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Canada's First Professional Women Painters, 1890-1914: Their Reception in Canadian Writing on the Visual Arts

Anne Mandely Page

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Abstract

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Anne Mandely Page

Since the modern feminist movement of the seventies, critics and art historians alike have reassessed the place held by women artists and the significance of their works. An abundance of European and North American literature has been dedicated to the topic. However, within this literature little attention has yet to be paid to the first wave of professionally-trained Canadian women painters who were active between 1890-1914. The major aim of this thesis is to establish the degree to which writing on Canadian art has acknowledged the achievements of this important group of women and what remains to be done to present a balanced picture of the development of Canadian art that gives an appropriate place to such artists as Florence Carlyle, Mary Ella Dignam, Mary Bell Eastlake, Mary Riter Hamilton, Elizabeth McGillivray Knowles, Laura Muntz Lyall, Helen Galloway McNicol, Sophia Pemberton, Mary Hiester Reid and Mary Evelyn Wrinch.

Acknowledgements

The research and writing has come to an end and with thesis under arm and diploma soon in hand I take this opportunity to acknowledge the following individuals who have assisted me in my modest attempt at shedding light on the place of Canada's first wave of professionally-trained women painters in the literature on Canadian art. Dr. Catherine MacKenzie, my advisor, who has seen me through this thesis, thick and thin; Professor Sandra Paikowsky, for her insightful comments; Dr. Brian Foss, my final reader; Shirley Macleod, for her encouragement and Mr. Jean Pierre Duchesne, my colleague and dearest friend, with whom I shared the many wonders of graduate school. And, finally, to Canada's first professional women painters.

This Thesis is dedicated to

Mr. and Mrs. Joseph Gerard Page

Mrs. Anna Pfeiffer

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Introduction

Between 1890 and 1914, numerous Canadian women were embracing the practice of painting as professionally-trained artists. Such women as Florence Carlyle, Mary Ella Dignam, Mary Bell Eastlake, Mary Riter Hamilton, Elizabeth McGillivray Knowles, Laura Muntz Lyall, Helen Galloway McNicoll, Sophia Pemberton, Mary Hiester Reid and Mary Evelyn Wrinch, pioneered and maintained careers in major metropolitain centres across the country (see Appendix, pp. 94-109). They exhibited as widely as was possible: indeed by 1900, from a quarter to one-third of annual Royal Canadian Academy of Arts exhibitors were women,[1] and several of them were recipients of prestigious national and international awards. One, Mary Riter Hamilton, was named an officier de l'Academie de France in 1922,[2] while, in 1899, Sophia Pemberton was the first woman ever to receive the Prix Julian.[3]

These women painters challenged both the general dictates of

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1. Dignam, Mary Ella, "Canadian Women in the Development of Art," Women of Canada, National Council of Women, Montreal(?), 1900, p. 217.

2. MacDonald, Colin S., "Mary Riter Hamilton," Dictionary of Canadian Artists, Canadian Paperbacks Publishing Ltd., 3rd edition, vol. 4, Toronto, 1975, pp. 356-357.

3. Tuele, Nicholas, Sophia Theresa Pemberton (1869-1959), Art Gallery of Greater Victoria, Victoria, British Columbia, 1978, p. 20.

Victorian society and the attitudes of much of the artistic establishment. Notwithstanding powerful obstacles, many of them travelled widely for their education and a few were to open up directions that would have significance for the on-going development of Canadian art. Most notable in this latter respect are Mary Bell Eastlake and Mary Evelyn Wrinch, each of whom painted in the Muskoka area at the turn of the century.[4]

With the rise of the modern feminist movement, critics and art historians alike have begun to look upon the accomplishments of women artists in a new light. Although Canada has not been in the forefront of a feminist reassessment of the history of art, it has produced some compelling contributions towards the understanding of twentieth-century Canadian women artists.[5] However, little has been written of a scholarly and fully

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4. Mary Bell Eastlake was painting there by 1893. Both these women worked in an area that was to gain fame at a later date as Muskoka was much worked at by the Group of Seven. As Wrinch, who painted in the area in 1906, pointed out, "Muskoka was not considered paintable." Joan Murray, "Mary Evelyn Wrinch, Canadian Artist," Canadian Collector, September 4, 1969, pp. 16-19.

5. Tenhaaf, Nell, and Cout, Linda, Powerhouse, la coopérative d'imprimerie véhicule, Montréal, 1979. An introduction to the Powerhouse Gallery and newsletter, its establishment and function in relation to women and art in Montreal.

