional practice, and in 1920 Pemberton married a wealthy Englishman, Horace Deane-Drummond.²²

Art Partnerships and Marriage to a Fellow Artist

Others in the study group chose to marry other artists. In theory, teaming up with another artist sounds like a good idea for a woman's career in art. Linda Nochlin addresses the idea of a woman artist's relationship to a dominant artistic personality in her seminal article "Why Have There Been No Great Women Artists?"²³ She notes that many women artists who achieved preeminence were often either the daughters of artist fathers, or had a close personal connection with a more established or more dominant artistic personality. In this arrangement one partner usually assisted the other greatly in creating comfortable conditions or atmosphere to aid the other's artistic production. One partner, usually female, was considered the imitator or disciple of the "great man" or dominant person, and worked in the shadow of her father, spouse, teacher, lover, or mentor.²⁴

Adding an additional nuance in artistic couple relationships is what might be termed a reciprocal influence between the spouse/partners. In their research, authors Whitney Chadwick and Isabelle de Courtivron have looked at the complexity of creative partnerships. They found that while most of the artists concerned did not escape the social stereotypes about masculinity and femininity, with one dominant partner in the partnership, there was a complexity to these relationships that went beyond the wish of one partner to be desired by a “great man.”²⁵

In the present study group there are examples which illustrate the richness of interactions that operate within intimate art partnerships. These include, for example, the partnerships of Mary Hiester Reid and George Reid, Frances Loring and Florence Wyle, and Elizabeth and F. McGillivray Knowles. Most of the examples we will consider include an interplay of enriching rewards and negative costs. Here social concepts of femininity combine with the predominant male intellectual systems of support to enable the male/dominant partner, whether he or she acts as teacher or critic, to enable or disable the other’s capacity to attain and function at a professional level. In addition while these and the systems of traditional female domestic support nourish one artist, usually the male artist, they may inhibit those of their (female) partners. In other words, as Anna Lea Merritt is quoted as saying at the beginning of the chapter, “the chief obstacle to a woman’s success is that she can never have a wife.”²⁶

Sometimes artist families were extended by artists marrying into the family, enlarging the network of kin working together as artists. In the Tully family, Kivas Tully married into the Moodie-Strickland family. Daughters Sydney and Louise, their cousin Henrietta Vickers, and their aunt, the botanical-illustrator Agnes Moodie Fitzgibbon

(1833-1913), made up an extensive artist-family dynasty. This artistic tradition was continued by a niece of Sydney and Louise, artist Vivian Tully Cowan.

While family relationships were influential, for art students the need to be desired by, or at the very least to please a “great artist” with one’s work in the studio, was not uncommon among women art students in this period. In her autobiographical *Journal*, Russian noblewoman Marie Bashkirtseff wrote of her near-obsession, during her art studies in Paris in the early 1880s, with gaining the highest praise in the class from the studio critics, painters Tony Robert-Fleury and Rodolphe Julian.²⁷ In other cases a stronger connection may have evolved between a female student and a dominant male teacher, one with a romantic or sexual interest. Janice Helland argues that attachment to a famous male artist was of ultimately more value for aspiring women artists in securing a place in the profession, than was membership in a separate women’s art society.²⁸ The phenomenon of discipleship in a relationship of gendered hierarchy between an older established male artist and an aspiring woman artist is found in several instances in the study group; many were mentored and influenced by male teachers.

Canadian Marion Nelson Hooker was a long time student of painter Charles Blisset Millner, first studying with him at Grantham Academy in St. Catharines, Ontario in the mid-1870s. Hooker later studied privately with Millner at his home and became very close, in a daughter-like relationship, to the painter who had no living children. In 1900 Millner and his wife Ruth left Marion Nelson Hooker many of his paintings and the bulk of the money in their estate. The money enabled her to study in France with American painter George B. Bridgeman and a party of American students in 1902. Marion left the American group in London, England, and joined fellow Canadian Gertrude Spurr for a

painting holiday in North Wales. The two artists had met when they both had attended one of Bridgeman's summer art classes in Vermont.²⁹ The money Marion Nelson Hooker inherited from her teacher enabled her to train abroad and develop contacts, in fact, to begin to forge her professional practice, a fact reflected in her OSA membership and increased frequency of exhibiting in the years 1900 to 1910.³⁰

William Brymner was a popular teacher at the Art Association of Montreal School and between 1886 and 1921, when he retired, he was known for the mentorship and serious regard he had for his female pupils. He mentored the education and early careers of a number of women artists including Alberta Cleland (1879-1919) who later acquired a teaching position at the AAM School, Helen McNicoll, Emily Coonan, Mabel Lockerby, and Henrietta Mabel May, to name only a few. Living in blue-collar Pointe-Ste. Charles, Montreal, and from a working-class family background, Henrietta Mabel May was awarded several scholarships at the AAM School and the Jessie Dow prize, all of which assisted her to continue her studies at the school between the years 1909 and 1912. Encouraged by Brymner, May and Coonan went to Paris to study in 1912.³¹

Today the Toronto artist Henrietta Vickers is little known for her membership in the WAAC or for her painting and sculpture exhibited with the OSA and at other venues, but she is recognized as the model for several portraits of her by her teacher, a well known Canadian artist.³² In Toronto during the 1890s Henrietta "Hettie" Vickers had a studio in the Arcade Building next to that of painter George Reid. The young artist, who turned twenty in 1890, was taking a private course of advanced work with Reid after having completed studies at Toronto's OSA school. Reid painted Vickers' portrait at least twice during the 1890s.

In his portrait of Vickers exhibited by the artist as '*A Canadian Girl*' (c1894)³³ Reid depicted a young woman seated in repose. (Fig. 4-3) Although wearing a veil, her gaze is direct and intimate with the artist/viewer, who seems to be seated at a level below that of the model. Sheathed in highlighted black leather gloves her hands distract the viewer from the focal point of her face. Her right hand, closest to the viewer, fingers the fur boa in her lap. Her left hand is raised to stroke the softness of the fur stole on her shoulder. In the portrait of Henrietta Vickers, her pose and costume, glance and gesture, likely assumed under the direction of her teacher, combine to create a sensual current directed at the viewer/portraitist.

While personal relationships between teachers and students were frowned upon, the mentoring interest sometimes evolved into more than romantic attraction or sexual interest, with a few from the study group marrying their teachers. Marriage to one's fellow artist or art teacher seemed to promise a woman the greatest chance for the successful-continuation of her career....but did it? Elizabeth Beech met Farquhar McGillivray Knowles at the OSA School in Toronto where he was one of her teachers. In 1886 Elizabeth turned twenty and was unmarried, while Knowles was twenty-seven years of age and married to Ada Cullen. Gossip about Knowles and Beech was rife in the small art community. (Fig. 5-4) Melvin "M.O." Hammond (1876-1934) recorded in his diary a rumor that he heard from another artist that when Elizabeth Beech became Farquhar Knowles' student "he took a great fancy to her and neglected his wife."³⁴ Beech and Knowles married in about 1890, after the death of his first wife from tuberculosis.³⁵

At the time, Elizabeth McGillivray Knowles' career had not had time to develop and it might be argued that she had not completed her art education. Certainly unlike many

of her women colleagues she had not studied abroad, a fact that may have influenced the slow pace of her early career. There was a glaring professional inequity between Elizabeth and her husband for the first ten years of their marriage, as she worked in her husband's shadow. When interviewed in 1927 Elizabeth McGillivray Knowles commented how during the early years of the century she and her husband acted as, "host and hostess [and opened their house for] their "Saturdays" during the winter, [providing] hours of enjoyment and artistic pleasure to their friends," who included numerous Canadian writers, musicians, and artists."³⁶ (Figs. 5-5 and 5-6) She recalled how in the early days of their marriage her husband was the teacher and she continued in the role of student while running the house. The respective social expectations of that relationship are reflected in her comment that, "We entertained our Toronto friends a great deal and that took time and thought and energy from my work."³⁷ Clearly, the married woman assumed a subordinate position, expected to set aside her professional aspirations to support her husband's career and social life.

A search of society columns from 1898, several years prior to her first professional success, shows that when the Knowles attended openings of the RCA, for example in Toronto in March 1898, he was recognized as an artist but her profession was not mentioned.³⁸ Consequently, until she won critical success, Elizabeth used her husband's cast off art materials, and eroded her own working hours by spending time catering to his needs and organizing the couple's entertaining of friends. She eventually won critical attention for her work with the landscape paintings *Nocturne* (1908), purchased by the National Gallery of Canada, and *The Dreamer* (c1909) (fig. 1-3) which was reproduced

in Canadian periodicals, inspired poetry, and was purchased by Lady Eaton of Toronto for her art collection.³⁹

A similar inequity may have occurred in the case of Edith Lalande Ravenshaw Patterson who appears to have lived in the shadow of her husband's career. English-born Edith acquired a professional level education in Paris in the mid-1890s where she had befriended Canadian women, such as Florence Carlyle, studying art abroad. She also appears to have met the professionally established and prosperous Canadian portrait painter Andrew Dickson Patterson (1854-1930) while in Paris. Immediately following her years of study in France, she abruptly married Patterson and the couple set up residence in Toronto where he continued his art practice. Edith's art activity waned, her exhibition history shows that she participated only sporadically at the RCA and AAM exhibitions. In the following years of her life in Canada she worked almost exclusively in watercolour, a medium that at the time was thought to be appropriate for "Sunday painters," and generally speaking was less valued in professional production. While she attended art exhibitions and socialized with Canadian artists she did not establish her career as professional artist to any great extent in Canada. A dramatic change came in her personal life and career in 1914. She returned to England about this time where she set up an art studio in London, and two years later she began exhibiting under her maiden name Lalande.⁴⁰

In these cases erosion appears to have occurred in the career of the young woman artist who married an older, more established artist. This may have been resolved to some extent for both women, for Elizabeth McGillivray Knowles by her obvious recognition of the damage the arrangement was doing to her career and her change in

focus, which resulted in her successful art production. Edith Patterson appears to have left the marriage and the country.

Deborah Cherry refers to “companionate” heterosexual marriages occurring between two artists, as “painting partnerships.”⁴¹ In these partnerships a couple worked together in a family business of cultural production, either of literature or art. The married couple, with the woman an active partner, worked together in a partnership that united business, paid work, and production, with home life and kinship.

In the context of this study evidence of a painting partnership that was supportive overall of the woman’s career is indicated by the evidence that there was no drop in her production after marriage. This may be seen in the careers of study group artists Elizabeth Stanhope Forbes, Mary Bell Eastlake, Gertrude Spurr, Mary Hiestler Reid, Dorothy Stevens, and Mary Wrinch: each appears to have participated in a positive painting partnership with artist husbands.

Dorothy Stevens (fig. 6-2) married artist R. de Bruno Austin when her career was well established and continued to exhibit under her maiden name. Both Elizabeth Armstrong and Mary Bell married artists, Stanhope Alexander Forbes (1857-1947), and Charles Herbert Eastlake (fl.1889-1940) respectively. The husbands in these cases were more established professionally than their new wives. After marriage Armstrong exhibited under her husband’s family name. Mary Bell and Gertrude Spurr signed their work with both maiden and married names used together, exhibiting as Mary Bell Eastlake and Gertrude Spurr Cutts.

For Gertrude Spurr and Mary Bell, marriage did not disable their careers, but mutual support and sharing of the professional limelight was not the rule equally with all artist

couples in the study group. While her career flourished Elizabeth Armstrong Forbes lived the years of her career largely in the shadow of her husband's professional fame as the founder of the Newlyn school of painting. It is not altogether clear why she abandoned her highly successful work in printmaking after marrying, but in part, her work in this medium appears to have been hampered by her move from London to live in Newlyn, Cornwall.⁴² Toronto artists Edith Ravenshaw Patterson and Andrew Dickson Patterson did not hold joint exhibitions or any joint professional activities.

The majority of painting partnerships in this study did hold joint exhibitions and taught together. Examples include Mary Hiester Reid and George Reid who together taught private students. Mary Wrinch and Mary Hiester Reid both held joint exhibitions with George Reid when they were married to him. Unable to make a living by painting alone, Mary Bell Eastlake explained in a letter home to Canada how she and her husband, Charles, designed and exhibited enamels and jewelry together in a joint venture.⁴³ These works were exhibited at the RCA in Canada in 1907 under both their names.⁴⁴

Elizabeth McGillivray Knowles and her husband Farquhar held successful joint exhibitions from the early years of the twentieth century until Elizabeth's death in 1928. Even after they moved to New York to live, both regularly returned to Ottawa and cities in the Toronto region to renew acquaintances and to sell their work in joint exhibitions. In 1923 and in November of 1924 they returned to Canada for a series of exhibitions, and the popular couple still received substantial support in Canadian publications such as the *Canadian Home Journal*.⁴⁵ "Double Treat for Lovers of Art," was the headline of a 1923 newspaper story which invited the public to meet the Knowles who were in constant attendance at the annual private exhibition of their paintings. The joint show ran at the

Patricia Assembly Hall in St. Catharines, Ontario for six days in May of that year, for which the Knowles sent out printed invitations.⁴⁶ Another of these personalized invitations survives in the NGC archives: it invites Eric Brown, the director of the National Gallery, to one of their joint exhibitions at Wilson's Art Gallery on Ottawa's Sparks Street in May of 1920.⁴⁷ A review in the *American Art News* reveals that the couple held similar private joint exhibitions in the United States, for example in April 1918 in the library of New York's Hotel Majestic.⁴⁸

More than any other art couple in the group, the Knowles appear to have developed their art personas in tandem with each other. Each retained a separate professional identity. For example, Elizabeth was well known for her paintings of trees such as *The Dreamer* (fig. 1-3), and as one interviewer noted during her lifetime she was called the "Rosa Bonheur of the barn yard" for her paintings of fowl.⁴⁹ (Fig. A-2) But the couple also had a joint identity as a married painting duo, a reputation which they appear to have actively encouraged.

Marriage and Migration

A pattern of migration linked with marriage is seen among Canadian women artists of this generation, who began their careers in Canada, studied abroad, then married and moved themselves and their art practice away from their homelands to their husband's country of origin. We have already mentioned the marriage of Elizabeth Armstrong from Chatham, Ontario to the British artist Forbes in 1889. Similarly, Mary Bell from Almonte, Ontario married Charles H. Eastlake in 1893, and lived and worked in England.

She exhibited in Canada intermittently and only reestablished her ties with her homeland when she moved back to Canada in 1939. Frances M. Jones (b.1855) from Halifax, Nova Scotia, one of the first Canadian-born women to become an Associate of the RCA in 1882, married British artist Hamlet Bannerman in 1886. All three married British artists in the years between 1886 and 1893, took up residence in Britain, and largely transferred their careers to that country.

Another related case example is that of Frances Elswood (1852-1934), born in Brockville, Ontario. After studying in Paris, where she was a fellow-student of the Russian artist Marie Bashkirtseff, she returned to Canada in the 1880s. She taught at the newly formed Ottawa Art School and executed a portrait commission for Princess Louise, who was living in Ottawa at the time as the wife of the Marquis of Lorne, then serving as the Governor General of Canada. In 1887 she was commissioned to paint the portraits of Canadian statesmen and judges such as George Airey Kirkpatrick and Sir William Buell Richards.⁵⁰ Elswood's contributions to the Canadian art world were cut short when at age thirty-six; she married William Rowley in 1888, whose family were large landowners in Cumberland and Yorkshire, and abandoned her painting career. She became the mother of several children and thereafter she lived in England.⁵¹

Doubtless, like their Canadian colleagues who married artists and remained in Canada, these women may have been attempting to ally their art careers with a life-partner who would be more sympathetic to their combining professional with married life. But for each of these women there is the added dimension of the transportation of their talent, production and potential for involvement out of the Canadian art world.

In fairness it should be mentioned that during this period Canada acquired several women artists through immigration. Mary Hiester Reid, Frances Loring and Florence Wyle moved to Canada from the United States. From Great Britain came Mary Wrinch, Gertrude Spurr, and the sisters, Berthe, Alice, and Gertrude Des Clayes. However, what was transported out of Canada with the flight of women cultural workers discussed previously? What may be lost is that their human capital is no longer invested in the country, and thus the social capital is reduced. Their talent as writers and artists, their potential for involvement in and contributions to the development of the Canadian cultural structure as teachers, exhibitors, as colleagues, as workers for the development of arts societies, and other institutions, as editors and reviewers, and so on was lost. We might safely assume that each of these roles and areas sustained loss within Canada. How much loss will remain unknown, yet it may be assumed that their presence in Canada as practicing cultural workers may have provided a much needed cultural boost as well as role models for young Canadian women who aspired to professional careers.

Many of the artists in the study group remained in or returned to Canada to succeed in their careers, for example Emily Carr, Florence Carlyle, and Emily Coonan, Laura Muntz, Sydney Strickland Tully and others. In so doing they left a powerful legacy, and in many subtle ways throughout their work life, helped to develop Canadian culture.

Postponement of Marriage

In what was perhaps a compromise or an attempt to give time to building up their careers, a number of artists in the study group, for example Gertrude Spurr, Laura Muntz, Mildred Peel, and Mary Wrinch, postponed marriage until about age fifty. Marion Nelson Hooker and Charlotte Morrell Schreiber both married when in their early forties. We have had the examples of study group artists such as Sophie Pemberton and Clara Peel who married relatively early on in their careers and gradually abandoned artistic production. The logical question to ask here is, how did those study group artists who postponed marriage until their careers matured, fare in their post-marriage professional lives?

Portraitist Mildred Margaret Peel (1856-1922), enjoyed moderate professional success working in both painting and sculpting. She studied in Paris (fig. 1-2) and on her return to Toronto she shared her studio on Church Street with her sister Clara in 1887 and 1888. (Figs. 4-1) Clara married Reuben Belden in 1889. Art columns of the time record that she was successful in obtaining a number of portrait commissions of Toronto clergymen, judges, and politicians for the Provincial Museum and the Legislative Buildings in Toronto.⁵² In 1907, at the age of fifty-one, Mildred Peel became the third wife of George William Ross, formerly in 1899 the Premier of the Province of Ontario. Lady Ross, as Peel became in 1910 when her husband was knighted, continued her career after marriage but her productivity decreased.⁵³

A similar decline occurred in the case of artist Marion Nelson Hooker after she married. On the other hand Charlotte Schreiber, Gertrude Spurr, and Mary Wrinch each

saw new life and energy enter their careers after their marriage in middle age. In another example, Laura Muntz did not cease but only slowed her production for about nine years when she was busy with her eleven step-children. Muntz gradually resumed her career in the mid-1920s.

Thus the strategy of postponing marriage until late middle age appears to have had mixed results. For several artists like Spurr, Schreiber, and Wrinch it allowed time for their careers to mature. For others, like Muntz, Peel, and Hooker, their decline in productivity may be explained by new child care or social responsibilities, or a move away from the urban art centers.

Widowhood

Just as assuming a partnership or marriage could affect the course of a woman artist's career, the experience of widowhood could have an impact on her identity as a professional. By and large widowhood appears to have been a positive factor for the advancement of women's careers in the era under discussion. Women writers appear to have flourished after they were widowed, either from the incentive of having to earn their living as a writer and to support children, or from the greater self determination and financial freedom experienced by widows. While the death of a husband may or may not have provided additional financial resources, certainly women benefited from the social freedom given to widows, who had more latitude to make financial decisions than married women and to travel alone and work than their unmarried "spinster" sisters.

Historically in Canada widowhood accorded women more legal rights to participate in the world of business and commerce than were available to their married sisters.⁵⁴

American artist Susan Macdowell Eakins (1851-1938) exhibited extensively as a single woman, yet although she kept her own studio during her thirty-one years as the wife of the well-known artist Thomas Eakins (1844-1916) she exhibited only three works. As a widow she returned to her professional career with a renewed spirit, submitting nineteen paintings for one group show at the Philadelphia Art Club.⁵⁵

Widowhood also appears to have acted as a spur in the career of Philadelphia born Madge Hamilton Macbeth (1878-1965). Several years after she married Canadian engineer Charles W. Macbeth in 1901 and moved to Canada, Madge Macbeth was widowed. She chose writing as an occupation that would allow her to earn enough to support her young sons but allow her to stay at home. Like her contemporary New Women colleagues Kate Chopin and Sarah Jeanette Duncan, Macbeth addressed the concerns of contemporary women in her writing, for example women working in traditionally male occupations, and other social issues such as alcoholism. In the relative freedom of widowhood, and spurred by financial responsibilities, she was a prolific, versatile writer. She published novels, short stories, and journalistic work, including many articles on Canadian women artists.⁵⁶

After being married for about five years Alex Hamilton, the husband of aspiring artist Mary Riter Hamilton, died. Widowhood seems to have had a freeing effect on her life; almost immediately in 1896 she pursued art education abroad, traveling to Berlin where she studied with Franz Skarbina. It is possible that Hamilton inherited money upon her husband's death; at any rate she had the financial resources to follow her studies

in Germany with several years' study in Paris.⁵⁷ Early widowhood appears to have benefited Hamilton's professional career.

The desire to become a mother, especially during the late nineteenth century when motherhood was seen as the highest attainment for a woman by maternal feminists, appears to also have made its impact in the lives of the artists in the study group. In late-middle age Florence Carlyle confessed to a family member her reasons for not having married, although her fictional writing at this time, specifically her published short story, "Mary's Child," suggests that any regret she may have felt may have been chiefly centred on not having had children of her own.⁵⁸

While there may be others, as far as is known only a few artists in the study group married and bore children. Nina Owens' art career largely emerged after her children had passed infancy. Elizabeth Forbes had one son. Mary Dignam was unusual in that she pursued her career leaving her young children in the care of her husband and his unmarried sister, and Clara Louisa Peel abandoned her art career to marry and raise two children.

A form of motherhood was achieved by several other artists in the group when they married widowers with young children. Sophie Pemberton acquired four step-children when she married the Reverend Arthur Beanlands. Marion Nelson acquired six step-children upon marrying Frank Hooker and moving to the small settlement of Selkirk, Manitoba. Charlotte Schreiber's husband also had young children when she married him and moved from England to Canada. Malcolm Cutts' children were grown when he married his colleague, painter Gertrude Spurr.

Because she married her deceased sister's husband, Laura Muntz's young step-children were also her nieces and nephews. That she cared for the children was apparent from her interview in her attic studio in July 1924 when she had been the children's step-mother for almost ten years. She told journalist Irene Hare, "My hobbies are only two – painting and children. I don't know which I am fondest of."⁵⁹ Muntz's decision to take on the role of mother is an especially interesting one in that her marriage to her brother-in-law in July 1915 gave her power to effectively parent her deceased younger sister Ida's eleven children. While that may not have been the only reason for her marrying, it was an inducement to be able to care for her nieces and nephews, for if Charles Lyall had remarried elsewhere Laura may not have enjoyed that familial continuity.

A central observation here is that the majority of artists in the study chose not to bear children, one assumes, in order to practice art. Among internationally known artists who have written of their decision not to bear children are Mary Cassatt, Harriet Hosmer, and Georgia O'Keeffe.⁶⁰

So far this chapter has considered the various directions artists in the study group have taken with regard to traditional heterosexual marriages, including partnering with fellow artists and teachers, choosing to remain single, widowhood, and children. To conclude the discussion of marriage and partnerships the discussion now turns to friendship/partnerships between women.

The relationship between American Anna Elizabeth Klumpke and Rosa Bonheur is one of many well known intimate artist companion/partnerships between two women. Other examples in the field of arts from the early twentieth century include Natalie Barney and the artist Romaine Brooks; and writers Gertrude Stein and Alice B. Toklas.

In the context of the study group the artists Harriet Ford, Laura Muntz, Florence Carlyle, Helen McNicoll, Frances Loring, and Florence Wyle each formed long-term friendships with other women, some of whom were also artists. Given the lapse of over one hundred years in some cases, it is difficult to define these relationships with any precision. They were certainly long term friendships. However, in the interest of understanding the lives and work of women artists I suggest that it is important to register and contextualize all the special values of women artist partnerships, to avoid writing a definitive “narrative,” and leave the studio door open, if you will.

During a period of changing and expanding options for women in the late nineteenth century the identities of spinsterhood, celibacy, and women partnerships were largely positive ones for middle-class women.⁶¹ Certainly during this period women traveling together, living and sharing accommodations and studio space, was a perfectly respectable and accepted status and conferred many practical benefits. One of the unintended consequences of women choosing to live together was that it was one solution to the widely perceived problem of the incompatibility of conventional marriage and a professional career for women; they gained companionship and shared expenses, without the pitfalls of marriage. As Elizabeth Mulley has pointed out in her doctoral thesis on Laura Muntz, along with many professional women in the late nineteenth century, and a number of other Canadian women artists that we consider in the present thesis, artists consciously chose spinsterhood because they believed that marriage and career were incompatible.⁶² The reasons for avoiding conventional marriage, and there could be many, were often cloaked in mystery by the artists themselves. The illustrious painter Rosa Bonheur reportedly told her companion Anna Klumpke, “As in religion, art also has

its vestals.”⁶³ Klumpke included the quote in her memoirs, and in the present study I have referenced it at the beginning of this chapter because it is an interesting and enigmatic reference to why she and Rosa Bonheur both decided to forgo marriage. It implies a consecration to art that also emerges in the lives of the study group artists.

Florence Carlyle had a long-term friendship with Judith Hastings whom she had met while visiting her brother’s home in Wimbledon, England. Hastings pursued the friendship, visiting the artist in her Woodstock, Ontario, home in April 1912. The two traveled across the Canadian West by train and climbed in the Rocky Mountains with the Alpine Club that summer (fig. 4-4), a travel adventure reminiscent of that taken by the two women characters in Sara Jeanette Duncan’s *A Social Departure*. In 1914 they traveled in Europe and decided to move in together. They purchased a house in the Sussex countryside. During World War I they worked together in YMCA canteens in Abbeywood, serving meals to the munitions workers, and worked as nursing assistants in a stately home, Roehampton House in Kent, which had been turned into a convalescent hospital for soldiers who had lost limbs in the war.⁶⁴

In about 1918 Canadian painter Florence Carlyle explained to family and friends why she had not married. “I have always regarded marriage with deep reverence,” the painter is quoted as telling her long-term companion Judith Hastings (fig. 4-4) and her cousin Helene Youmans.⁶⁵ The artist continued, and quoted from Browning’s *Sonnets From the Portuguese*. “How do I love thee?That is the way I love my painting. There is no other way.”⁶⁶ Helene Youmans, who had briefly lived with and modeled for the artist in New York City before the outbreak of World War I, was her first cousin and knew her well. She had often wondered why her cousin had not married, but as she explains,

sensing the artist's reticence to discuss the topic she had never questioned her until that evening. Carlyle's answer implies that she, like many women artists of her generation, believed that she had to make a clear choice between marriage and her professional career as an artist. But, let us look deeper.

Such metaphoric peregrinations as in the above two examples conceal a great deal, yet ultimately they rely upon Romantic discourses surrounding artistic creation. The implication that these artists remained single because of their complete devotion to art invokes the Romantic paradigm of the artist-hero who sacrifices all for his art. Or in the case of the vestal reference, it implies that the woman artist engages in a spiritual journey or becomes a priestess of art. Less socially acceptable reasons for eschewing conventional marriage, such as homosexuality, are avoided in these narratives.

Youmans returns to the question of why her cousin never married again, however, this time explaining that Carlyle had had many opportunities to marry. She relates in her memoir that in 1908, at the time she had first met the artist that "[my cousin] liked men and apparently they liked her. She had many [male] friends...and at parties of any kind where men were present she always received their flattering attention."⁶⁷ Youmans' mentioning this in her memoir suggests that she was protective of her cousin, and her decision not to marry.

Judith Hastings, writing to the artist's brother in Canada in April 1918, discloses the affection she felt for Carlyle, who is the subject of the letter: "She has left the room with her [mending] under her arm looking radiant...Did she ever tell you she had had her hair bobbed? It does look so nice, very thick, she puts...a ribbon round it....Apart from...the world sorrow, we have the happiest life here together...Still I know no one else can

possibly replace her own people.”⁶⁸ They remained together, in a supportive and companionable friendship that sustained their artistic creativity until Carlyle’s death in 1923.

Laura Muntz and American artist Wilhelmina Douglas Hawley were in their early thirties and single when they met in Paris in 1892. Both women studied at the Académie Colarossi and earned their living by working at this school, Hawley by teaching watercolour painting, and Muntz by working as monitor. Muntz appears to have moved into Hawley’s apartment in the rue Notre Dame des Champs, 111, about 1895, and records show that they also were sharing living quarters in Paris in 1897 and ’98 at rue des Fourneaux, 9. A watercolor by Hawley (fig. 2-2) showing a woman reclining in a chair with her feet up, smoking a cigarette, dates from this period, and may actually depict Muntz or another friend relaxing in the couple’s studio-apartment in Paris. As will be discussed in Chapter Five, Muntz returned to Canada permanently in 1898 with Hawley and together they opened a teaching studio in Toronto. One year later when Hawley returned to Europe to live, *Saturday Night* magazine wrote that Muntz was, “minus her ‘wife,’ from whom she has separated for a season, not on the grounds which our divorce courts pronounce ‘incompatibility of temper,’ but because Miss Hawley’s Paris friends wished her with them.”⁶⁹ Despite the inferences in the September 1899 article it appears that Hawley and Muntz enjoyed a supportive friendship, and both artists later married, Hawley to a man whom she had met while on vacation in Holland.

The long friendship between Canadian Helen Galloway McNicoll and British painter Dorothea Sharp (1874-1955) likely began at St. Ives, Cornwall, where both painters were studying. McNicoll had enrolled at Julius Olsson’s School of Landscape and Sea

Painting in 1905. The two women lived together in England and traveled abroad on painting holidays together, often setting their easels up side-by-side out of doors. When in Canada McNicoll stayed at her parents' home "Braeleigh" at 2 Forden Avenue in Westmount, a prosperous suburb of Montreal. Canadian exhibition records from the time show that the British artist frequently resided with Helen at the McNicolls.⁷⁰ We can discern a professional and personal harmony to their friendship, rarely seen in the study group, living together, painting the same views, both working in similar Impressionist styles, both interested in the same subjects. In her exhibition essay on McNicoll, Natalie Luckyj seems to negate any possibility of romantic intimacy in the relationship between McNicoll and Sharp, implying that their friendship was founded largely on practical and social convenience overwhelmingly for the benefit of the hearing-disabled McNicoll. Thus Luckyj writes, "Sharp's company provided McNicoll with camaraderie, security, and saved her from what would be difficult negotiations with models."⁷¹

A clearer example is the life-long partnership between American-born Frances Loring and Florence Wyle, which began in 1907, at the Art Institute of Chicago, when they were both students. The two sculptors later shared a studio apartment in New York's Greenwich Village until about 1912 at which time Loring moved to Toronto.⁷² Wyle joined her the following year and they settled together permanently there. (Fig. 4-5) Their home-studios, first downtown on Church Street, and then in 1920 in a converted board-and-batten church on Glenrose Avenue were, like those of the McGillivray Knowles and the Reids, a center for the artistic life of the city until the late 1940s.⁷³ In 1914 Loring and Wyle were photographed together in a studio portrait (fig. 4-5) by their

good friend the photographer and filmmaker, creator of the film *Nanook of the North* (1922), Robert Flaherty.⁷⁴

Several artists produced portrait drawings and paintings of their long-term women friends. Harriet Ford drew a portrait of her long-time companion Edith Hayes entitled *Ophelia No. 2 (Miss Hayes)*.⁷⁵ The delicate drawing was executed c1891 when Ford was studying in St. Ives, Cornwall. In the late 1890s Ford moved permanently to England. Making portraits of the beloved and of themselves as a couple was one indicator of affection: Harriet Ford and Edith Hayes photographed themselves sitting together in Ford's studio-home in Bovingdon, Great Marlow, Buckinghamshire.

Marriage, for a woman artist, could support her career or halt it, could initiate changes in her practice, lessen her production or her exhibition rate. Without full *catalogues raisonnés* of these artists' work it is not possible to determine the exact influence of marital status on their professional careers with anything approaching statistical accuracy. What has emerged with some certainty is that the decision to remain single was as popular as marriage among the artists of the study group. This high percentage of women remaining single was not seen in the general population. Women artists, and other professional women, were affected by their perception that marriage would decrease their independence, yet sometimes were attracted by the socially applauded benefits of marriage including financial security, companionship, and children.

The artists of the study group did not need a statistical report to know that marriage posed a threat to their careers; they saw it happening around them to their colleagues, to aspiring artists such as Clara Peel, Cecile B. Davis, and Edith Lalonde Ravenswood Patterson. Sarah Holden's professional career had been successfully launched after

Parisian art studies, but gradually declined after her marriage. On the brink of international success Sophie Pemberton's career ended abruptly when she married. To a great extent, these examples explain why many successful women artists seldom married in their teens or early twenties. The exceptions to this rule in the study group are Elizabeth McGillivray Knowles and Mary Riter Hamilton. The former married an artist and the latter was widowed early in the marriage, both factors eventually helped to facilitate their careers. Mary Ella Dignam married at age twenty and bore several children, but she was unusual in that she apparently enjoyed much freedom within the marriage to travel and work.

In the study group those who refused the choice of conventional heterosexual marriage make up an equal number. They opted to constitute desire and pleasure around artistic production and the freedom and rewards of a self-supporting professional career, instead of children and financial security. The artists who did not marry include Sydney Strickland Tully, Caroline Farncomb, Florence Carlyle, E. May Martin, Eva Bradshaw, and Estelle Kerr.

While a large number did not marry, the artists in the study group did not entirely avoid conjugal relationships. A variety of conjugal relationships occur among the artists of the study group. These include companionship heterosexual marriages partnering with people outside the art professions, for example that of Laura Muntz and Charles Lyall; Sophie Pemberton and both her husbands, the Reverend Arthur Beanlands and Horace Deane-Drummond; Marion H. Nelson and Frank W. Hooker; Mary Ella Williams and John S. Dignam; Clara Louisa Peel and Ruben B. Belden; Mildred Peel and George W. Ross; Frances Elswood Richards and William E. Rowley; Charlotte Morrell and Weymouth G.

Schreiber; and long term friend/companion partnerships, such as that between Florence Carlyle and Judith Hastings.

The study group artists seem to have made careful choices about marriage and partnerships which, to their thinking, would facilitate the continuance of their professional practice, such as marrying an artist and establishing a painting partnership; or marrying when their careers were well established. A number of painting partnerships between artists occur in the group. These include marriages: Mary A. Bell and Charles Eastlake; George Reid and partners Mary Hiester Reid and Mary Wrinch, his first and second wives; Elizabeth and Farquhar MacGillivray Knowles; Gertrude Spurr and Malcolm Cutts; Elizabeth Armstrong and Stanhope Forbes; and Frances M. Jones and Hamlet Bannerman; and “painting friend/partnerships,” Laura Muntz and Wilhelmina Douglas Hawley; Frances Loring and Florence Wyle; Harriet Ford and Edith Hayes; and Helen McNicoll and Dorothea Sharp. Perhaps in an attempt at a compromise solution, to give time to building up their careers, a number of artists in the study group postponed marriage until their forties and fifties, with mixed results.

Notes to Chapter Four:

- ¹ Sally Ledger, *The New Woman: Fiction and Feminism at the fin de siècle* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1997), 112-114.
- ² Cherry, *Painting Women*, 33-34.
- ³ V. Walkerdine, *Democracy in the Kitchen: Regulating Mothers and Socialising Daughters* (London: Virago, 1989).
- ⁴ Simone de Beauvoir *The Second Sex* (1949; Reprinted, London: Pan, 1988).
- ⁵ Spinning houses later became houses of correction for prostitutes, *OED*.
- ⁶ Cherry, *Painting Women*, 45.
- ⁷ Ann L. Ardis, *New Woman, New Novels: Feminism and Early Modernism* (New Brunswick and London: Rutgers University Press, 1990), 83-85.
- ⁸ Eleanor Hoyt, "Women are Made Like That," *Harper's Monthly Magazine* 103 (Nov. 1901): 854-860.
- ⁹ Sara Jeanette Duncan, *A Social Departure*, 417.
- ¹⁰ In 1851 the average age of marriage in Ontario was 22.4 years; in 1891 this had reached 26.6 years. Ellen M. Thomas Gee, "Marriage in Nineteenth-Century Canada," *Canadian Review of Sociology and Anthropology* 19 (August 1982): 321.
- ¹¹ Laura Muntz quoted in a letter from her niece, Elizabeth Muntz to Marie Douglas, 14 July 1964, quoted in typescript by Margaret Fallis, ACWA.
- ¹² McLeod, *In Good Hands*, 37.
- ¹³ Jean Grant, "Studio and Gallery," *Saturday Night* 11 (5 Feb. 1898): 9.
- ¹⁴ "Art and Artists," *Saturday Night* 1 (4 February 1888): 3.
- ¹⁵ The portrait of Clara Peel Belden is dated "21 October 1890," has remained in the family.
- ¹⁶ "Davis Family History," Correspondence from Martha Millard Dasselaar to Author, February 2006.
- ¹⁷ Kristen Frederickson, "Introduction" to *Singular Women: Writing the Artist*, Kristen Frederickson and Sarah E. Webb, eds., (Los Angeles and London: University of California Press, 2003), 13.
- ¹⁸ E. McLeod, *In Good Hands*, 90.
- ¹⁹ M.E. Dignam, "Art, Handicrafts, Music and Drama," in *Women of Canada: Their Life and Work*, ed. National Council of Women of Canada, 209-39 (Ottawa: Minister of Agriculture, 1900 (NCWC reprint, 1975), 223.
- ²⁰ Dignam, "Art," in *Women of Canada*, 223.
- ²¹ Pemberton exhibited with the 91 Club in 1896 to 1898, held at Cliffords Art Gallery, London. Nicholas Tuele, *Sophia Theresa Pemberton* (Victoria: Art Gallery of Greater Victoria, 1979), 53.
- ²² *Ibid* 57.
- ²³ Linda Nochlin, "Why Have There Been No Great Women Artists?" in *Art and Sexual Politics*, edited by Thomas B. Hess and Elizabeth C. Baker (New York and London: Macmillan, 1973), 1-44.
- ²⁴ The issue of a woman artist's relationship with a more established artistic male personality is an ongoing one. See Whitney Chadwick and Isabelle de Courtivron eds., *Significant Others: Creativity and Intimate Partnership* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1993).
- ²⁵ Anne Higonnet, "Myths of Creation, Camille Claudel and Auguste Rodin," and W. Chadwick and I. de Courtivron, "Introduction," in Chadwick and de Courtivron, *Significant Others*.
- ²⁶ Anna Lea Merritt, "A Letter to Artists: Especially Women Artists," *Lippincott's Monthly Magazine* 65 (1900): 464.
- ²⁷ Marie Bashkirtseff, *Journal of Marie Bashkirtseff*, Translated by A.D. Hall (Chicago and New York: Rand, McNally & Co, 1890).
- ²⁸ Janice Helland, *Professional Women Painters in Scotland*, 69.
- ²⁹ George B. Bridgeman (1864-1943). See, Marion Nelson Hooker's address to the Selkirk Art Club, Selkirk, Manitoba in, "Canadian Artists," *Selkirk Record*, 2 Dec. 1926.
- ³⁰ Hooker's exhibition numbers at the OSA increased until two years after her marriage and move to Manitoba, at which time she stopped exhibiting with this society, OSA Exhibition Catalogues, 1904 to 1918. AGO Archives, Toronto.
- ³¹ Meadowcroft, *Painting Friends*, 39-42, 54. See also Karen Antiaki, "H. [Henrietta] Mabel May (1877-1971) The Montreal Years: 1909-1938," Master's Thesis, Concordia University, 1992, 9.

- ³² In Toronto, Hettie Vickers' father, Irish immigrant John J. Vickers, started the successful Vickers Northern Express Company.
- ³³ Reid's biographer Muriel Miller confirms that the portrait of Henrietta Vickers was exhibited by the artists at the Walker Art Gallery, Liverpool in 1910 as *A Canadian Girl*, see Muriel Miller, *George Reid, A Biography* (Toronto: Summerhill Press, 1987), 100. The painting remains in the Ontario Collection, see Fern Bayer, *The Ontario Collection*, 101.
- ³⁴ M.O. Hammond (1876-1934) is referring to a conversation he had with J.P. Haynes (sp.) at the Arts and Letters Club, Toronto, see M.O. Hammond Journal, 27 April 1920, M.O. Hammond Papers, MU 1295, AO, Toronto.
- ³⁵ "Lilias" (Niece of F. McGillivray Knowles), to M.O. Hammond, 18 April 1932. M.O. Hammond Journal, M.O. Hammond Papers, MU 1295, AO, Toronto.
- ³⁶ "In a Toronto Studio," 10, 26.
- ³⁷ "Trained as a Musician – Success at Art," *Toronto Star Weekly* (25 March 1927), np.
- ³⁸ "On Dit," *Mail and Empire* (Toronto), 4 March 1898.
- ³⁹ Katherine Hale, "Elizabeth McGillivray Knowles and Her Painted World of Beauty," *Canadian Home Journal* (January 1929), 13.
- ⁴⁰ See Evelyn de R. McMann, *Montreal Museum of Fine Arts, formerly Art Association of Montreal, Spring Exhibitions, 1880-1970* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1988), 297; see also McMann, *The Royal Canadian Academy: Exhibitions and Members, 1880-1979* (Toronto, Buffalo, London: University of Toronto Press, 1981), 319.
- ⁴¹ Cherry, *Painting Women*, 38.
- ⁴² Tovell, *A New Class of Art*, 66, and 158, note 36.
- ⁴³ Mary Bell Eastlake to Eric Brown, 3 Sept. 1934, Artist's clipping file, NGC Archives, Ottawa.
- ⁴⁴ Evelyn de R. McMann, *Royal Canadian Academy of Arts: Exhibitions and Members 1880-1979* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1981), 114.
- ⁴⁵ "A Canadian Artist," *Canadian Home Journal* (Nov. 1914): 26.
- ⁴⁶ "Double Treat for Lovers of Art Here," unidentified clipping, circa May 1923.
- ⁴⁷ McGillivray Knowles Invitation, Artist's Clipping File, NGC Archives, Ottawa.
- ⁴⁸ "Works by Mr. and Mrs. Knowles," *American Art News* (20 April 1918): 3.
- ⁴⁹ Irene B. Hare, "Close-ups of Toronto's Women Artists, No. 14 Mrs. MacGillivray Knowles," *Sunday World* (Toronto), 17 Sept. 1924.
- ⁵⁰ These paintings remain in the art collections of the Supreme Court of Canada, and the National Archives of Canada, Ottawa.
- ⁵¹ Henry Morgan, *Types of Canadian Women* (Toronto, 1903), 296.
- ⁵² "Art and Artists," *Saturday Night* (4 Feb. 1888): np. WAAC Scrapbook, WAAC Archives, Toronto.
- ⁵³ Poole, *The Art of London*, 66; see also, "Art and Artists," *Saturday Night*, 4 Feb. 1888.
- ⁵⁴ In New France in the mid-eighteenth century a widow's status gave her the legal right to carry on her husband's businesses in Quebec, running warehouses, commercial trade, and to start up a business such as potteries. Kathryn A. Young, "...sauf les perils et fortunes de la mer": Merchant Women in New France and the French Transatlantic Trade, 1713-1746," *Rethinking Canada: The Promise of Women's History*, 4th ed., Veronica Strong-Boag, ed., (Toronto: Oxford University Press, 2002), 39.
- ⁵⁵ Laura Prieto Chesterton, "A Cultural History of Professional Women Artists in the United States, 1830 to 1930," Ph.D. Diss., Brown University, 1998, 195-196.
- ⁵⁶ Macbeth's fifth novel, *Shackles* published in 1926 has recently been reissued in an edited edition. Madge Macbeth, *Shackles*, 2nd edition, (Borealis Press, Ottawa, 2007). See also, Peggy Kelly, "A Materialist Feminist Analysis of Dorothy Livesay, Madge Macbeth and the Canadian Literary Field 1920-1950," Ph.D. Diss., University of Alberta, 1999.
- ⁵⁷ R. Amos, *Mary Riter Hamilton* (Victoria: Art Gallery of Victoria, 1978), 5.
- ⁵⁸ F. Carlyle, "Mary's Child," 4, no. 47 *Time and Tide* (London, England), (28 Nov. 1923): 1177-1179.
- ⁵⁹ Irene B. Hare, "Close-ups of Toronto's Women Artists, No. 8 Laura Muntz Lyall," *Sunday World*, 13 July 1924.
- ⁶⁰ Kristine Stiles discusses this in her essay in, Kristine Stiles, "At Last! A Great Woman Artist," 213-237, in *Singular Women: Writing the Past*, edited by Kristen Frederickson and Sarah E. Webb (Berkeley, Los Angeles, London: University of California Press, 2003), 236.
- ⁶¹ Cherry, *Painting Women*, 45.

⁶² Elizabeth Mulley, "Women and Children in Context: Laura Muntz and the Representation of Maternity," Ph.D. Dissertation, McGill University, 2000, p. 87.

⁶³ Anna Elizabeth Klumpke, *Memoirs of an Artist*, ed. Lillian Whiting (Boston: Wright & Potter Printing Co., 1940), 52.

⁶⁴ Florence Carlyle to Russell Carlyle, 6 August 1920, Florence Carlyle Correspondence, Woodstock Art Gallery (WAG), Woodstock, Ontario. See also, "Roehampton House as a Hospital," *Country Life* (14 August 1915): 239-249.

⁶⁵ Helene Youmans Key, "Reminiscences of Florence Carlyle," typescript, (written c1979), p. 26, Florence Carlyle files, WAG, Woodstock, Ontario.

⁶⁶ Key, Reminiscences," 27.

⁶⁷ Key, Reminiscences," 27.

⁶⁸ Judith Hastings to Russell Carlyle, 21 April 1918, Florence Carlyle Correspondence, WAG, Woodstock, Ontario.

⁶⁹ Jean Grant, "Studio and Gallery," *Saturday Night* 12 (30 September 1899): 9.

⁷⁰ In September 1913 both Dorothea Sharp and Helen McNicoll give as their address the McNicoll family residence "Braeleigh," 2 Forden Avenue, Westmount, Montreal, when she and McNicoll exhibited at the Canadian National Exhibition art exhibition in Toronto in 1913 and 1914, CNE Exhibition Catalogues, CNE Archives, Toronto, Ontario.

