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MAKING A LIVING: FLORENCE CARLYLE AND THE
NEGOTIATION OF A PROFESSIONAL ARTISTIC IDENTITY

by

Susan Butlin, B.A. (Honours)

A thesis submitted to the
Faculty of Graduate Studies and Research
in partial fulfilment of
the requirements for the degree of
Master of Arts
Canadian Art History

Carleton University

Ottawa, Ontario

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**MAKING A LIVING: FLORENCE CARLYLE AND THE NEGOTIATION
OF A PROFESSIONAL ARTISTIC IDENTITY**
Submitted by Susan Barbara Butlin, B.A. Honours
in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of
Master of Arts.

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ABSTRACT

This thesis examines the career of the Canadian painter Florence Carlyle (1864–1923) with particular focus on her negotiation of patriarchal barriers to women's professional art practice. The establishment of Carlyle as a successful artist, in terms of critical response and as a financially independent artist who exemplified the qualities of the New Woman are central issues in this discussion. Chapter 1 examines the question of how Carlyle and other contemporary women artists were marginalized in the post-1945 canon of Canadian art history. Chapter 2 discusses issues of women's access to professional art training. Chapter 3 examines the strategies and alternatives Carlyle employed to establish and sustain her professional art practice, including issues of matronage and her work in commercial art in New York. The final chapter considers Carlyle's figurative paintings and examines how her images of women contest and expand hegemonic visual representations of femininity.

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List of Abbreviations

AAM	Art Association of Montreal
BUF	Pan-American Exposition, Buffalo, N.Y. 1901
CHI	World's Columbian Exposition, Chicago 1893
CNE	Canadian National Exhibition (Toronto)
CNEA	Canadian National Exhibition Archives (Toronto)
DCIE	Dominion Canada Industrial Exhibition (Toronto)
DE	Dominion Exhibition (Halifax)
DES	Dominion Exhibition Sherbrooke, Quebec 1907
DSE	Dominion and States Exhibitions, London, Eng.
FA	Fifth Avenue Art Galleries, New York, N.Y.
HULL	Hull, England
KNO	Knoedler's Galleries, New York, N.Y.
LP	Liverpool, England
OSA	Ontario Society of Artists (Toronto)
PENNA	Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts, Philadelphia
PF	Patriotic Fund Exhibition
PSALON	Salon of the Société des Artistes Français, Paris
RA	Royal Academy
RAC	Rochester Art Club, Rochester, N.Y.
RCA	Royal Canadian Academy
SAA	Society of American Artists, N.Y., N.Y.
ST.L	St. Louis World's Fair, Louisiana Purchase Exposition
SUT	Sutcliffe Sale, New York, N.Y.
TIE	Toronto Industrial Exhibition
WAAC	Woman's Art Association of Canada
WAACA	Woman's Art Association of Canada Archives (Toronto)
WAC	Women's Art Club (London, Ontario)
WF	Western Fair (London, Ontario)
WIB	Winnipeg Industrial Bureau Exhibition

CHAPTER ONE

LOCATING THE ARTIST: INTRODUCTION

The very materials at the historian's disposal are far from neutral. 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

Recent feminist scholarship in art history asserts that art is a product of social conditions and strategies both of which create and perpetuate sexual difference.² During the late nineteenth century the barriers to a woman becoming a professional artist in Canada were numerous. In order to achieve and sustain her status not only did a woman have to negotiate stereotypic notions of femininity, she also had to overcome patriarchal barriers.

Throughout the nineteenth century women artists in Europe and North America worked amid patriarchal definitions of femininity in which the ideal of womanhood was seen as subordinate, dependent, circumscribed by and focused upon the private sphere of the home. The title of this thesis signals the strand of inquiry to be explored in the life and work of one of these women--the Canadian artist Florence Carlyle (1864-1923). This analysis seeks to reclaim and document the historical presence of Florence Carlyle as a Canadian artist.

In addition it will consider how Carlyle negotiated contemporary barriers to women artists in artistic production and professionalism to establish herself, in her own lifetime, as a critically acclaimed professional artist thus challenging the exclusivity of masculine claims to professionalism. Furthermore, the question of how socially contrived barriers structured what she produced will be examined.

The foundations of nineteenth-century definitions of femininity lay firmly rooted in the context of the eighteenth century Enlightenment and can be linked to the work of men such as Jean-Jacques Rousseau, who denied the equality of men and women on grounds of law or nature.³ According to art historian Whitney Chadwick, Rousseau was influential in the identification of femininity with nature and

believing that women lacked the intellectual capacities of men, he argued that they had no ability to contribute to art and the work of civilization apart from their domestic roles.⁴

By the nineteenth century this produced a rigid polarizing and "naturalizing" of sexual difference inscribed not only in definitions of femininity but also social expectations of women's role in the arts. As Chadwick points out,

The characterization of women's art as biologically determined or as an extension of their domestic and refining role in society reached its apogee in the nineteenth century. It was most clearly expressed in a bourgeois ideology which defined separate spheres for activity by men and women, including the practice of art.⁵

Patriarchal barriers to women becoming professional artists

began in the family. While it was considered appropriate for middle and upper class girls to be "accomplished" in such arts as watercolour painting, needlework, and singing, this encouragement was limited to that of a competent amateur.⁶ Women artists during much of the nineteenth century were defined by and in turn understood themselves in relation to these social constructions of femininity.

In the struggle for a professional career women artists came into conflict with the prescribed ideas of womanhood and had little choice but to negotiate a broad spectrum of gender-based barriers.⁷ For women the conditions of artistic production and professionalism in the late nineteenth century ranged from controlled conditions of entry and institutionalized sexual difference in schools, professional associations, and art criticism to the delineation of appropriate subject matter for women and other forms of creative oppression. Women who were artists during this period were more affected than their male peers by these socially contrived boundaries, constraints, and conditions governing art practice. Despite the barriers in place at the end of the nineteenth century, however, some women were able to negotiate a significant position and establish a professional identity in the world of Canadian art practice, and it is this process that forms the focus of this study.

In her examination of women artists working during the nineteenth century Deborah Cherry has observed that,

Femininities and identities may be perceived as discursively constituted, governed by specific forms of power and anchored by a range of competing institutions.²

Therefore, on the assumption that social forces in place at the time are reflected in institutional structures and practices, this thesis will examine the issues of entrance, professionalism, production and representations of femininity as they relate to Carlyle's life and career as professional artist. As Cherry points out, nineteenth-century women artists were

Shaped in and by the social formation of sexual difference...[and in negotiating this context] women forged feminine professional identities and differentiated ways of working.³

This thesis marks the first full examination of Carlyle's professional career and contextualization of her art production in light of issues of gender, class and contemporary artistic practice. This thesis will argue that Carlyle was able to negotiate the conditions of contemporary artistic production in Canada and establish herself as a significant professional artist because of her self-determination, as revealed in her responses and strategies for negotiating the barriers she encountered, and her independent spirit and willingness to question or disregard gender or societal based restrictions. (Fig. 1.1)

The conditions of entry into professional artistic practice during the nineteenth century often limited or discouraged

access by women. Not only was professional art training considered unfeminine but the requirements of art practice, which favored independence, competition and public visibility, were qualities associated solely with male artists. Middle-class women who desired a professional career were obliged to contest the view that they ought not to work outside the home nor earn money:

Women...artists challenged the exclusivity of masculine claims to professionalism: neither their location in the profession...nor their activities in a capitalist economy coincided with those of bourgeois men.¹⁰

Institutionalized sexual difference can easily be found in exclusion or separateness within professional art schools, artist associations, and in the reception of women artist's work. By entering the public world of artistic practice women artists were flying in the face of the assumption that professional art activity was the exclusive preserve of men.

Professionalism was most vociferously claimed as masculine by...middle-class men...The language and institutions of art...[positioned] femininity...as the very antithesis of the professional artist, as amateur, a definition secured by the inclusion in middle-class women's education of the domestic practice of drawing and watercolours as an accomplishment¹¹

Chapter Two will examine Carlyle's background, education and early professional career, specifically in the context of the conditions of Carlyle's artistic production and professionalism. Her negotiation of patriarchal restrictions upon entrance and institutionalized sexual differences that she

encountered, and the strategies she used to establish a successful professional practice will be examined in connection with issues of gender, class and social barriers in an effort to foreground the artist's motivated and self-determined drive toward her goal of professional art practice.

Carlyle's professional career (c.1890-1923) spanned a period of monumental changes for women. New definitions of femininity and changes in women's rights at the turn of the century expanded women's roles and expectations and increased the number of career alternatives for women artists. In 1893 when Carlyle participated in her first international exhibition, the World's Columbian Exposition in Chicago, women were involved in the struggle for equal rights, for the vote, and to have their achievements recognized as equal to those of men. The preface to the official handbook of the Woman's Building stated that the Exposition had given women, "an unprecedented opportunity to present to the world a justification of her claim to be placed on complete equality with man."¹²

While depictions of the private, domestic sphere are central to a consideration of Carlyle's work, she also worked in and depicted the public world---areas that were traditionally the exclusive preserve of male artists. Chapter Three explores the strategies, alternatives and discourses that Carlyle employed in order to negotiate the conditions of artistic production and to sustain her professional practice.

Throughout her career Carlyle's use of these strategies was varied and creative. She was a teacher of art in both private commercial practice and public, professional schools of art. She also sustained her professional practice with commercial art commissions while working concurrently on private portrait commissions. Consideration of the great range of subjects and spaces in Carlyle's *oeuvre*, encompassing as it does both the private, domestic sphere and spaces and subjects of the public world is central to a balanced examination of her work.

Carlyle's exhibition history reveals that she was a frequent exhibitor in both Canada and the United States.¹³ For approximately thirteen years Carlyle lived and worked intermittently in New York and had close professional ties to the United States. During the last ten years of her life she resided in England where she extended her professional career to include literary expression. World War I had a significant impact on Carlyle's art production as seen in an altered exhibition pattern, and in the artist's personal involvement in the war effort.

While considering how social construction of femininity may have affected Carlyle's life it is also possible to consider how that structure shaped what she produced. In an article on the work of Suzanne Valadon (1865-1938), Rosemary Betterton asserts that it is necessary to look at how the background and position of a woman artist affected her work. Betterton notes that,

A woman artist cannot be assumed to have 'seen' differently from her male contemporaries, but it can be argued that the particular force of her experience produced work which was differently placed within the dominant forms of representation of her period.¹⁴

Griselda Pollock points out that during the late nineteenth century, "both what and how men and women painted [was determined by] a historical assymetry—a difference socially, economically, subjectively [conditioned]...This difference—[was] the product of the social structuration of sexual difference and not any imaginary biological distinction."¹⁵ It has been demonstrated that during the late nineteenth century women artists did not have access to the same subjects or spaces as their male peers.¹⁶ Generally speaking, this dichotomy may be described as male artists having access to the public world whereas women artists focused on private areas or domestic space.¹⁷ Janet Wolff also notes that in the nineteenth century city, women were confined to private life, "while men retained the freedom to move in the crowd or to frequent cafes and pubs."¹⁸ This freedom within the public sphere, available to male artists yet denied to women artists, is aptly demonstrated by the figure of the *flaneur*—the "stroller," at home on the streets and arcades of the city. "The *flaneur* is the modern hero; his experience,...is that of a freedom to move about in the city, observing and being observed,...They are, of course, all men."¹⁹

Places depicted in the paintings of nineteenth-century women artists represent only the range of locations and subjects open to women where they could move freely. Griselda Pollock refers to these as the "spaces of femininity," depictions of labour and/or leisure in the domestic sphere. These "spaces of femininity" also include some exterior and public spaces such as public and private gardens and balconies.²⁰

Carlyle was praised for her representations of the private domestic sphere, the spaces of femininity.²¹ Chapter Four examines some of Carlyle's paintings dealing with this subject matter and discusses Carlyle's exploration of the domestic spaces of labour and representations of femininity in order to examine the artist's diverse images of women. Such subjects, and indeed the "spaces of femininity," appear as central and recurring concerns in Carlyle's *oeuvre*.²²

Carlyle's *oeuvre* contains a wide and varied range of genre figure painting, portraits, still life paintings and landscapes, including Alpine landscapes painted at the Alpine Club of Canada's remote camp in British Columbia. However, she was best known as a figure painter. Early in Carlyle's career, and following her successful Royal Canadian Academy exhibition in 1898, a Canadian newspaper assessed her interests, "While appreciating the beauties and attractions of landscape, she feels most strongly drawn to figure painting, and there is no doubt that this talented young lady will make this branch of

art her life's study."²³ Reviews of Carlyle's work noted her reputation as a figure painter and as a painter of "domestic life". M.O. Hammond noted, "She was highly successful as a figure painter and was fond of domestic interiors."²⁴ The *Toronto Globe* in a review of her memorial exhibit wrote,

It is as a figure painter that Miss Carlyle will be chiefly remembered...scenes of domestic life, often of the fireside, or the commonplace duties of the kitchen, or the recreation hours of the music-room.²⁵

This thesis will examine Carlyle's life and artistic production in the light of contemporary feminist discourse, her negotiation of the conditions governing art practice, and her activity towards her goal to establish and sustain an identity as a professional artist.

LITERATURE REVIEW

"History is part of the way in which we have been defined by men."²⁶

Before discussing the life and work of Florence Carlyle it is necessary to establish the context by first examining how her work has been assessed in art-historical literature. This section begins with a discussion of the marginalization of Carlyle and other Canadian women artists in the historical record and with a consideration of issues of gender. In addition this section examines contemporary assessments, biographical dictionaries, art historical texts and exhibition catalogues. The literature review looks at such issues as how

the framing of a canon of Canadian art history during the twentieth century impacted on the treatment accorded Carlyle by noting and comparing Carlyle's critical reception during the active years of her career with later art historical writing in Canada.

Maria Tippet begins her recent book on Canadian women artists *By A Lady* with the observation that "Through three centuries of art-making in Canada, women artists have been ignored, forgotten and marginalized." She continues, "It is not surprising, then, that with very few exceptions [women]...have been omitted from books dealing with Canadian art."²⁷ In general terms this statement succinctly describes the treatment accorded late nineteenth century women artists, such as Florence Carlyle, in Canadian art historical texts; however, it does not consider how the work of Carlyle was received by the art journalists of her day. Neither does Tippet address the questions of how and why successful nineteenth century women artists were marginalized in the canon of Canadian art history.

Such omissions are especially evident in the surveys of Canadian art history written since 1945. Not only are Canadian female artists underrepresented as a group in these texts, but more significantly, the successful careers of many late nineteenth-century women artists such as Carlyle are ignored and thereby do not accurately reflect the prominence of such women artists, the strength of the critical acclaim or the

influence they assumed during their lifetimes.²⁸

The question of why this situation occurred begs a response. Why were successful, vital and professional women artists such as Carlyle, not deemed worthy of inclusion in post World War II surveys of Canadian art? The lack of documentation on the careers of turn-of-the-century women artists is only a partial explanation since male contemporaries did not suffer the same fate. Despite recognition of women artists at the time of their professional activity Pamela Gerrish Nunn suggests that the systematic writing of "a self serving history of art has largely suppressed...Victorian women artists." She proposes that the "art historians' corporate neglect [of nineteenth-century women artists]...cannot be explained by anything other than prejudice." Nunn adds that art historians' recognition of women artists would "[divert] attention from traditional idols."²⁹

This situation has many parallels to the inclusions and exclusions of Carlyle whose work received fuller recognition in earlier Canadian art literature than in Canadian art history texts written after 1940. During this period when the process of systematizing the canon of Canadian art history was being formalized many women artists from the earlier periods were consciously excluded. Whether their careers were active at or near the time of publication seems to have been an important factor in their inclusion. Those, such as Carlyle, with periods of greatest activity predating 1914, are the artists

who suffer the greatest neglect.³⁰

It has been suggested that the powerful ethos of the northern landscape motif, which was long considered synonymous with Canadian identity and artistic vision, may have been an important factor in the neglect of this earlier generation of women painters.³¹ It has also been observed that women painters during the period 1890-1930 tended to portray the figure rather than landscape.³² As some writers note, landscape tended to be the domain of male painters. Tippet claims that "Women artists contributed little to landscape painting [before 1914]." She suggests that the lack of "identifiable locations" in landscape paintings by women, such as the mountains of Banff, "served more than anything else to set what women were doing apart from the work of men." Tippet implies that the landscapes produced by women were undervalued because they were done from "their ranches, backyards or on the outskirts of the towns or cities where they lived" and not in the wilderness.³³ The fact that Carlyle painted alpine landscapes in the mountains of British Columbia c.1912 while attending the Alpine Club's camp in Vermillion Pass serves to challenge Tippet's assertions that the work of Canadian women artists was marginalized because they failed to interpret the Canadian wilderness before 1914. Carlyle's activity with the Alpine Club of Canada is examined in Chapter Four.

Canadian art historical writing of the 1940s through the 1970s attests to the high value placed on the images of

northern landscape by the dominant discourse. In contrast figural painting was not considered as significant, nor was it associated with a Canadian nationalistic vision in the same way as landscape subjects. Although Carlyle painted and exhibited landscapes she received recognition during her lifetime primarily as a figure painter. The devaluing of figure painting by the dominant discourse in Canadian art historical writing was an additional factor in the relegation of Carlyle to virtual obscurity in texts written after 1940.

Deborah Cherry, in her introduction to *Painting Women*, raises the issue that "the formation of historical records in the past and in the present is necessarily central to a feminist politics of knowledge."³⁴ Cherry draws on Michel Foucault's insights into the relations of power and knowledge for her analysis of women artists in the nineteenth century. She points out that the formation of historical records is far from neutral and that the very visibility of individuals, the surviving documentation, and even contemporary historical inquiry is determined by relations of power.³⁵ Thus, an analysis of nineteenth century Canadian women artists must be alert to the historical conditions and dominant discourses that saturate and structure the historical records, and privilege the social constructions of gender and subject matter.

The paradox that many nineteenth century women artists received fuller recognition and better critical coverage during their lifetimes, in contemporary books, articles and reviews,

than they have in more recent writing has also been discussed with reference to the general histories of women artists, by Rozsika Parker and Griselda Pollock in *Old Mistresses: Women, Art and Ideology* published in 1981.

By the late nineteenth century...historians of art could...record the persistent presence of women [artists]...Contemporary nineteenth-century writings...recorded the existence of women artists [yet] art historically [women's art] was relegated to a special category which was presented as distinct from mainstream cultural activity...Modern art history produces a picture of the history of art from which women are not only absent, but identifies women...as inevitable and naturally artists of lesser talent and no historical significance.³⁴

A similar paradox exists in the case of Canadian women artists.³⁷ During her lifetime Florence Carlyle was accorded far better recognition and critical coverage, not only in Canada but also in the United States and Europe, than she has received in more recent Canadian art literature. The waning of Carlyle's professional recognition after her death in 1923, her fall into marginality, and ultimately into almost total obscurity in Canadian art writing is a scenario that occurred with many of Carlyle's contemporaries who were women artists.³⁸

During her professional career Florence Carlyle received regular and notable recognition in the contemporary art periodicals, newspapers and Canadian art texts. While she was still a student in Paris her work attracted admiring attention from the Paris critics when she exhibited in the Salon.³⁹ A London periodical, *The Gentlewoman*, was sufficiently impressed

by her work to publish an interview in 1895 which noted that,

Miss Florence Carlyle [is from]....Woodstock, Ontario, a small town where there are no advantages of art training. In spite of all drawbacks her great love of painting...asserted itself...[she] came to Paris to study...During two successive years she exhibited in the Salon and her work was well spoken of...It is full of power and promise.⁴⁰

While still a student in France, Carlyle sent several works back to Canada and the United States to be shown in exhibitions and her work attracted favorable attention from the critics.⁴¹ On her return to Canada, after six years of study abroad, she was a regular exhibitor in the major Canadian exhibitions of the time, such as the Royal Canadian Academy, the Art Association of Montreal, the Ontario Society of Artists and the Women's Art Association.⁴² Carlyle's work was frequently discussed in reviews of major exhibitions in Canada between 1895 when she sent work to shows in Canada from Paris and 1914 when she moved to England. Reviews appeared in Toronto periodicals and newspapers such as *The Globe*, the *Telegram*, the *Daily News*, *The Mail and Empire*, and *Saturday Night*, as well as in the *Montreal Standard*, and *Montreal Star*. Carlyle's work was also discussed in national publications such as the *Canadian Magazine*, *Macleans Magazine*, and *The Canadian Courier*.⁴³

Given the social barriers to professional status, late nineteenth-century Canadian women artists received a surprising amount of recognition in the popular contemporary Canadian art

press of the time.⁴⁴ In addition to positive newspaper reviews in Canada and awards and honours bestowed both in Canada and the United States, Carlyle received much attention in popular Canadian art periodicals of the day.⁴⁵ Many of these articles, such as Madge MacBeth's 1914 series, "Canadian Women in the Arts," focused on Carlyle's career alongside that of her peers--women famous in Canada not only as painters but in the fields of music and theater. MacBeth when speaking of successful women in the arts notes that

In the field of...art,...we [Canadians] have our representatives, many of them so internationally famous that they are claimed by the world...and it is forgotten to give Canada the credit for being their country of birth...The story of...[Florence Carlyle's] climb into an enviable position in the artistic world should inspire any who may be prone to...grow discouraged.⁴⁶

Other articles, such as "Painters and the Public," published early in Carlyle's career, illustrated and discussed her work alongside that of other prominent contemporary women painters in Canada.⁴⁷ Margaret Bell's article "Women and Art in Canada" included Carlyle among a study of other contemporary women artists.⁴⁸ In 1912, arguably at the height of her professional activity and popularity, the *Toronto Globe* devoted an extensive article to Carlyle in a series entitled, "Representative Women."⁴⁹ By 1913 Carlyle was ranked among Canadian critics as one of the best contemporary women painters on the continent, second only to her colleague, Laura Muntz Lyall (1860-1930).⁵⁰

Throughout her career the critics, although not unanimously positive in their reviews, seldom remained silent about Carlyle's work. The popularity of her paintings among the North American public is attested by the numerous published articles citing her work, by press descriptions of her attendance at art exhibitions, and by reporting of the public's response to her work.⁵¹ Equally importantly, between 1900-1910 Carlyle achieved an *entree* into the popular culture of North America with the reproduction of her paintings in fine art calendars by the Osborne calendar company based in New York.⁵² A biographical sketch of Carlyle appended to these calendars, confirms the status she had achieved.

Miss Carlyle has been represented in almost all the important exhibitions in America and the fine sincerity and buoyant enthusiasms shown in her work has led some critics to regard her as the greatest woman painter of figures in America...her pictures [reproduced in the] Osborne Art Calendars each year, winning immense and increasing appreciation from people scattered all over the English-speaking world—a great tribute to the truth and power of her art.⁵³

Thus, Carlyle's work during the period of her professional activity was well known and admired by contemporary critics, collectors and a broad public in Canada and the United States.

Carlyle's position as a significant woman artist is further evidenced by her inclusion in key dictionaries of biography published in Canada during her lifetime or just following her death in 1923. The earliest of these, Henry Morgan's *The Canadian Men and Women of the Time* (1898), published two years after her return from art studies in Paris, details her education, exhibitions, praiseworthy remarks from her Parisian instructors, favorable reviews and her membership in professional associations. Fourteen years later, in the 1912 edition her entry was updated with less focus upon her education and more on her professional art practice in Canada and New York City along with a current exhibition history and listing of prizes awarded to her. This reinforces her status as one of the leading Canadian women artists of her day.⁵⁴

W. Stewart Wallace's *The Dictionary of Canadian Biography* (1926) published three years after Carlyle's death, drew on Morgan's 1912 publication, but, in addition, highlighted Carlyle's significance as an acclaimed figure painter.⁵⁵

Two more recent Canadian dictionaries of biography and art, unlike more recent narrative texts, both contain substantial references to Florence Carlyle. Colin MacDonald's *A Dictionary of Canadian Artists* (1967) contains an extensive biography of Carlyle and draws on varied sources such as exhibition catalogues, newspaper articles, obituaries and contemporary critic's comments on the artist's work.⁵⁶

Carlyle's career is also outlined in a substantial reference in J. Russell Harper's *Early Painters and Engravers in Canada* (1970). The first lines of Harper's entry on Carlyle pay particular attention to the specific painters in Paris under whom she studied.

Painter, Daughter of William Carlyle, Oxford Cty., Ont., a public school inspector and nephew of Thomas Carlyle. To Paris with Paul Peel (q.v.) and Mildred Peel (q.v.), for five years of study at academies under T. Robert-Fleury, Lefebvre, Bouguereau, Rolshoven, and Delecluse.⁵⁷

It is interesting to note the patriarchal overtones in Harper's entry, for unlike the male artists in the same work, Carlyle's status as a serious artist requires the validation of the famous men in her life—mentors, teachers, or relatives. This focus implies that because she was a woman artist her success was more a function of her relationship with these men than it was dependent on her own talent and hard work. Such a view is also supported by Harper's exclusion of Carlyle from both the 1966 and 1977 editions of his book *Painting in Canada: A History*.⁵⁸ It seems highly likely, therefore, that Harper included Carlyle in *Early Painters and Engravers in Canada* only because of her marked recognition in earlier Canadian biographies not because of his own respect for her work.

The scope of Carlyle's career and recognition outside Canada is also confirmed by her inclusion in dictionaries of artists from Britain, France, and the United States. *The Dictionary of British Artists 1880-1940* records Carlyle in its

listing of forty-one thousand British artists. She is identified as a "figure painter" who exhibited in Britain between 1896 and 1921. The galleries and total number of works exhibited are identified as well as her addresses while in Britain.³⁹ *The Dictionary of Victorian Painters* (1978) has a similar entry with the note that she also painted portraits and still-life and exhibited at the Royal Academy between 1896 and 1921. Carlyle is mentioned briefly in Chris Petteys' *Dictionary of Women Artists: An International Dictionary of Women Artists born before 1900* (1982).⁴⁰ In Benezit's *Dictionnaire critique et documentaire des Peintres, Sculpteurs, Dessinateurs et Graveurs* (1976) the entry on Carlyle focuses on her professional affiliations and gives details of some of her later sales.⁴¹ Attesting to her professional connections with American artistic circles during her lifetime, Carlyle is cited as an American artist in *Who was Who in American Art* (1985), the entry limited to a description of her as a painter who worked in New York City during the first decade of this century.⁴²

LOST AND FOUND : CARLYLE AND THE TEXTS OF CANADIAN ART HISTORY

The historical recovery of women artists is necessary, as Griselda Pollock tells us, "because of the consistent obliteration of their activity...in art history."⁴³ As Parker and Pollock note in *Old Mistresses*, this marginalization of women's practice in art functioned "as the means by which

masculinity gains and sustains its supremacy in the important sphere of cultural production."⁴⁴ Two misconceptions that historical recovery must refute are firstly, that there were no great women artists. This problem was explored in Linda Nochlin's important article, "Why have there been no great women artists?".⁴⁵ Secondly, historical recovery must dismantle the traditionally held belief that women artists admitted to the canon of art history are second rate.⁴⁶

The argument for the recovery of Canadian women artists, such as Carlyle, is founded upon these premises. For the past sixty-five years little has been written on the work of the painter Florence Carlyle. It will be demonstrated in the following examination of standard accounts of Canadian art, that when she is included at all, Carlyle is accorded a marginal place.

One of the earliest surveys of Canadian art is the chapter "Painting and Sculpture in Canada," published in 1914 as part of a series entitled *Canada and Its Provinces*. The author, E.F.B. Johnston was one of the most important Canadian art critics of the time. Carlyle appears in a section devoted to women artists. The entry includes thoughtful analysis of her style, recognition of her professional status, and she is compared favorably with other Canadian artists:

[Carlyle] is a brilliant and facile painter. Her figures depend to a considerable extent upon the fine massing of rich colour, and frequently the value of line in long sweeping curvature is better illustrated in her work than in that of any other Canadian artist...her art shows

talent of a high order.⁴⁷

Newton MacTavish, another influential and articulate art critic working in Canada before World War II, published *The Fine Arts in Canada*, the first comprehensive survey of Canadian art, in 1925. Once again Carlyle was positioned in a chapter specifically devoted to "Canadian Women Painters." She is accorded almost an entire page of ample discussion, including evidence of the critical acclaim which she received during her lifetime. In addition Carlyle is represented by a full page illustration of one of her paintings. In this chapter and in the biographical notes appended to his text, MacTavish discusses over forty women artists, many of whom were Carlyle's contemporaries. This number is approximately twice as many as those referred to by Harper and Reid in survey texts written some forty years later. MacTavish brackets Carlyle's entry with those of her contemporaries Laura Muntz Lyall (1860-1930) and Sydney Strickland Tully (1869-1911).⁴⁸ MacTavish's writing is notable for its inclusion of professional women artists of this period and is indicative of the number of professional, full-time women artists, who were held in high esteem during the period of Carlyle's career, women who would with few exceptions be virtually written out of Canadian art historical surveys in subsequent years.

In *Painting and Sculpture in Canada* a "brief survey" of Canadian art written by M.O. Hammond in 1930, the model of

dedicating a chapter to "Women Painters" is continued. A number of Carlyle's contemporaries are discussed, including Sidney Strickland Tully, Mary Augusta Hiester Reid (1854-1921), and Laura Muntz Lyall. Photographic portraits of Carlyle and four additional women artists are illustrated, indicating the high esteem placed on Carlyle's work in 1930.⁴⁹ (Fig. 1.2)

Significantly Carlyle is not discussed in Hammond's chapter devoted to women artists, but positioned instead with a short critique of her work and highlights of her education and career alongside the work of contemporary male artists in the earlier chapter entitled "The Emergence of a National Art."⁵⁰ It is important to note that Carlyle was the only woman included by Hammond in this identification and celebration of a "group of painters" who were instrumental in moving art in Canada toward "something like a national profession."⁵¹ Carlyle is re-positioned within a national context only eight years after her death, marking a significant recontextualization of her art. Hammond's nationalist theme appears even more significant when one considers the exhaustive surveys written during the 1950s and 60s. In Hammond's 1930 text Carlyle was included along with male artists identified as contributing to the "emergence of a national art" whereas now Carlyle's contributions are disregarded in favour of the male artists identified by Hammond in 1930. In this later canon William Blair Bruce (1859-1906), George A. Reid (1860-1947), J.W. Morrice (1865-1924), and Paul Peel (1860-1892) retained

their high nationalistic positioning in the history of Canadian art.⁷²

Hammond's recognition of Carlyle as a prominent national artist contrasts significantly with her treatment by A.H. Robson in *Canadian Landscape Painters* (1932). Although Carlyle is included in the author's list of women painters who "came into prominence" in Toronto at the beginning of this century, Robson positions these women as "prominent exhibitors in the field of portraiture and figure painting." He concedes that they "[sometimes introduced] landscape settings with effectiveness and marked ability."⁷³ Thus, while Robson recognized Carlyle's importance in the history of Canadian art and her potential for landscape painting, he did not describe her or the other women as "landscape artists." Landscape painting was the preeminent subject matter of many significant contemporary male artists and Robson's positioning of women artists clearly presumes a secondary category for women as landscape painters.⁷⁴

In 1938 a unique anecdotal critique of Canadian art and artists written by Newton MacTavish and entitled *Ars Longa* included several important late nineteenth century women painters. Both Carlyle and Laura Muntz Lyall have a chapter devoted to them. In the chapter on Carlyle, MacTavish relates a story of his visit to the painter in her studio in Woodstock. He speaks of her friendship with the author and poet Isabel Ecclestone Mackay (1875-1928) and of Carlyle's close

association with Thomas Jenkins of the Jenkins' Galleries in Toronto.⁷⁵ Using a bantering anecdotal style, MacTavish personalizes the presentation of Carlyle as well as describing the contemporary context and her links with women in the artistic community of Oxford County. In addition, MacTavish examines Carlyle's professional status by including pragmatic aspects of her art practice such as marketing, sales and relationships with major art dealers.

One year after *Ars Longa* Graham McInnes' published *A Short History of Canadian Art* (1939). McInnes describes Carlyle as, "the first woman painter whose work had in it more than the adventitious charm that accompanies dabbling."⁷⁶

"Adventitious" is defined as coming from outside, accidental, casual.⁷⁷ Thus, in one succinct sentence McInnes has dismissed as dabblers all women artists prior to Carlyle. Their status as professionals is derided with the implication being that any merit in their work is to be viewed as accidental. A more condescending inclusion in Canadian art could hardly be imagined for Carlyle whose previous ranking had been among those professional painters who contributed significantly to a "national art" in Canada.⁷⁸

Graham McInnes' revised edition in 1950 positions Carlyle as an example of the "solid painters" of the 1880s and 1890s. Significantly, she is the lone woman to be given this distinction. However, McInnes' praise is somewhat of a backhanded compliment when he states

Florence Carlyle (1864-1923) is noteworthy as being one of the first [women] painters who did not need to follow John Howard's advice and "affix the word 'Lady'" to her paintings.⁷⁹

William Colgate in his survey *Canadian Art: Its Origin and Development* (1943) devoted considerable space to art at the turn of the century.⁸⁰ However, it is significant he omits women artists from this period who had formerly been accorded recognition in earlier surveys of Canadian art history. For example, Sidney Strickland Tully and Mary Evelyn Winch Reid are listed only as students at the Ontario School of Art and Design. Similarly, Laura Muntz Lyall, described during her lifetime as the foremost figure painter in North America, appears only on a list of exhibitors with the Canadian Art Club.⁸¹ Carlyle is not mentioned in the text and is excluded from the appendix listing Canadian painters.

In the 1967 reissue the foreword proclaimed the "authoritative record", "objective attitude" and "historic detachment" of Colgate's text.⁸² The omission of women artists, including Carlyle, remained intact. Thus this text, originally published in 1943, marks the beginning of a serious marginalization of Carlyle and her contemporaries.

Donald W. Buchanan, a co-editor of *Canadian Art*, published *The Growth of Canadian Painting* in 1950.⁸³ This survey continues the model of Colgate in the exclusion of Florence Carlyle.

In the 1960s a number of surveys of Canadian art history,

which professed to be balanced and objective accounts were published. R.H. Hubbard's *An Anthology of Canadian Art* (1960), focussed upon the Canadian collection at the National Gallery of Canada.²⁴ Although this institution owned two paintings by Carlyle, *Afternoon, Venice* (c.1913) and *Grey and Gold* (c.1910), Hubbard includes neither. (Figs. 1.3 and 1.4) This omission is even more ironic given that Hubbard criticized the earlier writers of Canadian art literature for "acute myopia" noting that the first balanced historical sketch of Canadian art did not appear until 1939.²⁵

One of the main primers of Canadian art history, J. Russell Harper's *Painting in Canada: A History*, published in 1966 and reissued in a second edition in 1977, was produced as part of the celebration of Canada's centennial.²⁶ Once again, women artists active in Canada during the 1880's and 1890's, are marginalized in this centennial celebration of the official history of Canadian art. In his chapter, "The New Dominion, 1867-1910", Harper presents a condescending and dismissive tone in his treatment of women artists. For example, the Women's Art Association of Canada (WAAC) annual exhibitions of Canadian artists work, held in several centers across Canada, facilitated the careers of many Canadian women artists including that of Florence Carlyle.²⁷

Carlyle is not mentioned although her contemporary Laura Muntz Lyall merits a dubious comment, as an example of an artist who "failed to accomplish all that her Parisian study

promised."⁸⁸ While it may be said that Harper included more examples of late nineteenth century women artists than texts by McInnes and Buchanan, these women are negatively described.⁸⁹ One glaring example of exclusion based on gender is Harper's documentation of painters awarded honors at the Buffalo Pan-American Exhibition in 1901. Male artists only are presented by Harper despite Carlyle's award of an honorable mention for her painting *Golden Rod*.⁹⁰

Dennis Reid in his text, *A Concise History of Canadian Painting* (1973 and 1988), continued the practice of excluding mention of Carlyle.⁹¹ Indeed Reid's index lists only twenty-two Canadian female artists compared with two hundred and seven male artists. A roughly similar ratio is found in Harper's *Painting in Canada: A History* (1966). Of the twenty-two female artists mentioned in Reid's book only six are women who had active careers in the years before 1945. The women artists who were active during the late nineteenth century, and renowned as professionals on a par with male peers, such as Carlyle, Laura Muntz Lyall and Helen McNicoll (1879-1915) were written out of Reid's history.⁹²

Barry Lord's socialist survey *The History of Painting in Canada: Toward A People's Art* (1974) does not mention Carlyle.⁹³ Although he includes a section on Canadian artists concerned with documenting Canadian workers, he limited the discussion to traditional male occupations, woodworking, lumbering, and mining.⁹⁴ Lord thus overlooked the artistic

exploration of domestic work performed by women, a subject common in Carlyle's *oeuvre*.⁹⁵ One may ask the question, does this oversight occur because he has adopted the traditional view of devaluing the labour of women in the home?

The task of researching women artists and reclaiming their historical presence began in earnest in the mid-1970s with the 1976 exhibition, *Women Artists: 1550- 1950*, curated by Ann Sutherland Harris and Linda Nochlin, the first comprehensive survey of European and American women artists.⁹⁶

The 1975 exhibition entitled *From Women's Eyes: Women Painters in Canada* is an example of a similar historical recovery in Canadian art history.⁹⁷ More than forty years after the books by Newton MacTavish and M.O. Hammond, Florence Carlyle and her contemporaries were again recognized as professional artists, significant in the historical context of Canadian art.⁹⁸ Following this exhibition Canadian women artists were the subject of a number of exhibitions and other scholarly research in this area included Julia Gualtieri's (1989) thesis.⁹⁹

In 1992 the first general survey text devoted exclusively to women artists in Canada, Maria Tippet's *By A Lady: Celebrating Three Centuries of Art by Canadian Women* was published.¹⁰⁰ Tippet's book has been criticised for its failure to address the many feminist issues that are part of current art-historical discourse. In *By A Lady* Tippet presents a stylistic analysis of *The Tiff* by Carlyle (c.1902)

and yet ignores the larger social and economic barriers to women's art practice and professionalism.¹⁰¹ (Fig. 1.5)

Art historian Griselda Pollock notes that, "it was only in the twentieth century, with the establishment of art history as an institutionalized academic discipline, that most art history systematically obliterated women artists from the record."¹⁰² Pollock's observation supports the conclusion that Carlyle's exclusion from the canon of Canadian art history, beginning with the post World War II texts, was grounded in gender based biases. As we have seen, Carlyle was a successful professional artist during her lifetime. Contemporary critical reception recognized her as such during her life and after her death in 1923 this reputation continued to be acknowledged in the Canadian art historical writings of Newton MacTavish and M.O. Hammond. However by 1939 the positioning of Carlyle as a successful professional Canadian artist is severely challenged in McInnes' (1939) abbreviated and negative discussion of her career.

A further recasting of the canon is demonstrated by the marginalization and repositioning of Carlyle outside the canon of Canadian art history in the post World War II texts of Colgate (1943), McInnes (1950), Buchanan (1950), Hubbard (1960), Harper (1966, 1977), Reid (1973, 1988), and Lord (1974). In general, it may be observed that the more distant the text writers were in time from the careers of women such as Carlyle the greater the likelihood of women artists being

written out of the official versions of Canadian art history.

As the quotation at the beginning of this chapter points out, the historical archive, like the construction of an art history canon, is far from neutral, as an examination of the wandering position of Carlyle within the Canadian art history canon suggests. Feminist art historians note that while included in contemporary writings, nineteenth century women artists are identified by much of modern art history as "of lesser talent and no historical significance."¹⁰³ Further insight into the reasons for Carlyle's marginalization in the post World War II period is provided by Pamela Gerrish Nunn's assertion that systematic writing of art history excluded nineteenth century women artists to avoid "[diverting] attention from traditional idols."¹⁰⁴

Against the background of most post World War II textual surveys the following chapter will now bring to light how Carlyle negotiated barriers of entry to professional practice and institutionalized sexual differences to establish her career as a professional artist.

Notes to Chapter One

1. Deborah Cherry, *Painting Women: Victorian Women Artists* (London and New York: Routledge, 1993), 6.
2. Particularly significant for the analysis of nineteenth century women artists are Rozsika Parker and Griselda Pollock, *Old Mistresses: Women, Art and Ideology* 2d ed. (New York and London: Pandora Press, 1986); Charlotte Elizabeth Yeldham, *Women Artists in Nineteenth-Century England and France* (New York and London, 1984); Rozsika Parker, *The Subversive Stitch: Embroidery and the Making of the Feminine* (London: The Women's Press, 1984); Pamela Gerrish Nunn, *Victorian Women Artists* (London: Women's Press, 1987); Griselda Pollock, *Vision and Difference: Femininity, Feminism and Histories of Art* (London and New York: Routledge, 1988); Cherry, *Painting Women*.
3. Whitney Chadwick, *Women, Art and Society* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1992), 34.
4. Ibid., 34.
5. Ibid., 35.
6. Cherry, *Painting Women*, 9.
7. For insightful discussions of the barriers to women becoming professional artists during this time see, the introduction to Cherry, *Painting Women*, 1-16. See also chapter 2, "Issues and Ideas," in Nunn, *Victorian Women Artists*, 15-67.
8. Cherry, *Painting Women*, 12.
9. Ibid., 9.
10. Ibid.
11. Ibid.
12. Preface to *Art and Handicraft in the Woman's Building*, ed. Maud Howe Elliott, quoted in Chadwick, *Women, Art, and Society*, 230.
13. See Appendix 2, Selected Exhibitions.
14. Rosemary Betterton, "How do women look? The female nude in the work of Suzanne Valadon," in *Looking On: Images of Femininity in the Visual Arts and Media*, ed. R. Betterton (London and New York: Pandora Press, 1987), 222-223.
15. Pollock, "Modernity and the Spaces of Femininity," in *Vision and Difference*, 55.
16. Ibid., 62. The restrictions on a woman's movement in the public world is expressed by the painter Marie Bashkirtseff (1859-84) in a journal entry of January 1879, where she wrote:
 What I long for is the freedom of going about alone, of coming and going, of sitting in the seats of the Tuileries, and especially in the Luxembourg, of stopping and looking at the artistic shops, of entering churches and museums, of walking about the old streets at night; that's what I long for; and that's the freedom without which one cannot become a real artist. Do you imagine that I get much good from what

I see, chaperoned as I am, and when, in order to go to the Louvre, I must wait for my carriage, my lady companion and family?...This is one of the principal reasons why there are no female artists.

Marie Bashkirtseff, *The Journal of Marie Bashkirtseff*, trans. A.D. Hall (Chicago and New York: Rand, McNally & Co., 1890); quoted in Kathleen Adler and Tamar Garb, *Berthe Morisot* (Oxford: Phaidon, 1987), 16. Bashkirtseff studied at the Academie Julian and exhibited at the Paris Salon 1882-84. Although Carlyle did not arrive in Paris until 1890, she was accompanied on the journey by Paul Peel (1860-1892) and his sister Mildred Peel (1856-1922), and doubtless similar restrictions to the movement of women were still in place. Florence E. Deacon, "Representative Women: Florence Carlyle," *The Globe* (Toronto), 8 June 1912, 4.

17. Pollock, *Vision and Difference*, 62.

18. Janet Wolff, "The Invisible Flaneuse," in *Feminine Sentences: Essays on Women and Culture* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1990), 40.

19. Ibid., 38-39.

20. Pollock, *Vision and Difference*, 56.

21. Critical admiration for her paintings of the domestic sphere are evident in reviews throughout her career and will be discussed in Chapter Four.

22. The term "spaces of femininity" is defined by Pollock as locations represented in paintings by women artists and may also refer to the spatial order or structure within paintings. Locations for the "spaces of femininity" include private areas or domestic spaces such as, "dining-rooms, drawing-rooms, bedrooms, balconies/verandas, private gardens". When paintings are located in the public domain "spaces of femininity" may include the "spaces of bourgeois recreation, display and...social rituals which constituted polite society." Spaces of femininity may also include spaces of labour, including child care. Locations available to male artists, but restricted to women artists, such as bars, cafes, backstage, areas in the "public world of the streets, popular entertainment and commercial or casual sexual exchange" are not included in the definition of the "spaces of femininity". Pollock, "Modernity and the Spaces of Femininity", in *Vision and Difference*, 56, 62.