   Arbour, Rose Marie, Art et féminisme, Musée d'art contemporain, Ministère des affaires culturelles, Montréal, Québec, 1982. The exhibition catalogue accompanied a group show of feminist women artists.

documented nature on Canadian women painters active at the turn of the century, in other words on what must be described as the first "wave" of professional women artists. This thesis will establish what has been made available concerning the achievements of these women and what needs to be accomplished if the full dimensions of their careers are to be recognized.

The first chapter of this thesis seeks to document, in general terms, the elements surrounding, shaping and characterizing the endeavours of Canada's first professional women painters. This general background serves as an introduction to the second chapter which traces the "fate" of these artists in Canadian literature on the arts from 1890 to 1914. Texts representative of the prevalent genres of this developing scholarship are analyzed in order to ascertain the degree to which the achievements of these women painters were acknowledged and the manner in which this recognition was proffered.

Chapter Three continues to investigate the reception of the achievements of Canadian women painters active between 1890 and 1914, in the literature written since 1914. It establishes clearly that, despite a broadening of the scope of consideration granted these artists, much remains to be undertaken.

Chapter I - Getting in the Door

As the nineteenth century drew to a close, Canada, a young nation, was coming to terms with its new identity and the prospect of a role in the global community. Part of this process involved the artistic community, members of which banded together in various cities both to develop a "national style"[6] and to ensure recognition of their contributions to Canadian society.[7]

The story of the attempt of Canadian artists to forge an identity and an appreciative audience for their work through the formation of artists' associations and societies, as well as through the establishment of the Royal Canadian Academy and eventually the National Gallery, has been told many times. Nevertheless, the highlights are worth reviewing, as they help to establish the context in which the first major group of

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6. The term "national" is used throughout this text to refer to a "Canadian" subject matter and style.

7. A necessary activity since, as William Colgate indicates in his text Canadian Art, its Origin and Development, McGraw Hill Ryerson Ltd., Toronto, 1967, p. 22: "... about the only outlets available to the artist of the time for placing before the public the products of his skills were the facilities afforded by the few dealers of the principal centres of the population, as in London, Toronto and Montreal, and the annual Provincial exhibitions where he was forced to compete for public interest on terms of something less than equality with the products of the farm and the forge."

professionally-trained women artists functioned.

Although not the first artists' association, the Art Association of Montreal (A.A.M.) was to play a significant role in the initial phases of shaping a professional artistic community. Incorporated in 1860, the A.A.M. set itself high goals: members pledged to create "an Association for the encouragement of the Fine Arts by means of the establishment and maintenance, in so far as may be found practicable, of a Gallery or Galleries of Art, and the establishment of a School of Design, in the City of Montreal...."[8] The first building owned by the Art Association of Montreal, located at Phillips Square, was also the first erected in the Dominion wholly for fine arts purposes.[9]

Also established in Montreal in 186? was the Society of Canadian Artists.[10] This small association was the first to attempt a unification of all artists of the Dominion and its major aim was to show for sale the works of Canadian artists only. The society lasted for less than six years, the probable

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8. Quoted in, Leduc, Pierre, Les origins et le développement du Art Association of Montréal, 1860-1912, M.A. Thesis, Université de Montréal, 1963, p. 101.

9. de R. McMann, Evelyn, Montreal Museum of Fine Arts, Spring Exhibitions 1880-1970, University of Toronto Press, Toronto, 1988, p. vii.

10. Colgate, p. 22.

cause for its demise being the economic difficulties which led to the Great Depression of 1873.[11]

Prior to the demise of the S.C.A. in 1873, one of its founders, W.L. Fraser, initiated another artistic society, this time in Toronto where he had settled in 1872. The Ontario Society of Artists (O.S.A.) was not the first artistic association to be established in Toronto, but it was the most enduring.[12] The major objectives of the O.S.A. were the encouragement and fostering of original native Canadian art in Ontario, the establishment of a permanent gallery, and the creation of a school of art. Its first exhibition was held in 1873, and the Society mounted annual exhibits from that date forth. The establishment of an art school soon ensued and in 1876 the Ontario School of Art was opened at 14 King Street West.[13]

By 1879, when the Marquis of Lorne, the newly appointed Governor General, and his wife the Princess Louise took up

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11. Reid, Dennis, Our Own Country Canada, National Gallery of Art, Ottawa, 1979, p. 101.

12. Lowery, Susan J., The Art Gallery of Toronto, Pattern and Process of Growth: 1872-1966, M.A. Thesis, Concordia University, Montreal, 1985, pp. 11-33.