⁷¹ Natalie Luckyj, *Helen McNicoll: A Canadian Impressionist* (Toronto: Art Gallery of Ontario, 1999), 44.

⁷² For more on Loring and Wyle, see Christine Boyanoski, *Loring and Wyle: Sculptors' Legacy* (Toronto: Art Gallery of Ontario, 1987); and Rebecca Sisler, *The Girls: A Biography of Frances Loring and Florence Wyle* (Toronto: Clarke, Irwin, 1972).

⁷³ The Glenrose Avenue studio was also the headquarters of the Sculptors' Society of Canada, incorporated in 1928, of which Loring and Wyle were founding members.

⁷⁴ In her recent biography on Loring and Wyle writer/journalist Elspeth Cameron speculates that Frances Loring may have had a brief affair with Flaherty, but there is little to substantiate her claim, Elspeth Cameron, *And Beauty Answers: The Life of Frances Loring and Florence Wyle*, (Toronto: Cormorant Books, 2007), 98.

⁷⁵ The drawing of Hayes was in the collection of Ford's grandniece Elizabeth Janet McArthur (d.2000). Little more is known about Edith Hayes. Jennifer C. Watson refers to Edith Hayes briefly as a painter, in her catalogue essay in, *Harriet Ford* (Hamilton, Ontario: Art Gallery of Hamilton, 2001), 32.

Chapter Five: The Studio Space

I have said that the studio must at least support itself. This makes Mame [Mary Cassatt] very uneasy.

Robert Cassatt to Alexander Cassatt, (13 Dec. 1878)

A woman must have money and a room of her own if she is to write fiction.

Virginia Woolf (1882-1941), *A Room of One's Own* (1929)

In Virginia Woolf's familiar quotation the writer has identified two criteria necessary for a woman to work as a creative artist: money and a space of her own in which to work, or, for a visual artist, a studio. The studio space was no less important to the professional practice of the woman artist in Canada thirty-odd years prior to Woolf's declaration, for here a woman artist's subjectivities were formed and production was focused. The studio was where she made her living, although as the Cassatt quotation reveals, this was often a worry to the artists involved.¹ Recent studies on gender and space help us to appreciate that, while a studio was important to both male and female artists, the studio held a unique importance for women artists during this era.

This chapter's examination of the significance of the studio space for Canadian women artists in the study group working between 1880 and 1914, introduces a focus on professional strategies and the material circumstances of women artists' lives that will continue in Chapter 6, with a discussion of art production and diversity. Subsequently the discussion will also examine exhibiting, clients, and critical reception. These activities might be termed the balance sheet of the art practice because they relate to the financial aspects of managing an art career.

Feminist historians use the term 'material circumstances' to draw attention to previously ignored material aspects of women's lives.² The studio of the woman artist is one of these material circumstances. If located in rented or purchased space outside the family home, a woman artist's studio held special significance because of women's historic lack of access to financial resources. The material circumstances of a woman's art practice also refers to the accoutrements of the studio such as furnishings, models, and materials as well as easels, canvases, paints, and frames.

The naming, retelling, and assigning of meaning in the dissertation will reintroduce the spatial experience and material circumstances into the discursive system of archival sources, language, and remembering. These aspects will form part of the analysis and historicization of the professional experience of the women in the study group.³ Recent work on the properties of space, in particular Edward W. Soja's *Post-Modern Geographies: The Assertion of Space in Critical Social Theory* has highlighted the social production of space, and addressed the question of how women as social beings, and their subjectivities as professional workers, have been shaped by spatial experience.⁴ Women's experience of spaces outside the family home appears to be more complex than previously thought. Studies of gender and space are dislodging the separate spheres ideology of the public/private split which held that in the nineteenth century, within the middle classes, the domestic was the sphere of women, while public spaces and the world of work were the sole preserve of men. Recent interest in spatiality, however, has revealed that women appear to have been active in the public spaces and life of the city. Their activity has been mapped by Lynne Walker and Deborah Cherry in their studies of British women in the late nineteenth century.⁵

In similar fashion Canadian women artists' spatial experience within geographical and urban spaces was shaped by the needs of their day-to-day art practices. The spatial habitat of the women artists in the study group was formed by their activity within and between the locations relevant to their lives. The personal studio was one of the physical spaces of importance to women artists as workers. Other locations of importance included the studios and homes of fellow artists, galleries and other exhibition venues, dealers' shops, artists' material suppliers, classrooms, teaching spaces and other places of employment, the spaces of travel, and living spaces.

The artist's studio in 1900 was a gendered place. As the accepted ideal of the professional artist was male, the artist's studio has historically existed in imagination as the private work space of a male artist. Here the mythology of the hero suffering for his creativity is played out, here he drinks with his male cronies and seduces his scantily-clad female model on a *chaise-longue*; here is a space of pleasure, work, desire, and freedom. What about the studio of the woman artist? Is the fantasy re-staged? In fact, the space of the studio is not empty for women artists; it is already filled with masculine projections, oppression, and divisions. It is already a place where according to feminist theory, women and the 'feminine' may be designated as the 'other' of man, and placed outside the norm by patriarchal stereotypes.⁶ Yet, for the artists of the study group the studio held profound possibility; it was a space of modernity that embraced their artistic ambitions. It was a space of paradox.

The studio, more than any other element, is the symbol of a professional artist. Whether in a public rented space or inside the artist's home this is the place where the

product that the artist sells in a public marketplace is created. It is where the artist receives clients.

The ability to hold onto a studio even during periods of financial strain was a point of professional pride and independence for women artists. Some women artists, like the artist designer Nina Hamnett, borrowed other people's studios to avoid the expense of renting their own.⁷ Henrietta Mabel May launched her career from her rented, independent studio at 745 St. Catherine Street West in Montreal when she returned from Europe in 1913. During the 1930s May experienced financial difficulties but made sacrifices, which included seeking alternative employment to keep this studio.⁸

The centrality of the idea of the artist's studio in the late-nineteenth century is borne out in the literary media of the time. One popular art journal of the era was *The Studio: An Illustrated Magazine of Fine and Applied Art*, published in London, England, from 1893 to 1903. This journal evidently was available in Canada since in Florence Carlyle's 1903 painting, aptly named *The Studio*, a woman holds a copy of *The Studio*. (Fig 5-1)

The late-nineteenth century Aesthetic-movement author Oscar Wilde (1854-1900), one of the most successful playwrights of Victorian London, saw the studio as a place of creation, sexual temptation, and seduction. Wilde's novel *The Picture of Dorian Gray* (1891) opens in an artist's studio where the protagonist succumbs to moral peril; it is also in the studio that the picture that leads Dorian to ruin is created.

The studio was viewed as a space for artistic and sexual freedom, including male and female homosexuality. The outside world enjoyed the risqué titillation of the forbidden life of the studio at a distance. However it appears that as long as such "decadence" was safely behind the closed doors, in the space of the male artist's bohemian studio, it was

largely tolerated by society. Society does not appear to have shown tolerance for the Bohemian life styles of women artist students in Paris in the 1890s, their “lax moral views” shocked the European and American public alike and precipitated the establishment of the American Girl’s Club in Paris in 1893.⁹

The social phenomenon of bohemianism was a creation of the early nineteenth century French Romantics, and the original Parisian model inspired bohemian communities of artists and writers throughout Europe and the United States. The term ‘Bohemian’ was popularized by Henri Murger in his novel, *Scènes de la vie de bohème*, which was translated into English in 1887 as *The Bohemians of the Latin Quarter*.¹⁰ *La vie de bohème* implied a degree of social rebellion including a rejection of sexual norms and a carefree sexual morality. By the 1890s women appear to have begun to infiltrate bohemian life in France, although Michael Wilson argues that in Montmartre the bohemian men’s discourse worked to exclude the woman artist from their ranks.¹¹

The bohemian artist’s studio with its freedom from moral concerns was not just an idea in the nineteenth century imagination; it was a reality that appears to have had significance for some women artists in the study group. About 1908 Helene Youmans, a cousin of Florence Carlyle, lived for several months with the artist in New York City and acted as her model. The life she and the artist led during this time is characterized in Youmans’ memoirs as “our Bohemian way of living.”¹² Youmans’ account relates how in the studio-space and the modern space of the metropolis she and the artist broke behavioral codes of respectable femininity, extending their urban and bodily pleasures: “...there were no rules to go by and [we ate] meals...when...hungry...Time had no meaning.”¹³ Sleeping late, eating out in the evenings, attending plays, working at odd

hours, Carlyle and her cousin viewed themselves as bohemians and New Women who, for art's sake and Carlyle's professional career, had done as feminist Bessie Rayner Parkes (1829-1925) had advised more than forty years before, and "swept[t] aside, with deliberate calmness, the petty temptations, the accumulated distractions of domestic hours."¹⁴

Ideas of seduction and the bohemian studio may relate to Florence Carlyle's painting *The Studio* which was exhibited in Ottawa at the 1903 (RCA) exhibition. (Fig. 5-1) This painting, with several of her identifiable canvases in the background and familiar props in the foreground may depict one of the artist's own studios either in Woodstock or London, Ontario, about 1903. The painting's title likely refers to the setting and to the arts journal of the same name, a copy of which is held by the figure. The studio space is depicted by the artist as the centre of a woman's professional and personal life.

Much about Carlyle's painting suggests the bohemian-type studio. As Griselda Pollock has discussed in *Differencing the Canon*, throughout the nineteenth century the image of a female figure reclining on a sofa has long had explicit sexual connotations.¹⁵ The woman in Carlyle's *The Studio* (Fig. 5-1) reclines on a low divan and although clothed from neck to foot, captures an intimate mood. The occupant of *The Studio* wears a loose fitting gown, the luminous green and blue patterned silk-like fabric of which hints at the form of the woman's limbs beneath. But our attention is diverted away from contemplation of the woman's body by the abstract expanse of the dress, which seemingly slides down and off the sofa. Indebtedness to Impressionism is seen in the loosely painted surfaces and in the luminous strokes of colour.

Carlyle conflates ideas of work and play in this depiction of the studio. Instead of a fan, or other traditional sign of femininity, the reclining woman holds an open copy of *The Studio* journal. By having the woman hold a contemporary arts journal, the artist skillfully locates the woman in a professional modern space of artistic production in the year 1903, and at the same time asserts the woman's psychological and intellectual as well as sexual presence. The scene is overlaid with an aura of seduction, suggesting that Carlyle saw the artist's studio as both a space of work and of erotic possibilities. One wonders if the sense of sexual invitation implied in the painting was as discernible to the buyer of *The Studio* since newspaper clippings of the time document that it was sold directly from its first public exhibition in April 1903.¹⁶

Another bohemian-type studio in the context of the study group artists were the various home-studios of the artists Frances Loring and Florence Wyle. The couple's relationship lasted for over five decades. Loring and Wyle moved into their first Toronto studio about 1913. Previously, from about 1909 to 1912, the couple had shared a studio in New York City's Greenwich Village, itself a flourishing American bohemian community in this era.¹⁷ (Fig. 4-5) In Toronto the two sculptors lived together in a series of home-studios, one of them a former church on Glenrose Avenue, which became a centre for the artistic community in the city.¹⁸ For Loring and Wyle their home-studio may well have been a place of sexual freedom from contemporary mores.

Bohemian identity was integrated into the new paradigm of behaviour for women emerging in the 1890s; that of the unmarried, professionally-oriented New Woman. These examples suggest that to some degree bohemianism, played out in the studio and in women artists' lives, appears to have been practiced by several of the study group artists.

In the nineteenth century visual culture became an arena where new definitions of 'modern woman' and the '*femme-artiste*' were put into play and contested. What was expressed when women took up the challenge of imaging their studios as subjects? Study group artists such as Sarah Holden painted the woman artist at work in her studio, drawing the studio space into the visual culture of the time. The title of Holden's painting *A Corner of My Studio* (1887) identifies the location as the artist's own studio, whether in Montreal, New York City or Europe. Where the artist lived is unknown. (Fig. 5-2) The painting is of a contemporary artist, presumably Holden herself, shown at work wearing a voluminous artist's smock, standing in contemplation of a painting on an easel before her. Surrounding her are sketches pinned to the wall, a towel hangs from a peg, framed paintings are hung or lean casually against the walls.

This is not an image of a decadent bohemian art studio or of a sexually liberated lifestyle. It does, however, describe a new liberated alternative for women in the 1880s. Holden had worked hard to advance in her career, from Montreal in the mid-1880s to New York's Art Student's League, overseas to Paris' Académie Julian, and eventually winning a gold medal at the Chicago World's Fair in 1893. *A Corner of My Studio* was exhibited by Holden at the RCA exhibition in 1887 and she deliberately chose to depict her studio as a space of serious work and herself as an industrious and respectable working professional.

Whereas the novelty of bohemianism appears to have asserted itself to some extent in the careers of women artists, the relationship was not identical to that of their male counterparts. The dynamics of bohemian identity were complex for women artists; in part, it was a much more uneasy relationship because women had more at risk. The

carefree morality assumed by the general male bohemian culture largely excluded all but the most ‘notorious’ women. Each woman artist in the study group intent on delineating herself as a professional would have had to define her own multi-layered identity; part modern woman, part bohemian rebel. Whether women artists chose to remain on the boundaries of bohemianism or construct their own brand of the bohemian life, this identity was expressed in part through the meanings generated by their paintings, as in Holden and Carlyle’s paintings of their studios.

Holden’s 1887 painting *A Corner of My Studio* (fig. 5-2) describes the labour taking place with the woman artist standing before her easel in her studio. Created at a time when the first wave of artists in the study group, including Holden, Muntz, and Tully, were beginning to acquire their professional art education, Holden’s painting challenges contemporary views of women as amateurs. It visualizes the woman artist as a “modern woman” engaged in the world of work. The range of meanings surrounding the studio of the woman artist is developed further by a painting produced sixteen years later by her close friend and colleague, Florence Carlyle. Carlyle’s painting *The Studio* (1903) reveals that for women the studio also offered a space for relaxation and bohemianism. (Fig. 5-1)

A discussion of the functional workings of the art studio must begin with an empirical fact: establishing a studio was expensive but it was a professional necessity – the Toronto City Directory for 1903 tells us that a number of artists including Mary Dignam, Mary Hiester Reid and Gertrude E. Spurr, were listed as professional artists and the addresses of their studios were included in the commercial section of the guide. In the making of a professional artist, whether male or female, the set-up costs alone for a

studio were a big hurdle. “I have lived by my brush...” proclaimed American figure painter Anna Lea Merritt (1844-1930) in the first line of her open letter to women aptly titled, “A Letter to Artists: Especially Women Artists” published in *Lippincott’s Monthly Magazine* in 1900. The veteran artist went on to warn women that, in her opinion, the cost of establishing a studio was more of a challenge than being able to acquire an art education.¹⁹

Merritt claimed that women aspiring to become artists frequently ignored the enormity of the economic requirement of capital, estimated by her at £ 200 sterling per annum, to establish and maintain a studio. In U.S. dollars of 1900 this would have been almost \$1000 per annum, which would convert to approximately \$20,000 U.S. in today’s currency value. Included in the running costs for the studio was the purchase of materials such as paint. In Canada, artists’ supply stores advertised in 1888 that a tube of oil paint sold for six cents each and watercolour paints were five cents a tube.²⁰ No career was viable, Merritt emphasized, without a financial commitment to the start up costs and day-to-day running costs such as these. Assuming the veracity of Merritt’s blunt advice, and given women’s historical lack of access to capital, the experience of establishing and running a studio was different for the women in the study group compared with that of their male colleagues.

City vs. Town, the ‘Independent’ vs. the ‘Home-Studio’:

While many of the study group artists chose large urban centres in which to situate their studios, there is a surprising variation in their studio types and locations. They

ranged from a room in a new multistoried urban structure, a former city church, an attic studio in a middle-class family home, to a barn in a small Ontario town. Some artists rented or purchased studio space outside the family home. For the purposes of this study this option will be called an 'independent' studio. Others set up their 'home-studios' within the boundaries of their family living spaces.

The subject matter of the production might influence a studio's location. Mary Wrinch built a studio in 1910 in the Lake of Bays area of Muskoka that she used for many summers as a base for her painting and sketching canoe trips. Wrinch was a landscape printmaker and painter who at the time she used the Muskoka studio worked in miniature and larger canvas format, sometimes painting directly *en plein air*.²¹

A studio's location might also be dictated by the nature of the client. An urban studio, convenient for receiving clients, was an asset for portrait artists. After returning from art studies in France in the company of her brother Paul Peel, sculptor Mildred Peel had established her portrait studio not in her hometown of London, Ontario, but in the larger urban centre of Toronto by 1888.²² Portraitists Sydney Strickland Tully, admired for her portraits in pastel, and Laura Muntz known especially for her child portraits, both had centrally located studios in downtown Toronto.²³ At this time their male colleagues such as portraitists E. Wyly Grier (1862-1957) and John W.L. Forster (1850-1938) were also working from portrait studios in downtown Toronto in the Imperial Bank Chambers building, and in the Manning Arcade, located at 24 King Street West, respectively. In 1904 Florence Carlyle moved her studio to New York City because of a contract she had won with the Osborne Calendar Company.

While private urban studios were convenient to fellow artists studios, clients, private galleries, art supply shops and other amenities, for domestic or financial reasons, they were difficult for women to establish and maintain. As a remedy for this fact women's art associations were sometimes able to provide an urban centre offering the advantages of shared studio space for their members. The Ladies Art Association of New York City recognized the unique advantages that a studio in central New York offered to women. In 1881 they rented out, at moderate cost, shared studio and living space in their Association building to ten women to come from across the United States to study in New York.²⁴

In the late 1880s urban Toronto women had recourse to a similar solution. In September 1887 the first independent professional organization for Canadian women, the Woman's Art Club (fig. 5-3), was formed by Mary Dignam. By 1892 this club became the Woman's Art Association of Canada (WAAC). The WAAC official history, written in 1912, relates how at this early date the club members collectively rented a large studio in the Yonge Street Arcade where they paid live models, modestly dressed, from which to work. The latter was considered "a new step in art education" for Toronto women at this time.²⁵

It was seven more years before these opportunities were available to Montreal women. In the inaugural meeting of the Montreal branch of the WAAC, in June of 1894, May Phillips and other founders spoke of their goal to "do for women artists what the 'Pen and Pencil Club' is already doing for men artists in Montreal."²⁶ What they organized subsequently in the Montreal branch were club rooms for meetings and

lectures on art, studio space for sketching classes (in which members posed as models), and space for women to work independently.

In the nineteenth century the area of central London, England, was a highly desirable area for artists. In her book, *Beyond the Frame*, Deborah Cherry has examined how London's West End with its exhibition venues, dealer's premises, and art schools, had developed a special alliance between women artists and the women's movement, with many women situating their studios within walking distance of their colleagues. Cherry has mapped how women's activities ordered the urban space of London's West End and made it a site for feminism.²⁷

Several Canadian women in the study group established short-lived studios in London, no doubt drawn by the independence of movement and other amenities offered to women artists.²⁸ Both Sydney Strickland Tully and Florence Carlyle established studios in London's Chelsea district during the mid-1890s. Chelsea was once a peaceful riverside village with views of the Thames which in the nineteenth century attracted the 'Chelsea Set' of writers and artists. A host of the famous had lived there including George Eliot, J.M.W. Turner, Dante Gabriel Rossetti, the poet A.C. Swinburne, James Abbott McNeill Whistler, and Florence Carlyle's own great-uncle Thomas Carlyle (1795-1881).²⁹

From about 1895 to 1897 Sydney Tully had a studio in Chelsea where she worked, and as family correspondence from the time suggests, had moderate success attracting students.³⁰ She shared the studio with a Canadian woman artist, referred to in later family correspondence only as "Mrs. Dean-Drummond" from Victoria, British

Columbia.³¹ Although it is not known if Tully and Carlyle knew each other during their time in London, Tully had attended the Académie Julian in Paris just prior to Carlyle. Tully appears to have had, if anything, more success than Carlyle, since she exhibited with the Royal Academy of Arts (RA) and other galleries, and was elected a member of the “91 Club” a club for women artists. Yet she ultimately returned to Canada to establish her art practice in Toronto.

Carlyle moved to London in the summer of 1895, like Tully she established herself in Chelsea. Carlyle’s studio-apartment on the King’s Road, one of the main shopping streets, was largely set up as a painter’s work space. Testifying to her serious intentions toward the business of art she named the establishment “Carlyle Studios.”³² Her time in Chelsea, while unsuccessful as a business proposition, did result in Carlyle having work exhibited with the RA. But after a year of few commissions and with dwindling resources, Carlyle yielded to the necessity of returning home to Canada in 1896.³³

Both Tully and Carlyle had attempted to establish themselves professionally in London at the beginning of their careers, with minimal success. Carlyle returned to England in 1914 but her career success continued to be in Canada. In contrast her contemporary Harriet Ford decided to divide her career between England and Canada, arguably at the height of her career. In July 1910 she was visited by George and Mary Hiester Reid in her studio-home in Bovingdon, Marlow, in Buckinghamshire, England, which she shared with companion Edith Hayes.³⁴

A number of women in the study group established solo independent studios for which they alone accepted the financial burden of renting. Many of the women artists in the study group located their studios and lived within the urban centres of Toronto or

Montreal. For them, as for their women colleagues in London, England, the practice of art demanded mobility and the urban environment afforded easy access for the woman artist to move between her rental dwelling and amenities such as suppliers, exhibitions, framers and clients' homes. The independence of movement they experienced in the urban space became integral to the organization of their professional and social relations.

Several artists in the study group moved their studios regularly, often living abroad in a gypsy-like fashion. Henrietta Moodie Vickers (fig. 4-3) chose to live abroad for much of her professional life, although she still visited Canada and participated in Canadian exhibitions. Throughout the 1890s she shared a studio with Mary Wrinch in the Yonge Street Arcade in Toronto. In 1897 Vickers moved to France and worked from a studio in Paris. In August 1910 when Vickers visited with the Reids in Brussels, Belgium, she still maintained this Paris studio although, for a time, she made Tangiers, Morocco her home.³⁵ Florence Carlyle regularly changed studios, renting space temporarily in New York City, setting up her studio in Woodstock, Ontario, for summers, and in 1914 moving her art practice to various locations in England.

A Veritable Hotbed of Art: The Yonge Street Arcade:

During the 1890s and the beginning of the new century, it was Toronto which attracted many of the women in the study group. Toronto art columns such as those in *Saturday Night* magazine indicate that by the late 1890s the city had a congenial and growing community of artists which included many successful women. The Yonge Street Arcade, a modern building located centrally in Toronto, between Richmond and

Adelaide Streets, built in the prior decade, was a popular location for private artists' studios, and accommodated art schools. The second floor of the Yonge Street Arcade was described in the "About Town" column of December 1887 as "a veritable hotbed of art and artists." In addition to housing many artists' studios, from the mid-1880s to the early twentieth century, the Yonge Street Arcade building was a popular location for various commercial schools and businesses including a commercial art dealer's premises, "The Art Metropole," real estate and insurance offices, and political offices. Several art galleries and artist supply stores were located nearby on Yonge Street including Matthews' Art Studio which was patronized by George Reid to crate his paintings for shipment overseas.³⁶ Nearby, on King Street West, was Roberts' Art Gallery which hosted the ninth annual exhibition of the WAAC in 1897.

Located on the second floor of the Yonge Street Arcade the Associated Artists' School of Art and Design (AAS), was founded by Esther K. Westmacott in 1884.³⁷ In 1891 the Yonge Street Arcade was also the home of the Woman's Art Club founded by Mary Dignam in 1887, and later incorporated as the WAAC. In the Club's "Room N" collectively rented by and "for the use of members" they worked and held art exhibitions.³⁸

Sydney Tully returned to Toronto in the autumn of 1888 after studying in Paris and established a studio, devoted to teaching, in the Yonge Street Arcade.³⁹ Tully moved to London, England, in the mid-1890s but when she returned to Toronto in 1897 she again rented studio space in the Yonge Street Arcade and her sister, Louise, taught classes in wood carving here.⁴⁰ In later years, from about 1908 when she returned to Toronto after working intermittently in Europe, until her death in 1911, Sydney Tully worked in a

studio to which she referred in correspondence as “Argyle Studios,” located at 36 Toronto Street.⁴¹

In 1889, one year after Tully opened her first studio in the Arcade, George and Mary Hiester Reid moved their studio from King Street to the Arcade where they rented combined studio and housekeeping rooms on the top floor of that building. On the roof of the Arcade Building was a two-storied tower. Soon after moving in George Reid leased the tower for use as his studio and began renovating it.⁴² The spacious tower studio was the setting for his paintings *The Story* and *Mortgaging the Homestead*. It is not known where, within the couple’s studio, Mary Hiester Reid worked on her still-life paintings. Contemporary accounts suggest that the majority of the studio was taken up by her husband. His monumental genre paintings demanded a large area in which to stage the straw-filled loft and ‘council chambers’ scenes, but in December 1898 she advertised an exhibition of her paintings “on view in her studio, Room V, Yonge Street Arcade,”⁴³ with the wording suggesting that she may have had a specifically designated work-space within the couples’ shared living-working quarters.

In 1898 Laura Muntz also had a studio in the Arcade. The popularity of the Yonge Street Arcade endured into the first decade of the new century when a younger generation of women artists also leased studio space here, including the young Henrietta Mary Shore who worked in “Room U” of the building in the years around 1910 prior to moving to California in 1913. Printmaker Estelle Kerr had a studio in the Yonge Street Arcade in 1912.⁴⁴ Male colleagues William Cruikshank rented “Room T”; André Lapine, C. M. Manly, and Robert Holmes also had studios there about 1910.⁴⁵

In her Ph.D. dissertation on women artists in the United States, Laura Prieto Chesterton comments that one of the difficulties women encountered in the 1860s was that leasing and working in a studio outside the home jeopardized her propriety, especially if it did not have other women occupants.⁴⁶ A studio building was considered even more problematic for women artists than having a completely separate studio. American sculptor Anne Whitney was advised not to “take a room in the Studio Building but be independent...free from notoriety.”⁴⁷ The artists in the present study do not seem to have had a similar problem in the Arcade Building. By the 1890s the increasing numbers of women artists, and the presence of many women residents in the Arcade, seems to have countered any notorious connotations that working in this particular custom-designed studio building may have carried for study group artists.

The clustering of a number of artists in the city of Toronto meant that artists could co-ordinate studio activities together to attract the public, and women artists participated in these open-studio days. Throughout the winter of 1898-99 many Toronto artists opened their studios to the public on the first Saturday of the month. Gertrude E. Spurr, known for her landscapes and recently returned from studies in England, hosted an open-studio day at her Gerrard Street home during Saturday afternoons in December 1898.⁴⁸

London, Ontario painters Caroline Farncomb and Emily Gunn took contrasting approaches to establishing studios. Farncomb decided to establish her studio in the smaller urban centre, while Gunn moved to Toronto in 1893 and worked from her studio here for four years.

Laura Muntz, upon returning from art studies in London, England in 1888, opened her independent studio “[on the floor] above Thompson’s Art Store in Hamilton, Ontario,

a city where she had lived and received her early art instruction. In this studio overlooking Gore Park in the centre of Hamilton, she received portrait clients, worked, and gave private lessons to pupils.⁴⁹ Thereafter Muntz seems to have preferred an even more cosmopolitan setting for her art studios; in downtown Toronto around 1900; after 1906 in Montreal's Beaver Hall Square; and at 24 Bernard Avenue, Toronto. Her colleague, Henrietta Mabel May established her independent studio in Montreal at 745 St Catherine Street West in 1912.⁵⁰

By far the most prevalent arrangement for the artists in the study group was that two women artists would share an independent studio and thus split the costs of renting workspace. Besides the economic benefits, an important aspect for the large number of women who shared studios in the study group was that it intensified the camaraderie they shared with women artists. This may be seen as an extension of the institutional cloistering of women in the classroom at art school, of sharing exhibition venues, some exclusively female, and of sharing accommodations when studying abroad. The shared studio workspace, in this context, thus overlapped both private and public spheres.

The decision to form an art alliance and share working space was often most successfully predicated on commonality and friendship. Wilhelmina Hawley shared a Toronto studio with Laura Muntz;⁵¹ and when Hawley subsequently married, an entry in the OSA exhibition catalogue of February 1902 tells us that Muntz resolutely kept the Arcade studio as her own.⁵² After sharing a studio with Henrietta Vickers in the Yonge Street Arcade, in 1897 Mary Wrinch moved her studio out of the Arcade Building altogether and shared work space with painter Clara Hagarty.⁵³ Artists working in similar media sometimes shared studios. Two printmakers who both included commercial art

commissions in their art practices, Estelle Kerr and Dorothy Stevens, shared a studio on Bay Street in Toronto in 1913, where in April of that year they held a joint exhibition of their work⁵⁴

In addition, women artists discovered that an alliance with a more established artist was invaluable. For example, prior to her marriage in 1889 aspiring sculptor Clara Peel shared a Toronto studio with her older sister, Mildred Peel.⁵⁵ The alliance might also be with former teachers and mentors as with Mary Wrinch and Henrietta Vickers adjoining studios located beside those of their teachers George and Mary Hiester Reid in the Arcade Building.⁵⁶

While outside the time period studied here, in the 1920s the Beaver Hall Group in Montreal included three women from the study group: Henrietta Mabel May, Jeanne de Crèvecoeur, and Emily Coonan. The Beaver Hall Group was an informally organized group of men and women who shared studio space and held exhibitions at 305 Beaver Hall Hill.⁵⁷

Other women in the study group acquired commercial art clients which required them to move their studios to large cities in the United States. Florence Carlyle moved to New York City when she won the contract to work for the Osborne Company producing calendar art. She needed to be near the offices of commercial clients whose representatives had to visit her studio to choose from sketches of the proposed work. She rented a studio-apartment 'sight unseen' at 32 West 24th Street in what had once been a large old home, where she could work and live. The rooms were up two flights of stairs and consisted of one enormous room with a chesterfield bed, an adjoining bathroom and small alcove kitchenette. Her cousin Helene Youmans lived in New York City with the

artist and modeled for six commissioned Osborne paintings. Youmans' memoir is a rich source of details of Carlyle's studio practices and life in New York at this time.⁵⁸

Carlyle worked long hours at the commissioned work often setting up two easels and working on two pictures at the same time, switching from one to the other when work stalled. Access to a studio in central New York City was invaluable for the development of Carlyle's subjectivity as a professional artist. Her studio was not simply a work space; it helped to form her ideas of herself as an independent, urban New Woman who enjoyed the freedom of the city whatever the time of day. During time off from work the artist loved to walk, visit art galleries and antique shops, or window shop. In the evenings, as Youmans' journal relates, the artist was often too weary to go out but sometimes the two women attended plays.⁵⁹

Carlyle's lucrative commercial work in New York City helped to support her more traditional painting practice. But in the uncertain world of art the urban studio did not always deliver a steady income for an artist. Mary Riter Hamilton experienced financial difficulty following her work in France on the battlefield commissions and ultimately, in the 1930s, she lived in poverty. In her Winnipeg home-studio she lived frugally and taught in her studio space, eking out a meagre living.⁶⁰

The "Home-studio:"

For women artists in the late nineteenth century the issue of where one established a studio was especially meaningful. The home and domestic space was a profoundly gendered space loaded with significance for women. Specific problems for women

artists were posed by the 'home-studio,' one located within the family home, which did not apply to their male colleagues. While it cost less to run because the space did not have to be rented, its proximity to domestic duties made it less of an oasis and easy for the artist to be distracted by other responsibilities. This was not a positive thing for a woman's professional career. The home was rife with domestic duties, housework, and child care, which too often fell to the woman of the household and this sometimes became problematic for her work as an artist. Her art production and professional life were superseded by, or perceived to be superseded by, her traditional role as house-wife and mother.

As Janice Helland has observed in her study of nineteenth century Scottish women artists, the work and labour involved in a woman's art practice was at risk of being made invisible.⁶¹ While the lived definitions of domesticity varied widely among the women in the study group, in the examples that follow, some experienced a dislocation between domestic calls and the activities of the professional artist managing a career. The middle-class woman artist who established her studio workspace within her family home was at risk of making her professionalism invisible or minimizing it. To locate a studio in the family home was to introduce a competing role to the domestic space which placed home-working, historically defined as women's work, in competition with her professional, public-focused work. For women the home space was too loaded with cultural expectations to easily allow a professional role to flourish

The rivalry between home-work and professional work occurred even when the woman artist was unmarried and living in the family home as a daughter of the house. The painter Berthe Morisot shared a studio with her sister Edma specially built in the

garden of the family home where they could withdraw but not find independence from family obligations.⁶²

Similarly, as young women living in the luxurious family home at 176 Roxborough Avenue, in Toronto's wealthy Rosedale district, Sydney and Louise Tully at one time shared a studio on the top floor with a view of the Rosedale ravine.⁶³ The two sisters later found independence from the family home in rented studios in Toronto and London, England. Estelle Kerr also benefited from family financial resources. Her father George Kerr built her a new studio flat over the garage of the family home on Spadina Road, in Toronto.⁶⁴

Several women in the study group, at varying times in their careers, shared studios with their artist-husbands. For women artists this arrangement appears to have been a complicated space in which to work. The studio that they shared with artist-husbands appears to have been further complicated by ideologies of the family which worked to minimize their labour and hence their professionalism.

Mary Hiester Reid shared studio-space, frequently home-studio space, with her artist husband George A. Reid from 1885 until her death in 1921. Unlike her contemporary, Elizabeth McGillivray Knowles, she is not known to have published disparaging remarks about this arrangement. There were similarities between the two artist-couples; both childless, both couples frequently entertained and had joint studios which were a focus for the Toronto art community at the turn of the century. There is no way of knowing if Mary Hiester Reid, seemingly more circumspect than Elizabeth, privately held similar views on the drawbacks of the home-studio.⁶⁵

A variation on the shared studio was that of the separate yet adjoining two-storied “twin studio-houses” of George Reid and painter Mary Wrinch, whom he married after the death of Mary Hiester Reid. Wrinch and Reid’s “twin studio-houses” structure comprised two studios with an adjoining section and garage. It was designed and built by Reid for himself and his second wife and was completed about 1925.⁶⁶ But bearing in mind that she was around age fifty and with a mature art practice underway when she married Reid, it is interesting to speculate that this solution could have been an attempt to accommodate Wrinch’s need for a private studio. Whether or not it afforded the true privacy of an ‘independent’ work space for Wrinch is unknown but, in this author’s opinion, unlikely, for there is something about Reid’s design with its “long, two-storied” structure built by him to join the twin studios that suggests too free accessibility by a husband long accustomed to domestic ties.

In the early 1890s when they were first married (fig. 5-4), as Elizabeth McGillivray Knowles related in an interview, she spent much of her time taking care of her artist-husband, Farquhar McGillivray Knowles, leaving him free to work, “I married him when I was twenty-four, and I soon learned that a woman – artist or not - can’t get away from the business of being a woman! I spent practically all my time making him comfortable, darning his socks, cooking his meals.... [This] left me little time for painting.”⁶⁷ Journalist Katherine Hale who had access to the private letters of Elizabeth Knowles, wrote in 1929 that when the artist and her husband returned to Toronto in the late 1890s after living in Europe, they found that the city had a serious lack of “studio life.” In response, the artist couple established a home-studio that was welcoming to artists, writers and musicians, described as a beautiful studio, a workshop and residence; it “was

open house on Saturday evenings, not only to their personal friends but to any student or lover of art who cared to knock at [their] door.”⁶⁸ The joint home-studio they shared was called simply “The Studio” by the art community. (Fig. 5-6) It was located at 340 Bloor Street West, Toronto to the rear of Westbourne School, a private ladies’ college.

In an interview Knowles complained that because she was a woman the work involved in holding these frequent open-house evenings often fell to her and took time, thought, and energy away from her painting.⁶⁹ Elizabeth threw herself into the organization of the evenings, the guest list was extensive and food was served, and she dressed in fancy dress costumes (Fig. 5-5), or wore an elegant black gown and had her “raven-black” hair dressed simply. (Fig. 5-4) The words “enchantment” and “very beautiful,” were used to describe her.⁷⁰

An anonymous description by someone who had attended these evenings, points out the importance of the Knowles’ studio (fig. 5-6) as a cultural centre in Toronto prior to 1916. “Every Saturday during the season was a sort of open house where a simple but charming tea was served, buffet fashion.” Musicians, singers, and writers, as well as artists attended. Performers “included Dr. Bedford Richardson, and Mrs. Ida McLean Dilworth [a fellow Heliconian Club member], Frank Blachford...The Studio was in restful shadow while the only light shone on the pages of the music. ‘The Studio’ was a thing apart.”⁷¹

So thoroughly was the studio home of this couple a focus for the cultural community of Toronto that in 1909 *The Home Journal* published an article “In A Toronto Studio” which purported by its title to have the studio as its focus.⁷² In reality the focus of the article was on Elizabeth Knowles and her work, principally her critically successful

painting of a tree entitled *The Dreamer*. (Fig. 1-3) I am struck by the caption accompanying the photograph of the studio's interior, "'The Studio,' Residence of R. McGillivray Knowles, RCA, Toronto." While the article was about Elizabeth Knowles and her paintings, the writer of the article identified the studio which she shared with her husband as his. Janice Helland's observation that the woman artist's actual labour is sometimes made invisible, is here illustrated in a Canadian context.⁷³ The language used by the writer in 1909 Toronto assigns meaning, precedence, and in point of fact the 'ownership' of the work place, to the male partner. While the article was about Elizabeth Knowles, her physical space of work and by extension the actual labour involved, has been downplayed, or hidden. It is a paradox. Yet, Elizabeth Knowles' candid revelations to a reporter in 1927 when she was sixty-one years of age, as quoted earlier, suggest self-confidence in her professional role at this time, and hint at a comfortable relationship in her marriage, which was described by their writer friend M.O. Hammond in his journal as "quite happy."⁷⁴

In addition to the care of a husband, child-care was a demand associated with the home-studio. For several years after her marriage to Frank Hooker in 1907 Marion Nelson Hooker sent work from her home-studio in Selkirk, Manitoba, to art exhibitions at Toronto's Canadian National Exhibition. Her exhibition frequency soon dropped off abruptly however, although in 1910 she was still listed as a member of the Ontario Society of Artists (OSA).⁷⁵ Since Marion Nelson Hooker lived until 1946, one may assume that the domestic responsibilities arising from marrying a widower with six children, and her move away from the metropolitan area of Toronto and St. Catharines, in

southern Ontario, resulted in her soon being drawn away from professional membership and art production.

Laura Muntz had maintained independent studios throughout her long art practice; in 1911 when the respected critic Newton MacTavish published a laudatory article about her in *The Canadian Magazine*, her studio was in Montreal. One year later, in 1912 when her sister Ida died leaving eleven children, Muntz chose to marry her deceased sister's husband to care for her sister's children.⁷⁶ She abandoned her independent studio and painted very little for several years. When she revived her career in the early 1920s Muntz opted to locate her studio in the attic of the family home at 24 Bernard Avenue in Toronto where she was interviewed by journalist Irene B. Hare in July 1924 for a series that was being published on Toronto's women artists. Muntz appears to have succeeded in re-launching her career because she took time out when she was at the pinnacle of her professional life, and her ranking as one of Canada's best painters of "mothers and little children" endured into the 1920s.⁷⁷ An article on her which appeared in the *Toronto Sunday World* about the time she resumed her career observed that the artist had gone from being a committed painter to abandoning her professional career upon marrying: "The urge of ...domestic duties," contemporary articles explained, "took so much of her time that her painting was, to a certain extent, neglected."⁷⁸ Far from being critical, I read the article as expressing admiration for Muntz's decision to put home and family first.

Yet not all the husband-wife shared home-studios seem to have compromised the woman's ability to continue her professional work. There are indications that the home-studio shared by the artists Gertrude Spurr and William Malcolm Cutts, in Toronto and

later in Port Perry, was a successful arrangement for both artists. Spurr married her colleague in 1909 when she was an established middle aged artist. Cutts' children by his first wife were grown, and he and Gertrude did not have their own children.

The burden of caring for elderly or sick family members often fell on unmarried women. After her mother died in 1911 Emma May Martin, the eldest daughter of the painter T. Mower Martin, cared for her elderly father. A 1924 article on Emma May Martin relates how she continued to exhibit paintings, although it makes reference to how her father's "increasing age necessitates...ever-increasing care on the part of [his daughter]" seems to offer recognition that her professional career had been compromised.⁷⁹ The increase in Emma May Martin's family responsibilities began to decrease her art production, and this trend continued until her father's death in 1934.

In 1911 when Florence Carlyle's own father died, she returned from New York City to the family home to care for her elderly mother. She sent word to New York City to have a number of her paintings, which she had in storage there, sent to Woodstock. She received clients in her rustic studio, a red barn, and on warm days she shared her work space with chickens entering through the barn door left ajar for ventilation. Ill-fitting windows let in rain and when winter came the sole source of heat, a "small [wood] stove alternately scorched itself into a livid red, or went dead black."⁸⁰ The distractions of domestic responsibilities made themselves felt on Carlyle's professional practice. The months following her move found her taking on more responsibility for the daily running of the household, the provisioning, and expenses. Although the artist's finances at the time were such that she could afford to pay for help in running the house, this did not free her entirely from interruption or the responsibility of managing the household. As the

artist related, the cook she hired frequently had an “irritating way of interrupting a delicate bit of [painting]... announcing that there were no potatoes for dinner or that she couldn’t wash without soap.”⁸¹

Obligations to friends increased the domestic burdens on the artist. When asked by the principal of nearby Woodstock College to board a student, the artist felt under obligation to accept. Her mother and late father, who had worked as a Provincial school inspector, had been friends of the principal. The correspondence of Frank Carson, the student-boarder from London, reveals that during his stay he was made to feel “part of the family.”⁸²

Women in the study group had vastly differing experiences of the home-studio as this examination of the varying circumstances and conditions points out. Ironically, while Laura Muntz’s and Elizabeth McGillivray Knowles’ commitment to professional work had been compromised by marital and domestic responsibilities, they had the advantage of living in urban Toronto. In comparison, Carlyle’s home-studio was less desirable because of its location in the small Ontario town of Woodstock. This contrast appears to have been apparent to the Toronto newspapers for in 1911, when Carlyle returned to care for her mother; the press had been quick to welcome Carlyle home. One journalist acutely surmised the difficulty with Carlyle’s picturesque barn studio in her question, “will the artist miss the atmosphere of art and love of art ... [after her] lengthy sojourn in New York?”⁸³

If a woman artist set up her studio within the family home it appears frequently to have threatened to undermine her professional commitment. It created a scenario where she was actually unable, whether for financial or personal reasons, to remove herself

from the domestic situation to work professionally. Whether or not locating a studio in the home was a woman's choice, such a situation may have been seen by the artist, and the outside world, as compromising any full-time professional commitment.

The Studio: More than a Space of Production

This section will examine the ways in which the artists in the study group structured the studio into a hybrid space -- public, yet private. It was not only a space in which to work, not only organized to pay its way as a space for teaching, but as a space of exhibition for their art production, as a centre for feminist activity, and sometimes as the focus for the artistic culture of the area. Ultimately many of these involved and facilitated what might be termed, in the parlance of today, "networking" functions which supported the artist's professional practice and women's cultural production.

Teaching helped the studio pay its way. In the 1890s, in London, Ontario Mademoiselle van den Broeck taught painting classes which were popular with the women students of the city, in her studio at 293 Princess Avenue.⁸⁴ Florence Carlyle taught private students in her studio in the Masonic Temple Building, which rented space to commercial clients, on Richmond Street near Dundas Street in central London, Ontario.⁸⁵ Also in London in the early twentieth century painter Eva Bradshaw taught evening classes in the art program at H.B. Beale Technical School and in addition welcomed many private students to her studio. In Toronto Laura Muntz offered classes in her Yonge Street studio which in contemporary accounts from 1898 were described as similar to the Parisian atelier system in which Muntz herself had trained.

The studio also functioned as a public art gallery for women artists' production, as with Estelle Kerr and Dorothy Stevens' joint public exhibition in April of 1913 in Toronto;⁸⁶ and the open "studio days" held by Toronto artists in 1901.⁸⁷ We can infer that in the short, dark days of January, the "studio day" gatherings, which began at two o'clock in the afternoon, would often continue until after dark. It is likely that such open house days were both business and social occasions and would perhaps end with an invitation to share supper or a glass of wine.

This chapter will now consider whether or not a woman artist's studio could become the centre of artistic life in a community, or if it could function as a centre only for women. Women's studios provided a space for them to entertain their male and female friends and colleagues freely. At home and abroad the studios of women artists frequently became places of camaraderie and mutual emotional and professional support between women artists. In November 1876 the American May Alcott wrote to her sister describing how she had attended a party in Mary Cassatt's studio in Paris, the hostess "being very lively." As they sat surrounded by Cassatt's paintings, sipping "*chocolat*" and eating "fluffy cream and chocolate, with French cakes" Alcott had observed, "She will be a first-class light as soon as her pictures get...known."⁸⁸

In September 1887 the studio of Mary Dignam became a feminist meeting room when she provided space for the founding of the first art club exclusively for women in Toronto. Her friend and colleague May Phillips held the first meeting to discuss forming a Montreal society of women artists, a branch of the Woman's Art Association of Canada. Twenty other women, including Sarah Holden and Margaret Houghton, attended the 16 April 1894 meeting at Phillips' St. Catherine Street studio.⁸⁹

As discussed previously, the home-studio of the Knowles was an important focus for the cultural community of Toronto from the 1890s to about 1916 when the couple moved to New York.”⁹⁰ As noted, Elizabeth Knowles’ contribution to the important role of this studio was considerable. In a similar example, working together as teachers, hosts of various entertainments, and holding informal open-studios for their artist friends, the home-studio of the artist couple Mary Hiester Reid and George Reid was equally as important as that of the Knowles. The Reids also opened their work-space to church-related gatherings, for example an evening reception for the “Young People’s Society of the Unitarian Church” held “at their studio” on January 22nd 1890.⁹¹ And the life-classes of the Toronto Art Students’ League were held one afternoon a week in the Reids’ studio in the Yonge Street Arcade.⁹² In the words of Marjory MacMurchy, journalist and president of the Canadian Women’s Press Club, writing in July 1910, “since [1886, the Reids] have become one of the strongest influences in the art life of Toronto. The couple’s Yonge Street Arcade studio, described as having been a “meeting-place for [Toronto] artists and their friends,” was one factor in their influence.”⁹³

As early as 1914 the home-studio of “The Girls,” Loring and Wyle, became known as a welcoming and lively centre for the city’s cultural life, as a journal article from the time described “a place where their artistic friends love to gather.” First in their large raftered attic studio on Church Street in downtown Toronto, and throughout the 1920s and 30s at their studio set up in a former church, sculptors Loring and Wyle hosted many soirées for patrons, musicians, writers, and artists.⁹⁴ Their studio, according to Christine Boyanoski, was second in importance in this respect only to the all-male bastion of the

Arts and Letters Club, founded in 1908.⁹⁵ This assertion underlines the significance of Loring and Wyle's studio as a focus for artists in Toronto.⁹⁶

Of course the practice of art as a profession demanded a studio space, whether the artist was male or female, yet a woman's experience of the studio was different. For a woman to sustain an art practice after marriage it was essential that she had some sort of work-space. Home-studios were often problematic for women; however, not all women had the freedom of choice to set up studios outside the home. While it was originally thought by this author that financial concerns would dictate whether or not a woman had an independent studio, the research indicates that among the artists in the study group this was not always the case. Marital status was an important factor. Often upon marriage the women artists in the study group tended to relinquish their independent, rented studio space and move into a home-studio as did Laura Muntz, or share a studio with her artist-husband as did Gertrude Spurr.