23. "Painters and the Public," *The Mail and Empire* (Toronto) Christmas, 1898, 14.

24. M.O. Hammond, "Leading Canadian Artists: Representative Painters and Sculptors From Early Days in Canada to the Present," Unidentified newspaper article, c. May 1923, Artist Files, Woodstock Public Art Gallery, Woodstock, Ontario (WPA6).

25. "Art and Artists," *The Globe* (Toronto) 6 June 1925, 15.

26. Sheila Rowbottom, Introduction to the American Edition,

Hidden from History, 1974, p. XX; quoted in Deborah Cherry, *Painting Women: Victorian Women Artists* (Rochdale: Rochdale Art Gallery, 1987), 16.

27. Maria Tippet, *By A Lady: Celebrating Three Centuries of Art by Canadian Women* (Toronto and London: Viking, 1992), p. XI.

28. For further discussion of this issue see introduction to Julia Gualtieri, "The Woman as Artist and as Subject in Canadian Painting (1890-1930): Florence Carlyle, Laura Muntz Lyall, Helen McNicoll," (M.A., Queen's University, Kingston, Ontario, 1989).

29. Nunn, *Victorian Women Artists*, 2.

30. Gualtieri, "The Woman as Artist," 28.

31. Tippet, *By A Lady*, 35. See also, P. Walton, "Beauty My Mistress," *Journal of Canadian Art History*, 15,1 (1994): 5-6.

32. Gualtieri, "The Woman as Artist," 40; see also Tippet, *By A Lady*, 35.

33. Tippet, *By A Lady*, 34. Tippet's discussion of landscape painting and women artists has recently been criticised as "[complicit] with the dominant discourse" which valued landscape over figurative painting. In a recent review of *By A Lady* Janice Helland notes "Tippet claims that women artists were restricted in their attempts at landscape painting...Instead, Canadian women remained content, for the most part, with the maternité theme," the implication being that this kind of domestic painting, even when interesting and technically proficient, was not as significant as landscape painting," see Janice Helland, "Review of *By A Lady*, by Maria Tippet," *The Journal of Canadian Art History* 15, (1994): 132-33.

34. Cherry, *Painting Women*, 6.

35. Ibid., 6-7.

36. Parker and Pollock, *Old Mistresses*, 44-45.

37. Gualtieri, "The Woman as Artist," 13.

38. This scenario of success and recognition during the lifetime of a woman artist and subsequent exclusion from later texts of Canadian art history may be said to apply to several of Carlyle's contemporaries, for example, Laura Muntz Lyall (1860-1930), Helen McNicoll (1879-1915) and Sidney Strickland Tully (1860-1911).

39. "Nos Artistes a Paris, Mlle. F. Carlyle," *Organe des Intérêts Canadiens et Français*, Paris (20 Mai 1893).

Mlle. F. Carlyle, de Toronto, peint simplement, sans pretention, et surtout sans a l'effet, absolument comme elle voit son modèle: n'est-ce pas le plus grand merite et celui qui denote une nature pleine de promesse ? La tête de sa vieille femme est bien rendue dans ce ton et l'oeil étudié avec soin nous montre, par un art descret, comme elle l'a dessiné avec amour. Malgré la rude epreuve du voisinage de deux portraits de Bonnat, ce tableau conserve sa note

personnelle et vraie; ce n'est pas peu dire. Le grand peintre Jule Lefebvre a félicité tout particulièrement la jeune artiste; c'est la plus qu'un encouragement, déjà une récompense.

A year later, in 1894, a French critic commented on Carlyle's work on exhibit in the Paris salon:

Deux tableaux au Salon des Champs-Élysées de Mlle Carlyle, dont nous avons signalé les œuvres précédentes et le succès qu'elle avaient obtenu auprès des bons juges. Cette fois, la jeune et gracieuse artiste, si richement douée, expose deux délicieuses toiles.

See Paul Fabre, *Organe des Interets Canadiens et Francais* (Paris) 9 Juin 1894. (Information courtesy of Marian MacCausland, Woodstock, Ontario, September 1993.)

40. Carlyle was interviewed while visiting England during the summer of 1895, see "Florence Carlyle," *The Gentlewoman* (London, England), 10 August 1895, n.p., Artist Files, WPA6.

41. Carlyle sent a painting to be exhibited at the World's Columbian Exposition in Chicago in 1893. Five Canadian artists were awarded medals with gold medals to "Walker, Reid, [and] Harris" and a silver medal to "Miss Carlyle". R. Holmes, "The Royal Canadian Academy," *Saturday Night* (18 April 1908): 11. See also Hugh G. Jones, *History of the Royal Canadian Academy of Arts*, TS, 1934, Carleton University Library. Carlyle sent *Victorine/La vieille victorine* to Canada to be exhibited at the Art Association of Montreal exhibition in March, 1895. It appeared as number 24, *La vieille victorine* and was offered for sale at the price of \$200. In April of that same year *La vieille victorine* was in the Royal Canadian Academy Exhibition in Toronto and Carlyle's address was given as "Paris, France," see Evelyn de R. McMann, *Montreal Museum of Fine Arts, formerly Art Association of Montreal, Spring Exhibitions 1800-1970* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1988), 59. *Royal Canadian Academy of Art* (1895), 8.

42. See Appendix 2, Exhibitions.

43. Critics reviewing her work included Hector Charlesworth, Lynn C. Doyle, Roy Franklin Fleming, Jean Grant, M.O. Hammond, Estelle M. Kerr, Fergus Kyle, and Norman Patterson.

44. Gualtieri, *The Woman as Artist*, 28. See also entries on individual artists in Grace Heggie and Gordon Adshead, eds. *An Index to Saturday Night: The First Fifty Years, 1887-1937* (Toronto: Micromedia Ltd., 1987).

45. Carlyle's awards included, in 1893, silver medal at the World's Columbian Exposition, Chicago in 1901, honorable mention at the Pan-American Exposition, Buffalo, New York in 1901 and the annual OSA award for *The Tiff*; 1904, silver medal at the St. Louis World's Fair, Louisiana Purchase Exposition in 1904. See also Appendix 2.

46. Madge MacBeth, "Canadian Women in the Arts," *Maclean's Magazine* (Toronto) October 1914, 23-25, 105-108.

47. "Painters and the Public," *The Mail and Empire*, (Toronto) Christmas 1898, 12-15.
48. Margaret Bell, "Women and Art in Canada," *Everywoman's World* (Toronto) June 1914, 7, 15, 30.
49. Florence E. Deacon, "Representative Women: Miss Florence Carlyle," *Globe* (Toronto), 8 June 1912, 4.
50. Estelle M. Kerr, "The Artist," *Saturday Night*, (Toronto) 7 June 1913, 29.
51. In 1903 the social column of *Saturday Night* magazine reported on a conversation, overheard during the opening night festivities of the OSA, between Carlyle and Mrs. Dickson Patterson, a fellow student in Paris. The same article relayed viewers' reactions to *Badinage*, one of Carlyle's paintings on view at the time, see "Social and Personal," *Saturday Night* (Toronto), 14 March 1903, 3. Ten years later, in 1913, a story about the OSA exhibition reported a young couple's reaction to Carlyle's painting *On the Threshold*. "Points About People: In an Art Gallery," *Saturday Night* (Toronto), 19 April 1913, 3.
52. Osborne Calendar Company, New York and London. For further discussion of the prize won and Carlyle's subsequent work for the Osborne company in New York City 1900-1910, see Chapter Three.
53. Title-leaf from Osborne calendar, *Always Room For One More*, c.1900-1910. Artist's Files, WPA6.
54. Henry Morgan, *The Canadian Men and Women of the Time* 1st ed. (Toronto: William Briggs, 1898), 156-57, see also Henry Morgan *The Canadian Men and Women of the Time* 2nd ed. (1912), 200, for review of Carlyle's work included in the 1912 edition. The quotation was from "Painters and the Public," *Mail and Empire*, (Christmas 1898) and p.7 of this manuscript and note 21 above.
55. W. Stewart Wallace, *The Dictionary of Canadian Biography* (Toronto: Macmillan, 1926), 67.
56. Colin S. MacDonald, *A Dictionary of Canadian Artists*, (Ottawa: Canadian paperbacks, 1967), 1: 115-16.
57. J. Russell Harper, *Early Painters and Engravers in Canada* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1970), 58.
58. J. Russell Harper, *Painting in Canada : A History* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1966).
59. J. Johnson and A. Greutzner, *The Dictionary of British Artists 1880-1940* (Woodbridge, Suffolk: Antique Collector's Club, 1976), 97.
60. Christopher Wood, *The Dictionary of Victorian Painters*, 2nd ed (Woodbridge, Suffolk: Antique Collectors' Club, 1978), 82.
61. Chris Petteys, *Dictionary of Women Artists : An International Dictionary of Women Artists Born Before 1900* (Boston: G.K. Hall, 1982), 122.
62. E. Benezit ed., *Dictionnaire critique et documentaire des Peintres, Sculpteurs, Dessinateurs et Graveurs* (Paris: Librairie Grun, 1976), 531.
62. Peter Hastings Falk, ed. *Who was Who in American Art*

(Madison, Ct.: Sound View Press, 1985), 102.

63. Pollock, "Modernity and the Spaces of Femininity," in *Vision and Difference*, 55.

64. Pollock and Parker, *Old Mistresses*, 169-170, quoted in Cherry, *Painting Women*, 2.

65. Linda Nochlin, "Why have there been no great women artists?" in *Art and Sexual Politics*, eds. E. Baker and T. Hess (London: Collier Macmillan, 1973).

66. Pollock, "Modernity and the Spaces of Femininity," 55.

67. E.F.B. Johnston, "Painting and Sculpture in Canada," in "The Dominion, Missions; Arts and Letters, Part II," *Canada and Its Provinces*, eds. A. Short and A. Doughty, (Toronto: Glasgow, Brook and Co., 1914), 12: 625-26.

68. Newton MacTavish, *The Fine Arts in Canada* (Toronto: Macmillan, 1925), 141.

69. The other women in the photo grouping were Charlotte M.B. Schreiber (1834-1922)—the first and only woman to date in 1930 to be elected as an Academician with the RCA, Emily Carr (1871-1945), Elizabeth Wyn Wood (1903-1966), and Lilian Torrance Newton (1896-1980), see M.O. Hammond, *Painting and Sculpture in Canada* (Toronto: Ryerson Press, 1930), 54.

Carlyle's hometown of Woodstock, Ontario has attempted to keep local interest in her work alive with exhibitions of the artist's work which date from the 1930's and continue presently at the WPAG, see, for example, "Florence Carlyle's Memory Lives in Her Native City," *Daily Sentinel-Review* (Woodstock, Ont.), 8 February 1936, n.p., Artist Files, WPAG. The Woodstock Art Gallery Association sponsored a *Memorial Exhibition of Carlyle's paintings* which opened February 6, 1936 with a lecture on the artist. See, "Memory of Florence Carlyle Honored by Art Association," *Daily Sentinel-Review* (Woodstock, Ont.), 7 February 1936, n.p., Artist Files, WPAG; see also, "Florence Carlyle's Memory Lives in Her Native City," *Daily Sentinel-Review*, 8 February 1936, n.p., Artist Files, WPAG. In February of 1967 the Oxford County Art Association presented a centennial exhibition and catalogue on the work of Florence Carlyle. *Florence Carlyle*, (WPAG, Woodstock, Ontario, 1967). See also, "Open Carlyle Art Exhibit," *Daily Sentinel-Review*, 2 February 1967, n.p., Artist Files, WPAG. Acquisitions of Carlyle's work by the Woodstock Art Gallery has continued to the present day. For example, "Carlyle Canvas at Gallery," *Daily Sentinel-Review*, 12 August 1957, n.p.; and "Permanent Collection of Gallery on Display," *Daily Sentinel-Review*, 16 August 1976, n.p.; and, E. Payne, "Gallery Unveils New Carlyle," *Daily Sentinel-Review*, 2 December 1983, n.p., all from Artist Files, WPAG.

70. Hammond, *Painting and Sculpture in Canada*, 26.

71. *Ibid.*, 23.

72. *Ibid.*, 23-35.

73. A.H. Robson, *Canadian Landscape Painters* (Toronto: Ryerson Press, 1932), 161.

74. Although Carlyle overwhelmingly exhibited portraiture and figural works, she also exhibited landscapes, one of which was purchased by the National Gallery of Canada in 1913—an acquisition which suggests the artist's merit as a landscape painter. *Afternoon, Venice* was purchased from Carlyle at the Royal Canadian Academy exhibition held in Montreal in November, 1913 for \$175.00 and is presently in the collection of the National Gallery of Canada collection, Ottawa. E. McMann, *Royal Canadian Academy of Art: Exhibitions and Members, 1880-1979* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1981), 62. It depicts a view of the Rio dei Mendicanti looking north to the Cimitero in Venice, see David MacTavish, *Canadian Artists in Venice, 1880-1930* (Kingston: Agnes Etherington Art Centre, Queen's University, 1984), 49. It was likely painted during Carlyle's trip to Italy with Judith Hastings c. January-November 1913. For further information see Appendix 1.

75. Newton MacTavish, *Ars Longa* (Toronto: The Ontario Publishing Co. Ltd., 1938), 106-109. Further biographical information on Isabel Ecclestone Mackay (nee Macpherson), see Morgan, *Canadian Men and Women*, 1912, 696, and Wallace, *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*, 461.

76. Graham McInnes, *A Short History of Canadian Art* (Toronto: Macmillan, 1939), 66.

77. *The Concise Oxford Dictionary*, 6th ed. (Oxford: Clarendon, 1976), 15.

78. Note for example, MacTavish, 1925; Hammond, 1930; Robson, 1932, as discussed above.

79. McInnes, foreword to *A Short History of Canadian Art*, 2d ed. rev. (Toronto: Macmillan, 1950), p. v, 45.

80. William Colgate, *Canadian Art: Its Origin and Development* (Toronto: The Ryerson Press, 1943).

81. The writer and artist Estelle Kerr described Lyall as the foremost figure painter in North America in 1913, see, Estelle M. Kerr, "The Artist," *Saturday Night* (Toronto) 26 (7 June 1913), 29.

82. Charles W. Jefferys foreword to William Colgate, *Canadian Art: Its Origin and Development* (Toronto: The Ryerson Press, 1967 paperback ed.), vii-viii.

83. Donald W. Buchanan, *The Growth of Canadian Painting* (London and Toronto: Collins, 1950).

84. R.H. Hubbard, ed., *An Anthology of Canadian Art* (Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1960).

85. *Ibid.*, 167-168. Hubbard is referring to McInnes's *A Short History of Canadian Art* (1939).

86. J. Russell Harper, *Painting in Canada: A History* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1966). For an example of nationalistic discussion see foreword to 1966 edition.

87. For further information on the Women's Art Association of Canada see Allison Thompson, "A Worthy Place in the Art of our Country: The Women's Art Association of Canada 1887-1987" (MA, Carleton University, Ottawa, Ontario, 1989).

88. Harper, *Painting in Canada*, (1966), 253.
89. Ibid., 245, 255.
90. Ibid., 233. The Jury of Awards for the Pan-American Exposition, Buffalo, New York, 1901 prefaced the statement of awards noting that the exhibition "is the most complete and representative exhibition of American art ever yet got together. Almost all of the works collected were solicited for the exhibition by the Director of Fine Arts,...so that the mere presence of a work of art in this collection is of itself a certificate of merit." Gold medals in painting were awarded to John S. Sargent, Thomas Eakins, and Winslow Homer. Mary Cassatt was awarded a silver medal. Honors awarded to Canadian women artists in the painting category included, Laura Muntz, silver medal; Sidney Strickland Tully, Mary H. Reid, and Florence Carlyle, honorable mention, see "Art Awards at Buffalo," *New York Times*, 7 August 1901, 7.
91. Dennis Reid, *A Concise History of Canadian Painting* (Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1973).
92. Gualtieri, "The Woman as Artist", 22-23.
93. Barry Lord, *The History of Painting in Canada: Toward A People's Art* (Toronto: New Canada, 1974).
94. Ibid., 97-99.
95. The subject matter of washing laundry or hanging it out to dry recurs in many paintings by Carlyle, for example, *Washerwoman* (n.d.), *Monday Morning* (c.1898), and *Garden at Englewood* (c.1913). Other scenes of domestic work are seen in Carlyle's *Peeling Potatoes* (c.1898), *Spinning Woman* (c.1897), *Sketch, Darning Stockings* (c.1897), *The First Pie* (c.1900), and a painting of a woman leaning on her broom, *High Noon / Woman in a Doorway* (n.d.).
96. Linda Nochlin and Ann Sutherland Harris, *Women Artists: 1550-1950* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1976). Nochlin and Sutherland Harris curated the exhibition, and collaborated on the catalogue, *Women Artists 1550-1950*, at the Los Angeles Museum of Fine Art in 1976. Griselda Pollock writing about this publication has said, "All feminist art historians are indebted to the scholarship and initiative of these two authors. Their exhibition and its catalogue are a major contribution without which the arguments here mounted would not have been possible," see Pollock, *Vision and Difference*, 204, note 37. One Canadian woman artist, Emily Carr, is included in this catalogue, the first major study of women artists in English since Walter Shaw Sparrow's 1905 book *Women Painters of the World: From the Time of Caterina Vigri (1413-1463) to Rosa Bonheur and the Present Day* (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1905; reprinted by Hacker Art Books, New York, 1976). Before 1905 there were three English language books on women artists, all by women: Elizabeth Fries Lummis Ellet, *Women Artists in All Ages and Countries* (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1859), Ellen Creathorne Clayton, *English Female Artists*, 2 vols. (London, 1876), and Clara Erskine Clement Waters, *Women in the*

Fine Arts: From the 7th Century B.C. to the 20th Century A.D.

(Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1904; reprinted in 1974 by Hacker Art Books, New York). Of the nineteenth and early twentieth century surveys of women artists previously discussed only one Canadian woman, Laura Muntz Lyall is mentioned, by Waters, 245. Whitney Chadwick's *Women, Art, and Society* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1992) is a broad survey of North American and European women artists covering a number of historical periods and several different societies.

97. Dorothy Farr and Natalie Luckyj, *From Women's Eyes: Women Painters in Canada* (Kingston: Agnes Etherington Art Centre, 1975).

98. Ibid., 1-6.

99. One of these is Natalie Luckyj's 1983 catalogue for the exhibition *Visions and Victories: 10 Canadian Women Artists 1914-1945* (London, Ontario: London Regional Art Gallery, 1983). The most active years of Carlyle's career fell outside the period covered by the exhibition. Thus, while Carlyle was not included in the exhibition the documentation of such areas as "The First World War and After," and the chronology "Women in Canadian Life," are invaluable in recovering the context in which Carlyle and an earlier generation of women artists worked. Exhibitions which have focused on the work of Canadian women painters include, Natalie Luckyj, *Expressions of Will: The Art of Prudence Hemard* (Kingston: Agnes Etherington Art Centre, 1986), Karen Antaki, *Emily Coonan (1885-1971)* (Montreal: Concordia Art Gallery, 1987), and Butlin, *Florence Carlyle*. Gualtieri's thesis, "The Woman As Artist," focused on various aspects of the life and work of Laura Muntz Lyall, Helen McNicoll, and Florence Carlyle.

100. Tippet, *By A Lady*.

101. Janice Helland's review points out that Tippet ignores the theoretical groundwork laid by other art historians, "Although she repeatedly refers to the influence that women like Cassatt and Morisot might have had on Canadian women artists, Tippet ignores Griselda Pollock's "Modernity and the Spaces of Femininity"...Wolff's "The Culture of Separate Spheres"...and, perhaps more significantly, Pamela Gerrish Nunn's seminal work, *Victorian Women Artists*," see Helland, review of *By A Lady*, 132.

102. Pollock, "Feminist Art Histories and Marxism," in *Vision and Difference*, 23-24.

103. Parker and Pollock, *Old Mistresses*, 44-45.

104. Nunn, *Victorian Women Artists*, 2.

CHAPTER TWO

ON THE THRESHOLD : EARLY LIFE AND EDUCATION

I honor every woman who has strength enough to step out of the beaten path when she feels that her walk lies in another; strength enough to stand up and be laughed at, if necessary....But in a few years it will not be thought strange that women should be preachers and sculptors, and every one who comes after us will have to bear fewer and fewer blows. Therefore I say, I honor all those who step boldly forward, and, in spite of ridicule and criticism, pave a broader way for the women of the next generation.¹

Harriet Hosmer (1820-1908)

Elizabeth Ellet writing in 1859 identified the importance of the family in shaping women's desires and aspirations. Familial and broader social contexts could either facilitate or discourage a woman from pursuing a career as a professional artist.² As Griselda Pollock explains, "we cannot ignore the fact that the terrains of artistic practice and of art history are structured in and structuring of gender power relations."³ This chapter will examine the ways in which Florence Carlyle's early life, education and artistic training contributed to her formation as an artist within the context of contemporary patriarchal strategies and social structures.

A brief biographical sketch of Carlyle's family and early life serves to preface the discussion, highlighting points of significance with specific reference to the social context. Born in the town of Galt, in "Canada West," on 24 September 1864, Carlyle was the second eldest child with

three younger sisters, and four brothers including an elder brother, William.⁴ Both of Carlyle's parents were middle class, well-educated professional teachers.⁵ Her mother, Emily Youmans Carlyle (1834-1913), having trained to be a teacher at Fort Edward Collegiate Institute in New York State, accepted a position as the principal of a ladies' college in North Carolina. (Fig. 2.1) After working for several years she was compelled to return to Canada in 1860 upon the outbreak of the American Civil War.⁶ In keeping with accepted practice Youmans gave up her teaching career when she married in 1861. A dedicated and determined woman, she encouraged excellence in education and was especially interested in art, arranging sketching and painting lessons for all her children.⁷

Florence Carlyle's father, William Carlyle (1834-1911), qualified as a teacher at seventeen and continued his studies at Fort Edward Collegiate where he first met Emily Youmans.⁸ He taught for a short time before his appointment in 1871 to the position of Inspector of Public Schools for the county of Oxford, a post he held until 1910. As a result of this appointment the family moved to Woodstock in 1871.⁹ A nephew of the nineteenth century British essayist and social historian Thomas Carlyle, William Carlyle is described as "inheriting much of the cleverness and the abstraction of [his famous uncle's] erratic genius."¹⁰

Although both parents placed a high value on individual

accomplishment and educational achievement for their children, setting themselves apart from the conventional nineteenth century ideas of a more restrictive education for women, Carlyle's brothers were advantaged over their sisters in their access to higher education. Art had long been a component of a middle-class female education, with emphasis placed on accomplishments in such areas as embroidery, sketching and painting. In working-class families more emphasis was placed on practical arts such as weaving, quilting, knitting, and clothing design, which were taught in the home. In both cases art education was primarily designed to prepare women for their domestic role.¹¹ It is within this broader context that Carlyle's education will be examined.

Throughout the years of Carlyle's childhood and adolescence, the late 1860s and 70s, the education and socialization of middle class girls was devoted to inculcating domesticity. Commonly held assumptions of what constituted femininity at this time took for granted that a woman's primary interest should be in marriage and family. Young women were socialized to fulfill the roles of wife and mother and to give priority to the activities of "breeding, nurturing and servicing."¹² Acceptable complementary activities were often philanthropic, altruistic and not for personal gain.¹³ For example, fundraising or charity work was admired.¹⁴ Carlyle's later devotion to charity and war

work in the First World War demonstrate the influence of her mother and societal reinforcement of such altruistic behavior for women.

The profession of artist and the role of mother/wife were assumed to be mutually exclusive. The educational requirements, lifestyle, contact with public and commercial life—in short, the requirements of practice for a professional artist, were viewed as antithetical to those of wife/mother and contemporary definitions of femininity.¹⁵

A woman of Carlyle's age and social class, while wishing to develop abilities as an artist, yet retain respectable status, had little choice but to walk a tightrope of conditions and expectations. Female involvement in commercial or professional art enterprises was considered unbecoming in large part because the desire of women to seek financial gains from the sale of art work challenged conventional ideals of femininity.¹⁶ Furthermore, to draw attention to oneself in the public sphere was deemed indecorous and immodest. In the mid-nineteenth century public exhibition of works by amateur women artists had often been presented anonymously by the use of the phrase "By a Lady". Women artists' participation in amateur exhibitions was acceptable since these exhibitions were not deemed to be serious or commercial ventures.¹⁷

While still a student Carlyle desired to make her work available within a public exhibition context. Working within

the prescribed social constructions of femininity of nineteenth century rural Canada, Florence Carlyle first exhibited her paintings publicly in the early 1880s in the annual exhibitions within the Ladies Department of the Toronto Industrial Exhibition (TIE).¹⁸ In these early forays into the public world of artistic practice, Carlyle positioned herself as an amateur female artist, accomplished in the feminine domestic practice of drawing and painting. Although Carlyle exhibited within the acceptable sphere of female amateur in a "Ladies Department", commercial works were also present throughout all the art departments at the exhibition. Thus, at an early age Carlyle was clearly prepared to challenge convention and to make her work available within a commercial public exhibition context.

While commercial concerns were a matter of course to the male artist during the nineteenth century, for women who aspired to a professional artistic career, such public aspiration challenged social norms and conventional definitions of femininity. However, public recognition through the sales of work helped to confirm her desire to move beyond amateur status. As Nunn has observed in *Victorian Women Artists*,

For most artists, it is selling works that confirms one's identity...Yet to earn money was anathema to many women's sensibilities,...The society around them was only unwillingly persuaded that for them to earn money was tolerable,...Such [commercial] concerns, a simple fact of life to the male artist, constituted a major transgression of social habits and norms if the artist

was a woman. Yet she had to prove to herself and to her potential patron that she was not an amateur pursuing a hobby: she wanted serious, financially backed attention from the gallery-goer.¹⁹

As a child, Carlyle was encouraged especially by her mother to develop her talent for painting, and birthday gifts were frequently "watercolour boxes".²⁰ Carlyle's attraction to colour continued throughout her childhood and she recalled,

I remember...the first time I saw colour. Nurse brought in a big pink apple blossom...It seemed so large...and so pink. I have never seen an apple blossom like that since."²¹

As a girl, "she bought a small box of paints. And she amused herself by making pictures of the [flowers in the garden]."²² Carlyle's fascination with paint and visual imagery continued to develop: "In childhood, play for her consisted in making copies of pictures. In this way she taught herself to paint."²³ Encouraged by her mother she demonstrated a preference for drawing and painting figures.

We children all used to draw a great deal...and the others would draw everything else, but when it came to the heads of the people and animals I always had to do it."²⁴

In 1881, when she was seventeen, Carlyle moved with her family to "Englewood" then on the edge of the town of Woodstock. Described as "a handsome, old-fashioned, English style house with spacious grounds and handsome trees", Englewood would provide the setting for many of Carlyle's

paintings.²⁵ An annual garden party on the grounds was considered an important local social event.²⁶ Neighbors at the time recalled the "Carlyle sisters wending their way to New St. Paul's church on Sunday mornings with their picture hats and light colored frocks, flowing ribbons streaming behind, the envy of all the other girls on the street."²⁷

Carlyle's youth is often described as happy. In later years she loved to reminisce about her girlhood when the large family was together at Englewood. A family member recalled that,

She loved...the joyous attachment they felt toward each other, and the harmony that prevailed among them in spite of strongly differing opinions, ranging from the personal habits of each other through politics and religious beliefs down to the correct way to eat soup.²⁸

Such discussions often took place around the dinner table and were rescued from becoming quarrels "[by] the keen sense of humor with which the whole family was endowed."²⁹

Carlyle's cousin, Helene Youmans Key, a close friend of the artist, recalled that the name "Florence" was associated "only with the signature on her paintings, for to her family and friends, indeed to all...at home and abroad, she was known as "Bird"; I never heard her called by any other name."³⁰ People who knew the artist comment on her friendliness, concern for others, and her keen sense of humor. In her *Reminiscences* Helene Key speaks of the artist's personal strength and self confidence.

[Carlyle] lacked the statuesque appearance of her mother and could lay little claim to the beauty for which her sisters were noted. But one became aware of her presence in whatever group she happened to mingle, and her strong personality made itself felt wherever she appeared... [This] set her apart; it may have been the interest she took in all about her, people and things, and her kindness toward humanity at large, the quick sympathy for anyone in trouble, the honest indignation with unfairness or oppression, and the swift, warm understanding of one's dreams... All these excellencies of heart and mind were hers to an astonishing degree, and one felt their impact even on slight acquaintance by force of their simple honesty.³¹

Carlyle's keen sense of humor surfaced in her succinct, amusing but good natured descriptions of people.³²

EARLY EDUCATION

In the second half of the nineteenth century Woodstock was a prosperous rural community in southwestern Ontario. Between the ages of seven and fourteen Carlyle received her education in Woodstock's "public and grammar schools."³³ Although she had received early recognition from family and teachers for her artistic ability Carlyle appears to have had wide-ranging interests. In addition to her love of art she enjoyed sports, in particular, riding and tennis.³⁴

Although Carlyle's father held a respected position as school inspector, the family was not wealthy. One account written during her lifetime states that "school-teaching is not conducive to luxurious living. Most of what surplus there was went toward the education of the boys".³⁵ All of Carlyle's brothers were educated at McGill University in

Montreal.³⁶ The artist and her sisters received what was considered at the time a more than "adequate" education for women at the co-educational Canadian Literary Institute (CLI), later renamed Woodstock College.

The CLI was one of several Baptist educational colleges established across Canada during the nineteenth century.³⁷ Baptist educational facilities were especially progressive, "concerned with [providing] the necessary skills and the background for its young men to join the forward march of society."³⁸ Most significantly, however, Baptist schools were concerned about female education. The CLI was only one of many co-educational Baptist schools. Historian G.A. Rawlyk notes this distinctive aspect:

By the 1850's there appears to have been surprisingly little discussion over whether females should be educated. In the minds of many, the education of women became closely allied with, even a contributing factor to, all the other aspirations...of the Baptist body.³⁹

Designed to serve not only southern Ontario, but the whole country, the CLI accepted non-Baptists as both students and teachers extending a welcome to those "who might wish to have their children educated in a Christian setting dedicated to practical educational goals."⁴⁰ Carlyle's parents clearly recognized the advantages of educating their daughters in such a progressive institution. Their commitment was financial as well, since the CLI was a private school, relying upon tuition fees. Carlyle's parents supported their

daughter for eight years of study.⁴¹

A closer look at the CLI's educational program reveals an extensive elementary and secondary program of education, which by 1881 boasted twelve instructors and over two hundred students.⁴² While committed firmly to the principle of co-education, a scrupulous concern for the students' decorum is also apparent in the regulations against the consumption of tobacco and no excessive "communication of a social nature" between male and female students."⁴³ Graduates of the CLI were sufficiently advanced to be admitted to the second year of the arts course at the University of Toronto.⁴⁴

Carlyle's curriculum centered around literature, art and music.⁴⁵ Her art instructor was Professor Jones H. Farmer.⁴⁶ While a student, Carlyle was described as having equal interest in both music and art. According to her teachers at the time, she "would undoubtedly have made a name in this field [of music]."⁴⁷ Later, as a professional artist, Carlyle frequently used subjects and titles that attested to this early appreciation and knowledge of literature and music. For example paintings such as *Pippa Passes* (c1908) is based on a poem by Robert Browning in which the subject, Pippa, counteracts the sordidness of the world about her through her innocence and her singing. In addition Carlyle's love of music is expressed in *Piano Lesson* (n.d.), *An Awakened Chord* (c1914), *Pleasant Hour* (c1900), and *Music* (c1913).⁴⁸ (Figs. 2.2 and 2.3)

As well as the formal art training under Farmer, Carlyle's mother supplemented her daughter's instruction by organizing a class of young art students from among the children of neighbors and friends. She engaged a professional artist "from New York" to conduct regular classes for the group in Woodstock.⁴⁹ This artist was most probably William Lees Judson (1842-1928), who settled in London, Ontario, during the late 1860s and earned a living as an artist by selling landscapes, soliciting portrait commissions and teaching art.⁵⁰ In the early 1870s Judson had lived briefly in New York City where he studied painting with John Beaufain Irving.⁵¹ Returning to London in the mid-1870s, he established a studio and became well known in the London/Woodstock area, teaching at London's Hellmuth Ladies College.⁵² Judson regularly advertised his art classes and portraiture business in the London newspapers.⁵³ Undoubtedly Judson's skill as a portraitist and figure painter encouraged Carlyle's preference for such subjects.⁵⁴

Despite access to a good education for a woman of her time, Carlyle's art education only prepared her as an accomplished amateur. Nonetheless, as the following chapters will demonstrate, this early experience of equal access to co-educational opportunities at the CLI instilled a belief in women's ability and their right to pursue professional careers. The significant role played by Carlyle's mother was also a key factor in her career goals--as we have seen she

was herself a trained professional, who passed on to her children the importance of self-confidence and determination. Helene Youmans Key, a cousin and close friend of Carlyle, observed the importance of inculcating self confidence "instilled...as something of a moral excellence, a duty to one's self." Carlyle herself recalled that "We were taught...to respect ourselves, never to belittle our power to attain the goal we set, but let that goal be high. 'There is no room in the dedicated mind,' my mother would tell us, 'for self exploitation or conceit...'"⁵³ Such a strong sense of self, and belief in the power to attain a goal, undoubtedly sustained Carlyle in her determination to surmount barriers to gain education and experience required for professional art practice.

THE FOOTPATH: EARLY EXHIBITIONS AND ISSUES OF MATRONAGE

In order to succeed in establishing a professional practice in a society that favored male artists, women had to cultivate innovative strategies which counteracted patriarchal barriers "in a world divided and defined by sexual difference."⁵⁴ Such strategies included friendships, patronage, and kinship with other women:

Across the rituals of women's friendship, the networks of women kin, the relations of matronage, the daily practices of viewing women's images of women...across women's movements and organisations, historically specific systems of signification were constituted in the later nineteenth century in which woman as sign was produced and exchanged between women to signify the

foundation of communities, cultures and meanings of women.⁵⁷

Here, Deborah Cherry revives the term "matronage", a noun in use from the 1770s to the 1880s, to describe one such system of social support for women artists. The term traces its meaning to the word matron, commonly designating a married woman with "connotations of support between women in the social rituals of femininity". Cherry uses "matronage" to signify the "richness and diversity of women's cultural relationships,"

As a concept, matronage necessarily connects women of varying perspectives and conditions and it is important to recognise that where support for women artists was assisted through friendship and kinship, these were historically structured relationships between particular groups of women which were primarily organised on the axis of class. Matronage can be distinguished from patronage, thus restoring to the latter practice its fundamental orientation.⁵⁸

Matronage acted as a support system for women artists that "connected women of varying perspectives and conditions", and in which cultural production by women was supported by women.⁵⁹

Queen Victoria, herself an amateur artist, was a supporter of women artists and purchased their works--her interest was perpetuated by her fourth daughter Princess Louise (1848-1939).⁶⁰ Harriet Ford, in an article published in 1894, describes the extent of the Princess' support of Canadian art. "The Royal Canadian Academy of Arts was

founded by H.R.H. the Princess Louise and the Marquis of Lorne [1880]. I put the Princess first, advisedly, believing that she had more to do with the institution than the Marquis."⁴¹

At nineteen, Florence Carlyle's early self identification as an artist was resoundingly confirmed in 1883 when Toronto newspapers reported the sale of her work to Princess Louise.⁴² On the 12th of September the Marquis of Lorne, husband of Princess Louise, opened the TIE.⁴³ The promotion of Canadian women's art by the Princess is evident in her close attention to the ladies work department of the TIE. After touring the "Fine Art Gallery" the party made its way to the "Ladies Work Department" where Carlyle and her sister exhibited their paintings. "The visitors lingered some time...in this area, the Princess was particularly admiring of crewel work and china painting."⁴⁴ Two still-life paintings by Carlyle and her sister, one of white waterlilies and one of roses, "attracted the attention of Princess Louise who wished to buy them."⁴⁵ The royal desire to purchase the works was "communicated" to Carlyle and her sister, who offered them as a gift. However, the Princess, herself not only a patron of the arts, but also a skilled painter and sculptor, "insisted on buying them, at the same time writing a kind note to the young artists."⁴⁶ Clearly, Princess Louise understood the significance of paying for the work of women artists in this, a public and commercial

context.

A total of "fifteen or sixteen paintings on wood or other substances" by Carlyle were exhibited in the "Ladies' Department" of the TIE for 1883.⁴⁷ Although both the Ladies' Department and art displayed in the Art Gallery were listed under the general heading of "Fine Art Department", the Ladies' Department in fact was in a separate location on an upper level, far removed from the art gallery.⁴⁸ The marginalization of this area is further reinforced by the full title of "Ladies' and Children's Department."⁴⁹ In this department professional and amateur work by women, work by children "under 14 years of age," and work from public and charitable institutions, "Reformatories and Asylums," were displayed separately from those in the more prestigious gallery area.⁵⁰

Significantly, although Carlyle had already shown a precocious talent for drawing figures from life, both she and her sister chose to exhibit still-life compositions at the Ladies' Department exhibition. The choice of this genre shows their keen awareness of appropriate subject matter for this venue. By the mid-nineteenth century in Europe and North America still-life painting had become an artistic category in which women had gained considerable critical acclaim. Significantly, it was regarded as a decorative art that tested manual dexterity without requiring intellectual content. In 1868 the influential British *Art Journal* stated

that "fruits and flowers seem by divine appointment the property of ladies."⁷¹ Frequent parallels between flowers and femininity were also part of the same cultural context in the nineteenth century. By mid-century still-life paintings were considered as "expressions of innate femininity", for women artists.⁷² Carlyle would later use a direct parallel between woman and flower in two works, both entitled *The White Flower* of c1893 and c1912.⁷³

During the 1880s, besides exhibiting in Toronto at the annual TIE, Carlyle also associated with the London area art community--described as vital and as having "reached to the height of its nineteenth century artistic development in the 1880s."⁷⁴ London had much to attract aspiring artists

with several art classes and two distinct art schools in the city, there were ample teaching appointments for artists, while newly rich art collectors provided a small but steady market for their work. As a result, dozens of artists were attracted to the city.⁷⁵

Carlyle's links with the London art community and the exhibiting opportunities offered there continued throughout the 1880's as noted in an article which appeared in the *London Advertiser*.⁷⁶

Miss Carlyle came to London as a young woman and fraternized with the slender colony of art students who at that time were being taught the rudiments of sketching by local mentors.⁷⁷

During the 1870s and 1880s the Western Fair also provided an exhibition for area artists, along with the TIE. In

London the Western Fair art exhibition was the only annual art exhibition until 1940.⁷⁸ Despite her amateur status, and her lack of professional art training prior to 1890, Carlyle took full advantage of the educational and public exhibition opportunities available to her at this time.⁷⁹

EARLY TEACHING EXPERIENCE

Teaching during the nineteenth century was viewed as a respectable occupation for unmarried women and was seen as an extension of the maternal role.⁸⁰ In addition, art instruction was one alternative available to women in order to achieve financial independence and to sustain a professional practice. Two examples of female artists setting up their own schools of art in England during the nineteenth century are Louise Jopling and Henrietta Ward (1832-1923).⁸¹ In Canada, during the last quarter of the nineteenth century, women gained prominence as art educators in ladies colleges and schools.⁸² The circumstances of a woman working as a teacher of art to finance higher art education, and hence professional training, was not without precedent in Canada at this time. Carlyle's contemporary, Laura Muntz Lyall, taught in Hamilton, Ontario, from about 1883 to 1887, and again in 1888, thus funding her subsequent art studies in Europe.⁸³

To further her career goals and save money towards her advanced art studies Carlyle first taught art during the

1880s, while still attending the CLI and exhibiting her work at the annual TIE in Toronto. An article published in 1914 notes Carlyle's focus during this time on obtaining the funds for further study:

Most of what surplus there was went toward the education of the boys, old Dr. Carlyle [the artist's father] considering that girls could acquire what was necessary in the practical performance of domestic duties. But so determined was Florence to study art, that she gave painting lessons, when as she, herself, confesses, she did not know the first thing about it!...The main thing is, however, that she saved up enough money to take her to Paris...⁸⁴

Two venues where Carlyle is known to have taught are a summer art school at Grimsby Park near St. Catharines in the Niagara Region of Ontario and a "class [for] young ladies, [in Woodstock] among them Miss Carrie Scarff...and Miss Annie Richards."⁸⁵ In the former case she taught for five summers, between 1880 and 1886, before her graduation from the CLI. In Woodstock she taught at a makeshift studio on Simcoe Street.⁸⁶

It is notable that all of Carlyle's students from this early period are female, as far as we can ascertain. This would have been in keeping with social expectations of the time, in which a woman might teach art and thus assert herself as a figure of authority, but only to classes of female students.