13. Murray, Joan Ontario Society of Artists: 100 Years 1872-1972, Art Gallery of Ontario, Toronto, 1972, pp. 11-12. The art school eventually became known as the Ontario College of Art.

residence in Canada, the A.A.M. and the O.S.A. were firmly established. Both the Governor General and the Princess expressed hope for the creation of a Canadian Academy, as well as the establishment of a subject unique to Canada, one specifically referring to the country's landscape. Subsequently, they aided in the formation of the Royal Canadian Academy of Fine Arts which was officially incorporated in 1882, and whose collection of diploma pictures formed the basis of the Canadian holdings at the National Gallery of Canada.[14]

Halifax, founded in 1749, was also to become noted for its cultural activities. While Canada's earliest art organization was the Halifax Chess, Pencil and Brush Club, (1787-1817),

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14. Harrison, H., National Reference Book on Canadian Men and Women, with Other General Information, 5th edition, Canadian Newspaper Registered, Canada, 1936, p. 963.

    Lorne and his wife became patrons of the O.S.A. as had their predecessor Lord Dufferin. By 1879, at the opening of the A.A.M.'s new location, Lorne voiced his interest in the formation of a Royal Academy. Discussions ensued with various members of the O.S.A. and Lorne's draft proposal, edited by O.S.A. officials, was presented to the A.A.M. that same year. By the following year it was adopted as the preliminary consitution of the Canadian Academy. This new association would leave existing societies intact and would be called the Canadian Academy pending permission to prefix the name with "Royal." This status was recognized in 1880, and according to Rebecca Sisler, Passionate Spirits - A History of the R.C.A., 1880-1890, Clarke, Irwin and Co. Ltd., Toronto, 1980, p. 37, "two years later on May 17, 1882, The Royal Canadian Academy of Arts was officially incorporated by an act of Parliament."

which extended beyond art to polite pursuits, the formation of art institutions came much later in the nineteenth century. Due to Governor General Lorne's involvement, the second exhibit of the R.C.A. was held in Halifax in 1881, the purpose being to instill an interest in the arts and induce the formation of art clubs and associations.[15] By 1887 the foundations for these goals were laid by Anna Leonowens who organized a major exhibition in Halifax.[16] Proceeds were used to establish Nova Scotia's first art college, the Victoria School of Art and Design (1887), forerunner of the Nova Scotia College of Art and Design. A fine collection was assembled and housed in the Provincial Archives, leading to the organization of the Nova Scotia Museum of Fine Arts, incorporated in 1909.[17] Subsequently the Nova Scotia Society of Artists was founded in 1922; its objectives being to foster original art and promote public understanding of art through the holding of regular juried exhibitions.[18]

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15. Sisler, p. 37.

16. Luckyj, Natalie, Visions and Victories 10 Canadian Women Artists 1914-1945, London Regional Art Gallery, London, 1983, p. 108.

17. MacDonald, M., "Art in Halifax," Nova Scotia Museum of Fine Arts, Halifax, 1962, unpaged.

18. Kelly, Gemey, Backgrounds: Ten Nova Scotia Women Artists, Dalhousie Art Gallery, Dalhousie University, Halifax, 1984, p. 6. In western Canada, art organizations came at a later date: the Manitoba Society of Artists was established in 1925, while the Women Painters of Western Canada and the Alberta Society of Artists were founded in 1931.

For Victoria and Vancouver, the cultural boom was felt between 1885 and 1920. Early exhibitions were organized by the Victoria Agricultural and Industrial Association (1891) and the Union Exhibit (1895).[19] In 1889, the Vancouver Art Association was founded,[20] and was soon followed by the Studio Club, Victoria, established in 1900, as well as by Vancouver's own Arts and Crafts Association. In 1909 the British Columbia Society of Fine Arts and the Island Arts and Crafts Society were initiated.[21] By the 1920's a professional artistic community was emerging, resulting in the 1925 establishment of the Victoria School of Art and the Vancouver School of Decorative and Applied Art.[22]

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19. "Treasures of Victorian Art," Victoria Daily Colonist, 18 Dec. 1895, p. 3.

20. Thom, W., The Fine Arts in Vancouver, 1886-1930, M.A. Thesis,University of B.C., Vancouver, B.C., 1969, pp. 4-5.

    The Vancouver Art Association was the first formal art organization in Vancouver.

21. Tippett, Maria, and Cole, Douglas, From Desolation to Splendour Changing Perceptions of the British Columbia Landscape, Clarke, Irwin and Co. Ltd., Vancouver, B.C., 1977, pp. 62-63.