Whether or not locating a studio in the home was a woman's preferred choice, most women in the study group chose to locate outside the family home in independent studios at some point in their careers. Not all of these were situated in a large urban setting, but it appears that the advantages of proximity to clients, students, and the cultural amenities, made large cities such as Toronto and Montreal desirable places to have a studio.

The studios of the Knowles, the Reids, and of Loring and Wyle, as couples could not be described as private work spaces. While all studios had a public aspect to them, at least in the fact that the art produced there was then sold to the public, the studios of these couples in particular had a strong public element to them. They were used as meeting

places for many of the artists and their friends, and became centres for the artistic life of Toronto in the 1890s and early part of the twentieth century.

As well as functioning as centres of artistic life in the city, the studios of these life-partnerships were a place where each partner participated in the common middle-class practices of cementing personal interests, and this united them as active partners in the enterprise. While there is evidence, as in the testimony of Elizabeth McGillivray Knowles, that there was an unequal division of domestic responsibility early on in the marriage, and at times a husband's sales and prestige were seen to outweigh those of a wife, the studio spaces of artist couples in the study group were generally successful in sustaining the woman's art practice. In the examples under consideration the women partners appear to have contributed substantially to these joint art practices as income generators and were publicly recognized as professionals and paid workers.

However, tantalizing questions are just beginning to be answered about the differences and exchanges that took place in a shared studio partnership. In such a joint enterprise, the daily business decisions that were made sometimes appear to have involved an asymmetrical structuring of capital and space. Early on in the Knowles partnership Elizabeth, as the "lesser valued" artist, had to use her husband's cast-off paints and other materials which, as the artist relates "friend-husband had discarded."⁹⁷ Such asymmetrical divisions of capital for materials and of space in a professional practice were not experienced by those women who did not participate in an artistic partnership, but who ran their own businesses. Artists like Florence Carlyle did not share decision-making, but had the freedom to rent a spacious studio-apartment in New York "sight unseen," presumably by letter or telephone from recommendations or

advertisements. Memoirs relate how she also organized without compromise her own space and time, working at odd hours at multiple canvases on easels taking up the entire work-space, with just a simple divan bed at one end of the room where she slept.

Many women artists in the study group appear to have located their studios in urban centers in order to engage in and benefit from resources and professional activities. At this time the urban space of Toronto was a site which offered co-coordinated activities and a social network of art alliances which often revolved around the studio. The women in the study group were active participants in shaping this urban cultural environment.

By and large, the artists of the study group managed the capital commitments required for its running by making the studio a multipurpose space, as sites of production, galleries, or a consulting room where they received commercial clients, whether Laura Muntz's portraiture clients in her Hamilton studio above the art store, or Carlyle's New York calendar firm.

The studio had always been a privileged space of freedom for their male colleagues but for women to make this space their own was revolutionary, countering the traditional assumptions that artistic creativity and profession were exclusively male preserves. The artists we have examined had their subjectivities as professionals formed by and through these economic, political, and social exchanges, many of which were centred on the studio workplace. The independent studio in particular appears to have offered a space of opportunity. It was a place where a woman's professionalism and where her actual labour involved in production were recognized. Here the study group artists actively inscribed meaning on the space of the independent studio, and for these artists the studio became an urban feminist habitat, to borrow the phrase used by Deborah Cherry to

describe how British feminist artists hosted feminist gatherings.⁹⁸ The work-space/studio of these artists was where many acted out a new liberated alternative for women, for example as seen in some assuming a degree of bohemianism, traveling gypsy-like as did Henrietta Vickers to live in Morocco, Sydney Tully setting up a studio in Chelsea, Mary Wrinch returning to her Muskoka studio after sketching the wilderness from her canoe, or (as did many of her colleagues who studied in Paris) Florence Carlyle renting a small fireless studio-apartment up six flights of stairs in the Rue de Milan in Paris, where she rose early to work, her breakfast a roll from under an inverted stone crock, before traveling to her classes.⁹⁹ For some women artists such as Frances Loring, Florence Wyle, and Florence Carlyle, as for many of their male colleagues, the studio may have revealed itself as a place of creative access to freedom from contemporary mores.

The studio was where the meeting of the social and political, the subjective and the professional, was concretely articulated for the women of the study group. So far this study of the material circumstances of a woman artist's practice suggests that women lived the conditions of artistic production in a way demonstrating that they were aware of and worked with the differences: the social and institutional impediments, gender differences, and economic positions, in a way that negotiated and was mutually transformative of both the structures and themselves.

Notes to Chapter Five:

- ¹ Robert Cassatt to Alexander Cassatt, 13 Dec. 1878, see Nancy Mowll Matthews, *Mary Cassatt: A Life* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1994), 130 n. 39, 343.
- ² Krista Cowman and Louise A. Jackson, "Time," in Mary Eagleton, ed. *A Concise Companion to Feminist Theory* (Oxford: Blackwell, 2003), 43.
- ³ Joan Scott, "The Evidence of Experience", 792.
- ⁴ Edward W. Soja, *Post-Modern Geographies: The Assertion of Space in Critical Social Theory* (London: Verso, 1989), 2.
- ⁵ Lynne Walker, "Vistas of Pleasure: Women Consumers of Urban Space in the West End of London 1850-1900," in Clarissa Campbell Orr, ed. *Women in the Victorian Art World* (1995); and Cherry, *Beyond the Frame*, 6.
- ⁶ "Other," in Sarah Gamble ed., *The Routledge Critical Dictionary of Feminism and Postfeminism* (New York: Routledge, 1999), 289.
- ⁷ Elliott and Wallace, *Women Artists*, 154.
- ⁸ Karen Antaki, "H. Mabel May (1877-1971) The Montreal Years: 1909-1938" (Master's thesis, Concordia University, 1992), 103.
- ⁹ Mariea Caudill Dennison, "The American Girls' Club in Paris: The Propriety and Imprudence of Art Students, 1890-1914," *Woman's Art Journal* 26 (Spring-Summer 2005): 32-37.
- ¹⁰ Jerrold E. Seigel, *Bohemian Paris: Culture, Politics, and the Boundaries of Bourgeois Life, 1830-1930* (NY: Viking, 1986).
- ¹¹ Michael Wilson, "'Sans les femmes, qu'est-ce qui nous resterait': Gender and Transgression in Bohemian Montmartre," in J. Epstein and K. Straub, eds., *Body Guards: The Cultural Practice of Gender Ambiguity* (NY/London: Routledge, 1991), 195-222.
- ¹² Helene Youmans Key, "Reminiscences," typescript, artist files, Woodstock Art Gallery, Woodstock, Ontario.
- ¹³ Key, "Reminiscences," 11.
- ¹⁴ *The English Woman's Journal* (Sept. 1858), 4-5.
- ¹⁵ Griselda Pollock, *Differencing the Canon*, 138-142, 249.
- ¹⁶ *The Studio* sold for \$25. "Art Exhibition, Connoisseurs Select Some of the Best," unidentified clipping, p. 27, RCA clipping scrapbook, vol. 15, I 126, MG, LAC. See also, "RCA Pictures on View at Ottawa," *Saturday Night* (15 April 1903): 4.
- ¹⁷ Christine Boyanoski, *Loring and Wyle: Sculptor's Legacy* (Toronto: Art Gallery of Ontario, 1987), 9.
- ¹⁸ Rebecca Sisler, *The Girls* (Toronto, Clarke Irwin, 1972); and Natalie Luckyj, *Visions and Victories: Ten Canadian Women Artists* (London, Ont.: London Regional Art Gallery, 1983), 50-51.
- ¹⁹ Anna Lea Merritt, "A Letter to Artists: Especially Women Artists," *Lippincott's Monthly Magazine* 65 (1900): 464.
- ²⁰ Advertisement for "E.N. Hunt" artist's supply store, located at 190 Dundas Street, London, Ont. *Free Press* (London, Ont.), 31 August 1888.
- ²¹ *The Star* (Toronto), 25 January, 1913.
- ²² "The Return of Paul Peel," *The Mail* (Toronto), 16 July 1890.
- ²³ Grant, "Studio," *Saturday Night*, 15.
- ²⁴ Julie Graham, *Woman's Art Journal* 1 (Spring/Summer, 1980), 9.
- ²⁵ Women's Art Association of Canada, "Historical Sketch of the WAAC" (May 1912), 1. WAAC Archives, Toronto.
- ²⁶ Mrs. Ashley Carus-Wilson, Address reported in "The Montreal Branch of Women's Art Association Inaugural Meeting, June 6, 1894." [C11 D1 007 1894, Canadian Handicraft Guild Archives], quoted in McLeod, *In Good Hands*, p. 109, n. 2.
- ²⁷ Cherry, *Beyond the Frame*, 20-33.
- ²⁸ *Ibid.* 31-33.
- ²⁹ For a description of American painter William Merritt Chase's visit to James McNeill Whistler's Chelsea studio in 1885, see Keith L. Bryant, *William Merritt Chase: A Genteel Bohemian* (Columbia and London: University of Missouri Press, 1991), 95-98.

- ³⁰ Kivas Tully (father) to Annie Band (sister of the artist), (26 Sept. 1895), Band family papers.
- ³¹ Mrs. Dean-Drummond may in fact be Sophie Pemberton, although she did not marry Horace Dean Drummond until 1920. Mrs. Dean-Drummond is mentioned in a letter from Sydney Tully's niece, Vivian Cowan (née Tully) to Margaret Fallis, 24 June 1985, Fallis, "Sydney Strickland Tully, ARCA," note 28, ACWA, Ottawa; and, "Painters and the Public," *Mail and Empire* (Christmas 1898), 14.
- ³² Algernon Graves, *The Royal Academy of Arts: A Complete Dictionary of contributors to 1904* (London: Henry Graves, 1905), 1: 395.
- ³³ Carlyle exhibited *Out-patients*, #745 in the RCA Summer Exhibition in 1896. Algernon Graves, *The Royal Academy of Arts* (London: Henry Graves and George Bess, 1905), 395.
- ³⁴ Muriel Miller, *George Reid: A Biography* (Toronto: Summerhill Press, 1987), 102.
- ³⁵ Miller, *George Reid*, 102.
- ³⁶ Miller, *George Reid*, 57.
- ³⁷ McLeod, *In Good Hands*, 37.
- ³⁸ "Woman's Art Club, Toronto" 1891 catalogue of club rules, WAAC archives, Toronto.
- ³⁹ Mignon, "Toronto Woman who Won Fame as an Artist: Miss Sidney Strickland Tully, Portrait Painter and Landscapist." *Star Weekly* (16 Sept. 1911): 12.
- ⁴⁰ Anonymous, "Art Notes," *The Week* (January 1895); and Jean Grant, "Studio and Gallery," *Saturday Night* (10 December 1898): 15.
- ⁴¹ Artists info form, in artist's hand, artist's file, archives, NGC; see also *The Canadian Who's Who*, (London, 1910), 224.)
- ⁴² Miller, *George Reid*, 56.
- ⁴³ Grant, "Studio and Gallery," (10 December 1898): 15.
- ⁴⁴ McMann, *Royal Canadian Academy*, 220.
- ⁴⁵ Members listing, Exhibition Catalogue, *Canadian National Exhibition Dept. of Fine Arts*, Aug. 1909; and 1910.
- ⁴⁶ Chesterton, Laura R. Prieto. "A Cultural History of Professional Women Artists in the United States, 1830-1930" (Ph.D. diss., Brown University, 1998), 18-20.
- ⁴⁷ Chesterton, "At Home," 21.
- ⁴⁸ Jean Grant, "Studio and Gallery," *Saturday Night* (10 December 1898): 15.
- ⁴⁹ "Art Review," *Hamilton Spectator*, 22 March 1947.
- ⁵⁰ Antiki, "H. Mabel May," 31.
- ⁵¹ Jean Grant, "Studio and Gallery," *Saturday Night* 12, no. 46 (30 September 1899): 9.
- ⁵² Ontario Society of Artists Exhibition Catalogue, February 1902.
- ⁵³ "Close-ups of Toronto's Women Artists, #5, Miss Clara Hagarty," *Sunday World*, (c. June/July 1924).
- ⁵⁴ "Fine Exhibition by Two Artists, Miss Estelle Kerr and Miss Dorothy Stevens Show Pictures," *The Mail* (Toronto), 25 April 1913.
- ⁵⁵ Clara Peel married in 1889. "Art and Artists," *Saturday Night* (4 Feb., 1888).
- ⁵⁶ Miller, *George Reid*, 67.
- ⁵⁷ See Meadowcroft, *Painting Friends*, 15-16.
- ⁵⁸ In a 1993 interview with the author, the artist's niece, Florence Carlyle Johnston noted that Helene Youmans (d. 1981) lived with her in 1979 and wrote the manuscript at this time. Helene Youmans Key, "Reminiscences of Florence Carlyle," unpublished manuscript, written 1979, artist's file, WAG, Woodstock, Ont.
- ⁵⁹ Key, "Reminiscences," 8-10.
- ⁶⁰ Robert Amos, *Mary Riter Hamilton*, (Victoria, B.C.: Art Gallery of Greater Victoria, 1978).
- ⁶¹ Helland, *Professional Women Painters* p. 68.
- ⁶² Anne Higonnet, *Berthe Morisot* (New York, Harper, 1991), 34-35.
- ⁶³ Vivian Cowan (née Tully) to Margaret Fallis, 24 June 1985, Cowan was a niece of Tully's, cited in M. Fallis, "Sydney Strickland Tully," 16.
- ⁶⁴ Irene B. Hare, "Close-Ups of Toronto's Women Artists, #4, Miss Estelle Kerr," *Sunday World*, 10 June 1924.
- ⁶⁵ "Mary Hiester Reid: The Passing of a Canadian Artist," *Saturday Night* (15 Oct. 1921): 35.
- ⁶⁶ Miller, *George Reid*, 126.
- ⁶⁷ "Trained as Musician, Success at Art," *Star Weekly*, (25 March 1927).

- ⁶⁸ Katherine Hale, "Elizabeth McGillivray Knowles and her Painted World of Beauty," *Canadian Home Journal* (January 1929), 13.
- ⁶⁹ "Trained as a Musician, Success at Art," *Toronto Star Weekly* (25 March 1927), np.
- ⁷⁰ "The Knowles Studio," typescript, 2 pages, File: Biographies J-K, Toronto Heliconian Club Papers A. 9, F 1102-1, MU 8092, B252744, AO, Toronto.
- ⁷¹ "The Knowles Studio."
- ⁷² "In A Toronto Studio," *The Home Journal* (Dec. 1909): 10, 26.
- ⁷³ Helland, *Professional Women Painters*, 67.
- ⁷⁴ M.O. Hammond Journal, 27 April 1920 (MU 1295), AO, Toronto
- ⁷⁵ CNE Art Department exhibition catalogues for the years 1904 to 1918. CNE Archives, Toronto.
- ⁷⁶ Elizabeth Annie Beach was F. McGillivray Knowles' second wife, see Newton MacTavish, "Laura Muntz and Her Art," *The Canadian Magazine* (Sept. 1911): 419.
- ⁷⁷ Irene B. Hare, "Close-ups of Toronto's Women Artists No. 8 Laura Muntz Lyall," *Sunday World*, 13 July 1924.
- ⁷⁸ Hare, "A Painter of Mothers."
- ⁷⁹ Irene B. Hare, "Close-ups of Toronto's Women Artists No. 13 Miss E. May Martin," *Sunday World* (Toronto) 31 August 1924.
- ⁸⁰ Macbeth, "Canadian Women in the Arts," 24
- ⁸¹ Ibid.
- ⁸² Recollections of Frank Carson, London, Ontario, in, Lilian Telfer to Florence Carlyle Johnston, 24 February 1967, Florence Carlyle clipping files, WAG.
- ⁸³ "The Canadian woman who is born with a gift," unidentified newspaper clipping, c1911, artist file, E.P. Taylor Research Library & Archives, AGO, Toronto.
- ⁸⁴ Poole, *Art of London*, 73-74.
- ⁸⁵ Ibid. 70.
- ⁸⁶ "Fine Exhibition by Two Artists," *The Mail* (Toronto), 25 April 1913.
- ⁸⁷ "A Corner for Women Readers conducted by Nina Vivian, 'Studio Day,'" *Evening News*, 4 January 1901.
- ⁸⁸ May Alcott to Abigail May Alcott, Nov. 1876, in Caroline Ticknor, *May Alcott: A Memoir* (Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1928), 151.
- ⁸⁹ McLeod, *In Good Hands*, 90.
- ⁹⁰ "Brush is Laid Down by Talented Artist," *Globe* (Toronto), 5 Oct, 1928. See also, "In a Toronto Studio," *Home Journal*, (Dec 1909): 10, 26.
- ⁹¹ "Van," "Art and Artists," *Saturday Night* (25 January 1890): 6.
- ⁹² "Art Notes," *Saturday Night* (22 June 1895): 9.
- ⁹³ Marjory MacMurchy, "Representative Women: Mrs. G.A. Reid, Painter," *Globe* (Toronto), 16 July 1910.
- ⁹⁴ Loring and Wyle purchased Christ Church on Glenrose Avenue, Toronto about 1920, see Luckyj, *Visions*, 94; Estelle Kerr, "Women Sculptors in Toronto," *Saturday Night* (20 June 1914).
- ⁹⁵ Christine Boyanoski, *Loring and Wyle: Sculptor's Legacy* (1987), 26.
- ⁹⁶ Women were not admitted as members of the Arts and Letters Club until 1985. Raymond Peringer (secretary, Arts and Letters Club) to author, 15 May 1998.
- ⁹⁷ "Trained as a Musician," *Star Weekly* (Toronto), (25 March 1927).
- ⁹⁸ Cherry, *Beyond the Frame*, 24.
- ⁹⁹ Memoir by Florence Carlyle, "A Week of Student Life in Paris," originally published in the "Woman's Kingdom" column, *The Mail* (Toronto), Artist's Files, WAG, Woodstock, Ontario.

Chapter Six

“The Genre Attracts Her”: Production and Diversity

In the corner of the garden, paper lanterns glow, swinging softly in the night breeze. There, in the circle of lights, stands the daughter of the house, escaped from the merry company within, and now discovered. To carry out the spirit of the game, she snatches a big red lantern from its wire and holds it as a warning signal... Daughter of Eve, she is the incarnation of the eternal feminine.¹

Osborne Calendar Company “Title-leaf” for *The Girl with the Laughing Eyes* (1905), from a painting by Florence Carlyle.

Female entrepreneurs had a growing presence in late nineteenth century Canada as dressmakers and milliners, as teachers in their own schools, as freelance teachers of music and art, as cooks and caterers, running lodging and boarding houses. Women such as Alice Freeman, Kathleen Blake Coleman, and Sara Jeanette Duncan worked as journalists in the “Women’s Pages” of newspapers, but in addition Duncan published novels and Freeman worked as a teacher. Artists in the study group, such as Laura Muntz and Harriet Ford led paying groups of students on art tours to Europe; Sydney Tully and Florence Carlyle set up studios as portrait artists in London’s Chelsea district in the mid-1890s; later Carlyle held multiple contracts with the Osborne Calendar Company to paint pictures to exacting specifications in the United States; Frances Loring and Florence Wyle sold their sculpted and cast clock cases to the Gorham and Tiffany companies. As

these examples illustrate, the art practice of each of the women in the study group was a small business, and the artists themselves were largely self-employed entrepreneurs.

In this chapter the art production and diverse work of the women in the study group will be explored. Before doing so, however, it is necessary to consider not only the state of the archive, but how it came to be so, and the implications of this for the historical study of Canadian women artists.

When analyzing the business and production of the artists under study the researcher is faced with the problem of a lack of surviving data, both of information and artifact. Many Canadian subjects in this period, and in particular the women artists in the study group, are often poorly documented in the archive. Carole Gerson in her article “Locating Female Subjects in the Archives,” has pointed out that there is an increased difficulty when researching marginalized people, those “not of the traditional white male elite.”² In Canada, the pre-1940s archive for both men and women is fragmentary, but it is especially so for women. Complicating this, the collections relating to Canadian cultural history are only partially inventoried.

What survives? What is chosen to add to archival collections and what is chosen to be inventoried? These questions raise the possibility that the construction of an archive is not innocent. Priorities emerge when archives are put together. The archive is not a neutral site of primary research, but is influenced by specific social assumptions and these sometimes dictate the relative value of artifacts.³ Unfortunately, these priorities have often excluded women’s documents.

The assumptions that researchers bring to the archive are not neutral either. As writers, academics, or curators, we all have the ability to distort the female subject in the

archive. Helen Buss calls for recognition that what remains from the past is a fragmentation of identities, which is then bound up by us with a narrative.⁴ While this is true of all historical research(ers) to some extent, in this case in particular it may be helpful for the researcher to self-consciously recognize her own subject position, biases, and desires, as part of the archival research. It is important to remember that the way something, such as a memoir, is read, for example with a feminist or some other reading, is not embedded in the original account, but is later informed with these by us.⁵

The artists of the study group constitute a segment of the total number of women working in Canada at this time. Prior to examining their art production, their professional practice within the broader historical context of the Canadian labour force of the time must be considered. This study is concerned with the years between 1880 and 1914. While, on the whole, women constituted only a minority in the Canadian labour force, during the period Canadian women were increasingly entering the world of work outside the home. According to the Canadian census, in 1891 11% of women over the age of ten were “employed,” and this figure had risen to 13.4% in 1901. By 1911 this figure had reached a plateau of 13.2%, and thus we may assume that the greatest increase in women entering the labour force occurred during the 1890s.⁶

The practice of art as a profession, and commercial success with one’s production, appears to have been enhanced by several factors. These included geographical position, and mobility. Most successful artists in the study group traveled widely and frequently for education and work purposes, to Europe, New York City, and cities in Canada.

For the artists of the study group, specific sites of working, living, and socializing were important. For example, with regard to studio location, the urban studio was

preferred by most artists in the study group. With a history of social limitations on their freedom of movement, women saw urban mobility as especially significant. Yet, urban mobility also had financial benefits. It facilitated the routine movement between studio, clients, framers, and the studios of colleagues. In the city of Toronto it might have included the Arcade Building on Yonge Street, or visits to the important home-studios of leading artistic couples such as the McGillivray Knowles or the Reids', or to cultural associations such as the Heliconian Club.

In addition, as will be seen in the following examples, the ability to diversify one's production in response to market demands, new media, or commercial applications, all facilitated by mobility, appears to have aided in the economic viability of the study group artists generally. For example, Harriet Ford traveled to Charles Porteous' summer home on the Ile d'Orleans, near Quebec City, to paint a mural.

Urban location, mobility, and diversification assisted the study group artists' production and career; however several factors appear to have acted as impediments to career and production. For example, while women artists in this period generally found acceptability as professionals in the area of illustration, they encountered gendered restrictions on subject matter. Commercial art commissions; including newspaper, periodical, and book illustrations, calendar paintings, and other commissioned art work tended to be characterized by gendered subject matter requirements whether one was a male or a female artist. Commercial clients and publishers believed that "womanly concerns" of the domestic sphere and children, made it "natural" that women artists would depict these subjects with greater sensitivity than their male colleagues.

In the early years of the twentieth century commercial clients commissioned women artists for domestic scenes, portraits of women and children, and depictions of middle-class social life.⁷ Examples of such commissions in the study group include Estelle Kerr's cartoon, "Why Willie and Lillie Were Late," Florence Carlyle's work for the Osborne Calendar Company, and Sydney Strickland Tully's commission for a series of portraits for the CPR's Empress Hotel, in Victoria.⁸

Osborne Calendar Company records in the Smithsonian archives suggest that male colleagues working in the area of commercial art about 1900 tended to have a much broader subject matter with which to work, including landscapes, historical and contemporary urban scenes, political and military events.⁹ One interesting exception to this rule in the study group is the case of Canadian artist Ida de Kirkby Lumb (b.1878), who in 1901 worked as a staff artist for *The Winnipeg Telegram* newspaper and drew cartoons which dealt with political and contemporary news.

More common was the experience of Florence Carlyle in her work for the Osborne Calendar Company, a New York City firm which had strict guidelines regarding subject matter for the paintings they commissioned for their calendars. For example, this firm's selection of *Miss Mischief* (fig.6-1) and Carlyle's other commercially commissioned paintings including *Always Room for One More* (1908), (fig. 6-6) and her first painting used by them, *When Grandmother Was a Girl* (1903), demonstrate the company's notions regarding appropriate subject matter for women artists.

A relatively high number of women in the study group diversified their production at some point in their careers. The diversification took the form of involvement with other media, the applied and craft arts such as commercial reprographic art, jewelry, furniture,

textile arts, and a variety of creative work. Often the artists integrated these other creative enterprises into their so-called “high art” production of, for example, painting, sculpture, printmaking, and so on. For example, Estelle Kerr branched out into illustration in addition to her printmaking and painting for exhibition in more traditional venues; Florence Carlyle was involved in commercial calendar art production and stained glass window design; Mary Hiester Reid and Harriet Ford executed poster and mural designs. Others integrated journalism, fiction writing, or journal editorship into their careers in addition to their work in the traditional arts.

Some, such as Frances Loring, Florence Wyle, Winnifred Kingsford, and Emily Carr, diversified their art production early in their careers, producing small scale clock cases, candlestick holders, pottery and other commercially salable items. Others, such as Mary Bell Eastlake and Mary Hiester Reid, added jewelry and mural production to their *oeuvre* when they were well established in their careers.

As Anthea Callen has demonstrated in her article “Sexual Division of Labour in the Arts and Crafts Movement,” in the late-Victorian period in England while women worked in non-traditional applied arts and craft areas such as woodcarving, illustrating and jewelry, it was more common for men to design and women to execute their designs.¹⁰ In this way the intellectual skill deemed necessary for design was assigned to the male artist, and less valued manual skill was accorded to women artists. Interestingly, this trend in the late-Victorian period was in contradiction to an original ideal in the Arts and Crafts movement; that the artist/designer and the maker/executant was ideally the same person. As one handbook explained, “The first condition of an ideal work of art is that it should be conceived and carried out by one person.”¹¹ Some English

women artists such as May Morris, the younger daughter of William Morris, combined the roles of designer and executant, and her designs were marketed by the family business, Morris & Company.¹²

In addition to the revelation of the diversity of their artistic production, one of the extraordinary pieces of information that has come to light in this study of Canadian artists is that several of the women in the study group were involved not only in the execution of a diverse number of media and projects that were in traditionally male areas, for example, working with silver and other metals (fig. 6-5), jewelry, furniture and murals, but that most were both designer/artist and executant.

The diversification of women's art practice to include the arts and crafts may be explained in some part by the increase in availability of education for women in this field in Canada by 1900. For example, by 1901 Louise Tully, Mary Phillips, and Gustav Hahn were teaching applied arts and crafts at Toronto's OSA school, and Phillips and Hahn were also instructors at the Toronto Technical School.¹³ In 1901 applied arts and crafts education was also available in Montreal through classes at the Handicrafts Guild. And in the nation's capital, in 1900, artist Marion Living founded the short-lived First Technical School of Ottawa where she taught applied arts and crafts skills specifically geared to training students to work in manufacturing, and illustration.

Artists in the study group also began to combine their art studies in the traditional arts with some study of the applied arts and crafts, sometimes traveling abroad for this education. For example, Sophie Pemberton studied at the South Kensington School of Art, and Harriet Ford at the St. John's Wood School, in London. The arts and crafts were taught at both schools. Mabel Cawthra studied applied arts and crafts at Charles R.

Ashbee's Guild of Handicraft in England. She returned home and became the founding president of the Society of Arts and Crafts in 1902.

An explanation for the diversification evident in the production of the artists of the study group may be found in the broadening of the contemporary meaning of the term 'artist.' This point was made in 1901 by journalist Margaret Laing Fairbairn in an article published in the *Canadian Magazine*. "Artist," she wrote "has now a much wider meaning than ten years ago, when it merely stood for the painter of pictures."¹⁴ Fairbairn also pointed out that arts and crafts education in "design and various handicrafts," had been available in Canada from the late 1890s and was presently taught by Canadian artists.¹⁵ Fairbairn's claim has validity. In addition, as discussed above, the increased availability of such training, and women's ability to travel abroad may have encouraged artists to diversify.

Further explanation may lie in the influence of an impulse, beginning in the late nineteenth century, recently termed antimodernism. Lynda Jessup in *Antimodernism and Artistic Experience* explores how antimodernism emerged as a recoil from industrialization and modernism; it glorified the artisanal and pre-industrial craft and produced a broad-based interest in the handicrafts of an earlier era and the decorative art industries.¹⁶ Antimodernism held nostalgia for what was seen as a simple past, a lost paradise, and an interest in cultures which were viewed as simple and "primitive".

A number of the study group artists who incorporated work in the applied arts and crafts into their *oeuvre* appear to have been influenced by the work and philosophy of William Morris and the writings of John Ruskin concerning beauty and utility in works of art. Morris and members of his family, including his daughter May Morris, were

involved in decorative design, wallpapers, pottery, textile, furniture and mural design. The diversification of production in the study group may also be related to an ideal that was espoused by the Arts and Crafts movement, and is found in art nouveau also, of the integration of all the arts.¹⁷ The artists of the study group integrated pre-modern crafts into their diverse art production, working in fabric design, jewelry and stained glass, and their work found expression in the newer technologically linked areas of magazine illustration and poster design, calendar art, and design of household objects such as electric lamp bases. This revelation is especially significant in that, as discussed earlier, in many cases only a fraction of their art production survives.

Antimodernism also reacted to modernism's standardization of time by returning to pre-industrial time, marked by nature's seasons and cycles, and by emphasizing social and cultural practices based on the cycles of nature. Antimodern themes such as seasonal labours, idyllic pastoral life, or the four seasons are evident in the production of the study group. For example Harriet Ford's mural for Charles Porteous concerned the four seasons and the labours traditionally associated with them; Mary Hiester Reid's Weston town hall mural (fig. 6-7) was entitled *Autumn*. The nostalgic yearning for a simple past is seen in the subjects of paintings, for example in Helen McNicoll's two paintings, both entitled *The Victorian Dress* (1914), (fig. 6-8),¹⁸ and in Florence Carlyle's paintings entitled *When Grandmother Was A Girl* (c1903), and *Grandmother's Gown* (c1905); and in Frances Loring and Florence Wyle's totem-pole-inspired book ends and other small scale productions. In a similar vein, it is seen in Emily Carr's pottery and lamp bases decorated or sculpted with appropriated West Coast native art imagery.

The following sections will explore specific examples of the diversity found in the art production of the study group artists by medium and genre, beginning with illustration, an area of mass culture and production . To supplement the discussion, details of illustration work by study group artists are listed in the section “Books and Articles Authored and Illustrated by Study Group Artists,” in the bibliography.

Illustration and Calendar Commissions

Illustration was a field of opportunity for women during what has been called the “Golden Age” of illustration, between 1880 and 1914, when there was a burgeoning number of periodicals and advances in print technology. This coincides exactly with the time of the present study.

In the United States many illustration jobs for women became available beginning in the 1890s.¹⁹ In 1902 Elizabeth Shippen Green (1871-1954) was hired as the first woman staff artist for *Harper's* magazine; and also at this time Jessie Willcox Smith (1863-1935) earned a large income as a popular illustrator of children's books. Maude Bogart (1865-1940) was a successful illustrator of calendars and books with the American Frederick A. Stokes Co. in the years around 1900. Her baby son Humphrey, who would later become a well-known actor, served as her model.²⁰

Prior to this, in mid-nineteenth century Canada, artist and teacher Amelia Frances Howard-Gibbon (1826-1874) wrote and illustrated a children's alphabet book, *An Illustrated Comic Alphabet* in 1859. It is the oldest known children's picture book by a Canadian artist, and it was created while she was living in Sarnia, Ontario.²¹ Agnes

Moodie Fitzgibbon illustrated Catharine Parr Traill's book *Canadian Wild Flowers* (1868). And before marrying W.G. Schreiber and immigrating to Canada, Charlotte Morrell illustrated several books in England. These included images for a Jean Ingelow poem, and in 1871 illustrations for *The Legend of the Knight of the Red Crosse* and for Edmund Spenser's *The Faerie Queene*. She also created pictorial works for Elizabeth Barrett Browning's poem *The Rhyme of the Duchess May* published in 1874.²² In Toronto after her marriage, she completed the illustrations for three children's books.

Beginning in the 1890s increasing numbers of Canadian women artists were working in the area of illustration specifically for the mass reprographic market here and in the United States. The premier Canadian women's art club, the WAAC, promoted illustration as a potentially successful area in which Canadian women might work. In 1895 the president Mary Ella Dignam noted that the WAAC, "wishing to encourage illustration by women, edited their first illustrated catalogue [in 1891], which was a success, and started a number [of women] to work in this field."²³ Also in 1895 Mary Phillips, the vice-president of WAAC's Montreal branch, presented a lecture on illustration.

In 1904 Mary Hiester Reid, particularly known for her flower paintings, was a member of the short-lived Canadian Society of Applied Art. Nevertheless, the diversification of her art practice to include domestic furnishings, mural painting, and illustration appears to date from at least the mid-1890s. In 1895 she designed a colour poster for the *Women's Globe*, a Toronto newspaper periodical. Her design was chosen as one of a limited number of covers for the periodical, and appeared on the cover of the 18 April 1895 edition.²⁴ It depicted a woman in profile holding a globe, representing the

world, and was signed in the lower corner “M.H.R.”. (Fig. 6-9) *The Globe* reproduced it as the first in their line of coloured posters offered for sale to the public.²⁵ Her original design was exhibited in the Memorial Exhibition of her work in 1922.²⁶

One year after the publication of Reid’s cover by the *Globe*, Harriet Ford won first prize for the best poster design in the Canadian Horse Show competition.²⁷ Subsequently Ford’s colour poster, depicting a woman in a riding habit, was used to advertise the 1896 Canadian Horse Show competition.

In the winter of 1903 Florence Carlyle was attracted by an advertisement in one of the art trade magazines for artists to enter a competition offered by a New Jersey art calendar firm, the Osborne Calendar Company. The new art calendars available on the market at this time were a lucrative business that claimed to “democratize” art and bring it to the “common people.” These claims were made by the Osborne Calendar Company in their 1903 brochure, which survives in the Smithsonian archives. They wrote, “Painting was for centuries of little practical benefit...Art galleries were...to ‘common folks’ almost inaccessible. *Now*, anyone may have good pictures.”²⁸

Osborne calendars ‘framed’ the colour reproduction adjacent to the name and address of the company advertised. (Fig. 6-1) Their business advertising brochures explained how their calendars, “harnessed painting to practical work...helping ‘common folks’ to an appreciation of good art, while obtaining profitable publicity for themselves.”²⁹

Calendars were also an important and lucrative venue for artists. Calendar firm Frederick A. Stokes Co., was in 1900 one of the top companies whose “sumptuous” calendars, according to a 1904 article in the *New York Times* were illustrated with reproductions of paintings that were “well worth preserving and framing.”³⁰ In the early

years of the twentieth century the Osborne Calendar Company reproduced paintings in quality lithographs for their “fine art calendars,” and advertised their annual artist’s competitions in prestigious publications such as the *American Art Annual*, and in the exhibition catalogues of important American art societies.³¹

The 1903 competition, in which Florence Carlyle participated, was the first one offered by the Osborne Company and attracted over seven hundred paintings. Of the various categories of subject matter, she chose to enter a painting in the “figure subjects” category. She spent weeks trying to paint something but nothing came. In the end her entry was done and sent off in a rush as she neared the deadline. Yet *When Mother Was a Girl* was unanimously awarded first prize in her category. The judges had decided to give it to her, overruling some objections that it should not be given to a Canadian artist.³² Other prizes went to well known American painters such as Charles C. Curran, winner of the Carnegie Prize at the Society of American Artists the same year.³³

Carlyle’s winning calendar painting, *When Mother Was a Girl*, falls into a category of her work that is characterized by a strong narrative element; it was likely this that appealed to the calendar firm. In this and other works she clearly draws on an element of nostalgia for an earlier era, an influence of antimodernism, to enhance the romantic appeal of the work, and is concerned with the exploration of women’s domestic culture. The Osborne painting, while not extant, appears to be similar in these respects to *Grandmother’s Gown*, exhibited at the OSA in 1903, and to *The Tiff*, painted in 1902. (Fig.A-3)

Carlyle’s strategy of diversifying into commercial calendar commissions had many economic benefits. In September 1903 a reception was held at a New York City art

gallery to announce the winners. Carlyle received \$500 for her entry, and it was subsequently reproduced both on a calendar and a postcard. In addition she received a contract to paint twelve pictures a year for a salary of \$5000.³⁴

Carlyle took up this contract and renewed it in following years. By 1906 her paintings for their calendars were among the company's most successful, as attested by the company advertisements. In addition to their use as calendar art, the most popular paintings, the stars of each year's line, such as *Miss Mischief*, were offered for sale to the public as coloured reproductions "suitable for framing."³⁵ (Figs. 6-1) In 1906 *Miss Mischief* received the third largest vote for the popular prize from 40,000 calendar buyers in the U.S. and Britain.

Carlyle's inclusion of work for the Osborne Company into her broader art practice reflected the economic realities of running an art practice as an entrepreneur. Working as an illustrator in the United States in the early twentieth century could pay very well for women. For example the country's most popular children's illustrator Jessie Willcox Smith sold her illustrations in 1903 for sums of from \$125 to \$135 each. In 1910 Smith's yearly income was estimated at \$12,000.³⁶ Carlyle's work for the Osborne Company was lucrative; it augmented the profits she made from her more traditional painting sales and made it possible for her to support herself, save money, and travel abroad. In one year, 1903-4, Carlyle earned \$5,000 from one Osborne contract, and an additional \$1,000 from the sale of *The Tiff* to the Ontario Government. Her income for the following eight years, when she lived for much of the year in New York City and held similar contracts with the Osborne Company, likely remained relatively stable.³⁷

In addition to her more traditional painting production, Toronto-based artist Emily Louise Orr Elliott (1867-1952) also worked in the field of commercial art. Specializing in fashion illustration, her drawings were admired for their meticulous detail. Her illustrations of ladies fashions, particularly of hats, were published in newspaper advertisements and posters, and appeared in the early catalogues of the Robert Simpson Company which began publishing in 1896.³⁸

A younger generation of artists in the study group continued the trend of diversification into illustration. The sisters Maude (1875-1966) and Ida de Kirkby Lumb (b.1879) worked as illustrators in Manitoba. In 1902 Maude made sketches of current events for *The Winnipeg Telegram*, and was employed as a commercial artist drawing advertisements with the T. Eaton Company. Her younger sister Ida, who signed her work 'Ida de Kirkby,' was employed at *The Winnipeg Telegram* between 1901 and 1906 when in her early twenties, as a staff artist and cartoonist, and as an artist for *Martel's Weekly*.³⁹ Ida de Kirkby Lumb was one of the first Canadian women cartoonists. Her work included caricatures such as "'CPR', a strong Westerner riding across the plains," and political cartoons on, for example, Sir Wilfrid Laurier.⁴⁰ The newspaper positions of staff artist and cartoonist that she held were not commonly attained by women artists at this time, and Lumb's experience as political cartoonist is rare for a woman in Canada. Political cartooning has historically been a masculine province within art because it wielded power to ridicule political leaders and social structures.⁴¹

In Montreal Ethel Seath (1879-1963) worked as staff artist-illustrator for two Montreal newspapers, about 1895 for the *Witness*, and in 1901 she was hired by the *Star*. In 1903 she was the only woman illustrator to show her work in an exhibition organized

by the Newspaper Artists' Association at the Art Association of Montreal.⁴² Seath later illustrated a book of songs, *Chansons of Old French Canada*, which was used by the Canadian Pacific Railway Company to promote their Quebec hotels to American travelers as vacation destinations.⁴³

Seath was not the only Canadian woman artist in the years before World War I to illustrate periodicals and books. In 1912 Estelle M. Kerr was working as an illustrator for the *Canadian Magazine*. She also designed covers for *The Canadian Courier*, a magazine which began publication in 1906. The *Courier* hired other Canadian artists such as C.W. Jefferys, and Frederick S. Challener, to design its colour covers.⁴⁴ Kerr also wrote and illustrated her own serial comic strip for the *Courier*, "Why Willie and Lillie Were Late,"⁴⁵ which appeared in the magazine from about 1910 until 1912. Her interest in writing about and for children also manifested itself at this time in an illustrated children's book of rhymes *Little Sam in Vollendam: Rhymes and Pictures*, inspired by a summer she spent in Vollendam, Holland.⁴⁶ Later Kerr wrote and illustrated *The Town Crier of Gevrey*, a children's book based on her experiences as an ambulance driver in France during World War I.⁴⁷

In 1915 Dorothy Stevens (fig. 6-2) was commissioned by *Canadian Magazine* for several etchings, and was a prolific book illustrator. She illustrated the entire 1922 edition of Katharine Hale's *Cities of Romance*, (fig.6-3) a tour of cities across Canada. Marion Long (1882-1970) began her career by exhibiting a number of illustrations at the CNE in 1912.⁴⁸ In subsequent years Long illustrated a poem by Isabel Ecclestone MacKay for the *Canadian Home Journal*. (MacKay was a girlhood friend of Florence Carlyle from Woodstock, Ontario.)⁴⁹

By 1912 “illustration” had gained a new height of acceptance in Canadian art circles as a form of art. In this year the Department of Fine Arts of Toronto’s Annual Canadian National Exhibition (CNE), an important venue that was organized by the OSA, incorporated a new section “Canadian Illustrations” in the Graphic and Applied Art Department. The exhibition included work exhibited directly by artists, for example Marion Long’s *A Doorway in “The Ward”* was offered for sale at \$20. Otherwise pieces were loaned to the show by magazines such as *Canadian Courier*; *Saturday Night*; and *Canadian Magazine*.⁵⁰

Nina M. Owens (1869-1959) began her art studies at the AAM School with classmates Emily Coonan, and Mabel May when she was in her 40s. After she was widowed in 1910 she continued with her AAM classes while illustrating articles for *The Canadian Countryman* magazine in 1911 and 1912. Several years later she illustrated the cover for the book *Songs of the Grass Folk*, published in 1916.⁵¹

Textile Design

Several artists in the study group took up textile art, and in one case, worked almost exclusively in this area. While living in Paris from 1922 to 1925 Mary Riter Hamilton began painting fabric for dresses and designs on scarves. Her involvement in this work began after she had finished a series of World War I battlefield paintings and was in need of money. She was tired, with “all impulse to paint gone,” according to an article written in 1926. In Paris, the city at the heart of style in the 1920s, she turned to fabric and accessory design, which was a new medium for her.⁵² Hamilton’s design and decoration

of fabric was described as resembling batik, a wax resist process of dyeing textiles. According to the interview of the artist by journalist Madge Macbeth, Hamilton's work in this area of textile art was artistically and commercially successful. It not only supported Hamilton in France for several years, but in 1925 a scarf of her design, one of seven entries by her in the *Exposition internationale des arts décoratif et industriels modernes* held in Paris, won a gold medal.⁵³ Hamilton's work in the applied and craft arts before or after her time in Paris is unknown. We do not know if this is due to her professional choices or simply to an incomplete archive.

In the mid-1890s artist Marion Living had a conventional art production and exhibited still life and figure paintings at the AAM and RCA exhibitions to excellent reviews.⁵⁴ By the end of the decade she had diversified her practice to include the applied arts. In 1898 she founded the short-lived First Technical School of Ottawa where she taught applied arts and crafts. In addition Living designed textile work, specifically carpets, lace, and book covers. In April 1900 she exhibited twelve works in the OSA Applied Art Exhibition in Toronto under her company name, "Marion Living Designs."⁵⁵ The commercial applications of this aspect of her art practice are also indicated by the fact that while Living was the designer of the carpets on display, they were manufactured, with potential commercial mass market applications, by the Toronto Carpet Manufacturing Company.

Stained Glass Window Design

While, in general, the design and making of stained glass windows was dominated by men, by the 1890s in the British Isles this area was rapidly opening up to craftswomen. Women were not generally accepted in large commercial factories but were employed in small firms associated with the Arts and Crafts Movement. British women founded stained glass workshops. Mary Lowndes was co-founder of the firm Lowndes and Drury in 1897; Sarah Purser founded *An Tur Gloine* (The Tower of Glass) in Ireland in 1903, where Evie Hone and Wilhelmina Margaret Geddes trained.⁵⁶

In the United States artists such as Sarah Wyman Whitman established the Lily Glass Works in Boston and she became better known for her stained glass work than for her easel paintings, and American artist Violet Oakley remodeled her studio in 1908 to accommodate her new areas of work in stained glass window design and mural design.⁵⁷ Oakley's design for a stained glass window commission for the Church of the Epiphany in Boston was exhibited by the artist at the annual exhibition of the Philadelphia Academy about 1900.⁵⁸ Another American contemporary, Lydia Field Emmet, with whom Florence Carlyle exhibited in the Knoedler's 1908 exhibition in New York City, produced stained glass window designs for the firm of Tiffany & Company.⁵⁹

Like her American contemporary Violet Oakley, study group artist Florence Carlyle used rich, suffused colour in her commercial and traditional paintings. Carlyle also seems to have been attracted to creating stained glass windows, and she too presented her designs for this medium at art exhibitions. In the summer of 1906 Carlyle's painting *Summertime. Design for a Window* (1906) was shown by the artist at the CNE art show.⁶⁰

The painting was offered for sale at \$200, and its description by the artist in the exhibition catalogue specifically as a “design for a window” suggests that she was beginning to diversify into painted designs for stained glass windows. It is not surprising that Carlyle was branching out into glass design. She was already working in commercial applications for her painting, and living and working in New York City would have exposed her to possible commercial applications for her designs in the applied arts and crafts.