TOWARD HIGHER ART EDUCATION--THE OPTIONS

When Florence Carlyle turned twenty-one in 1885, painting was regarded as a genteel 'accomplishment' for a middle-class woman. A popular publication of the time, Mrs. Ellis' *Family Monitor and Domestic Guide*, warned women against pursuing any accomplishment further than social necessity demanded:

It must not be supposed that the writer is one who would advocate, as essential to woman, any extraordinary degree of intellectual attainment, especially if confined to one particular branch of study...To be able to do a great many things tolerably well, is of infinitely more value to a woman than to be able to excel in any one. By the former, she may render herself generally useful; by the latter she may dazzle for an hour...⁹⁷

Social convention of the time dictated that Carlyle, a woman in her twenties, put her efforts into finding a husband, not an artistic career. Parents and relatives saw the choice for a woman to become a professional artist as an inferior and regrettable second to that of marriage. Contemporaries of Carlyle, the American artists, Cecilia Beaux (1855-1942), and Mary Cassatt (1844-1926), both had to deal with family assumptions that placed marriage before career for women. In a letter of 1891 the mother of Mary Cassatt wrote to the artist's brother, Alexander Cassatt:

Mary is at work again, intent on fame and money she says...After all a woman who is not married is lucky if she has a decided love for work of any kind and the more absorbing the better.⁹⁸

In her autobiography, *Background With Figures*, published in 1930, Cecilia Beaux recounted her early life prior to her professional career, and records her ambivalence towards marriage:

Needless to say, the family opinion in these matters was always obvious, but was never forced upon the reserved young *premiere* in the cast... Shall I ever come to it? I was by no means set against marriage and had no glimmering vision of another sort of future I might have. Let us escape this period, without further comment. The time came when the next allowed opening was ready for me, and I for it. [Study at the Pennsylvania Academy of Fine Arts.]⁸⁹

Similarly, Florence Carlyle's brothers displayed a respectful, if slightly apologetic attitude toward their sister's artistic endeavors:

She paints, you know. She's not married. It's nice that she has something to do.⁹⁰

At the time, a professional commitment and marriage were seen as mutually exclusive. Marriage was expected to put an end to professional activity. Thus, nineteenth-century British artists such as Anna Mary Howitt (1824-84) and Mary Severn (1832-66) gave up painting upon marriage, and Florence Claxton (fl.1859-79) refrained from exhibiting at the Royal Academy once she married in 1868, only showing in less conspicuous venues such as the Society of Female Artists.⁹¹

Harriet Hosmer, (1820-1908) a successful American artist, identified the conflict between marriage and profession as one that stood in the way of women artists

establishing a professional practice. She declared in a letter of 1854 that:

an artist has no business to marry. For a man, it may be well enough, but for a woman, on whom matrimonial duties and cares weigh more heavily, it is a moral wrong, I think, for she must either neglect her profession or her family, becoming neither a good wife nor a good artist. My ambition is to become the latter, so I wage eternal feud with the consolidating knot.⁹²

Women artists who successfully combined working as an artist with the role of devoted mother invariably found that marriage had a disturbing effect on their professional practice. British artist Henrietta Mary Ada Ward (1832-1924) noted the advice of a friend's mother who said, "I was very wrong not to make my child's clothes and give all my time to domestic matters, and...if I did my duty to my husband and home there would be no time left to paint."⁹³

One form of challenge to restrictive prescriptions which channelled women toward the occupations of wife and mother was to become economically independent. The most immediate avenue open to middle-class women of this time was to use their 'accomplishment' in the field of art as a professional career to gain economic independence. However, young women had first to contend with parental opinions on the suitability about art as an occupation for a daughter--indeed, the required training itself posed many hazards to the ideal of woman's experience at that time,

Think of the...embarrassing promiscuity of life in

studio and school, particularly as regards the study from the living model—and one can realize how brave, how energetic, or how ambitious must be the woman who would win the title of Artist.⁹⁴

Deborah Cherry observes in *Painting Women* that later in the nineteenth century, artist-families often supported daughters who wished to become artists and contribute to the family business. In addition the "daughters of merchants, manufacturers, lawyers, civil servants, doctors, bankers, writers and politicians also became artists," and the reason for them taking up a professional art career was frequently given as financial necessity.⁹⁵

Fanny Corbaux resolved on a career as an artist when her father became unable to support his family...Ellen Clayton [author of *English Female Artists* of 1876] noted of Mary Tovey that 'like many others [she was] obliged to depend on her art for her fortune', and she reported of Annie Dixon that 'family affairs rendered it necessary that early in life Miss Dixon make her own way in the world'.⁹⁶

Without this economic incentive,

women in prosperous middle-class families often testified to opposition from parents who had neither desires nor expectations for working daughters...While displeasure might be articulated by a mother or a father, transitions to professional training and practice could be facilitated by a mother's unfulfilled wish to have been an artist or by the example of a brother or female relative already working as an artist.⁹⁷

Cecilia Beaux, a contemporary of Carlyle, wished to study art at the Pennsylvania Academy of Fine Arts during the late 1870s but encountered opposition from her family. In her

autobiography she states:

I would have turned toward the...PAFA [Pennsylvania Academy of Fine Art], but my uncle, to whom I owed everything...[was] opposed...There was no reason to suppose that my trend was to be serious or lasting. Certainly I had done well and was a good copyist. I was a seemly girl and would probably marry. Why should I be thrown into a rabble of untidy and indiscriminate art students and no one knew what influence?...[He was opposed to] the life-class...[and] put a strong...arm between me and what he judged to be...a doubtful adventure...☹☹

Thus, the decision to look beyond marriage and to flout convention by aiming for a professional status was not one to be taken lightly--and many factors played a part in Carlyle's plans. Significantly, Carlyle's mother had worked in a professional career for several years before marrying, and thus, in addition to encouraging her daughter to develop her artistic skills while at home she also supported the notion of further study abroad and a career as a professional artist for her daughter. Her father, however, focused on their son's higher education. An additional barrier to her art education was that the family was not prosperous enough to support all her aspirations, "they often faced difficult times and all of the children at a very early age, learned to be self-reliant and how to 'make do'."☹☹ Thus, Carlyle could not assume that the funds for such a venture were readily available.

Financial help from the family was often of invaluable importance to a young woman with an ambition to become an

artist--and Carlyle eventually gained this support from her family. Thus, in addition to the money Carlyle was able to earn from teaching "funds were gathered together" from various sources in the family for Carlyle's goal.¹⁰⁰ Significantly, the artist's mother raised some of the money needed:

Mrs. Carlyle, who had always believed in her daughter's talent, made further efforts and sacrifices on her behalf, with the result that the money was raised...¹⁰¹

William Carlyle Jr., the artist's elder brother, also contributed because by the late 1880s he was working as a mining engineer and offered to help finance Carlyle's further art studies.¹⁰²

Carlyle's choice of schools was limited.¹⁰³ In 1886 there were four art schools in Ontario--at Toronto, Kingston, Ottawa, and the Western School of Art and Design, later renamed the London Art School in London, Ontario.¹⁰⁴

Most Canadian women artists who aspired to a professional career began their formal art training in Canada and on the recommendation of a teacher further studies were continued abroad. For example, both Laura Muntz Lyall and Sidney Strickland Tully, studied at the Central Ontario School of Art in the early 1880's and then trained in Europe.¹⁰⁵ The true measure of a professional artist in Canada in the 1880s and 90s, was foreign art training, in Paris, London or New York.¹⁰⁶ In Canada during the 1880s,

study abroad for aspiring women artists would still have been considered a bold move--requiring an adventurous or ambitious spirit, supported by a moneyed family or fortunate circumstance. However, various English periodicals published articles on the subject under titles such as, 'The Girl-Student in Paris' (1883), and 'An Atelier des Dames' (1886), and American artist May Alcott Niericker's handbook *Studying Art Abroad and How to Do it Cheaply* (1879) would have offered women artists like Carlyle helpful advice and knowledge of educational institutions.¹⁰⁷

In Britain at this time there were a number of well-respected art schools to which women art students gravitated such as the Slade School of Art in London considered the best source of fine art training for women in the later nineteenth century.¹⁰⁸

Two of Carlyle's Canadian contemporaries, Sidney Strickland Tully and Helen McNicholl, studied at the Slade School of Art in London while Laura Muntz Lyall went to the South Kensington School of Art for three months in 1888.¹⁰⁹ For some women private instruction continued to be an option. Both Helen McNicoll and Emily Carr (1871-1945) studied in England under Algernon Talmage in 1906 and 1903 respectively.¹¹⁰ However most of the leading Canadian artists during the 1880s and 1890s received their training in Paris.¹¹¹

The closest, and hence least expensive, alternative to

continuing her art education in Canada, would have been to attend one of the well respected American art academies such as the Pennsylvania Academy of Art or the New York Art Students' League--however, neither of these options were taken up by Carlyle despite the advantages offered.

Beginning in 1877 women students at the Pennsylvania Academy were permitted to draw from the male nude, but separately from male students. This was a very advanced position for the time and the Academy was frequently attacked by those citizens who felt that women were being corrupted.¹¹² A letter addressed to the academy director in 1882 illustrates this commonly held view:

Does it pay for a young lady of a refined, godly household to be urged....to enter a class where every feeling of maidenly delicacy is violated, where she becomes...so familiar with the persons of degraded women & the sight of nude males, that no possible art can restore her lost treasure of chaste and delicate thoughts!...The stifling heat of the room adds to the excitement, & what could be a cool unimpassioned study in a room at 35 [degrees], at 85 [degrees] or even higher is dreadful.¹¹³

The National Academy in New York did not enroll women students on a regular basis until 1846, and while women had their own life-drawing class from 1871, they were not permitted to attend anatomy lectures until 1914.¹¹⁴ Another North American alternative, the Art Students' League of New York, established in 1875, took a more liberal attitude toward the education of women than did the National Academy.¹¹⁵

A LADY OF CANADA: STUDIES IN FRANCE

Although Carlyle had several options open to her both in Canada and the United States, she chose instead to study in France. While she asked personal advice from established artists, her eventual selection of Paris may have been influenced by publications which praised study abroad. Encouraged by her former art teacher, William L. Judson, as well as her artist friends whom she met in London, Ontario, in the 1880s, Paul Peel (1860-1892) and his sister, Mildred Peel Ross (1856-1922), she departed for Paris in October 1890.

Judson had studied at the Academy Julian under Boulanger and Lefebvre about 1878, while Mildred and Paul Peel both worked at the Paris studio of J.J. Benjamin-Constant in 1886.¹¹⁶ When Paul Peel returned to London, Ontario, during the 1880s to exhibit, sell his work and visit his family, he was "impressed" with Florence Carlyle's work, so much so that "he made a point of becoming acquainted with Miss Carlyle, with the result that a firm friendship sprang up between them from which the work of each derived much benefit."¹¹⁷ It is probable that Peel's descriptions of the Paris masters and studios encouraged her desire to train in Paris.¹¹⁸

As Cherry points out in *Painting Women*, Paris in the second half of the century was the center of modernity and a city which was most attractive to women artists because of

"its facilities for independence along with access to life drawing in the ateliers".¹¹⁹

Carlyle left for Paris on October 30 accompanied by Paul Peel and his sister, Mildred Peel a sculptor.¹²⁰ While several descriptions of Carlyle's career document that Carlyle travelled to Paris alone with Paul Peel, it is clear given the social strictures of the time, that the thirty-year-old Peel and twenty-six-year-old Carlyle could not have travelled together unchaperoned. Thus, the presence of Peel's older, unmarried sister, Mildred Peel, aged thirty-four, in the year 1890, fulfilled the requirements of respectability for both women.

Before World War I, a woman studying art required a protector. Thus Florence Carlyle travelled to France with the painter Paul Peel and his sister, and Emily Carr while studying abroad was shunted from one well-meaning chaperone to another, or travelled with her sister.¹²¹

More recently, Maria Tippet has dismissed the importance of a chaperone or companion for a respectable woman when travelling at the turn of the century.

By then it was socially acceptable for a woman to travel with a female companion or, if none was available, even alone.¹²²

While it was undoubtedly acceptable for two women to travel together, Tippet's claim that it was equally acceptable for a woman to travel alone during the 1890s is not substantiated by any documented examples in her text. The issue of women's

public visibility was closely tied to respectability. Women who participated in the public sphere, including travel and work, if they wished to retain their reputations, had to do so within the boundaries and rules of respectable behavior. By contrast, men were uncurtailed in their freedom to travel and move about alone "since even by the late nineteenth century, women could not go alone to a cafe in Paris or a restaurant in London."¹²³ As Janet Wolff notes in her book *Feminine Sentences*:

There is, in any case, an apparently common assumption that women who do participate in 'the public' on anything like the same terms as men somehow manifest masculine traits...described as having mannerisms of a masculine character...¹²⁴

Furthermore, Wolff demonstrated how women who visibly participated in the public "masculine" world at the end of the nineteenth century, were often described in unfeminine terms--as dressing like men with "mannish" bodily gestures.¹²⁵

Such artificial social constraints did not inhibit Carlyle's independent spirit. Her experience of teaching away from home in the Niagara Region demonstrated her desire for self-direction and autonomy. When facing the reality of traveling and training abroad, however, Carlyle admitted to "inexperience". Her reaction was a mixture of enthusiasm and anxiety in the autumn of 1890, when her ambition for further study in Paris was finally realized.

In England or even in America, such news would have been a wonderful event in a girl's life! But simple words cannot express the tumult of fear, joy and marvel that spread in my soul—a soul so remote from Europe and so profoundly inexperienced!¹²⁴

Carlyle set out with the Peels, sailing from New York to Antwerp, Belgium, in November. Her heightened awareness of her new surroundings is revealed in her writing. En route to Paris, she noticed:

Even in my frightened ecstasy...dark poplar trees, gate posts topped with pots of red geraniums...glimpses of lavender distances.¹²⁷

Upon her arrival, however, Carlyle was apparently left on her "lone venture" without knowing "which school she would enter."¹²⁸

With limited financial resources Carlyle's selection of an art school was largely dictated by cost. She would manage a small amount of additional funds by drawing portraits of her fellow American students and "by dint of rigid economy."¹²⁹ She chose the studio of William Adolphe Bouguereau (1825-1905) on the recommendation of "an agreeable, good-natured girl who was enthusiastic about her school."¹³⁰ However, Carlyle soon decided this was "not giving her the help she wanted" and made her own discovery.¹³¹ "Setting out one day on a tour of investigation, she came upon half a dozen students working away in a basement in the Latin Quarter...[Climbing] down through a hole under the sidewalk...[she] found there was

something doing there." Her serendipitous discovery, of the atelier Delecleuse, a small, less prestigious school, suited her needs. She stayed here for two years.¹³² Carlyle records with pride how she and her fellow students, many of whom were women, helped the school and Delecleuse grow in popularity:

The superintendent, Delecleuse, was just getting started then, and we students 'made' him, for our enthusiasm kept bringing others to the school, numbers of whom were men...[when] we got too many for him...he was able to build a new studio for his pupils.¹³³

No doubt the advantages in studying at a smaller, less expensive and newly established school were many, especially for a woman in Paris. 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 excluded women altogether and others limited female members or restricted their access to art training.¹³⁴ Deborah Cherry's comments on the patriarchal barriers to women's art education throughout the nineteenth century reveal the dilemmas for a woman artist wishing to study art professionally:

Art schools characterised women as special, separate and not infrequently as amateur. Women students were refused admission, assigned to special classes or debarred from the life-class...¹³⁵

Women were excluded from classes at the Ecole des Beaux-Arts, "the most venerable art teaching academy in France" until 1897.¹³⁶ Furthermore, at the Academy Julian, where Carlyle

was later to study, women who had access to the life-model alongside men until 1879, then were placed in separate studios, charged greatly inflated fees and, most importantly, excluded from the less expensive male-only life drawing sessions.¹³⁷ The American artist May Alcott Niericker, author of *Studying Art Abroad* (1879), and of *The Art Student in Paris*, noted with protest that fees for women students at Julian's at this time were nearly double those for men. Further, these authors chastised the school for providing only one professor to criticize the women's work while the men's atelier on the ground floor had several critics.¹³⁸

[The] male class, no longer opens its doors to women, for the price, being but one half of the upper [women's] school, attracted too many. Also, with better models, and a higher standard of work, it was found impossible that women should paint from the living nude models of both sexes...[alongside] men.¹³⁹

In March of 1893 Carlyle settled into classes at the Academy Julian and lived at 18 Rue de Milan in Paris's "Latin Quarter." Her move to the more expensive Academy Julian, where divisions of classes by gender and the doubling of women's fees would, on the surface, seem to run counter to her financial constraints. Presumably her brother's financial support made this possible. By the 1880s Julian's was the largest school of art in Paris with "congeries of studios"--including a specialized atelier for women opened in 1880.¹⁴⁰ In addition, an illustrious group of artists served as regular critics of the student work. Jules Lefebvre, Tony

Robert-Fleury, and J.J. Benjamin-Constant were among those who taught Carlyle. Each had achieved success in the official art world by exhibiting extensively in the Salons and winning prizes such as the Prix de Rome. Most importantly this French academic training involved access to life drawing classes.¹⁴¹

The lack of access to the nude model when Carlyle started to exhibit her work publicly in Canada during the 1880s was noted by a critic of the Toronto Industrial Exhibition Art Department,

owing to the lack of opportunities of studying anatomy, and the absence of schools for painting from the nude, it is no less surprising that figure drawing has a very small place in our art exhibits.¹⁴²

In contrast, women at the Pennsylvania Academy were permitted to work in classes alongside men from 1856, but only after a "close-fitting but inconspicuous fig-leaf" was placed on the casts. The year 1868 saw the first ladies' life-drawing class with a nude female model established, and in 1877 the Academy took a very advanced position for the time, despite public protest, and allowed a male nude to model with a loin cloth in ladies' life drawing classes.¹⁴³

In 1890, Canada's *Saturday Night* reported a controversy in Britain's Royal Academy school as to whether or not "the lady students of the school shall be admitted into the 'life school'...the main argument...is that there is no such artistic talent among women as would make it worth while."¹⁴⁴

In 1893, the year Carlyle began her studies at the Julian's, women studying at Britain's Royal Academy were finally permitted to draw from the nude male model. However, the British school specified that the model should appear wearing,

ordinary bathing drawers and a cloth of light material 9 feet long by 3 feet wide...[and a] leather strap shall be fastened round the loins in order to insure that the cloth keep its place.¹⁴⁵

After her return to Canada, Carlyle published an article entitled "A Week of Student Life in Paris", which documents her life as a student in Paris. The sense of a shared experience, and friendships with her fellow women students, and their access to life drawing, can be seen as a means to overcome patriarchal barriers in artistic practice. In a dramatic narrative voice Carlyle described the female studio setting of the life drawing class:

the best [modell] is chosen...How much it means to each student, as we throng about the model-stand, waiting until a supple, bronzed, broad chested fellow vaults into the stand and takes a 'pose' that calls forth a ring of applause, or a girl steps nimbly on, the pearly whiteness of her young body glistening...the grating and scratching of charcoal begins,...Oh, the thrill of those silent hours, standing shoulder to shoulder *in the army of ardent, splendid, hard working women*. The bared, outstretched arm, the supple wrist, the quick fingers, working out each line as with the worker's own heart's blood. Lips compressed, half-closed eyes peering intently from under paper shades fastened over the head. *What a union of pent-up feeling and purpose...*¹⁴⁶ [emphasis mine]

A CIRCLE OF FEMALE FRIENDSHIPS:

During Carlyle's long professional career, from 1890 to 1923, female friendships, a notion central to matriarchal circuits of support, would become important in counteracting patriarchal barriers to professional practice. The social structuring of sexual difference generated strong and supportive relationships between women, whether friends, travelling companions, professional colleagues, or kin. For the most part these relationships have remained 'hidden from history.'

The female friendship of the nineteenth century, the long-lived, intimate, loving friendship between two women, is an excellent example of the type of historical phenomenon that most historians know something about...and virtually no one has written about...These relationships ranged from the supportive love of sisters, through the enthusiasms of adolescent girls, to sensual avowals of love between mature women.¹⁴⁷

The companionship of women friends made it possible for women to travel unaccompanied by men. The phenomenon of spinsters travelling to Paris to attend the ateliers and pursue their art studies became more common from the mid-century onwards. Working together, sharing models and apartments, traveling together--as Deborah Cherry notes, "the distinctive characteristic of spinsters' life-styles [included]: independence, financial autonomy, the freedom to travel, an enjoyment of the public spaces of the city, and the companionship of women friends."¹⁴⁸

Often the forging of a feminine professional identity was sustained by friendships between women. While in Paris

during the years 1890 to 1896 Carlyle had several close friendships with other unmarried, Canadian women art students. One such friendship was with Sarah Baldwin Holden, who met Carlyle at the Academy Julian, where they were both students of Tony Robert-Fleury and Jules Lefebvre. Both women exhibited in the Paris Salon, Carlyle in 1893 and 1894, Holden one year later in 1895. They shared an interest in portraiture and figural painting.¹⁴⁹ While students together in France, Holden and Carlyle established a supportive relationship which was sustained upon their return to Canada and during their professional practice.¹⁵⁰

In Paris Carlyle also befriended the Canadian artist Mrs. E.L. Patterson. They were reunited in 1903 at the Toronto OSA exhibition opening where both were exhibiting paintings. A "Social and Personal" column of the time notes that, "Mrs. Patterson and Miss Carlyle...were fellow-students abroad, and one may hear of pranks and fun they enjoyed together before they imagined fate would ever bring them into comradeship in far Canada so soon."¹⁵¹

Friendships between women was only one important element of matronage and in matriarchal circuits of support. In March of 1893, ten years after Princess Louise had purchased her painting *Waterlilies*, Carlyle was again the recipient of aristocratic matronage while she was studying at the Academy Julian. A Toronto periodical reported that Lady Dufferin, the wife of the Governor-General of Canada, had recently

invited,

Miss Florence Carlyle of Woodstock...to the British Embassy [in Paris]...to an afternoon tea...Lady Dufferin is greatly interested in a painting that Miss Carlyle is [currently working]...at.¹⁵²

Carlyle and Lady Dufferin had met when the latter opened an exhibition of paintings in Paris the previous year (1892). She had "greatly admired" Carlyle's work, which included a street scene and a self portrait, in that show.

[Lady Dufferin] asked for an interview with the artist and was delighted when she found Miss Carlyle was from Canada and congratulated her upon her beautiful work.¹⁵³

A later review of Carlyle's work, written in March 1895 while she was still a student in Paris, documents the longevity of this relationship and observed that, "Lady Dufferin takes a great interest in Miss Carlyle's work and has visited her several times in Paris."¹⁵⁴ As Deborah Cherry notes, "matronage extended the economic and social power of middle- and upper-class women which...was exercised as customers and employers."¹⁵⁵ While it is not known if Lady Dufferin purchased work by Carlyle, such social support, and ensuing introductions within society, would have been invaluable to any Canadian artist of the time.

Thus, female friendships and matronage established a network of social support for women, which acted to promote and sustain the professional identity of women artists, such as Carlyle, just beginning to establish their professional

practice.

In recent scholarship on the Julian Academy the "particularly supportive" atmosphere for women students is documented with reference to the fact that women competed on an equal basis with men in monthly prize competitions with women as winners.¹⁵⁶ Despite the cited advantages for women students and the encouraging advice of the "master", however, the Julian Academy remained segregated along lines of gender with women's classes having fewer critics, and women paying substantially higher fees than their male colleagues. In addition, Julian's admonition that "women should listen without tears to the criticism of their professors..." reveals his underlying assumption that women students, unlike their male counterparts, would react in an unprofessional flood of tears to criticism of their work.¹⁵⁷ Such a condescending assumption is not supported by Carlyle's personal experience.

During the winter of 1892-93 Carlyle was determined to have a painting accepted for exhibition at the spring Salon. At her rooms, outside class, she began work on a portrait of a neighbour, an elderly Dutch woman. When finished she took it to her class for her master to view, hoping to receive permission to submit it to the Salon. The severity of criticism is evident in the artist's recollections:

[Having painted the] picture in her room, the room being so small that she could hardly see her model... a famous critic...wanted to know if she had sat on her

model's knee.¹⁵⁸

The "famous critic" is identified in an 1895 article as Bou gereau, the teacher whose criticism she had first encountered during her early training in Paris.¹⁵⁹ Another source describes his reaction as "explosive:"

Salon ! Go back to your drawing!... It is very disagreeable!" As she stood there, stunned and embarrassed, a friend tried to console her by saying, "Never mind, you can always try again next year." As Florence plucked up her canvas and made to leave she said, "Thank you - but I shall try again this year!"¹⁶⁰

Following this humiliating disappointment, Carlyle exhibiting perseverance and willpower "pluckily took the picture home, scraped it all off and began over again."¹⁶¹ Another contemporary source noted her reaction to the criticism: "the disappointment almost killed her; but after the first shock was over she went home, took a fresh canvas, began all over afresh, finished her picture by the next day and it was accepted."¹⁶²

The French Salon system, while losing both appeal and authority by the mid-1890's, was still a "means of publicity", which "accorded a degree of respectability to the works exhibited", it "represented opportunity."¹⁶³ The painter Gerome noted that the Salon meant survival,

for a host of young artists who have only this means of establishing a relationship with the public, with art lovers and for selling their works. In order to sell, it is first of all necessary to have acquired a certain notoriety, and this can only be achieved by showing what one has done.¹⁶⁴

Significantly, a woman's opportunities in this "social event with high potential as a marketplace" were narrowed by patriarchal barriers, which extended from institutions of art education into the Salon system. Marie Bashkirtseff, studying in Paris during the 1880s, noted the absence of women from positions of influence--on the Salon jury, at the Institut de France, and as professors at the Ecole des Beaux-Arts.¹⁴⁵ Despite these gender based barriers a high proportion of Canadian artists listed as exhibiting in the Salon from 1890 to 1896, the period of Carlyle's residence in Paris, were women.¹⁴⁶ (See Appendix 4)

Carlyle's determination to persevere towards the goal of Salon exhibition in the face of negative criticism paid off. In the spring of 1893 her painting of the elderly Dutch woman, *Une dame hollandaise*, (Cat. No. 340) was accepted for exhibition at the Salon of the Société des Artistes Français, Paris, and received favorable criticism. (Fig. 2.4) Characteristic of the patriarchal values in place in the art institutions at this time, the praise for Carlyle was qualified somewhat by a concluding reference to the patronage of her male teacher.

*Mlle. F. Carlyle...peint simplement, sans prétention, et surtout sans à l'effet, absolument comme elle voit son modèle: n'est-ce pas le plus grand mérite et celui qui dénote une nature pleine de promesse?... Le grand peintre Jules Lefebvre a félicité tout particulièrement la jeune artiste; c'est la plus qu'un encouragement, déjà une récompense.*¹⁴⁷

Bolstered by five and a half years of study under acclaimed teachers, by critical successes in both Paris and Canada, and having exhibited a painting at the prestigious Royal Academy of Arts in London, England, Carlyle returned to Canada in 1897.¹⁴⁸ She emerged after her years away as a confident and independent artist, well equipped to establish her professional practice--in marked contrast to the aspirant, who left Woodstock in 1890, "so profoundly inexperienced!"¹⁴⁹ By 1897 as Carlyle began her professional artistic practice in Canada, the women's suffrage movement had produced a new female heroine--"The New Woman"--for the popular imagination, advocating the right to earn an income, access to higher education and voting rights for women, and in direct conflict with traditional values.¹⁵⁰ Having flouted convention, lived independently in Paris, as an unmarried, autonomous woman, Carlyle epitomized many of the values of the "New Woman" of 1897. It remained only for her to establish her professional artistic practice and earn a living.

Notes to Chapter Two

1. The titles of many of Carlyle's paintings are incorporated in a number of the chapter titles and subheadings in this thesis as, for example, in the title of Chapter Two. Harriet Hosmer, an American sculptor, in a letter to the Reverend Phebe A. Hanaford, one of the first American women to become a clergywoman, quoted in Rubenstein, *American Women Artists*, 77-78. While she had to endure ridicule and attacks to work as a professional artist, Hosmer was famous during her lifetime, and women looked upon her as a model of achievement.
2. Cherry, *Painting Women*, 19.
3. Pollock, "Modernity," 55.
4. William Arthur (b.1862), Florence Emily (1864-1923), Lillian (Hastings), Maud (Struthers), (d.c.1936), Ernest Jerrold, Edwin S., Russell A. (d.1932). Ernest J. Carlyle, *The Carlyle Tree*, c.1950, TS, Artist Files, WPAG, Woodstock, Ontario.
5. F. Beatrice Taylor, "Her Own Country", *London Free Press* (London, Ontario), 7 July 1956, n.p., Florence Johnston files.
6. Emily Youmans was originally from Picton, Ontario, where her family were prosperous United Empire Loyalists. Soon after she married William Carlyle he took a teaching position in Hamilton. Florence Johnston, "Florence Carlyle, 1864 - 1923", (Unpublished TS, Artist Files, WPAG, c1984), 4. See also, "Mrs. W. Carlyle, Passing of a Woman Who Had Not Lived in Vain", *Woodstock Daily Sentinel-Review*, (12 December 1913); and "Memory of Florence Carlyle Honored by Art Association", *Woodstock Daily Sentinel-Review*, (7 February 1936), Artist Files, WPAG.
7. "Mrs. W. Carlyle, Passing of a Woman", 1913.
8. William Carlyle was born in Cockermouth, England in the Lake District. About 1838 the family immigrated to the region known then as Upper Canada and settled near the village of Mount Pleasant just south of Brantford, Ontario, on part of Joseph Brant's "Indian Lands." At an early age he "determined to leave the rough farm," and by "working his way, by the age of seventeen he was qualified as a teacher." Johnston, *Florence Carlyle*, 3. See also, Oxford Historical Society pamphlet, "Florence Carlyle and the New Gallery," *Oxford Through Time*, (February 1983): 2. Artist Files, WPAG, and, Nancy Geddes Poole, *The Art of London, 1830-1980* (London, Ontario: Blackpool Press, 1984), 69.
9. B. Hume, "Florence Carlyle, A.R.C.A." *Woodstock Daily Sentinel-Review*, (Woodstock, Ontario), 10 July 1925, n.p. William Carlyle worked as an Inspector of Public Schools from his appointment in 1871 until his resignation in 1910, one year before his death in the summer of 1911, see "Florence Carlyle Dies in England", *Globe* (Toronto), 9 May 1923, n.p..
10. Morgan, *Canadian Men and Women*, (1898), 156. Florence

Carlyle's father was said to have possessed "a rugged individuality that manifested itself in his original way of questioning both teachers and scholars", and as having had a "brusque exterior but with a kindly heart and [he] always endeavored to bring out originality in the scholars he addressed." "Memory of Florence Carlyle Honored", (1936), n.p.. See also, Kay Kritzwiser, "At home with Florence Carlyle," *Globe and Mail* (Toronto) 29 December 1982, 10; Taylor, "Her Own Country," (1956), n.p.; and, MacBeth, "Canadian Women," 23.

11. Georgia Collins and Renee Sandell, *Women, Art, and Education* (Reston, Virginia: National Art Education Association, 1984), 49.

12. Nunn, *Victorian Women Artists*, 34.

13. Ibid., 34.

14. Cherry, *Painting Women*, 68.

15. Nunn, *Victorian Women Artists*, 36.

16. Cherry, *Painting Women*, 68.

17. Ibid., 69.

18. Johnston, *Florence Carlyle*, 5. This exhibition was later renamed the Canadian National Exhibition (CNE).

19. Nunn, *Victorian Women Artists*, 36-38.

20. "Miss Florence Carlyle", *The Gentlewoman*, n.p..

21. Florence Deacon, "Representative Women: Florence Carlyle", *Toronto Globe* (Toronto), 8 June 1912, 4.

22. Margaret Bell, "Women and Art in Canada", *Everywoman's World* (Toronto), June 1914, 7.

23. Osborne Calendar Title-leaf, "Always Room For One More", (Osborne Calendar Company New York. c.1900-c.1910).

24. Deacon, "Representative Women," 4. See also, "Miss Florence Carlyle," *The Gentlewoman*, n.p..

25. This house remained in the family until 1913 and still stands today, although much changed, at 146 Wilson Street, see "Memory of Florence Carlyle Honored", *Daily Sentinel Review* (Woodstock, Ontario) 7 February 1936, n.p., Artist Files, WPAG.

26. Taylor, "Her Own Country," n.p..

27. "Memory of Florence Carlyle Honored," (1936), n.p..

28. Helene Youmans Key, *Reminiscences of Helene* (Unpublished TS, WPAG, Artists Files, c1979), 7.

29. Ibid., 7 As Florence Carlyle later recalled,

Just when we seemed to be on the verge of an explosion someone was sure to make the witty remark that made us all appear ridiculous, and the tension was broken. Our most serious arguments always ended in gales of laughter.

30. Ibid., 1.

31. Ibid., 1.

32. Ibid., 7. When describing a man to her cousin Helene, the artist observed that he was, "tall and thin and will appear politely drunk." To her mother she characterized a man they were about to meet as having, "red hair and a scar across his cheek from a previous marriage."

33. "Memory of Florence Carlyle Honored", (1936), n.p..

Woodstock was served by the newly completed Great Western Railway and occupied a strategic location, within a rich agricultural area, yet accessible to the markets and population centers of Toronto and the United States. An English tourist of 1856 described the town in the following terms,

Woodstock stands on undulating ground and is a completely rural, straggling place, like a large village with a number of gentlemen's homes in it...It contains six churches, a gaol, a court-house, a grammar school, a mechanics' institute, some mills and boasts of a newspaper....Full of promise, as is the whole land, that, after all, is the garden of the province...

see, William Kingston, *Western Wanderings, or, A Pleasure Tour in the Canadas*, (London, 1856), 2:3-5, quoted in Charles Murray Johnston, *McMaster University, the Toronto Years*, (Toronto and Buffalo: University of Toronto Press, 1981), 1:14. Between 1871 and 1913 the Carlyle family lived at three addresses in Woodstock, Englewood was then on the edge of town and is now located at 146 Wilson Street, see "Memory of Florence Carlyle Honored," (1936), n.p..

34. Deacon, "Representative Women," 4.

35. MacBeth, "Canadian Women," 23.

36. During the 1880s, while Carlyle was a student at the CLI her elder brother William A. Carlyle (1862-?) was a student at McGill University, Montreal. In 1891 he was appointed as a special lecturer of Mining and Metallurgy at McGill. In November 1895 he took up a position as Provincial Mineralogist and Director of Mines for the province of British Columbia. He worked this capacity until 1899 when he moved to Rio Tinto, Spain, and worked as the general manager of the Rio Tinto Mining Company until 1908. In that year he moved to London, England where he was appointed Professor of Technology and Metallurgy at the Imperial College of Science, London, see Morgan, *Canadian Men and Women*, (1898), 157; and also, Morgan, (1912), 200.

37. Nancy Gall, "Researcher pieces together Florence Carlyle story," *Woodstock Daily Sentinel-Review*, (Woodstock, Ontario) 26 March 1983, 5. All seven Carlyle siblings attended the Canadian Literary Institute/Woodstock College, see Johnston, "Florence Carlyle," 5. The CLI, the Canadian Baptist College in Montreal, the Toronto Baptist College, and Moulton College of Toronto, were brought together to form the present day McMaster University in Hamilton, see G.A. Rawlyk, *Canadian Baptists and Christian Higher Education*, 31. In 1883 the CLI became Woodstock College, see Johnston, *McMaster University*, 1:32.

38. Rawlyk, *Canadian Baptists*, 21.

39. Ibid., 21.

40. Johnston, *McMaster University*, 1:14. See also, Rawlyk, *Canadian Baptists*, 33.

41. Johnston, *McMaster University*, 1:16.

42. Ibid., 32.
43. Ibid., 16, quoting from the Canadian Literary Institute Faculty Minutes, October 1879. The facility was composed of two substantial buildings, a classroom and office structure, and a residence for female students, all of which dated from c.1862. During the next twenty years, when Carlyle attended the college, a refectory, infirmary, gymnasium, a manual training building, and commercial department were added.
44. Ibid., 16.
45. "Memory of Florence Carlyle Honored," (1936), n.p..
46. Amos Jury, who later became a London area artist, attended the CLI with Carlyle and was also taught art by Professor Farmer. Poole, *Art of London*, 69.
47. Katherine Hale, "Canada Lost Great Colorist in Florence Carlyle," *Star Weekly* (Toronto), 16 June 1923, n.p..
48. Additional paintings which make literary and musical references include *Via Roberto Browning, The Little Street in Asolo Where Pippa Worked and Sang*, (c1913), and *The Spring Song*, (c1912).
49. Hume, "Florence Carlyle, A.R.C.A.," n.p.. See also, Poole, *Art of London*, 69.
50. Judson was born in Manchester, England in 1824. His family moved to New York City where he studied art under his father who was an artist and house painter. The family then settled in Thamesville, Ontario near London. He saw action with the Union Army in the American Civil War after which he moved to London, Ontario, see Poole, *Art of London*, 33.
51. This period of New York study, when added to the fact that he had been a resident of New York City for a number of years, may have resulted in the description of his being "from New York", see Poole, *Art of London*, 69.
52. Judson's studio was in the Spettague Building, located at the south-west corner of Dundas and Clarence Streets in London. He continued to teach art in London throughout the 1880's and during this time the Canadian artist Paul Peel (1860-1892) was one of his students. Ibid., 33-34.
53. In the spring of 1890 Judson left London and moved to the United States. Between 1896 and 1901 Judson was Dean of the Art Department, and a professor of drawing and painting at the University of Southern California, Los Angeles, where he founded the Faculty of Fine Art. He held the position of Dean until 1920, see Florence N. Levy, ed. *American Art Annual, 1900-1901* (Boston: Noyes, Platt & Co., 1900), 3:228-229. See also, Poole, *Art of London*, 36.
54. This art class was conducted in a studio set up for the purpose by Carlyle's mother in a house on Simcoe Street in Woodstock, see "Centennial Art Exhibition Features City Native," *Daily Sentinel-Review* (Woodstock, Ontario) 23 January 1967, n.p., Artist Files, WPAG.
55. Key, *Reminiscences*, 7.

56. Cherry, *Painting Women*, 101.

57. Ibid., 109.

58. Ibid., 102.

59. The Oxford English Dictionary defines a patron as "one who stands to another or others in relation analogous to that of a father," one who is a "lord and master" and/or "protector". Matronage lacks these characteristics. Ibid., 102.

60. Queen Victoria purchased work from such artists as Emily Mary Osborn (b.1834, fl.1851-after 1909), Emma Gaggiotti Richards (1825-1912), Anna Mary Severn (Newton) (1832-1886), Henrietta Mary Ada Ward (1832-1924), Alice Mary Havers (Morgan) (1850-1890), Elizabeth Southerden Thompson, Lady Butler (1846-1933), and in 1879 appointed Helen Cordelia Coleman Angell (1847-1884) as Flower Painter in Ordinary. Ibid., 103 and 215-221 for "Checklist of Artists."

61. Harriet Ford, "The Royal Canadian Academy of Arts," *The Canadian Magazine*, 3 (May 1894): 45.

62. "H.R.H. Princess Louise and Canadian Artists," Unidentified newspaper clipping, c.14 September 1883, Artists Files, London Regional Art Gallery and Historical Museums (LRAGHM), London, Ontario. The author has attempted to trace Carlyle's painting *Waterlilies* which was purchased by Princess Louise in 1883. Despite inquiries through the Royal Collection, the Royal Archives, Windsor Castle, and the Duke of Argyll the painting remains unlocated. Pamela Clark, Royal Archives, Windsor Castle, letter to author, 31 August 1994; and, M. Mather, Private Secretary to the Duke of Argyll, Inveraray Castle, letter to author, 11 November 1994.

63. Toronto was a short journey by train from Woodstock in the 1880's. The TIE was billed as an "Agricultural and Industrial Exposition" and as "Canada's Great Fair", complete with zoological and horticultural displays, scientific and commercial exhibitions, side shows and an art gallery. It was located on land bordering Lake Ontario and steamer ferries regularly transported patrons to the exhibition grounds. Ferries made stops at Toronto's Parliament Street and Yonge Street wharf every half hour. At night the gardens of the fair were illuminated with "electric light" an amazing novelty in 1883, see advertisements for TIE in *Globe* (Toronto), 12 September 1883, 2. Princess Louise married John Campbell, later Marquis of Lorne (1871-1900), and 9th Duke of Argyll (1900-1915). They moved to Ottawa in 1878 when the Marquis of Lorne was proclaimed Governor-General of Canada. At the time of their visit to the TIE, in September of 1883, the Marquis of Lorne was nearing the end of his tenure as Governor General of Canada, and they were making a "farewell visit" before returning to England. They had a great interest in the arts and were instrumental in the founding of the Royal Canadian Academy of Arts in 1880. The Vice-Regal party was accompanied

by Prince George of Wales and the Earl and Countess of Carnarvon. "Canada's Great Fair, Exhibition Formally Opened Yesterday," *Globe* (Toronto), 13 September 1883, 9. See also "Canada's Great Fair," *Globe* (Toronto), 29 August 1883, 4.

64. "Canada's Great Fair, Exhibition Formally Opened Yesterday," *Globe* (Toronto), 9.

65. The Princess had several paintings, Carlyle's among them, sent for "close inspection" to the Queen's Hotel, to where she was staying, see "H.R.H. Princess Louise and Canadian Artists," Unidentified newspaper clipping, c. September 1883, Artist Files, LRAGHM, London, Ontario. An article in *The Gentlewoman*, an English periodical which interviewed Carlyle in 1895, discussed with the artist her experience of the 1883 show. Two of the paintings entered in the exhibition by the Carlyle sisters are described in this article as "two ebony panels, the one decorated with roses, the other with white lilies." The painting of white waterlilies on ebonized wood was by Florence Carlyle, and the painting of roses was presumably by one of Carlyle's two younger sisters. If, in addition, we consider the newspaper report of 1883 which specifies that Carlyle showed fifteen or sixteen works, we have a picture of the two sisters exhibiting work but of Florence showing the greater number. "Miss Florence Carlyle," *The Gentlewoman*, n.p. Carlyle likely exhibited in "Class 113.-Lace, Wool Work, Embroidery, Painting, &c." Section 28 "Painting on wood or ivory". *Toronto Exhibition Prize List*, (1883), 66, Canadian National Exhibition (CNE) Archives, Toronto. See also, Johnston, *Florence Carlyle* 5; and *Florence Carlyle*, artist information pamphlet, undated, c1980, Artist Files, WPAG.

66. "Miss Florence Carlyle", *The Gentlewoman*, n.p.. See also, *Daily Sentinel-Review*, (Woodstock, Ontario), 25 February 1883.

67. "H.R.H. Princess Louise and Canadian Artists," (c. September 1883), Unidentified newspaper clipping, Artist Files, LRAGHM, London, Ontario.

68. The Art Gallery was located in a large space on the main floor. "Canada's Great Fair," (13 September 1883), 9.

69. *Toronto Exhibition Prize List*, (1883), 64-67. CNE Archives, Toronto.

70. Ibid., 65.

71. Cherry, *Painting Women*, 25.

72. Ibid., 25.

73. Carlyle painted two works entitled *The White Flower*. The earlier one was likely painted c1893 in France and shows a woman in white "diaphanous drapery" standing in a wooded landscape and was at one time owned by Sir Adam Beck; the later work likely dates to c1912, was exhibited at the RCA in the same year, and depicted a woman wearing a red gown. D.B.G. Fair, *Florence Carlyle, The White Flower*, Artist Files, LRAGHM, London, Ontario; and, Roy Franklin Fleming, "The Royal Canadian

Academy of Art," *The Year Book of Canadian Art*, (Toronto and London: J.M. Dent, 1913), 205.

74. Poole, *Art of London*, 210.

75. The combination of a severe economic depression and a bitter schism between two groups of London area artists brought the halcyon period to an end by the mid-1890s. Poole, *Art of London*, 210.

76. Ibid., 69. Jury later also studied with W.L. Judson and went on to become a professional London artist. Several art organizations were active in London during the 1880s. These included the Western Art Union, founded c1878, which organized art exhibitions; the Western School of Art and Design, founded in 1878, and in which John R. Peel, the father of the artist Paul Peel was an instructor. The latter school had 457 students in 1880 and offered a wide range of classes including drawing, painting and porcelain painting, *Annual Report of the Province of Ontario Education Department*, (1880), 260, cited in Poole, *Art of London*, 28-29. In addition the "Academy of Painting," affiliated with the Ontario School of Art offered classes in London c1887.

77. Poole, *Art of London*, 69. Poole quotes from an article by Olaf Rechnitzer which appeared in the *London Advertiser* (London, Ontario, January 17, 1925, 1, Magazine Section.

78. Poole, *Art of London*, 62. The art exhibitions at the Western Fair's Crystal Palace were an important venue for area artists. Ibid., 210.

79. Carlyle likely exhibited at the Art Department of London's Western Fair during the 1880s concurrent with her TIE exhibitions.

80. Collins and Sandell, *Women, Art, and Education*, 48.

81. Nunn, *Victorian Women Artists*, 55.

82. See Appendix 5, "Women Art Educators in Canada c1900".

83. Farr and Luckyj, *From women's eyes*, 28.

84. MacBeth, "Canadian Women," 23-24.

85. Several of Carlyle's former students were still living in 1936 and present at this tribute, see "Memory of Florence Carlyle Honored," *Daily Sentinel-Review*, n.p.. The only example of Carlyle's work that is known from this time c1880s, is the painting on ebonized wood, *Waterlilies* (c1883), purchased by Princess Louise. Presumably Carlyle also taught her students still-life painting.

86. Carlyle's Simcoe Street studio was in the Scarff residence, the home of one of her students. Gall, "Florence Carlyle Story," 5. See also, G. Rothwell, "Board Hears Story of Florence Carlyle," *Daily Sentinel-Review*, (Woodstock, Ontario), 25 February 1983, n.p..

87. Mrs. Ellis, *Family Monitor and Domestic Guide* (New York, 1844), quoted in Pollock, *Mary Cassatt*, 13.

88. Mrs. Cassatt in letter to Alexander Cassatt, 23 July 1891, quoted in Pollock, *Mary Cassatt*, 7.

89. Cecilia Beaux, *Background With Figures*, (Boston:

Houghton Mifflin, 1930), 86. The careers of many American contemporaries of Carlyle including Ellen Day Hale (1855-1940), Jennie Augusta Brownscombe (1850-1936), and Lilla Cabot Perry (1848-1935) have been documented by the National Museum of Women in the Arts, 1250 New York Ave. N.W., Washington, D.C., founded in 1987 by Wilhelmina Holladay. See Claire Whitcomb, "A Star in Our Crown: Wilhelmina Holladay," *Victoria* (September 1994), 92-97.