    The Island Arts and Crafts Society's inaugural exhibition of 1910 displayed a strong English tradition. The majority of artists exposing were amateurs and hobbyists, with the exception of a few who were thoroughly trained professionals, such as Sophia Theresa Pemberton, Thomas Bamford and Samuel Maclure.

22. Tuele, Nicholas, British Columbia Women Artists 1885-1895, Art Gallery of Greater Victoria, Victoria, 1985, pp. 5-16.

Within this framework of the development of art associations and institutions, which was initiated in central Canada and spread out to the country's coastal areas, women artists had played a variety of roles, at least some of which stood in sharp contrast to their professional standing. In the coastal cities women were more often than not the moving forces behind the arts, whether as art administrators, patrons, teachers or volunteers in art organizations during the turn of the century (infra pp. 7-9). As already noted, Anna Harriet Leonowens (1834-1915), a teacher, author, feminist and lecturer, helped found the Victoria School of Art and Design, and two other women, Elizabeth Nutt and Edith Smith, were later responsible for establishing the Nova Scotia Society of Artists.[23] The

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23. Marsh, J., ed., The Canadian Encyclopedia, Vol. 1, 2nd edition, Edmonton, Alberta, 1988, p. 1202.

Leonowens, nee Crawford, was born in Wales and taught at the Siamese Court from 1862-1867, experiences upon which Anna & the King of Siam, 1943, and The King & I, 1951, are based. She moved to Halifax in 1876 and organized a book club and a Shakespearean society, was active in the Suffragette Association, and was the founding secretary of the Halifax Council of Women. She lived in Germany for a time and finally moved to Montreal, where she died. As observed by Mern O'Brien,in her text Diverse Perspectives - A Selection of work by 37 members of the Slide Registry of Nova Scotia Women Artists, Art Gallery Mount St. Vincent University, Halifax, 1985, pp. 5-6, who goes on to note: "I was surprised by the number of women who, over the years, have been associated with various Maritime and provincial art organizations which, as it turns out, began to emerge just after the turn of the century. Women played an important role in their development as members, as administrators, and most importantly, as exhibitors... According to Gemey Kelly, women artists were involved in the formation of these organizations, carried out many of the administrative duties and provided the largest number of participants

foundations for the Vancouver Art Association were laid in 1889 by Annie Webster (1858-1934), an Australian who had begun "an art school as well as organizing monthly art discussions."[24]

In central Canada, women artists would appear to have been largely absent from those endeavours which marked the development of a formal infrastructure for the practitioners of art, notwithstanding the fact that many would argue that a woman, the Princess Louise, played a larger role than her husband, the Governor General, in fostering the establishment of the important Royal Academy of Arts.[25] In part, this is to be explained by the earlier dates of the founding of these institutions.[26] However, not only were women absent from the creation of the major associations, they were also denied the

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in virtually all of the exhibitions."

24. Thom, pp. 4-5,17.

25. As Harriet Ford suggests in her article, "The Royal Canadian Academy of Arts," from Canadian Magazine, no. III, Toronto, 1894, pp. 45-49, interest in the academy and artistic issues was probably stronger with the Princess Louise: "The Royal Canadian Academy of Arts was founded by H.R.H. I put the Princess first, advisedly, believing she had more to do with the institution than the Marquis." The Princess was also a sculptor of note.

26. As Mary Ella Dignam observed in 1900, in her text "Canadian Women in the Development of Art," from Women of Canada, National Council of Women, Montreal(?), p. 214, "It is... scarcely more than two decades since Canadian women began to seek art education and to feel that art could be a vocation, a profession or career into which a woman might enter seriously."

full privileges of membership until well into the twentieth century.

The Ontario Society of Artists, reputed to be a progressive organization, accepted women as exhibiting professionals and members. However, point no. 5 of their constitution clearly indicates that:

> Lady members shall participate in all benefits to be derived from the foregoing save and except that they shall not have the privilege of voting or attending the meetings unless specially invited to do so by resolution of the Society.[27]

Hence, acceptance was limited, or as Mary Ella Dignam concluded, "nominal,"[28] and it was not until 1924 that a woman obtained an executive seat on the O.S.A.[29]

By 1881 the Royal Canadian Academy was accepting women into its ranks, conferring upon them associate status. Yet, associate status was not a major attainment, for women were not permitted to participate actively in meetings, nor did

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27. Fraser, William L., "Constitution, Rules and By-Laws of the 1st Ontario Society of Artists' Meeting," Tuesday, July 2nd, 1872, article no. 5.