It is surprising that the present study did not discover more participation by Canadian women in the area of stained glass, since in the United States and Britain some of the best Arts and Crafts stained glass artists were women. Clearly more research needs to be done on Canadian women’s work in this area.

Furniture Design and Decoration

In 1900 Mary Hiester Reid exhibited a decorated mirror in the OSA Applied Art Exhibition held in Toronto. Reid’s commitment to the applied arts appears to have been of more than passing interest: she served on the committee of arrangement for this the first OSA exhibition to focus solely on the applied and decorative arts. In 1902 she was on the committee to found the Society of Arts and Crafts of Canada, their first exhibition was held in Toronto in March of 1904.⁶¹ She continued as a member of this society when it changed its name in 1905 to the Canadian Society of Applied Art.⁶² In addition, her involvement with two areas of applied art, namely poster and mural design, indicates her wholehearted acceptance of an artistically diverse, commercially involved professional

art practice for women. Little is known about the work Reid exhibited at the applied art exhibit in 1900. Based on the catalogue description one might speculate that it was a frame, decorated with carving or painting, enclosing a mirror.

An important facet of the Arts and Crafts movement, furniture decoration was an area in which many women excelled at this time. In the years around 1900 women artists such as Kate Faulkner and Helen Coombe decorated harpsichords and pianos with stain, paint, and gessoes; and Mary Andrews Crane decorated oak settles of her husband Walter's design. Contemporary publications such as *Suggestions for House Decoration in Painting, Woodwork and Furniture* published in 1876 by Agnes and Rhoda Garret, two successful English women interior designers, may have influenced Canadian artists.

Study group artist Harriet Ford's interest in domestic decoration extended from murals to furniture design. In the 1910s she was involved in designing and painting "screens." After interviewing the artist in 1914, Toronto journalist Margaret Bell wrote that "she [Ford] decided that she would set an artistic standard in house decoration" with her painted "screens" for domestic interiors.⁶³ No examples of Ford's work in this area are known to be extant.

Screens, such as the ones Ford designed, had remained a popular item of domestic furnishing since the mid-nineteenth century when Morris and Co. had incorporated painted and embroidered screens into their decorative domestic designs.⁶⁴ Examples of three and four panel folding screens designed and decorated by women like Amy Sawyer were exhibited in the Arts and Crafts Exhibition in London in 1896 and were reproduced in photographs in *Studio* magazine the same year.

Metalwork: Jewelry, Coffee Spoons, and Clock Cases

Colleagues Mary Hiester Reid and Harriet Ford introduced poster design, mural painting, and household furnishing into their art production during the mid to late 1890s. However Ford's career exhibited even greater diversity in the applied arts, for in addition she designed jewelry.

Harriet Ford began to incorporate jewelry design into her art production about 1908. She designed, crafted, exhibited and apparently saw brisk sales of her jewelry and other small metal object production. Some work in this area was described as "hand-wrought" silver, set with semi-precious stones such as malachite, turquoise, and rhodochrosite.⁶⁵ One Toronto journalist, Margaret L. Fairbairn, who visited Ford's studio in 1912, saw the artist's work table "strewn with the tools and materials for making jewelry." She identified pendants, rings, belt buckles, necklaces, pins, and earrings which, she wrote, "are all made after [Ford's] own designs, and so are the queer little coffee spoons and soup spoons with round instead of oval bowls."⁶⁶

Another Toronto artist to design and make jewelry was, Mabel Cawthra, the youngest daughter of the prominent Cawthra family. (Fig.6-4) She studied applied arts and crafts at Charles R. Ashbee's Guild of Handicraft at Chipping Camden in England from 1902-1903.⁶⁷ Ashbee, an architect, founded the Guild of Handicraft in 1888, and he established the principles of jewelry design which became the standard for artists working in the field of art jewelry.⁶⁸

Cawthra was elected the first president of the Society of Arts and Crafts of Canada (SACC), its mandate to encourage exhibition and original design work in the applied arts.

The Society held its first exhibition in April 1904 at the Galleries of the OSA on King Street in Toronto.⁶⁹ There was a wide variety of categories including mural decoration “either actual decoration or design for it,” stenciling, stained glass, work in metal including jewelry, and enameling on metal.⁷⁰ Cawthra’s jewelry designs shown at the first exhibition included a necklace, pendant, and a brooch, each incorporating enameling. Prominent male artists such as George Reid exhibited with the SACC, yet more than half of the members were women, including sculptor Winifred Kingsford, and artist Mary Wrinch. The SACC exhibition committee included Mary Hiester Reid, Henrietta Vickers, Esther K. Westmacott the former principal of the Associated Artists’ School of Art and Design, Edith Lalande Ravenshaw Patterson, and the well known arts and crafts artist Louise Beresford Tully and her sister Sidney Strickland Tully. These facts indicate to us the high number of women artists in Canada at the time who were incorporating work in the applied arts and crafts into their *oeuvre*.

A year later, in 1905, Cawthra opened a store in Toronto, W & E Thornton-Smith and Company, which sold high-end furniture, fabrics, rugs, and curtains. It was a franchise of the English interior design firm of the same name, and was inspired by the model of Morris and Company. Her company obtained several important interior design commissions in Toronto such as the Royal Alexandra Theatre, parts of Massey Hall, the Walker House Hotel located on Front Street near the old Union Station, and painted decoration for the interior of the Church of St. Simon the Apostle on Bloor Street East.⁷¹

In addition to her work as a painter Mary Bell Eastlake designed and executed a significant body of jewelry, including work in enamels. She and her husband, artist Charles H. Eastlake, both worked in this area and they sometimes exhibited metalwork

and jewelry under both their names. For example, they exhibited “art metal” boxes decorated with enamels, and panels made of metal and enamels, and jewelry under both their names at the annual RCA exhibition in Montreal in April 1907.⁷² Her jewelry is described in a contemporary review as consisting of “amethysts and opals in silver settings,” and was exhibited alongside several other works by her in “art metal and enamel.”⁷³ However her jewelry and enamel production appears to have been distinct from that of her husband. This is attested by the *Studio* magazine’s review of the arts and crafts exhibition at London’s Lyceum Club in the summer of 1905 where her jewelry work was exhibited solely under her name.⁷⁴ The following year at the RCA’s “Dominion Exhibition” in Halifax, Nova Scotia, she exhibited a “collection of enamels,” again solely under her name, in addition to several paintings.⁷⁵

Insight into the value placed on this aspect of Mary Eastlake’s art production by the artist may be found in private correspondence between Mary Eastlake and then director of the National Gallery of Canada, Eric Brown. In a letter the artist wrote to Brown in September 1934 she explained how she began designing and making jewelry and enamels through economic expediency. She continued with it for some years because, as she put it “I liked the work and generally found it immensely interesting.”⁷⁶ Thus, jewelry was a significant component in Mary Eastlake’s art production.

The materials used by Eastlake and Ford were in keeping with the new-style jewelry, inspired by the ideals of the Arts and Crafts Movement, which had gained popularity in Canada by the turn of the century. It was designed in reaction to Victorian jewelry, which was criticized for its use of gems, and its emphasis on commercial value which was deemed a vulgar display of affluence. Arts and crafts jewelry and accessories, such

as Ford's belt buckles drew on natural forms, and medieval-inspired styles. Art jewelry was often produced in silver and integrated uncut semi-precious stones such as opals, amethysts, garnets, pearls, including "blister pearls," and amber. Enameling and simple, un-faceted cabochon stone cuts were popular.⁷⁷ Without reference to extant examples, the descriptions of Eastlake's and Ford's works and materials used, such as amethysts, opals and enameling, suggest their work was in the Arts and Crafts style.

While, broadly speaking, design itself was seen as the domain of male artists, based on the numbers and successful showings, jewelry making and design was beginning to find acceptance in Canada by the early 1900s as a suitable artistic pursuit for women. In its favor, in this regard, was that the manual dexterity involved was traditionally seen as a female attribute, and it was a craft that could easily be practiced from a small workshop in the family home.

Sculptors Frances Loring and Florence Wyle diversified their high-art production to include practical domestic items. In this sense they chose not to restrict their art production to what Raymond Williams termed "emergent cultural elements" but included so-called 'popular' art, into their *oeuvre* throughout their careers.

While sharing a studio in New York City's Greenwich Village in 1910 Loring and Wyle made and sold objects such as candlestick holders, bronze paper knives, and clock cases. They produced an art nouveau "peacock" clock case in bronze for the commercial market, specifically for Tiffany's and Gorham's newly opened palatial stores on Fifth Avenue.⁷⁸ (Fig. 6-5) This was an ongoing aspect of their art production, for when they were interviewed in their Toronto studio in 1914 by fellow-artist Estelle Kerr, in addition to their "high" art production, she wrote that she saw models for candlesticks, hand-

mirrors, and clocks which were later cast into bronze and at this time were still marketed “at the leading jewelers’ shops in New York.”⁷⁹ Loring and Wyle also sold many garden fountain sculptures that were in private family gardens, such as Frances Loring’s *Girl with Squirrel* (c1922) made for the home of wealthy Robert Samuel McLaughlin, “Parkwood” in Oshawa, Ontario.⁸⁰ Two bronze fountain sculptures by Wyle, *Dancing Baby* (1928) and *Child with Flute* (1929) were sold to John Craig Eaton and Flora McCrae Eaton, of the Eaton’s department stores, for their estate in King City, north of Toronto.⁸¹

In addition, the sculptors were inspired by art motifs, and objects from Canadian native art. Such items of their West-Coast domestic production included “totem” lamp bases (1927) made in painted wood, and “raven” and “owl” book ends (1927) made in cast iron and painted.⁸² In a similar vein, Emily Carr created pottery figurines and pendants, vases, plates, and electric lamp bases, and small rugs, all decorated with versions of West Coast native designs. These she sold to tourists in the 1920s in an effort to augment her income; and several were included in the *Exhibition of Canadian West Coast Art – Native and Modern* held at the National Gallery of Canada in 1927.⁸³ Carr, Loring, and Wyle’s integration of native artistic elements may have been an influence of antimodernism, which glorified the supposedly authentic experience and expression of “the folk, the primitive, and the traditional.”⁸⁴ Yet, whatever the attraction North West coast indigenous culture held for these artists, this production would now be seen as blatant cultural appropriation.

Pottery

Participation in china painting had long been promoted as an appropriate medium for women. Seen as a natural extension of their work in decorating china, society applauded women working in the art pottery movement in such businesses as the Rookwood Pottery. This firm was founded in Cincinnati in 1880 by Maria Longworth Nichols and was staffed almost entirely by women.⁸⁵

Toronto sculptor Winnifred Kingsford produced glazed pottery lamp bases, ink wells, and vases, for sale through the commercial trade stores. (Fig. 2-3) These were admired by fellow artist Estelle M. Kerr, who was herself diversifying her art production to include cartoons and illustrations. For an article on Toronto women sculptors Kerr wrote for *Saturday Night*, she interviewed Winnifred Kingsford at work in the sculptor's Adelaide Street studio. "Kingsford," she wrote, "is clever at the more commercial forms of the sculptor's art."⁸⁶ The sculptor had been selling glazed pottery vases and lamp bases in Canada in the years around 1900, and in 1904 she exhibited work in the first exhibition of the Society of Arts and Crafts of Canada, held at the Art Gallery on Toronto's King Street. Moneys raised from her pottery classes and sales enabled Kingsford to study abroad for five years until she returned to Toronto in 1913. When interviewed in June 1914 Kingsford's art production included traditional sculptures as well as her commercially marketable line.

Following World War I Mabel Cawthra moved to Port Credit where she had a pottery studio and kiln.⁸⁷ In the winters she lived in England where she had established a pottery studio in Chelsea.⁸⁸

Mural Commissions

American Mary Fairchild MacMonnies' and Mary Cassatt's murals for the Woman's Building at the World's Columbian Exposition in Chicago in 1893 were a very public example for women artists of alternative applications for their painting skills. Also in the United States at the turn of the century Violet Oakley worked on lucrative public and private domestic mural commissions. But as Marilyn McKay has pointed out in *A National Soul: Canadian Mural Painting*, although a few Canadian women artists were working as professionals in the area of mural painting in years prior to 1914, their presence has largely been ignored within this area of Canadian art.⁸⁹ As McKay's discussion of these artists and their work reveals, surviving information on Canadian women mural artists from the turn of the century period is minimal.

Two examples of public, or civic, mural commissions given to Canadian women prior to the outbreak of World War One were those of Elizabeth Annie Birnie (1851-?) and Mary Hiester Reid. Birnie's mural for the newly constructed Collingwood Public Library, in Collingwood, Ontario, and a second commission for Penetanguishene Public Library, near Barrie, north of Toronto, were executed between 1908 and 1914.⁹⁰ The Collingwood mural was destroyed by a fire in 1963 and the other mural survives in storage.

Mary Hiester Reid's interest in murals dates from as early as 1896 when she designed and painted a mural entitled *Castles in Spain*, a medieval scene, for her Wychwood Park home in Toronto.⁹¹ In 1913 she designed and executed a commercial mural commission, entitled *The Spirit of the Humber*, (fig. 6-7) for an important public building, the Weston Town Hall, near Toronto.⁹² This landscape mural depicting the local Humber River is now lost and only known to us from contemporary postcard reproductions and photographs.

In 1898, Sydney Strickland Tully and Harriet Ford were members of the Canadian Mural Decorator's Society, and both had been among those who had worked on an unrealized mural scheme to decorate Toronto's Union Station.⁹³ The subject of the mural was to be the pioneer Canadian railway builders at work.

Sydney Tully was commissioned by the CPR to paint eleven pastel portraits of the wives of the British Governors and Governors General of Canada for the dining room of the CPR's Empress Hotel, in Victoria, and a three-quarter length portrait of Queen Alexandra for the Royal Alexandra Hotel in Winnipeg. This work was likely executed between 1904 and 1910.⁹⁴ Both hotels were new at the time, the Royal Alexandra opened in 1906 and the Empress in 1908. While Tully's commission for these paintings are not specifically murals, the work is related as decorative interior work, especially in the close integration of the eleven oval paintings into the overall wall decoration of the Empress Hotel's dining room.

Since the Empress portraits included many historical subjects, with the earliest being Louise Elizabeth, Countess of Durham, who was resident in Canada in 1838, Tully likely utilized earlier portraits for all but her portrait of Alice, Countess Grey, who resided in

Ottawa between 1904 and 1911. The work is also related to other commercially commissioned calendar painting discussed earlier, in that both the CPR Company and the Osborne Company, imposed specific requirements as to subject matter, size, and shape of canvas, in order to tailor the artwork to their needs. The Empress portraits in pastel were a medium in which Tully frequently worked.⁹⁵

Along with Birnie, Reid, and Tully, Harriet Ford was one of the few Canadian women artists from this period who are known to have received commercial mural or related commissions. In the mid-1890s, in addition to her furniture design discussed above, according to the critic for *Saturday Night* writing in April of 1896 Ford was also “familiar to the art public of Toronto[for her] mural decoration.”⁹⁶ Harriet Ford’s interest in mural painting was evident as early as March of 1895 when as a notable arts lecturer; she spoke before a crowd of sixty on the subject of mural decoration at the WAAC in Toronto. In the audience were artist colleagues Charlotte Schreiber, Estelle Kerr, Clara Hagarty, and Henrietta Vickers.⁹⁷ Also in 1895 she exhibited “*A Decorative Panel*” at the RCA exhibition in Toronto, loaned for the occasion by her client Professor James Mavor, a professor at the University of Toronto and the art critic for the *Toronto News*.⁹⁸

In 1898 Ford completed a mural painting, entitled *Mother and Child* for Saint John’s Convalescent Hospital in Toronto.⁹⁹ Speaking of her mural work, in the spring of that year the art critic for the *Toronto Star* judged that “her ideas in decorative art are bright and well executed.”¹⁰⁰

The next year, the summer of 1899, Ford traveled to a private summer house on the Ile d’Orleans in Quebec to paint a mural. A number of male colleagues including William Brymner received similar commissions. As discussed by Marilyn McKay in her book *A*

National Soul, murals in private sites such as homes or clubs were often commissioned by the client with the goal of demonstrating their power and cultural sophistication.¹⁰¹

Ford's mural for the wealthy Charles Porteous, general manager of the Toronto Street Railway Company, was located over the dining room fireplace mantle, a space which measured five by three feet.

Between visits to England, Ford continued her work in domestic mural design and painting in Toronto. In 1914 she told journalist Margaret Bell in an interview that "for the last two years she had been engaged entirely in decorative work...panels, friezes...for homes."¹⁰² In Ford's case, her mural commissions may be seen as closely related to her work in furniture decoration. Ford's interest in mural painting continued when she moved to England permanently. She knew the women's suffrage activist, artist and muralist Emily Susan Ford (1851-1930) and wrote a manuscript on this artist's religious art work.¹⁰³

Writing: Journalism, Art Writing, and Fiction

What we see emerging in this diversity of art production of the study group artists, is their work in traditional media gradually opening up to other applications. One of the surprising facts revealed by this study is that a number of artists in the study group combined writing, whether fiction, poetry, autobiography, or journalistic writing, with their other creative production.¹⁰⁴

The question of why women in pre-1920s Canada pursued writing as a career has been addressed by Carole Gerson, who suggests that the commodity aspect, to earn money

because of financial need, was of great importance to many nineteenth and turn of the century women writers.¹⁰⁵ By 1913 writing advertising copy for department stores was recommended as an area in which women with some journalistic experience could have a successful career. This was according to Edith Macdonald, a member of the Toronto Women's Press Club and advertising writer with the Timothy Eaton Company, who was interviewed for the article "The Advertising Profession for Women," which appeared in *Saturday Night* magazine.¹⁰⁶ Artists in the study group had diversified their art production into this and many other genres of writing for more than a decade prior to this.

In 1913 artist Estelle Kerr was writing a column, "The Artist," for *Saturday Night*.¹⁰⁷ In addition to her diverse illustrating and painting production, Kerr wrote and illustrated for periodicals, often for *The Canadian Courier*. She wrote several columns focused on Canadian cultural activities, "At the Sign of the Maple," and "Art Notes, and a cartoon."¹⁰⁸ She also published a short book, *The Island: Rhymes & Sketches*, about summer activities on Toronto Island.¹⁰⁹

Harriet Ford wrote articles for *Studio* and other journals and newspapers of the day, such as *The Week*, *Massey's Magazine*, *The Canadian Magazine*, and *The Globe* newspaper.¹¹⁰ In 1900 she published an article in *Studio* on the work of Austrian-born painter Marianne Preindlsberger Stokes (1855-1927) and, as mentioned above, later wrote a book on Emily Susan Ford.¹¹¹ In addition to her lectures on art to the Toronto WAAC, her journalistic writing of an arts column in a Toronto newspaper and her other publications, Ford was the co-founder and co-editor, along with George A. Reid and Carl Ahrens, of *Tarot*, a short-lived Canadian art magazine. It only published two issues, both

in 1896.¹¹² The magazine is described as inspired by the Arts and Crafts movement, as is evident in its focus and layout.

Mary Hiester Reid published three journal articles in *Massey's Magazine* in 1896 and 97 chronicling her travels in Spain.¹¹³ While the articles were illustrated by her husband George Reid, who accompanied her on the trip, she wrote them.

Painter Emma May Martin wrote poetry and fiction in the early 1890s, and was a member of the Canadian Author's Association, and the "Versatile Club,"¹¹⁴ a writer's club, in Toronto.

The above artists wrote during the earlier years of their professional career. The following artists in the study group introduced writing during the later years of their careers. Although this later production falls well outside the period of this study, since it is germane to the argument we shall briefly mention several examples here.

While evidence shows that Emily Carr was interested in creative writing throughout her life, (for example she kept written and illustrated journals when studying in France,) she published most of her books, a variety of autobiographical and fictional works, after 1940. Beginning with *Klee Wyck*, for which in 1941 she received a Canadian Governor General's Award for Literature, Carr went on to create an international reputation for her writing. Three collections of her stories were published during her lifetime: *Klee Wyck* (1941), *The Book of Small* (1942), and *The House of All Sorts* (1944). Several books of writings by her were published posthumously.¹¹⁵

Two other study group artists published poetry and fiction later in their careers. In 1959 sculptor Florence Wyle (fig. 4-5) published *Poems*, a book of her poems.¹¹⁶ And Florence Carlyle (fig. 1-5) wrote novels and short stories during the late teens and early

1920s. Her efforts to publish were unsuccessful until her short story, “Mary’s Child,” was published in the English magazine, *Time and Tide*, in 1923, a few months after she died.¹¹⁷

With the introduction of small portable cameras by the 1890s photography was judged to be a suitable hobby for women. George Eastman’s ad campaign featuring the young stylish “Kodak Girl” reinforced this idea. Camera clubs proliferated across North America, and held annual exhibitions where aspiring photographers could exhibit their work.¹¹⁸

Although women were admitted as members of the Toronto Camera Club (TCC) in 1895, four years after its formation, there is little evidence that study group artists exhibited work here in the years prior to 1914. TCC judges were frequently artists; for example George Reid, and Charles Manly were judges in 1903, and Laura Muntz was chosen to be a judge in 1904.¹¹⁹ Jessie Bell Dixon (1878-1938) who was active as an artist and photographer frequently took prizes at the Hamilton Camera Club competitions.¹²⁰ And writer and arts journalist Madge Macbeth was successful in selling her photographic work. Her informal views of people at public events and her landscapes regularly appeared in the *Canadian Courier*.¹²¹ However, photography as a medium does not seem to have been central to the art production of the study group.

This chapter has explored the diversity evident in the art production and career choices of the study group artists, into areas and media which were often outside those accepted for women; for example, design, mural work, furniture, and metal working, including jewelry. As Janice Helland has pointed out about metal work in particular, women artist’s work in traditionally male areas and materials “disrupts the accepted

stereotype,”¹²² a stereotype which saw such work as exclusively masculine and too “heavy” or “physically challenging” for women. This may be part of the reason that study group artists’ production in these ‘disrupting’ areas was dropped from their histories. They also diversified into areas of writing such as journalism. As with their work in illustration and commercial art, women artist/writers in the study group faced gendered restrictions: they often wrote for the “Women’s Pages,” or as Mary Hiester Reid and Estelle Kerr did, they wrote travel articles. Perhaps due in part to the long history of women’s success as writers in Canada, newspaper and periodical journalism was by 1900 generally seen as an acceptable career for women. Arts critics, such as Jean Grant in the 1890s and later Estelle Kerr, published arts columns under their own names. Contradictions are endemic to this era however, for other writers and artists such as Harriet Ford and Mary Agnes Fitzgibbon working in the same time period published their work under pen-names. While these might be amusing, for example Ford’s “Lynn C. Doyle,” or an interesting new identity constructed from her parent’s surnames, as in Fitzgibbon’s “Lally Bernard,” the assumed names were a self consciously assumed disguise, what has been termed “masking” by Tamar Garb.¹²³ Somehow, even in an age where colleagues such as Mary Hiester Reid were writing about travel and art, the dubious anonymity of pen-names made it more permissible for middle-class women like Ford and Fitzgibbon to speak out on cultural affairs in their arts columns. While their writings were not especially provocative, they expressed their opinions frankly. Ironically, gendered restrictions which saw involvement in culture and the arts as an appropriate “feminine” concern, made it possible for study group artists and women writers such as Mary Agnes Fitzgibbon, Estelle Kerr; and Harriet Ford to advance into

positions as arts critics, and in one highly unusual example in the case of Ford, to co-edit and found a new art periodical.

There are, however, many possible reasons why the diversification that was actually present in the professional art practices of these women was either devalued or, in some cases, omitted in “recovery” writing of their lives and careers which began in Canada in the 1970s. As discussed in the introduction to this chapter, when collections and archives are constructed, information and artifacts by and about women are often omitted. This may be a clue to the lack of representation of the diversity in women’s art practice in most recent writing about them. Given the above scenario it is reasonable to assume that our female subjects, and their production, have suffered some distortion and the imposition of identity by others.

This raises questions about the dangers of “picking and choosing,” of making decisions about what should be emphasized when writing about women artists and their art production, such as what to include, and what not. Here the theoretical insights of Philippe Lejuene are helpful in suggesting that we should avoid an appropriation of the archival remains, and work toward what might be termed an explication.¹²⁴ Rescue of women artists’ lives and careers is important, but in addition, the recovery of complete art practices and an appreciation of a diverse art production, including those areas outside of traditional ‘high’ art should be considered as a part of the whole.

I have found that, in the sense of what is excluded, the recovery and reassessment of nineteenth and early twentieth century Canadian women’s art practices suffers many of the same difficulties as have careers of their women colleagues in literary and journalistic areas. According to Michael Peterman and Helen Buss in their work on nineteenth

century Canadian women writers, women writing in areas outside of traditional forms of fiction and poetry, in the 'underprivileged genres' of journalism, journals, and letters, had their careers or those areas of writing devalued or excluded from the canon.¹²⁵ Revising the canon, expanding it for example to include all the women artists considered in this study, and also the work by early Canadian women artists and writers which falls outside the traditionally valued areas, will contribute to the project of establishing the wholeness of our cultural history. Jacques Derrida has cautioned us in *Archive Fever* to "keep the door of the archive always open" to new or unexpected or perhaps unwanted material.¹²⁶ This is essential to our need to understand the woman artist's practice in its totality, and her participation in the new and broader visual culture in the years around 1900.

Notes to Chapter Six:

¹ Printed description of Florence Carlyle's painting *The Girl with the Laughing Eyes* (1905) on title-leaf of Osborne Company calendar, c1905, Artist clipping files, WAG, Woodstock, Ont.

² Carole Gerson, "Introduction: Locating Female Subjects in the Archives," in *Working in Women's Archives: Researching Women's Private Literature and Archival Documents*, Helen M. Buss and Marlene Kadar eds. (Waterloo, Ont.: Wilfrid Laurier University Press, 2001), 1.

³ Gerson, "Locating Female," 1.

⁴ Helen M. Buss, "Constructing Female Subjects in the Archive: A Reading of Three Versions of One Woman's Subjectivity," in Buss, *Working in Women's Archives*, 23-34.

⁵ For an example see, Helen Buss' discussion of how editors of a Métis woman's memoir constructed this woman in different ways in their writings. Helen M. Buss, "Constructing Female Subjects in the Archive," in Buss, *Working in Women's Archives*, 23-34.

⁶ "Table A.6, Women as a Percentage of the Labour Force," in Alison Prentice et al., *Canadian Women: A History*, 2nd ed. (Toronto: Harcourt Canada, 1996), 156, 474.

⁷ A series of articles was published in 1900 in an American periodical *The Critic* which focused on women artists employed as illustrators in 1900, see several articles by Regina Armstrong, "Representative American Women," *The Critic* (May to August 1900).

⁸ Twelve pastel portraits, eleven of the wives of the first Governor Generals of Canada, a quarter length portrait of Queen Alexandra, were commissioned by the CPR, to hang in their 'Empress Gallery' dining room in the CPR's Empress Hotel, in Victoria, B.C.. Sydney Tully, artist information form in artist's hand, c1910, Artist's Clipping File, Archives, NGC. See also, "Canada's First Ladies, A Portrait Collection in The Empress Hotel," brochure, CP Archives, Montreal.

⁹ Osborne Calendar Company, Osborne Art Calendars in Miniature, 1903, Brochure in Warshaw Collection of Business Americana, Archives Center, National Museum of American History, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C.

¹⁰ Anthea Callen, "Sexual Division of Labour in the Arts and Crafts Movement," in *A View from the Interior: Feminism, Women and Design*, Judy Attfield and Pat Kirkham, eds. (London: The Women's Press, 1989), 157.

¹¹ Mary S. Lockwood and E. Glaister, *Art Embroidery: A Treatise on the Revived Practice of Decorative Needlework* (London: Marcus & Ward, 1878), 4

¹² See for example May Morris' design for a screen, Figure 2.2, in Elliott and Helland, *Women Artists and the Decorative Arts*.

¹³ Levy, *American Art Annual 1900-1901*, 214.

¹⁴ M.L. [Margaret Laing] Fairbairn, "A Decade of Canadian Art" *The Canadian Magazine* 17, no. 2 (June 1901): 161.

¹⁵ Fairbairn, "A Decade," 161,

¹⁶ Linda Jessup, ed. "Antimodernism and Artistic Experience: An Introduction," in *Antimodernism and Artistic Experience: Policing the Boundaries of Modernity* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2001), 4.

¹⁷ Amy Ogata, "Artisans and Art Nouveau in Fin-de-siècle Belgium: Primitivism and Nostalgia," in Jessup, *Antimodernism*, 168,

¹⁸ McNicoll's two paintings entitled *The Victorian Dress* are illustrated in Luckyj, *Helen McNicoll: A Canadian Impressionist*, 66, 67.

¹⁹ Helen Goodman "Women Illustrators of the Golden Age of American Illustration," *Woman's Art Journal* (Spring, Summer 1987): 14

²⁰ For more on women working in illustration c1900 see, Pat Likos, "The Ladies of the Red Rose," *Feminist Art Journal* (Fall 1976): 11-15; Regina Armstrong "Representative American Women Illustrators: The Child Interpreters," *The Critic* 36 (May 1900): 417-431; R. Armstrong, "Representative American Women Illustrators: The Decorative Workers," *The Critic* 36 (June 1900): 520-529; R. Armstrong, "Representative American Women Illustrators: The Character Workers," *The Critic* 37 (July 1900): 43-54; and R. Armstrong, "Representative American Women Illustrators: The Character Workers-II," *The Critic* 37 (Aug. 1900): 131-141.

- ²¹ The manuscript was given by the artist to her friend Martha Poussette and many years later it was donated to the Toronto Children's Library where, through the support of library staff, *An Illustrated Comic Alphabet* was published in 1966 by Oxford University Press, Toronto, and Henry Z. Walck, New York.
- ²² Elizabeth Barrett Browning,, *The Rhyme of the Duchess May*, illustrated by Charlotte M.B. Morrell, (London: Sampson Low, Marston, Low, and Searle, 1873); and Edmund, Spenser, *The Legend of the Knight of the Red Crosse or of Holinesse*, illustrated by Charlotte M.B. Morrell (London: Sampson Low, Son and Marston, 1871).
- ²³ Dignam, "Art Outlook," *The Globe* (Toronto), 18 April 1895.
- ²⁴ *The Globe* (Women's Edition), 18 April 1895, p. 6.
- ²⁵ Mrs. [Mary Ella] Dignam, "Art Outlook," *The Globe* (Women's Edition), 18 April 1895, Sect. 3, p. 1. See also, Lynn C. Doyle, "Art Notes," *Saturday Night* 8 (6 April 1895): 9.
- ²⁶ Photograph of installation of Memorial Exhibition of Mary Hiester Reid, Art Gallery of Toronto, 1922; reproduced in Foss, *Quiet Harmony*, 22.
- ²⁷ "Art," *Saturday Night* 9, no. 18 (21 March 1896).
- ²⁸ Italics in original. Osborne Company, *Osborne Art Calendars in Miniature 1903*, Brochure (New York: Osborne Company, 1903), Brochure in the Warshaw Collection of Business Americana, Archives Center, National Museum of American History, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C..
- ²⁹ *Osborne Art Calendars in Miniature 1903*, np.
- ³⁰ "Calendars," *New York Times*, 17 Dec. 1904, 903
- ³¹ Osborne Company, advertisement in *The Society of American Artists Exhibition Catalogue 1903*, Library, NGC, Ottawa.
- ³² Madge Macbeth, "Canadian Women in the Arts," *Maclean's* 27 (Oct. 1914): 24.
- ³³ Osborne Company "The Third Annual Artists' Competition," advertisement, Levy, *American Art Annual, 1905-1906*, 5: 117; see also, frontispiece of *American Art Annual* for illustration of Curran's painting *At the Piano*.
- ³⁴ Information on the Osborne Company calendar title leaf for Carlyle's painting *Always Room for One More*, in the Florence Carlyle artist files, WAG, Woodstock, Ont.
- ³⁵ The Osborne Folio is in the Special Collections Department, Library, University of Delaware, Newark, Delaware. Osborne Company, *Annual Catalogue (of Art Calendars)*, (New York, 1906).
- ³⁶ Goodman, "Women Illustrators of the Golden Age," 17; Likos, "The Ladies of the Red Rose," 14, 15.
- ³⁷ In 1904 Carlyle's address in NYC was 67 West 23rd Street. Peter Hastings Falk, ed., *The Annual Exhibition Record of the Art Institute of Chicago 1888-1950* (Madison, CT: Sound View Press, 1990), 638.
- ³⁸ The Simpson's Catalogues were first published in 1896. Biographical note on Emily Elliot, n.d., typescript, Toronto Heliconian Club Papers-A, File: Biographies E- G, F 1102-1, MU8092, B252744, AO, Toronto, Ont.
- ³⁹ Virginia Berry, *Vistas of Promise: Manitoba 1874-1919* (Winnipeg: Winnipeg Art Gallery, 1987), 46-47.
- ⁴⁰ An example of one of Ida de Kirkby Lumb's political cartoons is in Berry, *Vistas*, 48.
- ⁴¹ Alice Sheppard, *Cartooning for Suffrage* (University of New Mexico Press, 1994), 25.
- ⁴² See, Barbara Meadowcroft, *Painting Friends: The Beaver Hall Women Painters* (Montreal: Véhicule Press, 1999), 35.
- ⁴³ The songs were arranged by Seath's friend Margaret Gascoigne. The book has a preface by Marius Barbeau, and the Canadian Pacific Railway used the small book to promote Quebec in the United States, see Marius Barbeau, *Chansons of Old French Canada with Accompaniments by Margaret Gascoigne*, (CPR Railway Company, 1925; reprinted 1971).
- ⁴⁴ Sybille Pantazzi, "Notes on Some Canadian Magazines and Their Illustrations, 1900-1940," in Karen McKenzie and Mary F. Williamson, eds., *The Art and Pictorial Press in Canada: Two Centuries of Art Magazines* (Toronto: Art Gallery of Ontario, 1979), 20-21.
- ⁴⁵ The cartoon appears in issues from 1910 until 1912, including, Estelle M. Kerr, "Why Willie and Lillie Were Late," (cartoon) *The Canadian Courier* 11 (6 Jan. 1912): 19;
- ⁴⁶ Estelle M. Kerr, *Little Sam in Vollendam: Rhymes and Pictures* (New York: Moffat, Yard and Company, 1908), 32 pages.
- ⁴⁷ Estelle Kerr, *The Town Crier of Gevrey* (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1930), 129 pages.

- ⁴⁸ One of Kerr's illustrations (#849) was loaned by the *Canadian Magazine* to the CNE Art Exhibition, "Illustrations" section, in Aug. 1912. Long exhibited two illustrations including #803, *A Doorway in "The Ward"*, offered for sale at \$20.00, *CNE exhibition catalogue*, p. 92, 95, CNE Archives, Toronto.
- ⁴⁹ MacKay was a girlhood friend of Florence Carlyle from Woodstock, Ontario. Marion Long, illustrations for Isabel Ecclestone MacKay's poem "Evelina - the History of Her Heart: First Phase," *Canadian Home Journal* (March 1920): 11, 61
- ⁵⁰ *CNE Department of Fine Arts Catalogue, 1912*, 92. CNE Archives, Toronto.
- ⁵¹ See Helen Williams, "Autumn Days in the Eastern Townships." *The Canadian Countryman* (14 Oct 1911); and, Helen Williams, "Yuletide in the Townships." *The Canadian Countryman* (14 Dec 1912), cited in, Monique Nadeau-Saumier, *Nina M. Owens (1869-1959)*, (Sherbrooke, Que.: Art Gallery of Sherbrooke, 1992), 59.
- ⁵² Madge Macbeth, "One of Our Last War Workers Comes Home," *Toronto Star Weekly* (20 February 1926). See also, Amos, *Mary Riter Hamilton*, 10.
- ⁵³ Macbeth, "One of Our Last War Workers." See also, Gabriel Mourey, "The Paris International Exhibition 1925," *Studio 90* (1925): 16-21, 98-102, 154-157, 239-245.
- ⁵⁴ Living's figure subject painting exhibited in the 1898 RCA exhibition was described as having "excellent qualities." Jean Grant, "The Royal Canadian Academy Exhibition," *Saturday Night* 11 (12 March 1898): 9. *RCA Exhibition Catalogues 1894 to 1898*, and *AAM Exhibition Catalogues 1894 to 1897*. NGC Archives, Ottawa.
- ⁵⁵ Living exhibited 12 works, from no. 96 to no. 107, *OSA Applied Art Exhibition Catalogue 1900* (Toronto: OSA, 1900), 5, 7, 9. NGC Archives, Ottawa. See also McLeod, *In Good Hands*, n. 18, p.85.
- ⁵⁶ For further reading see Anthea Callen, *Angel in the Studio: Women in the Arts and Crafts Movement, 1870-1914* (London: Astragal, 1979), 175-177.
- ⁵⁷ Oakley was diversifying into designs for stained glass windows by 1900 as discussed by Regina Armstrong in her article published in June of 1900, Regina Armstrong, "Representative American Women Illustrators: The Decorative Workers," *The Critic* 36 (June 1900): 520. See also Erica E. Hershler, "Beautifying Everyday Life: Sarah Wyman Whitman," *A Studio of her Own: Women Artists in Boston 1870-1940* (Boston: Museum of Fine Arts, 2001), 39; and, Charlotte Herzog, "A Rose by Any Other Name: Violet Oakley, Jessie Wilcox Smith, and Elizabeth Shippen Green," *Woman's Art Journal* (Fall 1993/ Winter 1994), 13.
- ⁵⁸ Armstrong, "Representative American Women Illustrators: The Decorative Workers," 522.
- ⁵⁹ Lydia Field Emmet (1866-1952). Ronald Pisano, *The Students of William Merritt Chase* (Huntington, NY: Heckscher Museum, 1973), 14.
- ⁶⁰ *Summer time, Design for a Window (#71)*. *Canadian National Exhibition Department of Fine Arts, Catalogue, 1906*, p. 24. CNE Archives.
- ⁶¹ McLeod notes that the Society of Arts and Crafts of Canada was founded in 1903; however, in the "Society of Arts a Crafts of Canada, Announcement of First Exhibition," (1904), it says, "The Society of Arts and Crafts of Canada, which was organized in 1902, has made arrangements to hold its first exhibition from March 26th to April 9th." "Society of Arts and Crafts of Canada, Announcement of First Exhibition," (1904), File: Toronto Society of Arts and Crafts, Box 5, AGO Archives. See also McLeod, *In Good Hands*, 107.
- ⁶² *Ontario Society of Artists Applied Art Exhibition Catalogue, 1900*, p. 1; see also J.W. Leonard, *Woman's Who's Who In American 1914-1915* (N.Y., 1914), 679.
- ⁶³ Margaret Bell, "Women and Art in Canada," *Everywoman's World* (June 1914): 7, 15, 30.
- ⁶⁴ An example with three embroidered figures (c1880) executed by Jane Morris and Elizabeth Burden may be seen in the Green Dining Room, South Kensington Museum, London.
- ⁶⁵ "Miss Harriet Ford," *The Toronto Daily Star* (Toronto), 30 October 1920, n.p..
- ⁶⁶ "M.L.A.F. [Margaret Laing Fairbairn]," "Annual Canadian Art Club," *Toronto Star*, 27 January 1912, 23.
- ⁶⁷ McLeod, *In Good Hands*, 107.
- ⁶⁸ Callen, *Angel in the Studio*, 154-55.
- ⁶⁹ *The Arts and Crafts Society of Canada Catalogue of the First Exhibition Held at the Galleries of the Ontario Society of Artists, 165 King Street West, April 7 to April 23rd, 1904*. See also, *Constitution and Bylaws of the Society of Arts and Crafts of Canada*, (1905), quoted in McLeod, *In Good Hands*, 107.

- ⁷⁰ "Society of Arts and Crafts Officers and Exhibition Committee," (1902), File General Archives, "Toronto Society of Arts and Crafts," Box 5, AGO Archives, Toronto.
- ⁷¹ Gail Crawford assigns 1906 as the date the Toronto branch of the Thornton-Smith Co. opened. The Walker House Hotel was demolished in 1976. G.E.S. Pringle, "Mrs. Agar Adamson: Versatile Canadian Artist Who Has Done Much for Art in Toronto," *Saturday Night* (14 Nov. 1925): 25. Gail Crawford, *A Fine Line: Studio Crafts in Ontario from 1930 to the Present* (Toronto: Dundurn Press, 1998), 32.
- ⁷² "Mr and Mrs C.H. Eastlake" exhibited the work jointly at the exhibition, #351 to 358. McMann lists the works only under Charles Eastlake, McMann, *RCA Academy Exhibitions*, 114.
- ⁷³ Margaret Laing Fairbairn, "A Milestone in Canadian Art," unidentified article, 1907, Artist Clipping File, Library, NGC, Ottawa.
- ⁷⁴ The jewelry designed by Mary Bell Eastlake is discussed in a review of the Exhibition of Arts and Crafts at the Lyceum Club, London, England, July - September 1905. *Studio*, 36, no.151 (October 1905).
- ⁷⁵ *Dominion Exhibition, Halifax, Nova Scotia, 1906 Fine Arts Department*, RCA catalogues 1903-1909, MG 28, I 126, v.10, LAC, Ottawa. See also McMann, *Royal Canadian Academy Exhibitions 1880-1979*, 114.
- ⁷⁶ Mary A. Bell Eastlake to Eric Brown, 3 September 1934, NGC, library/archives, Ottawa.
- ⁷⁷ Callen, *Angel in the Studio*, 153-4.
- ⁷⁸ Christine Boyanoski, *Loring and Wyle: Sculptor's Legacy* (Toronto: Art Gallery of Ontario, 1987), 9.
- ⁷⁹ Estelle Kerr, "Women Sculptors in Toronto," *Saturday Night* (20 June 1914): 25.
- ⁸⁰ R.S. McLaughlin was the head of McLaughlin Motor Car Company, which later became General Motors., see "Frances Loring," (1 August 1925), np, Artist clipping file, NGC archives.
- ⁸¹ Cameron, *And Beauty Answers*, 156, and "List of Works," 431.
- ⁸² Illustrated in Boyanoski, *Loring and Wyle*, fig. 35, p. 90.
- ⁸³ Carr discusses this production in *Growing Pains*, 231.
- ⁸⁴ Lynda Jessup, "Antimodernism and Artistic Experience: An Introduction," in *Antimodernism*, 4.
- ⁸⁵ Nancy E. Owen, *Rookwood and the Industry of Art: Women, Culture, and Commerce 1880-1913* (Athens, Ohio: Ohio University Press, 2001).
- ⁸⁶ Kerr, "Women Sculptors in Toronto," 25.
- ⁸⁷ Cawthra had previously worked in jewelry and as an interior designer and store owner, see p. 249-250.
- ⁸⁸ Anthony Adamson (son of Mabel Cawthra Adamson), "Biography of Mabel Cawthra," typescript dated 1970, in Heliconian Club Papers, F 1182-1 MU 8092, File: Biographies, AO, Toronto.
- ⁸⁹ Marilyn J. McKay, *A National Soul: Canadian Mural Painting 1860s to 1930s* (Montreal and Kingston, McGill-Queens University Press, 2002), 123.
- ⁹⁰ McKay, *National Soul*, 43.
- ⁹¹ Ibid.
- ⁹² Brian Foss, "Sympathetic Self Expression: Mary Hiester Reid and Aesthetic Ideals," in Foss and Anderson, *Quiet Harmony*, 73.
- ⁹³ Jean Grant, "Studio and Gallery," *Saturday Night* 11 (8 January 1898): 9.
- ⁹⁴ "Canada's First Ladies," 10, CP Archives, Montreal.
- ⁹⁵ Tully's paintings in pastel include, *Anticipation* (#192), and *Study* (#193), (Columbian Exp. 1893); *Babette, en Japonaise*, and *Portrait of Mrs. Hayter Reed* (1904 RCA); *Spring* (1905 AAM); *Lady in White* (1910 RCA). See descriptions of paintings in contemporary reviews: "RCA Critical Review," *Toronto News*, 21 March 1904; "Twenty-Second Spring Exhibition," *Montreal Star*, 18 March 1904; Vindex [pseud.], "The R.C. Exhibition, A Contributor's Views," *Montreal Gazette*, 10 Dec. 1910.
- ⁹⁶ Lynn C. Doyle, "Art Notes," *Saturday Night* (4 April 1896): 15.
- ⁹⁷ Lynn C. Doyle, "Art Notes," *Saturday Night* 8 (30 March 1895): 9.
- ⁹⁸ *RCA Exhibition Catalogue 1895*, p. 9, NGC Archives, Ottawa.
- ⁹⁹ Jennifer C. Watson, *Harriet Ford* (Hamilton, Ont.: Art Gallery of Hamilton, 2001).
- ¹⁰⁰ Anonymous, "The Art of Canadians," *Toronto Star* (12 March 1898).
- ¹⁰¹ McKay, *National Soul*, 110, 123.
- ¹⁰² Margaret Bell, "Women and Art in Canada," *Everywoman's World* (June 1914): 15, 30.
- ¹⁰³ Harriet M. Ford, *Emily Ford: A Painter of Religious Pictures* (nd, c1900), Special Collections (MS 378), Library, Leeds University, Leeds, England.
- ¹⁰⁴ See "Books and Articles Authored by Study Group Artists," p. 365 in Bibliography.
- ¹⁰⁵ Gerson, "The Business of a Woman's Life." 77.