90. Kritzwiser, "At Home," 10.

91. Nunn, *Victorian Women Artists*, 56. Claxton was known as a figure painter and illustrator, Howitt as a figure painter, and Severn (Newton) as a portraitist. Cherry, *Painting Women*, 217, 218, 220.

92. Harriet Hosmer in letter of 1854, quoted by Cornelia Carr, *Harriet Hosmer* (1913), and Nunn, *Victorian Women Artists*, 57, 67, and note 77.

93. Henrietta Ward, *Memories of Ninety Years* (1924), 52, quoted in Nunn, *Victorian Women Artists*, 57. Ward was known as a figure painter. Cherry, *Painting Women*, 221.

94. Leonice Benedicte, "Women Painters in France, quoted in Sparrow, *Woman Painters of the World*, 169. See also Farr and Luckyj, *From women's eyes*, 6, note 14.

95. Cherry, *Painting Women*, 25-26.

96. Ibid., 26. Cherry is quoting from E. Clayton, *English Female Artists*, (London, Tinsley, 1876), 2:68, 143, 254. Clayton's entries were based on questionnaires completed by the artists. Cherry, *Painting Women*, 226, note 20. Fanny Corbaux, Marie Francoise Catherine Doetter, b.1808, fl.1828-81, figure subjects; Mary Simpson Tovey (Christian), fl. 1872-6, figure and portrait painter; Annie Dixon, fl.1844-93, miniature and portrait painter. Cherry, *Painting Women*, 217, 220.

97. Ibid., 26.

98. Beaux, *Background With Figures*, 87. In spite of this opposition, Academy records show that Beaux was registered for classes there in 1877-1879, see Rubenstein, *American Women Artists*, 450. note 57.

99. Johnston, *Florence Carlyle*, 5.

100. W. G. Trestain, "Art Study in Paris Hard Work, Wrote Florence Carlyle", *Free Press* (London, Ontario), 18 November 1938, n.p.

101. Jenkins' Art Gallery, *A Memorial Exhibition of the Late Florence Carlyle, A RCA*, (The Jenkins' Art Galleries, Toronto, 1925), 14.

102. Trestain, "Art Study in Paris," n.p.. See also, Johnston, *Florence Carlyle*, 6; and Gall, "Florence Carlyle Story," 5; and Rothwell, "Board Hears Story," n.p.. Some of the information in the latter article is based on a lecture by Marian MacCausland to the Oxford Historical Society, c.February 1983.

103. Joan Murray, *Ontario Society of Artists: 100 Years 1872-1972* (Toronto: Art Gallery of Ontario, 1972), 5-10.

104. Montreal, a major centre supported by the Council of Arts and Manufacturers, offered an industrial art education directed to the needs of artisans, and the Art Association of Montreal school (AAM) also offered art classes. In Toronto, the Central Ontario School of Art was founded in 1876 by the Ontario Society of Artists. Ibid., and Poole, *Art of London*, 30.

105. Helen Galloway McNicoll (1879-1915) studied with William Brymner at the AAM school before going to Britain. Mary A. Eastlake (nee Bell) (1864-1951), and Sarah Baldwin Holden also studied in Montreal with Robert Harris and Brymner before dispersing to the United States and Europe. Farr and Luckyj, *From women's eyes*, 24, 28-29. See also J. Russell Harper, *Painting in Canada: A History*, 420-421; Harper, *Early Painters and Engravers in Canada*, 160, 167; and "Painters and the Public," *Mail and Empire*, (1898), 14.

106. Farr and Luckyj, *From women's eyes*, 3.

107. May Alcott Niericker, *Studying Art Abroad and How to Do it Cheaply* (Boston: Roberts Bros., 1879). The other articles mentioned include, "How Working Women are Trained Abroad," *Englishwoman's Review* (January 1880), 38; "Lady Art-students in Paris," *Magazine of Art* (1881), 343; "The Girl-Student in Paris," *Magazine of Art* (1883), 286; "An Atelier des Dames," *Magazine of Art* (1886), 152, see Nunn, *Victorian Women Artists*, 64, note 51.

108. Cherry, *Painting Women*, 54, 58-59. See also, Nunn, *Victorian Women Artists*, 48-49. In Britain women attended the Royal Academy Schools, established throughout Britain from 1769 but which admitted women only after 1860. Women also attended London's National Art Training Schools at South Kensington and the Slade School of Art, opened in London in 1871. An article published in 1883 praised the Slade School's accessibility,

...Here, for the first time in England, indeed in Europe, a public Fine Art School was thrown open to male and female students on precisely the same terms, and giving to both sexes fair and equal opportunities.

Charlotte Weeks, "The Slade Girls," *Magazine of Art*, (1883), 329, quoted in Nunn, *Victorian Women Artists*, 66, note 70.

109. Tully studied c.1884-1886 at the Slade under Alphonse Legros (1837-1911) and made this choice on the advice of her teacher at the Ontario School of Art in Toronto where she had previously attended, "Painters and the Public," *Mail and Empire*, (Toronto), n.d. 1898, 13-14. See also, Harper, *Painting in Canada*, (1977), 420-421.

110. Farr and Luckyj, *From women's eyes*, 30.

111. Charles Hill, "To Found a National Gallery," *National Gallery of Canada Journal*, 36 (March 1980), 5. Canadians, Sidney Strickland Tully and Sarah Baldwin Holden trained at the Academy Julian in Paris. Tully also attended the Academy Colarossi for two years from 1886 to 1888. Later, Mary Alexandra Eastlake also studied here (c.1889-91), as did Laura

Muntz Lyall. Mary Hiester Reid studied intermittently with Dagnan-Bouyeret, Rixens, Blanc and Courtois. Sylvan Allaire, "Les Canadiens au Salon Officiel de Paris entre 1890 et 1910: sections peinture et dessin," *The Journal of Canadian Art History*, 4 (1977/78): 145-148. See also, Farr and Luckyj, *From women's eyes*, 24-25; and Harper, *Early Painters*, 160, 167.

112. Rubenstein, *American Women Artists*, 92.

113. Letter to James Claghorn, president of the Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts, 1882, signed R.S., quoted in Christine Jones Huber, *The Pennsylvania Academy and Its Women* (Philadelphia: Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts, 1973), 21.

114. Rubenstein, *American Women Artists*, 92.

115. Other American schools of the time included The Pennsylvania Academy of Fine Arts, Philadelphia; in New York c1898 were the School of the National Academy of Design; the New York School of Applied Design for Women; the New York School of Art, Southampton, Long Island; the Polytechnic Institute of Brooklyn; and the Pratt Institute, Brooklyn. Florence N. Levy, ed. *American Art Annual, 1898* (New York and London: Macmillan, 1899), 1:305-307. During the last quarter of the nineteenth century the American Midwest offered excellent coeducational art schools, including the Cincinnati Art Academy, the St. Louis Art Academy, and the Art Institute of Chicago, which began to provide equal educational opportunities for women at this time. Rubenstein, *American Women Artists*, 92-93.

116. Born in London, Ontario, the Peel siblings were raised in the midst of a stimulating artistic environment. Their father, J.R. Peel, was a stone mason and artist and in 1880 was the principal of the Western School of Art and Design in London, see Poole, *Art of London*, 28, 34.

117. Jenkins' Art Gallery, *A Memorial Exhibition*, 13; and Poole, *Art of London*, 65-66.

118. Johnston, *Florence Carlyle*, 6.

119. Cherry, *Painting Women*, 63.

120. Oxford Historical Society, "Florence Carlyle," 4. A variety of historical sources disagree on the exact date, or year, of Carlyle's journey to France. Some of these may be journalistic errors or inconsistencies, as with the Jenkins' Art Gallery claim (1925) of the early part of 1886, while the earlier "Painters and the Public" article (1898) notes that she began her studies in France in 1893, however, the most consistently documented date is the Fall of 1890. See for example, Morgan, *Canadian Men and Women*, (1898), 156; and, "Department Loans An Oil Painting", *Daily Sentinel-Review*, (Woodstock, Ontario), 23 April 1939, n.p.; Taylor, "Her Own Country, n.p.; "Centennial Exhibition", n.p.; Kritzwiser, "At Home", 10; Gall, "Florence Carlyle Story", 5, all from Artist Files, WPAG, Woodstock, Ontario. Mildred Peel attended the Pennsylvania Academy of Fine Art and in 1886 she studied in

Paris at the studio of J.J. Benjamin Constant. She exhibited with the Ontario Society of Artists, maintained a studio in Toronto, and in 1907 married George Ross. Peel's work included both paintings and sculpted portraits. She is described as the first woman to decorate public buildings and she executed a series of busts of prominent men for the Normal School in Toronto, see Poole, *Art of London*, 66; and, Jean Bannerman, *Leading Ladies, Canada, 1639-1967* (Dundas, Ontario: Carrswood, 1967), 204.

121. Farr and Luckyj, *From women's eyes*, 1.

122. Tippet, *By A Lady*, 43.

123. Janet Wolff, "The Invisible Flaneuse", 40, quoting from Richard Sennett, *Fall of Public Man*, 217.

124. Wolff, "Invisible Flaneuse," 42.

125. Ibid., 42.

126. Johnston, *Florence Carlyle*, 6.

127. Ibid., 6.

128. Deacon, "Representative Women", 4.

129. Florence Johnston interview with author, Woodstock, Ontario, August, 1993. See also, MacBeth, "Canadian Women," 24.

130. Deacon, "Representative Women," 4. During c1890-1892 Paul Peel was studying under Doucet, Lefebvre, and Benjamin-Constant, the latter two painters were critics at the Academy Julian. It is not known if Peel suggested that Carlyle seek instruction elsewhere since in 1890 she was a less experienced student. It is possible that the first school Carlyle entered was one of the women's ateliers at the Academy Julian since Bouguereau had "headed an atelier" here since 1882. Catherine Fehrer, "New Light on the Academie Julian and its Founder (Rodolphe Julian)," *Gazette des beaux-arts*, 103 (May-June 1984): 208.

131. Deacon, "Representative Women," 4.

132. Ibid., 4.

133. Ibid., 4.

134. Although Maria Tippet claims in her recent book, *By A Lady*, that by c1890 women had a wide range of classes in the atelier system to choose from, the reality was not as simple nor as positive as the author presents. See, Tippet, *By A Lady*, 45.

135. Cherry, *Painting Women*, 53-54.

136. Fehrer, "New Light on the Academie Julian," 212. See also, John Milner, *The Studios of Paris: The Capital of Art in the Late Nineteenth Century*, (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1988), 17.

137. Cherry, *Painting Women*, 63; and Jo Ann Wein, "The Parisian Training of American Women Artists," *Woman's Art Journal*, 2 (1981): 42.

138. Niericker, *Studying Art Abroad*. May Alcott, the sister of Louisa May Alcott, married M. Niericker and died of complications following childbirth. *The Art Student in Paris*

(Boston: MFA School of Boston, 1887), as cited in, Fehrer, "New Light on the Academie Julian," 215, note 9.

139. Niericker, *Studying Art Abroad*, 48, quoted in Rubenstein, *American Women Artists*, 93, 447, note 7.

140. In 1880 an atelier for women opened at 5 rue de Berri and this is where Carlyle's contemporary Cecilia Beaux studied. Later, the studios at the Passage des Panoramas off the Boulevard Montmartre were occupied by women's classes. Fehrer, "New Light on the Academie Julian," 208.

141. Allaire, "Les Canadiens au salon," 147; and, "The Spring Exhibition," *Star* (Montreal), 1895, 1. Instructors and critics at the Academy Julian during the last quarter of the nineteenth century included, J.J. Benjamin-Constant (1845-1902), Louis-Henri Bouchard, William-Adolph Bouguereau (1825-1905), Gustave Boulanger, Gabriel Ferrier, Francois Flameng, Rodolphe Julian (?-1907), Jules Lefebvre (1836-1911), Jean-Paul Laurens (1838-1921), Tony Robert-Fleury (dates), Francois Schommer, Edouard Toudouze, Raoul-Charles Verlet. Fehrer, "New Light on the Academie Julian", 208-209; and Milner, *The Studios of Paris*, 10.

142. "Canada's Great Fair, Notes," *Toronto Mail* (17 September 1883), 2.

143. Rubenstein, *American Women Artists*, 92.

144. Van, "Art and Artists," *Saturday Night*, 3 (25 January 1890):6.

145. *Annual report of the Royal Academy, London, England, 1894*, as quoted in Linda Nochlin, *Women Artists: 1550-1950* (New York: Knopf, 1976), 52.

146. Florence Carlyle, "A Week of Student Life in Paris", originally published in the "Woman's Kingdom" column, *Toronto Mail*, (n.p., n.d.). Reprinted as "Student Life in Paris as Told by the Late Florence Carlyle," *Daily Sentinel-Review* (Woodstock, Ontario), 10 February 1936, n.p., Artist Files, WPAG, Woodstock, Ontario.

147. Cherry, *Painting Women*, 50. Cherry is quoting from C. Smith Rosenberg, "The female world of love and ritual, relations between women in nineteenth-century America," in *Disorderly Conduct: Visions of Gender in Victorian America* (New York: Knopf, 1985), 53.

148. Cherry, *Painting Women*, 49.

149. Allaire, "Les Canadiens au salon," 147. Holden had earlier studied painting in Montreal under Robert Harris and William Brymner. Later she attended the Art Students' League in New York before moving to Paris. Both artists sent paintings to Canada for exhibition with the Royal Canadian Academy and the Art Association of Montreal. See Appendix 2, Exhibitions. An AAM review in a Montreal newspaper of 1895 notes, "at present she [Carlyle] is in Paris, a student of Constants [sic]. She and Miss Holden, of Montreal, are together." "The Spring Exhibition", *Montreal Star*, 1. Carlyle exhibited *La vieille victorine* at the AAM that year (cat. 24a). Holden won a gold

medal at the Chicago World's Fair in 1893 and was elected ARCA in 1895. She exhibited with the AAM, the OSA, and the WAAC. R. Sisler, *Passionate Spirits: A History of the R.C.A.*, (Toronto: Clark Irwin, 1980), 44. Mary E. Dignam, "Canadian Women and the Development of Art," in *Women of Canada: Their Life and Work* (Toronto: National Council of Women, 1900; reprinted, 1975), 223.

150. In Canada, both artists exhibited works at the WAAC sectional art conference held in Montreal in May, 1896. The conference was addressed by the Countess of Aberdeen, patron of the National Council of Women and the WAAC. A newspaper report of the conference notes that during the evening a selection of lantern views and pictures by Canadian women [artists], who had had pictures hung in well known galleries, such as the Salon, Royal Academy of England and the World's Fair [Chicago, 1893]...and Mrs. Peck, President of the W.A.A., had a few facts to give of the different artists as their principal pictures were shown. The works of the following artists were shown:—Mrs. Dignam, Mrs. Watts, Mrs. Schreiber, the Misses Bell, [Florence] Carlyle, [Sarah] Holden, Sutherland, MacDonnell, M. Phillips, Plimsoll, Houghton—Ford. (Emphasis mine.)

"Women and Art", Unidentified Montreal newspaper, (c. May 19, 1896), n.p. Women's Art Association of Canada (WAAC) Archives, Toronto. Holden and Carlyle again exhibited together in the WAAC Toronto exhibition in March of 1897 with both artists receiving prominent reviews. Holden's *Widowed but not Forsaken* was described as "The picture that attracted most attention...", while Carlyle's was described in the next paragraph as, "Perhaps the second attractive picture in the exhibition was a smaller one by Miss Florence Carlyle 'Mere Adele'". "Art," *Mail* (Toronto) c. March 1897, n.p., WAAC Archives, Toronto. In March 1897 Carlyle's address is given as Woodstock, Ontario and Holden as 317 Mountain Street, Montreal. *Catalogue of the Ninth Annual Exhibition of the Women's Art Association of Canada*, 1897, 3, WAAC Archives, Toronto.

151. Mrs. Dickson Patterson was married to the Canadian portrait painter, A.D. Patterson, RCA, and their address c. 1898-1900, was 10 Elmsley Pl., Toronto. (F. Levy, ed. *American Art Annual, 1900-1901*, (Boston: Noyes, Platt & Co., 1900), 3:53. See also, "Social and Personal," *Saturday Night*, 16, (14 March 1903): 3; and, "Year's Harvest in Art," *Globe and Mail* (Toronto) 7 March 1903, 32.

152. *Saturday Night*, 6 (18 March 1893): 15.

153. *Ibid.*, 15. In the same article Lord Dufferin is noted as having earlier studied at the same school as Carlyle, the Academy Julian, under the painter "Constant," likely J.J. Benjamin-Constant (1845-1902).

154. "The Spring Exhibition", *Montreal Star* (1895), 1.

155. Cherry, *Painting Women*, 103.

156. Fehrer, "New Light on the Academie Julian," 212, quoting from *L'Academie Julian* (October 1903), n.p.
157. Fehrer, "New Light on the Academie Julian," 216, note 28, quoting from, A. Klumpke, *Rosa Bonheur, sa vie et son oeuvre* (Paris, 1908), 66. One of the first women to benefit from Julian's support was Marie Bashkirtseff, see, Bashkirtseff, *The Journal of Marie Bashkirtseff*, (1890).
158. Deacon, "Representative Women," 4.
159. "The Spring Exhibition," *Montreal Star* (Montreal), 7 March 1895, 1.
160. Johnston, *Florence Carlyle*, 7.
161. Deacon, "Representative Women," 4.
162. "The Spring Exhibition," *Montreal Star* (1895), 1.
163. Milner, *The Studios of Paris*, 48.
164. *Ibid.*, 48.
165. *Ibid.*, 49.
166. Allaire, "Les Canadiens au salon," 145-148.
167. "Nos Artistes a Paris, Mlle. F. Carlyle," *Organe des Interests Canadiens et Francais*, (Paris, 20 May 1893), n.p. See also, Allaire, "Les Canadiens au salon," 147.
168. Carlyle's instructors while in France included Adolphe-William Bouguereau, Delecleuse, Jules Lefebvre, Tony Robert-Fleury, J.J. Benjamin-Constant (c1895), Rolshoven (c1895-6). "The Spring Exhibition," *Montreal Star*, (1895), 1. Carlyle left Paris in 1896 and lived briefly in England where she exhibited *Out-Patients*, (cat. 745), at The Royal Academy of Arts, London. Her address is given as Carlyle Studios, King's Road, Chelsea, in Graves, *The Royal Academy of Arts*, (1905), 1:395. See also, Appendix 1, Chronology, and, Appendix 2, Exhibitions.
169. Excerpt from Florence Carlyle's memoirs; for full quotation see Chapter Two, and note 126.
170. Deborah Cherry describes the figure of the "New Woman" as one of the "modern modalities of womanhood which emerged in the later nineteenth century..." and whose distinctive traits included upper or middle class status, a desire to reject many of the conventions of femininity, a concern to live and work on free and equal terms with men, a quest for personal freedom. Cherry, *Painting Women*, 75. Whitney Chadwick notes that the "New Woman" as a new female heroine had emerged in the literary and visual imagination by the 1890's—the subject of novels by Grant Allen, Thomas Hardy, and George Gissing. In 1896 the New Woman was burlesqued in a self-portrait photograph by Frances Benjamin Johnson (1864-1952), who was the same age as Carlyle, thirty-two, when the photograph was made. Chadwick, *Women, Art, and Society*, 235, figure 132.

CHAPTER THREE

BRASS AND COPPER: EARNING A LIVING, WOMEN

ARTIST'S ALTERNATIVES AND STRATEGIES

This young lady has been studying abroad, and shows every sign of the leaven having begun its work...¹

Reviewer's observations on the work of Florence Carlyle, 1897.

The work of another Canadian lady artist...rivets the attention of artists and of that great Philistine mob, the public. I speak of the work of Florence Carlyle...[whose paintings] occupy the place of honor at this exhibition.²

Review of the 30th annual OSA exhibition, 1902.

By March of 1897 Florence Carlyle had returned to Canada, ambitious for professional success, and intent on earning her living as an artist. This chapter will explore the strategies and alternatives that Carlyle employed to negotiate the conditions of artistic production, and to establish and sustain her professional practice. Her use of strategies to negotiate patriarchal barriers of entry and establish her place within the public sphere of the art world included taking full advantage of all opportunities open to her to exhibit work, in professional art associations, societies of women artists and in professional arenas in Canada and abroad. The artist's use of alternatives such as matriarchal circuits of support and friendships between women are issues central to Carlyle's art practice. This chapter will also identify the methods employed by Carlyle to earn her living as a professional

artist, including her role as an art educator, her work in commercial art ventures and as a portraitist.

NEGOTIATING BARRIERS OF ENTRANCE

At the turn of the century a successful artistic career required income from a variety of sources - sales at exhibitions or direct from the studio, commissions from private, commercial, or state clients, publication of articles and teaching.³ In 1900 British painter Anna Lea Merritt in her "Letter to artists: especially women artists" noted that £200 was required to establish oneself as an artist and pay one year's expenses, including studio, models and materials. She cautioned her female readers, "there is no income so fluctuating as that of the artist."⁴ It was assumed that artists were required to conduct their practice as a business, and to possess "technical expertise, an eye for the market, the careful cultivation of dealers, critics and clients." But as Deborah Cherry points out, for women artists "the skillful manipulation of the masquerade of femininity to secure representation in a world divided and defined by sexual difference" was even more essential.⁵

Social strictures at this time curtailed female artists who wished to meet and entertain male clients. Male colleagues were free to conduct business in either public or private spaces without any connotation of sexual impropriety. Clearly this system gave an advantage to male artists with respect to "commissions, remunerative sales, lucrative

contracts, professional distinctions and critical acclaim."⁶ The inevitable result of this asymmetrical economic structuring of artistic practice was to position women artists unequally in relation to income levels, profits, supplementary earnings and finance capital.⁷

Women also had to contend with other patriarchal barriers to their entry into professional art practice. Institutionalized sexual difference resulted in exclusion or separateness in such areas as professional associations, critical reception, and there were gendered power relations between critics, teachers, patrons and employers. Circumventing this system of privileged masculine values and concerns were the alternative strategies, such as societies of women artists, matriarchal support circuits, and other methods, employed by women artists to negotiate patriarchal barriers.⁸

One example of an obvious patriarchal barrier to women artists in Canada at this time was the Royal Canadian Academy of Arts' positioning of women members. The RCA was described in the *American Art Annual* of 1898 as holding "the most important Canadian exhibition of the year." The entry continued, "[the Academy] has...two grades of members, Academicians, of which the number is limited, known by the letters RCA, and Associates, the number of which is not limited, known by the letters ARCA."⁹ Significantly, while the RCA elected Charlotte Schreiber (1834-1922) as a charter member at its foundation in 1880, between 1880 and 1933 women

artists were barred from holding full Academician status, and could only advance to the level of "Associate" upon election by an exclusively male group of Academicians. The constitution of the RCA stated that, "women shall be eligible for membership...but shall not be required to attend business meetings nor will their names be placed upon the list of rotation for the Council."¹⁰

Thus, in the spring of 1897, the year she returned from Europe, Carlyle was elected an Associate of the RCA. The Toronto publication, *Saturday Night* framed the achievement with relation to a male relative, "the Associates elected are: Miss Florence Carlyle of Woodstock...who is a niece of Thomas Carlyle."¹¹ Throughout the years of Carlyle's professional activity from 1890 to 1923, due to the RCA's gendered limitations on membership, women were routinely excluded from full membership in the RCA with the resulting implication that their status was less than professional, thereby privileging material benefits and decision making power for male artists.

Although widely accepted within the art establishment, this exclusion did not go uncontested. In 1900 *Women of Canada, Their Life and Work*, a publication of the National Council of Women of Canada, documented the activity and achievements of Canadian women artists. The book included a chapter by Mary Dignam which highlighted the contributions of women artists in such areas as education, exhibitions, and commercial art, and documented her female colleagues'

professional successes. However, Dignam herself identified patriarchal barriers to women's professional artistic practice. She observed, "women are allowed to become Associate Members [of the RCA], but have no voice or part in the Council or Committees of the Academy."¹²

In 1897 when Carlyle returned to establish her career in Canada, full Academician membership in the RCA held distinct benefits. It endowed the recipient with a position of power within the artistic community, and, as Cherry points out in the similar case of the Royal Academy, such distinction yielded tangible material benefits,

Professional status was at stake: as artists, unlike doctors or lawyers, had no accreditation through a formal college or examinations, their occupational definitions were regulated by the art societies...Without this badge of professional status, women artists did not participate widely in the decision-making processes which established professional standards and categorised exhibitable art.¹³

The RCA's special classification of women among the lower rank can therefore be seen not simply as discrimination but as part of a broader problem of gendered power relations which women artists such as Carlyle were obliged to confront and negotiate.¹⁴

NOTRE BONNE CAMARADE : SOCIETIES OF WOMEN ARTISTS

Women artists embarking on a professional career, and seeking broad public forums for their work—a prerequisite for professional practice, formulated strategies for dealing with special categorization by art institutions. One response

was, "to reverse the discourse, so empowering speech on and activities by women artists."¹⁵ Thus, in keeping with the notion of matriarchal support, women founded art societies devoted exclusively to the work of women artists. Deborah Cherry observes that in Britain,

Categorisation of women artists as separate and distinct first emerged in the 1850s. It was mobilised by... groups of women...to lay claim to a collective identity and to promote the cultural presence of women.¹⁶

In Canada women also founded societies to promote the work of women artists. By 1887 the Women's Art Club was active in Toronto and branches were soon operating across Canada from Portage La Prairie, Manitoba, to St. John, New Brunswick, including London, Ontario.¹⁷

In the spring of 1897 Carlyle exhibited with the Woman's Art Club (WAC) of London, Ontario.¹⁸ The specific aims of the London WAC were to promote women's artistic production and encourage professional practice:

[to establish] a school for original art training, and to have a work-room accessible at all times to the students, to go there and pursue their studies...in this way to provide opportunity for all girls who may discover the artistic faculty and desire to improve it...qualifying themselves for a professional career.¹⁹

Thus, art education for women was a central goal of this society. (Fig. 3.1) In addition, "short papers" were presented to the members and,

fortnightly meetings are held...[where] the students have the advantage of high professional criticism and the kindly interchange of help from one another.²⁰

Carlyle's association with London's WAC is an example of

a sound professional strategy which built upon her previous contacts with an artistic community in close proximity to her home in Woodstock. Significantly, WAC exhibitions attracted much local attention and the patronage of area dignitaries. At the opening of the WAC in March of 1897, Carlyle was described by a reviewer as a sophisticated artist whose recent education in France was especially noteworthy,

The young artist, who was herself present, attracted as much attention as did her strong, Frenchy work, for it is not in her painting alone that Miss Carlyle achieves true Parisienne chic.²¹

In 1890 the WAC became the Woman's Art Association of Canada (WAAC).²² The WAAC created exhibition opportunities for both amateur and professional women artists. The main exhibitions often toured from branch to branch with local artists having the opportunity to exhibit alongside such well known professionals as Charlotte M. Schreiber and Mary H. Reid.²³ Annual exhibitions were held in smaller centres such as St. Thomas and London where the opportunities for women artists to show work in public was limited.

Matronage or the direct promotion of art by women artists, was central to this newly formed women's art society which included a range of artistic production:

There are...about seventy members [in the St. Thomas Branch]. They keep their studies up, practice, learn...Some copy and some do original work; some are amateurs and some are critics; all are united and interested in one another's welfare.²⁴

During the 1890's the WAAC, with many of their exhibitions held in population centers across Canada, offered

a valuable forum for women artists such as Carlyle who were launching a career.²⁵ She was a consistent participant with the association between 1897 and 1900, exhibiting seven paintings with the WAAC during these years, works which were subsequently shown at the OSA and RCA exhibitions.²⁶ Carlyle was also involved in decision-making activities within the Association, serving on the committee organizing the group's representation at the Paris Exhibition of 1900.²⁷

Carlyle's decision to align herself at the beginning of her career with two prominent women's art societies committed to women's art education and to the active promotion of the work by women artists, provided her with an opportunity to gain exposure across Canada at an early point in her career. However, in addition, it is clear that the artist regarded the exhibitions in London, St. Thomas, and Hamilton as a valuable forum in which to launch her professional practice within a specific geographical area close to her home in Woodstock. Faced with the challenge of earning a living as a professional, Carlyle recognized the financial benefits of establishing a reputation as a professional artist and teacher in the London area, a city where she already had connections with the artistic community. Thus, from 1897 to 1903, Carlyle taught private students in her London studio and received many portrait commissions from city residents.²⁸

By 1908, eleven years after her initial exhibition with Canada's premier women's art societies, Carlyle widened her public sphere by her participation in Knoedler's Galleries'

Exhibition of Paintings by Women Artists held in New York City. This exhibition brought together the work of fifty-three leading women artists from America and Britain.

Carlyle, who was living and working in New York at this time, was the sole Canadian artist represented.²⁹ Her painting *A Lily of Florence* was exhibited alongside work by internationally respected artists such as portrait painter Ellen Emmet Rand (1875-1941) and others. (Fig. 3.2)

Carlyle's participation in the Knoedler's exhibition marks a significant point in her professional career.³⁰ While feminist movements at the turn of the century tended to reject special categorisation of women artists, the Knoedler's show differed significantly from earlier exhibitions by societies of women artists in its focus on well known professional artists whose work was presented by an important commercial dealer, in the recognized venue of art professionals.³¹ A critic for the *New York Times* prefaced his comprehensive review of the show with the headline "Paintings Shown By Women Artists [in] Notable Exhibition at Knoedler's Galleries" and praised "the exhibition of more than eighty pictures by women" as "dignified and engaging." The exhibition was acclaimed as "an interesting variation in the multiplicity of the season's art shows."³²

Women's art societies, while creating a "separate sphere," also succeeded in the promotion of women's art. Carlyle's strategy in negotiating a significant place for her

art in the public exhibition sphere was clearly intended to take advantage of all opportunities to exhibit work. She understood the importance of gaining broader recognition for her work in the professional integrated arenas controlled by male artists. Thus, in addition to exhibiting with women's art societies during the early years of her career, she also exhibited with the Royal Canadian Academy (RCA), the Ontario Society of Artists (OSA), and the Art Association of Montreal (AAM) alongside her male peers.

THE CRITIC: EXHIBITING IN PUBLIC FORUMS

Making a living as an artist depended on wide exhibition exposure,

Regular production and frequent exhibition of work were essential, while contributions to a range of exhibitions spread the possibility of critical notice on which a reputation as well as sales and commissions depended.³³

In 1897 as Carlyle chose a wide range of exhibition venues in which to launch her work she may well have been aware that many professional women artists argued

that their work was equal, not different, to men's...they worked to participate and intervene in the main exhibiting galleries...that 'everybody [sees]' rather than to re-form the arenas of power/knowledge.³⁴

There was opposition to exhibitions featuring only work by women artists by some women critics such as American Mary Fanton Roberts. In an article published in June 1908, shortly after the Knoedler's Exhibition, she argued that women's exhibitions were "Eighteen-Thirty in expression," and

belonged "to the helpless days of crinoline when ladies fainted if they were spoken to with undue harshness."³⁵ This obviously did not deter or deflect Carlyle.

The most important showcases for artists in Canada at this time were the open-juried exhibitions of the RCA, the OSA, and the AAM. In particular RCA exhibitions were highly valued as "the artists' ultimate measuring stick" because "their standards were higher and their base broader than the other venues."³⁶ Carlyle clearly acknowledged the value of these exhibitions to her professional career. In 1892 while still a student in Paris, she began to exhibit with the AAM and followed this initiative by sending work to the RCA in 1895 and 1896. Furthermore, "just before returning to Canada" from her studies abroad, Carlyle learned "that her last canvas painted on foreign soil had been accepted and hung in...the Royal Academy," in London, England--a significant achievement.³⁷ Artists usually "wet their feet at the shows of the OSA and the AAM, then set their sights on those of the Academy."³⁸ However, Carlyle once again challenged conventional expectations by being elected an Associate of the RCA on her return from Paris in March 1897, before she had exhibited at the OSA. She remained a frequent RCA exhibitor until 1916.³⁹

Carlyle's links with the Art Association of Montreal also contribute significantly to her exhibition history. The AAM, incorporated in 1860, was described in the *American Art Annual, 1898* as "composed of persons more or less interested

in Art...it is not a professional society."⁴⁰ In 1898 the group boasted a membership of 750 and significantly did not place restrictions on women members.⁴¹ While still a student in Paris, and despite the expense involved, Carlyle sent three paintings back to Montreal to be exhibited in the AAM exhibitions. *La vieille Victorine/Victorine* (fig. 3.3) was received in Montreal in 1895 with enthusiastic praise, having been hung in the coveted "on the line" position in the 1894 Société des Artistes Français Salon in Paris the previous year where it earned meritorious recognition from the Parisian critics.⁴² Carlyle continued to exhibit with the AAM from 1892 until 1915.

In Toronto during the last decade of the nineteenth century, three exhibition venues were of paramount importance for women seeking professional status as artists in Ontario. These included the WAAC, in which membership was restricted to women, the OSA, which unlike the RCA admitted women as full members, and thirdly, the annual exhibitions in the Fine Arts Department at the TIE, later renamed the Canadian National Exhibition (CNE). Carlyle took full advantage of the public exhibition spheres open to her in her bid to negotiate a significant place for her art, and each of these societies constituted an important forum for Carlyle and for that of other women artists in Canada at the turn of the century.

The OSA, founded in 1872, had as its principal aim "the creation of a society to foster "original" art in the

province by holding annual exhibitions of the society members' work."⁴³ While the OSA admitted women as full members from the time of its inception, female members were still restricted in their access to the executive functions of the society. While the works exhibited were chosen by a jury composed of member artists, gender difference was enshrined in the constitution, which stated that "women shall not have the privilege of voting or attending the meetings unless specifically invited to do so by resolution of the Society."⁴⁴ During Carlyle's career few women were invited to share in this privilege.⁴⁵

Although Carlyle began exhibiting with the OSA as early as 1897 and 1898, she was not elected a member until March of 1900.⁴⁶ However in 1902 Carlyle was honored with the OSA prize of the year for *The Tiff* (fig. 1.5), a painting "[commanding] the most attention...and given the place of honor--and deservedly so."⁴⁷ The OSA prize carried with it great public prestige and the impact of this award upon Carlyle's professional career was felt immediately, when in the same year *The Tiff* was purchased by the Ontario Provincial Government for the enormous sum of \$1000. The artist received international acclaim when the painting was subsequently loaned for exhibit at the 1904 St. Louis World's Fair. The painting appeared alongside the work of her male peers in the Canadian fine art section and "the international jury" awarded a silver medal to Carlyle.⁴⁸ She continued to exhibit with the OSA until one year prior to her

death in 1923.⁴⁹

The *American Art Annual* of 1898 praised the exhibitions in the Art Department of the TIE,

This exhibition undoubtedly constitutes one of the most valuable functions of the [Ontario] Society [of Artists], as it reaches a great mass of the people from all parts of the Province.⁵⁰

A contemporary Toronto newspaper noted that "to the rural population...the Fair is a Mecca."⁵¹

Carlyle's longstanding association with the TIE/CNE Art Department dated from 1883, when Princess Louise bought her work in the "Ladies Department." As we have seen in the previous chapter, this affiliation exposed Carlyle's work to a wide and varied audience and helped open the way for her career as a professional artist providing access to a public exhibition sphere where she might cultivate dealers, critics and clients.

The OSA exercised significant control over the TIE/CNE art exhibitions. Beginning in 1879 the OSA had two representatives on the Fine Art Committee of the TIE and between 1890 and 1915, when Carlyle was a frequent exhibitor, the Art Department was managed by the OSA.⁵² Artwork chosen annually by the Commissioners formed "a representative exhibit of current Canadian Art....from the annual Exhibitions of the Royal Canadian Academy, the Ontario Society of Artists, the Art Association [of Montreal], and the Canadian Art Club."⁵³ At first glance, despite the OSA management, women artists appear to have had greater, if

unequal, representation on the executive of the TIE/CNE exhibitions, in contrast to the OSA where their exclusion from executive positions lasted until 1916.⁵⁴ Yet as early 1907 Mary Heister Reid served as the only female member on the Executive Council of the CNE's Department of Fine Arts exhibition. Significantly, however, among the thirteen photographs of council members included in that year's catalogue Mary Reid's was one of the two members whose picture was not included.⁵⁵ Between 1908 and 1911 several women participated, but in 1912 and 1913 the Council was exclusively male.⁵⁶ Women had some minimal and sporadic representation on the Executive Council, but between 1907 and 1913 the "Committee of Selection and Arrangement" responsible for artist and artwork selection, and thereby controlling the potential for distinct material benefit, was exclusively held by men. Thus, although women were making gains in positions of power within the CNE Art Department during the years of Carlyle's exhibition at the Fair, their unequal representation in executive positions restricted women from full participation in the decision making processes which offered admission to exhibition privileges and its consequent professional benefits.⁵⁷

Despite unequal representation of women at the executive level, the TIE/CNE art exhibitions were another important public forum for women artists in Canada--a gender integrated public exhibition site, where women's works were presented alongside those of British, American and Canadian artists, in

a setting accessible to a broad range of social classes. One-third of the entries were to be Canadian, but these were presented in the context of "Celebrated Foreign Artists."⁵⁸ Thus, the work of internationally renowned artists such as painter Elizabeth Thompson, Lady Butler (1846-1933), could be viewed alongside paintings by Carlyle and other Canadian women.⁵⁹

Carlyle's exhibition history throughout her professional career reveals the artist's consistent utilization of a wide variety of public exhibition venues which gained broad recognition for her work in professional integrated arenas controlled by male artists.

THE STUDIO: CARLYLE AS AN ART EDUCATOR

Teaching enabled independence and...for so many [women artists]...in the closing decades of the nineteenth century, a self-determined life...⁶⁰

Upon her return to Canada Carlyle supplemented her income by teaching art to both private students and in a college setting.⁶¹ Teaching art was socially one acceptable way for women to augment their slim earnings as professional artists.

As was noted in chapter two, Carlyle taught a class of

private women students in her Woodstock studio, and at a summer school near St. Catherine's, Ontario, in order to partially fund her studies in France.

Soon after returning from Paris to live at her parent's home "Englewood" in Woodstock, Carlyle established two studios. The first, "her home studio", was located in Woodstock "in part of [the Carlyle family's] red barn, [with] a very large double corner window supplying the necessary light."⁴² She used this studio as a site of production and commerce: "Miss Carlyle did a number of small pictures there which went like hot cakes at only a hundred [dollars] each."⁴³ In the same year she opened a second studio in nearby London, Ontario, "in an upper room of the Masonic Temple."⁴⁴ Significantly, it was in this larger urban center that Carlyle chose to conduct her art classes and tutored her students.

In addition to the mundane requirement of earning a living, Carlyle, like many women artists, was attracted to teaching art not only for economic reasons but equally importantly as a means of providing art training for the next generation of women artists. The link to the concept of matronage must be made here, for it is through art education that women access the sphere of professional art practice. Thus, as female artists

became established in their own right some turned to the provision of an art training which had not been available for them when they were younger.⁴⁵

These observations are particularly apt when one reviews the glaring absence of professional female art teachers in the Woodstock/London region while Carlyle was a young student. Significantly, all of Carlyle's students known from her years of teaching in London are female, and while it is not clear if this was the artist's preference or yet another example of the social imposition of a separate sphere, Carlyle's importance as a role model is clear. The significance of Carlyle as a positive female role model for those aspiring to a professional artistic career can be measured in the success of her students, many of whom went on to achieve professional status. Many students were also members of the London WAC and could take advantage of additional art classes, studio space, art criticism and exhibition opportunities. Many of her private students were

women bent on seizing the opportunity to study under a professional artist, and specifically to study under a woman. Carlyle's classes in her London studio began about 1897 and continued intermittently until about 1903.⁴⁴ Several of her students had considerable local exhibition experience prior to their studies with her. For example, Caroline Farncomb (1859-1951), who exhibited with the WAAC from 1893, held membership in and exhibited regularly with the London WAC. She was noted in local reviews as "a strong and interesting student."⁴⁷

Carlyle's support of Farncomb and other students can most clearly be understood in the context of matronage. Cherry's definition of the term, "to matronise was to...act as guardian, [and] guide", in other words to sustain women artists through friendship, and to assist in shaping a field of vision for the next generation of women artists, can be directly applied to Carlyle and her London students.⁴⁸ In addition to instruction and encouragement, in some instances Carlyle offered economic support when, on occasion, she "discreetly left behind a little money in the studio for her protegee [Eva Bradshaw]...in such a manner that she would not be offended."⁴⁹

One can also see evidence of Carlyle's influence as mentor and guide for her student's access into the public world of art practice. Both during and after studies with Carlyle her students had increased exposure in national

exhibitions. Farncomb's exhibition history, between 1897 and 1908, is a case in point as she showed work extensively in the same venues as Carlyle, including the OSA, AAM, CNE and RCA.⁷⁰

Similarly, Eva Theresa Bradshaw (1871-1938), who first exhibited with the RCA in 1902, during her time with Carlyle, continued to show work intermittently with the RCA until 1924 when she was selected to represent Canada at the British Empire Exhibition in Wembley, England.⁷¹

Another significant link can be developed between Carlyle's French and American art training and the fact that almost all of Carlyle's students would continue their art education in either France or the United States. Undoubtedly Carlyle's presence in London as a teacher and practicing professional artist offered a strong role model for aspiring women artists to follow her example and pursue studies abroad. When London's WAC organized a fund for one of Carlyle's students, Farncomb chose to study in Paris at the Academy Julian, the same school where Carlyle had enjoyed success in the mid-1890s.⁷² Eva Bradshaw, after studying with "Miss Carlyle", pursued her art education for several months in New York City at the "Chase School and with Mr. [Robert] Henri."⁷³ In New York Bradshaw was accompanied by her friend M. Dorothy Betts (Seely-Smith) (1890-1964), and both artists attended Robert Henri's classes.⁷⁴ Nancy Poole, in her history of art in London, claims that Carlyle herself

had at one time studied in New York with Robert Henri, and it is not impossible that Carlyle may have referred students directly to this dynamic American painter.⁷⁵

Betts would go on to continue art studies in Paris taking classes in "miniature work" from 1911 to 1913 under a "Madame Lefarge", who may be the same Mme Laforge, a professor of miniature at the Academy Julian, the site of Carlyle's Parisian art training.⁷⁶ In 1913 Betts exhibited in the RCA exhibition of that year and would continue to exhibit at local venues including London's Western Fair and the Women's Canadian Club exhibition of 1932.⁷⁷ In 1926 Betts was instrumental in the foundation of an art gallery for the city and thus the matronage of Carlyle had far reaching effects.⁷⁸

Eva Bradshaw, while still a student of Carlyle in 1901, received an important commission to paint the proscenium arch over the stage at London's Grand Theatre.⁷⁹ Bradshaw went on to a long career as an art teacher in London. One of her students, Clare Bice, who served as President of the RCA from 1967 to 1970, described Bradshaw as a teacher "who, in her evening classes at the Technical School and in [private classes] in her studio...gave encouragement and help to many students of art [for] over...twenty years."⁸⁰ That Carlyle influenced her students in their attitude towards professional practice, encouraging them to exhibit nationally and continue further art study abroad is corroborated by the

number, Betts and Bradshaw among them, who went on to work as professional artists and art educators.