28. Dignam, "Canadian Women in the Development of Art," p. 214.

29. Dorothy Farr and Natalie Luckyj, From Women's Eyes - Women Painters in Canada, Agnes Etherington Art Centre, Queen's University, Kingston, 1975, p. 3. In 1924 Mary E. Wrinch (1878-1969) was elected as Vice-President and Treasurer of the O.S.A.

they have a political voice or power: "Women shall be eligible for membership in the Royal Canadian Academy, but shall not be required to attend business meetings, nor will their names be placed upon the list of rotation for the council."[30]

There had been one woman who pioneered her career prior to the major influx of professional female painters at the turn of the century.[31] Charlotte Schreiber (1834-1922), had been made a charter member of the Royal Canadian Academy, in recognition of her prominence as a painter, and her membership on the Board of the Ontario School of Art, but she was the single exception.[32] It was not until 1933 that another woman artist, Marion Long, was elected full academician. During this extensive period of time, only 19 women were named to the

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30. Constitution and Bylaws of the Royal Canadian Academy of Arts as Revised and Amended, July 1881, Toronto, Globe Printing, 1881. Membership, item 6, as cited by Farr and Luckyj, p. 3.

31. Farr and Luckyj, p. 3.

32. Ibid, p. 3.

    Schreiber was thoroughly trained in the British academic tradition and gained a singular prominence in the 1870's and 1880s not only as a painter, but also as a patron of Canadian artists.

    Sisler, pp. 36-37, describes Schreiber as being considered an eccentric, who while living in the suburban village of Deer Park rode on a haywagon and painted. She exhibited regularly with the O.S.A. and the R.C.A., but upon her husband's death she returned to England and was lost from sight.

lesser rank of associate status, and it was only in 1913 that the restrictions whereby women could not attend business meetings or be elected to the Council were removed from the Constitution of the R.C.A.[33]

With a small number of women having attained professional status and a significant number seeking to establish professional artistic careers, the need for a voice denied by the existing art associations became apparent. A number of women's art associations began to appear, the most prominent being the Women's Art Association of Canada.

Its roots date to 1886, when a group of young women of Toronto, headed by Mary Ella Dignam (1860-1936), organized a small art study club which was a self-governing and mutually helpful society. Studio space was furnished, initially in the Yonge Street Arcade and then in a reconstructed suite of rooms in the Confederation Life Building, which included a reading room, for these women to meet and work together. Drawing, painting, modeling and also sketching from still lifes and the live model took place. The first Wednesday of each month was reserved for discussion on composition and criticism of works terminated or in progress, while every other Wednesday was spent as an open studio afternoon with conversations and

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33. Luckji, p. 109.

lectures on art. In 1889 the art club held its first "Art Loan Exhibition" in Toronto, including loaned works by other Torontonian artists as well as the students of the art club.[34]

In the following year, 1890, the art study club was incorporated as the Women's Art Club, and in 1892 it became known as the Women's Art Association of Canada.[35] Its President, Mary Ella Dignam, was herself a reputed Canadian artist, having acquired her education at the Art Students' League in New York, the ateliers of Olivier Mercon and Raphael Collin in Paris, as well as through studies in Venice.[36] Upon her return to Canada, Mrs. Dignam fully realized the need for women's representation and recognition: "We had a Royal Academy branch in Toronto, but I found I had to do something to open the door for women and the only way seemed to be the organization of the Women's Art Association." [37]

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34. Harrison, p. 812.

35. Ibid, p. 812.

    A proposal was advanced concerning the formation of a national association representing all Canadian women artists, with various branches established in major cities of the country, reflecting the interests and concerns of the mother association in Toronto.

36. Dignam, Mary Ella: Artist's File, Archives, National Gallery of Canada. Information Form - for the purpose of making a record of Canadian Painters and their work.

37. Dickens, Violet, "Half Century of Leadership in Canadian Art," Boston Christian Science Monitor, March 13, 1936, unpaged.

In 1893 the W.A.A. gained stature and recognition through affiliation with the newly formed National Council of Women,[38] and began to organize annual art congresses and present papers under its auspices.[39] The resulting publicity led to organized loan exhibitions to public schools, and large exhibitions were sent to International Expositions at St. Louis, Edinburgh and London. One such exhibition was held in Melbourne, Australia. Arrangements for it were made by the Honourable President, The

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38. Strong-Boag, Veronica J., The Parliament of Women: The National Council of Women 1893-1929, National Museum of Man, Mercury Series, History Division, Paper no. 18, Ottawa, 1976, pp. 179-224.