- ¹⁰⁶ Canadienne [pseud.], "The Advertising Profession for Women," *Saturday Night* (22 March 1913): 29.
- ¹⁰⁷ Refer to Bibliography for listing of illustrations, publications by Kerr; Estelle M. Kerr, "The Artist," *Saturday Night* (7 June 1913): 29.
- ¹⁰⁸ See Bibliography for listing of books and articles illustrated and/or written by study group artists.
- ¹⁰⁹ Estelle M. Kerr, *The Island: Rhymes and Sketches* (n.d.) publisher unknown. Copy in Heliconian Club Papers, F1102-1, MU8092, Biog. "J-K," AO.
- ¹¹⁰ See listing for Harriet Ford in bibliography, Primary Sources, "Books and Articles Authored and Illustrated by Study Group Artists."
- ¹¹¹ Marianne Preindlsberger Stokes (1855-1927). Harriet Ford, "The Work of Mrs. Adrian Stokes," *Studio* 19, no. 85 (April 1900): 149-156; and Harriet Ford, *Emily Ford: A Painter of Religious Pictures*, n.d. Copy of MSS in Botherton Collection, Leeds University Library.
- ¹¹² Mary Williamson and Karen McKenzie, *The Art and Pictorial Press in Canada: Two Centuries of Art Magazines* (Toronto: Art Gallery of Ontario, 1979), 18.
- ¹¹³ Mary Hiester Reid, "From Gibraltar to the Pyrenees," *Massey's Magazine* 2 (May 1896): 297-308; Mary Hiester Reid, "From Gibraltar to the Pyrenees, Second Paper," *Massey's Magazine* 2 (June 1896): 373-384; Mary Hiester Reid, "In Northern Spain," *Massey's Magazine* (June 1897): 375-383.
- ¹¹⁴ E. May Martin's personal papers, including her fiction notebooks (M-8931-74, M-8931-75) are in the Archives of the Glenbow Museum, Calgary, Alta.
- ¹¹⁵ Emily Carr's books published posthumously include her autobiography, *Growing Pains* (1946); *The Heart of a Peacock* (1953); *Pause: A Sketchbook* (1953); *Hundreds and Thousands: The Journals of Emily Carr* (1966); Ann-Lee Switzer ed., *This and That, Emily Carr* (Victoria, B.C.: Ti-Jean Press, 2007).
- ¹¹⁶ Florence Wyle, *Poems*, "Foreword" by Ira Dilworth (Toronto: Ryerson, 1959).
- ¹¹⁷ Florence Carlyle, "Mary's Child," *Time and Tide* 4 (23 Nov. 1923): 1177-1179.
- ¹¹⁸ Lilly Koltun ed., *Private Realms of Light: Amateur Photography in Canada, 1839-1940* (1984), 21-22.
- ¹¹⁹ Papers of the Toronto Camera Club, MG 28 I 181, vol. 1, file 1-47, Mar. 1904, NAC, Ottawa.
- ¹²⁰ A number of Dixon's glass plate negatives are in the Special Collections of the Hamilton Public Library, Hamilton, Ontario. Diana Pedersen and Martha Phemister, "Women and Photography in Ontario, 1839-1929: A Case Study of the Intersection of Gender and Technology," *Despite the Odds: Essays on Canadian Women and Science*, Marianne G. Ainley ed. (Montreal: Véhicule Press, 1990), 107.
- ¹²¹ Several of Macbeth's photographs are in the LAC collection, LAC, PA-137941, "At Connaught Park, Ottawa" c1913; and "Harbour Scene" nd., LAC, PA-137940.
- ¹²² Helland, *Professional Women Painters*, 81.
- ¹²³ Tamar Garb, "'Unpicking the Seams of Her Disguise: Self-representation in the Case of Marie Bashkirtseff,'" *Block* 13 (1987/8), 83.
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- ¹²⁵ See, Lorraine McMullen, "Introduction," 2; Helen Buss, "Women and the Garrison Mentality: Pioneer Women Autobiographers and their Relation to the Land," 123-136; and Michael Peterman, "'Splendid Anachronism': The Record of Catharine Parr Traill's Struggles as an Amateur Botanist in Nineteenth-Century Canada," 173-186, in *Rediscovering Our Foremothers: Nineteenth-Century Canadian Women Writers*, edited by Lorraine McMullen (Ottawa: University of Ottawa Press, 1989).
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Chapter Seven

The Balance Sheet of Business: Exhibition and Sales

In speaking to an artist friend of the lack of large compositions by Canadian artists, I was met by an unanswerable argument against. Men and women who have to live by their art...paint simply what is certain to sell.

Lally Bernard [Mary Agnes Fitzgibbon], "Driftwood,"
Toronto Globe, April 20, 1901.

I can recognize my old favorites. [Elizabeth] McGillvray (sic) Knowles has fine ones too, particularly her watercolors, [she] and ...Laura Muntz are my favorites. Of course there are others I like too, but it is hard to really take them in, though we did stay for more than two hours. Well, those are our parts of soul.

Ruby McQuesten, Ottawa Ladies College, to Tom McQuesten, 24 April 1903. Referring to her visit to the RCA exhibition, Ottawa, April 1903.

To help the art practice to pay its way artists had to think in terms of profit and loss, and of income versus expenses. Income or profit came from the sale of art production, so production had to be diverse and involved combining traditional work with new areas for women such as illustration, newspaper and magazine work, and calendar art. In this chapter the focus moves on to exhibition patterns of the study group, where they exhibited and the roles and relative importance of various diverse venues. We will consider Canadian salons and academies, art associations, small art club memberships, commercial galleries, women-only cultural clubs, and international exhibitions and world fairs. This chapter will also discuss the impact of the exclusion of study group artists from certain important Canadian art clubs, and will examine the artists' participation in

alternative and new ways of circulating production, including emerging new media, and gifts. Profit was also brought into the practice from selling the artist's other skills on the marketplace, for example as writer, teacher, critic, editor, or lecturer. This chapter will conclude by briefly considering sales figures and to whom artists sold work: their clients, whether private, state, or commercial; and last but not least, we will look at critical reception, for the critics' opinions too could also impact on sales and profit.

In addition to set up costs of renting studio space, purchasing artist supplies and furnishings, painters faced additional costs of mounting and framing. The purchase of good quality frames in which to exhibit pictures could be a heavy financial burden for the artist. Emily Carr wrote that the expectation that "you had to frame in real gold leaf" dissuaded her from trying to have her paintings exhibited at the Royal Academy.¹ Sculptors, jewelers and metal workers, textile artists, potters, etc. had the costs of supplies related to their specific medium. In addition, packing, shipping, and the expense of the artist's own transportation were involved in exhibiting work and attending exhibitions oneself.

The language of the time reflected women's partial inclusion in the profession of artist. While there was a growing presence of women entrepreneurs in the time of the study, 1880 to 1914, there was also social resistance to women running businesses. This is reflected in the fact that there was no word to describe them. By the 1910s the term "business woman" was commonly used but meant a stenographer, a typist or clerk, not petty entrepreneurs such as the artists in the study group.²

When the art product leaves the studio to be exhibited it leaves a relatively private space and enters the realm of the public forum. This is true whether or not the art product

is packed up and shipped out by the artist to an exhibition, or whether the artist's studio space itself is temporarily transformed into a public gallery, as in an "open house" exhibition.

The exhibition of the artists' production in public had several functions. First it brought the art production to a site which validated the artist's labour. Acceptance at a venue implied a certain level of expertise, recognition by one's peers, and could confer professional distinctions. Keeping in mind that women were only accepted as Associates with the RCA, credentials, such as the initials "A.R.C.A.," could be displayed after one's name in an exhibition catalogue.

Secondly, exhibition publicly validates and promotes the relationship between artist and the public, for example the exhibition space provides a venue for artists to offer work for sale. In addition, art production must be seen before it can be remembered. Exhibition, in whatever form, may have helped study group artists to gain future commissions, both private and corporate; two examples are Sydney Tully's Empress Hotel commissions, and Harriet Ford's mural commission for Charles Porteous.

At the beginning of this chapter I quote from a letter written by Ruby McQuesten, a young teacher at the Ottawa Ladies College, to her brother in 1903. In it she described her favorite paintings at the recent RCA exhibition in Ottawa which she had attended, especially referring to her love of the work of several Canadian women painters.³ The experience of this young professional woman prompts me to ask how it relates to the role of salons and academies in Canada during the time of the study, and what the implications of this role might have been for the careers of the study group artists.

In Canada at this time much of the significance of the art salons, clubs, and academies lay in their large, annual, juried, national art exhibitions which featured the work of Canadian and international artists. The largest and most prestigious in the country at the time were the RCA, the OSA, and the AAM. In the case of the RCA exhibitions, these rotated annually between the cities of Montreal, Toronto, and Ottawa, with occasional special exhibitions in other Canadian and American cities such as Halifax, Nova Scotia; Winnipeg, Manitoba; and Rochester, New York.⁴ Ruby McQuesten's letter to her brother in 1903 demonstrates how the academy exhibitions functioned to expose work by Canadian artists such as Elizabeth McGillivray Knowles and Laura Muntz, to Canadian woman and men across the country. All of the above venues were prestigious events which attracted significant public attention and were the most common way that the Canadian public came to know original art by their national artists. Here artists gained public visibility in the actual exhibition, and in the published reviews which followed.

Exhibiting with each of these major Canadian associations and membership in the OSA and especially the RCA, were sought after goals for each of the artists in the study group. To have attained elected membership in these societies, with one's name in the exhibition catalogue, followed by the credentials, RCA or ARCA denoting you were an Academician or Associate of the RCA carried with it a *caché* of professional credibility. It helped to validate artists to the public and dealers as professional producers for the art market. Jean-Francois Lyotard commenting on the role of the Académies observes that the academies "at the time when the bourgeoisie was establishing itself in history, were able to function as purgation and to grant awards for good plastic and literary conduct."⁵ The RCA and the other major art associations in the nineteenth century performed a

similar role in Canada as did the European Académies to which Lyotard refers, and thus they were very powerful organizations with the ability to exclude or admit to their ranks and to the profession itself. The power to exclude or admit to membership in the RCA was held by the few Academicians themselves.

As discussed in Chapter Five, exhibition venues, like studios, were some of the physical spaces that were important to women artists as workers.⁶ Janice Helland has argued that at this time membership in an art association had economic advantages for women.⁷ It gave women artists the stamp of success and validation by their peers that was needed by them as professionals. Although they were not allowed to vote at meetings, women were elected as members in the OSA. The RCA presented an utterly different challenge for the study group artists, for the period under study (and continuing until 1931), a ceiling was placed on women's membership in the RCA. Here they could only attain election as an Associate, not as an Academician. As previously discussed, the one exception was Charlotte Schreiber who had been elected at the founding of the Academy in 1880.⁸

Commercial advantages appear to have been had by artists at the OSA, RCA, and AAM venues, for generally speaking, as will be examined later in this chapter, a good number of artists in the study group enjoyed steady sales at these exhibitions. However, the amount and value of income derived from these exhibits is difficult to ascertain. Sales at exhibitions are difficult data to collect. Helpful are the catalogues of the Toronto Industrial Exhibition (TIE) art show which generally were printed with the prices of the art. However, in the years under study, the RCA exhibition catalogues did not generally

include pricing. One had to enquire at the exhibition desk for the price of the works for sale, a challenging task one hundred years after the event.

Sometimes in the present study a search was rewarded by newspaper reports giving information on what sold. Rarer still, a few exhibition catalogues exist in the archives which were annotated long ago with the selling price of a painting hand written in the margins, in fading blue ink, by a patron of the exhibition. One example of a surviving annotated RCA catalogue for 1900, in the archives of the National Gallery of Canada, reveals that a selection of high and modestly priced paintings were offered by artists in the study group, and that women Associates of the RCA, such as Florence Carlyle, exhibited work alongside that of artists who had not achieved these membership credentials, for example artists Caroline Farncomb, and WAAC founder Mary Ella Dignam. In this one comparison the RCA Associate, Carlyle, generally appears to have asked a higher price for her art work: an average of \$60, compared with an average of \$16 for the two women non-Associate artist's work.⁹ In general the major art associations and academies in Canada appear to have enhanced the professionalism and chances of earning money for the artists in the study group, with particular advantage to those artists who had been elected to Associate and Academician status.

Smaller Canadian art clubs, when they accepted women artists as members, offered the advantages of professional contacts and the elite status and symbolic value which came with membership in an exclusive and tight-knit group. A number of artists from the study group, such as Harriet Ford, Mary Hiester Reid, Sydney Tully and Mabel Cawthra, found acceptance in two exclusive Canadian art clubs in the 1890s and early years of the

twentieth century, in sites of professional equality with male peers, a rare event in these years.

One of these, the Palette Club, was formed by veteran Canadian artist, and founding President of the RCA, Lucius R. O'Brien (1832-1899). The Palette Club started in 1890, the same year that O'Brien stepped down from his presidency of the Academy, and resigned from the OSA to protest what he perceived as a lowering of artistic standards by the association. He established the Palette Club in Toronto as an alternate artists' association and exhibiting organization, and hand picked the members himself.

Two artists from the study group, Mary Hiester Reid and Sydney Tully, were among the twelve founding members, who also included F.M. Bell-Smith, F.S. Challener, E. Wyly Grier, C.M. Manly, Lucius O'Brien, A. Dickson Patterson, G.A. Reid, E. Thompson Seton, and H. Watson. The early exhibitions, for which George Reid designed the etched invitations, were held in O'Brien's College Street studio.¹⁰ In 1894 the twelfth member, Harriet Ford, exhibited in the third Club exhibition held at Roberts' Art Gallery.¹¹

The Toronto Arts Students' League (TASL), formed four years before the Palette Club in 1886, was a self-funding, artist-controlled group which offered life classes, camaraderie, and *en plein air* sketching outings to artists and aspiring artists. Like the Palette Club, the TASL may be seen as a Toronto-based drawing club in which women from the study group were prominent members; the Palette Club was, however, more exclusive, with members hand picked by Lucius O'Brien. Membership in the TASL included Lucius O'Brien, Archibald A. Martin, and Frederick Henry Brigden, and study group artists Laura Muntz, Mabel Cawthra Adamson, Gertrude Spurr, Sydney Tully, and

Harriet Ford. Throughout most of the TASL's existence women artists were accepted as full members and served on the executive, for example in 1896 Spurr was the corresponding secretary.¹² However, such was not always the case. When it was formed in 1886 the TASL was a male-only club. As reported in *Saturday Night's* "Art and Artist's" column in September 1889, three years after the TASL had been formed, several women artists petitioned the League and asked to be admitted as members.¹³ The applications were discussed at the League's business meeting, and it was subsequently decided that although the women candidates would first have to submit a portfolio of sketches, if approved, they would be admitted as members.

Members completed one drawing a month, which they brought for critique to club meetings. League members, both men and women, traveled together to sketch in the valley of the Don River, Rosedale Ravine, or Port Credit harbour on the outskirts of Toronto, to the Quebec City area, and to Queenston and the Niagara Peninsula. The acronym by which the TASL was known, "N.D.S.L.," often found inscribed on their sketches, stands for the words in Latin *Nulla dies sine linea*, not a day without its line.¹⁴

Beginning in December 1892, members' work was also published in the annual TASL calendars which combined art reproductions, including work by Gertrude Spurr and Laura Muntz, and Canadian poetry by such writers as E. Pauline Johnson and Archibald Lampman.¹⁵ Work by members was exhibited at annual Christmas exhibitions in their premises, described in 1895 as an informal affair with the walls plastered cheek by jowl with a variety of drawings, illustrations, and paintings for which "no unnecessary expenses or space is wasted on frames."¹⁶ While the TASL art production was also exhibited to the public through the calendar publications, in addition monthly critiques

and exchanges of work between members as gifts functioned to add a professional networking capacity which formed ties between artists and circulated their production.¹⁷

In the context of both the Palette Club and the TASL, with the reservations discussed above, the study group artists who were members largely appear to have been active and equal partners with their male colleagues. In contrast there were several important male-only art and cultural associations which barred women from becoming members. As discussed earlier in this study, the Canadian Art Club, and The Arts and Letters Club, The Arts Club of Montreal, and with one notable exception the RCA's academician status, may each be seen as exclusive all-male "Clubs." Each group excluded women members, or in the case of the RCA, full women members.¹⁸ Yet, in a contradictory, yet revealing turn of events, at times in their history these groups all exhibited art by women artists.

Florence Carlyle's painting *Contemplation* was exhibited at the Inaugural Loan Exhibition of The Arts Club of Montreal, which opened on 1 March 1913, on loan from its owner the Montreal architect Edward Maxwell.¹⁹ The Arts Club of Montreal had as its aim to provide a meeting place for men of various cultural professions interested in "art, music, literature, and kindred arts." Paintings by Emily Coonan, Bertha and Gertrude Des Clayes, Mabel May, and Laura Muntz were also exhibited at the Saturday evening inaugural exhibition party attended by what the Montreal *Star* described as a "Bohemian crowd" at the club house on Victoria Street.²⁰

Laura Muntz was the only study group artist, indeed the only woman artist, to exhibit with the Canadian Art Club. But she did so once, in 1909, and then only in the capacity of a guest.²¹ In her Ph.D. dissertation on this artist, Elizabeth Mulley has used the example of Muntz's one-time exhibition with the Canadian Art Club to argue that Muntz

was not “entirely excluded from the male art establishment.”²² Yet I would propose that inviting a sole woman artist to participate once as a guest in an all-male art club does not constitute inclusion of either that artist or women artist colleagues, any more than does the exhibition of women-colleagues’ art production at The Arts Club’s inaugural loan exhibition in 1913.

Indeed, it is a curious contradiction that allows admiration of the work of women artists but excludes the artist from membership. Why were women excluded from these professional organizations? Rebecca Sisler in her history of the RCA proposes that the reason centred on professional status, in the abstract sense: “[women] were welcomed and respected by their male counterparts,” she writes, “it was their preserve in the living flesh in traditional male enclaves...that was difficult.”²³ Yet, while women members might have complicated the organization of certain sanitary facilities, it had to be more than women’s mere physical presence in club rooms that was the objection. Pamela Gerrish Nunn and Janice Helland have suggested that jealousy of the rising woman artist by male colleagues should be considered as another reason, in tandem with competition for work.²⁴ The act of keeping women out of these venues, with the exception of token gestures, hampered the woman’s ability to work equally in the marketplace. The Canadian market could only support a limited number of artists after all, and with the exceptions noted above, women appear to have been counted as newcomers to professional art practice by male colleagues guarding the gates of many art clubs. In addition, it might be argued that all-male art clubs were not premised on merit or marketability, as national and provincial art associations, or commercial galleries tended

to be; but were premised on distinctiveness in terms of gender.²⁵ All-male arts clubs were an avenue to assert masculine networking.

The Arts Club of Montreal membership included some of the country's best known architects, musicians, and artists: art critic and amateur photographer Harold Mortimer-Lamb; artists Maurice Cullen, George Horne Russell, who later became the president of the RCA; artist-illustrator Charles W. Simpson; photographer Sidney Carter; and several influential architects including Professor Thomas W. Ludlow of McGill University; Thomas McLaren, partner in Peden and McLaren; Edward and William S. Maxwell; and Frederick Garfield Robb, architect for the Montreal Ritz-Carlton Hotel opened 1912; were all founding members of the club.²⁶ The Maxwell's Montreal architectural firm awarded commissions to artists such as F.S. Challener to paint murals in homes built by them; commissions that might have been awarded to women-colleagues if not for the men-only club rule.

In response, as discussed in Chapter Three, women founded clubs such as the WAAC, and the Heliconian Club which included all the allied cultural professions. At the Heliconian Club, founded in 1908, Laura Muntz and Mary Hiester Reid were among the study group artists to hold exhibitions of their work.²⁷ Elizabeth McGillivray Knowles' November 1916 solo exhibition at the Heliconian Club included miniature paintings, sketches of woods reminiscent of her well known painting *The Dreamer* (fig. 1-3) and a number of her "barnyard scenes".²⁸(Fig. A-2)

Study group artists also exhibited outside of Canada with women-only exhibition societies, and in one-time commercial gallery exhibitions. Sophie Pemberton and Sydney Tully were members of the '91 Club, in London, England. Tully exhibited here in 1895²⁹

and Pemberton, annually, from 1896 to 1898.³⁰ Mary Bell Eastlake exhibited with England's Society of Women Artists.³¹ In New York City Florence Carlyle participated in the "Exhibition of Work by Women Artists" at Knoedler's Galleries. In a private letter Elizabeth McGillivray Knowles, proudly informed Eric Brown, then director of the NGC, "last year [1919] I was elected a member of the American Society of Women Painters."³²

Study group artists also attempted to branch out into major art associations in the United States and Europe, with mixed results. Many of the artists who studied in Paris exhibited there during their residency: for example Florence Carlyle, Laura Muntz, Sara B. Holden all first exhibited in the Salon of the *Société des Artistes Français* between 1893 and 1895. Muntz was the first Canadian woman to win an honourable mention in the Salon des Champs-Élysées in 1895; Gertrude Des Clayes won a third class medal at the Salon in 1909.³³ But after their education was completed few of these artists continued to exhibit in France, and their efforts shifted instead to Canadian, British, and American exhibition venues. Sophie Pemberton and Florence Carlyle exhibited with the Royal Academy in London. And Laura Muntz and Carlyle exhibited with the New York-based, Society of American Artists (SAA) in April 1904, where Muntz's painting *Little Miss Shy* sold during the last week of the exhibition.³⁴ The SAA was a society which, at the time, specifically expressed the wish to encourage women artists and to provide a forum for new art trends.³⁵

Significantly, 1904 was also the year that both Muntz and Carlyle won medals at the Louisiana Purchase Exposition, in St. Louis. However, Muntz's efforts to gain a professional foothold in the U.S. dropped off after this and she seems to have made the

decision to work solely in Canada. In 1906 Muntz moved from Toronto to Montreal and opened a studio in Beaver Hall Square.

In contrast, her friend and colleague Carlyle, having gained commercial- related work with the Osborne Company in New York, continued to live in that city intermittently and build her American professional practice, with some success. Two years later in 1906 she exhibited at the National Academy of Design,³⁶ and subsequently was asked to exhibit in the Knoedler's Gallery 1908 exhibition of women artists.

As part of their general ambitions to win recognition abroad, many study group artists participated in the art exhibitions of world's fairs. The Art Palace galleries at the World's Columbian Exposition held in Chicago in 1893 were the setting for the exhibit by Canadian artists. Canadian women participating included Gertrude Spurr, Mary Hiester Reid, Mary M. Phillips, Mary Bell Eastlake, Mary Ella Dignam and Margaret Houghton. Sydney Tully exhibited four paintings, Laura Muntz who was studying in Paris, sent *A Fairy Tale*, and Sarah Holden showed *A Brittany Interior* which was awarded a gold medal.³⁷

At Buffalo, New York's 1901 Pan-American Exposition it was Laura Muntz who garnered first place among her study group colleagues with a silver medal, and paintings by Sydney Tully, Florence Carlyle, Mary Bell Eastlake, and Mary Hiester Reid were awarded Honorable Mentions.³⁸ The Louisiana Purchase Exposition, in St. Louis, Missouri, three years later (fig.7-1) found these artists again jockeying for first position. This time Carlyle won a silver medal for her painting *The Tiff*, (fig. A-3) and bronze medals went to Laura Muntz and Sydney Tully.³⁹

Women artists seem to have done well in the provincial and national art associations' juried prize winning, and in the world fair competitions, which, by and large, were premised on merit. Exhibiting and winning prizes at world fairs helped to place a woman artist's professional reputation on a par with her male colleagues in Canada, and internationally. Whether or not this helped to assist her career in the long term varied. For example, while Sarah Baldwin Holden won a gold medal at the Columbian Exposition in 1893 it does not seem to have helped launch her career, and a decade later she had all but disappeared from the art world. Yet Florence Carlyle's silver medal at St. Louis in 1904 was deemed important by the American calendar company for which Carlyle worked. The details of her winning a World's Fair silver medal were cited in Carlyle's biography which appeared on the title-leaf page, adjacent to the Osborne calendar reproductions of her paintings from 1905 to 1908.⁴⁰ The Osborne Company had offices in New York and London and circulated their products internationally. It is significant that a decade after her 1904 win, the NGC began to acquire her work for the national Canadian art collection.⁴¹

Another option for exhibiting, and selling work was through commercial galleries. A relationship with art dealers and commercial galleries was an effective way to have art production seen and sold. There were few commercial galleries in Canada at this time. Indeed, this state of affairs was part of the wider problem of a lack of cultural infrastructure in Canada for the visual, musical and literary arts.⁴² With regard to commercial galleries in Canada, an 1898 directory of art dealers the *American Art Annual*,⁴³ lists a total of only eight art dealers in Canada's two largest cities. Other commercial art dealers' establishments, which in addition sold art supplies, wallpaper and

household decorating supplies, certainly existed in smaller centres, for example, O.B. Graves Art Store in London, Ontario, and Thompson's Art Store in Hamilton, Ontario.

The Toronto dealers were "The Art Metropole," in two locations in 1898, 131-133 Yonge Street, and in rooms 1,3,5,7 and 9 in the Yonge Street Arcade.⁴⁴ Also, there was "Matthews, Gilder and Picture Dealer," on Yonge Street; and "The E. Harris Co. Ltd." located at 44 King Street East; and "Roberts' and Son Art Galleries" at 79 King Street West.⁴⁵ Commercial art galleries in Montreal included "W. Scott & Sons, Paintings," and "McArthur & Co, Artists' Supplies" both on Notre Dame Street; "Johnson & Copping," and "A. Ramsey & Sons, Artists' Materials."

Artists in the study group regularly exhibited their work for sale through commercial galleries. For example, when Louise Tully returned from England after four years study at the Kensington Art School she placed a number of wood carvings for sale through Roberts' and Son Art Galleries. The writer of an article in *The Week*, in January 1895, remarked that he viewed several works by her in the windows of that Toronto establishment.⁴⁶ The limited number of art dealers increased the relative importance of art association exhibitions as venues in which artists could market production and acquire patronage, however, some art clubs and associations held their exhibitions in the premises of commercial galleries. For example, in 1894 the select artists of the Palette Club held an exhibition of work at the Roberts' and Son Art Galleries. And Roberts' also hosted the ninth annual exhibition of the WAAC in March 1897.⁴⁷

In November 1908 another commercial gallery, W. Scott & Sons' Galleries at 124 Yonge Street in Toronto was the setting of the "Thumb-Box Exhibition."⁴⁸ This exhibition featured over two hundred works for sale by established and emerging artists,

including from the study group Gertrude Spurr, Clara Hagarty, and Caroline B. Farncomb a former pupil of Florence Carlyle from London, Ontario.

The firms of T. Eaton Co. (Eaton's) and Robert Simpson Co. Limited (Simpson's) each had art gallery space in their large Toronto department stores. The Eaton's store gallery commonly referred to as the "Little Gallery," was located "off the picture department" of the house furnishings area of the store.⁴⁹ Both Eaton's stores in Toronto, the older building on Yonge Street and their art deco College Street department store which opened in 1930, had commercial art galleries.

Elizabeth McGillivray Knowles held solo exhibitions in Toronto at the art gallery in Simpson's.⁵⁰ Knowles, who at the time was living in New York, traveled to Toronto in February 1927 and 1928 to be present at this exhibition and sale of her paintings at Simpson's department store. Either in a solo exhibition or in conjunction with her artist husband, Elizabeth McGillivray Knowles regularly held exhibitions and sales of their work throughout the 1920s at Johnson Art Galleries in Montreal, located at 634 St. Catherine Street West. For example, they held a joint exhibition at this commercial Montreal gallery in December 1921.⁵¹

Exhibiting under her new married name (having recently married the husband of the late Mary Hiester Reid in 1922), Mary Wrinch joined forces with two other study group artists, Clara Hagarty and Marion Long, for an exhibition in the gallery of the Picture Department of the Eaton's department store in Toronto.⁵² In February 1926 Estelle Kerr's solo exhibition of her paintings, also at the Toronto Eaton's gallery, included work she had completed while working as an ambulance driver in France during World War I.⁵³ This department store gallery was again the setting for a solo exhibition of work, this

time by Clara S. Hagarty in October 1927.⁵⁴ Florence Wyle marketed her small domestic production, including iron owl bookends, paperweights, and totem lamp stands, through Eaton's gift shop.⁵⁵

Artists often exhibited with the same commercial galleries for years and built up friendships with the proprietors that sustained them personally as well as professionally. One rare glimpse that we have of this occurring is found in Florence Carlyle's surviving correspondence with her London, Ontario dealer, Mr. O.B. Graves (b. 1864) the proprietor of an art store which sold artwork, art supplies and frames at 222 Dundas Street. Graves had been a good friend of the artist Paul Peel and had also exhibited Peel's work in his store window during the 1880s. In a rare trip back to Canada from her home in England in 1922, Carlyle was staying with her sister in Toronto. She had previously sent Graves some of her older paintings to exhibit and sell and in early December she wrote again to the dealer to ask him to make her an offer for the unsold works. In the letter she negotiates prices with her old business sense intact but evidence surfaces of their close relationship in the past when the artist confides that she has recently been ill. "My health is such that my people are packing me off to England at once... You have always been a friend, please stand by me again... make me an offer for the pictures, will you?" Mr. Graves was happy to do so and wrote to ask what she wanted for the paintings, and if she would sign a painting if he sent it to her in Toronto. Carlyle wrote back agreeing, and leaving him with instructions for further sales, "As I am ill [I will in] all probability sail from New York next Thursday. Do you think I can have the cheque by then?"⁵⁶

Artists in the study group also organized exhibitions of their work themselves in community halls and hotel venues in smaller urban centers. One such exhibition and sale was held by the artist couple, Elizabeth and Farquhar McGillivray Knowles in the Royal Connaught Hotel in Hamilton, Ontario. The hotel's Room 809, where the exhibition was set up, was open to the public from 10 am to 10 pm.⁵⁷ The Hamilton exhibition closed on 19 April 1923 and, close on its heels, on 10 May, the Knowles' opened another exhibition and sale of their work in Patricia Hall, in the nearby city of St. Catharines, Ontario. The exhibition was organized under the auspices of the local Arts and Crafts Club.⁵⁸ The Knowles were astute at managing the public exposure of their artwork, and displayed skill in the business aspect of their art practices, especially in the organization of these annual sales of their work in private venues.

While many sales appear to have been linked to the major annual public art exhibitions, and smaller mixed and women-only club and commercial gallery settings, some artists utilized their own private studio spaces for solo or joint exhibitions of their work to the public. For example, studio-mates Estelle Kerr and Dorothy Stevens opened their joint Toronto studio as an exhibition venue for a week in 1913. The invitation reads, "*You are Invited to an Exhibition of Oils by Estelle M. Kerr and Oils and Etchings by Dorothy Stevens in their Studio 168 Bay Street from Saturday April 19th to April 26th 1913, from 11 to 6 o'clock.*"⁵⁹ They were successful in getting free advertising for their exhibition, while it was still on, in a celebratory review published by the *Mail* newspaper on 25 April 1913.⁶⁰

Kerr and Stevens again worked in tandem to publicize the latter's work as an etcher, when Kerr published an article on her studio mate's career and work in *Canadian*

Courier, in May 1914 just prior to the outbreak of World War I. She followed it up in the *Canadian Magazine* in December 1914, five months into the war, with an article on Belgium illustrated with etchings by Stevens.⁶¹

As discussed above, co-exhibitions were a way to draw the public by linking two popular artists in one exhibition. Mary Hiester Reid and Sydney Tully held a joint exhibition of their work entitled “Exhibition of 50 Paintings by Mary Hiester Reid and Sydney Strickland Tully.” While little is known of this exhibition of twenty-five paintings by each artist, it must have been held prior to Tully’s death in 1911.⁶²

Mary Hiester Reid and Mary Wrinch also held a joint exhibition of paintings at 241 Yonge Street, Toronto. Each artist contributed fifty paintings; a study from a decorative panel was among Reid’s work.⁶³ This exhibition was likely held prior to Reid’s death in October 1921.

Alternative and new ways of circulating production and making sales came from the new and expanding reprographic art industry. By the latter decades of the nineteenth century a new kind of art dealer, connected to reproduction technology and mass commercial publications, set up business in the art world.⁶⁴ These dealers, for example the Osborne Calendar Company of New York, for which Florence Carlyle and many other artists worked, purchased not only the art work but the rights to reproduce it. A working relationship with such dealers was often accompanied by creative constraints, discussed earlier, imposed on the artists, however the payoff included an increase in public visibility as well as the chance to work in a new medium. Their art production was reproduced in calendar paintings, on magazine covers as with Mary Hiester Reid’s cover for the *Women’s Globe*; as illustrations for newspapers and magazines; in comics

as with Estelle Kerr's comic strip, "Why Willie and Lillie Were Late," for the *Canadian Courier*. In 1905 Mary Riter Hamilton sold the rights to reproduce her painting *Goose Girl* to a popular magazine in France.⁶⁵ Some of these publications circulated their work to a large, sometimes international audience. Carlyle's calendar painting *Miss Mischief* (fig. 6-1) was among the top three Osborne paintings in their 1907 line.⁶⁶

For artists, giving one's work away as gifts may be seen as one other method of circulating art production in a way that was mutually beneficial. In her study of British women artists *Beyond the Frame: Feminism and Visual Culture, Britain 1850-1900*, Deborah Cherry has observed how women artists gifted their work to artist and writer women friends. Barbara Leigh Smith Bodichon (1827-1891) made gifts of her own watercolours and drawings to Marian Evans (George Eliot), Jane Cobden, and Christina Rossetti. Such gifts marked bonds of affection, but also implied a reciprocal exchange. For example in 1864 when Bodichon gave a second watercolour to Rossetti, she requested in return copies of Rossetti's writings.⁶⁷

In a similar networking style artists in the present study group circulated their art production by way of gifts between colleagues and friends. For example, at the turn of the century the members of the NDSL Drawing Club, an inner circle of TASL artists, to which study groups artists belonged, dedicated work to their fellow club members, signing them with a dedication and gifting the drawings to their colleague.⁶⁸

In 1922 Mary Wrinch owned at least two paintings by her friend Mary Hiester Reid and we might speculate that they were gifts from the artist. Similarly, in the same year Mabel Cawthra owned four paintings by Mary Hiester Reid.⁶⁹ Cawthra may have purchased the works. However, she and the artist were long-time fellow members of the

Heliconian Club, and Reid was on the exhibition committee of the Society of Arts and Crafts of which Cawthra was President,⁷⁰ so the paintings might also have been gifts to a friend and colleague.

In a similar way, gifting one's work to charity concerns was another way to circulate art production. Canadian artists donated their efforts to produce drawings for a souvenir picture book for the fancy dress Victorian Era Ball held in Toronto in December 1897 to raise money for the newly formed Victorian Order of Nurses.⁷¹ Artists, including Florence Carlyle, Clara S. Hagarty, Mary Hiester Reid, Sydney Tully, and Emma Windeat from the study group, participated by drawing portraits in pen and ink, charcoal, or pencil, of the various participants in their fancy dress costumes. Distinguished Canadian male portraitists also took part, including Andrew Dickson Patterson, George Reid, and E. Wyly Grier. Mabel Cawthra was photographed in her costume (fig. 6-4). She appeared as Mme. Recamier, wearing a white satin Empire dress, embroidered in silver, copied from the painting *The Salon of Madame Recamier* by W.Q. Orchardson.

But what of the sales that were made at all the various exhibition venues, the pay for murals, arts writing, and illustration commissions? To be paid for work, in other words to have a monetary reward, especially for women artists, was to define one's professional status. Griselda Pollock has written, and as we have seen in the study group, "women live the conditions of artistic production differentially, according to the social as well as subjective structures of gender and...economic positionality."⁷² Hence, study group artists encountered gendered subject matter rules in commercial illustration work, and lost professional networking opportunities due to membership restrictions for women in

art clubs where male colleagues, such as F.S. Challener, gleaned mural commissions from fellow-member architects.

Sales accorded the artist personal self respect and social status. For study group artists it also countered the title of amateur often applied to women and their art production in the Victorian and Edwardian eras. If someone paid money for your art production it then gained importance in the estimation of its intrinsic value. On the pragmatic side, an artist who was paid for work could afford to rent or buy studio space and maintain an art practice

The following discussion of the sales and earnings of artists in the study group should be measured next to that of the income of other working women in Canada. On one end of the spectrum, according to the *Canadian Labour Gazette*, in 1913, the average wage of women employed in factories was \$261 per annum. Skilled women workers and professionals such as nurses and stenographers were better off, earning an average of \$20 per week or \$1,040 per annum.⁷³ On average, journalists in Toronto made between \$35 and \$50 a week, however starting wages for women journalists could be as low as \$20 per month, as was the case for Kathleen Blake Coleman working for the *Daily Mail* in the 1890s.⁷⁴

While exact figures about artists' earnings with regard to sales and income are difficult to obtain, there are some indications in this area. Generally speaking it is thought that women artists at this time earned significantly less than their male colleagues. Studies on women working in the arts as musicians and actors indicate that the majority had to resort to teaching to supplement their incomes. Female visual artists may also have earned less. Janice Helland maintains that in nineteenth-century Scotland

women painters sold their work for less than their male colleagues. But Helland points out a crucial fact which was true also for the artists in the present Canadian study group, that women artists priced their artwork themselves when it was offered for sale in exhibitions. While Janice Helland writes that women who sold their work for less than their male colleagues appear to have been subscribing to the “dominant ideology that rarely did a woman artist sell her work for as much as her male colleague,”⁷⁵ perhaps it was pragmatism that prompted women artists of this era to set their prices slightly lower than that of their male colleagues. Indeed it has not been established that this was the case for the present study group. Although the data is fragmentary, the surviving information suggests that, in contrast to Helland’s findings on Scottish women artists, a number of the artists in the present study seem to have charged prices for their paintings and mural work that were more or less similar to those of their Canadian male colleagues.

Then, as now, it was not easy to earn a living as an artist in Canada. The activity of the study group with some commercial galleries has been discussed earlier in this chapter. There was no national academy of art until 1880, the year this study begins. In Canada at this time cultural infrastructure was minimal and, as Audrey Forster has noted, there was little patronage for artists, either private or public, prior to the late 1930s.⁷⁶

While only Academicians were required to donate a work of art, a “Diploma Work,” the RCA also acquired work for the national collection by purchasing artists’ work.⁷⁷ Their purchases from the study group included several in 1913 from the RCA exhibition: Gertrude Spurr was paid \$500 for *Low Tide*; the RCA paid \$350 for Laura Muntz’s *Madonna with Angels*, thus adding it to Muntz’s *A Daffodil* bought the year before;⁷⁸ *Morning Sunshine* by Mary Hiester Reid commanded \$300.⁷⁹

Yet, as one might expect, the general public too was an important source of sales and commissions. A common method of selling to the public was directly from exhibitions held by Canadian art associations such as the RCA, AAM, WAAC, and OSA. Records of such purchases rarely survive, but artist Robert F. Gagen's (1847-1926) hand-marked catalogue of a fund raising exhibition for the Patriotic Fund, in the AGO archives, reveals much about sales and purchasers.⁸⁰ The exhibition was organized under the auspices of the RCA and circulated beginning in Toronto in December 1914 and traveled across Canada during 1915. The artists had donated all 83 works to the fundraiser, and thus did not benefit directly, but this record of purchasing activity gives us a glimpse at private collectors of art by the study group at the very end of the time period under consideration.

Study group artists, whether at the beginning of their careers, like Emily Coonan, or well established, like Laura Muntz, were well represented in the 1914 Patriotic Fund sales. Emily Coonan's *Girl in Green*, and Harriet Ford's *At the Vintage*, sold to a founding member of The Arts Club of Montreal, David McGill.⁸¹ Other wealthy private citizens were patrons of the study group artists. The most prominent Canadian collector of art at the time was Sir William C. Van Horne (1843-1915), the chairman of the CPR.⁸² In 1914 he bought Laura Muntz's paintings *An October Day*, and *Girl with Sea Gulls* for \$80 and \$100, respectively.⁸³ Charles E. Porteous, who had earlier commissioned Canadian artists to paint murals for his summer house, bought *Road through the Woods* by Berthe Des Clayes for \$75 directly from the 1913 RCA exhibition in Montreal.⁸⁴

In addition, many unknown members of the public bought works by study group artists. In 1914, at the Patriotic Fund exhibition, Mary Hiester Reid's *Carnations* went for \$50 to a Toronto Colonel; Florence Carlyle's *Spring Song* was purchased for \$80 by a

private citizen of Montreal. *Marie*, by little-known Montreal artist, Jeanne de Crèvecoeur, who would later exhibit with the Beaver Hall Group in their inaugural 1921 exhibition in Montreal, sold for a modest \$25.

Prices for the study group at the 1914 Fund exhibition ranged from a low of \$15 for the painting *Dutch Interior* by Clara S. Hagarty, sold to a Winnipeg purchaser, to a high of \$140 for Gertrude Des Clayes' painting of a young girl, *Petite Canadienne*. Although in keeping with the prices commanded by many of their male colleagues, study group work did not approach the prices commanded by Horatio Walker, Homer Watson, or J.W. Morrice.⁸⁵

While the above provides evidence of study group sales to the public from Canadian exhibitions around 1914, some study group artists also made sales of work to the public at art exhibitions outside of Canada. A *New York Times* article from a decade earlier, April 1904, records that newcomer Laura Muntz sold her painting *Little Miss Shy* at the recent exhibition of the Society of American Artists (SAA) at the Galleries of the American Fine Art Societies at 67 West 23rd Street, in New York City.⁸⁶

The public also purchased art directly from the artist, sometimes traveling to their studios. In 1903 the young Estelle Kerr, discouraged by the prices she was getting for her work, wrote in a letter to her sister, "I have done two oils, one of which is already sold to Mrs. Alfred Jones for the large and elegant sum of fifty cents. I have also an order for five-dollar oil [painting], but fear it will never materialize."⁸⁷ It is not clear whether she means the payment or the painting. Mr. L.W. Graves, the son of Florence Carlyle's London art dealer, O.B. Graves, was in 1911 the owner of her painting *Mother and Child*

(1910),⁸⁸ which may have been purchased from the OSA exhibition, where it was first exhibited in March 1910, or directly from the artist.

The public also commissioned work, such as portraits or murals for their homes. Private commissions were a mainstay for portrait artists such as Laura Muntz and Sydney Strickland Tully, but sculptors, too, worked on specially ordered work. As previously noted Robert S. McLaughlin, the wealthy automobile manufacturer, commissioned a fountain-sculpture from Frances Loring.⁸⁹

In 1899, wealthy Toronto businessman Charles Porteous commissioned Harriet Ford, and other Canadian artists such as Rex Stovel, to paint murals for the interior of his summer house. Surviving documentation gives us some idea about the prices charged by artists for mural work in private and commercial commissions. And it appears that, in domestic commissions at least, women artists' wages were comparable to male colleagues. In a letter to Porteous written by Ford in September, after completing the work the previous summer, the artist charged him \$75 for the five by three foot "over-the-mantle piece" panel.⁹⁰

For the Porteous mural Harriet Ford actually received \$25 more than her colleague Frederick Challener was paid in 1911 for his work on an over-the-mantle mural in the residence of F. Howard Wilson in Sainte-Agathe, north of Montreal. The price charged by artists appears roughly to have been commensurate with the area covered, since for a "major" mural in the Westmount, Montreal residence of Dr. Milton Hersey, Challener's employers, the architect's Edward and William Maxwell, paid him \$300.⁹¹ The amount of \$300 recurs again as the rate for another large mural; Challener was offered that amount to paint the forty foot proscenium arch in Hamilton, Ontario's Savoy Theatre.⁹²

Artists in the study group made art sales to a variety of clients, including government. In the late nineteenth and early twentieth century the Ontario Provincial Government regularly purchased paintings by “ballot” from the OSA Exhibitions for the Provincial Government collection, and annually allotted a specific amount of money for this purpose.⁹³

Their first purchase of work by a study group artist was Charlotte Schreiber’s painting, *A Box on the Ear*, in 1879. Records of purchases are not extant between 1881 and 1895, but in 1897 they reveal that the government bought Mary Hiester Reid’s *A Harmony in Gray and Yellow* for \$100. In 1899 and 1900 they purchased three paintings by Sydney Tully, *Jeanne* (\$100), *‘At the Loom’- French Canadian Interior* (\$100), and *Monday Morning* (\$100), and Gertrude Spurr’s *A Surrey Heath* (\$50). In 1902 they purchased Florence Carlyle’s painting, *The Tiff*, from the OSA exhibition for the princely sum of \$1000. Purchases were also made from Mary Wrinch, Berthe des Clayes, and H. Mabel May.

In 1907 the Ontario Provincial Government art collection loaned a number of paintings to the annual art exhibition of the CNE in Toronto. Among these were Laura Muntz’s, *On the River (Holland)*, originally bought from the artist in 1899 for \$100. Also loaned to the exhibition were Clara S. Hagarty’s *Dutch Interior* and Carlyle’s *Rose Birthday*.⁹⁴

The above sales information reveals that the Government of Ontario was a significant client of the study group artists during the period 1880-1914. It suggests that in addition to the obvious professional esteem developed, the purchases were significant in making the art practices of these artists financially viable.

Private clubs often bought art to decorate their premises. The St. John Art Club, of St. John, New Brunswick, acquired Helen McNicoll's painting, *The Farm Yard*, from the Patriotic Fund Exhibition in 1914, with their winning bid of \$91.⁹⁵

Another elite club which patronized the arts was the Granite Club of Toronto, founded in the 1830s. The painting *Summer* by study group artist Florence Carlyle remains in the Granite Club art collection today where the author viewed the painting, still in its original frame. *Summer* was purchased in 1925 from the artist's Memorial Exhibition held at the Jenkins' Art Galleries on College Street in Toronto.⁹⁶

Another significant private club patron was The National Club which purchased one painting annually from the OSA exhibition during these years. The National Club was a private Toronto club for business and political leaders founded in 1874, and its first president was the writer, Goldwin Smith. A social column in *Saturday Night* magazine in mid-March 1903 reported that Florence Carlyle's painting of a "laughing girl" entitled *Badinage*, "received favorable notice from some of the men of the National Club," and they reportedly purchased the painting for \$100.⁹⁷ These were good earnings for Carlyle, but, as has been previously discussed, not as good as those from her later calendar paintings contracts with the Osborne Company.