Carlyle's influence was not limited to London, Ontario. In about 1897 Carlyle "was asked to take a class at Havergal College" in Toronto, which advertised its curriculum as a "thorough education on modern lines."⁸¹ At this time Havergal was a "Church of England College for Young Ladies," and offered boarding and day school education for several hundred young women.⁸² Carlyle taught her art class in the college's "fine large studio," until c1899 when she left to pursue a professional career in New York.⁸³

Like many of her contemporaries Carlyle was employed as a part-time educator in a ladies' college. In her book *Painting Women: Victorian Women Artists* Deborah Cherry observes that in the later nineteenth century, women's institutions, including girl's schools and women's colleges, tended to favor women's art and culture and that matronage in these institutions "assisted in preferring women to...academic appointments."⁸⁴ Despite the recognition of Carlyle's professional status by her appointment as an art instructor at Havergal, the senior teaching post and the directorship of the college's art department, was held by her male colleague, painter Edmund Wyly Grier (1862-1957).⁸⁵ The clear implication was that Havergal promoted women artists and provided important role models for female students, but privileged male artists in the most senior teaching posts and

positions of executive power. For some time Havergal's art department advertised "painting and drawing" as being taught by "Mr. E. Wyly Grier, RCA and others." The "others" in this case included a woman artist, Miss Nainby.⁸⁴

Women's access to senior teaching and administrative positions within Canada's national schools of art appears to have been limited and structured by sexual difference. While little research has been done in this area, the patriarchal order of late Victorian society, which privileged male artists as art educators, apparently continued in place well into the first decade of this century.

In Britain women teachers were "rarely employed in the national network of schools of art and design."⁸⁷ Likewise women artists were commonly restricted to "low-paid, low status" teaching positions, and rarely attained senior teaching and administrative posts.⁸⁸

In Canada a similar situation appears to have existed, with male artists dominating the senior teaching positions across the nation. In 1900 all the Directorial positions in major art schools across Canada were held by men, as for example at Halifax's Victoria School of Art and Design, Montreal's Art Association School, Hamilton's Art School, Ottawa's School of Art and Design of the Art Association, and Toronto's Central Ontario School of Art and Industrial Design, later called the Ontario College of Art.⁸⁹ This hierarchical arrangement served to reinforce traditional

patriarchal relations of power privileging male teachers over female teachers and students. Thus, a contradictory message was issued to female art students which implied that women artists, despite their presence as educators, were deemed less worthy professionals than their male colleagues.

Despite the gender restrictions in place at the time, Montreal's Art Association School was Carlyle's next teaching venue. The AAM school was recognized nationally and in 1900 was listed in the *American Art Annual* "School Reports" as one of the six major Canadian schools of art instruction.⁹⁰ Its mixed classes "followed...an adaptation of that of the French Atelier" and clearly Carlyle's Parisian training was a valuable asset in this context.⁹¹ She returned to teaching in Montreal about the year 1910 after having achieved professional recognition in both Canada and the United States. The high value placed, by the artist, on her role as an art educator is revealed in her statement made in Montreal at the time, that "honors and medals and prizes, as well as the sale of pictures to rich people at high prices [are] not the real rewards of art."⁹²

FRIENDSHIPS BETWEEN WOMEN

Throughout her career Carlyle was engaged in a network of female friendships. During the nineteenth and early twentieth century such friendships between women played a central role in sustaining and promoting women artists--and

functioned as an important strategy in the negotiation of patriarchal barriers to professional art practice. In the novella *Sisters in Art* by Anna Mary, serialized in 1852, a "sisterhood of women artists" was dedicated to art and "woman's culture," and featured women sustaining art by women artists, aims central to the notion of matronage.⁹³

The sustaining nature of female friendships and the significance of women's networks to Carlyle's professional practice is expressed in her many paintings of female friends, colleagues, and kin. Carlyle's sisters, cousin, mother and aunt were frequently painted by the artist in both portrait studies, as in *Portrait of Sophie Youmans* (n.d.), a study of her mother's sister (fig. 3.4), and *Portrait of Helene* (n.d.), a study of her cousin, Helene Youmans Key. Carlyle's female family and friends frequently modeled for paintings in which they were not specifically identified in the title, as in *Garden at Englewood* (n.d.), and *Summer Morning* (c1903), with her sisters Maude and Lillian. (Figs. 3.5 and 3.6)

The friends portrayed by Carlyle in these paintings, were often engaged in the arts, and thus active within a circle of artistic female friendships. The model for *The White Flower* (c1893) is likely Carlyle's friend from Woodstock, the Canadian poet and author, Isabel Ecclestone Macpherson Mackay (1875–1928), who visited Carlyle in Paris during the early 1890's.⁹⁴ Years later in 1905, while living

in New York City, Carlyle painted a portrait of her friend Miss Moses, one of two artists with whom she shared her New York studio.⁹⁵

Early in her career Carlyle actively sought links with a network of women in the arts through her association with women's art societies and through her teaching activities in Toronto and London. In particular, Carlyle established many friendships with women artists in London, including her students Eva Bradshaw and Caroline Farncomb, and among the members of London's Women's Art Club. One such friend was Miss Gertrude A. Minhinnick, a London sculptor and painter who exhibited with that city's WAC during the 1890's. Minhinnick and Carlyle spent the summer painting and sketching together in Cape Cod. Several figure studies and landscape paintings with titles such as *Sunset, Cape Cod* (c.1900), and *Coming Tide, Portuguese Girl at Cape Cod* (c.1900), exhibited by Carlyle at the RCA, TIE and AAM exhibitions the following year, indicate the influence of this trip.⁹⁶

Judith Hastings, Carlyle's intimate companion between 1914 and the artist's death in 1923, was often the subject of her paintings. Soon after their first meeting in England in the summer of 1911, Hastings visited the artist in Canada and modeled for *The Threshold* (c1912), and *Spring Song* (c1912). (Figs. 3.7 and 3.8) During the summer of 1912 the two joined the Canadian Alpine Club in their annual camp in the

mountains of British Columbia. Hastings, with prior climbing experience, undertook the remote treks; however, Carlyle completed several landscape paintings.⁹⁷ Carlyle later moved to England and in subsequent years, until her death in 1923, the two women shared a cottage in the Sussex countryside and a flat in London. Hastings modeled for many paintings during this time including *An Awakened Chord* (c1914), and *High Noon* (c1918). (Fig. 2.2) During World War I Hastings and Carlyle threw themselves into war work and together volunteered in a medical supply depot, a canteen for munitions workers, and nursed convalescing soldiers.⁹⁸ (Fig. 3.9) After the war Hastings encouraged Carlyle's recommitment to painting. In 1919 Hastings bought the cottage, which they had rented for many years in the Sussex countryside, and paid for renovations to a "grey stone outbuilding...[installing] a skylight", to create a new studio for her friend.⁹⁹ (Fig. 3.10) The following year Hastings visited Paris with Carlyle who took delight in showing her "old haunts" and visiting her former instructor.¹⁰⁰ The friendship with Judith Hastings played a central role in Carlyle's private life and professional practice during the last ten years of her life. Correspondence between Carlyle and her family attests to the sustaining bond between the two women.¹⁰¹ In 1920 Carlyle wrote to her brother that she was content in her "modest, happy life with Judith," that they loved "little humble things." She continued, "throughout these years I have been

comfortable and happy--with my blessed Judy [Judith Hastings] always keeping an eye on me--stepping between me and little discomforts. I am a very fortunate woman."¹⁰²

SKETCH OF THE ARTIST: WOMEN WRITING ABOUT WOMEN ARTISTS

Articles focusing on Canadian women artists, written by women, began to appear in Canadian newspapers and periodicals by the turn of the century. A number of these articles focused solely on one woman artist and provided substantial biographical treatment, while others grouped together a number of women. Each of these articles helped redress the imbalance in the literature of art by directing attention to artists who were otherwise overlooked because of their gender. Women writing about art production by women was one strategy for dealing with their exclusion from, or classification into feminine stereotypes within, the literature of art. This response was aligned with the goals of patriarchy and "empowered speech on and activities by women artists."¹⁰³

Carlyle clearly viewed public interest in her work and private life with caution. A family member, Helene Key, observed in c.1909 that Carlyle had,

[a] steadfast purpose...[and] believed in herself...[however, she was] without any of the vanity that would seem permissible in view of the recognition she had already earned...little concerned about being personally acclaimed.¹⁰⁴

Carlyle's concern for privacy lessened several years later, in about 1912, significantly, when she was refocusing her professional efforts from the United States to Canada. Carlyle may have used the world of women art journalists as a means to heighten her Canadian public exposure at this time.¹⁰⁵ In that year Carlyle invited Florence E. Deacon, a writer with the *Toronto Globe*, to have dinner with her at her home in Woodstock.¹⁰⁶ Deacon subsequently published a comprehensive article on the artist for her series "Representative Women."¹⁰⁷ The journalist prefaced the article by asserting that "though...[the artist's] name and work are [well] known...[of] Carlyle herself little has been written...the reason is...she has not permitted it."¹⁰⁸ Carlyle's strategy in recognizing and pursuing public exposure in the printed media is implied in the dramatic increase, between 1912 and 1915, in the incidence of articles written by women journalists—including Margaret Bell, and the artist Estelle M. Kerr, discussing her work.¹⁰⁹ Further indication that Carlyle actively sought publicity through women art journalists at this time is given by Blanche B. Hume, an editor of *Rod and Gun In Canada* and a writer for *The New Outlook*. Hume wrote that her interview with the artist in November of 1911 or 1912, was initiated by a "telephone message" from Carlyle herself,

I am sending away some pictures tomorrow...would you like to come and see them before they go?...Come right out to the barn [her studio] you will find me

there.¹¹⁰

Another article published in Madge MacBeth's series "Canadian Women in the Arts" in 1914 placed Carlyle centrally in her discussion of "prominent women of Canada" and focused on "how [these women] achieved their successes...in the professional world."¹¹¹ Whereas earlier, nineteenth century writers of magazine articles and biographical entries on women artists tended to relate only "a series of anecdotes, portrait vignettes and reminiscences," MacBeth's article placed emphasis on Carlyle's achievements as a "New Woman," on her professional and personal growth, and on her struggle and triumph over adversity.¹¹²

Thus, at the height of her professional life Carlyle encouraged access to her life and career by Canadian women journalists. Clearly the artist employed this strategy as a means of gaining public attention in the Canadian printed media at a time when she was refocusing her professional efforts from the United States to Canada. These articles presented her as an important professional role model for women. Such articles empowered activities by and speech on women artists, focused public attention, included women in the discourses of art, and emphasised their role as producers of Canadian culture.

THE PICTURE BOOK: CARLYLE'S COMMERCIAL AND COMMISSIONED ARTWORK

The "golden age" of illustration in North America between 1890 and 1910 was an era which offered tremendous opportunities for artists, particularly women artists, to earn a living and enhance their public exposure in commercial art.¹¹³ Early in her career Carlyle recognized the potential benefits to be gained from commercial art ventures and actively pursued this avenue as an opportunity to further her professional practice.

As Deborah Cherry points out "regular work as commercial artists...helped women artists to counteract the fluctuations of the art market."¹¹⁴ She continues,

Women artists participated in the growing reprographic markets, augmenting their income from sales of oil paintings or watercolours and their reputations as artists by designing illustrations for magazine and book publications.¹¹⁵

Commercial art became an important genre for women artists at the turn of the century. New York City was an especially dynamic center for commercial art publication with periodicals such as *The Critic*, a "Monthly Review of Literature, Art and Life" publishing series of articles on the work of "Representative American Women Illustrators."¹¹⁶

The Canadian artist Estelle M. Kerr, writing for a Toronto magazine in 1913 on the opportunities for women artists to earn an "extremely remunerative" living in the field of commercial art, noted that "artists who starve in garrets do so because they absolutely refuse to work at

anything else."¹¹⁷ Kerr, in this article, advises aspiring and established women artists to take advantage of opportunities within the field of commercial art to gain financial independence. She encourages women artists to pursue work in the areas of

fashion drawing...[and] advertisement drawing...[while] the highest prices [are paid] in book illustration...There is always a demand at the engraving, lithographing, and advertising establishments for girls with original ideas.¹¹⁸

In 1899 Carlyle made a bold and decisive decision for her professional career when she moved to New York City and opened a studio in the "Bohemian" community of Greenwich Village. Her "departure from Canada in 1899....was regarded as a serious loss to Canadian art."¹¹⁹ For approximately the next twelve years the artist maintained an apartment/studio in New York City, with intermittent periods in Woodstock, Ontario. Carlyle's reasons for extending her professional career to the United States, although never directly expressed by her, were commented upon by a writer friend who observed, "she [Carlyle] realized that success was more readily attained in larger centers and moved to New York."¹²⁰

In 1903, to ease her limited financial resources and "gain recognition" throughout the United States, Carlyle entered a painting in the Osborne Calendar Company's "competition for an art calendar."¹²¹ Her painting, *When Mother Was A Girl* (c.1903), was unanimously awarded first

prize in the "figure subjects" category, despite "discussion as to whether or not it should be given outside the [United] States [to a Canadian]."¹²² Carlyle's strategy in exploiting the potential rewards of commercial art ventures paid off handsomely and the recognition and financial rewards from her foray into commercial art were substantial. She received five hundred dollars for the painting that was subsequently reproduced on a calendar and circulated as a postcard.¹²³ In addition to the prize money, Carlyle "received a contract to paint twelve pictures a year at a salary of five thousand dollars."¹²⁴ Subsequently, the Osborne Company bought several of Carlyle's paintings each year for reproduction in their art calendars.¹²⁵ (Fig. 3.11) Carlyle's triumph in the 1903 competition gained her public recognition and financial autonomy, and as one critic wrote in 1925, she "jumped from obscurity to fame overnight...her success eclipsed that of [the Canadian artist] Paul Peel."¹²⁶

The "Annual Osborne Calendar Competition" attracted considerable attention within the American art world of the time. The Third Annual Artist's Competition attracted over seven hundred paintings with one hundred entries exhibited in Clausen's Art Galleries in New York City during September of 1905. Prizes were awarded to well known American painters such as Charles C. Curran, whose entry had previously been awarded the Carnegie prize at the Society of American Artists, a silver medal at the St. Louis Exposition in 1904,

and the Corcoran Prize at the Society of Washington Artists in 1905.¹²⁷

By the turn of the century technological advances in printing were seen as a democratising trend, extending the influence of artists and paintings into every home. High-speed presses, half-tone plates and four-color printing technology allowed color reproductions of paintings, as an advertisement of the time asserted,

with all the qualities of the original retained...doing for art what the invention of movable types did for literature—it puts the printing press at the service of the painter, extends the influence of painting beyond...galleries.¹²⁸

The "democratisation" of art was the Osborne Company's stated aim and in advertisements for their calendars they asserted,

painting was for centuries of little practical benefit...art galleries were few—to "common folks" almost inaccessible. Now, anyone may have good pictures.¹²⁹

Osborne calendars "framed" the color reproduction of the drawing or painting above the name and address of the service or company name advertised, and thus made art accessible and in doing so presented "A Practical Use For Art":

[in Osborne art calendars] painting is harnessed to practical work...advertisers are...helping "common folks" to an appreciation of good art, while obtaining profitable publicity for themselves.¹³⁰

The Osborne Company's relationship with artists and the public, however altruistic their claims, was clearly driven

by a wholly commercial agenda. In addition to the annual artist competitions, paintings were obtained by two means. The first was to buy them directly from exhibitions using "scouts" who assessed the mass commercial viability and public appeal of the work. Often these paintings were prize winning. Alternately, the company commissioned paintings directly from the artist with specific requirements regarding size, format, style and subject matter.¹³¹ Carlyle's commissioned work for the Osborne Company, with the exception of the initial prize winning painting, falls into the latter category and thus was subject to these constraints. Carlyle frequently had difficulty working within these parameters when fulfilling her contracts, and for every painting chosen for publication, she submitted three or four paintings to the Osborne representatives. Helene Key, who accompanied Carlyle to New York City as a model in 1908 recalled that,

A representative from the Osborne Company came to discuss...the work to be done. A number of sketches were to be submitted from which would be chosen those best suited to the Calendar requirements...[after a] short time the sketches were ready for appraisal, were accepted without delay and the...six large pictures began....¹³²

The subject matter in commercially commissioned art work tended to be strictly gendered. As Cherry points out, women artists were commissioned for "vignettes of middle-class and social life" while their male contemporaries were commissioned for scenes of urban poverty and contemporary

political or military events.¹³³ In the United States the subject matter of commercial art was similarly gendered. In 1900 Regina Armstrong in her article on American women illustrators asserted that,

many publishers hold that certain qualities of pictorial interpretation are distinctly the faculty of woman's delicacy and insight to portray, and especially...the studies and compositions depicting child life.¹³⁴

Gendered differences are evident in the subject matter of Osborne calendar paintings with male artists contributing urban street scenes, landscapes, and men in "action" scenes, whereas women artists were commissioned for idealized visions of middle-class social life and femininity, as for example in Clara Davidson's watercolor *The Debutante* (1902).¹³⁵ The Osborne Company's selection of Carlyle's figure paintings, which include *When Mother Was a Girl* (1903), *Always Room For One More* (c1907), and *The Girl With the Laughing Eyes* (c1905), clearly demonstrate the company's notions regarding appropriate subject matter for women artists and the gendered restraints under which women artists worked in the field of commercial art.¹³⁶ *Sea Breezes* (c.1908), a painting of a woman standing on the deck of a ship, is said to be "a good example of her calendar style."¹³⁷ (Fig. 3.11) Carlyle's "very successful" commercial art style was characterized by the Canadian artist Estelle M. Kerr as "excellent in technique...[while containing] sufficient human interest to make it popular in colored reproductions."¹³⁸ Clearly,

Carlyle recognized the appeal of her subject matter and her strategy was to operate in the commercial art world in an effort to make direct and substantial financial profits and to gain wide public exposure for her work throughout North America.

AT THE MIRROR: CARLYLE'S PORTRAIT COMMISSIONS

Carlyle executed many portrait commissions throughout her career. Portraiture, by virtue of client specifications and relations, was closely linked to the commercial aspects of artistic practice. Despite these considerations, Carlyle's success as an artist was in part due to her talent for portraiture. Her portrait commissions along with her commercial work for the Osborne Company are examples of strategies which complemented the exhibition of her work in more conventional public venues.

While a student in Paris, Carlyle helped support herself by drawing portraits of her fellow American students.¹³⁹ When she returned to Canada, early critical acclaim for her portraits assisted the artist in securing a reputation as a portraitist of distinction. In the RCA exhibition of 1898, three portraits by Carlyle evoked praise from the critics, "Miss Carlyle displays in [these portraits]...delicacy and sweetness combined with *power and richness...*".¹⁴⁰ (Fig. 2.1) Another critic asserted,

There is a touch of genius in her work, dash, breadth,

truth....the portrait of her brother is strongly drawn...the portrait of her mother is exquisite in feeling.¹⁴¹

Carlyle's portrait of her mother, *Mrs Carlyle* (c.1893), was once again exhibited before the Canadian public in Toronto's *Portrait Loan Exhibition* of 1899, and the artist, just beginning her professional career, was described in the local press as "a portrait painter...one of...a few names [that] stand for portraiture...in Canada." (Fig. 2.1) The painting was exhibited alongside the work of the well known Canadian portraitists, Robert Harris, E. Wylie Grier, A.D. Patterson, and F. McGillivray Knowles.¹⁴² At the turn of the century Carlyle executed a number of portrait commissions in London, Ontario. One reviewer of the "Portraiture Section" in the RCA exhibition of 1902 wrote of Carlyle's entries *Portrait, Mr. Edwin S. Carlyle* (c.1902), and *Portrait, Mrs. Ernest Smith* (c.1902)--"the artist's work is vigorous and striking."¹⁴³ While living in New York the artist worked "doing portraits mostly."¹⁴⁴ Fergus Kyle, referring to Carlyle's work in the years just prior to 1913, commented that in addition to her "splendid technique" the artist's figure paintings display an "atmosphere of human interest, which [make]...them pictures, not mere studies."¹⁴⁵ Carlyle moved to England in 1913 and four years later during the First World War, she was commissioned by the Canadian government to paint a portrait of Lady Drummond, Assistant

Commissioner of the Canadian Red Cross.¹⁴⁶ (Fig. 3.12)

Critic Roy Franklin Fleming drew attention to the powerful combination of Carlyle's interpretive and technical abilities in her portraits of women. He observed that they "[give] evidence of a vast and intimate knowledge of feminine character and a technical ability that...[is] almost consummate."¹⁴⁷ Thus, portrait commissions, beginning in the early 1890s in France and continuing to her War Memorial portrait in 1918, constituted a central facet of Carlyle's professional practice and achievements throughout her career.

A LADY OF CANADA: CARLYLE'S EXHIBITIONS IN THE UNITED STATES

Carlyle's success with the Osborne Prize in 1903 occurred at a time when the artist was extending her professional career into the United States. Having moved to Greenwich Village in c.1899, the frequency of Carlyle's exhibitions in the United States steadily increased during the first years of the century, marked most notably by her award in 1901 of an Honorable Mention for *Golden Rod* (c.1901) at the Pan-American Exposition held in Buffalo, New York.¹⁴⁸ An important achievement, the award placed Carlyle among such well known American women artists as Lydia Field Emmet, Ella Condie Lamb, and British artist Anna Lea Merritt, who were similarly awarded Honorable Mentions in the Exposition.¹⁴⁹

In 1902 Carlyle exhibited with the Art Club of Rochester, New York, and in the spring of 1904 with the

Society of American Artists at their annual exhibition in New York City.¹⁵⁰ In a show dominated by such celebrated artists as James McNeill Whistler (1834-1903) and John Singer Sargent (1856-1925), Carlyle and Laura Muntz were referred to as "the Canadian representative painters in New York."¹⁵¹ This was a significant achievement for Carlyle, since the S.A.A., one of the most important American artist societies of the time, sought to provide a forum for new trends in art and one of its stated aims was to encourage women artists.¹⁵²

In the summer of 1904 Carlyle was awarded a silver medal for *The Tiff* at the St. Louis World's Fair, outdoing many of her Canadian male colleagues, including Challenger, Cullen, Gagnon, Reid, and Watson, who were awarded bronze medals.¹⁵³ Consistent with her extended focus into the United States at this time, Carlyle's work was conspicuously absent from the OSA's annual exhibitions between 1904 and 1906 and she chose instead to exhibit during these years with the Pennsylvania Academy of Fine Arts.¹⁵⁴

Carlyle lived in New York intermittently between 1899 and 1912, and the strength of her work, despite keen competition, consistently earned her commissions. While at work one day in her New York studio "two men came...to give an order for work, and thought her another artist entirely. But [she]...got the work."¹⁵⁵ Despite social constraints, Carlyle promoted herself and her work with consummate skill and achieved a balance between her public identity as a well

respected professional artist and the pragmatic financial aspects of her professional practice. Thus, Carlyle exemplified the distinctive traits of the New Woman in her strength, economic independence, and quest for personal freedom.

DEALERS, PATRONS, PUBLISHERS: GENDERED POWER RELATIONS

A relationship with a dealer was the key to an artist's sales and commissions,

A successful career required...the careful cultivation of dealers...a relationship with a dealer helped women artists to counteract the fluctuations of the art market.¹⁵⁴

However, the business of art was structured within the larger context of gendered power relations in which women artists were positioned unequally in relation to male dealers, patrons, and publishers.

While art dealers had "stables" of artists whose work they commissioned, many dealers "tokenized women [artists] and staged...spectacular successes for male artists."¹⁵⁷ Carlyle herself narrowly missed having a solo exhibition, which would have featured her work exclusively in a New York gallery, due to the unreasonable demands of one dealer regarding the timing of an exhibition. When interviewed in 1914 about her work in New York, Carlyle recalled how "a well-known [New York] picture dealer, who felt as though he had 'discovered her', offered her a 'one man exhibition' in

his gallery...she could not meet the demand, [of forty canvases]...having sold most of what she had on hand" at that time.¹⁵⁸ Although this dealer and the name of his gallery remain unknown, Carlyle was associated with several New York galleries. The first was the prestigious Knoedler's Galleries, located on New York's Fifth Avenue, where she exhibited *A Lily of Florence* (c.1908) in the *Exhibition of Paintings by Women Artists* in 1908.¹⁵⁹ (Fig. 3.2) She also sold paintings through the Fifth Avenue Art Galleries and the Sutcliffe Gallery in New York, Jenkins' Art Galleries in Toronto, and O.B. Graves in London, Ontario.¹⁶⁰

Gendered power relations were evident in the field of commercial art at the time Carlyle executed commercial commissions in New York at the turn of the century. The Canadian artist Estelle Kerr, who had herself worked in commercial art, noted that after an influential American magazine editor had interviewed a "modest Canadian girl illustrator" he stated, "Very nice, indeed, but she'll never get on in New York." When asked by a male artist what was wrong with her work, he replied, "nothing, but she's too much of a lady...she ought to...come in...and jolly you into giving her a story,—that's how they do it."¹⁶¹ In the same article Kerr asserted that, "when [art] is mixed up with editors, feminine charms are a great help. When a friend of mine sold her first drawing to 'Harper's'...an editor dampened her pride [in her work] by saying: Ah, that's what

comes of being a pretty girl!"¹⁴²

Art dealers could capitalize on an artist's financial need. Carlyle occasionally had difficulty in extracting payments and had to negotiate changes in estimates of value for paintings to be sold through her London, Ontario, dealer O.B. Graves. Although under pressure to accede to the dealer's demands to lower her prices, the artist's correspondence with Graves reveals her strength and decisiveness in business transactions. Carlyle wrote,

This is my decision...I will sell "The White Flower" for [\$300]...and "The Story" for [\$175]....There are three [more to come]—"The Spring Song", "Mother and Child" and "The Threshold"...[they] have *no cracks*—and prices will be fixed¹⁴³

In her business affairs Carlyle challenged the myth of women as passive, and as her activities and strategies within the world of commercial art demonstrate, she clearly possessed the ability to negotiate firmly and lead a self directed professional life in a social structure shaped by sexual difference.

About 1910 Carlyle closed her New York studio and began to refocus her professional career away from the United States, and from American commissions and exhibitions. The artist turned her energies toward Canada, teaching in Montreal, increasing her exposure in Canadian exhibition venues, and later returning to live in Woodstock, Ontario to care for an ailing parent.¹⁴⁴ (Fig. 3.13) She was included

among several Canadian artists "welcomed home" to Canada by the writer of the CNE Art Department catalogue of 1913.¹⁶⁵

The writer pointed out that,

In the United States...the work of Miss Florence Carlyle has been received with admiration for the charm of color, the suave but decisive brushwork and the poetic sympathy with womanhood and infancy.¹⁶⁶

Throughout her years of professional artistic practice, Florence Carlyle employed diverse strategies and alternatives to negotiate conditions of artistic production in which masculine values and concerns were the privileged mode, in order to establish and sustain her professional practice. As a woman artist, she overcame barriers of entry to professional practice to exhibit in national and international public venues, despite institutionalized sexual differences which often limited women's status as artists or their roles in decision making within organizations. In a world divided and defined by sexual difference, Carlyle persisted in her goal of financial independence through professional practice, regardless of restrictive conventions and patriarchal barriers. Within the fields of art education and commercial art, Carlyle, like the women artists of her generation, was subjected to gendered power relations with male patrons and employers, and was influenced by pressures which restricted the very subject matter found acceptable in women's art.

Aspects of her career can most clearly be understood in

terms of the concept of matronage. Among the strategies which Carlyle and other women artists employed to negate the effects of patriarchal barriers, her efforts as a teacher of women artists, her participation in exhibitions and societies of women artists, and her many friendships and links with a network of women in the arts, worked to promote women's artistic culture and to sustain Carlyle personally. She acted as mentor, guide, and role model to her women students, and conducted the financial aspects of her art practice with skill, allowing her to live largely independently of the social obligations placed on most women of her time. Carlyle's achievements of critical and economic success in her professional practice established her as a role model for women in her lifetime, and helped to shape a new field of vision for the next generation of women artists.

Notes to Chapter Three

1. F. Cameron, "Beauties of the Brush," *London Advertiser* (London, Ontario) c.March 1897, n.p., clipping file, WAAC Archives (WAACA).

2. Lally Bernard, "At the Breakfast Table," *Globe* (Toronto) 4 March 1902, 5.

3. Cherry, *Painting Women*, 96.

4. Anna Lea Merritt, "A letter to Artists: especially women artists," *Lippincott's Monthly Magazine* 55 (1900): 463-9, as quoted in Cherry, *Painting Women*, 101, see also p. 218. Merritt, (1844-1930), was a figure painter.

5. *Ibid.*, 101.

6. *Ibid.*, 102.

7. *Ibid.*, 96.

8. Exclusion or special categorisation of women by societies of artists was a common practice at this time. Britain's Royal Academy of Arts barred women from membership throughout the nineteenth century, although at its foundation in 1768 there had been two women members, Angelica Kauffmann and Mary Moser. No other women attained membership until 1922 when Annie Robinson Swynnerton was elected an associate of the R.A. *Ibid.*, 65, 236, note 1. Women did not achieve the status of elected Academician until Laura Knight was elected in 1936, see Susan Casteras, *Images of Victorian Womanhood in English Art* (London and Toronto: Associated University Press, 1987), 103.

9. Florence N. Levy, ed., *American Art Annual, 1898*, (New York: Macmillan Company, 1899), 1: 123.

10. Sisler, *Passionate Spirits*, 36.

11. Lynn C. Doyle, "Art," *Saturday Night* (Toronto) 20 March 1897, 15. Carlyle was re-elected an Associate Academician of the RCA in 1912, see Sisler, *Passionate Spirits*, 281.

12. Mary E. Dignam, "Canadian Women and the Development of Art", in *Women of Canada, Their Life and Work*, compiled by the National Council of Women of Canada at the request of the Hon. Sydney Fisher (Toronto, 1900, reprinted 1975), 217.

13. Cherry, *Painting Women*, 65.

14. *Ibid.*

15. *Ibid.*, 67.

16. *Ibid.*, 76-77.

17. The branches at the turn of the century included Brockville, Hamilton, Kingston, Ottawa, Montreal, St. John, New Brunswick, and Portage La Prairie, Manitoba. See, Florence N. Levy, ed., *American Art Annual, 1900-1901* (Boston: Noyes, Platt and Co., 1900), 3:96-97.

18. This preceded the WAAC exhibition held two months later, in May of the same year. Founded in 1893, the Woman's Art Club of London became a branch of the WAAC from 1894 to 1896, at which time they discontinued this alliance and reformed as the WAC of London. National Council of Women,

Women of Canada, 217. They held their first annual exhibition in the "Y" rooms, likely the Young Men's/Women's Christian Association, on Dundas Street in London, see "The Woman's Art Club, Exhibition of Paintings at the "Y" Rooms," unidentified London newspaper, c.1894, n.p., clipping file, WAACA. Subsequent exhibitions were held at the Woman's Art Club rooms located on Richmond Street, opposite Carling Street, and in the "upper rooms" located over the reading rooms of the Public Library, "where a room has been specially designed for such a purpose, the splendidly arranged lights showing to advantage [the works], see "China Painting: Second Exhibition of the Women's Art Club," unidentified London newspaper, c. March 1896, clipping file, n.p., WAACA.

19. Emphasis mine. "The Woman's Art Club, Exhibition of Paintings at the "Y" Rooms," clipping file, n.p., WAACA.

20. Ibid., n.p..

21. F. Cameron, "China Painting: Second Exhibition of the Women's Art Club," unidentified London newspaper, c. March 1897, clipping file, n.p., WAACA.

22. "Art Association," unidentified Montreal newspaper article, c. May 1896, n.p., clipping file, WAACA. First named the "Woman's Art Club" in 1887, the society began in Toronto with twenty members and held its first meeting in Mary Dignam's studio, see Jean Bannerman, *Leading Ladies*, 209.

23. Schreiber was a frequent exhibitor with the WAAC, see *Woman's Art Association of Canada, St. John Branch of the Woman's Art Association of Canada*, (1897), 1; Miss R. Deeks, *Historical Sketch of the Women's Art Association of Canada* (Toronto: Women's Art Association of Canada, 1912), 2,3., WAACA.

24. Emphasis mine. "The Art Exhibit", *London News* (London, Ontario) 27 April 1897, n.p., clipping file, WAACA. See also, Appendix 2, Exhibitions. The WAAC also organized lectures on art that were open to the general public, as for example that by Professor James Mavor, from the University of Toronto, who spoke on William Morris on 20 January, 1897, and Reverend Father Ryan who was to lecture on Fra Angelico the next week. Lynn C. Doyle, "Art," *Saturday Night* (Toronto) 23 January 1897, 9.

25. Cherry, *Painting Women*, 67.

26. For example, *Harvest Moon*, also called *Harvest Moon, "Barbizon"*, which was first exhibited with the WAAC spring tour in 1897, was exhibited again in 1898 at the OSA annual exhibition, and again in 1901 with the RCA. *Mrs. Carlyle* (c.1893) was exhibited in 1898 at the RCA annual exhibition and subsequently in 1899 at the Loan Portrait Exhibition organized by the WAAC. *Woman's Art Association of Canada, Woman's Art Association of Canada, Ninth Annual Exhibition*, (1897), 4; *RCA Exhibition Catalogue*, (1898), 8; and *Loan Portrait Exhibition*, (Toronto: Women's Art Association of Canada, 1899), 33. See Appendix 2, Exhibitions.

27. National Council of Women of Canada, *Women of Canada*, VII. Carlyle was a member of the "Art, Handicrafts, Drama and Music" sub-committee for the Women's Department arranging for the representation at the Paris International Exhibition of 1900. Mary Dignam, Mary Phillips, and Lady Tilley also worked on this committee.

28. Poole, *Art of London*, 70. Many prominent London families were members, patrons, or on the executive committee of the WAC of London. Surnames such as Carling, Betts, Gibbons, Smallman, and Hyman are documented in contemporary writing. "The Woman's Art Club, Exhibition of Paintings at the 'Y' Rooms," clipping file, n.p., WAACA.

29. "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), library archives, Knoedler & Company, N.Y. See also, Appendix 6.

30. Also exhibiting in this show were Lydia Field Emmet, mural painter for the Women's Pavilion at the 1893 Chicago World's Fair, Lydia Amanda Brewster Sewall (1859-1926), the first woman to win the Clarke Prize at the National Academy of Design in 1903, and British watercolorist Rhoda Holmes Nicholls, an instructor at William Chase's summer art school at Shinnecock Hills, Long Island, New York. Charlotte S. Rubinstein, *American Women Artists: from Early Indian Times to the Present* (New York: G.K. Hall and Avon, 1982), 118, 123, 164-165.

31. Cherry, *Painting Women*, 77.

32. "Paintings Shown By Women Artists," *New York Times*, 21 April 1908, 8.

33. Cherry, *Painting Women*, 96.

34. Ibid., 68.

35. Giles Edgerton [pseud. of Mary Fanton Roberts], "Is There a Sex Distinction in Art? The Attitude of the Critic Toward Women's Exhibits," *The Craftsman* 14 (June 1908) reprinted in Barry Sanders, ed., *The Craftsman: An Anthology* (Santa Barbara and Salt Lake City, 1978), 205.

36. Sisler, *Passionate Spirits*, 43.

37. "Painters and the Public," *Mail and Empire* (Toronto), Christmas 1898, 14. In 1896 Carlyle exhibited *Out-patients* at the Royal Academy, see Algernon Graves, *The Royal Academy of Arts, A Complete Dictionary of Contributors* (London: Henry Graves and George Bell, 1905), 1:395. See also Appendix 2, Exhibitions.

38. Sisler, *Passionate Spirits*, 43-44.

39. Carlyle first exhibited in the annual exhibition of the OSA in May 1897, two months after her election to ARCA status with the RCA. She is listed in the OSA exhibition catalogue of 1897 as "Carlyle (Miss Florence), A.R.C.A." *Ontario Society of Artists Catalogue 1897* (Toronto, 1897), 1. One notable gap in Carlyle's RCA participation occurs between 1905 and 1909, at a time when she is most active in her American commissions and

exhibitions. See Appendix 2 and Appendix 3, Tables Showing Frequency of Exhibitions.

40. Levy, *American Art Annual*, 1898, 1: 128.

41. Ibid.

42. *Victorine* was exhibited at the AAM as number 24, *La Vielle Victorine* and was offered for sale at the price of \$200. The painting was subsequently exhibited in the RCA exhibition in Toronto in April of 1895 and Carlyle's address was given as "Paris, France." Evelyn de R. McMann, *Montreal Museum of Fine Arts, formerly Art Association of Montreal, Spring Exhibitions 1880-1970* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1988), 59. See also, *Royal Canadian Academy of Arts Catalogue 1895* (Toronto: Royal Canadian Academy, 1895), 8. It was not uncommon for Canadian artists, while resident in France, to send paintings to be shown in Canadian exhibitions, see David Wistow, *Canadians in Paris 1867-1914* (Toronto: Art Gallery of Ontario, 1979), 9.

43. Fern Bayer, *The Ontario Collection* (Markham, Ontario: Fitzhenry & Whiteside, 1984), 42-43, 48. See also, Joan Murray, *The Ontario Society of Artists: 100 Years 1872-1972* (Toronto: Art Gallery of Ontario, 1972), 5.

44. *Ontario Society of Artists, 75th Annual Spring Exhibition* (Toronto: Ontario Society of Artists, 1972), 9. See also, Murray, *Ontario Society of Artists*, 6.

45. One exception was Charlotte Schreiber who was allowed to attend meetings as she represented the OSA on the council of the Ontario School of Art and Design, see Allison Thompson, "A Worthy Place In the Art of Our Country: The Women's Art Association of Canada 1887-1987," (MA, Carleton University, Ottawa, Ontario, 1989), 8 and note 83.

46. Jean Grant, "Studio News," *Saturday Night* (Toronto) 17 March 1900, 9.

47. T. Square [pseud.], "Notes on the OSA Exhibition," *Saturday Night* (Toronto) 8 March 1902, 7. The OSA prize "carried with it the sum of \$200," see "Studio News," *Saturday Night* (Toronto) 15 March 1902, 9.

48. St. Louis World's Fair, Louisiana Purchase Exhibition, Canadian Section, catalogue no. 14, (St. Louis, Missouri, 1904). Silver medals were also awarded to Canadian artist William Brymner, Edmund Dyonnet, Robert Harris, and A.C. Williamson, see Sisler, *Passionate Spirits*, 81. The great appeal of *The Tiff* endured, in 1913 it was reproduced in *The Canadian Magazine* and in 1930 it was reproduced in *The Chatelaine*. The painting is presently in the collection of the Art Gallery of Ontario, Toronto. See "The Tiff," *The Canadian Magazine* 41 (June 1913), 153; "The Tiff by Florence Carlyle," *The Chatelaine* (August 1930).

49. Carlyle was a member of the society only until 1906. Significantly, a gap occurs in Carlyle's exhibition history with the OSA between 1904 and 1909 similar to that which occurs in her RCA exhibitions. See Appendix 2, Exhibitions, and

Appendix 3, Tables.

50. Florence N. Levy, ed., *American Art Annual, 1898* (New York: Macmillan, 1899), 1: 132.

51. "The Great Fair Formally Opened", *Toronto Daily Mail and Empire*, 1 September 1897, 1.

52. Levy, *American Art Annual, 1898*, 1: 132. See also, Murray, *Ontario Society of Artists*, 8; and, Norman Patterson, "The Exhibition Habit," *The Canadian Magazine* 27 (August 1906): 290-298.

53. Robert F. Gagen, "Industrial Exhibitions 1878-1915", in "Ontario Art Chronicle," MS MU 2252 Ontario Archives, Toronto, and the Canadian National Exhibition Archives (CNEA), Toronto, n.d., p. 92.

54. In 1916 Mary Heister Reid served on the Executive of the OSA and she was the first woman to do so.

Natalie Luckyj, *Visions and Victories: 10 Canadian Women Artists 1914-1945* (London, Ontario: London Regional Art Gallery, 1983), 109.

55. The other was W. Cruikshank, see *Canadian National Exhibition, Catalogue of the Department of Fine Arts*, (Toronto: Canadian National Exhibition, 1907), 3.

56. Mary E. Wrinch served on the Executive Council in 1908, 1909, and 1910, Sidney Strickland Tully in 1909, and Mrs. J.E. Elliott served on the Council in 1911, see *Canadian National Exhibition, Catalogue of Department of Fine Arts*, (1908), 1; *Canadian National Exhibition, Catalogue of Department of Fine Arts*, (1909), 1; *Canadian National Exhibition, Catalogue of Department of Fine Arts*, (1910), 1; *Canadian National Exhibition, Catalogue of Department of Fine Arts*, (1911), 5; annual CNE exhibition catalogues file, CNEA, Toronto.

57. *CNE Catalogue* (1907), 3; *CNE Catalogue* (1908), 1; *CNE Catalogue* (1909), 1; *CNE Catalogue* (1910), 1; *CNE Catalogue* (1911), 5; *CNE Catalogue* (1912), 5; *CNE Catalogue* (1913), n.p.

58. Gagen, "Ontario Art Chronicle," 92. Work by non-Canadian artists was frequently integrated with that by Canadian artists and not confined to a separate section. See for example, *CNE Catalogue* (1907), 5-7.

59. See Appendix 2, Exhibitions. Thompson's work was exhibited at the CNE in 1908. Canadian women artists exhibiting in the first decade of the century included Beatrice Hagarty, Clara S. Hagarty, Carrie L. Hillyard, Marie H. Holmsted, Marion N. Hooker, Francis W. Loring, E. May Martin, Marion E. Mattice, Helen G. McNicoll, Mary H. Reid, Gertrude E. Spurr, Ida N. Stanley, Mabel M. Stoodley, Sidney S. Tully, Mary E. Wrinch, and a student of Carlyle's, Caroline Farncomb. See *CNE Exhibition Catalogues* (1900-1910).

60. Cherry, *Painting Women*, 62, 96.

61. Julia Gualtieri erroneously claims in her thesis that

Carlyle did not "include teaching in her career," despite clear documentation in contemporary publications. Julia Gualtieri, "The Woman as Artist and as Subject in Canadian Painting (1890-1930): Florence Carlyle, Laura Muntz Lyall, Helen McNicoll" (MA, Queen's University, Kingston, Ontario, 1989), 157 and note 35. See also, Appendix 5, "Women Art Educators".

62. "Florence Carlyle, Artist," *Christmas Echo* (London, Ontario) December 1911, n.p., Woodstock Public Art Gallery Artist Files.

63. "Memory of Florence Carlyle Honored", 1936, n.p..

64. Ibid. See also, "Florence Carlyle, Artist", 1911, n.p.; and Poole, *Art of London*, 68.

65. Nunn, *Victorian Women Artists*, 55.

66. Carlyle's studio was in the Masonic Temple building, then located on the west side of Richmond Street, between King Street and Dundas Street, in London, Ontario, see Poole, *Art of London*, 70.

67. "Women's Art Club", unidentified London, Ontario newspaper, c. March 1897, clipping file, n.p., WAACA; and, Woman's Art Association of Canada, *Catalogue of Sketch Exhibition* (Toronto: Woman's Art Association of Canada, 1893), 1. Farncomb was born in Newcastle, Ontario but moved to London and attended Hellmuth Ladies College where her art instructors were either W.L. Judson or Charles Chapman, see Poole, *Art of London*, 68. Prior to studying with Carlyle she exhibited at London's Western Fair Art Department in the "Professional List," often winning many prizes. Her name first appears in the prize lists in 1879, and in 1896 Farncomb won first prize in the "Historical Subject," "Landscape or Marine," and "Flowers or Fruit" categories, and second prize in the "Animals from Life" category in the "Professional List" of the Fine Arts Department at the Western Fair. "The Prize List," *The London Free Press* (London, Ontario) 17 September 1896, 11.

68. Cherry, *Painting Women*, 102.

69. This information was taken from an interview with Albert E. Templar; see Poole, *Art of London*, 71.

70. Farncomb exhibited with the RCA in 1900, 1901, and 1902. Royal Canadian Academy, *Royal Canadian Academy of Arts Catalogue 1900* (Ottawa, 1900), 11. Royal Canadian Academy, *Royal Canadian Academy of Arts Catalogue 1901* (Toronto, 1901), 11. Royal Canadian Academy, *Royal Canadian Academy of Arts Catalogue 1902* (Montreal, 1902), 12. She frequently exhibited in Toronto at the TIE/CNE and OSA exhibitions and was elected a member of the OSA in 1908. Also in Toronto in November of 1908, she exhibited in the *Thumb-Box Exhibition [of] Canadian Artists* which included Gertrude Eleanor Spurr Cutts (1858-1941), and Clara Sophia Hagarty (1871-1958). *Thumb-Box Exhibition [of] Canadian Artists*, (Toronto: W.Scott and Sons' Galleries, 1908), unpaginated, Artist Files, N.G.C. .