    The National Council of Women, founded in 1893 as part of the first feminist wave, was also a member institution of the International Council of Women. The first president, Lady Aberdeen, championed the cause of women and children. It was a largely urban, anglophone and middle class organization with a conservative leadership that delayed adoption of a suffrage platform until 1910.

    As Catherine L. Cleverdon, in The Woman Suffrage Movement in Canada, University of Toronto Press, Toronto, 1950, p. 12, indicates, the National Council of Women achieved important reforms in many fields. It never was a suffrage organization and made that clear at the outset. However, since all women's organizations were welcome to join the Council, suffrage groups affiliated with it: the Dominion Women's Enfranchisement Association, founded in 1889, was a member of the National Council from the beginning and submitted annual reports concerning the suffrage movement in Canada.

39. Harrison, p. 813.

    Upon affiliation with the National Council of Women, and at the request of Lady Aberdeen, the President, Mary Ella Dignam read a paper in Ottawa on "Women in Art in Canada," at the annual meeting of the Council, and at each of the nineteen annual meetings that Harrison documented, papers were read and art congresses arranged.

Countess Grey, who had taken up the interest in the W.A.A. of her predecessor, Lady Minton. The W.A.A. ameliorated women's rep: ·:entation at the Industrial Fairs, and eventually became affiliated with the Women's Institute of London.

The W.A.A. not only participated in large exhibitions outside of the country but also avidly organized exhibitions in Canada. One of the most notable was the great Portrait Loan Exhibition of 1899 (Toronto), which was undertaken to illustrate portaiture in all its different mediums and methods. The success of this exhibition was due to over two hundred members who acted on various committees from January 1st to May, arranging and classifying the exhibition, attending to social functions and musical programmes, editing, printing, publishing catalogues, etc. [40]

As well, the inception of an "Open Studio Day," held in Toronto the first Saturday of each month during the winter, permitted the artist, art patron and interested members of the public to encounter one another openly and exchange ideas, thereby creating strong bonds between the artist and the art-conscious public. The function and purpose of the W.A.A. was one of augmenting awareness of Canadian art and the role women

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40. Ibid, pp. 814-815.

played in the definition of a Canadian style.[41] Among major artists who were members of the W.A.A. were Laura Muntz Lyall, Mary Bell Eastlake and Florence Carlyle.[42] By 1900, [43] the W.A.A. had branches throughout the country in such cities as Hamilton, Kingston, St. Thomas, Brockville, Montreal, Saint John and Portage-la-Prairie, each of which ensured and upheld the ideals of the Association. Also, by that year the Association was gaining serious attention outside of Canada, as demonstrated by a review in the British journal, The Studio:

> The Women's Art Association of Canada recently closed its Annual Exhibition, which was in every way successful. The painting section contained, amongst many other works, several Dutch subjects, painted by the President, Mrs. M.E. Dignam, during last summer in Holland; two figure subjects by Miss Florence Carlyle, a clever young Canadian, whose illustrations are appearing in several American publications; a group of subjects by Miss Muntz,

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41. Ibid, pp. 812-819.

    The W.A.A. instigated and maintained a high profile for women's art, art appreciation and education. All aspects of the fine arts were presented and expounded upon: painting, sculpture, engraving and the crafts, embroidery, weaving, pottery, book binding, leather and metal work. Hierarchical categorization had no place in the association.

42. Ibid, pp. 828-829,830-831,833.

    Although a full study of the W.A.A. has not been done, it is possible to identify a small number of other members. Mrs. J.M. MacCullen and Miss Jane Bertram were charter members. In addition, several students of Dignam's, including Mrs. Clemes and Fanny Lord Linsay, as well as Dignam's daughter, Lady Van Hoogenhouck-Tulleken, played active roles in the Association.

43. At that time, the Toronto branch enjoyed a resident membership of 29 and a non-resident membership of 30.

> including two Dutch women in characteristic dress, and 'Master Baby,' a child in white seated on a red floor; some French water-colours by Miss Hawley; and a few contributions from the Women's Institute, London, England.[44]

That the W.A.A. spread so rapidly and successfully across Canada is, in itself, eloquent testimony to the growing interest and participation of women in the development of Canadian art. However, there are other equally powerful indices of the growing prominence of women in the professional art world at the turn of the century.