Other business and institutional patrons of women artists included the North American Life Insurance Company, whose art collection in 1907 included a painting by Gertrude Spurr entitled *Lynmouth, North Devon*.⁹⁸ Frances Loring completed a sculpture commission for O'Keefe's Brewery Company. This included a series of four large decorative panels, presumably friezes, depicting beer making in Greece.⁹⁹

The Canadian Pacific Railway (CPR) was a longstanding, important patron of the arts and artists in Canada from the late nineteenth century through to the 1920s. The CPR commissioned artists such as Lucius R. O'Brien to travel to and paint the Canadian Rocky Mountains.¹⁰⁰ Yet, women were not awarded such commissions by the CPR. Instead, in a clear case of gendered subject matter, Sydney Strickland Tully was commissioned by the CPR for a number of portraits to grace their new railway hotels in Victoria and Winnipeg.

Magazines, periodicals, and newspapers in Canada and abroad should be viewed as significant clients of the study group artists, who were employed by them as staff artists, writers, editors, cartoonists, and illustrators. Harriet Ford published articles in *The Studio* and the *Canadian Magazine*; Estelle Kerr was employed as an editor of an art column, as cartoonist, illustrator, and cover designer for the *Canadian Courier* magazine.¹⁰¹ Ida de Kirkby Lumb worked for *The Winnipeg Telegram* newspaper as a cartoonist and staff artist. Dorothy Stevens was commissioned for etchings by *The Canadian Magazine*, and Mary Hiester Reid designed a cover for the *Women's Globe*.¹⁰²

Universities also commissioned work from the study group. Early in her career, in 1888 Sydney Strickland Tully received a lucrative, \$1000 portrait commission from Cornell University in New York State, for a portrait of Professor Goldwin Smith.¹⁰³

The final section of this chapter will examine some issues surrounding critical reception of the study group. Critics wrote about art, but they also voted with their pocketbooks. It did not follow that critical approbation of an artist's work would result in the purchase of the work. For example, as Pamela Gerrish Nunn points out, famous British writer, arbiter of taste, and art critic, John Ruskin, acted as patron of several

women artists, advising and instructing them, yet he did not follow this with purchases of the work by the woman artist.¹⁰⁴ Thus, if critics purchased art it was likely a well known fact, in the close-knit Canadian art world, exactly which artist's work they had bought. To have it known generally that a critic liked your work enough to buy it could be a boon to the artist's sales, for it was the ultimate accolade. Two purchases that are known include Mary Wrinch's *Autumn on the Duck Pond*, bought by James Mavor, a professor at the University of Toronto and art critic, in 1914.¹⁰⁵ At the same exhibition AAM school director and influential teacher, William Brymner, paid \$50 for *The Embroiderer*, a painting by newcomer Dorothy Stevens, who, working in another medium, was described that year as "the most brilliant etcher that Canada has known."¹⁰⁶

One written account of a journalist's interview with artist Florence Carlyle provides us with an intimate example of how some artists in the study group attempted to control or steer their publicity and critical reception of their work. Prior to 1912 when Carlyle allowed Toronto *Globe* journalist Florence E. Deacon to come to her home and interview her for an article, little had been written about Carlyle herself because she "had not permitted it."¹⁰⁷ After her successful contact with Deacon, the following November Carlyle telephoned journalist Blanche B. Hume, and left a message: "I am sending away some pictures tomorrow, would you like to come and see them before they go? Come right out to the barn [studio], you will find me there."¹⁰⁸ She was packing three works for the RCA exhibition in Ottawa.

When Hume arrived they toured the studio. The walls were lined with pictures, and with a work table, several easels with paintings in progress, and numerous canvases lined up on the floor, there was little standing room. Carlyle was friendly and natural, yet

business-like in the way she conducted the journalist from painting to painting, commenting and answering questions about each work: “Some of these pictures have been in storage in New York...see how dusty they get,” Carlyle said while rubbing her finger over them and making a grimace. Moving on to another painting she continued, “That little woman standing over the table making a lemon pie, well, I had to sit in the sink to paint that, so congested was the arrangement.” The journalist laughed and asked about a street scene nearby, which showed a man and young girl standing together beside a car and chauffeur.¹⁰⁹ Her detailed discussion of the meaning of the painting, which was subsequently published, points to the fact that the artist wanted this meaning to be clear to the journalist.

To have sales, the art work must presumably appeal to the purchaser...The quotation from a letter by Ruby McQuesten, at the beginning of this chapter, demonstrates the very real impact that paintings by Canadian artists such as Elizabeth McGillivray Knowles and Laura Muntz, had on one young Canadian woman in April 1903. This Ottawa teacher singled out their art, over all others exhibited at the RCA show, to praise in a letter to her brother who was attending university in Toronto. And while her testimony that the work of the two women artists touched her “soul” may seem overly dramatic or quaint to our modern sensibilities, I am first and foremost struck by the freshness and exhilaration of Ruby McQuesten’s reaction to the art of her contemporary women artists. To read such an unguarded, heartfelt, (and misspelled) reaction reaches across the time and cultural spaces that usually distance me from historical subjects, and her letter begs a response in me, the uninvited reader of private correspondence. The distance between us is diminished. In imagination I share her time, and I am there with her for over two hours

during her energetic perusal of her favorite artists. I can't help thinking that the artists themselves would have been happy to hear Ruby's unselfconscious critical analysis of their art production. We are simply lucky that her response and this letter survived to our present in a private family archive.¹¹⁰

In Canada during the 1880s and early 1890s art literature was minimal. Certain segments of the press gave recognition to women's presence and production. Arts periodicals began to appear. Most of these were short-lived, for example *Arcadia* was published in Montreal for only a year, in 1892, yet featured sections on the arts in the major urban centres of Toronto and Montreal and in the United States, and also carried critical reviews of Canadian art exhibitions which referred to work by women artists. Another short-lived arts magazine in the 1890s was *Tarot*, and while it only published two issues, a woman, Harriet Ford, was its co-founder and co-editor.

Columns on the arts began to appear in the 1890s in newspapers and periodicals, and surprisingly, women edited several of them. In the early 1890s Toronto artist Edmund Wyly Grier contributed to the arts column "Art and Artists" which appeared in *Saturday Night*. A critic with the witty pseudonym "Lynn C. Doyle" wrote the column "Art Notes" in *Saturday Night* from 1895 to 1897. The appellation belonged to another artist-writer, Harriet Ford. The *Saturday Night* art column was renamed "Studio and Gallery" in the late 1890s and it was written by Jean Grant. The *Toronto Globe* newspaper produced the arts column "Driftwood," which regularly appeared from 1901 to 1902. It was written by Mary Agnes Fitzgibbon under the pseudonym Lally Bernard. All of the latter three columns gave much needed attention to the activities and art production of Canadian women and the WAAC, yet generally they managed to provide an overview of

goings-on of the regional artists and art world. Other newspapers published columns on the “Women’s Pages,” which combined society and cultural news. An example of one such arts and social column was “On Dit,” a regular feature in Toronto’s *Mail and Empire* in 1898.

Gender-based commentary, from professional critics, was common in late nineteenth-century criticism. In criticism of the work by study group artists there is a range of responses, but frequently we find an explicit and implicit gendering of art comments. Gendering of criticism is encoded in the imagery invoked by the language used, in the assumptions of the critic, and the tone adopted. For example, critics sometimes described work displaying a direct and confident style as “masculine,” with the implication that that painter, if she was a woman, had denied her “true” or “feminine” nature. Gendered language was noted by Sarah Burns in her comparison of the criticism of the work of Cecilia Beaux and John Singer Sargent.¹¹¹ Whereas Beaux’s paintings might be described as “full of grace and dignity,” of “sympathy,” Sargent’s was described with language which emphasized the rational, ‘masculine’ grasp of knowledge, critics used phrases which suggested the artist had a scientific attitude towards his materials, or that there was a physical truth about his work.¹¹²

This gendering of criticism is clearly seen in the reviews of Canadian women-only exhibitions. Sometimes the gendered criticism questioned the professional qualifications of the women or implied amateurism. For example, remarks impute a lack of technical skill. The title of one newspaper review of the Women’s Art Club of London, Ontario, in March 1897, referred to the artists collectively by their perceived ‘feminine’ attributes as “Beauties of the Brush.”¹¹³ Deborah Cherry has called attention to the struggle of women

artists in this era against forces which tended to dismiss women as amateur, and which perceived their art as mere accomplishments of 'graceful ladies'.¹¹⁴ Headlines, such as these in the London, Ontario newspaper, decidedly associated women's art production with amateurism.

Criticism of women-only exhibitions also took the form of harsh admonition for working as entrepreneurs and selling their art production: "the members of the [WACL] club can hardly be called[ed] professionals, although nearly all of them sell their paintings for the 'cold cash.' They are all the wives or daughters of well-known citizens...not in anyway dependent upon these sales for a livelihood."¹¹⁵ In this example, the title of the article, "London Ladies Secure Extra Pin-Money," dismissed the money earned by the women artists from sales as "pin money," or money for household or personal fripperies, thereby employing domestic imagery in the language of the criticism.

Gendering language is also evident in the critic's comments in integrated exhibitions, and the theme of domestic imagery continues to be present in the language used. Gertrude Spurr's entry for the RCA, the painting *Dead Pheasant* was discussed by the art critic for the *Mail and Empire* in 1898 in terms of interior design and decoration as being "an effective 'dining-room' picture."¹¹⁶ A similar domestic allusion occurs as late as 1912 when four of Laura Muntz's paintings were specifically named in the review as "eminently suitable for the home" by the Montreal art critic.¹¹⁷

Another critic commented that "the pot boiling division is strongly *en evidence*" to describe Fanny Plimsoll's painting at the Montreal association exhibition in 1892.¹¹⁸ Potboiler is a term used to describe a poor quality painting or other creative work, executed quickly in order to pay the artist's living expenses, thus utilizing the imagery of

cooking or boiling the pot to feed oneself. This term employs domestic imagery and it is significant that of all the entries at the AAM that spring no male artist's work was described using this term.¹¹⁹ The anonymous critic reserved it specifically to indicate that a woman artist's production was not serious.

Critics sometimes used other domestic cooking analogies to refer to the artist personally. Although meant to be complimentary, one critic writing in 1897 drew an unflattering baking analogy between Florence Carlyle's painting skills and yeast rising: "This young lady has been studying abroad, and shows every sign of the leaven having begun its work."¹²⁰

Language used to discuss the work of study group artists often used words associated with the prized 'feminine' qualities, or attributes of the 'lady-like.' When describing the approach taken by portraitists having entries in the March 1898 RCA exhibition the critic used phrases like "old-masters" for the male artists, while Florence Carlyle was said to "display in her [approach] delicacy and sweetness."¹²¹ Helen Anderson's handling of paint effects was described as "dainty." And in the same review, Florence Carlyle's *Mother and Child* (1910) is singled out for "its tenderness of sympathy rendered."¹²² Time seems not to have diminished this trend, for as late as 1912 one critic described Laura Muntz's paintings as "lovable pictures."¹²³ Esther Trépanier, in her study of the Montreal Francophone press's criticism of women artists at a slightly later date, observes that some critics saw women's activity as artists as part of their expected role as mothers, in cultivating good taste for the home and in educating their children.¹²⁴

The adjective 'charming,' recurs regularly as an almost stock phrase used by critics to talk about women's art. Sydney Tully's portrait in pastel of Mrs. Hayter Reed was

“charming,” according to the art critic for *Saturday Night*.¹²⁵ To another critic writing about the RCA exhibition of 1901, one of Mary Hiester Reid’s landscape paintings was “a charming bit of colour and cloud,” while in the same sentence male colleagues’ landscapes are described as “strong,” and “eccentric but able.”¹²⁶

The language used to discuss and even to praise, women’s art production is, therefore, specific to them. It is critical language for talking about ‘women artists and their work,’ not for speaking about simply ‘a professional artist and their work.’ It is constructed just for them, and subtly works to exclude them from the profession.

Genuine critical praise occurred, however, the accolades doled out to women artists by one critic were sometimes strongly and specifically negated by another. For example, in the spring of 1898 critics praised Florence Carlyle’s RCA entries, all excepting the critic Norman Patterson who wrote, “Carlisle [sic] had a number of subjects hung... Some of them received a great deal of praise. It is doubtful, however, if it was all merited.”¹²⁷ His comment, implying that a lot of hoopla was made about very little, was injurious to her professional status.

An examination of the critical reception of one women-only exhibition in the United States in 1908 yielded a similar result. In the *Exhibition of Paintings by Women Artists*, presented at Knoedler’s Galleries, a prestigious Fifth Avenue gallery, study group painter Florence Carlyle was the only artist from Canada asked to participate. The exhibition comprised work of over 50 top American artists including Rhoda Holmes Nicholls, Amanda Brewster Sewall, Ellen Emmet Rand one of the nation’s foremost portraitists, and Lydia Field Emmet who along with Mary Cassatt painted a mural for the Women’s

Pavilion in Chicago in 1893. Obviously these artists could not, under any circumstances, be seen as amateurs.

Yet, as in the reviews of Canadian women-only exhibitions, the New York reviewers began with comments on all-women exhibitions, specifically speculating on the femininity of the artists and the suitability of the art profession, the medium used and suitability of the subject. Here, as in the Canadian examples, gendering of criticism is encoded in the imagery invoked by the language, and in the tone adopted. For example, the all-women show was described with 'ladylike' characteristics as "dignified and engaging." The works were seen as symptomatic of their author's femininity, for example in the Knoedler's reviews the critic commented only upon paintings of children and family. The critics sought signs of domesticity on which to focus, calling attention to signs of domesticity in the works themselves and in the installation, for example the "deepest impression" was made by the painting titled *En Famille*.¹²⁸

Janice Helland, in her study of the Scottish artist Frances Macdonald, makes the point that although women were educated in the arts; they were not seriously expected to compete in the market economy.¹²⁹ As I have argued, the artists of the study group resisted this assumption by participating in professional practice, by working for pay, and by diversifying into new areas of commercial art.

The Canadian art community was a small, insular dominion in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, a community focused on the large urban centres, principally Toronto and Montreal, where each person, whether male or female, knew everyone else. Some, like the Tully sisters and Henrietta Vickers were related by blood, or like Gertrude Spurr and William Cutts; the McGillivray Knowles; or the Reids, were related by

marriage. Others had received initial training in Canada under the same teachers such as William Brymner, George Reid, and Sydney Strickland Tully, or had trained together in the few available art schools. A number, for example, Sarah Holden and Florence Carlyle, and Mary Bell Eastlake and Margaret Houghton, had received training abroad together in the same institutions, often cloistered in classes for women. Back home in Canada they exhibited together at the few available venues, they socialized together with Canadian musicians and writers at studio soirees such as those held by the McGillivray Knowles. In short, they knew each others' business and shared much in common.

Working in this context, in Canada by the mid-1890s, and increasingly by 1900, many study group artists were achieving important professional milestones in the Canadian art world and abroad. Increasing numbers were made Associates of the RCA and were exhibiting or working outside of Canada. Like Harriet Ford they were founding and editing art journals. They were elected to high office in new arts societies, for example Mabel Cawthra was elected the first president of the Society of Arts and Crafts in 1902, with male colleagues Edmund Wyly Grier, George Reid, and Gustav Hahn merely serving on the committee. Clearly, in Canada ten years earlier, a woman would not have been elected President of an integrated new arts society, ahead of her male peers. Study group artists also were diversifying and expanding their art production into writing or commercial art to achieve economic benefits and personal satisfaction. Some, for example Mary Hiester Reid with her Weston Town Hall mural, and Sydney Strickland Tully with her CPR hotel paintings, were achieving major public commissions prior to 1914. Yet at the same time, formal barriers, such as member restrictions in art associations and private arts clubs, were still being put into the rules of new clubs as

barriers to women's full acceptance to the art profession. For example, in the case of the Montreal Arts Club, these restrictions had the direct effect of allowing male artist members an unfair advantage in contracting commissions from architect members.

Integration was the goal for most artists in the study group. Women artists debated among themselves at this time about the mixed blessings of women-only art and cultural associations. It was a contradictory context, which saw new associations like the Heliconian Club, founded in 1908 to help encourage and unite all women working in the cultural professions. Yet by 1908 the WAAC, which had been founded in 1892 with similar goals for women artists, was seen by professional women artists as dated. By the second decade of the twentieth century the importance of women-only art clubs for career advancement was negligible to artists who were moving towards integration with male colleagues in all aspects of their career.

Increasingly study group artists either singly, or banded together in pairs, sought out new venues and ways to circulate and sell their art production, such as department store art gallery exhibitions at Eaton's or Simpson's; or as with Elizabeth McGillivray Knowles they themselves organized and advertised exhibit tours of their work in commercial galleries, rooms in hotels, or their own studios. Study group artists learned to be entrepreneurs and to run their art practices as businesses, or without a private income they went under.

Study group artists saw new applications for their skills and exploited them to develop as cultural professionals: some like Estelle Kerr edited arts columns as a sideline to her painting and illustrating work; Harriet Ford branched out into domestic mural and furniture design; and Mabel Cawthra began a decorating business, The Thornton-Smith

Company franchise in Toronto. Others, like Frances Loring and Florence Wyle, diversified their art production to include readily salable household items such as lamp bases or clock cases, which were sold in jewelry stores; or like Mary Bell Eastlake earned money by producing a line of jewelry; Mary Riter Hamilton diversified into the fashion industry in designing textiles; Florence Carlyle supported her more traditional painting practice by working at lucrative calendar painting commissions part time.

While artists such as Elizabeth McGillivray Knowles candidly acknowledged the gender inequalities in the system, clearly at this time the study group artists' response was generally to see themselves as men's full equals, and to aspire to the same professional goals.

Notes to Chapter Seven:

- ¹ Emily Carr, "A Three-Girl Drawing Class," *This and That* (Victoria, B.C.: Ti-Jean Press, 2007), 107.
- ² Sarah Deutsch, *Women and the City: Gender, Space, and Power in Boston, 1870-1940* (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 2000), 117.
- ³ Ruby McQuesten to Thomas B. McQuesten, 24 April 1903. History of the McQuesten Family, W4908, Whitehern Museum Archives, Online Archive, Hamilton Public Library, /www.whitehern.ca/.
- ⁴ See the catalogue for the *Fine Arts Department, Dominion Exhibition Halifax, 1906*, RCA Catalogues, MG28I126, vol. 10, LAC; Dec. 1912 opening exhibition by the RCA of the *Winnipeg Museum of Fine Arts Catalogue*, NGC Archives.
- ⁵ Jean-Francois Lyotard, "Answering the Question: What Is Postmodernism?" in, *The Postmodern Condition: A Report on Knowledge, Theory and History of Literature* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota press, 1993), 10: 73-74.
- ⁶ Lynn Walker, "Vistas of Pleasure: Women Consumers of Urban Space in the West End of London 1850-1900," in Clarissa Campbell Orr, ed. *Women in the Victorian Art World* (1995).
- ⁷ Helland, *Professional Women*, 41.
- ⁸ See the circumstances surrounding Schreiber's election in chapter 2.
- ⁹ *RCA Exhibition Catalogue 1900*, p. 10-11. NGC archives.
- ¹⁰ Illustrated in Tovell, *A New Class of Art*, 47.
- ¹¹ See "The Palette Club Exhibition," *Saturday Night* 8 (Dec. 1, 1894).
- ¹² R. Holmes, "Toronto Art Students' League," *The Canadian Magazine* 4 (April 1895): 171-188. Colin S. MacDonald ed. *A Dictionary of Canadian Artists* (Ottawa: Canadian Paperbacks, 1967) 1: 161-2.
- ¹³ "Art and Artists," *Saturday Night* (28 Sept 1889): 7.
- ¹⁴ F.H. Brigden, *Canadian Landscape* (Toronto: Ryerson Press, 1944).
- ¹⁵ TASL calendars were issued annually between 1893 and 1904, William Colgate. *The Toronto Art Students' League 1886-1904* (Toronto: Ryerson Press, 1954); Colgate, *Canadian Art: Its Origin*, 52.
- ¹⁶ Lynn C. Doyle. "Art Notes." *Saturday Night* (22 June 1895): 9.
- ¹⁷ Correspondence between the Author and Charles Reeve, Curator, Gallery, OCAD, Toronto..
- ¹⁸ Women were not admitted as members to The Arts and Letters Club until 1985. Correspondence, Raymond Peringer (Archivist, The Arts and Letters Club) to Susan Butlin, 15 May 1998.
- ¹⁹ "Bohemian Crowd at Opening of New Art Rooms," *Montreal Star*, 3 March 1913, 9.
- ²⁰ "Bohemian Crowd," 9. See also, The Arts Club, *Portrait of a Club* (Montreal: The Arts Club, 1962).
- ²¹ Robert J. Lamb, *The Canadian Art Club 1907-1915*, (Edmonton: Edmonton Art Gallery, 1988), 76.
- ²² Mulley, "Women and Children in Context," 13.
- ²³ Rebecca Sisler, *Passionate Spirits: A History of the Royal Canadian Academy of Arts, 1880-1980* (1980), 12.
- ²⁴ Nunn, *Victorian Women Artists*, 99. Helland, *Professional Women Painters*, 105.
- ²⁵ Kirsten Swinth argues that commercial galleries and dealers in the United States at this time were premised on marketability of the artists they chose to sell, Kirsten Swinth, *Painting Professionals: Women artists and the Development of Modern American Art, 1870-1930* (Chapel Hill and London: University of North Carolina Press, 2001), 111.
- ²⁶ The Arts Club, *Portrait of a Club*, 8-9.
- ²⁷ Muntz was an early member of the Heliconian Club (founded 1908), where an exhibition of her paintings were reviewed in the Toronto papers. Heliconian Club Papers, AO, Toronto.
- ²⁸ This exhibition is described in a newspaper review, "Miniature Exhibition: Mrs. MacGillivray Knowles' Pictures at Heliconian Club." *The Star* (Toronto), 16 Nov. 1916.
- ²⁹ "Painters and the Public," *Mail and Empire* (Toronto), Christmas 1898, p. 14.
- ³⁰ See "List of Exhibitions" in Tuele, *Sophia Theresa Pemberton*, 53.
- ³¹ Mary Bell Eastlake and Dorthea Sharp, the close friend of Helen McNicoll, both showed work at the 69th exhibition of the Society of Women Artists, in February 1924. *Morning Post* (London, Eng.), 4 Feb 1924.
- ³² Elizabeth A. McGillivray Knowles (signed Elizabeth A. Knowles) to Mr. [Eric] Brown, 19 May 1920, Artist clipping file, AGO.

- ³³ Carlyle exhibited *Une dame hollandaise*, # 340, in 1893; Muntz exhibited *Dis-moi?*, #1416; and Holden *J'ai eu faim*, #969, in 1895, *Explication des ouvrages de peinture, sculpture, architecture gravure et lithographie*, 3d ed., (Paris: Société des artistes français, 1893 to 1895), NGC library, Ottawa.
- ³⁴ Muntz is mentioned in the review, "The American Artists," *New York Times*, 28 April 1904, 8.
- ³⁵ Carlyle exhibited 4 paintings including Sketch of the Artist (#23). *Society of American Artist's 26th Annual Exhibition, 1904*, exhibition catalogue, Special Collections, Watson Library, Metropolitan Museum of Art, NY, NY.
- ³⁶ Carlyle exhibited *Notre Bon Camarade*, at the National Academy of Design Art Exhibition in 1906, Peter Hastings Falk, ed. *The Annual Exhibition Record of the National Academy of Design 1901-1950* (Madison, CT: Sound View Press, 1990), 119.
- ³⁷ *World's Columbian Exposition 1893 Official Catalogue, Part X, Art Galleries Canada*, (1893), 81-84, NGC, Archives; J.A. Redford, "Art and the World's Fair," *Canadian Magazine* 2 (Dec. 1893): 130; Sisler, *Passionate Spirits*, 44.
- ³⁸ "Art Awards at Buffalo," *New York Times*, 7 Aug. 1901, 7.
- ³⁹ "Dept. of Art, Louisiana Purchase Exhibition [1904], List of Awards Granted to Canadian Artists," RCA Papers, MG 28, I 126, v. 14, LAC.
- ⁴⁰ The title-leaf included a narrative description of the painting, artist bio, and artist photograph. Osborne Calendar Company, "*The Girl with the Laughing Eyes*, From the Original Painting by Florence Carlyle," and "*Always Room for One More*," (c 1908), (New York and London: Osborne Company, 1905 to 1908), originals in artist clipping file, WAG, Woodstock, Ont.
- ⁴¹ The NGC purchased Carlyle's paintings *Grey and Gold* in 1910, and *Afternoon, Venice* in 1913. "Works purchased at the RCA Exhibition, Montreal, Nov. 1913," RCA Exhibitions, MG 28, I 126, v. 14, LAC.
- ⁴² Audrey Forster, "From the CPR to the Canada Council,"
- ⁴³ Levy, "Directory of Art Dealers," in *American Art Annual 1899*, 535.
- ⁴⁴ "For Everything Used by Artists and Decorators," advertisement, *Saturday Night* (10 Dec. 1898): 15.
- ⁴⁵ "E. Harris Co. Ltd., Toronto. Artists' Colormen. Every Requisite for the Professional & Amateur Artist," advertisement, *Saturday Night* (30 June 1900): 9
- ⁴⁶ "Anyone who has Given more than a Passing Glance," *The Week* (Jan. 1895): 187.
- ⁴⁷ WAAC, *Catalogue of Ninth Annual Exhibition of the Woman's Art Association in Robert's Art Galleries, 79 King Street West, Toronto*, (Toronto: Woman's Art Association of Canada, 1897).
- ⁴⁸ See catalogue of the exhibition, W. Scott & Son's Galleries, *Thumb-Box Exhibition to be Held by Canadian Artists* (Toronto: W. Scott & Sons, 1908), NGC Archives, Ottawa.
- ⁴⁹ "The Picture Gallery." *Toronto Mail*, 25 Feb. 1928.
- ⁵⁰ E. Knowles wrote to her friend M. Fairbairn at the end of Jan. 1928 that she was traveling to Toronto, as she did each winter, and would arrive on 7 February and was staying until the end of the month. Elizabeth McGillivray Knowles to Mrs. M Fairbairn (Clarkson, Ont.), Jan. 1928, quoted in "New York Artists Honor Mrs. Knowles," *Toronto Star*, 2 Feb. 1928. See also, "Studies in Barnyard Pictures at the Sea, an Exhibition... at Simpson Gallery," *Toronto Star*, 19 Feb. 1927; and exhibition catalogue (Feb. 1928) in Elizabeth McGillivray Knowles' clipping file, AGO Archives.
- ⁵¹ "Canadian Artist Called by Death," *Montreal Gazette*, 5 Oct. 1928; and, "Talented Couple's Works on Exhibit." *Montreal Gazette*, 12 Dec. 1921.
- ⁵² "In a World of Colour," n.d., Unidentified newspaper clipping in Mary Wrinch Reid Scrapbook, General Archives, Box 5, AGO Archives.
- ⁵³ "Miss Estelle Kerr's Exhibition – A Painter of Children," *Saturday Night* 41 (27 Feb. 1926): 23.
- ⁵⁴ See review of the exhibition in, Hilda Ridley, "Clara S. Hagarty, ARCA, OSA, And Her Exhibition of Lovely Flower Pieces and Italian Scenes," *Saturday Night* (29 Oct. 1927).
- ⁵⁵ "Eaton's Daily Store News," *Globe and Mail*, 20 Dec. 1929, AGO Archives.
- ⁵⁶ Florence Carlyle to O.B. Graves, 6 December 1922, and circa December 1922, Artist Correspondence Files, ML, London, Ontario.
- ⁵⁷ "Beautiful Art Exhibit by Gifted Canadians," April 1923, unidentified clipping from Hamilton, Ont. newspaper, Artist's Clipping File, Archives, AGO.
- ⁵⁸ "McGillivray Knowles Art Display Here," 1923, Unidentified Clipping; see also "Wonderful Exhibition of Paintings", *St. Catharines Standard*, 11 May 1923.
- ⁵⁹ Original in Estelle Kerr clipping file, AGO Archives.
- ⁶⁰ "Fine Exhibition by Two Artists," *Toronto Mail*, 25 April 1913.

- ⁶¹ Estelle M. Kerr, "A Canadian Etcher," *Canadian Courier* 15 (16 May 1914): 23; Kerr, "Here and There in Belgium," illustrated with etchings by D. Stevens, *Canadian Magazine* 44 (Dec. 1914): 93-104.
- ⁶² A fragmentary catalogue survives, in the Mary Hiester Reid clipping file, AGO Archives, Toronto.
- ⁶³ This exhibition is referred to in a newspaper review, "Exhibition by Two Women," (nd.) File: Mary E. Wrinch Reid Scrapbook, General Archives, Box 5, AGO Archives.
- ⁶⁴ Deborah Cherry, *Beyond the Frame: Feminism and Visual Culture, Britain 1850-1900* (London and New York: Routledge, 2000), 2.
- ⁶⁵ Hamilton was living in Europe, mainly in Paris from 1901 to 1905. Robert Amos, *Mary Riter Hamilton* (Victoria: Art Gallery of Victoria, 1977), 5.
- ⁶⁶ Calendar Catalogue, Osborne Calendar Company, pp. 36-37, Special Collections, Library, University of Delaware.
- ⁶⁷ Cherry, *Beyond the Frame*, 69-70.
- ⁶⁸ A collection of drawings exist in the OCAD, Toronto, a number are dedicated to the artist C.M. Manly (1855-1924) in inscriptions on the drawing, by fellow NDSL Club members, correspondence, Jill Patrick to author, 19 Dec. 2007.
- ⁶⁹ "Pictures By Mary Hiester Reid, 1922, Owned in Toronto," typewritten list, Mary Hiester Reid clipping file, Archives, AGO.
- ⁷⁰ "Society of Arts and Crafts, Offices and Exhibition Committee," (1902). General Archives, File – "Toronto Society of Arts and Crafts," Box 5, AGO Archives, Toronto.
- ⁷¹ James Mavor. *Book of the Victorian Era Ball Given 28th of Dec. MDCCCXCVII*. (Toronto: Rowsell & Hutchison: G.N. Morang, 1898.)
- ⁷² Pollock, *Differencing the Canon*, 146.
- ⁷³ Richard Dennis, "Working Women Downtown: Single Women in Toronto 1900-1930," *The London Journal of Canadian Studies*, 22 (2006): 39.
- ⁷⁴ Barbara M. Freeman, *Kit's Kingdom: The Journalism of Kathleen Blake Coleman* (Ottawa: Carleton University Press, 1989), 10.
- ⁷⁵ Helland, *Professional Women Painters*, 42.
- ⁷⁶ Audrey Forster, "From the CPR to the Canada Council."
- ⁷⁷ Charles C. Hill, To Found a National Gallery: The Royal Canadian Academy of Arts 1880-1913," *National Gallery of Canada Journal* 36 (6 March 1980): 3.
- ⁷⁸ "RCA purchases from 1910-1911," RCA Purchases from Exhibitions, File No. 1.12R, RCA fonds, MG 28, I 126, LAC.
- ⁷⁹ "Works purchased at the RCA Exhibition, Montreal, Nov. 1913," RCA Exhibition, mtt., MG 28, I 126, vol. 14, LAC.
- ⁸⁰ The Canadian Patriotic Fund was started in 1900 for the Boer War, and revised during World War One, to provide money for wives and dependents of Canadian soldiers on active service. Robert F. Gagen (1847-1926) was the secretary of the Patriotic Fund exhibition. *Catalogue of Pictures and Sculpture Given by Canadian artists in Aid of the Patriotic Fund* henceforth cited as *Patriotic Fund*, exhibition catalogue, 1914, marked copy by Robert F. Gagen, OSA Papers, Clippings 1900-1919, F 1140 MU 2267, AO, Toronto.
- ⁸¹ The Arts Club, *Portrait of a Club* (Montreal: The Arts Club, 1962), 6.
- ⁸² Janet M. Brooke, *Discerning Tastes: Montreal Collectors 1880-1920* (Montreal: Montreal Museum of Fine Arts, 1989), 16.
- ⁸³ *Patriotic Fund*, exhibition catalogue, 1914.
- ⁸⁴ "Works purchased at the RCA Exhibition, 1913."
- ⁸⁵ Morrice's *Dieppe* (#35) was sold to Newton MacTavish for \$240; and Watson's *The Woodman's Home* (#10) went to Thomas Delany, Quebec, for \$210, *Patriotic Fund*, annotated catalogue, 1914.
- ⁸⁶ "The American Artists, Last Week of the Annual Makes a Record of Sales," *New York Times*, 28 April 1904, 8
- ⁸⁷ Letter quoted in typescript by Maggie Grant, niece of Estelle Kerr, "Estelle M. Kerr, O.S.A., Toronto 1879-," nd., File– Biog. "J-K," Toronto Heliconian Club Papers, F1102-1, MU 8092, AO, Toronto.
- ⁸⁸ Mother and Child/ Motherlove, is illustrated in "Florence Carlyle, Artist," *The Christmas Echo* (London, Ont.), 25 Dec. 1911.
- ⁸⁹ "Biographical Information and listing of works, Frances Loring," Artist Clipping File, Frances Loring, AGO Archives.

- ⁹⁰ Harriet Ford to Charles Porteous, 2 Sept. 1899, Charles Porteous Papers, v. 4, LAC, Ottawa.
- ⁹¹ Work costs Book M, 1904-1914, 133, 297 MA, Series C, quoted in, Rosalind M. Pepall, "Craftsmen and Decorative Artists," *The Architecture of Edward and W.S. Maxwell* (Montreal: The Montreal Museum of Fine Arts, 1991).
- ⁹² Dorothy Simpson to Charles McFaddin, Registrar, Grange Park, Toronto, 28 Sept. 1962, F.S. Challener file, box 15, General Archives, AGO Archives.
- ⁹³ The term "Ontario Collection" applies to those works purchased by the Ontario Government from the OSA between 1873 and 1914. Fern Bayer, "The 'Ontario Collection' and the Ontario Society of Artists, Policy and Purchases, 1873-1914," *RACAR* 8, no 1 (1981): 32-54.
- ⁹⁴ *CNE Dep. Of Fine Arts, Toronto*, (exhibition catalogue, Aug.-Sept. 1907), 13. CNE Archives, Toronto.
- ⁹⁵ Purchased "c/o Mr. S? Fisher." *Patriotic Fund* exhibition catalogue 1914, annotated copy, R.B. Pamph 709.71 R81, cop. 1, AGO ref. library, AGO.
- ⁹⁶ The author examined the painting at the Granite Club, and the original catalogue number is present on the back of the frame and canvas. See also, exhibition catalogue *A Memorial Exhibition of the Paintings of the Late Florence Carlyle*, ARCA, 1925, 11, NGC Archives, Ottawa.
- ⁹⁷ "Social and Personal," *Saturday Night* (14 March 1903): 3. "Badinage," No. 23, p. 6, *OSA Exhibition Catalogue* (March 1903), AGO Archives.
- ⁹⁸ Spurr's painting *Lynmouth, N. Devon* was loaned by to the CNE art exhibition in August 1907. CNE Dept. of Fine Arts, exhibition catalogue (1907), 17.
- ⁹⁹ Frances Loring, "Biographical Information Frances Norma Loring, and Listing of Works," typescript, n.d., Frances Loring clipping file, AGO Archives.
- ¹⁰⁰ Dennis Reid, *Lucius R. O'Brien: Visions of Victorian Canada*. (Toronto: Art Gallery of Ontario, 1990).
- ¹⁰¹ Further details of this work may be found in "Books and Articles Authored and Illustrated by Study Group Artists," in the Bibliography.
- ¹⁰² For further details see chapter 6. See also, McKenzie, *The Art and Pictorial Press in Canada*.
- ¹⁰³ Vivian Cowan (niece of Tully) to Margaret Fallis, 24 June 1985. Margaret Fallis, Unpublished Paper "Sydney Strickland Tully," note 21, ACWA, Carleton University.
- ¹⁰⁴ Pamela Gerrish Nunn, "Ruskin's Patronage of Women Artists," *Woman's Art Journal* (Fall/Winter 1981/82): 9.
- ¹⁰⁵ *Patriotic Fund Exhibition catalogue*, no. 34, *Autumn on the Duck Pond*," by Mary Wrinch, R.B. Pamphlet 709.71 R81 Cop. 1, AGO Reference Library, AGO, Toronto.
- ¹⁰⁶ Margaret Bell, "Women and Art in Canada," *Everywoman's World* (June 1914): 15.
- ¹⁰⁷ Deacon, "Representative women: Florence Carlyle," 4.
- ¹⁰⁸ Carlyle quoted in interview with Hume from November 1912, reproduced in Blanche B. Hume, "Florence Carlyle, ARCA," *Sentinel-Review* (Woodstock, Ontario), 10 July 1925, 10. Hume was a journalist for *New Outlook* and editor of *Rod and Gun in Canada*. She knew Carlyle through membership in Woodstock, Ontario's "Saturday Morning Club," a woman's reading and discussion group.
- ¹⁰⁹ This painting remains unlocated. Carlyle quoted in Hume, "Florence Carlyle."
- ¹¹⁰ Ruby McQuesten to Thomas B. McQuesten (24 April 1903). W4908, History of the McQuesten Family, Whitehern Museum Archives, Online Archive, Hamilton Public Library, /www.whitehern.ca/.
- ¹¹¹ Sarah Burns, "The 'Earnest, Untiring Worker' and the Magician of the Brush: Gender Politics in the Criticism of Cecilia Beaux and John Singer Sargent," *Oxford Art Journal* 15 (1992): 36-53.
- ¹¹² Burns, "Earnest, Untiring," 47.
- ¹¹³ F. Cameron, "Beauties of the Brush," *London Advertiser*, 18 March 1897, clipping files, WAAC archives.
- ¹¹⁴ Cherry, *Painting Women*, 83.
- ¹¹⁵ "What Our Women Can Do, How Many London Ladies Secure Extra Pin Money," *Free Press* (London, Ont.), 1 Dec. 1894, 6.
- ¹¹⁶ "Pictures at the Art Exhibition," *Mail and Empire*, 12 March 1898, 7.
- ¹¹⁷ "The Spring Exhibition," *Montreal Standard*, 23 March 1912, RCA Scrapbook, MG 28, I 126, Vol.14, LAC.
- ¹¹⁸ "Art Association, The Annual Spring Exhibition," *Montreal Star*, 19 April 1892, p. 3.
- ¹¹⁹ Two reviews of the AAM Exhibition were examined, one cited above in the *Star* on 19 April; and the second, "Spring Exhibition, Work of the Hanging Committee," *Montreal Star*, 21 April 1892, 5.
- ¹²⁰ Cameron, "Beauties."

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- ¹²¹ Jean Grant, "The Royal Canadian Academy Exhibition," *Saturday Night* 11 (12 March 1898): 9.
- ¹²² Vindex (pseud.), "The R.C. Exhibition, A Contributor's Views," *Montreal Gazette*, 10 Dec. 1910.
- ¹²³ "The Spring Exhibition," *Montreal Standard*, 23 March 1912.
- ¹²⁴ Esther Trépanier, "Les femmes, L'art et la Presse Francophone Montréalaise de 1915 à 1930," *Journal of Canadian Art History* 18, no. 2 (1997): 70-71.
- ¹²⁵ Palette (pseud.), "The Ontario Society of Artists' Exhibition," *Saturday Night* (27 Feb. 1904): 6.
- ¹²⁶ "Royal Canadian Academy of Arts, Mayor Howland Opens," *Mail and Empire*, 13 April 1901, 12.
- ¹²⁷ Norman Patterson, "The Academy Exhibition," *The Canadian Magazine* 10, no. 6 (April 1898): 514.
- ¹²⁸ *En Famille* (#47) by Marion Powers. "Paintings Shown by Women Artists," *New York Times*, 21 April 1908, 8.
- ¹²⁹ Janice Helland, "Frances Macdonald: The Self as Fin-de-Siècle Woman," 14, no.1, *Woman's Art Journal* (Spr./Sum.): 15.

Conclusion

The professional lives of many of the artists in the study group exemplified a new approach for women to the independent and active organization and promotion of their own careers. In their aspirations to lead self-determined, professional lives as independent single women, artists such as Laura Muntz, Sydney Strickland Tully, Harriet Ford, and Florence Carlyle, some of those who launched their careers in the late 1880s and early-90s, were champions of a new ideal for women's working and private life. The characteristics of their lives were those of the New Woman. In a world governed by gendered conventions, their examples of how women could manage their professional practices, to be entrepreneurs and turn a profit, contributed to a new model of the female artistic professional in Canada. Artists launching careers a decade later, such as Estelle Kerr, Frances Loring, Dorothy Stevens, Mabel May, and Florence Wyle, built upon and expanded this model.

These women were modern role models for all Canadian women aspiring to a career. For example, Madge Macbeth's 1914 article, "Canadian Women in the Arts," specifically emphasized the professional success of women in various branches of the arts. Florence Carlyle was described as a new model for professional women and her illustration and commercial art in New York City is described in glowing terms for women of the day. Carlyle's "story," she wrote, "should inspire any [women] who may...grow discouraged."¹ This was not simply insincere rhetoric; it was the opinion of a self-supporting widow, who was juggling several careers to support herself and her two young children.

Further evidence that study group artists were seen by women of the time as professional role models is found in an article by an artist who came of age in the last years of the study. Thirty-four year old Estelle Kerr had been a student of Laura Muntz and was herself working in the field of commercial art in 1913, as an illustrator and writer, when she focused on Laura Muntz and Florence Carlyle in her art column, "The Artist," for *Saturday Night*.² Kerr's target audience was women and the thesis of her article concerned how women can work as professionals in the field of art, and achieve financial independence. In it she links Carlyle's professional success directly to her commercial art activity and cites her career as evidence of women's ability to achieve an "extremely remunerative" living as a professional artist. What is of importance is Kerr's active promotion of Muntz's and Carlyle's professional career achievements and innovative commercial work as a model for an emerging generation of women. To put this in context further, artists such as Emily Carr, and the flamboyant couple, Frances Loring and Florence Wyle, were only just beginning their careers at this date. In this article Kerr took stock of the achievements that laid the groundwork for new attitudes towards women in the arts.

This dissertation's examination of the social background and education of the study group revealed that due to class-specific factors, such as education, access to materials, and funding, the majority of the artists in the study group were from the middle and upper-middle classes. There was, however, a broad range in terms of family income and personal circumstances. This research asserts that for the artists of the study group, the process of travel and study abroad was central to the formation of their identity as professional artists. It exposed them to the public and institutional world, and facilitated

the formation of professional and personal contacts, including important friendships with other women which helped them to sustain their career aspirations. As revealed by memoirs and patterns of correspondence between study group artists, single-sex classes in art schools abroad were largely a positive factor at this time for women's professional goals since they enhanced comradely feelings and bonds of friendship between women artists. Some classmates, such as Laura Muntz and Wilhelmina Hawley, and Frances Loring and Florence Wyle, established long-lasting friend/partnerships. At a time, the early 1890s, when attempts were made to regulate the 'free and easy' life style of American women studying in Paris, a number of artists in the study group, such as Florence Carlyle and Laura Muntz, lived emancipated, bohemian lives as students in independent studio-apartments.

The findings of this dissertation have underlined the discrimination in Canada toward professional women that existed within society. It identified some women's groups, such as the NCWC with which some study group artists were associated to balance the anti-feminist views implicit in widely held social ideas, such as those expressed in cartoons of the time. It also considered the limitations of such models as maternal feminism. The research asserts that in response to exclusionary policies in many male-dominated art associations in Canada, women in the study group founded and led women-only art and cultural clubs, and experienced more success at full integration into small art groups such as the Palette Club. The goal nevertheless was full integration, which was increasingly accepted in the early twentieth century. This dissertation also analyzed how gendered subject matter restrictions influenced the study group artist's choice of subject. This was

evident in commercial commissions, such as Florence Carlyle's calendar work, Estelle Kerr's cartoons, and in 'high' art, for example, in Laura Muntz's child portraiture.

My analysis of the construction of a Canadian woman artist's identity as a professional revealed that a majority of the study group lived the defining characteristics of the New Woman. In addition the research reveals that the trope of the New Woman, as expressed in the 1890s and c1900 in magazine stories, "New Women" fiction, and as visual representations for example the "Gibson Girl," and other illustrations, were enabling images of the modern, professional woman that functioned to reassure and offer a useful template on which to model an identity. I suggest that some of the study group artists, such as Harriet Ford and Florence Carlyle, incorporated emancipated ideas into their production and life choices. While involved indirectly with politically active associations such as the NCWC, through their membership with the WAAC, most artists in the study group largely avoided direct political involvement, perhaps because direct involvement was viewed as distracting from their professional goals. This research also revealed that artists who came of age in the 1880s and 1890s tended to seek involvement and exhibition opportunities with women-only art societies, for the many benefits and roles these clubs fulfilled at a time when women's choices were limited. This contrasts with the findings of the next decade (1900 to 1910) when the exhibiting patterns of women coming of age reveal that they were avoiding women-only art exhibitions, and increasingly in this era women artists sought out opportunities for full inclusion.

A number of artists in the study group 'resisted,' to use Cherry's term, the dominant ideology of the time regarding marriage. This dissertation examined the options and solutions the artists of the study group found to the conflicts of desire between career and

marriage. The majority of the study group appears to have made decisions that betrayed an anxiety about the potential negative influence of traditional marriage on their careers. For some this meant that they abandoned their professional career goals. In these study cases pressures of child care and domestic responsibilities may explain the decline in their careers. The conflict between career and marriage also influenced their life partnership choices. For example, women postponed marriage or married artists, or like Sydney Tully and Harriet Ford, declined marriage altogether. Several artists found long-term friend/companionship with other women, some of whom were fellow artists.

This dissertation analyzed what was unique to women's experience of the studio-space. At home and abroad the studios of women artists frequently became places of camaraderie, and of mutual emotional and professional support between women artists. Here many broke loose from Victorian sensibilities. We have also seen how a woman's studio functioned as a feminist meeting room, as in the case of Mary Phillips starting a new branch of the WAAC in Montreal. Of course the practice of art as a profession demanded a studio space, whether the artist was male or female, but for women the issues and the emphases were different. For the women in the study group studios were not simply empty spaces filled with ready-made subjects, nor were they merely work spaces, or places to have an illicit cigarette. Much more than for their male colleagues the studio space was integral to the organization of women artists' social and professional relations. The subjectivities of women artists in the profession, and as New Women, were ordered and defined through their encounters in the studio, experiences that were unique to women. This study has asserted that a woman artist's studio could become the centre of artistic life in a community, in addition to it working as a centre for women. The couple-

studios of the Reids and MacGillivray Knowles, to which Mary Hiester Reid and Elizabeth MacGillivray Knowles were central, as well as the studios of Loring and Wyle, functioned as centres of artistic life in Toronto during the period under study. Each of these studios was an artistic salon for both men and women in many branches of the arts.