71. Bradshaw was never elected an Associate of the RCA, see Sisler, *Passionate Spirits*, 280. See also Poole, *Art of London*,

72. Royal Canadian Academy (1902), 10; Royal Canadian Academy, *Royal Canadian Academy of Arts Catalogue 1903*, (Ottawa, 1903), 10; Royal Canadian Academy, *Royal Canadian Academy of Arts Catalogue 1904* (Montreal, 1904), 10.

72. The fund was organized by Harriet Priddis, "an influential member of the [WAC]." Poole is drawing on information given by Farncomb's niece, Mrs. D. McEwen. At the Julian Academy, Farncomb studied under Jean-Paul Laurens (1838-1921) and "Simon and Prinnet," see Poole, *Art of London*, 68. See also, J. Russell Harper, *Early Painters*, 109. While it is not clear when Farncomb studied in Paris, Laurens headed a female atelier at the Julian Academy in c.1912, see Fehrer, "Academie Julian", 212. While it remains undocumented, Farncomb's family later claimed that she had exhibited a portrait of a "nude upper torso and head of a young woman" in the "Spring Salon" while studying in Paris, see Poole, *Art of London*, 68.

73. Artist information form for Eva Bradshaw, Artist Information Files, National Gallery of Canada. The Chase School, founded by William Merritt Chase, was later called the New York School of Art, see Rubinstein, *American Women Artists*, 123.

74. Poole, *Art of London*, 76. See also, Clare Bice, *Eva Bradshaw* (London, Ontario: London Regional Art Gallery, 1970), unpaginated. Dorothy Betts first studied art with Caroline Farncomb, later, prior to going to New York, Betts herself studied with Carlyle in her London studio. Encouraged by her progress under Carlyle's instruction, Betts joined Bradshaw and the two women pursued their New York studies together. Mrs. F.P. Betts, likely Dorothy Betts' mother, had been listed among the "patronesses" of London's Woman's Art Club in c.1894. Other "patronesses of the club" included "Mesdames...T.H. Carling, E.A. Cleghorn, James C. Duffield, E.N. English, Geo. Gibbons, Wm. Glass, F.E. Leonard, Wm. McDonough...and T. H. Smallman." "The Woman's Art Club, Exhibition of Paintings at the "Y" Rooms," Unidentified London newspaper, c. Spring 1894, clipping file, n.p., WAACA.

75. Poole, *Art of London*, 76. Whatever the case, Carlyle who had lived in New York City intermittently between about 1899 and 1912 would have been aware of Chase and Henri's reputations as teachers. Robert Henri (1865-1929), described as "one of the most dynamic figures in American art and culture at the turn of the century", was the leader of "The Eight" and a prominent member of New York's "Ash Can" School. Like Carlyle, Henri studied at the Julian Academy in Paris. Between 1902 and 1909 he taught at the New York School of Art, and between 1909 and 1912 at his own school. Later still he taught at the Art Students' League. William Innes Homer, *Robert Henri and His Circle* (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 1969), 157. In 1907 Henri was living at 135 East 40th Street, New York City, see Florence N. Levy, ed., *American Art Annual*,

1907-1908 (New York: American Art Annual, 1908), 6: 361.

76. Fehrer, "Academie Julian," 208. Quoted from an article in the *London Free Press* 10 April 1913, n.p. in Poole, *Art of London*, 76.

77. Royal Canadian Academy, *Catalogue of the Thirty-fifth Annual Exhibition of the Royal Canadian Academy of Arts* (Montreal, 1913), 10. Eva Bradshaw, Caroline Farncomb, and Dorothy Betts (Seeley Smith) all exhibited works in the *Women's Canadian Club Exhibition of the Paintings of London Artists, Past and Present* (London, Ontario: Women's Canadian Club, 1932), unpaginated, Curatorial File, Florence Carlyle, *The White Flower*, LRAGHM.

78. *Second Annual Western Ontario Exhibition* (London, Ontario: Elsie Perrin Williams Memorial Art Gallery and Museum, 1942), unpaginated. See also, *The Third Annual Western Ontario Exhibition* (London, Ontario: Elsie Perrin Williams Memorial Art Gallery and Museum, 1943), unpaginated.

79. The LRAGHM files have a Christmas Card depicting the Proscenium wall mural, see Poole, *Art of London*, 70, 220, and note 17.

80. Clare Bice, "Exhibit of Paintings by the Late Eva Bradshaw a Rich Example of Canadian Art," unidentified London, Ontario newspaper, c. March 1941, n.p., Artist Files, N.G.C.

81. "Literature, Life and Art, Florence Carlyle Exhibit," *Toronto Daily Star* 30 May 1925, 7. See also "Havergal Ladies' College," advertisement in *Canadian Magazine* 37 (September 1911): 20.

82. "Havergal Ladies' College", advertisement in *Toronto Mail and Empire*, 1 September 1897, 1. See also, National Council of Women, "Ladies' Colleges," in *Women of Canada*, 140.

83. "Literature, Life and Art," (1925), 7.

84. Cherry, *Painting Women*, 104, 109. See also, Appendix 5, Women Art Educators.

85. See Havergal College advertisements, for example, *Toronto Mail and Empire*, 6 September 1899, 5. That Wyly Grier was teaching art at Havergal at this time was confirmed in a letter to the author from Margaret Thompson, Havergal College, Toronto, 28 October 1994.

86. "Havergal Ladies College," advertisement, *Montreal Star* 9 March 1901, 12. Miss Nainby held a "South Kensington certificate". National Council of Women, *Women of Canada*, 220. For further discussion of gender and employment in art education see also, Cherry, *Painting Women*, 62.

87. Cherry, *Painting Women*, 62.

88. Cherry notes that exceptions did occur and that equal opportunities were extended to women at "progressive institutions" such as the Glasgow School of Art. *Ibid.*, 62.

89. Halifax - H.M. Rosenberg, Principal; Montreal - William Brymner, Director; Hamilton - S. John Ireland, Principal; Ottawa - Franklin P. Brownell, Director; Toronto - R.Y. Ellis, President, see Levy *American Art Annual, 1900-1901*, (Boston:

Noyes, Platt and Company, 1900), 3: 94, 214. See Appendix 5 Women Art Educators. See also, Tippet, *By A Lady*, 39.

90. Levy, *American Art Annual, 1900-1901*, 3:214-215.

91. It is likely that Carlyle taught briefly at the AAM school during its 1910-11 winter session. "Canadian Artist Died in England," *Montreal Star*, 4 June 1923, n.p., Artist Files, Montreal Museum of Fine Arts. The lack of surviving documentation from the AAM school hampers research in this area. Records are incomplete due to a fire that destroyed part of the school's archives in the early 1940's, letter to the author from Eric Vanasse, Montreal Museum of Fine Arts, 4 May 1994. See also, "Calendar of the Elementary and Advanced Art Classes of the Art Association of Montreal for the Session of 1906-07", Deligny, Armstrong, Phillips, Bentham Collection, 1722-1937, Mrs W.A. Phillips Papers, file #662, McCord Museum, Montreal.

92. "Canadian Artist Died in England," 1923, Artist file, n.p., Montreal Museum of Fine Arts. This article quotes from a statement made by the artist in Montreal in c.1911, the source of which is unrecorded.

93. Cherry, *Painting Women*, 48.

94. Correspondence between Carlyle and Mackay exists in the Carlyle family archive. D.B.G. Fair, "The White Flower", typewritten manuscript, Artist Files, LRAHGM. Mackay published verse, short stories, novels, plays and folklore, in Canada and the United States, and lived in Woodstock until 1909. Morgan, *Canadian Men and Women*, 2nd ed., 696. W. Stewart Wallace, *MacMillan Dictionary of Canadian Biography* (Toronto and London: Macmillan, 1963), 461.

95. Marian MacCausland, *Carlyle Christmas* (Woodstock, Ontario: Woodstock Public Art Gallery, 1981), unpaginated. The painting was subsequently exhibited at the Pennsylvania Academy of Fine Arts as *A Jewess*. Peter Hastings Falk, ed., *The Annual Exhibition Record of the Pennsylvania Academy of Fine Arts, 1876-1913*, (Madison, CT.: Sound View Press, 1989), 2: 125.

96. The titles of paintings dating from this trip also include, *Coal Schooner Waiting for the Tide* (c.1900), and *Sketch, Cape Cod* (c.1900). See Appendix 2, Exhibitions. "China Painting: Second Exhibition of the Women's Art Club", unidentified London, Ontario newspaper, c. March 1896, WAC of London Files, n.p., London Room Archives, London Public Library. See also, "The Woman's Art Club, Exhibition of Paintings at the 'Y' Rooms," clipping file, n.p., WAACA. Minhinick owned works by Carlyle and these paintings were sold in c.1945. Mr. Millard in letter to Mrs. Blanche Carlyle, sister-in-law of Florence Carlyle, 18 October 1946, Artist Files, WPAG.

97. Carlyle's work with the Alpine Club of Canada is discussed in chapter four.

98. In 1915 Carlyle, Hastings and Helene Key volunteered to work in a "war depot" assembling medical supplies for hospitals

in France. Later, they worked for several months serving munitions workers in a Canteen at Abbeywood, a village next door to Woolwich Arsenal. Key, "Reminiscences," 17, 18. In 1915 Carlyle and Hastings served as volunteer nurses at Roehampton House, a stately home in England, converted during the war "into one of Queen Mary's Convalescent Auxiliary Hospitals for soldiers...who have lost their limbs in the war." "Roehampton House as a Hospital," *Country Life*, 14 August 1915, 239, Artist Files, WPAG.

99. Florence Carlyle in letter to Russell Carlyle, England, 27 October 1919, Artist Files, WPAG.

100. Florence Carlyle in letter to Russell Carlyle, Wimbledon, England, 1 December 1921, Artist Files, WPAG.

101. See correspondence, Florence Carlyle to family members, c.1915-1923, Artist Files, WPAG.

102. Florence Carlyle in letter to Russell Carlyle, Wimbledon, England, 6 August 1920, Artist Files, WPAG.

103. Cherry, *Painting Women*, 67.

104. Key, "Reminiscences," 2.

105. Carlyle was most active in the United States between 1905 and 1909. Elected an Associate of the RCA in 1897, her membership lapsed during this time and she was re-elected to Associate status in 1912. Doyle, "Art," (23 January 1897), 9. Sisler, *Passionate Spirits*, 281.

106. Lillian Telfer, Curator WPAG, in letter to Florence Johnston, Woodstock, Ontario, 24 February 1967, Artist Files, WPAG.

107. Deacon, "Representative Women," *Toronto Globe*, 4. See also, Lillian Telfer in letter to Florence Johnston, 24 February 1967, Artist Files, WPAG.

108. Deacon, "Representative Women," *Toronto Globe*, 4.

109. Estelle M. Kerr, "The Artist," *Saturday Night* (Toronto) (Toronto) 26 (7 June 1913): 29. Margaret Bell, "Women and Art in Canada," *Everywoman's World* (Toronto), June 1914, 7.

110. Hume's recollections of an earlier interview with Carlyle, see, Blanche B. Hume, "Florence Carlyle, A.R.C.A.," *Woodstock Sentinel-Review* (Woodstock, Ontario), 10 July 1925, 10.

111. MacBeth, "Canadian Women," 23.

112. Cherry, *Painting Women*, 7.

113. The "golden age" of illustration was so named because of rapid advances in reprographic techniques and the high quality of artwork reproduced in the various pictorial media. See, Patricia Hills, *Turn-of-the-Century America: Paintings, Graphics, Photographs, 1890-1910* (New York: Whitney Museum of American Art, 1977), 89.

114. Cherry, *Painting Women*, 101.

115. Ibid.

116. Women artists working in commercial art at the turn of the century included Maud Humphrey Bogart, Violet Oakley (1874-

1961), Jessie Wilcox Smith (1863-1935), and Elizabeth Shippen Green (1871-1954). Regina Armstrong, "Representative American Women Illustrators: The Child Interpreters," *The Critic* (New York) 36 (May 1900): 417-430. Regina Armstrong, "Representative American Women Illustrators: The Decorative Workers," *The Critic* 36 (June 1900): 520-529. Regina Armstrong, "Representative American Women Illustrators: The Character Workers," *The Critic* 37 (July 1900): 43-54. Regina Armstrong, "Representative American Women Illustrators: The Character Workers-II," *The Critic* 37 (August 1900): 131-141. See also, "Women in the Golden Age of Illustration," in Rubinstein, *American Women Artists*, 158-163.

117. Kerr, "The Artist," 29.

118. Ibid. The advantages of a career for women writers in the related field of advertising writing were discussed in an article appearing in the same year. See, Canadienne (pseud.), "The Advertising Profession For Women," *Saturday Night* (Toronto) (22 March 1913): 29.

119. "Collected Pictures of Florence Carlyle", *Toronto Mail and Empire*, 23 May 1925, Artist Files, n.p., Woodstock Public Art Gallery. Olaf P. Rechnitzer, "Nations Acclaim London Artists", *The London Advertiser* (London, Ontario), 17 January 1925, 1, magazine section. Shelly Lawson, "Who Was Florence Carlyle?", *London Free Press* (London, Ontario), 28 December 1990, Artist Files, n.p., WPAG. In 1899 Carlyle only exhibited in one of her usual venues, with the WAAC, and did not exhibit with the RCA or OSA. See Appendix 2, Exhibitions.

120. Rechnitzer, "Nations Acclaim," 1. Carlyle's address in Greenwich Village is not known, and her permanent address c.1899-1904 is listed in the *American Art Annual* as "Woodstock, Ontario." However, by 1905 her address was listed as 7 West 42d Street, New York. Levy, *American Art Annual, 1905-1906* (New York: American Art Annual, 1905), 5: 336. Her last known address in New York, in c.1912, was at 32 West 24th Street, see Morgan, *Canadian Men and Women*, 2nd ed., 200.

121. Rechnitzer, "Nations Acclaim," 1. Carlyle entered the first artist's competition held by the Osborne Company of New York. Osborne Company, calendar title leaf for *The Girl with the Laughing Eyes* (New York: Osborn Company, c.1905), Artist Files, n.p., WPAG.

122. MacBeth, "Canadian Women," 24.

123. Osborne Company, calendar title leaf for *Always Room for One More* (New York: Osborne Company, c.1907), Artist Files, n.p., WPAG. Marian MacCausland in letter to author, Woodstock, Ontario, 22 November 1993.

124. Rechnitzer, "Nations Acclaim," 1.

125. Osborne Company, *Always Room*, n.p. Carlyle was commissioned several times to complete paintings for the Osborne Company's Art Calendars. Several years later, in the fall of 1909, Carlyle returned to New York to execute a commission to paint six paintings for the company. She had spent the summer

in Woodstock and upon returning to New York took her cousin Helene Key to stay with her and to work as her model for these paintings. Key, "Reminiscences," 8.

126. Richnitzer, "Nations Acclaim," 1. Carlyle's commercial work was recognized by her contemporary Canadian women artists, and Mary Dignam described Carlyle as a "well-known illustrator" in 1901. National Council of Women, *Women of Canada*, 222.

127. Osborne Company, "The Third Annual Artists' competition", advertisement in Levy, *American Art Annual, 1905-1906*, 5: 117; see also, frontispiece of Curran's painting, *At the Piano*.

128. American Colortype Company, "Fac-simile Reproductions of Works of Art", advertisement in Levy, *American Art Annual, 1905-1906*, 117.

129. Italics in original. Osborne Company, *Osborne Art Calendars in Miniature* (New York: Osborne Company, 1903), n.p. Brochure, Warshaw Collection of Business Americana, Archives Center, National Museum of American History, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C..

130. Ibid. Specialty calendars had great popular appeal at this time and in 1904 an article in the *New York Times* described the calendar trends of the "season", noting that, "the gaudy, meaningless...calendar is [absent]. Nearly all have their raison d'être...in art, literature and a perpetuated usefulness." "Calendars," *New York Times*, 17 December 1904, 903.

131. The Osborne Company sent art buyers to American exhibitions to find popular paintings, suitable for calendars. For their 1901 line they attended the Pan-American Exhibition in Buffalo, and noted in an advertisement that, "for hours, our art buyer watched the crowds that surged around...the Buffalo exhibit, and he became convinced that originals which were so overwhelmingly popular with all sorts of people, high and low, couldn't fail to make equally popular calendars. He was right: orders have abundantly proved it." Regarding subject matter the company wrote, "To be profitable, a calendar must have a popular subject, but with the right subject assured...the better it will please "common people" and all other people." Italics in original. Osborne Company, *Calendars in Miniature*, n.p.; see also, Hills, *Turn-of-the-Century America*, 89.

132. Key, "Reminiscences," 8. Letter to the author from Florence Johnston, Woodstock, Ontario, 15 May 1994.

133. Cherry, *Painting Women*, 101.

134. Armstrong, "Representative American, Child Interpreters," 418.

135. Osborne Company, *Calendars in Miniature*, n.p.

136. In *The Girl with the Laughing Eyes* a woman is shown engaged in a party game, holding a large red lantern to warn off her pursuers, "the welcome of those laughing eyes...contradicts the danger sign," see Osborne Company, *Girl*

with the Laughing Eyes, n.p. In *Always Room for One More* a woman is shown calling to her friends to take cover from the rain beneath her open umbrella, see Osborne Company, *Always Room*, n.p.

137. *Carlyle Christmas* (Woodstock, Ontario: Woodstock Public Art Gallery, 1981), n.p.

138. Kerr, "The Artist," 29.

139. Interview by author with Florence Johnston, Woodstock, Ontario, August 1993.

140. Emphasis mine. Jean Grant, "Royal Canadian Academy Exhibition," *Saturday Night* (Toronto) 2 (12 March 1898): 9.

141. "Review of the Art Exhibition," *Toronto Mail and Empire*, 5 March 1898, 7.

142. Mary Dignam, "The Portrait Loan Exhibition", unidentified newspaper, c. 3 April 1899, Cuttings File, n.p., WAACA. See also, *Loan Portrait Exhibition* (Toronto: Woman's Art Association of Canada, 1899), 33.

143. "Artists and Friends Thronged Gallery," *Montreal Star*, 21 March 1902, 10; and, *Royal Canadian Academy of Arts Catalogue 1902*, 10.

144. MacBeth, "Canadian Women," 24.

145. Fergus Kyle, "The Ontario Society of Artists," in Arts and Letters Club of Toronto *The Year Book of Canadian Art* (London: J.M. Dent and Sons, 1913), 188.

146. Carlyle was commissioned by the Canadian War Memorials Committee in c. December 1917 to paint Lady Julia Drummond of Montreal, who served as the Assistant Commissioner of the Canadian Red Cross Society during the First World War, and as head of the Canadian Red Cross Information Bureau and as President of the King George and Queen Mary, Maple Leaf Clubs. The portrait was painted while Carlyle was staying for a month with Drummond in her London, England home, in March/April of 1918. The War Memorial Committee paid Carlyle \$375 for this portrait and arranged with the artist to do another portrait. However nothing more is known about this promised commission. Florence Carlyle in a letter to Russell Carlyle, Sussex, England, April 1918, Artist Files, WPAG. "Canadian War Memorials," *Saturday Night* (Toronto) 32 (26 October 1918): 17.

147. Roy Franklin Fleming, "The Royal Canadian Academy of Arts," in Arts and Letters Club of Toronto *The Year Book of Canadian Art* (London: J.M. Dent and Sons, 1913), 205.

148. Levy, *American Art Annual, 1903-1904* 4: 170.

149. "Art Awards at Buffalo", *New York Times* (7 August 1901): 7. Honorable Mention awards went to the following Canadians, "Bell-Smith, Miss Carlyle, Gagen, Graham, Knowles, Manly, Mrs Reid, Miss Tully, and Wickson. Hugh G. Jones, "History of the Royal Canadian Academy of Arts", TS, (1934): S.8, Carleton University library collection, Ottawa.

150. See Appendix 2, Exhibitions. Rochester Art Club, 1902), 9. The SAA was founded in 1877 and in 1904 held their 26th annual exhibition. "New York Letter," *Saturday Night*

(Toronto), 1 April 1905, 8.

151. "New York Letter," 8; and, "The American Artists," *New York Times*, 26 March 1904, 9. While Muntz exhibited *Little Miss Shy*, no information is presently available regarding Carlyle's contributions to this exhibition other than the knowledge that she did exhibit at least one painting. "The American Artists," *New York Times*, 28 April 1904, 8.

152. The SAA and the Art Students' League are described as the two American institutions that "broke the strangle hold of the old-guard National Academy of Design", which wanted to suppress new artists. The SAA held their last exhibition in 1905 and merged back into the National Academy in 1906. Rubinstein, *American Women Artists*, 140-141. See also, Morris, *Art in Canada: The Early Years*, 31.

153. Laura Muntz was also awarded a bronze medal, Jones, "History of the RCA," 5.10.

154. Carlyle exhibited with the PAFA in 1904, 1905, and 1906. However she maintained her professional links with Canada by continuing to exhibit with the RCA, and the CNE Art Department. See Appendix 2, Exhibitions.

155. MacBeth, "Canadian Women," 24.

156. Cherry, *Painting Women*, 101.

157. Ibid., 98.

158. MacBeth, "Canadian Women," 24.

159. Knoedler's Galleries, *Exhibition of Paintings by Women Artists* (New York: 1908), 4, Knoedler and Company, N.Y., Library Archives.

160. See 1909 in Appendix 2, Exhibitions. Benezit, *Dictionnaire critique*, 531; and, Levy, "Auction Sales of Paintings", in *American Art Annual, 1907-1908*, 6: 17-18. Thomas Jenkins, of the Jenkins' Galleries on College Street, was Carlyle's Toronto dealer, see Newton MacTavish, *Ars Longa* (Toronto: Ontario publishing Co., 1938), 109. Mr O.B. Graves was her dealer in London, Ontario, see, Florence Carlyle in letter to O.B. Graves, Toronto, 6 December 1922, Artist Files, LRAHGM.

161. Kerr, "The Artist," 29.

162. Ibid.

163. Italics in original. Florence Carlyle in letter to O.B. Graves, Toronto, 6 December 1922, Artist Files, LRAHGM.

164. MacBeth writes that "Miss Carlyle was called home to Woodstock owing to [the] illness of a member of her family, and there she lived." MacBeth, "Canadian Women," 24. Carlyle's father died in 1912, and her mother, who had "[suffered] for some time from a form of paralysis", died in 1913. "Mrs. W. Carlyle: Passing of a Woman Who Had Not Lived In Vain", *Woodstock Daily Sentinel-Review*, (Woodstock, Ontario), c. December 1913, Artist Files, n.p., WPAG.

165. *CNE Catalogue*, 1913, 95.

166. Ibid.

CHAPTER FOUR

FIGURES UNDER TREES: PICTURING WOMEN AND IMAGING LANDSCAPE

Carlyle garnered critical acclaim and wide public exposure as a "painter of figures", portraits and "character studies".¹ Although Carlyle produced and exhibited landscapes and still life paintings, figure paintings far outnumber any other genre in her exhibited works. Significantly, studies of women comprise the overwhelming majority of Carlyle's oeuvre with only a few works representing male figures.² I will argue that these depictions of women and domestic subjects break with hegemonic visual representations of femininity and show a specific and novel focus on expanded images of femininity. In this chapter I will demonstrate that Carlyle's figurative work must be considered in the context of how she came to focus her art on the diverse social terrains of women. The artist's independent spirit and her own expanded social terrain as a woman is demonstrated by a consideration of her landscapes and the context in which they were executed.

Art historian Deborah Cherry has argued that the "established tradition of [painting] by professional male artists" was substantially changed by women artists whose "studies of modern domestic episodes" like those of Carlyle, by shifting "class locations" and reworking "pictorial conventions."³ Throughout the nineteenth century social expectations were an important consideration for women

artists in choosing subject matter. Acceptable subjects for women, in both public exhibition and commercial contexts, included domestic pictures, portraiture, and historical works.

Pressures were subtly exerted on women to produce domestic pictures, and critical censorship of certain subjects as unsuitable, indecorous or over-ambitious 'for a lady' could influence a women artist's [choice of subject matter].⁴

Thus, domestic subject matter when painted by women artists were not simply "expressions of essential femininity or innate maternal instincts", as advocated by contemporary art practice, but equally importantly "products of complex social forces which designated them appropriate."⁵

The lives of women artists' often differed profoundly from conventional depictions of domestic femininity. This is especially true of those who, like Carlyle, did not marry, and whose professional career spanned a period of significant change in women's rights. Such positioning often gave such women a unique perspective from which to participate in the redefinition of femininity in visual culture. As Cherry observes, women artists

necessarily held contradictory relationships to middle-class constructions of femininity—they did not spend all their time on household duties or child care... their lives did not match the patterns of domesticity....⁶

As the eldest daughter, Carlyle experienced conventional domestic duties prior to leaving home for Paris at the age of twenty-six. However, on returning to Canada, she expressed a

preference for a "Bohemian way of living," maintaining a studio in New York City for many years, where "there were no rules to go by....[and she could] enjoy the freedom of doing some painting without any restrictions from any source."⁷

Despite Carlyle's frequently unconventional lifestyle she maintained strong ties with her home in Woodstock, with family, and a close network of female friendships. Thus the subject of the domestic sphere as a recurring and significant theme in her work is, as Cherry observes, a site

where women artists negotiated and contested what it meant to be a woman, and a woman at home, in middle-class society.⁸

Carlyle's paintings of women address the formations and transitions of femininity and, in doing so, often contest hegemonic definitions of femininity. Her paintings of women recognize the importance of women's domestic life and networks of rituals and pleasures, and foreground the strength and support of women's friendships. Carlyle's focus on feminine social terrain is found most clearly in her subjects of maternité, courtship, marriage, desire and sexuality. Conventional images of women and femininity are recast in many of Carlyle's paintings to highlight women in roles of strength as working women, and as older women.

DOMESTIC NETWORKS OF RITUALS AND PLEASURES:

Carlyle's paintings of women in the domestic context address the formations and transitions of femininity and explore diverse images of women.

Cherry observes that women artists, such as Carlyle, brought a particular and novel focus to many of their paintings of women in the domestic sphere. She asserts that such paintings "marked out the spaces and rituals of women's friendships", and that the works by women differed "profoundly" from the "repertory of simpering beauties" by male colleagues". In their paintings of women in the domestic sphere, women artists created images that were oppositional to those painted by male artists. Paintings by women artists "wrenched woman's image away from the circuits of masculine desire" and recast images of women in the "exchanges and meaning of women's networks, rituals, and pleasures."⁹

Many of the subjects addressed by Carlyle in these paintings, for example, women reading, writing, sewing, playing the piano, were, in other hands, conventional and hegemonic images of femininity. However, Carlyle reworks these pictorial conventions, foregrounding the diversity of women's roles and activities, highlighting the spaces and rituals of the domestic sphere, and the support of women's friendships.

The theme of women reading in domestic interiors or garden settings was popular among nineteenth century women artists and highlights women's mental activity. In the generation just prior to Carlyle's, women artists such as Marie Bracquemond in her painting *Tea Time* (1880), show women with a self-contained focus of intellectual concentration.¹⁰ (Fig. 4.1) Such images invite comparison not with traditional

representations of women, but rather with portraits of male intellectuals, for example those of eighteenth century philosophers.¹¹

Carlyle clearly associated the image of a woman reading with a woman's intellectual life. In a publicity photograph taken in 1912, Carlyle herself is shown reading a book. (Fig. 4.2)

Carlyle's informal portrait of a girl reading, *Blanche* (c1911), identified as a portrait of a family friend Blanche Hunter, like Cassatt's *Young Girl Reading* of 1876, depicts the subject intently focused on her book. (Figs. 4.3 and 4.4) Blanche sits before a window in a relaxed, informal posture, seemingly unaware of being observed or of activity in the room about her.

In *Summer Morning* (c1903) Carlyle presents two women, likely the artist's sisters, enjoying quiet companionship, one reads while the other sews. (Fig. 3.6) The subtle interaction between the two women and the highlighting of their faces and hands, foregrounds the strength of women's friendships. This theme is also depicted in *Two Sisters* (1879), by Carlyle's American contemporary Susan Macdowell Eakins (1851-1938). Carlyle, like Eakins and many women artists, preferred family members as models.¹²

[Carlyle] used...few professional models, preferring to choose...from among her companions with whom she was on terms of intimacy.¹³

And thus the intimacy of her own relationship with her sisters enriches this study of female friendships.

The subject of a single female figure reading and writing in an interior setting would be repeated throughout her career. In another painting of her sister, *Maude Writing a Letter* (c1900) the artist captures the gesture of a woman momentarily distracted from her writing. In *Grey and Gold* (c1910) Carlyle focuses on a woman's absorption in reading the material spread before her on the table. (Fig. 1.4) The intensity of the woman's concentration is expressed in her posture as she leans forward, resting her arms on the papers.¹⁴

Scenes showing women reading out of doors occur less frequently. One example, which remains unlocated, is the painting entitled *A Book of Verse Beneath the Bough* (c1910), which is described by contemporary critics as a "study of a graceful woman sitting under leafy branches with a book in her lap."¹⁵ While the precise location of the reader, whether in a park or in the private sphere of the domestic garden, remains unknown, Carlyle was clearly concerned with locating women in an outdoor setting, and with painting the natural landscape. This suggestion is supported by the titles of several other paintings by Carlyle, including *Landscape Study with Figure* (n.d.), *Figures Under Trees* (n.d.), and *Summer* (n.d.) described by contemporary critic Hector Charlesworth as "showing a woman under trees...listening to bird-song. The...pattern of sunlight and shadow...make it a remarkable work."¹⁶

Carlyle's paintings of women often focus on the

importance of supportive female friendships and kinship networks. The title of Carlyle's painting, *Reading to Mother* (c1898), suggests a concern with highlighting the strength and support of women's intergenerational networks, and foregrounds the issue of female responsibility in physical care of family members. In *Two Women on a Balcony, Venice* (c1913), originally exhibited as *The Guest, Venice*, Carlyle again captures an image of women's shared spaces and pleasures. (Fig. 4.5) Inspired by her trip to Italy with her friend Judith Hastings, the relaxed intimacy between the two women is suggested by their placement, physically cut off from the room by the table and window frame, while the viewer is excluded by the placement of the seated women's arm.¹⁷ Their intimacy is expressed by their open gestures and their conjoined gazes.

The accomplishment of playing the piano was in keeping with middle-class constructions of femininity. During the nineteenth century, paintings depicting women at the piano often seemed to support this view. In contrast to images of well ordered models of domestic femininity as seen in *Harmony* (c1885), by her Canadian contemporary Robert Harris, Carlyle's many paintings of women at the piano recast this theme into one which expresses a woman's private pleasure and thoughts. (Fig. 4.6) The juxtaposition of Harris' modestly dressed, disciplined pianist, with Carlyle's pianist in *Thoughts* (c1902) reinforces Carlyle's reshaping of this conventional site of domestic femininity. (Fig. 4.7) As

suggested in the respective title, Harris' pianist is seen in a state of harmony with her surroundings, conforming to conventional definitions of appropriate feminine behavior. The title of Carlyle's painting provides a point of entry to the work in which a woman is shown seated before the open keys of the piano, but she does not play the instrument. By contrast with Harris's painting, this woman is not presented as a performer or spectacle. Instead, her closed eyes and state of *déshabillé* clearly suggest the piano and by implication music as a site of a woman's private meditations.

In *An Awakened Chord* (1914) Carlyle once again establishes the link between women, music, and sensuality. (Fig. 2.2) Although the contemporary critics professed "amazement" at the skill with which the red "velvet fabric of the gown is depicted," the real amazement may have been triggered by the sensuality of the image as seen in the play of light on the gown and by the viewers' position in relation to the woman's *décolletage*.¹⁰ While Carlyle shifts to a less controversial image of women playing music in her paintings, *A Pleasant Hour* (c1900) and *Spring Song* (1912), she continues to recast this traditionally conventional theme. (Figures 2.3 and 3.8) Carlyle's paintings of women at the piano explore a space within the domestic network which Carlyle recognized as associated with women's pleasure and self expression.

IMAGING MOTHERS AND CHILDREN

Painted images of women and children were elevated to a high level of significance by the Impressionist celebration of contemporary everyday life. In particular, the portrayal of family life formed an important element in the iconography of many women Impressionists. Conventional images of *maternité*, which were often monumentalized in the nineteenth century as the 'Modern Madonna', occur infrequently in Carlyle's oeuvre.¹⁹ Her paintings of mothers and children are not expressions of essential femininity or innate maternal instinct, but were instead, explorations of women's experiences within the domestic context. The artist focused attention on themes such as the process of the construction of femininity in female children, the relationship between mothers and daughters, and on the intergenerational connections between women of all ages.

One of the most conventional treatments of the *maternité* theme by Carlyle is her *Mother and Child* of 1910. (Fig. 4.8) This exploration of a mother's intense absorption in her relationship with the child is related to broader social definitions of woman as 'Modern Madonna.' Such images transcended class barriers.²⁰ Not surprisingly, constructions of femininity which focused on motherhood as the highest attainment for a woman, dominated its critical reception. In 1911 one critic wrote,

It is a modern Madonna, whose calm serene young face with...maternal love just dawning in her eyes, that

tells the story of woman's crown of womanhood won.²¹

The success of Carlyle's "treatment of a much-used theme" appears to be linked, as contemporary critics observed, to the play of "warm [glowing]...firelight" on the figures, and by the form of the two figures which merge and seem indistinct from one another.²² *Mother and Child* returns to the conventional association of women and children, yet in this painting Carlyle brings a sympathetic and incisive eye to bear on the daily gestures and rituals of women in the private sphere.

Carlyle's depiction of a mother and child in *Shadow and Sunlight* (c1910) in which "a woman sits in the chequered and luminous shade and watches a child at play," although now lost to us, is another example of the artist imaging aspects of everyday life within the private and conventionally feminine space of the domestic sphere. Critics at the OSA exhibition of 1910 compared it favorably to Helen McNicholl's *In a Surrey Orchard* (c1910), described as "a companion piece of similar character" to Carlyle's painting.²³

Carlyle's concern with supportive kinship relations between generations of women can be supported by contemporary descriptions of the now lost works, *Portrait Group* (c1917) which presented "a mother embracing a little girl", and *Confidences* (n.d.) which depicted "two figures...the red-haired girl bending her head on the shoulder of the grandmother who looks straight out at [the viewer]...as she listens."²⁴ In *The Daughter* (c1916) Carlyle continues to

explore female intergenerational relationships. (Fig. 4.9) Interdependence and security are conveyed by the binding gestures of the mother and daughter's hands and by the compositional structure of interlocking figures enclosed by the vertical of the shutter.²⁵

In a work painted late in her career, the artist directly confronts issues relating to the construction of femininity in female children. *At the Mirror* (c1919) shows us a nude pre-adolescent female standing in front of a mirrored dressing table. (Fig. 4.10) Here Carlyle creates a polarity between innocent freedom and conventional artifice. A second layer of meaning is suggested by the mirror, traditionally associated with vanity and narcissistic contemplation. Art historian Griselda Pollock notes the importance of the mirror image, "to the female child, whose notion of self in our society is much more narcissistically related to how she...is seen."²⁶

Here the artist depicts the child's growing awareness of her sense of self-identity as she gazes at her own reflection and emulates the daily ritual of women at their toilette. The site of the painting, the private or domestic interior, underlines the gendered separation of spheres. In placing a pre-adolescent female before a dressing table, the artist articulates issues surrounding the social construction of femininity and comments ironically on the notion of woman as spectacle.

Florence Carlyle was not married, nor was she ever a

mother, yet her images of mothers and children express a rigorous and authentic observation of these relationships and identities, and form an integral part of her exploration of the experiences of women in domestic life.

IMAGES OF COURTSHIP AND MARRIAGE

Among all the images of "womanhood" popular with Victorian and Edwardian society, that of the female role in courtship was perhaps the most common. The permutations of amorous involvements ranged from sentimental depictions of lovesickness, to heart-rending morality scenes warning against romantic excesses. Carlyle's paintings of this subject often break with dominant presentations to articulate women's experience of and participation in the social rituals of courtship.

Courtship etiquette of the time defined rules of decorum, and was "intended to protect young women from unseemly advances and to apprise both parties of their meticulously prescribed roles."²⁷ Rejection of the rules by women merited ostracism and the threat of being branded "unladylike" or "fast and loose." In an era which prized expressions of feminine passivity, "the blush...the half-smile...[and] lowered eyelids," the worst that a woman could be branded, short of prostitution, was as a flirt, or coquette.²⁸ Several of Carlyle's paintings directly challenge the conventional image of women in courtship roles as delicate, passive, and chaste.

The fan functioned as an "[indice] of flirtation and competition whose use in captivating or discouraging a suitor was discussed in numerous etiquette manuals."²⁹ Alice Walker's use of the fan to signify accepted conventions of femininity and thus reinforce a structuring of masculine desire in her painting *Wounded Feelings* (1861) is a case in point. (Fig. 4.11) Here a distant couple are engaged in a flirtatious exchange. The woman's gesture, as she holds a fan to her face and looks at her male admirer, may be seen as an expression of both restrained shyness and open sexual flirtation. Cherry observes of this interaction that,

Within a phallic economy of desire she is successful through carefully learned strategies. Although this form of flirtatious femininity was viewed in some middle class circles as vulgar, it was...practised by women forced into the circuits of exchange.³⁰

Carlyle's awareness of these issues can be seen in *The Little Flirt* (c1909). (Fig. 4.12) Her cousin Helene Key posed for the role of female coquette, replete with conventional signs of femininity, including bow and fan. Carlyle, however, subverts the conventional formula by the model's expression of open impertinence in lieu of the more conventional and characteristic mask of shy modesty. The model's gaze is clearly meant to engage the viewer directly and thus suggests the woman's position of control in the exchange.

Similarly in *Badinage* (1903) the woman's gesture, upraised arms, and unselfconscious teasing glance directly engage the viewer, and combine to present the image of a

vigorous and self confident woman.³¹ (Fig. 4.13) The impact of *Badinage* on male viewers is documented in a contemporary "Social and Personal" column reporting the events of the exhibition's opening night. Among the antedotes related by the writer it was noted that,

Miss Carlyle's picture of a laughing girl was receiving favorable notice from some of the men of the National Club, which institution each year purchases a picture from the exhibition.³²

Significantly, the critics, perhaps perceiving a certain impropriety in the subject matter, pointedly ignored the painting in their review of the exhibition, focusing instead on Carlyle's painting *Amen* (c1903), which depicted the more conventional subject matter of a church interior with figures bowed in prayer amid an "atmosphere of reverence."³³

Carlyle's calendar painting *Sea Breezes* (c1908) may be related to these images of a woman engaging the viewer in a direct flirtatious glance. (Fig. 3.11) Here, however, the fan has been replaced by her black veil as an "indice of flirtation." In contrast to contemporary images of "seaside girls" in "cheesecake poses" (fig. 4.14), which were popular in commercial art of the time, Carlyle's *Sea Breezes* depicts an image of the "New Woman."³⁴ Healthy and athletic, dressed in unostentatious clothes, and about to stroll the windy deck of a ship, Carlyle presents an image of woman as strong, active, and self confident.

In one of her best known and critically acclaimed works, *The Tiff* (c1902), Carlyle articulates the relations of power

in heterosexual courtship. (Fig. 1.5) Her image of "two tempersome young folks turning their backs on one another" became "'the' picture" of the OSA exhibition of 1902.³⁵ The subject, the moment following "a 'lovers' quarrel," focuses directly on the woman's experience, with the male figure merely included as a sign within the "indistinct background."³⁶ Indeed, the anonymous back view of the male figure emphasises the immediacy of the female figure and her proximity to the viewer. One critic observed "the expression on the girl's face tells the story," while others praised Carlyle for "a poetic imagination."³⁷ Great emphasis was placed on descriptions of the woman's attire and hair, thus foregrounding traditional definitions of femininity:

The girl is garbed in the flowered gown of our grandmothers' time, the hair is drawn down...the delicate face is shadowed...³⁸

Despite the outward signs of conventional femininity, such as a pink rose tucked in her hair, a glimpse of a red petticoat, the female subject impatiently taps her finger on the tabletop, as she lounges in her chair, showing an "unladylike" disregard for presentation. Thus, Carlyle, through her depiction of the woman's posture and gestures subtly introduces a note of subversion to the conventional representations of gender roles.

Carlyle's laughing, flirtatious woman in *Badinage* (fig. 4.13) contrasts sharply with her depiction of a inward focused woman, with head bowed in *The Threshold* (c1912). (Fig. 3.7) Described by one contemporary critic as "a bride

in pensive contemplation as she pauses momentarily before going to the ceremony that means so much for her future," Carlyle's work contrasts with contemporary images of bridal preparations and weddings which reaffirmed the conventional notion that, for a woman, marriage represented the ultimate fulfillment of her purpose.³⁹ While upon initial examination *The Threshold* appears to depict yet another cloying and clichéd scene of nuptial imagery, on closer study it may be seen that Carlyle introduces a note of discord into the conventional theme. Significantly this was voiced by a anonymous contemporary social columnist,

This is a painting of a bride arrayed for the wedding. She is standing in pensive thought, apparently struggling with many conflicting emotions.⁴⁰

Clearly Carlyle meant to evoke a woman's moment of doubt and uncertainty just prior to entering into marriage. A threshold traditionally marks an area of transition, and represents "a sacred limit" in Western folklore.⁴¹ However, here the threshold is not merely a physical limit, but is in fact an inner point of transition in which she reexamines her commitment to the event. Thus, in *The Threshold* Carlyle subtly subverts the conventional image of a bride on her marriage day, introducing in the woman's response a note of uncertainty.

CARLYLE'S PAINTINGS OF OLDER WOMEN

Carlyle's paintings of older, working-class women contested hegemonic definitions of femininity and explored

alternate images of femininity.

During the 1890s, two out of the three paintings exhibited by the then student Carlyle at the Paris Salons of 1893 and 1894 depicted older, working class women.⁴² These, and several other works, were directly inspired by contact with peasants in the French countryside.⁴³ Art students frequently continued their work in the French countryside when the Academy semester ended, and Carlyle spent several summers sketching and painting *en plein air* in the Barbizon forest area and in Brittany.⁴⁴

At her first school in Paris she began her studies with the "academic" painter William-Adolph Bouguereau; however, Carlyle was more attracted to the realist style of the Barbizon school. Many of her Canadian and American contemporaries in Paris were also under the influence of the Barbizon painters. Sidney Strickland Tully, Laura Muntz, Helen Knowlton, and Cecilia Beaux, all experimented with peasant subjects and the effects of outdoor light.⁴⁵ Thus, while she was a part of a larger group of artists exploring peasant themes, Carlyle's paintings in particular foregrounded images of older working women.