The exhibition activities of a number of women artists were both intense and focused on important forums. Florence Carlyle, Mary Ella Dignam, Mary A. Bell Eastlake, Laura Muntz Lyall, Elizabeth McGillivray Knowles, Helen Galloway McNicoll, Sophia Theresa Pemberton, Mary Hiester Reid and Mary Evelyn Wrinch exhibited regularly with either the A.A.M. or the O.S.A., and in association with the R.C.A. In addition they sought audiences further afield, and were often the recipients of significant awards.[45]

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44. "Studio-Talk," The Studio, no. 20, London, England, 1900, p. 192.

45. See the Appendix.

> No comprehensive exhibition list for women artists of this period exists, and this information has been obtained from a variety of sources, the most enlightening being John Russell Harper's Early Painters and Engravers in Canada, University of Toronto Press, Toronto, 1972. Throughout his text there is reference to Canadian women

Florence Carlyle presented work at the Paris Salons of 1893, 1895 and 1903. As well, she received a silver medal for her work presented in Chicago in 1893, honourable mention at the 1901 Pan American Exposition in Buffalo, and in 1904 acquired the silver medal for a painting, most probably The Tiff, at the Louisianna Purchase Exhibition.[46]

Mary Ella Dignam had numerous exhibitions in Paris and London, of which those of 1926 are documented, and these were well received.[47] Mary Riter Hamilton's career was also distinguished: she was honoured by the Palme Academique, conferred on her by M. Bedard, the Ministre des Beaux Arts; was named an Officier de l'Academie de France in 1922; and three years later was awarded a diploma and gold medal for her entries in the Paris Exposition Internationale.[48] Obtaining

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painters, professional and amateur. Each entry is represented by a brief biographical note, memberships held, major exhibitions, location of works and bibliographic references.

46. Farr and Luckyj, p. 26.

Montreal Museum Scrapbooks, no. 5, 1903-1929, Witness, May 1st, 1904, "Canadian Pictures at St. Louis Exhibit." The only work by Florence Carlyle listed is The Tiff, and thus it is only logical to assume that this was the work which won for her the Silver Medal.

47. For further reference to Dignam's European exhibitions see p. 62 of this thesis. It should also be noted that Dignam was given an 1928 exhibition (with a small catalogue) by the prestigious Durand-Ruel Galleries in New York.

48. MacDonald, vol. 2, pp. 356-357.

honourable mention for her work at the 1895 Paris Salon was Laura Muntz Lyall. She was awarded a silver medal in 1901 at the Pan American Exposition, Buffalo, and also exhibited at the Louisiana Purchase Exhibition of 1904, receiving a bronze medal for her painting, The Little Scribe.[49]

Another woman who exhibited frequently abroad was Sophia Theresa Pemberton. She exhibited at the Royal Academy in London in 1897, at a number of 1898 exhibitions in Birmingham, Liverpool and Manchester, and at the Paris Salon in 1899. At the time Pemberton was pursuing her studies in England at the South Kensington School of Art, she was awarded First in the three highest exams of this school: life, antique and still life. Pemberton's work, Little Boy Blue, received honourable mention in 1898 at the Royal Academy Exhibition held in London, while the following year she received the Prix Julian from the Academie Julian, which included a 100 franc bonus.[50]

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49. Montreal Museum Scrapbooks, no. 5, 1903-1929, Witness, May 1, 1904, "Canadian Pictures at St. Louis Exhibit."

    It is worthwhile to note that the information regarding Laura Muntz Lyall in MacDonald, vol. 4, pp. 935-936, is erroneous. The section dedicated to her indicates that she won a bronze medal at the Louisiana Purchase Exposition in 1901 and a silver medal at the Pan-American Exposition in Buffalo in 1904. However, as cited in the biographical information taken from "Artist's Files," Art Gallery of Ontario, reference library, in 1901 she exposed work at the Pan-American exhibition, Buffalo, while in 1904 she obtained the bronze medal at the Louisiana Purchase Exposition in St. Louis.

50. Tuele, Nicholas, Sophia Theresa Pemberton, Art Gallery of Greater Victoria, Victoria, British Columbia 1978,

Although there has been little attempt to document prices of Canadian art produced and sold during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, there is evidence provided in a small number of contemporary catalogues to suggest that certain women artists could and did command respectable prices for their works. The R.C.A. exhibition catalogue of 1913 attests that artists such as Laura Muntz (A.R.C.A.), Florence Carlyle (A.R.C.A.), Mary Hiester Reid (A.R.C.A.), and Gertrude Des Clayes, to name four of ten women represented, commanded prices of and beyond $200.00. Few women would attempt to ask over $500.00 for their works. However, Carlyle requested $500.00 for her work The Critic, as did Gertrude Spurr Cutts, A.R.C.A., for her painting Low Tide. This work was purchased by the Trustees of the National Gallery of Canada although the exact purchase amount was not disclosed. These significant amounts are in some cases parallel to those of their male counterparts, although it should be noted that some of these male painters were A.R.C.A. and not particularly reputable.[51]

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pp. 18-20.