This dissertation has revealed that many study group artists resisted the limitations to their professional aspirations and, while initially starting professional practice in traditional or accepted areas such as still life painting, soon developed a diversified art production, expanding into areas that were traditionally dominated by men. The research has revealed that a number of study group artists acted as both designer and executant for jewelry, murals, and furniture. In addition, many gained success in new areas in the art world which depended on changing markets or new technologies. Working in magazine illustration and calendar painting, they worked as entrepreneurs modifying their production to the demands of fashion, and utility. Whether designing jewelry and lamp bases in the popular Arts and Crafts style or designing textiles and scarves to complement the changing fashion esthetic in post-World War I Paris, they were serving a need. They also acted as role models for a new generation of Canadian women in the area of writing, in fiction, as journalists, editors and co-founders of arts periodicals, as political cartoonists, and as writers of comic strips, travel articles, and short stories.

As this dissertation has argued, the artists of the study group had to resist gendered restrictions, including gendering of criticism, gendered subject matter rules, and lost professional networking opportunities due to club membership barriers for women. They countered these adverse conditions of artistic production by participating fully and

creatively in professional practice, and most importantly by running their art practices as entrepreneurs.

This dissertation has pulled together hitherto unrecognized strands of these artistic lives, in areas such as production, exhibition, and identity, to reveal complex patterns of practices. One of these areas of new knowledge underscores the gendered nature of the canon of art history, with, as Griselda Pollock describes, “its complex configurations with gender and related modes of power.”³ One of the “related modes of power” revealed by this study is the canon’s devaluing and erasure of the diverse art practices and production by the study group artists. In many cases the erasure also extended to entire careers. This study asserts that the canon of Canadian art history must undo its traditional structures, and override canonical divisions and exclusions of women, to see and understand anew.

This study has raised some interesting areas for further study. Areas for further research include studio life in Toronto and other Canadian cities. In addition, further research may reveal more about study group artists’ work in the area of stained glass; and women artists’ involvement in culturally related businesses - - for example, Mabel Cawthra and the Thornton-Smith Co. in Toronto; Harriet Ford’s design work in the area of furniture and murals; and Marion Living’s home furnishings design company. The entire issue of diversity seen in the production of the study group artists is another area in which further research is needed, especially in the task of finding and preserving extant examples of this production.

This brings us to the question of the archive. This dissertation has given ample evidence of what is to be found in this archive, and has discussed the (in many cases), fragmentary state of archival information on the study group artists. The gaps are obvious

to any researcher of historical women in Canada. Recent initiatives such as the Canadian Women Artists History Project, designed to document female artists born before 1925, are encouraging.⁴ But in addition, an effort should be made by Canadian cultural institutions to bring the production, and not just the so-called ‘high art’ production, by study group artists into collections. Alongside the already substantial collections of work by Emily Carr, we should place works such as Elizabeth MacGillivray Knowles’ *The Dreamer*; the portraiture of Laura Muntz and Sydney Tully; and the lamp bases, vases and sculpture of Winnifred Kingsford and Louise Tully, as just a few examples. Institutions should seek out and acquire belt buckles and jewelry by Harriet Ford and Mary Bell Eastlake, and illustrations and magazine cover designs by Mary Hiester Reid and Estelle Kerr; and educate the public about the career achievements and often fascinating lives of the study group. Several artists in the study group were the “favourites” of the young Ottawa teacher Ruby McQuesten, quoted at the beginning of Chapter Seven; let us restore them to Canadians.

Ultimately knowledge about Canadian women’s history is essential to our understanding of Canadian history for, as Veronica Strong-Boag writes in the Introduction to *Rethinking Canada: The Promise of Women’s History*, “asking who we are and may become involves questioning who we were.”⁵ Women’s participation in the cultural history of Canada as artists, writers, cartoonists, educators, critics, and editors, is essential to creating not just a more complete, enriched cultural history, but a new historical narrative, one that includes and is transformed by the work and achievements of these women who, by and large, resisted convention and found the rewards of a new potential.

Notes to Conclusion:

¹ Macbeth, "Canadian Women in the Arts," 23.

² Estelle Kerr, "The Artist," *Saturday Night* (7 June 1913): 29

³ Pollock, *Differencing the Canon*, 26.

⁴ The Canadian Women Artists History Initiative is organized through the Department of Art History, at Concordia University, Montreal. It will hold its inaugural conference in Oct. 2008. See, "Call for Papers," *Universities Art Association of Canada Journal*, (Fall 2007): 9

⁵ Veronica Strong-Boag, et al., eds. "Introduction" to *Rethinking Canada: The Promise of Women's History*, 4th ed. (Don Mills, Ont.: Oxford University Press, 2002), 1.

Illustrations



A-1 Photograph (1888-89) of Mary Hiester Reid in her studio in Paris. Photo by George Reid. AGO archives.



A-2 Photograph (c1924) of Elizabeth McGillivray Knowles. Well known for her paintings of chickens, her easel is set in the yard beside a chicken coop. Originally published 17th Sept. 1924 in Irene B. Hare, "Close-ups of Toronto's Women Artists," *Sunday World*.



A-3 *The Tiff* (1902) by Florence Carlyle. Oil on canvas. 72 x 53 in. Collection AGO.



A-4 Photograph (c1924) of Laura Muntz in her studio in Toronto. Originally published 13th July 1924 in Irene B. Hare's article "Close-ups of Toronto's Women Artists, No. 8, Laura Muntz Lyall" in the *Sunday World*.

A-5 Photograph (1898) of Sydney Strickland Tully. Originally published Christmas 1898 in the article "Painter and the Public," in the *Mail and Empire* (Toronto).

... of her pictures have them some of Paris street life will, no doubt, appeal to the public who attended the last exhibition.

Miss Tully's water-colours, which are more than a public exhibition of the artist's talent, are placed in the hands of the public. The artist and his little studio to the public.

It is one of the great pleasures of the artist's life to see his work in the hands of the public. There is a great deal of work in the hands of the artist, and it is a great pleasure to see his work in the hands of the public.

... in this establishment, she is a great help to the artist. Professor A. Legros, then State

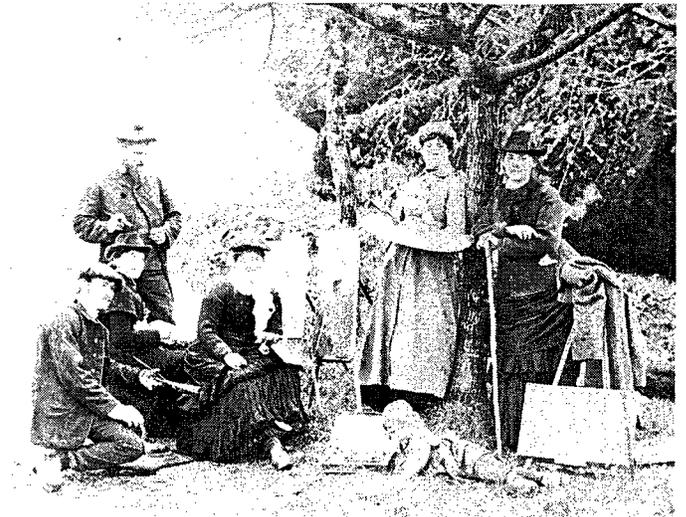
The direction of Jules Lefebvre a year's work she exhibited a portrait of the artist which was accepted in the same Salon.

Paris: more of the artist's work in the hands of the public. The artist and his little studio to the public. It is one of the great pleasures of the artist's life to see his work in the hands of the public. There is a great deal of work in the hands of the artist, and it is a great pleasure to see his work in the hands of the public.



MISS S. STRICKLAND TULLY, A.R.C.A.

... painters, the writers, and the people amongst whom they labor.



1-2 Photograph (c1885) of Mildred Peel (standing centre between two trees) and her brother, Paul Peel (kneeling at left) on sketching trip with friends in Pont-Aven, Brittany. At the extreme right is Paul's fiancé, the Danish-born painter Isaure Franchette Verdier, whom he married the following year. Source: NGC archives.



1-3 Photograph (c1910) showing Elizabeth McGillivray Knowles looking at her painting *The Dreamer*. Source: AGO Archives.



1-4 Photograph (Oct. 1904) of Sophie Pemberton in her studio, taken just prior to her marriage to Canon Beanlands. Source: B.C. Archives.

1-5 Photograph (c1910) of Florence Carlyle. Source: WAG archives.

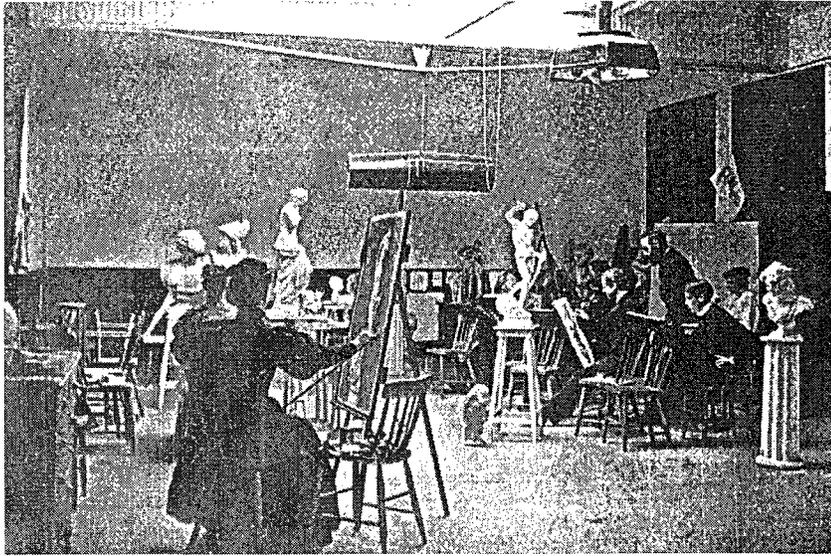


1-6 *Explained, Bazar*, published in *Saturday Night*, 14 May 1898, p.9.

Explained.
Bazar.



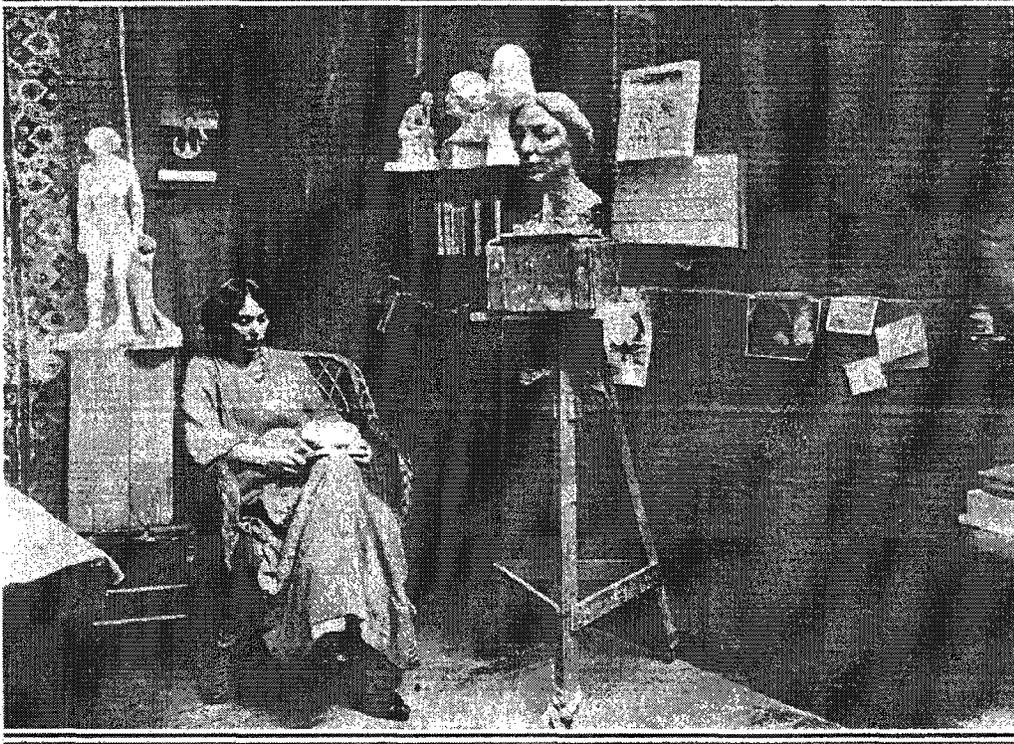
He—How is it Miss Halftones never puts the date on any of her pictures?
She—Well, you see, last year she signed one Jane Halftones, '97, and someone asked her why she put her age on her paintings.



2-1 Photograph (c1895) of an “antique” class at the Central Ontario School of Art and Design (OSA School), Toronto, drawing from plaster casts of antique sculpture. The instructor, William Cruikshank, stands at right. Source: Archives of Ontario.

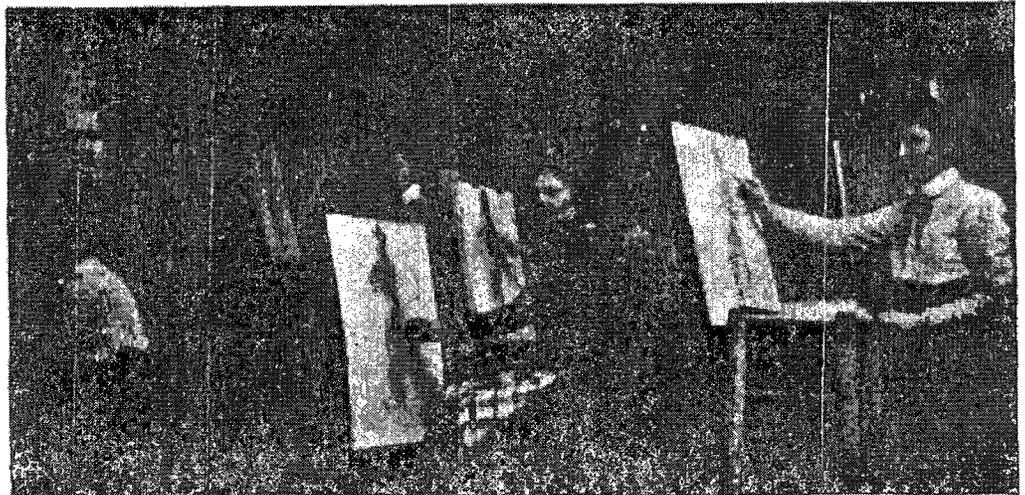


2-2 Watercolour sketch of a reclining woman smoking a cigarette (c1896) done in Paris by Wilhelmina D. Hawley (companion of Laura Muntz). 12.5 x 11 cm. Private Collection.



2-3 Winnifred Kingsford (c1911) in her Paris studio. Originally published 20th June 1914, in Estelle M. Kerr, "Women Sculptors in Toronto," *Saturday Night*.

2-4 "A Life Class at Colarossi's studio, from a photograph by M. Colarossi," (c1904). Originally published in "Lady Art Students' Life in Paris," by Clive Holland, *International Studio*, 21 (1904) p. 224



A LIFE CLASS AT COLAROSSİ'S STUDIO

FROM A PHOTOGRAPH
BY M. COLAROSSİ

3-1 Drawing of the “New Woman” (c1896). Originally published in *Fancy Dresses Described* (1896) with the description: “She wears a cloth tailor-made gown and her bicycle is portrayed in front of it, together with the *Sporting Times* and her golf club; she carries her betting book and her latch-key at her side, her gun is slung across her shoulder, and her pretty Tam o’Shanter is surmounted by a bicycle lamp. She has gaiters to her patent leather shoes and is armed at all points for conquest.”



3-2 Photograph (1897) of Mary Bernard Fitzgibbon as the “Princess von Leinengen,” who was Queen Victoria’s mother. Her costume, a white satin gown with a yellow velvet train trimmed with sable, was copied from a painting. She wore a yellow turban with plumes on her head. Source: NAC



4-1 *Portrait of Clara Peel Belden* (Dated, 21 Oct. 1890) by Paul Peel. Oil on canvas. 55.3 x 45.1 cm. Kilgour and Carol Shives Collection.



4-2 Photograph of the wedding of Sophie Pemberton and the Reverend Canon Arthur Beanlands, in Victoria, B.C., September 1905. Source: B.C. Archives



4-3 A portrait of Henrietta Vickers (c1894) by George A. Reid. Exhibited by him in 1910 as *A Canadian Girl*. Oil on canvas, 87.6 x 54 cm. - 34½ x 21¼ in. Source: Bayer, *The Ontario Collection*, p. 103.



4-4 Photograph of Florence Carlyle (on left) and Judith Hastings (1912), Alpine Club of Canada summer camp in the Rocky Mountains in B.C. WAG archives.



4-5 Photograph of Frances Loring and Florence Wyle (c1919) by Robert Flaherty. E.P. Taylor Research Library and Archives, AGO.



5-1 *The Studio* (1903), by Florence Carlyle. Oil on canvas. Collection WAG.



5-2 *A Corner of My Studio* (1887), by Sarah Holden. Oil on canvas. Present location unknown. Source: artist clipping files, NGC.



5-3 Photograph (c1895) showing WAAC Sketch Club working at WAAC Club rooms, Toronto.

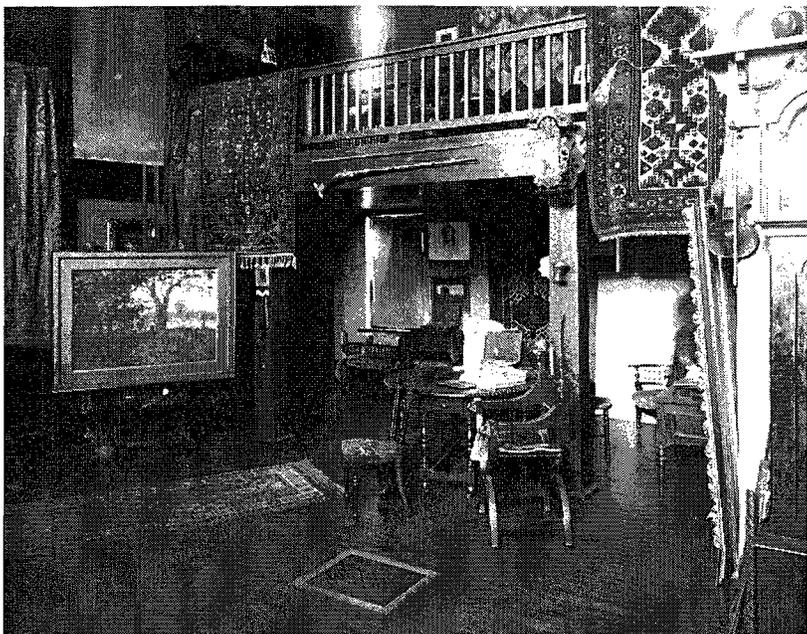


MRS. E. MCGILLIVRAY KNOWLES

5-4 Photograph of Elizabeth McGillivray Knowles (c1909), Originally published in "In a Toronto Studio," Dec. 1909, *The Home Journal*.



5-5 Photograph of Elizabeth McGillivray Knowles (c1927) wearing costume of "Cleopatra" which she wore on special occasion gatherings at her Bloor Street, Toronto studio. AGO archives. Originally published 3rd Feb. 1928, in "Honor for Mrs. Knowles," *Mail and Empire*.



5-6 Photograph of the Toronto studio of Elizabeth and F. McGillivray Knowles (c1909). Note the violin hanging on the wall to the right. AGO archives.



6-2 Photograph of Dorothy Stevens (1916). Source: Archives of Ontario.



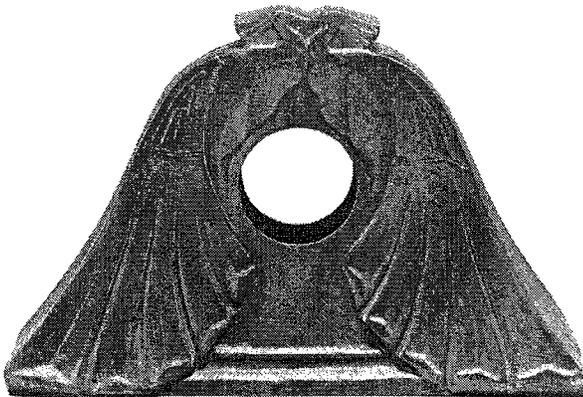
6-1 *Miss Mischief* (1906) by Florence Carlyle. Calendar Painting shown as illustration for the Osborne Calendar Company calendar. Source: Special Collections, Library, University of Delaware.



6-3 *King and Yonge Streets* (c1915) by Dorothy Stevens. Originally published in *Canadian Cities of Romance* by Katherine Hale.



6-4 Photograph of Mabel Cawthra (Dec. 1897), in costume as "Madame Recamier" which she wore to the Victorian Era Ball, Toronto. Source: Metro Toronto Reference Library



6-5 Peacock Clock Case (c1914) by Frances Loring. Bronze. Foundry mark: "Griffoul/Newark N.J., 35.8 x 54.6 cm. Collection AGO.



6-6 *Always Room for One More*, by Florence Carlyle, copyrighted 1908 by the artist. Lithograph, 73 x 39.7 cm. Collection WAG. Carlyle's cousin Helene Youmans was the model for this painting which was reproduced by the Osborne Company of New York for their c1908 line of art calendars with this "title-leaf" description,

"Outside there may be a chill, wet day, but under the big [umbrella] is the sunshine of youth. The young girl in the red coat...recognizes a friend approaching... [she calls], "Always room for one more!" This girl...is a good comrade, hiding beneath the surface of gay flirtatiousness a nature wholesome, refined, kindly, and essentially feminine."

6-7 Postcard reproduction of Mary Hiester Reid's mural *The Spirit of the Humber* (1922) for the Weston Town Hall. M.H. Reid Clipping File, E.P. Taylor Research Library and Archives, AGO.



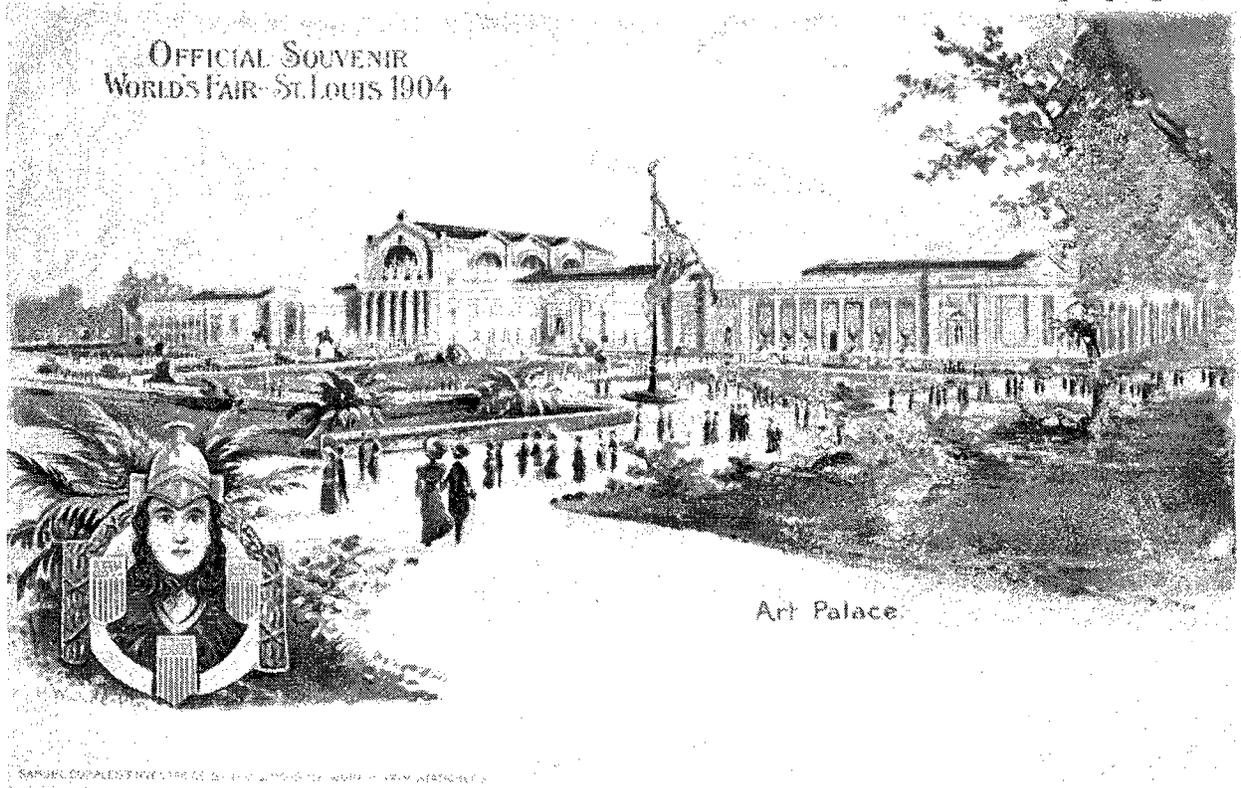
"THE SPIRIT OF THE HUMBER"
FRAGMENT OF DECORATION IN WESTON TOWN HALL. PAINTED BY MARY HIESTER REID. A R C A



6-8 *The Victorian Dress* (c1914) by Helen McNicoll. Oil on canvas. Collection of the McCord Museum, Montreal.



6-9 *The Women's Globe* (1895) by Mary Hiester Reid, signed "M.H.R." lower left. Originally published as the cover, and interior illustration, in the Women's Edition, *The Globe* (Toronto), 18th April 1895, Section 2, p. 2. It was also reproduced in limited numbers as a coloured poster.



7-1 Postcard of the “Art Palace” at the Louisiana Purchase Exposition, St. Louis, Missouri, 1904. Author’s Collection.

Appendix 1: Study Group Biographies and References

The study group artists total fifty-seven. Included in the following are three artists who are not in the study group, Wilhelmina Hawley, Catharine Parr Traill, and Susanna Moodie, who are discussed here because of their importance to the research.

Bannerman, Frances M. Jones

b. 1855, Halifax. Nova Scotia

d. 1944, Torquay, England

Painter of figures and portraits. Bannerman was one of the earliest Canadian painters to exhibit elements of Impressionism in her paintings, for example, *The Conservatory* (1883). Elected an Associate of the RCA in 1882, resigned 1888. Although Bannerman's period of activity falls within the parameters of this study, and I have included her in the discussion of marriage, she is not a central figure because she had little interaction with, or influence on the Canadian art world post-1883, when she last exhibited with the RCA. After her 1886 marriage to the British artist Hamlet Bannerman, she settled in Great Marlowe, England. Several exhibitions and catalogue essays have explored Bannerman's life and production, yet much work remains to be done on this artist.¹

Bradshaw, Eva Theresa

b. London, Ont., 1873

d. London, Ont., 1938

Painter of figures, portraits, still life. Bradshaw studied with Florence Carlyle (q.v.), and briefly in New York City with Robert Henri. She exhibited with the OSA and the RCA in 1902. In 1924 her painting *Plums* was part of the Canadian art section at the Wembley Exhibition, London, England. Her art practice included extensive work as a teacher of art in London, Ontario, where she lived for most of her life. Little scholarly work has been done on Bradshaw. One of her students, Clare Bice, who later served as President of the RCA, wrote the catalogue essay for an exhibition of her work held at the London Regional Art Gallery in 1970. Her career is discussed briefly in Nancy Pool's *The Art of London, 1830-1980*.

Carlyle, Florence

b. 1864, Galt, Ontario

d. 1923, Crowborough, Sussex, England

Painter of figures, and landscapes; writer. (Figs. A-3, 1-5, 4-4, , and 5-1). Studied Académie Julian, Paris; elected an Associate of the RCA in 1897; worked in commercial calendar painting for the Osborne Co. (fig. 6-1) in New York. Moved to England in 1914, where she continued painting. In the last years of her life she put much effort into writing fiction. She was successful in getting one of her short stories, "Mary's Child" published.² Julia Gualtieri's 1989 M.A. thesis "The Woman as Artist and as Subject in Canadian Painting," considers aspects of Carlyle's painting production. Susan Butlin's 1995 M.A. thesis, "Making a Living," examines her life, production, and career.³

Carr, Emily

b. 1871, Victoria, British Columbia

d. 1945, Victoria, British Columbia

Painter of landscapes. Studied at California School of Design, San Francisco, 1891-93, and the Westminster School of Art, London, 1899-1901. Painted forests and Native villages on Vancouver Island, Queen Charlotte Islands, and elsewhere in British Columbia between 1895 and 1942. Her writings include *Klee Wyck* (1941), and *The Book of Small* (1942).⁴ Carr's life and work has been very well covered in both the academic and popular literature, for example Gerta Moray's 1993 Ph.D. dissertation on Carr, "Northwest Coast Native Culture;" and the recent NGC and Vancouver Art Gallery catalogue, *Emily Carr: New Perspectives on a Canadian Icon*; biographies by Crean, Tippet, and Blanchard, and Ian M. Thom's *Emily Carr in France* (1991) focusing on her work there. The Carr archive is easily the largest of the study group artists.

Cawthra, Ann Mabel

b. 1871, Lucerne, Switzerland

d. 1943, Port Credit, near Toronto, Ontario

Painter; artist in the applied arts and crafts (enamel, metal work, pottery); interior designer. (Fig. 6-4) Mabel Cawthra studied at Charles Ashbee's Guild of Handicraft, in England. In 1902 she was the first President of the Society of Art and Crafts of Canada; a founding member of the Toronto Heliconian Club, and served as the club president from 1913-14. She opened a Toronto franchise of the English furniture firm, the Thornton-Smith Company, and worked on commissions to decorate city theatres and churches. Little has been written on Cawthra; her personal life is mentioned briefly in Sandra Gwyn's *The Private Capital*,⁵ and Gail Crawford's *A Fine Line: Studio Crafts in Ontario from 1930 to the Present*, and in Ellen McLeod's *In Good Hands*.

Cleland, Mary Alberta

b. 1876, Montreal, Quebec

d. 1960, Cushing, Quebec

Painter of portraits, landscapes; sculpture. Studied at the AAM School in Montreal. Her practice centred on Montreal where, in 1911, she lived with her mother. From 1898 to 1937 Cleland taught at the AAM School in Montreal where, in 1900, she taught the AAM's Elementary Drawing class.⁶ Exhibited with the OSA, RCA (1902, 1904), and regularly with the AAM. Her work included portraits, landscapes of rural Quebec, and portrait busts.⁷ In 1912 her address was 15 Souvenir Ave., Montreal. Little scholarly work has focused specifically on Cleland. She is an interesting artist for future study especially with regard to her teaching, and as role model for women students in c1900.

Coonan, Emily

b. 1885, Montreal, Quebec

d. 1971, Montreal, Quebec

Painter of figures, and portraits. Beginning in 1905 she studied at the AAM and these studies culminated in her winning the first AAM traveling scholarship in 1913. Unlike many of her fellow women artists, Coonan came from a working class background. She exhibited at the AAM and was associated with the Beaver Hall group. Like her friend

Mabel May, Coonan also exhibited with the Group of Seven in the 1920s. A 1987 Concordia University Art Gallery catalogue, *Emily Coonan (1885-1971)*, contains a short essay by Karen Antaki which gives an overview of Coonan's career but which leaves many questions unanswered. Barbara Meadowcroft's *Painting Friends* discusses Coonan's career in relation to the Beaver Hall group of artists. Coonan remains an interesting subject for further research.

Crèvecoeur, Jeanne de

Active in Montreal c1914-1921

Painter of figures, and portraits. Little is known of Crèvecoeur's career or production; in 1914-15 she donated one painting to the Patriotic Fund exhibition. In 1921 she participated in the first exhibition of the Beaver Hall Group in Montreal; Crèvecoeur's career and production require further scholarly attention.⁸

Davis, Cecile

b. 1866, near Uxbridge, Ontario,

d. 1935

Painter. Tutored in private classes by her cousin, painter Florence Carlyle. Davis married in 1890 and does not appear to have progressed in her professional career. She has come to light due to the author's researches on Carlyle. Like Clara Peel (q.v.), Davis is an interesting example of those women artists whose career aspirations were unfulfilled.

Des Clays, Alice

b. 1890 Aberdeen, Scotland

d. 1968

Painter of portraits, genre and animal scenes. Studied at the Bushey School of Art; at Newlyn, in Cornwall. Came to Canada in 1914. Elected an Associate of the RCA 1920, exhibited RCA, AAM. Alice and her sisters, Berthe (q.v.) and Gertrude (q.v.), are peripheral figures in this study because their careers begin close to the 1914 cut-off date for including artists. They are mentioned here because their careers emerged during the closing years covered by this dissertation. The careers and production of the three Des Clays sisters have received little scholarly attention.

Des Clays, Berthe

b. 1887, Aberdeen Scotland

d. 1968, Devon, England

Painter of portraits, landscapes; illustrator. Studied at the Bushey School of Art, and Herkomer School of Art, England, and at the Académie Julian in Paris. Settled in Montreal in 1912, later returned to live in England; in 1931 she again came to Montreal where she lived until 1951. Exhibited regularly at the AAM; twice won the Jessie Dow Prize. She illustrated two books, Charles W. Stokes' *Here and There in Montreal and the Island of Montreal*, and *Acadia (Nova Scotia)* published by the Dominion Atlantic Railway. Berthe Des Clays is included in Farr and Luckyj's *From Women's Eyes*,⁹ along with her sisters Alice (q.v.) and Gertrude (q.v.), but otherwise has received relatively little scholarly attention.

Des Clayes, Gertrude

b. 1879 Scotland

d. 1949

Painter of portraits. Studied at the Bushey School of Art, Bushey, England; in Paris at the Académie Julian. Came to Montreal in 1912. Elected an Associate of the RCA in 1914; became a member of the National Portrait Society, England in 1911. Gertrude des Clayes has received little scholarly attention.

Dignam, Mary Ella Williams

b. 1857, Port Burwell, Ontario

d. 1938

Painter of figures and landscapes; arts journalist. Studied at the NYASL; in Paris. Founder and president of the WAAC; exhibited with the WAAC, OSA, and RCA, but not elected an Associate of the RCA. She has received scholarly attention for her involvement with the WAAC and the Canadian Handicrafts Guild; for example, Ellen McLeod in her 1995 M.A. thesis, "*Enterprising Women and The Early History of The Canadian Handicrafts Guild*," and *In Good Hands*.¹⁰

Eastlake, Mary Alexandra Bell

b. 1864, Douglas, Ontario

d. 1951, Ottawa, Ontario

Painter of figures, landscapes, portraits; jewelry design and production. Studied at the AAM School in Montreal, at the NYASL, and the Académie Colarossi (fig. 2-4) in Paris. She taught at the Victoria School of Art in Montreal in 1892.¹¹ She first exhibited with the RCA in 1892 and the following year was elected an Associate. Shortly thereafter she married English painter Charles H. Eastlake, moved to England, and resigned from the RCA. Bell Eastlake was especially admired for her paintings of children; she also designed and executed Arts and Crafts inspired jewelry, exhibited at the 1907 RCA exhibition. She moved back to Canada in 1939. While included in Farr and Luckyj's *From Women's Eyes*,¹² Eastlake has received little other scholarly attention.

Elliott, Emily Louise

b. 1867, Montreal

d. 1952

Painter and illustrator. Studied at the Ontario School of Art in Toronto and in New York at the NYASL. Worked principally in Toronto as an illustrator, specializing in fashions. Her illustrations appeared in the Robert Simpson catalogue and newspaper advertisements. She was a founding member of the Toronto Heliconian Club. Elliott's career has not received scholarly attention. A biographical reference appears in the Heliconian Club Papers (MU8092 Biog., "E-G") at the Archives of Ontario.

Farncomb, Caroline B.

b. 1859, Newcastle, Ont.

d. 1951, London, Ont.

Painter of portraits, still life and landscapes. Studied in Paris at the Académie Julian. Her career was focused principally in London, Ontario. Farncomb exhibited in the Western Fair, was an active member of the Women's Art Club of London and also exhibited with the WAAC.¹³ She had contacts with Toronto artists and exhibited there along with Gertrude E. Spurr and Clara S. Hagarty at the *Thumb-Box Exhibition* at W. Scott & Sons' Galleries in 1908. She exhibited in the CNE and OSA exhibitions frequently between 1897 and 1910 and was elected as a member to the OSA in 1908. While exhibiting with the RCA in 1900 and 1901, she was never elected an Associate. Farncomb's career has received little scholarly attention.

Forbes, Elizabeth Adela Armstrong (Also called Elizabeth Stanhope Forbes)

b. 1859, Kingston, Ont.

d. 1912, Newlyn, Cornwall

Painter of figures; printmaker. Studied at the South Kensington School in London, in New York at the NYASL, in Munich with Frank Duveneck and J. Frank Currier. Moved to Newlyn, Cornwall and married the founder of the Newlyn School, Stanhope Forbes (1857-1947) in 1889. Forbes spent most of her professional career in England and did not maintain many artistic links with Canada; thus she is often thought of as a British artist. Deborah Cherry has described Forbes' painting *School is Out* (1889), as an "exceptional...modern" painting.¹⁴ Her work in printmaking is discussed in Rosemarie L. Tovell's *A New Class of Art: The Artist's Print in Canadian Art, 1877-1920*, and she is included in Betsy Rezelman's Ph.D. dissertation "The Newlyn Artists and Their Place in Late-Victorian Art," but little scholarly work focuses solely on her.¹⁵

Ford, Harriet Mary

b. 1859, Brockville, Ont.

d. 1938, Bovingdon Green, Great Marlow, England

Painter of landscapes, portraits, muralist; jewelry designer and maker; writer. Ford studied at the Ontario School of Art in Toronto; and in London, England at the St. John's Wood Art School, and the Royal Academy of Arts; and in Paris at the Académie Colarossi and with Luc Olivier Merson. Elected an Associate of the RCA in 1895. She had a diverse production and career, as a painter, making and selling a line of jewelry, painting murals, decorating furniture, as an arts writer and lecturer, and was co-founder and editor of an art magazine in Toronto in the mid-1890s. Apart from the 2001 exhibition catalogue essay by Jennifer C. Watson, much scholarly work remains to be done on this important Canadian artist.¹⁶

Fried, Emily M. Gunn

Active 1894-1906

Painter of flowers and landscape; wood carving. Studied in Paris with Richard Miller and Charles Hoffbauer and exhibited in the Paris Salon in 1906.¹⁷ Gunn exhibited with the WAC of London, and the WAAC; she also exhibited under her married name of Fried. She was active in London, Ontario in the 1890s and early twentieth century, where she

ran a teaching studio on Dundas Street and advertised for pupils in the local newspaper. Her address was at 466 Queen Street.¹⁸ Emily was a friend of London artists Caroline Farncomb and Eva Bradshaw. Along with many of her London women colleagues, Gunn's career and production has had virtually no scholarly attention. She is briefly mentioned in David Wistow's *Canadians in Paris, 1867-1914*.¹⁹

Hagarty, Clara Sophia

b. 1871, Toronto

d. 1958, Toronto

Painter of portraits, flowers, landscapes. Studied in Toronto with Sydney Strickland Tully and E. Wyly Grier; attended William Chase's Shinnicock Long Island Summer School; and in Paris. Hagarty is one of the artists in the study group who began their careers in the latter half of the study period: her career centred in Toronto, where she was socially well connected with many ties to the Toronto art community. She shared a studio with Mary Wrinch; exhibited at the T. Eaton department store gallery in Toronto several times; was an active member of the OSA, and was elected an Associate of the RCA in 1903. In 1903 her address was 13 Spadina Road, Toronto. Hagarty has received little scholarly attention.

Hamilton, Mary Riter

b. 1873, Teeswater, Ont.

d. 1954, Vancouver

Painter of portraits, landscape; fabric designer. Studied in Germany and Paris where she exhibited at the Salon (1905). She painted the battlefields of France and Belgium immediately following the end of World War One,²⁰ and is best known for this work. Teresa McIntosh discussed her battlefield paintings in her M.A. thesis "Other Images of War."²¹ Robert Amos' catalogue gives an overview of her career²²; and Angela Davis wrote about Hamilton's post-war paintings in *No Man's Land*; similarly Robert Belton discusses one of these paintings in *Sights of Resistance*.²³ Yet apart from the battlefield paintings Hamilton's career and production have received little scholarly consideration. The NGC archives have a comprehensive clipping file on this artist.

Hawley, Wilhelmina Douglas

b. 1860, Perth Amboy, New York State

d. 1958, Holland

Painter of portraits and child subjects. (Fig. 2-2) American-born Hawley studied in New York at the Cooper Union Art School, and NYASL. She was the first vice-president of the NYASL, and a founding member of the New York Watercolour Society.²⁴ She studied in Paris at the Académie Julian and Académie Colarossi; and taught water-colour painting at the Colarossi. Met companion Laura Muntz (q.v.) in Paris where they shared living quarters.²⁵ Hawley lived briefly in Toronto c1898 and exhibited with the OSA; in partnership with Muntz, she taught classes in their Yonge Street Arcade studio. Hawley married and moved to Holland in 1901. Her daughter Georgina was born in 1904. Hawley is discussed briefly in Elizabeth Mulley's Ph.D dissertation on Laura Muntz; however, her career and production have yet to be fully researched.²⁶

Holden, Sarah Baldwin (later Mrs. Hunter)

b. Belleville, Ont.

Active, 1886-1907 in Paris and Montreal

Painter of figures and portraits (fig. 5-2). Studied at the AAM School, Montreal; in New York at the NYASL; and she studied at Paris' Académie Julian at the same time as her friend Florence Carlyle. Holden was elected an Associate of the RCA in 1895, and was an active member of the WAAC, OSA, and AAM art associations. She had a very successful career in the 1890s and won a Gold medal at the 1893 Chicago World's Fair. Her career ended after her marriage in the early 1900s, and she resigned from the RCA in 1904. Although considered a central artist in this dissertation, and briefly discussed in Butlin's M.A thesis "Making a Living," and McLeod's *In Good Hands*, Holden has been somewhat neglected and deserves further scholarly attention.²⁷

Hooker, Marion Nelson

b. 1866, St. Catharines, Ont.

d. 1946

Painter of portraits and landscapes. Studied with Charles Blisset Millner, in St. Catharines, Ont.; Lucius Hitchcock in Buffalo, N.Y.; and in New York City and Vermont with George B. Bridgeman. She traveled on sketching trips in Wales and attended Bridgeman's Vermont Summer School with friend Gertrude E. Spurr. She exhibited with the OSA. Hooker married at age forty-one and moved to Selkirk, Manitoba. Hooker's career is touched upon in Virginia Berry's *Vistas of Promise: Manitoba 1874-1919*, and in Mary Jo Hughes' catalogue essay accompanying a 1999 Winnipeg Art Gallery exhibition of her work, yet much scholarly research remains to be done on this artist's life and production.²⁸

Houghton, Margaret (May)

b. 1865, Montreal

d. c1922

Painter of figures and landscapes. Houghton was a friend of Mary Bell Eastlake; they studied together in France 1888-91. Elected an Associate of the RCA in 1895, and resigned in 1902. She also exhibited with the AAM, the CNE (1903), and was an active member of the WAAC. Houghton was present in April 1894 at the first meeting convened to form a Montreal branch of the WAAC. Her career was centred in Montreal²⁹ where in 1897 she taught at the School of Art and Applied Design (formerly the Victoria School of Art). Her colleague Mary Phillips (q.v.) was principal. In 1903 Houghton's address was 46 Cathcart Street, Montreal.³⁰ She is mentioned in Allaire's article on Canadians in Paris, and in McLeod's study of the Canadian Craft Guild; however no scholarly work has been published which focuses solely on this artist.³¹

Kallmeyer, Minnie

b. 1882, Detroit

d. 1947

Painter of landscapes. Little is known of Kallmeyer's career or production, although one of her works, *Boothbay Harbor, Maine* (1921) is in the collection of the NGC. She remains largely ignored by researchers, but some details which have come to light in this

dissertation hint that she may be a valuable figure for further study. Kallmeyer had connections with the Toronto art community: she exhibited at the OSA, and in the *Thumb-Box Exhibition* held at Scott & Son's Gallery in Toronto in November 1908, along with Gertrude Spurr, Clara Hagarty, and Fred S. Hanes. In 1910 her address in Toronto was 94 South Drive.³² Besides her inclusion in this dissertation, there are no other scholarly publications on this artist.

Kerr, Estelle Muriel

b.1879, Toronto

d.1971

Painter, illustrator, writer. Studied in New York at the NYASL from 1901 to c1903; and in Paris. During World War One Kerr drove an ambulance in France. Kerr was well known as a painter of children, illustrator, art journalist and critic for several Canadian and American periodicals, and she illustrated and wrote several books.³³ Her career centred in Toronto. She was a close friend of Dorothy Stevens, with whom she shared a studio in Toronto c1913. Kerr was one of the original members of the Graphic Arts Club and Heliconian Club. Kerr is a central artist in this dissertation, yet apart from her role as an art critic as discussed by Rosemarie Tovell in *A New Class of Art*, and an outline of her work as an illustrator in Sybille Pantazzi's chapter in *The Art and Pictorial Press in Canada*, Kerr has received little scholarly attention.³⁴

Kingsford, Winnifred

b. 1875, Toronto

d. 1947

Sculptor. (Fig. 2-3) Studied in Paris at the Académie de la Grand Chaumière. Kingsford's production included sculpture, and is represented in the collection of the NGC.³⁵ In addition she designed and made domestic items such as lamp bases. Worked principally in Toronto, and exhibited with the Society of Arts and Crafts of Canada, and the OSA (1915).³⁶ Along with Frances Loring (q.v) and Florence Wyle (q.v.), Kingsford worked on *The Spirit of Canada*, a temporary sculpture for the gates of the CNE.³⁷ Kingsford is a potentially important figure in Canadian art, and much scholarly work remains to be done on her. The best published source on Kingsford prior to the present study remains Estelle Kerr's 1914 article "Women Sculptors in Toronto."³⁸ She is briefly mentioned in McLeod's *In Good Hands*, and in Cameron's biography of Loring and Wyle *And Beauty Answers*,³⁹

Knowles, Elizabeth Annie Beach McGillivray

b. 1866, Ottawa

d. 1928, Riverton, New Hampshire

Painter of landscapes, miniatures, fowl and domestic animals. (Figs. A-2, 1-3, 5-4, 5-5) Studied at the Ontario School of Art in Toronto. Elected an Associate of the RCA in 1908. She became known as the "Rosa Bonheur of the barnyard," because of her many paintings of fowl. Knowles received acclaim for her paintings, *The Dreamer*, and *Nocturne* (1908); the latter was purchased by the NGC for its collection. Her home-studio (fig. 5-6) at 350 Bloor Street West, Toronto, shared with her artist husband, was a centre for Toronto artists, musicians and writers. Little has been published on Knowles since her

death in 1928. A 1980 exhibition catalogue, *Farquhar McGillivray Knowles, Elizabeth McGillivray Knowles: A Selection of Paintings*, contains little discussion of her career or production. The AGO archives has a substantial clipping file and photographs of her.⁴⁰

Living, Marion A.