Carlyle's painting, *La vieille victorine* (c1894), was likely begun in Normandy during the summer of 1893. (Fig. 3.3) Following the custom, the artist walked from house to house and asked permission to sketch the inhabitants. Carlyle was housed in the home of Mere Adele, a woman who had in her youth, been one of the models for Millet's *Angelus*

(1859), one of the most widely reproduced paintings of the nineteenth century.⁴⁶ As Carlyle later "worked up" the sketches she had done during the day, Mère Adele would talk to her, "telling of the days when she stood in a potato field for Monsieur Millet."⁴⁷

"Mère Adele's old friend, Victorine" modeled for *La vieille victorine*. The artist recounted,

Victorine, posed for me, peering out from an odd pointed hood, as she grasped a big blue gamp between her knees. She rested her chin in the top of her hand and scrutinized me with a touch of the baleful.⁴⁸

Exhibited in the Salon of the Société des Artistes Français in Paris the spring of 1894, *La vieille victorine* was considered a strong and effective character study and French critics praised the painting.⁴⁹

In selecting models who were older women and by emphasising age in her titles, Carlyle presented images of femininity that stand as oppositional representations to ideal constructions of femininity. A painting by her friend Paul Peel, *Cottage Interior* (1882), is a case in point. (Fig. 4.15) In this work an idealized image of a young peasant woman is offered up as a subject for a masculine desiring gaze. In marked contrast, Carlyle's paintings of older, working-class women render the sitters visible as examples of diverse images of women and contested hegemonic definitions of femininity. For example, Carlyle's paintings, *Seated Lady* (c1890), *Une dame hollandaise* (c1893), *Old Woman In A Doorway* (n.d.), and *Spinning Women* (c1897) all establish Carlyle's

interest in imaging the older woman with realism and dignity. (Figure 2.4 and figures 4.16 – 4.18) Furthermore, in *La vieille victorine* (c1894) Carlyle has emphasised the model's forceful personality and self confidence, communicated to the viewer by her direct gaze. (Fig. 3.3)

In 1897, when Carlyle's painting *Mère Adele* was shown to the Canadian public at the Woman's Art Association of Canada exhibition, one contemporary review recognized the powerful alternative definition of feminine identity,

An elderly peasant woman sitting against her cottage wall in the open air, stooped shoulders, *work-worn* hands, *sober* care-wrought face, peasant dress and long blue—apron—a *homely* figure, yet *intense* in its womanly appeal...⁵⁰

In each of the aforementioned paintings, older women are depicted in a way that was the antithesis of the feminine ideal at the time. In their clothing, hair, skin, age and class, Carlyle explored an alternative representation of femininity, contesting contemporary hegemonic definitions of that ideal. A review of *Une dame hollandaise* (fig. 2.4) published in Paris in 1893 applauds Carlyle's non-idealization of "*sa vieille femme*", which the reviewer compared to the work of Leon Bonnat, whose portraits were noted for their almost photographic realism. Of Carlyle's work the reviewer noted "...*sa note personnelle et vraie...*".⁵¹

With her paintings of older, working-class women, Carlyle begins a pattern, continued later in her professional life, of making visible diverse images of women, crossing

barriers of age and class, and expanding definitions of feminine identity.

WORKING WOMEN

Despite the prevalence of leisure and recreational subjects Carlyle often depicted female labour in both the domestic and in public professional spheres.

Cherry observes that the private/domestic sphere offered a site for relationships between classes of women, "middle-class women had close relationships with women servants: the 'feminine' space of home was created by women and made by their labour."⁵² And many nineteenth century women artists, such as Berthe Morisot, made women servants and their activities the subject of their art.⁵³

Carlyle drew her female models from a range of sources. Some were paid domestic help at the Carlyle family home Englewood, in Woodstock, with an equal number from family or friends. And all these women, her younger sisters, the artist herself, her friend/companion, Judith Hastings, regularly performed household tasks. Thus there is an intimate connection between her life as a woman in a household and the subjects of her representation.

In addition to making their work and activities visible, in her paintings of women's domestic labour, Carlyle foregrounds the women's dignity and presence. In these paintings women engaged in household work are presented as a serious subject and the subjects, regardless of their social

class, are not ridiculed, nor are they presented as objects of a "masculine desiring gaze."⁵⁴

Carlyle's paintings of women performing domestic work do not present idealized representations of femininity--neat, clean and orderly. In contrast to hegemonic definitions, Carlyle's women workers frequently appear disorderly, unkempt, and show the effects of their physical exertion. These images authentically celebrate women's physical strength and endurance as they perform demanding and repetitious tasks.

In March of 1897, Carlyle's *Spinning Woman* (c1897), and seven other paintings by women artists, were the object of press ridicule. (Fig. 4.18) The paintings, shown in the WAAC exhibition at Robert's Art Gallery in Toronto, were lampooned in a cartoon entitled "Impressions--Woman's Art Exhibit."⁵⁵ (Fig. 4.19) The cartoon, which was prominently displayed on the front page of the current *Saturday Night*, maintained the correct titles of the paintings, but invented new, and entirely fictional subject matter.⁵⁶ Carlyle's *Spinning Woman*, which actually depicted an older woman working at a spinning wheel, was reinvented in the cartoon as a parody of the "New Woman," showing a woman wearing a "trouserred costume," and furiously pedalling a bicycle. The New Woman was often depicted in the visual imagery of the time, as engaging in emancipated and iconoclastic actions--as an intellectual, an athlete, or as a "bicycling fiend."⁵⁷ The burlesque derision of the paintings was evidently judged to

be a clever witticism which played upon the supposed dullness of the original subject matter. The whole is indicative of a lack of respect for women artists in general, and specifically, in the case of *Spinning Woman*, implies a devaluing of the subject matter of domestic work.⁵⁸

In another example painted early in the artist's career, *Monday Morning* (c1898), Carlyle depicts a woman in a household yard with lines of washing behind her. (Fig. 4.20) Scenes of the washing/drying of laundry can be specifically associated with Carlyle's family home in Woodstock. Critic James Mavor, indicating his devaluation of the subject matter pointedly ignores any mention of the woman's work, and is concerned only with noting the artist's technical success as seen in her "bold use of white in the clothes hanging upon the line, the fatness of the colour throughout, the excellent distribution of the colour masses and the breezy energy vibrating through [the painting]."⁵⁹

Washerwoman (n.d.) continues Carlyle's exploration of the laundress subject. As in the previous example, the woman in *Washerwoman* is depicted with dignity and presence, although flushed and perspiring from her exertion, she exudes strength and self confidence.

In *Garden at Englewood* (c1900) Carlyle's sister Maude is shown hanging laundry on a line, amid the flowers in the yard of the family home. (Fig. 3.5) While depicting a woman performing a conventional domestic task, the significance of Carlyle's interpretation of the broader theme of a woman

within nature in a garden setting, becomes clear when compared to *The Drone* (1899) by her contemporary Arthur Hacker (1858-1919).⁴⁰ (Fig. 4.21) In the words of one contemporary commentator, Hacker's image contrasts the,

honey-loving and honey-gathering bee, the worker and the non-worker, the industrious and the idle. A large drone...has caught the notice of the...lady, herself an idler.⁴¹

Hacker's negative image of an idle, passive and beautiful woman reinforces contemporary hegemonic definitions of femininity. By contrast Carlyle's painting depicts an active woman working out of doors in an unselfconscious manner, surrounded by the sunflowers and hollyhocks of a family garden, in a lifegiving, positive space of utility and beauty. Her hair and clothing are in a simple, practical style, in contrast to Hacker's image of the woman in *The Drone*, in which the woman is presented as an object of a masculine desiring gaze, and, ultimately, of masculine scorn.

Carlyle was also concerned with exploring images of women working in public, professional roles. For her painting of a Red Cross nurse, *A Call to Service* (c1918), completed during the First World War, the artist most likely drew upon her personal experience of nursing wounded soldiers. Although the present location of the painting is unknown, a contemporary critic described the work as "[expressing] dignity of sentiment".⁴²

In 1918 Carlyle was commissioned by the Canadian War Memorials Committee to paint a portrait of Lady Julia

Drummond. (Fig. 3.12) Although not commissioned as official war artists, women were commissioned for specific works, and in particular, women artists were selected to record the contributions of other women to the war effort.⁴³

Lady Drummond was described in an article published in Canada in 1919, entitled "Canadian Women War Workers Overseas", as the "much-loved leader" of the "front rank of women war workers in Canada...those associated with the Canadian Red Cross Society."⁴⁴ Working in London, England, Drummond served as the Assistant Commissioner of the Society throughout the First World War, and her "unremitting" efforts were especially devoted to the Information Department regarding Prisoners of War and the Missing.⁴⁵ Carlyle lived with Julia Drummond for one month in order to paint the portrait. Drummond's busy schedule allowed little time for sittings and Carlyle often worked while her model continued dictating letters.⁴⁶ In the portrait, Carlyle has captured the impression of barely contained activity in Drummond's hands, while her "gown of black, with wrap of dark crimson," evokes a dignified presence. Drummond's work and position is suggested by the red poppies, a symbol of remembrance, in the left background. Her high professional status is confirmed by the medal of the Lady of Grace of the Order of St. John of Jerusalem, which she wears on her left shoulder. Carlyle has painted the insignia, a white enamelled Maltese cross with silver lions between the arms, in great detail, thus highlighting Drummond's official status.⁴⁷ In her

portrait of Julia Drummond, Carlyle has suggested the presence of a woman of strength and determination, presenting an image of her engaged in work of high responsibility within an international public sphere.

In her many paintings which focus on women working in both the domestic and public spheres, at traditional work and at nontraditional professions, Carlyle explores and celebrates women in positive images foregrounding their physical strength and endurance. These paintings highlight the dignity of women engaged in domestic labor and make these activities visible in serious images. Whether she depicts a woman hanging laundry, or a woman, such as Lady Drummond, in a high official government position, the artist explores diverse images of women at work, which cross barriers of age, class and social convention.

ROAD THROUGH THE FIELDS: LANDSCAPES

Women's look was regulated as much in relation to space as to the gendered body. From the mid-century, there were profound debates over landscape as a site and sight for women. Discussions focused on the propriety of women painting out of doors, the appropriateness of the artistic category and the suitability of rural scenes for women's visual representation.⁶⁸

Deborah Cherry, *Painting Women*

An article written in 1898 noted that while Carlyle "feels most strongly drawn to figure painting" she "[appreciates] the beauties and attractions of landscapes."⁶⁹ A similar emphasis is found in the ratio of figure paintings to landscapes in the artist's oeuvre, with figure paintings

far outnumbering any other genre.⁷⁰ However, Carlyle produced and exhibited landscapes throughout her career. They form a significant portion of the artist's work and thus merit consideration. Carlyle's landscapes include cityscapes, rural spaces, views of seascapes and shorelines, and alpine landscapes.

En route to Paris in 1890, Carlyle's awareness of the landscape about her, as she glimpsed scenes out the train window, is revealed in her writing. She noticed:

Even in my frightened ecstasy—brown hayfields, dark poplar trees, gate posts topped with pots of red geraniums, grey walls, and glimpses of lavender distances. A new colour in life is coming to me—the blues of France.⁷¹

The quotation reveals Carlyle's pleasure in viewing landscape as a spectator. Cherry's observations when speaking of a woman's narrative of a journey, recounting her experience of passing landscape, apply equally well when considering the significance of Carlyle's narrative:

The text speaks of women's pleasures in travelling and beholding....it addresses and constitutes a feminine subject position for enjoying and experiencing landscape as pictures, and pictures of landscape.⁷²

At this early stage in her career there is evidence that the artist was equally interested in landscape and figural painting. One article noted that during her career Carlyle "first turned to landscape work, then to figures and painted portraits."⁷³ However, early critical recognition and international awards for her figural paintings appear to have channelled the artist's energies away from landscape. In

addition to exhibiting *Victorine* (c1894) in the Paris salon to critical praise while still a student, Carlyle received the OSA award of the year in 1902 and a silver medal at the St. Louis World's Fair in 1904 for *The Tiff*.⁷⁴ Each award expressed her peer's admiration of her talent for figural painting. Her reputation as a figure painter was further reinforced by her commercial work which expanded her public and professional recognition, and which firmly established her, in the minds of Canadian peers and critics, as a painter of "warm, friendly pictures of domestic interiors."⁷⁵ These influences could hardly fail to have had an effect on Carlyle's selection of subjects to exhibit, with the result that the frequency of landscape paintings exhibited by the artist remained low.⁷⁶ Undoubtedly influenced by her international recognition as a painter of figures, Canadian critics seldom commented on those landscapes she did exhibit. However, the artist's talent for landscapes was vindicated in 1913 by the National Gallery of Canada's purchase of *Afternoon, Venice* (c1913) in which the artist successfully combines her interest in marine and urban views. (Fig. 1.3)

Landscape painting required independent travel and outdoor work. For a woman artist working at the turn of the century, painting landscapes often meant working under physical conditions in conflict with society's notions of propriety for women. Gendered social identities of the time mapped out separate spheres for men and women, public space was the realm of men, "for women to enter it

entailed...risks."⁷⁷ As Cherry observes in the quotation at the beginning of this section, in addition to questioning the appropriateness of the artistic category for women artists, opposition centered on the propriety of women physically painting out of doors. Independent travel by women artists to paint landscapes was still considered by some to be "on the margins of respectability."⁷⁸ Some women artists found "the required public visibility on an exposed site at odds with their codes of propriety" and "eschewed full 'plein air' painting," others were chaperoned by their husbands "when on holiday and many depicted their locality."⁷⁹

Carlyle painted the landscape of her own rural locality near her homes in Ontario and in Sussex, England. The titles of these works, as for example, *The Home Pasture at Dusk* and *My Hill Top* suggest their personal or, in the words of one contemporary critic, "subjective" qualities. The critic described other landscapes by the artist as "interpretations of nature-moods."⁸⁰

However, the vast majority of Carlyle's landscapes are associated with her travels. Carlyle traveled extensively throughout Europe, the Eastern Seaboard of the United States, and to the Canadian Rockies. Alone or with a female friend, the artist painted many landscapes, most of which remain untraced and known only through descriptions in contemporary exhibition catalogues or reviews.⁸¹

Carlyle's journeys, and in particular her trip to paint in remote areas in the mountains of British Columbia, speak

not only of a woman's pleasures in travelling, but highlight the independence of the artist herself. In the summer of 1912 Carlyle and her companion Judith Hastings journeyed across Canada to join the annual camp of the Alpine Club of Canada, held that year in Vermillion Pass, in the Rocky Mountains of British Columbia.⁸²

Carlyle had been invited to attend the Alpine Club's annual camp by the Vice-President of the Alpine Club of Canada, John Patterson, a Woodstock resident and family friend.⁸³ Judith Hastings, vacationing with the Carlyles in Woodstock, accompanied the artist. A photograph taken at the Vermillion Pass camp shows Carlyle and Hastings standing with an unidentified friend, likely John Patterson. (Fig. 4.22) Women climbers were cautioned that "no lady who wears skirts or bloomers will be allowed to take a place on a climbing rope, as such garments are a distinct source of danger to the party. The costume suggested...is the same as that worn by the men--knickerbockers, puttees or gaiters, sweater and knockabout hat."⁸⁴ Thus, in the photograph, the artist and her friend are attired in the prescribed costume and appear ready to set out on a trek. The Alpine Club accepted women as members and women participated fully in all activities.⁸⁵

Hastings, who had previous experience in mountain climbing, was the more active, since the artist's lack of training and "strength did not permit her to become an expert climber." The artist, however, was forty-eight years old at the time, but "proved herself a good sport, and...her

charming personality won...her enduring friends. At the close of camp she spent some time in British Columbia and her mountain pictures were the result of this period of work."⁸⁴ Although Carlyle's paintings from this trip have not been located, one source noted that during "many delightful weeks among the mountains, [Carlyle painted]...some remarkably virile pictures, which added considerably to her growing reputation."⁸⁷ Carlyle's landscapes, *The Pass at Eventide* (c1912) and *Lake Louise, Spring* (c1912), exhibited at the Jenkins' Memorial Exhibition in 1925, likely were painted while on this trip.⁸⁸

In her book *By A Lady* Maria Tippet's claim that Canadian women artists did not engage in painting alpine landscapes, is problematic for she notes only five lines previously that "Carlyle painted mountains during her visit to British Columbia in 1897 with the Canadian Alpine Club."⁸⁹ Tippet's reference to Carlyle having "painted mountains" could imply that the artist executed these works from a distance, perhaps from the lawn of her hotel. In reality the Canadian Alpine Club camp, which the artist attended in 1912, was located at Vermillion Pass in a remote mountain location accessed only by train, pack horse, or foot. A contemporary writer noted that,

Courage...[is] an attribute of the Alpine Club. Fortitude is another. Picture many women in one small tent, with few blankets...though abundance of spruce twigs are supplied beneath them—who must rise at 4 or 5 o'clock in the damp, cold atmosphere of an altitude of over 6,000 feet, with all the washing appliances outside the tent...boots and clothes...stiff and sodden from daily ascents and tramps lasting 10 or 12 hours. This

all spells discomfort and calls for endurance.⁹⁰

Tippett's further claim that "unlike their male counterparts few women climbed above the tree line in areas like...Banff to capture the mountain summits....[or] bushwack through the densely forested landscape...", is put into question by knowledge that throughout the summer of 1912 Carlyle painted Alpine landscapes while camping in and hiking through just such terrain.⁹¹

The mountaineering activities of the 1912 camp, in which Carlyle participated, included organized treks that ranged from "an afternoon tramp" to a "two day jaunt," with all climbers carrying their own supplies.⁹²

Carlyle's decision to paint alpine landscapes in this remote location is significant, especially in light of society's negative attitudes towards women painting in isolated locations. Carlyle was clearly an artist who, like her male colleagues, wished to enjoy latitude of movement, painting whatever, and wherever she chose, without gender or societal based restrictions.

Throughout her professional career Carlyle focused her art on the exploration and imaging of women's experiences. Her paintings depict diverse images of women and often contest hegemonic definitions of femininity. They address the formations and transitions of femininity, and foreground the strength of women and the importance of friendships between women. In addition, these paintings express women's

experience of the social rituals of courtship, and her depictions of older women present diverse images of femininity. In her paintings of women working within the domestic context she shows us authentic images of women's strength and endurance. Consideration of her landscape paintings reveals the importance of independence and personal choice to the artist's own sense of identity. Through her isolated mountain treks to record alpine landscape, and through her independent travel to paint cityscapes and marine views elsewhere, Carlyle was clearly engaging in the activities of the "New Woman"—redefining femininity as active, strong, and self-determined.

CONCLUSION

This thesis has sought to reclaim and document the work and life of the Canadian artist Florence Carlyle. The evidence presented in the text and appendices demonstrates that Carlyle established herself as an acclaimed professional artist who successfully negotiated a position in both national and international art scenes.

The literature review of contemporary writing in the 1920s and 1930s has indicated the strength of the critical acclaim and recognition she received as a professional artist during her lifetime. The thesis has also addressed the repositioning of Carlyle in Canadian art history texts and her exclusion from the more recent Canadian art historical canon. Gender bias undoubtedly played a central role in the recasting of Carlyle from the centre to the margin. One must consider that while Carlyle was excluded from the post World War II texts of Canadian art history, in contrast, many of Carlyle's male contemporaries, who were figure painters, were not marginalized. The low frequency of exhibitions of Carlyle's work in Canada after 1914 may have in some measure contributed to the omission of Carlyle along with many other prominent late nineteenth century women artists. But as this thesis argues, such omissions are the legacy of a patriarchal ideology and do not reflect accurately the strength of contemporary critical acclaim these women

received or the influence they exercised during their lifetimes.

The focus of this thesis has centred on Carlyle's negotiation of barriers to achieve a successful professional art practice. How these barriers impacted upon her career and how she established herself as a professional artist are central issues in this discussion. Her strategies in gaining a professional education and securing other points of entry have revealed her persistence in achieving the goal of professional art practice. Her early self identity as an artist was assisted by matriarchy as seen most notably in Princess Louise's purchase of one of her paintings in 1883, by Lady Dufferin's support in the 1890s, and her mother's early support. Ultimately, however, it was through her own resourcefulness, strength and talent that Carlyle was able to achieve professional success.

This thesis has sought to demonstrate that Florence Carlyle exemplified the "New Woman"—establishing a critically and financially successful art practice in Canada and the United States. The contrast between Carlyle as the young woman who was chaperoned on her journey to Paris in 1890, and the self assured professional returning from Europe in 1899 to open a studio in Greenwich Village, New York, where the freedom of a "Bohemian" life was available, reinforces the image of an independent woman. Her drive toward professional recognition resulted in a venture into

the world of commercial art in 1903, a move that substantially enhanced her professional opportunities in the United States.

That Carlyle consistently disregarded restrictive social conventions and patriarchal barriers and desired to self-direct her professional career as much as possible is demonstrated by her conscious decision to move to the United States, to work in the world of American commercial art, and in always maintaining a balance between her commercial art commissions and those paintings exhibited in high art venues such as with the RCA, OSA and AAM.

One important element presented in this thesis has been the significance of matronage and female friendships and the seriousness with which Carlyle pursued her role as mentor and guide to her women students throughout her career.

Analysis of Carlyle's subject-matter in the context of social constructions of femininity has revealed the particular strength and complexity of her images of women in both the private and public spheres. The examination of Carlyle's art clearly indicates that she was a close observer of women's private world and of the diverse social terrains of women. Her insight is revealed most notably in the range and diversity of her varied and positive images of women. Carlyle explored expanded versions of femininity ranging from subtle nuances of female sexuality to realistic depictions of working and older women--images which expand and contest

hegemonic definitions of femininity.

Although subject to gendered power relations and influenced by societal pressures restrictive to women's art practice, this thesis has argued that Carlyle's critical and financial success as a professional artist, can be directly linked to her negotiating and positioning herself as an independent and self-directed woman who served as a highly successful role model for women in her lifetime.

This thesis has discussed the life and career of one Canadian woman artist working at the turn-of-the-century. It has considered her strategies in overcoming patriarchal barriers and explored the diversity of her work. However, there is still much to be recovered and many other issues which could be considered with respect to Carlyle and her contemporary Canadian women artists. Areas of further research might include Carlyle's connections with American women artists and art societies in the United States. In addition to Carlyle's own work with the Osborne Company, further research into Canadian women's participation in the field of commercial art at the turn-of-the-century might provide insights into the importance of this area to women's art production. Further research might also focus on recovering the historical presence and documenting the success of Canadian women in a wide variety of professional careers in turn-of-the-century Canada.

Notes to Chapter Four

1. "Collected Pictures of Florence Carlyle", *Mail and Empire* Toronto, 28 May 1925, n.p.; and Hume, "Florence Carlyle, A.R.C.A.", 10.

2. The known instances of Carlyle depicting male subjects in her work include two pastel drawings of a male studio model, presumably executed in Paris during the early 1890's, and in a private collection, the male figure in *The Tiff* (c1902) for which one of the artist's brothers is said to have modeled. Several portraits of male members of her family are also known including her brothers, *Portrait of My Brother* (c1898); *Portrait, Mr. Edwin S. Carlyle* (c1902); and *Portrait of Russell Carlyle* (n.d.); and the male figure with his back to the viewer, believed to have been Carlyle's youngest brother, Russell, in *The Piano Lesson* (n.d.).

3. "Collected Picture of Florence Carlyle", n.p. Cherry, *Painting Women*, 131.

4. Cherry, *Painting Women*, 124.

5. Deborah Cherry, *Painting Women: Victorian Women Artists*, Exhibition Catalogue, (Rochdale: Rochdale Art Gallery, 1987), 12.

6. Ibid.

7. Key, "Reminiscences", 11.

8. Cherry, *Painting Women Catalogue*, 12.

9. Cherry, *Painting Women*, 137.

10. Chadwick, *Women, Art, and Society*, 218.

11. For example, Louis-Michel Van Loo's *Portrait of Denis Diderot* (1767). Carlyle's painting may also be compared to Mary Cassatt's painting of her mother *Reading 'Le Figaro'* (1886). See Griselda Pollock, *Mary Cassatt* (London: Jupiter Books, 1980), 7, and figs. 1 and 2.

12. Nancy Heller, *Women Artists* (New York and London: Abbeville, 1987), 102. Eakins' *Two Sisters* (1879) is reproduced in Heller, *Women Artists*, 104, plate 77.

13. Hume, "Florence Carlyle, A.R.C.A.", n.p. Information in this article is based on Hume's earlier interview with the artist.

14. *The Story* (c1912) was described by contemporary critics as "a study of a young woman reading under a lamp," and *An Interesting Chapter* (c1897), depicted a woman reading before a shuttered window, are works which demonstrate Carlyle's thorough exploration of this theme. "Ontario Society of Artists", *Globe and Mail* (Toronto), 5 April 1913, 10. Both of these paintings remain untraced. Carlyle's painting *Maude Writing A Letter* (c.1900) is in a private collection.

15. "Thirty-Eighth Annual Exhibition of the O.S.A.," *Saturday Night* (12 March 1910): 6.

16. The location of each of these works remains unknown.

Landscape Study with Figure (n.d.), a small wooden panel (5" x 3"), and *Summer* were exhibited at the Jenkins' Memorial exhibition in Toronto in 1925, see Jenkins' Art Galleries, *A Memorial Exhibition*, 1, 11. *Figures Under Trees* may have (c1923) been owned by the art critic Newton MacTavish, see, TS list of Carlyle's paintings and their owners in c1923, Artist Files, AGO; see also Hector Charlesworth, "Pictures of Florence Carlyle Memorial Exhibition of Work by a Famous Canadian Painter," *Saturday Night* 40 (6 June 1925): n.p.

17. *Reading to Mother* (c1898), location unknown. Hastings and Carlyle traveled in Europe after Carlyle's mother's death in 1913.

18. "O.S.A. Annual Exhibition," *Saturday Night* (21 March 1914): 5.

19. Kathleen Adler and Tamar Garb, *Berthe Morisot* (Oxford: Phaidon, 1987), 84, 85. Examples frequently occur in the work of such women artists as, for example, Marie Bracquemond, Berthe Morisot, and Mary Cassatt.

20. See, for example, Winterhalter's Queen Victoria with Prince Arthur (1850), in which the Queen is presented as an icon of motherhood. Susan P. Casteras, *Images of Victorian Womanhood in English Art* (Toronto and London: Associated University Presses, 1987), 23, and Fig. 4.

21. "Florence Carlyle, Artist," 1911, n.p..

22. "Ontario Artists Open Exhibition," *Toronto Mail and Empire* (Toronto), 5 March 1910, 15; and "Thirty-Eighth Annual Exhibition of the O.S.A.," *Saturday Night* (21 March 1914), 6.

23. "Thirty-Eighth Annual Exhibition of the O.S.A.," 1910, 6. See also, Pollock, "Modernity and the spaces of femininity," *Vision and Difference*, 50-90. The location of *Shadow and Sunlight* remains unknown.

24. Hector Charlesworth, "Good Pictures at the O.S.A. Exhibition," *Toronto Saturday Night* (24 March 1917): 2; and, M.L.F., "Carlyle Versatility Shown in Exhibition", Unidentified Toronto newspaper article (c. June 1925): n.p.. Carlyle's imaging of this theme is also suggested by the title of her painting *The Mother* (c1905) exhibited at the Pennsylvania Academy of Fine Arts in 1906. Falk, *American Exhibition Record*, 125. The location of painting remains unknown.

25. *The Daughter* was painted in England and first exhibited in the Royal Academy Summer Exhibition, in London, England in 1916. See Appendix 2, Exhibitions. Carlyle's companion Judith Hastings likely model for the figure of the mother.

26. Pollock, *Mary Cassatt*, 18, 19.

27. Casteras, *Images of Victorian Womanhood*, 83.

28. *Ibid.*, 86.

29. Cherry, *Painting Women*, 137.

30. Cherry, *Painting Women Catalogue*, 12.

31. "Badinage" is a noun meaning humorous ridicule and is derived from the French word *badiner*, to tease or jest, *The Concise Oxford Dictionary of Current English*, 6th ed., s.v.

"badinage".

32. "Social and Personal", *Saturday Night* 16 (14 March 1903): 3. The men of the National Club evidently did not purchase the painting, which was offered for sale at the price of one hundred dollars, since in 1922 the work was "lent by the artist" for exhibition with the OSA. The painting remains untraced. TS list of Carlyle's works exhibited with the OSA c1910-1947, Artist Files, AGO Archives.

33. *Amen* remains untraced. "Fine Show of Pictures", *Mail and Empire* (Toronto), 7 March 1903, 15.

34. Thomas Richards, "Those Lovely Seaside Girls," in *The Commodity Culture of Victorian England: Advertising and Spectacle 1851-1914* (Stanford, California: Stanford University Press, 1990), 228-231.

35. "The Ontario Society of Artists Held the Annual Opening," *Saturday Night* (8 March 1902): 2.

36. "Great Exhibition Now in Full Swing," *Mail and Empire* (Toronto), 1 September 1903, 22.

37. T. Square [pseud.], "Notes on the OSA Exhibition," *Saturday Night* (8 March 1902): 7.

38. "Great Exhibition Now in Full Swing," *Mail and Empire* (Toronto), 1 September 1903, 22.

39. "Ontario Society of Artists," *Globe and Mail* (Toronto), 5 April 1913, 10.

40. Emphasis mine. "Points About People, In an Art Gallery," *Saturday Night* (19 April 1913): 3.

41. Iona Opie and Moira Tatem, eds., *A Dictionary of Superstitions* (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 1989), 40-41.

42. These are *Une dame hollandaise* (c1893), cat. 340, and *La vieille victorine* (c1894), cat. 374. Allaire, "Les Canadiens aux Salons," 147.

43. "Miss Florence Carlyle," *The Gentlewoman*, n.p. This article was based on an interview with Carlyle while she was visiting London, England in August of 1895. The model for *Une dame hollandaise* was Carlyle's neighbor in Paris.

44. "Painters and the Public," *Mail and Empire* (Toronto), Christmas 1898, 14. Carlyle's friends, Mildred and Paul Peel, often worked in Brittany and with an international community of artists that congregated in Pont-Aven and Concarneau and were likely a source of information for the artist on summer artistic activities. For further information see, Victoria Baker, *Paul Peel: A Retrospective 1860-1892* (London, Ontario: London Regional Art Gallery, 1986), 39-49.

45. The Barbizon school stemmed from the work by Jean Francois Millet (1814-75, who worked more directly from nature, explored the effects of outdoor light, and depicted scenes of rustic peasant life with unvarnished realism and heroic grandeur. Rubenstein, *American Women Artists*, 109.

46. Johnston, "Florence Carlyle," 9. Millet was born in Normandy and later settled in the Forest of Fontainebleau, at

the village of Barbizon, see, F. Hartt, *Art: A History of Painting, Sculpture, Architecture* 4th ed. (Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice Hall, and, New York: Harry N. Abrams, 1993), 908. See also, I. Chilvers and H. Osborne, eds., "Jean-Francois Millet" in *The Oxford Dictionary of Art* (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 1988), 333.

47. Johnston, "Florence Carlyle," 9. There is contradictory evidence concerning the model for the painting *La vieille victorine*. One article published in Canada refers to the painting as *Mère Adele* and as, "depicting the model who posed for Millet's Angelus". "Art," *Saturday Night* 10 (6 March 1897): 9. Carlyle may also have painted her host, Mere Adele, since an article written in 1898 refers to the model by a different name but notes, "One of...[Carlyle's] studies is a head of Mere Marier, who was the model that posed for Millet in his world-famed "Angelus". In the same article another painting of a similar subject is referred to, "During two years she exhibited at the Salon de Champs Elysees, where her work was well spoken of, especially her "Old Peasant Woman", a study done at Barbizan [sic]." "Painters and the Public", 1898, 14. The WPAG's Centennial exhibition catalogue reproduces the painting known as *Victorine* on the front cover and describes it as, "A Brittany peasant woman, painted in France. The same model, Merc [sic] Marier, in her youth, posed for Millet's "Angelus". The most reliable source is taken from Carlyle's memoirs and follows in the main text. Likely this story was confused when the painting was exhibited in Canada and instead of Carlyle's model being described as Victorine, the friend of Millet's model, the accounts simplified the story and listed her as the more famous model of Millet.

48. Johnston, "Florence Carlyle," 9. Johnston is quoting from a manuscript by Carlyle in a private collection. "Gamp" is defined by the O.E.D., (6th ed.) as a colloquial word meaning an umbrella, especially referring to a large, untidy umbrella.

49. See note 39, Chapter One, for the review of the Salon painting. Written by Paul Fabre, the review appeared in the *Organe des Interets Canadiens et Francais*, Paris in 1894. See also Morgan, *Canadian Men and Women* (1898), 156-157. Carlyle exhibited one other painting, entitled *Portrait*, at the 1894 Salon (cat. 373). Allaire, "Les Canadiens aux Salon," 147. This painting remains untraced.

50. Emphasis mine. "Art," *Canadian Home Journal* (March 1897): n.p., clipping scrapbook, WAACA, Toronto. This painting may be the renamed *Victorine*; however its description also matches Carlyle's *Une dame hollandaise* (c1893) as well as a work entitled *Old Woman in a Doorway* (n.d.). (Figs. 2.4, 3.3 and 4.17)

51. *Organe des Interets Canadiens et Francais*, n.p.. See Introductory Chapter, note 41, for full quotation. Leon Bonnat (1833-1922) was a French painter and collector who worked

mostly in portraiture after c1870. Chilvers, *Oxford Dictionary of Art*, 63.

52. Cherry, *Painting Women Catalogue*, 13.

53. See for example, Linda Nochlin, "Morisot's *Wet Nurse*: The Construction of Work and Leisure in Impressionist Painting," in *Women, Art, and Power and Other Essays* (London and New York: Thames and Hudson, 1989), 37-56. See also, Kathleen Adler and Tamar Garb, *Berthe Morisot* (Oxford: Phaidon, 1987).

54. Cherry, *Painting Women Catalogue*, 13.

55. "Impressions—Woman's Art Exhibit," *Saturday Night* 10 (6 March 1897): 1.

56. Lynn Doyle, "Art," *Saturday Night* 10 (6 March 1897): 9. See also, "Art," *Canadian Home Journal* (March 1897): n.p., Clipping Scrapbook, WAACA.

57. The bicycle helped to promote the New Woman, enabling women to enjoy physical freedom and health. Casteras, *Images of Victorian Womanhood*, 145, 151. In addition, Emma Windeat's *A Shady Corner* (cat. no. 100) was lampooned by a scene of a thief waiting in the shadows while a man approaches, and *Still-Life* (cat. no. 50) by Eliza Hardings is replaced by a sketch of a man tied to a tree. In the same cartoon, Ethel Heaven's *Reflection* (cat. no. 55) was replaced by the silhouetted shapes of a couple kissing. See figure 4.19.

58. Several titles of paintings exhibited by Carlyle at the RCA exhibition in 1897 and 1898, contemporary with the WAAC exhibition, including *Sketch*, *Darning Stockings* (c1897) and *Peeling Potatoes* (c1898) suggest her commitment to imaging women's work in the domestic context. These paintings are untraced.

59. James Mavor, *Notes on Appreciation of Art and on Art in Ontario with Remarks on the Exhibition of the Ontario Society of Artists* (Toronto, 1898), 18.

60. Bram Dijkstra, *Idols of Perversity: Fantasies of Feminine Evil in Fin-de-Siecle Culture* (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1986), 175, and Fig. VI.3. Carlyle's painting *Washerwoman* (n.d.) is in the collection of the WPAG, Woodstock, Ontario.

61. Ibid.

62. Hector Charlesworth, "Pictures by Florence Carlyle", *Saturday Night* (6 June 1925), n.p. First exhibited in London, England in 1918. See Appendix 2.

63. For further information see, Maria Tippet, *Art at the Service of War: Canada, Art and the Great War* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1984). See also the work of Mabel May, Frances Loring, Florence Wyle, and Caroline Armington, who, like Carlyle, were commissioned by the CWM Fund. Tippet, *By A Lady*, 55-56.

64. Mary MacLeod Moore, "Canadian Women War Workers Overseas", *The Canadian Magazine* 52 (January 1919): 739.

65. Her son, Captain Guy Drummond, was killed in action in

April 1915. See also, "Canadian War Memorials," *Saturday Night* 32 (26 October 1918): 17.

66. Florence Carlyle, letter to Russell Carlyle, c. 3 April, 1918. Woodstock Public Art Gallery artist files.

67. Insignia composition and meaning confirmed by the Canadian War Museum, Ottawa, 2 May 1994. See also description in, "Canadian War Memorials," 1918, 17.

68. Cherry, *Painting Women*, 118.

69. "Painters and the Public," 1898, 14.

70. While many of Carlyle's works remain untraced, some indication of subject matter is given in contemporary reviews. See Appendix 2, Exhibitions.

71. Johnston, "Florence Carlyle," 6.

72. Cherry, *Painting Women*, 165.

73. "Canadian Artist Dead," *Montreal Gazette* (5 June 1923): n.p., Artist Files, Montreal Museum of Fine Art.

74. See Appendix 1, and Figures and .

75. Hammond, *Painting and Sculpture in Canada*, 26.

76. See Appendix 2.

77. Pollock, "Modernity and the spaces of femininity," 69.

78. Cherry, *Painting Women*, 171.

79. Ibid.

80. The critic was speaking of *An Autumn Day* (n.d.), and *A Woodland Vista* (n.d.), which were exhibited in 1925 at the Jenkins Memorial Exhibition. M.L.F., "Carlyle Versatility Shown in Exhibition," n.p., unidentified newspaper article (June 1925), Artist Files, WPAG.

81. Many of her landscapes remain untraced, as for example, *Old Canal* (c1897), exhibited with the WAAC, *Via Roberto Browning* (c1913), and *A Bynway, Venice* (c1913), exhibited with the RCA, and her painting of "houses and facades" entitled *Quay Town, Minehead* (c1913), exhibited in London, England with the British Colonial Society of Artists. M.L.F., "Carlyle Versatility Shown in Exhibition", n.p., unidentified newspaper article (June 1925), Artist Files, WPAG. Many more of Carlyle's landscapes were not exhibited during the artist's lifetime and only surfaced in 1925 at the memorial exhibition of her work in Toronto at the Jenkins' Art Gallery, such as, *A Twilight Study in Venice* (n.d.), *Sundown on the Shore at Naples* (n.d.), and *Landscape Study in Italy* (n.d.), and their small dimensions which average five by three inches, suggests that they were painted out of doors while the artist was traveling in Italy. See also, The Jenkins' Art Galleries, *A Memorial Exhibition*.

82. Hume, "Florence Carlyle, A.R.C.A.," 10. Some sources cite 1897 as the date of Carlyle's trip to the ACC camp at Vermillion Pass, however, this date appears too early as Carlyle did not meet Juliet Hasting until 1911. Her attendance at the 1912 camp does not, however, rule out the possibility of Carlyle having made some earlier trip to paint mountains in British Columbia, especially since her elder brother, William

A. Carlyle, a mining engineer, held the position of Provincial Mineralogist and Director of the Department of Mines, B.C. between 1895 and 1898, and worked as a geologist for the British American Corporation in Rossland, B.C. between 1898 and 1899, Morgan, *Canadian Men and Women*, (1912 ed.), 200. See also, "Paintings Typify Artist," *Toronto Telegram* (Toronto), 16 May 1925, n.p.; and The Jenkins' Art Galleries, *A Memorial Exhibition*, 15, each of which claim that Carlyle painted with the ACC in British Columbia during "the Summer of 1897" .

83. Alpine Club of Canada letterhead on letter from ACC to Sir Wilfrid Laurier, 1 December 1909. Laurier Papers, #C-883, Public Archives of Canada. See also, "Memory of Florence Carlyle Honored," (1936), n.p..

84. "The Alpine Club of Canada," *Saturday Night* 20 (1 June 1907): 7.

85. For further information on the ACC see, Carole Harmon and Peter Whyte Foundation, eds., *Great Days in the Rockies* (Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1978); and, Carole Harmon, ed., *Byron Harmon, Mountain Photographer* (Banff, Alberta: Altitude Publishing, 1992).

86. Hume, "Florence Carlyle, A.R.C.A.," 10.

87. The Jenkins' Art Galleries, *A Memorial Exhibition*, 15.

88. Ibid., 5. Both paintings were small in size, seven and a half by nine and a half inches, and *Lake Louise, Spring* was painted on a "reversible panel".

89. Tippet, *By A Lady*, 34.

90. Lochiel, "Aftermath of the Alpine Club," *Saturday Night* 25 (4 May 1912): 31.

91. Tippet, *By A Lady*, 34.

92. Papers of F.W. Freeborn, list of Alpine Club of Canada photographs, # AC55-18. Collection of the Whyte Museum of the Canadian Rockies, Banff, Alberta. The archives of the 1912 camp record climbs and excursions to many lakes, ridges and peaks in the vicinity of Vermillion Pass during the annual camp. These included an excursion to Lake Louise, the subject specifically identified in Carlyle's painting *Lake Louise, Spring* (c1912), on the 17th of June 1912. See also, "Winthrop Edmund Stond Collection of Canadian Mountain Photographs, 1912-1921," list of photographs, Alpine Club # AC55-23, 1, Collection of the Whyte Museum, Banff.

APPENDIX 1 : CHRONOLOGY

- 1864 Born Florence Emily Carlyle, Galt, Ontario, September 24, daughter of William Carlyle and Emily Youmans. Second child, older brother born in 1862, three younger brothers and two younger sisters. Artist's mother, Emily Youmans (1834-1913) was originally from Picton, Ontario where her family were prosperous United Empire Loyalists. Artist's father, William Carlyle (1834-1911), born in Cockermouth, in England's Lake District. Immigrated with family in c.1838 to Upper Canada, settling near the village of Mount Pleasant, just south of Brantford, Ontario.
- 1870s Family moves to Woodstock, Ontario. William Carlyle, artist's father, appointed Inspector of Schools for Oxford County. 1871-1878, aged 7 to 14, educated in Woodstock's "public and grammar schools". Drawing ability seen as exceptional. First drawing lessons in children's art class organized by her mother at 332 Simcoe Street, Woodstock; instructor, William Lees Judson (1842-1928) from London, Ont.
- 1874 Address Norwich Street, Woodstock.
- 1878 Attends Canadian Literary Institute, Woodstock, remains a student here until 1886, age 14 to 22. Studies art under Professor Farmer. Address Dundas Street, Woodstock.
- 1880s Family moves to "Englewood", 146 Wilson Street, Woodstock, in 1881. Summers: Taught at summer art school at Grimsby Park, near St. Catharines, Ontario for five summers. Taught "young ladies" art classes at 368 Simcoe St., Woodstock.
- 1883 September. Exhibits several paintings in Ladies Department, Toronto Industrial Exhibition (later CNE). *Waterlilies* bought by Princess Louise, fourth daughter of Queen Victoria, and wife of the Governor-General.
- c1884 Contacts with the London, Ontario art community, meets Paul Peel, encouraged by Peel to study art in Paris.