Active 1894- 1901

Painter; designer of carpets and handicrafts. Living is an interesting figure because of her work as an entrepreneur, designer, and founder of a school of applied arts and crafts. She was active prior to 1898 as a flower painter, exhibiting at the AAM, and RCA;⁴¹ and thereafter her carpets and other handicrafts were exhibited with the OSA Applied Art exhibitions. Her carpet designs were made by the Toronto Carpet Manufacturing Company and sold under her company name “Marion Living Designs.” Living founded the First Technical School of Ottawa in 1898. Here she taught design and handicrafts. She is briefly mentioned in McLeod’s *In Good Hands*.⁴² Apart from her inclusion in this dissertation, Living has not been the focus of scholarly attention.

Loring, Frances

b. 1887, Wardner, Idaho

d. 1968, Newmarket, Ontario

Sculptor. (Fig. 4-5) Studied at the Ecole de Beaux-Arts, Geneva; with Karl Guttner, Munich; the Académie Colarossi, Paris; and at the Chicago Art Institute. Her practice centred in Toronto. She obtained a commission from the CWMF in 1918 to create a series of statuettes depicting Canada’s war effort on the home front. Loring executed a number of war memorial and public commissions, and served as founding member and Vice-President of the Sculptors Society of Canada. Her studio, which she shared with her life partner Florence Wyle (q.v.), was an artistic centre in Toronto. Loring, in tandem with Wyle, has been the subject of several exhibitions, catalogues, and biographies.⁴³ Kristina Huneault’s 1993 article “Heroes of a Different Sort” discusses their CWMF statues as presenting a non-traditional identity of female labourers.⁴⁴

MacDonnell, Harriette J.

b. ?

d. 1944

Painter of landscapes and flower studies. MacDonnell was co-principal (1892-1895), along with Mary Phillips (q.v.), of the Victoria School of Art, in Montreal, at which design, ceramics, and woodcarving were taught.⁴⁵ MacDonnell also taught drawing at the Trafalgar Institute in Montreal. She exhibited regularly at the AAM, RCA, and WAAC exhibitions. In 1897 she lived at 91 Aylmer Street in Montreal. Little is known of MacDonnell’s career or production. Ellen McLeod in *In Good Hands* makes brief reference to MacDonnell with reference to her teaching and activity with the WAAC.⁴⁶

Martin, Emma May

b. 1865, Toronto

d. 1956, Toronto

Painter of landscapes and still life. Studied privately with her father, painter Thomas Mower Martin (1838-1934), and at the Ontario School of Art in Toronto. Martin was

elected a member of the OSA in 1887 and had a long career that centred on Toronto, teaching at the Presbyterian Ladies College, and privately in her studio. She exhibited with the WAAC, OSA, RCA, and AAM. In 1909 her address was 225 Cottingham Street, Toronto. Much research remains to be done on her life and production. Martin has received relatively little scholarly attention. Jennifer Watson's 1980 catalogue essay accompanying the exhibition of Martin's work,⁴⁷ is notable for its lack of analysis, yet this essay does make the point that Martin appears to have subordinated her career to that of her father; she was his primary caregiver in his old age.

May, Henrietta Mabel

b. 1877⁴⁸, Montreal, Quebec

d. 1971, Vancouver, British Columbia

Painter of figures, and landscapes. Studied at the AAM, 1902-1912. Elected an Associate of the RCA in 1915. She was commissioned by the CWMF to paint women's activities in factories in Canada during World War One. In 1920 she was a founding member of the Beaver Hall Group. May was influenced by the Group of Seven, with whom she exhibited in 1928. In 1933 she was a founding member of the Canadian Group of Painters. Barbara Meadowcroft in her study of the Beaver Hall Group, *Painting Friends*, has explored May's career and production;⁴⁹ and Butlin's article, "Women Making Shells" focuses on May's, and other women artists' production for the CWMF.⁵⁰ Karen Antaki's 1992 M.A. thesis, "H. Mabel May, the Montreal Years: 1909-1938," focused solely on May herself, yet much scholarly work remains to be done on this artist.⁵¹

McNicoll, Helen Galloway

b. 1879, Toronto, Ontario

d. 1915, Swanage, England

Painter of figures and landscapes. Studied at the AAM (1899-1902); the Slade School of Art, London; and St. Ives, Cornwall. Elected an Associate of the RCA in 1914. McNicoll is known for her Impressionist-influenced paintings of girls in landscape settings. Scholarly attention to McNicoll began in 1975 with Farr and Luckyj's *From Women's Eyes*,⁵² and Joan Murray's 1976 catalogue essay in *Helen McNicoll, Oil Paintings*.⁵³ Julia Gualtieri's M.A. thesis, "The Woman as Artist and Subject," compares her work with that of her colleagues Florence Carlyle (q.v.) and Laura Muntz (q.v.).⁵⁴ Natalie Luckyj discusses McNicoll's paintings in *Helen McNicoll, A Canadian Impressionist*, and Carol Lowrey's *Vision's of Light and Air* contributes a brief overview of her work, yet much research and analysis remains to be done on this artist and her production.⁵⁵

Moodie, Susanna

b. 1803, Bungay, Suffolk, England

d. 1885, Toronto, Ontario

Writer, artist. Began writing c1837 for the *Literary Garland*; wrote and illustrated *Roughing It in the Bush*⁵⁶ (1852). Sister of Catharine Parr Trail (q.v.), grandmother of Henrietta Vickers (q.v.), great-aunt of Sydney and Louise Tully (q.v.).

Muntz, Laura Adeline

b. 1860, Radford, Warwickshire, England

d. 1930, Toronto, Ontario

Painter of portraits and child subjects. Studied with William Forster in Hamilton; at the Ontario School of Art, in Toronto (fig. 2-1); c1888 at St. John's Wood School of Art, London; and in Paris at the Académie Colarossi where she met her companion Wilhelmina D. Hawley (fig. 2-2). Elected an Associate of the RCA (1895). In Toronto, her studio in 1903 was in "Room R," in the Yonge Street Arcade; by 1907 she had moved her studio to 6 Beaver Hall Square, Montreal. After her marriage in 1915 she returned to live in Toronto, and exhibited as Muntz Lyall. She is admired for her studies and portrait commissions of children. Elizabeth Mulley's Ph.D. dissertation and article focus specifically on the mother and child paintings by Muntz.⁵⁷ More scholarly research remains to be done on Muntz, specifically, a broader study of her production and life.

Owens, Nina May Pickel

b. 1869, Bolton Centre, Eastern Townships of Quebec

d. 1959

Painter of figures, portraits, and landscapes; illustrator. Studied at the AAM School, Montreal from c1907 to 1913 where her friends included artists Emily Coonan and Mabel May. Exhibited with the AAM beginning in 1910. Illustrated a song book and articles for *The Canadian Countryman* between 1911 and 1916.⁵⁸ Owens studied sculpture at the École des Beaux-Arts in Montreal in the early-1920s. She is remarkable in the study group because she began her career concurrent with raising two children and caring for her family. Monique Nadeau-Saumier's excellent catalogue essay has brought Owens to light again;⁵⁹ however, much scholarly work remains to be done on her career and art production.

Patterson, Edith Lalande Ravenshaw

b. East Sheen, Surrey, England

d. ? Active 1893-1922

Painter of landscapes; printmaker. Studied in Paris in the early-1890s where she was friends with Florence Carlyle. Married the Canadian portraitist Andrew Dickson Patterson (1854-1930) and moved to Toronto. She exhibited intermittently with the RCA and AAM. In 1914, leaving her husband in Canada, she returned to live in England. This period saw her adding the medium of printmaking to her production. She continued to exhibit in Canada, although under the surname Lalande. Little is known of Edith Lalande Patterson's production or career. She remains a promising subject for further investigation, especially in light of her diverse production, and marriage to a fellow artist.

Peel, Clara Louise

b. 1862, London, Ontario

d. 1938

Sculptor. (Fig. 4-1) Sister of Paul Peel (1860-1891) and Mildred Peel (q.v.) (fig. 1-2). Clara Peel's career as an artist was short-lived, and as far as is known she did not pursue her aspirations to study in France.⁶⁰ At this time she was sharing the Toronto studio of her sister Mildred Peel (q.v.). Clara Peel's career is interesting in the context of this

dissertation since her plans to become a professional artist appear to have been laid aside because of her marriage, in January 1889, to Reuben B. Belden, of Belden Brothers Publishing Company, publishers of *Picturesque Canada*. Little is known of Clara Peel's life, and other than her inclusion in this dissertation, she has received minimal scholarly attention. She is mentioned briefly in Victoria Baker's essay in *Paul Peel: A Retrospective*.⁶¹

Peel, Mildred Margaret

b. 1856, London, Ontario

d. 1922, California

Sculptor; painter of landscapes and portraits. (Fig. 1-2) Studied at the Pennsylvania Academy of Fine Art; in the mid-1880s lived in Paris with her brother, artist Paul Peel, for whom she served as model for *Listening to the Lark* (1884).⁶² She had a studio in Winnipeg (1883) and a studio on Church Street, Toronto in the late-1880s.⁶³ Peel exhibited with the OSA, and received several portrait commissions for the Provincial Educational Museum in Toronto. She was again commissioned c1900 for several works by the Ontario Government. Peel has received little scholarly attention. Her work for the Government collection is described by Fern Bayer in *The Ontario Collection*.⁶⁴ Her career activity is briefly discussed in Victoria Baker's *Paul Peel: A Retrospective*.⁶⁵

Pemberton, Sophie Theresa

b. 1869, Victoria, British Columbia

d. 1959, Victoria

Painter of figures and portraits. (Figs. 1-4 and 4-2) Studied South Kensington School of Art early-mid 1890s; at the Académie Julian, in Paris, where she was awarded the *Prix Julian* for portraiture (1899). Exhibited at the Paris Salon, at London's RA; and at the St. Louis World's Fair (1904). (Fig. 7-1) Elected an Associate of the RCA in 1906, (resigned 1908); she exhibited with the 91 Club, a London, England women's art club, in 1898. Nicholas Tuele's 1978 catalogue essay *Sophia Theresa Pemberton* presents a well illustrated biographical overview, although many questions remain with regard to her life and production. Like her contemporary Clara Peel, she is of interest in this dissertation in part because of the negative effect that marriage and child care had on her career.

Phillips, Mary Martha (May)

b. 1856, Montreal

d. 1937, Montreal

Painter of landscapes and portraits. Studied at the AAM School, Montreal 1880-1883; and in New York at the NYASL (1884-1889), along with her friend Mary Bell Eastlake (q.v.). In 1892 Phillips served as co-principal, along with Harriet J. MacDonnell (q.v.) of the Victoria School of Art, Montreal, renamed the School of Art and Applied Design (1895). After 1895 she was sole principal. Active in the NCWC; co-founder and President of the WAAC Montreal Branch; co-founder of the Canadian Handicrafts Guild in Montreal (1905).⁶⁶ Exhibited with the OSA, WAAC, AAM, and RCA (1892), and the 1893 Columbian Exposition. In 1897 her address in Montreal was 2274 St. Catherine Street.⁶⁷ Phillips' professional activity is discussed in McLeod's *In Good Hands*.⁶⁸

Reid, Mary Augusta Hiester

b. 1854, Reading, Pennsylvania

d. 1921, Toronto

Painter of flowers, landscapes, miniatures; illustrator; muralist (fig. A-1). Studied at the School of Design for Women, Philadelphia, at the Pennsylvania Academy of Fine Arts; and briefly in Paris; elected an Associate of the RCA in 1893. Married artist George Reid; their home-studio was a centre for artistic life in Toronto. Reid's career was centred in Toronto. She exhibited with the OSA, the AAM, the Canadian Society of Applied Art, the RCA, and was a founding member of the Heliconian Club. She is included in Farr and Luckyj's *From Women's Eyes*.⁶⁹ Marilyn McKay, in *A National Soul*, briefly discusses Reid's mural work.⁷⁰ Brian Foss and Janice Anderson's excellent catalogue essays in *Quiet Harmony* examine the influences in her painting and aspects of her professional career.⁷¹ However, much research remains to be done on Reid, particularly with respect to her exceptionally diverse art production.

Rowley, Frances Elswood Richards

b. 1851, Brockville, Ontario

d. 1934

Painter of portraits. Studied in Toronto at Miss Dupont's School; at the Académie Julian, Paris; in New York and London. Daughter of Albert Norton Richards, who served as Lieutenant-Governor of British Columbia. Upon her return from study in Europe she taught at the Ottawa Art School and executed a number of portraiture commissions. In 1888 she married William Edwin Rowley and lived in England thereafter. Her sister, Emily Chaffey, was married to Henry J. Morgan, publisher of *Types of Canadian Women*.⁷² Examples of Rowley's work are in the House of Commons and Supreme Court of Canada painting collections, in Ottawa.⁷³ Very little is known of Frances Rowley's career.

Schreiber, Charlotte M. B. Morrell

b. 1834, Woodham, Essex, England

d. 1922, Paignton, Devon, England

Painter of landscapes, figures, animals; book illustrator. Studied in London with John Rogers Herbert, and at Cary's School of Art. Immigrated to Toronto in 1875. Schreiber was elected an Academician of the RCA in 1880; she remained the only female Academician until 1933.⁷⁴ Schreiber exhibited with the R.A. (1855-74), the AAM, OSA, and WAAC. She was a teacher and board member of the Ontario School of Art and Design. Ernest Thompson-Seton was her protégé. Emily P. Weaver's 1917 article was published during the artist's lifetime.⁷⁵ More recent scholarly writing on Schreiber includes a 1985 M.A. thesis by Margaret Fallis.⁷⁶ Brief entries on her life and production appear in Farr and Luckyj's *From Women's Eyes*, and Maria Tippet's *By a Lady*, yet much research remains to be done on Schreiber's life and production.⁷⁷

Scobie, Margaret

Active c1917-1918

Sculptor. Very little is known of Margaret Scobie's career or production. In 1917, when she worked with colleague Frances Loring (q.v.) on a monumental sculpture *Miss*

Canada, Scobie's career centred on Toronto. A photograph showing her and Loring at work on the sculpture is reproduced in Boyanoski's *Loring and Wyle: Sculptor's Legacy*.⁷⁸ Scobie exhibited at the OSA (1917), and the CNE (1918) where she exhibited a statuette *Girl with Lamp*; and a relief *Pot*.⁷⁹ She married and was known by her married name, Hayes. A bronze sculpture of a woman holding a small child is said to be a self-portrait of her and her infant son, John Sullivan Hayes. Her address in Toronto was 600 Sherbourne Street.

Seath, Ethel

b. 1879, Montreal

d. 1963, Montreal

Painter of still life, landscapes; illustrator. Due to family financial constraints, at age sixteen Seath began work in the art department of two Montreal newspapers, first the *Witness*, then the *Star*, as an illustrator. She studied under Edmund Dyonnet and Robert Harris at the Conseil des Arts et Manufactures, Montreal; and with William Brymner at his Phillipsburg sketching class in June 1910. Seath was a member of the Beaver Hall Group of artists, and was also associated with the Canadian Group of Painters. She exhibited at the AAM. She taught art at The Study, a private girls' school in Montreal from 1917 to 1962.⁸⁰ Seath's career and production is discussed in the context of her Beaver Hall Group colleagues in Barbara Meadowcroft's *Painting Friends*, and in *The Women of Beaver Hall* by Evelyn Walters.⁸¹

Shore, Henrietta M.

b. 1880, Toronto

d. 1963, Carmel, California

Painter of figures, still life, portraits, and flowers. Studied with Robert Henri (1865-1929) at the NYASL; and at the Heatherly Art School, in London. Prior to 1913 her art practice was centred in Toronto, where she had a studio in the Yonge Street Arcade, and exhibited with the OSA and CNE.⁸² Shore's early work depicted everyday figure subjects. In 1913 she moved to California and was associated with the founding of the Society of Modern Artists. Shore traveled in the United States and Mexico in the 1920s. In 1927, when she met the photographer Edward Weston (1886-1958), her paintings were described as "semi-abstractions." She and Weston became friends, working and exhibiting together.⁸³

Spurr, Gertrude Eleanor

b. 1858, Scarborough, England

d. 1941, Port Perry, Ontario

Painter of landscapes and still life. Studied at the Scarborough School of Art; Lambeth School of Art, London; with George B. Bridgeman at his Summer School in Vermont, and in New York at the NYASL. From 1890 Spurr's career centred on Toronto where her address in 1903 was 248 Gerrard Street East. Exhibited with the WAAC, OSA, AAM, and RCA, elected an Associate of the RCA in 1895. Friends with Florence Carlyle (q.v.), and Marion Nelson Hooker (q.v.). Married William Cutts in 1909, thereafter exhibiting as Spurr Cutts. Ritchie and Paget's 1987 article reviews her career.⁸⁴ Much scholarly work remains to be done on Spurr's career and the dynamics of her marriage to an artist; she

had this in common with Elizabeth McGillivray Knowles (q.v.), Mary Wrinch (q.v.), Mary Hiester Reid (q.v.), and Edith Patterson (q.v.).

Stevens, Dorothy

b. 1888, Toronto

d. 1966, Toronto

Painter of portraits, printmaker, illustrator (figs. 6-3, 6-3). Studied at the Slade School of Art, London (1905-09); and at the Académie de la Grande Chaumière and Académie Colarossi. Her career centred in Toronto, where she a friend of Estelle Kerr (q.v.), and a member of the Graphic Arts Club and the WAAC. Stevens exhibited with the OSA and RCA. In 1915 she exhibited nineteen etchings and won a silver medal at the Panama-Pacific International Exposition in San Francisco, California. Stevens was commissioned by the CWMF to record Canada's war effort at home; this production is discussed in Teresa McIntosh's M.A. thesis "Other Images of War," and in Susan Butlin's article "Women Making Shells."⁸⁵ Her importance to Canadian printmaking is explored by Rosemary Tovell in *A New Class of Art*.⁸⁶

Stoodley, Mabel M.

Active c1915-1929.

Sculptor. Stoodley was working and exhibiting in Toronto beginning c1915, at the same time as colleagues Winnifred Kingsford (q.v.), Frances Loring (q.v.) and Florence Wyle (q.v.). Stoodley exhibited in the Sculptors Exhibition held in November 1915 at the Art Gallery of Toronto; and at the OSA in 1929.⁸⁷ Stoodley is a peripheral figure in this dissertation, and relatively little is known of her career or production. Yet, she, along with colleagues Margaret Scobie (q.v.) and Winnifred Kingsford (q.v.) are potentially valuable subjects for further study because, with the exception of Loring and Wyle, little is known of the careers of early women sculptors in Canada. Stoodley is mentioned briefly in Boyanoski's *Loring and Wyle: A Sculptor's Legacy*.⁸⁸

Traill, Catharine Parr

b. 1802, Rotherhithe (London), England

d. 1899, Lakefield, Ontario

Writer, artist. Settled at Rice Lake, in the Peterborough area of Ontario, in 1835 she published *The Backwoods of Canada* followed by *Canadian Wild Flowers* (1868), and *Studies of Plant Life in Canada* (1885).⁸⁹ She was the sister of Susanna Moodie (q.v.) and of the historical writer Agnes Strickland (1796-1874), the great-aunt of Henrietta Vickers (q.v.), Sydney Strickland Tully (q.v.), and Louise Tully (q.v.).

Tully, Louise Beresford

Active c.1890-1905

Artist working in the applied arts and crafts, including woodcarving, leatherwork, and bookbinding.⁹⁰ Studied handicrafts at the Kensington Art School, London, England (c1891-1895). Exhibited with the Society of Arts and Crafts of Canada, the OSA, WAAC, and at the Roberts' Art Gallery, Toronto. Career centred in Toronto where she maintained a teaching studio in the Yonge Street Arcade. Commissioned c1895 to design and carve several mantelpieces in a "gothic design."⁹¹ Daughter of architect Kivas Tully,

sister of Sydney Tully (q.v.), cousin of Henrietta Vickers (q.v.), great-niece of Catharine Parr Traill and Susanna Moodie. Little is known of Tully's career or production; she is important as a handicrafts artist and teacher during the 1890s.

Tully, Sydney Strickland

b. 1860, Toronto

d. 1911, Toronto

Painter of figures, portraits, interiors. Studied at the Ontario School of Art and Design where one of her teachers was Charlotte Schreiber (q.v.); at the Slade, London (1884-86); at the Académie Julian, the Académie Colarossi, Paris; elected Associate of the RCA in 1890. Exhibited with the RA, the 91 Club, Society of Arts and Crafts of Canada, WAAC, RCA, AAM, and OSA. Tully and her sister, Louise (q.v.), taught in their Toronto Yonge Street Arcade studio; they both served on the committee of the Society of Arts and Crafts (1902). Tully was commissioned by the CPR for a series of portraits for the Empress and Royal Alexandra Hotels. Discussed briefly in Farr and Luckyj's *From Women's Eyes*.⁹² Tully's diverse career and production deserve more scholarly attention.

Vickers, Henrietta Moodie

b.1870

d. ?

Painter of still life; sculptor. (Fig. 4-3) Studied at the Ontario School of Art and Design; privately with George A Reid. Exhibited with the OSA, Society of Arts and Crafts, WAAC. Her studio in the Yonge Street Arcade (c1895) adjoined that of Mary Wrinch (q.v.). In December 1897 Vickers wore an "heirloom costume" and hair comb, the latter originally belonging to her grandmother, Susanna Moodie, to the Victorian Era Ball in Toronto.⁹³ Miller's claim that Vickers lived in Tangiers after c1897 is supported by the title of her painting, *Bedouin*, exhibited at the OSA in 1901.⁹⁴ Possibly Vickers returned to live in Canada since she exhibited with the OSA in 1898, the CNE in 1903, and annually at the OSA from 1900 to 1904;⁹⁵ in 1902 she served on the Committee of the Society of Arts and Crafts in Toronto.⁹⁶ Much scholarly work remains to be done on Vickers.

Westmacott, Esther K.

Active 1874-1911

Painter of figures, landscapes; woodcarving and other handicrafts. The first woman to be elected a member of the OSA (1874). Art studies in New York c1884. In Toronto c1885 she founded and was principal of The Associated Artists' School of Art and Design; the school had an applied arts curriculum.⁹⁷ She served on the Committee of the Society of Arts and Crafts in Toronto in 1902; exhibited with the OSA, and Canadian Handicrafts Guild.⁹⁸ Her father was artist Stewart Westmacott (1818-1862), drawing master at Upper Canada College in Toronto (1859-1861).⁹⁹ She has received little scholarly attention. Her activity as a teacher in the applied arts and crafts is of particular importance.

Windeat, Emma S.

b. ?

d.1926

Painter of portraits, landscapes. Windeat was one of the earliest study group artists to have been elected an Associate of the RCA, in 1887 (resigned 1908). A longtime exhibitor with the TIE and OSA,¹⁰⁰ beginning in 1881 and 1884 respectively; also exhibited with the AAM, RCA, and WAAC. Her career centred in Toronto where her address in 1897 was 42 Cecil Street; by 1903 she lived on Indian Road in Toronto.¹⁰¹

Wyle, Florence

b. 1881, Trenton, Illinois

d. 1968, Newmarket, Ontario

Sculptor, and poet. Studied medicine at the University of Illinois for several years; studied sculpture at the Chicago Art Institute with Laredo Taft where she met Frances Loring (q.v.). After moving to Toronto in 1913 from Greenwich Village in New York, she became one of Canada's leading early-twentieth century sculptors. Wyle was a friend of filmmaker Robert Flaherty who photographed her c1919 (fig. 4-5). She published a volume of poetry in 1959.¹⁰² Wyle's career and production, usually considered in tandem with that of her close friend, Frances Loring, has been the focus of a number of scholarly studies beginning in the 1970s.¹⁰³

Wrinch, Mary Evelyn

b. 1877, Kirby-le Soken, Essex, England

d. 1969, Toronto

Painter of landscapes, miniatures; printmaker. Studied at the Ontario School of Art in Toronto; privately with George Reid; at the Grosvenor Life School, London; in New York at the NYASL. Taught art at the Bishop Strachan School, Toronto. Because of her status as the second wife of George Reid, Wrinch never completely disappeared from visibility; for example Muriel Miller's January 1940 article.¹⁰⁴ Scholarly interest in Wrinch was revived with Joan Murray, who interviewed the artist in July 1969, and continued with Farr and Luckyj's *From Women's Eyes*.¹⁰⁵ Both these publications were part of the first wave of recovery of women artists, inspired by the women's movement in the 1960s and '70s. Dickman's publications examining Wrinch's work in printmaking followed.¹⁰⁶ The AGO archives has excellent holdings on Wrinch.¹⁰⁷

Notes to Appendix - Biographies:

¹ See, Mora Dianne O'Neill and Caroline Stone, *Two Artists Time Forgot: Frances Jones (Bannerman) and Margaret Campbell MacPherson*, (Halifax: Art Gallery of Nova Scotia, 2006); Carol Lowrey, *Visions of Light and Air: Canadian Impressionism, 1885-1920* (New York: Americas Society Art Gallery, 1995), 34-35, 141, fig. 52; and, Gemey Kelly, "Frances Jones Bannerman," in *Backgrounds: Ten Nova Scotian Women Artists* (Halifax: Dalhousie Art Gallery, 1984), 7, 9, 11.

² For a detailed listing of Carlyle's writing refer to "Books and Articles Authored and Illustrated by Study Group Artists" in Bibliography section of this thesis.

³ Julia Gualtieri, "The Woman as Artist and Subject in Canadian Painting (1890-1930): Florence Carlyle, Laura Muntz Lyall, Helen McNicoll," M.A. Thesis, Queen's University, 1989; and, Susan Butlin, "Making a Living: Florence Carlyle and the Negotiation of a Professional Artistic Identity," M.A. Thesis, Carleton University, 1995.

⁴ Carr's publications are described in "Books and Articles Authored and Illustrated by Study Group Artists" in Bibliography section of this thesis.

⁵ Sandra Gwyn, *The Private Capital: Ambition and Love in the Age of Macdonald and Laurier* (Toronto: Harper and Collins, 1984), 346-350.

⁶ Florence N. Levy, ed. *American Art Annual, 1900-1901* (Boston: Noyes, Platt & Co., 1901), 214-15.

⁷ Cleland exhibited *Study of a Head* (#229) in the Sculpture category at the April 1898 AAM exhibition in Montreal, Levy, "Canadian Art Societies," *American Art Annual 1898*, 131.

⁸ Joyce Millar, "The Beaver Hall Group: Painting in Montreal, 1920-1940," *Woman's Art Journal* 13 (Spring-Summer 1992): note 6, p. 9.

⁹ Dorothy Farr and Natalie Luckyj, *From Women's Eyes: Women Painters in Canada* (Kingston, Ont.: Agnes Etherington Art Centre, 1975), 31.

¹⁰ Ellen McLeod "Enterprising Women and The Early History of The Canadian Handicrafts Guild 1905-1936," M.A. thesis, Carleton University, 1995; and, Ellen Easton McLeod, *In Good Hands: The Women of the Canadian Handicrafts Guild* (Montreal & Kingston: Carleton University and McGill-Queen's University Press, 1999), 36-41.

¹¹ Montreal's Victoria School of Art (renamed the School of Art and Applied Design in 1895), was revamped in 1892, and acquired new co-principals, Harriette J. MacDonnell (q.v.) and Mary Phillips (q.v.). Mary Bell was a friend of Mary Phillips, and both had studied at the New York Art Students' League.

¹² Farr and Luckyj, *From Women's Eyes*.

¹³ "In the Art Gallery," *London Free Press* (London, Ont.), 13 Sept. 1901, 2.

¹⁴ Cherry, *Beyond the Frame*, 186-7.

¹⁵ Betsy Cogger Rezelman, "The Newlyn Artists and Their Place in Late-Victorian Art," Ph.D. Diss., Indiana University, 1984.

¹⁶ Jennifer C. Watson, "Harriet Ford: An Expatriate Rediscovered," in *Harriet Ford* (Hamilton, Ont.: Art Gallery of Hamilton, 2001).

¹⁷ S. Allaire, "Les Canadiens au salon officiel de Paris entre 1870 et 1910: sections peinture et dessin." *Journal of Canadian Art History* (1977/78), 151.

¹⁸ "Artist," (classified advertisement) *London Free Press*, 4 April 1896, p. 3.

¹⁹ Gunn is listed here as Emily M. Fried; this is her married name. David Wistow, *Canadians in Paris, 1867-1914* (Toronto: Art Gallery of Ontario).

²⁰ See for example, "Mary Riter Hamilton, an Artist Impressionist on the Battlefields of France," *The Gold Stripe* 3 (Dec. 1919): 12.

²¹ Teresa McIntosh, "Other Images of War: Canadian Women War Artists of the First and Second World War," M.A. thesis, Carleton University, 1990, pp.42, 48.

²² Robert Amos, *Mary Riter Hamilton* (Victoria: Art Gallery of Greater Victoria, 1977).

²³ Angela Davis and Sarah McKinnon, *No Man's Land: Commemorating the 70th Anniversary of the World War I Armistice* (Ottawa: National Archives of Canada and War Amputations of Canada, 1995); and, Robert Belton, *Sights of Resistance: Approaches to Canadian Visual Culture* (Calgary: University of Calgary Press, 2001, 220-221).

²⁴ Jean Grant, "Studio and Gallery," *Saturday Night* 12, no. 6 (24 Dec. 1898): 15.

- ²⁵ The two women shared living space first in rue Notre Dame des Champs, 111, in c1895; and subsequently at 9, rue des Fourneaux. Elizabeth Mulley, "Women and Children in Context: Laura Muntz and the Representation of Maternity," Ph.D diss., McGill University, 2000, 88.
- ²⁶ Mulley, "Women and Children," 87-91.
- ²⁷ Ellen McLeod, *In Good Hands*, 90; and Susan Butlin, "Making A Living," 77.
- ²⁸ Virginia Berry, *Vistas of Promise: Manitoba 1874-1919* (Winnipeg: Winnipeg Art Gallery, 1987), 18-21; and, Mary Jo Hughes, *Marion Nelson Hooker: Two Lives, One Passion* (Winnipeg: Winnipeg Art Gallery, 1999).
- ²⁹ "Names and Addresses of Exhibitors," *Woman's Art Association of Canada, Winnipeg Branch, Catalogue* (Feb. 1895), WAAC Archives.
- ³⁰ See "Artists Represented," in *Dominion of Canada Industrial Exhibition Catalogue of Department of Fine Arts, Toronto, 1903*. CNE Archives.
- ³¹ Allaire, "Les Canadiens," 146; and, McLeod, *In Good Hands*, 31, 90.
- ³² *Canadian National Exhibition Department of Fine Arts, Toronto, 1911*, catalogue, 4. CNE Archives.
- ³³ Kerr's paintings of children are referred to in "Miss Estelle Kerr's Exhibition – A Painter of Children," *Saturday Night* 41 (27 Feb. 1926): 23. For a detailed listing of Kerr's writing and illustration work refer to, "Books and Articles Authored and Illustrated by Study Group Artists" at the beginning of the Bibliography section of this thesis.
- ³⁴ Tovell, *A New Class of Art*, 121; and Sybille Pantazzi, "Notes on Some Canadian Magazines and Their Illustrations, 1900-1940," in *The Art and Pictorial Press in Canada: Two Centuries of Art Magazines* (Toronto: Art Gallery of Ontario, 1979), 21.
- ³⁵ Winnifred Kingsford's bronze sculpture, *Seated Woman* (before 1914), #16985 in the NGC collection.
- ³⁶ Kingsford exhibited #183, *The Messenger* (1915), offered for sale at \$150.00; and, #184, *Woman Seated* (1915), for sale at \$150.00, in the Sculpture section of the 1915 OSA exhibition. *OSA Annual Exhibition Catalogue, 1915*, p. 21.
- ³⁷ Cited in, Rebecca Sisler, *The Girls*, 32.
- ³⁸ Kerr, "Women Sculptors in Toronto," (Women's Section) (20 June 1914): 25.
- ³⁹ McLeod, *In Good Hands*, 129; and Cameron, *And Beauty Answers*.
- ⁴⁰ Art Gallery of Ontario, *Farquhar McGillivray Knowles, Elizabeth McGillivray Knowles: A Selection of Paintings and Works on Paper from the Collection of the Art Gallery of Ontario*. (Toronto: Art Gallery of Ontario, 1980.)
- ⁴¹ In March 1898, Living exhibited *Une Serviteure* (#173), in the Oil Paintings category, at the RCA in Toronto, Levy, "Canadian Art Societies," *American Art Annual 1898*, 125.
- ⁴² McLeod, *In Good Hands*, 75, 85.
- ⁴³ Christine Boyanoski, *Loring and Wyle: A Sculptor's Legacy* (Toronto: Art Gallery of Ontario, 1987); Elspeth Cameron, *And Beauty Answers: The Life of Frances Loring and Florence Wyle* (Toronto: Cormorant Books, 2007; Rebecca Sisler, *The Girls: A Biography of Frances Loring and Florence Wyle* (Toronto: Clarke, Irwin, 1972).
- ⁴⁴ Kristina Huneault, "Heroes of a Different Sort: Gender and Patriotism in the War Workers of Frances Loring and Florence Wyle" *Journal of Canadian Art History* 25, no. 2 (1993): 26-45.
- ⁴⁵ McLeod, *In Good Hands*, 31, 46.
- ⁴⁶ McLeod, *In Good Hands*, 31. p.46 note 71.
- ⁴⁷ The two articles by Jennifer Watson, *Water Colours by E. May Martin* (Oshawa, Ont.: The Robert McLaughlin Gallery, 1980) and "Rediscovering E. May Martin," *Canadian Collector* 15 (July/Aug. 1980): 22-25, are similar in content.
- ⁴⁸ Barbara Meadowcroft, *Painting Friends* (Montreal: Véhicule Press, 1999), 39
- ⁴⁹ Meadowcroft, *Painting Friends*, 207-8,
- ⁵⁰ Susan Butlin, "Women Making Shells" Marking Women's Presence in Munitions Work 1914-1918: The Art of Frances Loring, Florence Wyle, Mabel May, and Dorothy Stevens," *Canadian Military History* 5, no. 1 (Spring 1996): 41-48.
- ⁵¹ Karen Antaki, "H. Mabel May (1877-1971) the Montreal Years: 1909-1938," M.A. thesis, Concordia University, 1992.
- ⁵² Farr and Luckyj, *From Women's Eyes*, 30.
- ⁵³ Joan Murray, "Introduction," *Helen McNicoll, Oil Paintings from the Estate* (Morris Gallery, 1976).

- ⁵⁴ Julia Gualtieri, "The Woman as Artist and Subject in Canadian Painting (1890-1930): Florence Carlyle, Laura Muntz Lyall, Helen McNicoll." M.A. Thesis, Queen's University, 1989.
- ⁵⁵ Carol Lowrey, *Visions of Light and Air: Canadian Impressionism, 1885-1920* (New York: Americas Society Art Gallery, 1995); and, Natalie Luckyj, *Helen McNicoll: A Canadian Impressionist* (Toronto: Art Gallery of Ontario, 1999).
- ⁵⁶ Susanna Moodie, *Roughing it in the Bush, or forest life in Canada*, 2 vols. (London: Bentley, 1852).
- ⁵⁷ Elizabeth Mulley, "Women and Children in Context; Laura Muntz and the Representation of Maternity," Ph.D. Diss., McGill University, 2000; and, Mulley, "Madonna/Mother/Death and Child: Laura Muntz and the Representation of Maternity," *Canadian Art Review* 25, 1-2 (1998): 84-93.
- ⁵⁸ Owens illustrated at least two articles and one book of songs: Helen Williams, "Autumn Days in the Eastern Townships," illustrated by Nina M. Owens, *The Canadian Countryman* (14 Oct. 1911); Helen Williams, "Yuletide in the Townships," illustrated by Nina M. Owens, *The Canadian Countryman* (14 Dec. 1912); and, *Songs of the Grass Folk*, cover design and illustrations by Nina M. Owens (London: Clayton F. Summy Co., 1916).
- ⁵⁹ Monique Nadeau-Saumier, *Nina M. Owens (1869-1959)* (Sherbrooke, Que.: Art Gallery of Sherbrooke, 1992).
- ⁶⁰ "Art and Artists," *Saturday Night* (4 Feb 1888).
- ⁶¹ Clara Peel is mentioned briefly in a footnote in Victoria Baker, *Paul Peel: A Retrospective 1860-1891* (London, Ont.: London Regional Art Gallery, 1986), note 264, p. 72.
- ⁶² Illustrated in, Baker, *Paul Peel*, 117.
- ⁶³ Mildred Peel shared this studio with her younger sister Clara Peel. Both were interviewed in the article, "Art and Artists," *Saturday Night* (4 Feb 1888).
- ⁶⁴ Fern Bayer, *The Ontario Collection* (Toronto: Fitzhenry & Whiteside, 1984.), 157, 165-66, 258
- ⁶⁵ See Baker, *Paul Peel*, 38, 117.
- ⁶⁶ Co-founder, along with Alice Peck. McLeod, *In Good Hands*, 1-2, 24-36..
- ⁶⁷ The School of Art and Applied Design was located at 2278 St. Catherine Street, Montreal
- ⁶⁸ McLeod, *In Good Hands*, 24-36.
- ⁶⁹ Dorothy Farr and Natalie Luckyj, *From Women's Eyes* (Kingston, Ont.: Agnes Etherington Art Centre, 1975), 25
- ⁷⁰ Marilyn McKay, *A National Soul: Mural Painting in Canada 1860s to 1930s* (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2002), 121, fig. 31.
- ⁷¹ Brian Foss and Janice Anderson, *Quiet Harmony: The Art of Mary Hiester Reid* (Toronto: Art Gallery of Ontario, 2000).
- ⁷² *Types of Canadian Women* includes a biography and photograph of Frances Elswood Richards (Mrs. W.E. Rowley), Henry J. Morgan, *Types of Canadian Women* (Toronto: William Briggs, 1903) 1: 296.
- ⁷³ See for example her portrait of Sir William Buell Richards, under Frances Richards, in the House of Commons collection, Ottawa, and her portrait of George Airey Kirkpatrick (1887) in the Supreme Court of Canada collection, Ottawa.
- ⁷⁴ In 1933, after fifty-three years, Marion Long was the next woman after Schreiber to be elected to full Academician status with the RCA.
- ⁷⁵ Emily P. Weaver, "Pioneer Canadian Women, 5, Mrs. Charlotte M. Schreiber, Painter," *The Canadian Magazine* 49 (May 1917): 32-36.
- ⁷⁶ Margaret Fallis, "Charlotte Schreiber, R.C.A. 1834-1922," M.A. thesis, Carleton University, 1985.
- ⁷⁷ Farr and Luckyj, *From Women's Eyes*, 23; Maria Tippett, *By a Lady: Celebrating Three Centuries of Art by Canadian Women* (Toronto: Viking, 1999), 39.
- ⁷⁸ Photograph from the Eaton's archive, is reproduced as figure 21 of Christine Boyanoski, *Loring and Wyle: Sculptors' Legacy* (Toronto: Art Gallery of Ontario, 1987), 21.
- ⁷⁹ Margaret Scobie exhibited two sculptures, #179, *Faun* (1917); and #180, "1917" (1917), at the OSA exhibition in 1917. *OSA Annual Exhibition Catalogue*, (1917), 20. *Canadian National Exhibition Department of Fine Arts*, Aug. /Sept 1918, catalogue. CNE Archives, Toronto.
- ⁸⁰ Barbara Meadowcroft, *Painting Friends: The Beaver Hall Women Painters* (Montreal: Véhicule Press, 1999), 48-49, 213-14.
- ⁸¹ Meadowcroft, *Painting Friends*, 35, 213-214; and Chapt. 10 in Evelyn Walters, *The Women of Beaver Hall: Canadian Modernist Painters* (Toronto: Dundurn Press, 2005).

⁸² See "Members," in *Canadian National Exhibition Department of Fine Arts, Aug/Sept. 1909*, catalogue. CNE Archives.

⁸³ Weston described Shore's paintings as "semi-abstractions," for further discussion see, Roger Aikin, "Henrietta Shore and Edward Weston," *American Art* 6 (Winter 1992): 42-61.

⁸⁴ David Ritchie and James Paget, "Canadian Artists William Malcolm Cutts and Gertrude Spurr Cutts," *Antique Showcase* (May 1987): 25-28, 52.

⁸⁵ Stevens was commissioned by the CWMF in September 1918 for a series of six etchings, including, *Munitions, Fuse Factory* (1919), (CWM Collection, CN# 8829). Illustrated in, Susan Butlin, "Women Making Shells, Marking Women's Presence in Munitions Work 1914-1918: The Art of Frances Loring, Florence Wyle, Mabel May, and Dorothy Stevens," *Canadian Military History* 5, no. 1 (Spring 1996): 41-48. See also, Terresa McIntosh, "Other Images of War: Canadian Women War Artists of the First and Second World War," M.A. thesis, Carleton University, 1990.

⁸⁶ Tovell, *A New Class of Art*, 89-90, 178.

⁸⁷ Stoodley exhibited *Study of a Horse* at the 1929 annual OSA exhibition in Toronto. *OSA Annual Exhibition Catalogue, 1929*.

⁸⁸ See Boyanoski, *Loring and Wyle: A Sculptor's Legacy*, n. 13, p. 26.

⁸⁹ The full title of Catherine Parr Strickland Traill's first book is *The Backwoods of Canada, being letters from the wife of an emigrant officer, illustrative of the domestic economy of British America* (London: Nattali and Bond, 1835).

⁹⁰ Louise Tully exhibited at the OSA Applied Art Exhibition in 1900, in the first exhibition which featured a section for the applied and decorative arts. She worked in woodcarving, bookbinding, and leatherwork. Several items in the latter two categories were exhibited by her at the WAAC (Montreal Branch) exhibition in the Fall of 1900. See McLeod, *In Good Hands*, 96; see also, "Anyone who has given more," *The Week* (Jan. 1895): 187.

⁹¹ "Anyone who has given more," *The Week* (Jan. 1895): 187.

⁹² Farr and Luckyj, *From Women's Eyes*, 24.

⁹³ *Toronto Globe*, 29 Dec. 1897, quoted in, Cynthia Cooper, *Magnificent Entertainments: Fancy Dress Balls of Canada's Governors General 1876-1998* (Hull, Que. and Fredericton, N.B.: Canadian Museum of Civilization and Goose Lane Editions, 1997), 126-7.

⁹⁴ Henrietta M. Vickers exhibited *Bedouin*, in the annual OSA exhibition in 1901 in Toronto. *Ontario Society of Artists Annual Exhibition Catalogue, 1901*, AGO Archives. Muriel Miller, *George Reid: A Biography* (Toronto: Summerhill Press, 1987), 67.

⁹⁵ Vickers exhibited *Violets* (#17) in the 1898 OSA spring exhibition, and exhibited paintings and sculpture annually in 1900, 1901, 1902, 1903, and 1904. *OSA Exhibition Catalogue, 1898-1904*.

⁹⁶ *Society of Arts and Crafts, Officers 1902*, 1. File: Society of Arts and Crafts, Box 5, AGO Archives.

⁹⁷ The school is discussed in, "About Town," *Globe*, 16 Dec. 1887, 8; and in McLeod, *In Good Hands*, 37, 74.

⁹⁸ Westmacott exhibited with the OSA in 1875, 1876, and 1878, in the paintings category; after a gap of six years she again exhibited paintings in 1885 and 1886. *Ontario Society of Artists Annual Catalogues, 1874 - 1886*, AGO Archives. Her association with the Handicrafts Guild is discussed in McLeod, *In Good Hands*, 149.

⁹⁹ Stewart Westmacott is briefly discussed in, F. Graeme Chalmers, "Art Education in a Manly Environment: Educating the Sons of the Establishment in a 19th Century Boys' School," *Studies in Art Education* 42 (Winter 2001), 121-122.

¹⁰⁰ She exhibited *Study at a Porch* (#168), *On the Lake Shore at the Humber Bay* (#318), and *Study from the Cast* (#319). See, *TIE Catalogue of the Art Department, 1881*, 10, 16. Windeat exhibited three paintings in the 1884 OSA exhibition. *OSA Annual Exhibition Catalogue, 1884*.

¹⁰¹ In the 1903 TIE catalogue, Windeat, and the couple George and Mary H. Reid, are all listed as living on Indian Road, Toronto. *TIE Catalogue of Department of Fine Arts, 1903*, p. 24.

¹⁰² Florence Wyle, *Poems*, Introduction by Ira Dilworth, Ryerson Chapbook, no.188 (Toronto: Ryerson Press, 1959).

¹⁰³ See notes #27 and #28 above.

¹⁰⁴ Muriel Miller, "Famous Canadian Artists, Mary E. Wrinch, ARCA, Landscapist in Oil, Block Print Artist and Miniaturist," *Onward* (28 January 1940): 58.

¹⁰⁵ Murray interviewed Mary Wrinch in July 1969. See, Joan Murray, "Mary Wrinch, Canadian Artist," *Canadian Antiques Collector* (Sept. 1969): 16-19. Farr and Luckyj, *From Women's Eyes*.

¹⁰⁶ Chris Dickman curated an exhibition of Mary Wrinch's prints at the Durham Art Gallery in September 1980, *The Prints of Mary Wrinch* (Durham Art Gallery, 1980); subsequently he published, Chris Dickman, "Colour and Contrast: The Graphic Work of Mary Wrinch," *Canadian Collector* 17, no. 1 (1982): 41-44.

¹⁰⁷ See for example, Mary E. Wrinch Reid Scrapbook, Gen. Archives, File: Mary E. Wrinch (Reid) Scrapbook, Box 5, AGO Archives, Toronto.

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- Gordon Conn Collection of Photographs.
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Canadian Pacific Archives, Montreal.

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