- 1890 October 30: Leaves for Paris accompanied by painter Paul Peel and his sister Mildred Peel, a sculptor. Sails from New York, travels from Antwerp to Paris by train. Studies art in Paris under French artist Adolphe-William Bouguereau.
- 1891 Summer: Tours Barbizon forest area in French countryside sketching and painting en plein air, in the open air.
- 1891-2 Studies under Delecleuse for two years in Latin Quarter, Paris.
 April 1892: Exhibits *A Bretagne Peasant* and *An Interior at Bretagne* with the Art Association of Montreal.
- 1893-4 Attends the Academie Julian, studies under Jules Lefebvre and Tony Robert-Fleury.
 Spring 1893: Exhibits *Une dame hollandaise* (c.1893) in Salon of the Société des Artistes Français, Paris. Receives favorable critical reviews from French press. Address given as 18 Rue de Milan, Paris.
 April 1893: Trip to London, England.
 Summer: Painting in rural France; *La vieille victorine* painted while in Brittany.
- 1894 Exhibits two paintings, including *La vieille victorine* and *Portrait* in Spring Salon of the Société des Artistes Français, Paris. *La vieille victorine* hung in valued "on the line" position, at eye level.
- 1895 Studies under J.J. Benjamin-Constant in Paris. July. Trip to London, England, visits her great uncle, Thomas Carlyle's house in Chelsea; paints a portrait of the writer from a photograph and donates it to the museum. Trip to Italy.
 Winter. In Paris, enters the studio of L'Hermite "the celebrated group painter", also studies under Rolshoven.
- 1896 Leaves Paris and lives briefly in London, England. Address given as Carlyle Studios, King's Road, Chelsea. Exhibits *Out-Patients* at Royal Academy. Returns to Woodstock, Ontario.
- 1897 Establishes studios at Carlyle family home, Englewood, in Woodstock, Ontario, and teaches art classes (c1896-c1903) at the Masonic Temple, Richmond Street, in London, Ontario.
 Lives intermittently in Woodstock.
 Elected an associate member of the Royal Canadian Academy.
 March. Exhibits "*Mere Adele*", *Harvest Moon*, *Old Canal*, *Spinning Woman*, *The Approach of Dusk*, and *A Study* and in

- the Woman's Art Association of Canada Exhibition, Toronto
 Exhibits *Portrait of Dutch Lady*, *Sketch*, *Darning Stockings*, and *Portrait* at RCA exhibition, Ottawa.
 March 18. Present at the opening Woman's Art Club of London opening. Exhibits *Spinning Woman*, and *Street With a Canal*.
 May. Exhibits *An Interesting Chapter*, and *"Reminiscences"* at the OSA exhibition, Toronto.
 Teaches at Havergal College, Toronto.
- 1898 Exhibits with RCA, OSA, AAM, and Women's Art Club (London, Ontario), receives critical praise for portraits;
 Teaching in London, Ontario (until c.1903).
- 1899 Establishes studio in Greenwich Village, New York City.
 Summer. Spends summer traveling and painting at Cape Cod.
- 1900 Living in Woodstock, Ontario intermittently.
 March. Elected a member of the OSA.
- 1901 Awarded Honorable mention at the Pan-American Exposition in Buffalo, New York for *Golden Rod*.
- 1902 February 28. Exhibits six paintings in OSA Exhibition, including *The Tiff*.
 March. Awarded the OSA "prize of the year" for *The Tiff*.
The Tiff purchased by the Ontario Provincial Government for \$1000.
 November. Exhibits *My Lady Anne* with Rochester Art Club, Rochester, New York.
- 1903 March: Exhibits five paintings at the OSA exhibition in Toronto, including *Badinage*.
 September: Exhibits *Summer Morning* at CNE.
 Awarded first prize in the Osborne Calendar Company of New York, Annual Competition, in "figure subjects" category for her painting *When Mother Was A Girl*.
 Receives a contract from the Osborne Company to paint 12 pictures a year.
- 1904 March: Exhibits with the Society of American Artists in New York City.
 April: Awarded silver medal for *The Tiff* at the St. Louis World's Fair, Louisiana Purchase Exposition, St. Louis, Missouri.
- 1905 In New York. Listed as "painter" in American Art Annual, address given as 7 West 42nd St. New York, N.Y.; lives at this address until 1908.

January. Exhibits three paintings at the Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts Exhibition in Philadelphia. Paints *A Jewess*, a portrait of a friend, Miss Moses, with whom she shared her New York studio.

- 1906 Three works submitted to the Carnegie Institute of Fine Art are rejected including *A Jewess*. Exhibits *A Jewess*, and two other paintings at the 101st Pennsylvania Academy of Fine Arts Exhibition, Philadelphia. Address given as "New York, New York" in OSA Exhibition catalogue of this year.
- 1908 April. Exhibits *A Lily of Florence* in the *Exhibition of Paintings by Women Artists* at the Knoedler's Galleries, 5th Ave. and 34th St., in New York City. Summer. In Woodstock; meets her cousin Helene Youmans. Helene models for several paintings this summer including *Pippa Passes*. Commissioned by Osborne Company of New York to execute six paintings for their art calendars. November. Returns to New York city to fulfill contract, Helene accompanies her as model. Brother William visits from Spain, they dine at Waldorf Astoria.
- 1909 April. Visits Woodstock. Address in New York City given as 32 West 24th Street. Exhibits in several private galleries in New York City.
- 1910 July: Participates in *Exhibition of Canadian Art* at Walker Art Gallery, Liverpool, England; *Grey and Gold*, *The Tiff* and one other painting exhibited. Teaching at Montreal's Art Association School c.1910-1911 (winter term).
- 1911 March: *Portrait of My Father* and *A Lily of Florence* exhibited with the OSA. Spring. Travels to Wimbledon, England with her mother to visit her brother William; meets Judith Hastings, a neighbour. June. While abroad father dies suddenly; they return to Woodstock.
- 1912 January. Judith Hastings arrives at Englewood, Woodstock for lengthy visit. July. Travels to Vermillion Pass in the mountains of British Columbia with Judith Hastings to paint with Alpine Club. September: Exhibits at CNE, Toronto; address given as "Woodstock, Ontario". December. Mother dies.

- 1913 Early in year. The Carlyle family home, Englewood, is sold. Moves to England. Rents "Yew Tree Cottage", Crowborough, Sussex, with Judith Hastings; they also maintain studio flat in London.
April: *The Threshold* bought by Ontario Government at OSA Exhibition.
Trip to Venice with Judith results in several paintings including *Two Women on a Balcony, Venice*.
September: Exhibits 2 paintings at CNE, Toronto; address given as "Grange Cottage", The Grange, Wimbledon, London, England", Judith Hastings' family home.
- 1914 Exhibits *Miss Hastings*, and *Kathleen Carlyle*, a portrait of her niece, at The Royal Academy of Arts, London, England.
Germany declares war on France, August 3.
Engaged in war work.
December. *Spring Song* tours Canada in the Patriotic Fund Exhibition.
- 1915 Exhibits *Portrait of A Friend* at The Royal Academy of Arts, London, England.
August. Working as volunteer at Roehampton House, south-east England, a convalescent hospital for servicemen.
October-winter. Cousin Helene visits Florence in England and models for several works.
Works for war effort, along with Judith and Helene, in "War Depot" near Crowborough, Sussex, rolling bandages and packing hospital supplies to be sent to France.
Working as volunteer in munitions workers canteen, at Abbeywood, near Woolwich, for three months; shares living quarters near munitions factory.
Leaves canteen work and returns to Yew Tree Cottage, Sussex. Returns to painting.
- 1916 Exhibits three works at The Royal Academy of Arts, London, England.
November: Two paintings exhibited at the RCA exhibition in Montreal.
- 1917 Exhibits at OSA and CNE exhibitions.
- 1918 January: Commissioned by Canadian War Memorials Fund to paint portrait of Lady Julia Drummond, Assistant Commissioner of the Canadian Red Cross.
February/March: Stays in Lady Drummond's home, near Westminster Abbey, London, England for one month painting portrait.
November 11. Armistice ends war.
December: Participates in *Peace and War Exhibition*, London, England; exhibits 8 paintings.

- 1919 March: Companion Judith Hastings buys new apartment in South Kensington, London; becomes their winter residence.
 October: "Yew Tree Cottage" purchased by Judith, nearby buttery turned into Carlyle's studio.
 January: *Lady Drummond* shown in *Canadian War Memorials Exhibition*, Burlington House, London, England.
- 1920 Exhibits one work at The Royal Academy of Arts, London, England.
 July: Visited by Miss McCord a friend from "New York" days.
 Writing short storys and working on a book manuscript.
- 1921 Spring: Exhibits one work at The Royal Academy of Arts, London, England, *Still Life*.
 Invited to exhibit at Hull Art Gallery, Hull, England, exhibits 5 paintings.
 Trip to Italy and France. Meets old teacher, Delecleuse in Paris.
 Judith's parents ill, artist divides time between Crowborough Cottage, Kensington apartment, and Hastings' residence in Wimbledon.
- 1922 November/December, visits sister Maude in Toronto, returns to England due to poor health. Periodically ill.
 Writes last short story "Mary's Child".
- 1923 February: Undergoes surgery in London, England.
 March: Returns to Yew Tree cottage, Crowborough. Sister Maude travels to England and stays at cottage.
 May 2: Dies, age fifty-eight, at Yew Tree cottage; is buried in Crowborough, Sussex.
- 1924 November: Short story "Mary's Child" published posthumously in *Time and Tide* (London, England).

APPENDIX 2

*

SELECTED EXHIBITIONS, AWARDS, AND HONORS

- 1883 Toronto. Toronto Industrial Exhibition (later renamed the CNE). September 11-22, 1883. *Waterlilies*. Bought by H.R.H. the Princess Louise, daughter of Queen Victoria, wife of the Marquis of Lorne the Governor General of Canada.
- 1892 Montreal. Art Association of Montreal. 18 April-14 May. A *Bretagne Peasant*, (No. 22) (\$200); *An Interior at Bretagne*, (No. 23) (\$75).
- 1893 Chicago. World's Columbian Exposition.
- 1893 Paris. Salon of the Société des Artistes Français. *Une dame hollandaise*, (No. 340).
- 1894 Paris. Salon of the Société des Artistes Français. *Portrait*, (No. 373); *La vieille victorine*, (No. 374).
- 1895 Montreal. Art Association of Montreal. 6-30 March. *La vieille victorine*, (No. 24) (\$200).
- 1895 Toronto. Royal Canadian Academy of Arts. 16th Annual Exhibition. Opened, 18 April. *La vieille victorine*, (No. 24a).
- 1896 London, England. The Royal Academy of Arts. *Out-Patients*. (No. 745).
- 1897 Toronto. The Woman's Art Association of Canada. 9th Annual Exhibition. 1-17 March. Robert's Art Galleries. *Old Canal*, (No. 6) (\$25); *Harvest Moon*, (No. 7) (\$30); *Spinning Woman*, (No. 8) (\$50); *"Mere Adele"*, (No. 9) (\$75); *The Approach Of Dusk*, (No. 10) (\$50); *A Study*, (No. 11) (\$25). The exhibition subsequently toured Hamilton, St. Thomas, Brockville, Montreal, and St. John, N.B.
- 1897 Ottawa. Royal Canadian Academy of Arts. 18th Annual Exhibition. Opened, 9 March. National Gallery. *Portrait Of Dutch Lady*, (No. 34); *Sketch, Darning Stockings*, (No. 35); *Portrait*, (No. 36).
- 1897 London, Ontario. Women's Art Club of London, 5th Annual Spring Exhibition and Art Loan. 18-27 March. Public

Library. *Spinning [Woman]; Street With A Canal.*

- 1897 Hamilton, Ontario. Woman's Art Association of Canada, Hamilton Branch, 2nd Annual Exhibition. 22 March-c.1 April. *Here Adele*, and "[painting of a] young woman in voluminous white draperies", perhaps *The White Flower* (c.1893).
- 1897 St. Thomas, Ontario. Woman's Art Association of Canada, St. Thomas Branch, Annual Exhibition. c.17-27 April. *Here Adele*, and [a painting of] "a lady in white", perhaps *The White Flower* (c.1893).
- 1897 St. John, New Brunswick. Woman's Art Association of Canada, St. John Branch. 1st Annual Exhibition. 11-15 May. *Here Adele*, (No. 54) (\$75); *Harvest Moon*, (No. 66) (\$50); *A Study*, (No. 71) (\$25).
- 1897 Toronto. Ontario Society of Artists. 25th Annual Exhibition. Opened, 13 May. *An Interesting Chapter*, (No. 18) (\$100); *"Reminiscences"*, (No. 19) (\$75).
- 1898 Toronto. Royal Canadian Academy of Arts. 19th Annual Exhibition. Opened, 3 March. OSA Gallery. *Portrait of My Brother*, (No. 27); *Portrait of My Mother*, (No. 28); *Day of Works*, (No. 29); *Reading to Mother*, (No. 30); *Peeling Potatoes*, (No. 31); *Road Through The Fields*, (No. 32); *Portrait of a Dutch Lady*, (No. 33).
- 1898 Montreal. Art Association of Montreal. 18th Annual Spring Exhibition. Opened, 4 April. *Road Through The Fields*, (No. 13).
- 1898 Toronto. Ontario Society of Artists. 26th Annual Exhibition. Opened, April ? *Harvest Moon*, (No. 8) (\$50); *Monday Morning*, (No. 9) (\$30).
- 1898 London, Ontario. Women's Art Club of London, 6th Annual Spring Exhibition. Opened, 29 May. Public Library. *Dreams*; *A Dutch Lady*.
- 1899 Toronto. Woman's Art Association of Canada Loan Portrait Exhibition. 3-15 April. Temple Building. *Mrs. Carlyle*, (No. 212).
- 1900 Ottawa. Royal Canadian Academy of Arts. 21st Annual Exhibition. Opened, 15 February. National Gallery. *Portrait*, (No. 20); *"He Beseech Thee to Hear us, O Lord"*, (No. 21) (\$100); *The Garden*, (No. 22) (\$30); *June*, (No. 23) (\$50).

- 1900 Toronto. Woman's Art Association of Canada. 12th Annual Exhibition. 22 February-8 March. Gallery of the Association,, Confederation Life Building. *With the Boys in the Transvaal*, (No. 6) (\$40); *Apples*, (No. 7) (\$10); *Blackberries*, (No. 8) (\$15); *Pleasant Hour*, (No. 9) (Not for sale).
- 1900 Toronto. Ontario Society of Artists. 28th Annual Exhibition. 3-20 March. *Portrait, Blanche*, (No. 17); *The Rose-Birthday*, (No. 18); *Hollyhock Time*, (No. 19); *Study of a Head*, (No. 20).
- 1900 Toronto. Toronto Industrial Exhibition. 27 August-8 September. *Milking Time*, (No. 36), (\$25); *Study*, (No. 37), (\$20); *The Willows*, (No. 38), (\$25); *Harvest Moon*, (No. 39), (\$50); *Study*, (No. 40), (\$15).
- 1901 Montreal. Art Association of Montreal. 8-23 March. *A Summer Day*, (No. 21) (\$30); *Coming Tide, Portuguese Girl At Cape Cod*, (No. 22) (\$30).
- 1901 Carlyle listed as member of OSA but did not exhibit in annual spring exhibition.
- 1901 Toronto. Royal Canadian Academy of Arts. 22nd Annual Exhibition. Opened, 12 April. OSA Gallery. *Panel Picture of Self*, (No. 27); *Coal Schooner Waiting for the Tide*, (No. 28); *The Willows*, (No. 29); *Grace Before Bread*, (No. 30); *Golden Rod*, (No. 31); *Harvest Moon, Barbizon*, (No. 32); *Dusk*, (No. 33); *Roses*, (No. 34).
- 1901 Buffalo, New York. Pan-American Exposition. 1 May-1 November. Canadian Section, Painting (Group 1). Honorable mention: *Golden Rod*.
- 1901 Toronto. Toronto Industrial Exhibition. 26 August-7 September. *Sunset, Cape Cod*, (No. 290), (\$25); *Leamon Pie*, (No. 291), (\$25); *Gladys*, (No. 292), (\$10); *Sketch, Cape Cod*, (No. 293), (\$15).
- 1902 Toronto. Ontario Society of Artists. 30th Annual Exhibition. Opened, 28 February. *The Tiff*, (No. 14) (\$1,000); *Betty's Treasure*, (No. 15) (\$75); *Rosemary*, (No. 16) (\$75); *Roses*, (No. 17) (\$35); *My Lady Anne*, (No. 18) (not for sale); *Sunset Time*, (No. 19) (\$45).
- 1902 Toronto. March. Ontario Society of Artists awards annual prize (\$200.00) to Carlyle for *The Tiff*.
- 1902 Montreal. Royal Canadian Academy of Arts. 23rd Annual Exhibition. Opened, 20 March. Art Association of

Montreal Gallery. *Portrait, Mr. Edwin S. Carlyle*, (No. 28); *Portrait, Mrs. Ernest Smith*, (No. 29); *June*, (No. 30); *The Threshold*, (No. 31); *Bye-and-Bye*, (No. 32); *Thoughts*, (No. 33).

1902 Toronto. Toronto Industrial Exhibition. 1-13 September. *Music*, (No. 23), (\$25); *Peasant Woman*, (No. 24), (\$400); *The Gold Chain*, (No. 25), (\$65); *Here Adele* (No. 26), (\$200); *Old Canal*, (No. 27), (\$75); *Willows*, (No. 28), (\$50); *Mother*, (No. 29), (Not for sale); *The Book*, (No. 30), (\$30); *The Violinist*, (No. 31), (\$200); *Old Street*, (No. 32), (\$65); *Monday Morning*, (No. 33), (\$35); *Head*, (No. 34), (\$65); *Forty Winks*, (No. 35), (\$30); *A Pleasant Hour*, (No. 36), (\$100).

1902 Rochester, New York. Rochester Art Club. 20th Annual Exhibition. 17-29 November. *My Lady Anne*, (No. 23) (\$90). "At the 20th exh. in 1902 a feature was the display of paintings by the members of the Royal Academy of Fine Arts, Canada."

1903 Toronto. Ontario Society of Artists. 7-28 March. *"Amen"*, (No. 22) (\$700); *"Badinage"*, (No. 23) (\$100); *Portrait of Miss Mary Paddicomb*, (No. 24) (\$200); *Twilight*, (No. 25) (\$100); *Grandmother's Gown*, (No. 26) (\$75).

1903 Montreal. Art Association of Montreal. 12 March - 4 April. *The Story Book*, (No. 21) (\$85); *The Ship Builder*, (No. 22) (\$75); *Grey Day*, (No. 23) (\$75); *Poppy Sprite*, (No. 24) (\$50); *The Garden*, (No. 25) (\$50).

1903 Ottawa. Royal Canadian Academy of Arts. 24th Annual Exhibition. Opened, 16 April. National Gallery. *Before Her First Communion*, (No. 30); *The Studio*, (No. 31); *Iris*, (No. 32); *The Little Housewife*, (No. 33). Each painting was sold for \$25.

1903 Toronto. Dominion Canada Industrial Exhibition (formerly the TIE), Department of Fine Arts Exhibition. 27 August -12 September. *The Tiff*, (No. 22), Loaned by the Ontario Government; *The Hush of Twilight*, (No. 23), (\$50); *The Picture Book*, (No. 24), (\$50); *Little Ship-builder*, (No. 25), (\$40); *A Lady of Canada*, (No. 26), (\$15); *Golden Rod*, (No. 27), (\$50); *Iris*, (No. 28), (\$25), *Forty Winks*, (No. 29); *Summer Morning*, (No. 30).

1904 Toronto. February. Carlyle listed as member of OSA but did not exhibit at the OSA spring exhibition.

1904 Montreal. Royal Canadian Academy of Arts. 25th Annual Exhibition. Opened, 17 March. Art Association of

Montreal Gallery. *Reminiscences*, (No. 31); *The Tiff*, (No. 32).

- 1904 New York City. Society of American Artists 26th Annual Exhibition, Galleries of the American Fine Arts Society, 215 West Fifty-seventh Street, (26 March-1 May, 1904).
- 1904 St. Louis, Missouri. St. Louis World's Fair, Louisiana Purchase Exposition. Carlyle awarded a silver medal for *The Tiff* (1902).
- 1904 New York City. Carlyle awarded First Prize, Figure Painting category, in the Osborne Company's Second Annual Osborne Calendar Competition for her painting *When Mother Was A Girl*. \$500 (100) Awarded.
- 1905 Philadelphia, Pennsylvania. Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts. 100th Anniversary Exhibition. 23 January-4 March. *Tired Hands*, (No. 354); *Sketch of the Artist*, (No. 384); *Christine*, (No. 447).
- 1905 Carlyle listed as member of OSA but did not exhibit in annual spring exhibition.
- 1906 Halifax, Nova Scotia. Dominion Industrial Exhibition. *The Tiff*, (No. 27); *Like Unto A Flower*, (No. 27a) (\$300).
- 1906 Philadelphia, Pennsylvania. Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts. 101st Annual Exhibition. 20 January-3 March. *A Jest Between Times*, (No. 62); *The Mother*, (No. 623); *A Jewess*, (No. 703).
- 1906 Carlyle listed as member of OSA but did not exhibit in annual spring exhibition.
- 1906 Toronto. Canadian National Exhibition. 27 August-10 September. *Like Unto a Flower*, (No. 70), (\$300); *Summertime*. "Design for a window", (No. 71), (\$200).
- 1907 Sherbrooke, Quebec. Dominion Industrial Exhibition.
- 1907 Toronto. Canadian National Exhibition, Department of Fine Arts. 26 August-9 September. *Rose Birthday*, (No. 58) Loaned by Provincial Government, Normal School; *Grandmother's Gown*, (No. 138a); *Badinage*, (No. 138b).
- 1908 New York City. *Exhibition of Paintings by Women Artists*, Knoedler's Galleries. 5th Ave. and 34th Street, New York. 20 April-2 May. *A Lily of Florence* (No. 59).

- 1909 New York. Fifth Avenue Art Galleries (F.A.A.G.), Auction Sale of Paintings, (F.A.A.G.), 546 Fifth Avenue, New York. (6 May) *Miss Betty*. (\$100.00)
- 1909 New York. Sutcliffe Gallery, Auction Sale. *Il y a toujours de la place pour un de plus*. (\$97.00)
- 1910 Toronto. Ontario Society of Artists, 38th Annual Exhibition. Opened 5 March at the Art Galleries of the Public Library Building. *Mother And Child* (No. 148); *Shadow And Sunlight* (No. 149); *Pippa Passes* (No. 150); *A Book Of Verse Beneath The Bough* (No. 151); *Thou Art My Single Day*.
- 1910 Montreal. Art Association of Montreal, 26th. Spring Exhibition. 4-23 April. *Grey and Gold* (No. 51) \$400; *The Moth* (No. 52) \$250; *The Patio* (No. 53) \$300; *The Joy of Living* (No. 54) \$250.
- 1910 Liverpool, England. *Exhibition of Canadian Art*. Walker Art Gallery. 4-23 July. Organized by the Royal Canadian Academy. *Grey and Gold*, (No. 20); *The Joy Of Living*, (No. 21); *The Tiff*, (No. 22). This exhibition was held in lieu of the *Festival of Empire*, Crystal Palace, London, which had been cancelled due to the death of King Edward VII in 1910.
- 1910 Montreal. Royal Canadian Academy of Arts. 32 Annual Exhibition. Opened, 24 November. Art Association of Montreal Gallery. *Mother and Child*, (No. 33).
- 1911 Montreal. Art Association of Montreal. 9 March-1 April. 27th Annual Exhibition. *Young Girl*, (No. 49) \$150; *Edition De Luxe*, (No. 50) \$250; *Pippa Passes*, (No. 51) \$350.
- 1911 Toronto. Ontario Society of Artists 39th Annual Exhibition, 31 March - 29 April. *Portrait of My Father* (No. 30); *Portrait of My Friend* (No. 31); *A Lily of Florence* (No. 32); *Goodbye Summer* (No. 33).
- 1912 Toronto. Ontario Society of Artists 40th Annual Exhibition. 9-30th March. *A Good Listener* (No. 32); *Girl With A Bowl* (No. 33), with illustration.
- 1912 Toronto. Canadian National Exhibition, Department of Fine Arts. 24 August-9 September. *Spring Song*, (No. 251), (\$350); *The Story*, (No. 252), (\$300).
- 1912 London, Ontario. *Art Loan Collection*, Western Fair. September. *Girl with Green Bowl*, (No. 18). Loaned by Mr.

John Marr.

- 1912 Ottawa. Royal Canadian Academy of Arts. 34th Annual Exhibition. Opened, 28 November. Victoria Memorial Museum. *The Critic*, (No. 41) (\$500); *The White Flower*, (No. 42); *The Story*, (No. 43).
- 1912 Winnipeg. Royal Canadian Academy of Arts Exhibition of Paintings. Winnipeg Industrial Bureau. Opened, 16 December. Winnipeg Museum of Fine Arts. *The Spring Song*, (No. 26); *The Threshold*, (No. 27); *Mother and Child*, (No. 28).
- 1913 Montreal. Art Association of Montreal. 26 March-16 April. *The Spring Song*, (No. 45) \$300.
- 1913 Toronto. Ontario Society of Artists. 41st Annual Exhibition. 5-26 April. *Music*, (No. 20); *The Story*, (No. 21); *The Threshold*, (No. 22).
- 1913 Toronto. Canadian National Exhibition. Department of Fine Arts Exhibition. 23 August-8 September. *The Spring Song*, (No. 269), (\$300); *Mother and Child*, (No. 270), (\$350).
- 1913 London, Ontario. Western Fair Fine Arts Exhibition. 5-13 September. *The White Flower*, (No. 16), (Not for sale); *Reverie*, (No. 42), No price given.
- 1913 Montreal. Royal Canadian Academy of Arts. 35th Annual Exhibition. Opened, 20 November. *Afternoon, Venice*, (No. 46) (\$175); *The Guest, Venice*, (No. 47) (\$250); *Summer Morning*, (No. 48); *Vis Roberto Browning, The Little Street in Asolo Where Pippa Worked and Sang*, (No. 49) (\$150); *A Byway, Venice*, (No. 50); *The Critic*, (No. 51).
- 1913 London, England. Dominion and States Exhibition of the Royal British Colonial Society of Artists. *Quay Town* [Minehead].
- 1914 Canada. *Patriotic Fund Exhibition*. Organized by the RCA, 83 works toured Canada from Winnipeg to Halifax, to raise funds for the Patriotic Fund. Opened, Toronto, 30 December. *Spring Song* (No. 3).
- 1914 Winnipeg. Winnipeg Industrial Bureau Exhibition, Winnipeg Museum of Fine Arts. 19 January-March. *Afternoon, Venice*, (No. 19) (\$175).
- 1914 Toronto. Ontario Society of Artists. 14 March-11 April. *The Guest*, (No. 26) (\$200); *An Awakened Chord*, (No. 27) (\$700); *The Son and Heir*, (No. 28) (\$250); *April* (No.

29) (\$250).

- 1914 London, England. The Royal Academy of Arts. 146th Annual Exhibition. *Miss Hastings*, (No. 178; *Kathleen Carlyle*, (No. 650).
- 1914 Toronto. Canadian National Exhibition, Department of Fine Arts Exhibition. 29 August-14 September. *The Guest, Venice*, (No. 251), (\$175); *An Awakened Chord*, (No. 252), (\$500).
- 1915 Montreal. Art Association of Montreal. 26 March-17 April. *April*, (No. 62) \$150; *The Son and Heir*, (No. 63) \$110; *Under My Window*, (No. 64) \$50.
- 1915 London, England. The Royal Academy of Arts. 147th Annual Exhibition. *Portrait of a Friend*, (No. 146).
- 1916 London, England. The Royal Academy of Arts. 148th Annual Exhibition. *Daughter*, (No. 590); *Silence*, (No. 863); *Brass and Copper*, (No. 953).
- 1916 Montreal. Royal Canadian Academy of Arts. 38th Annual Exhibition. Opened, 16 November. Art Association of Montreal Gallery. *Roses and Copper*, (No. 29); *Nasturtiums*, (No. 30).
- 1917 Toronto. Ontario Society of Artists. Forty-fifth Annual Exhibition. March. *Portrait Group*, (No. 19).
- 1917 Toronto. Canadian National Exhibition. Department of Fine Arts Exhibition. 25 August-10 September. *Brass and Nasturtiums*, (No. 126), (\$50), *Daughter*, (No. 127), (\$150).
- 1918 London, England. Commissioned by the Canadian War Memorials Fund to paint a portrait of Julia Drummond, the Assistant Commissioner of the Canadian Red Cross. *Portrait of Lady Drummond* (1918).
- 1918 Halifax, Nova Scotia. *An Exhibition of Paintings by Canadian Artists Loaned by the National Gallery of Canada*, Nova Scotia Museum of Fine Arts. Jan. 1918-Jan. 1919. *Afternoon, Venice*, (No. 4).
- 1918 London, England. Dominion and States Exhibition of the Royal British Colonial Society of Artists. *A Call to Service; Reflections; The Song of the Kettle*.
- 1918 Toronto. Canadian National Exhibition. Department of Fine Arts Exhibition. 26 August-7 September. *The Yellow Rose*,

(No. 101); *Roses and Brass*, (No. 102).

- 1918 London, England. *Peace and War Exhibition*. (c.December 1918). Carlyle exhibits 8 paintings.
- 1919 London, England. *Canadian War Memorials Exhibition*. January and February 1919. Royal Academy of Arts, Burlington House, Piccadilly. *Lady Drummond*, (No. 132).
- 1919 New York City. *Canadian War Memorials Exhibition*. 10 June-31 July. Anderson Art Galleries. *Lady Drummond*, (No. 132). Exhibition traveled to New York City, Toronto and Montreal after this date.
- 1920 Toronto. Ontario Society of Artists. January-February. *Lady Betty*, Loaned by H.H. Fudger.
- 1920 London, England. The Royal Academy of Arts. *Fruit*, (No. 440). This painting was "sold opening day" and the artist "was commissioned to paint another along the same lines." Artist in letter to Russell Carlyle, 1921, Collection WFAG.
- 1921 London, England. The Royal Academy of Arts. *Still Life*, (No. 64).
- 1921 Hull, England. Artist exhibits 5 paintings (titles unknown). Hull Art Gallery.
- 1922 Toronto. Ontario Society of Artists. February. *Lady Betty*, (Loaned by H.H. Fudger); *Badinage* (c.1903), (Loaned by the artist).
- 1923 Artist dies.
- 1924 Ottawa. *Second Exhibition of Canadian War Memorials*. 18 January-30 April. The National Gallery of Canada. *Lady Drummond* (1918), (No. 16).
- 1924 London, England. Wembley Park, *British Empire Exhibition*. April to Oct. 1924. *Grey and Gold* (c.1910), (No. 26). Loaned by the NGC.
- 1925 Toronto. *A Memorial Exhibition of the Paintings of the Late Florence Carlyle, A.R.C.A.*. The Jenkins' Art Galleries. 26 May-6 June. 86 Titles.

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The main sources for this listing are found in:

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- McMann, Evelyn de R. *Montreal Museum of Fine Arts formerly Art Association of Montreal, Spring Exhibitions 1880-1970*. Toronto: University of Toronto, 1988.
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APPENDIX 3

TABLES SHOWING FREQUENCY OF EXHIBITIONS 1890-1923

Tables 1, 2 and 3 plot Carlyle's participation in Canadian, American and European exhibitions from 1890 to 1923. Her significant presence in Canadian exhibition venues began in 1895 (2 exhibitions), while the artist was still a student in Paris, however her frequency of exhibition is stronger between 1897 and 1898, the years just following her return to Canada (8 exhibitions). (Table 1) The year 1899, when Carlyle left Canada for New York to set up her Greenwich Village studio, shows a significant drop in her exhibition frequency in Canada. However, the artist reestablished a strong presence in Canadian exhibitions the following year (1900), and the years 1900 to 1903 see a total of 14 Canadian exhibitions.

In 1904, the year following her Osborne calendar prize and the awarding of a contract with this New York based company, Carlyle refocused her career toward American exhibition venues and that year exhibited with the prestigious Society of American Artists in New York City. (Table 2) This pattern continues until about 1910. From 1904 until 1909 the artist concentrated her exhibition efforts in the United States and during this period she participated in a total of only 5 Canadian exhibitions. In contrast, Carlyle exhibited works in at least 7 American exhibitions during the same period.

In 1910 Carlyle turned her exhibition efforts back toward Canada and her frequency jumped from zero in 1909, to 3 in 1910, with exhibition numbers holding steady at 2 in 1911, and peaking at 4 (1912), 5 (1913), and 5 (1914) in subsequent years.

While Carlyle's RCA exhibitions outnumber all other venues at a total of 14, during the years of her professional career (1890-1923), this is closely followed by the OSA and CNE exhibitions at 12 and 11 respectively. The AAM was also a significant venue for the artist with a total of 9 exhibitions during these years. In comparison, other Canadian venues such as the WAAC and WAC were significant only during the early years of her professional career.

In 1914, reflecting the artist's move to England, Carlyle's frequency in British exhibitions rises, most notably with the RA. (Table 3) Significantly, however, this change was not reflected immediately in her number of Canadian exhibitions. In 1914 she exhibited in 5 Canadian venues, the same total as in 1913. One year later this number had dropped to 1 and although the artist maintained a presence in Canadian exhibitions until her death in 1923, her incidence of exhibition remains low.

While this listing covers only the artist's known exhibitions it reveals a clear pattern of initial intense focus on Canadian venues during the late 1890's, a broadening of focus to include American venues during the early years of the century, with a marked drop in Canadian exhibitions during the years of her greatest American activity and success. A dramatic change occurs in 1910 with the artist's move back to

Canada, and the highest frequency of exhibitions occurs in Canada between 1912 and 1914. During the years of the First World War Carlyle gradually exhibited with less frequency and in a more restricted number of venues, in part due to the difficulty of access and the artist's own involvement in war work. After the war Carlyle's exhibition activity in England gradually increased, however, as a result of the artist's ill health this pattern changed drastically in 1922.

TABLE 1: CANADIAN EXHIBITIONS										
AAM	PF	DE	WB	WAC	OSA	DES	TIE/CNE	RCA	WAAC	WF

[illegible]

TABLE 2: AMERICAN EXHIBITIONS

	BUF	CHI	FA	KNO	PENNA	RAC	SAA	ST.L	SUT
1893		X							
1894									
1895									
1896									
1897									
1898									
1899									
1900									
1901	X								
1902						X			
1903									
1904							X	X	
1905					X				
1906					X				
1907									
1908				X					
1909			X						X

TABLE 3: EUROPEAN EXHIBITIONS

	DSE	HULL	LP	PSALON	RA
1893				X	
1894				X	
1895					
1896					X
1897					
1898					
1899					
1900					
1901					
1902					
1903					
1904					
1905					
1906					
1907					
1908					
1909					
1910			X		
1911					
1912					
1913					
1914					X
1915					X
1916					X
1917					
1918	X				X
1920					X
1921		X			X

APPENDIX 4

CANADIAN WOMEN EXHIBITORS IN THE PARIS SALON 1890-1896 *

The proportion of Canadian women exhibiting in the Salon out of the total number of Canadian exhibitors during the years 1890-1896 are as follows:

Year	Proportion of Total Canadian exhibitors			Name
1890	3	out of	9	Mattie Dube Harriet Ford Margaret Houghton
1891	1	out of	6	Mattie Dube
1892	1	out of	4	Mattie Dube
1893	3	out of	5	Sarah Blackstone Florence Carlyle Alice Graut
1894	2	out of	11	Florence Carlyle Mattie Dube
1895	2	out of	7	Sarah Baldwin Holden Hannah Rusk
1896	1	out of	8	Hannah Rusk

In these seven years, out of a total of 44 Canadian exhibitors, 13, or approximately 29.5 %, were women.

* Source: Sylvan Allaire, "Les Canadiens au Salon Officiel de Paris entre 1890 et 1910: sections peinture et dessin," *The Journal of Canadian Art History*, 4 (1977/78): 145-148.

APPENDIX 5

WOMEN ART EDUCATORS IN CANADA C.1900

The main sources for the following listing are found in the National Council of Women, *Women of Canada: Their Life and Work* (1901), and F. Levy's *American Art Annual*, v. 3 (1900-1901), which includes a chart listing instructors in Canadian and American art schools. Additional information may be found in art columns of the period, including, Jean Grant's "Studio and Gallery", published in *Saturday Night* in c.1898-1900, and the column "About Town", published in the *Toronto Globe* in c.1887.

Name	Position / Institution / Membership
Bellefeuille, Flora	Teacher of art, Ursuline Convent, Three Rivers, Quebec.
Carlyle, Florence	Teacher of art, classes in her studio, Masonic Temple, London, Ontario, and at Havergal Ladies' College, Toronto (c.1897-8).
Clarke, Emma	Teacher of art, Albert College, Belleville, Ontario.
Cleland, Miss A.	Teacher of drawing. Montreal Art Association School, 23 Phillips Square, Montreal.
Cockshutt, Mrs W.F.	Teacher of wood-carving, Brantford Ladies' College, Brantford, Ontario.
Dignam, Mrs Mary E.	Teacher of art at the Associated Artists' School of Art and Design, Young Street Arcade, Toronto, c.1887. Organized Art Studios of Moulton College in 1889. Director Art Department, Moulton College, McMaster University, Toronto, c.1901. Teacher of art, Rolleston House, Toronto, c.1901.
Douglas, Laura	Teacher of oil and pastel painting, studio studio, Dundas St., London,

	Ontario.
Dufresne, Bernadotte	Teacher of art, Ursuline Convent, Three Rivers, Quebec.
Egan, Alice M.	Teacher of china painting. Victoria School of Art and Design, Barrington and Sackville Streets, Halifax, N.S.
Fraser, Margaret	Teacher of art. Hamilton Art School, Hamilton, Ontario.
Galbraith, Clara E.	Teacher of water colours and ceramics. Hamilton Art School, Public Library Building, Hamilton, Ontario. Member WAAC; President, Hamilton Branch of WAAC.
Geeson, Jean	Teacher of oil, water color, pastel, and china painting, classes held in her studio, Dufferin Avenue, London, Ontario.
Graham, Miss	Teacher of art. Victoria School of Art and Design, Halifax N.S.
Green, Miss	Teacher of art in Senior School for Boys and Girls, McGill Normal School, Montreal.
Gunn, Emily M.	Teacher of art, studio, Dundas Street, London, Ontario (c.1896).
Hannaford, Edith	Teacher of china painting, studio, 97 Bloor St. West, Toronto.
Hardie, Miss	Teacher of embroidery and lace-work. Brandon College and Brandon Convent, Brandon, Manitoba.
Hardie, Mrs	Teacher of embroidery and lace-work. Brandon College and Brandon Convent, Brandon, Manitoba.
Harrison, Miss	Teacher of china painting. St. Margaret's College, Toronto, and at her studio, 578 Huron St., Toronto.
Hill, Miss	Teacher of art. Halifax County Academy, N.S.

Ireland, Mabel	Teacher of painting. Hamilton Art School, Hamilton, Ontario.
James, Miss	Teacher of art, Boy's High School of Montreal.
Jones, Miss. L.A.M.	Assistant teacher of art, Hellmuth College, London, Ontario.
Kenley, Mrs.	Teacher of "art needle work". St. Margaret's College, Toronto.
Kitchen, Mrs.	Teacher of china painting. St. Margaret's College, Toronto.
Le Moyne, Berthe	Teacher of art, Art Association School, Montreal, c.1904.
Long, Miss	Teacher of art, Brantford Collegiate Institute, Brantford, Ontario.
Martin, Miss May	Teacher of art, Bloor Street Presbyterian College, Toronto.
Mattice, Marion E.	Teacher of art, Hamilton Art School, Hamilton, Ontario.
McConnell, Miss M. Cary	Teacher of art, private students in her studio, 3 King Street East, Toronto.
McGillivray, Florence (1864-1938)	Teacher of art, Ontario Ladies' College, Whitby, Ontario.
McLeod, Bessie	Teacher of art, Mount Allison Ladies' College, Sackville, N.B..
Muntz (Lyal), Laura A. (1860-1930)	Art director and instructor of drawing and painting, Art Department, St. Margaret's College, Toronto.
Nainby, Miss	Teacher of art, Havergal College, Toronto.
Nutter, F.D.	Teacher of art, Art Association School, Montreal, c.1904.
Ogden, Ethel	Teacher of art, Mount Allison

	Ladies' College, Sackville, N.B..
Patterson, Miss	Teacher of art in Public Schools and "Normal School Course" of teacher education, Winnipeg, Manitoba.
Phillips, Mary Martha (1856-1937)	Principal and Founder, School of Art and Applied Design, Montreal. President, Montreal Branch WAAC. Co-founder and first president, Canadian Handicrafts Guild, 1905.
Schreiber, Charlotte (1834-1922)	Teacher of figure drawing, oil painting and drawing from the antique, Ontario School of Art, c1877 to 1880.
Semple, Miss	Superintendent and teacher of art, Toronto Public Schools.
Shaner, Miss	Instructor in Art Department. Church School for Girls, Windsor, N.S.
Simister, Mrs	Teacher of art, McGill Normal School, and at Girl's High School of Montreal, Montreal.
Sinclair, Miss	Teacher of art. Brandon College and Brandon Convent.
Smith, Edith	Teacher of art, Halifax Ladies' College, Halifax, N.S. Taught art at the Victoria School of Art and Design, Halifax, c.1910.
Smith, Maud B.	Teacher of art, Metropolitan School of Music, Toronto.
Tully, Louise Beresford	Teacher of wood carving and leather work. Central Ontario School of Art and Industrial Design, 165 King Street West, Toronto.
Wadsworth, Mrs	Teacher of "art needle work". St. Margaret's College, Toronto.
Wait, Miss	Teacher of elementary and technical art classes, china painting and embroidery at the Associated

- Artists' School of Art and Design,
Young Street Arcade, Toronto,
c.1887.
- Westmacott, Miss Principal, The Associated Artists'
School of Art and Design, Young
Street Arcade, Toronto, c. 1887.
- Williams, Mrs A.R. Teacher of wood-carving, St.
Margaret's College, Toronto.
- Windeat, Emma S. Teacher of art, Glen Mawr, Toronto.
(d.1926)
- Van den Broeck, Mlle. C. Teacher of art, Hellmuth College,
London, and Director of the Art
Department, Harding Hall, London,
Ontario. Teacher of oil and water
color painting at her studio,
Princess Avenue, London (c.1896).

APPENDIX 6

**KNOEDLER'S GALLERIES' EXHIBITION OF PAINTINGS BY
WOMEN ARTISTS: LIST OF EXHIBITING ARTISTS**

Exhibition of Paintings by Women Artists, Knoedler's Galleries,
5th Ave. and 34th St. New York, April 20th to May 2nd inclusive, 1908.

Bower, Lucy Scott	Upton, Ethelwyn
Browne, Matilda	Wheeler, Janet
Burd, Clara	Wigand, A. Albright
Carlisle, Mary Helen	Wilmot, Alta E.
Carlyle, Florence	Winckler, Adele
Close, May Lewis	Wood, Virginia
Coman, Charlotte B.	Woolfolk, Eva M.
Cooper, Emma Lambert	Wyant, A.L.
Crawford, Brenetta H.	
Dewey, Julia	
Emmet, Ellen	
Emmet, Lydia Field	
Fisher, Anna	
Foote, Mary	
Fry, Georgia Timken	
Hore, Ethel	
Hunter, Lisbeth	
Johnson, Content	
Knox, Susan Ricker	
Lamb, Ella Condie	
Lenique, Andre	
Mason, Maud	
Macaulay, Miss.	
MacChesney, Clara	
Nicholls, Lydia Holmes	
Nicholls, Rhoda Holmes	
Parker, Cora	
Parrish, Clara Weaver	
Penman, Edith	
Phelps, Helen Watson	
Platt, Alethea Hill	
Powers, Marion	
Randolph, Grace Fitz	
Richards, Ella	
Rockwell, Bertha	
Saunders, Bertha	
Schille, Alice	
Scott, Mrs, E. M.	
Sewall, Amanda Brewster	
Simpson, Charlotte Helen	
Snead, Louise Willis	
Snell, Florence Francis	
Stevenson, Edith P.	
Swinton, Marion	
Turner, Helen M.	

Source: *Exhibition of Paintings by Women Artists* (Knoedler's
Galleries, 1908) Library Archives, Knoedler & Company, N.Y.

ILLUSTRATIONS

Fig 1.1

Fig 1.2

Fig 1.3

Fig 1.4

Fig 1.5

Fig 2.1

Fig 2.2

Fig. 2.3

Fig 2.4

MEMBERS OF THE LONDON ART CLUB SKETCHING A MODEL.

Fig 3.1

Fig 3.2

Fig 3.3

Fig 3.4

Fig 3.5

Fig 3.6

Fig 3.7

Fig 3.8

Fig 3.9

THE ALATION, NURSES AND STAFF.

Fig 3.10

Fig 3.11

Fig 3.12

Fig 3.13

Fig 4.1

Fig 4.2

Fig 4.3

Fig 4.4

Fig 4.5

Fig 4.6

Fig 4.7

Fig 4.8

Fig 4.9

Fig 4.10

Fig 4.11

Fig 4.12

Fig 4.13

Fig 4.14

Fig 4.15

Fig 4.16

Fig 4.17

Fig 4.18

25. Chrysanthemums.
26. Study of a Negro Boy.
27. A Bready Corner.

28. Reflections
in Still Life.

29. Seating Woman
at Piano Study.
30. Lunch Study.

IMPRESSIONS—WOMAN'S ART EXHIBIT.

FIG 4.19

Fig 4.20

Fig 4.21

Fig 4.22

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Regional History Room
Exhibition Catalogue Files
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Artist Files
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