Pemberton was the first woman so honoured. The Prix Julian gold medal was awarded annually to the student submitting the finest work.

51. "Royal Canadian Academy," Winnipeg, 1913.

Well known artists W.E. Atkinson, A.R.C.A.; J.W. Beatty, R.C.A.; Chas. W. Jefferys, A.R.C.A.; G. Horne Russell, A.R.C.A.; F. McGillivray Knowles, R.C.A., had works presented at this exhibition which were priced on average at $200.00. However, there were those male painters who did exceed those averages, such as Harry Briton, A.R.C.A., of Toronto, who presented The Fisherman's Wife,

In terms of financial acceptability, and by virtue of nomination as A.R.C.A., women had gained a limited foot-hold in the Canadian art market.

Many major Canadian artists of the period chose or were forced to teach in order to supplement the income obtained through the sales of their work. Women formed no exception to this rule, and indeed played an important role in the schools of art that were being established with increasing frequency in the final decades of the nineteenth century. Mary Ella Dignam was particularly dominant in the field of art education, organizing as she did several art schools, the most important of which was the Art Studios of Moulton College, McMaster University, Toronto, which from 1889 on enrolled some 90 students annually.[52] Laura Muntz Lyall was active in the education field, teaching painting and drawing at St. Margaret's College, Toronto, and the life class at the Hamilton Art School, the latter institution enrolling 122 men and 76 women in 1898.[53] Jean Munro MacLean and Mary Munroe, both graduates of the Liverpool School of Art, England, conducted the School of Art in Pictou, Nova Scotia, which

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which was listed at $750.00, a good price considering that William Brymner, P.R.C.A., was requesting $1,000.00 for his work Afterglow.

52. Dignam, Mary Ella, "Canadian Women in the Development of Art," p. 220.

53. Ibid, pp. 216, 220.

offered courses in still life, drawing from the antique and from the live model, landscape and portraiture, and ceramics.[54] In October 1893 the Montreal School of Art and Applied Design was founded and conducted by Mary M. Phillips, with five assistant teachers and an average annual enrolment of 75 pupils.[55]

Notwithstanding the prominence that a number of women had attained in the professional art world, it would, as we have seen (infra, pp. 19-22), be several decades before such mainstream artists' organizations as the O.S.A. and the R.C.A. would grant full membership rights to the women who exhibited with them regularly. To a very great extent this exclusion must be attributed to the general societal context of the late nineteenth century, which featured gender distinctions very succinctly captured by one late nineteenth-century Canadian observer:

> Boys had been educated for trade, a craft, a profession. It seems to have been generally assumed that all young women would marry on the first

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54. Ibid, p. 219.

For further information on Jean Munro Maclean see the Appendix. Although no date is given for the School of Art, MacLean was in Montreal by 1919 and became convener of sketching and the studio classes of the A.A.M. (1927) as noted by MacDonald, pp. 1060-1061.

55. Ibid, pp. 218-219.

The School carried out designs for architects and maufacturers, and did much to promote the study of design among women.

> favorable opportunity, and that any kind of superficial training was good enough for those who were only charged with the work of home-building and housekeeping.[56]

Thus, for the independent young woman who wished to pursue a career as a professionally-trained painter, the first obstacle was parental misgiving, which effectively reflected the social standards of the period. The majority of women interested in such a career had been introduced to the field as part of their education. Usually from socially prominent families, these women were taught the basics of music, singing and watercolour painting: cultural refinements which indicated their social status.[57] Nonetheless, a career in the arts was deemed morally and professionally dubious.

The questions that arose focused on why a career was necessary at all, and why a career as an artist, when after all only men were capable of being great artists.[58] Being an artist was a

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56. Austin, Rev. B.F., ed., Woman: Maiden, Wife and Mother, The Woman's Publishing Co., Toronto, Canada, 1898, p. 32.

57. At the same time this may have been a burden for those women who took their work seriously. Attempting to establish and maintain careers as professionals they did not desire comparison to the multitude of amateurs who took up the brush to complete their training as "ladies."

58. Serious studies along the lines of Roszika Parker and Griselda Pollock's Old Mistresses, Women, Art and Ideology, Pantheon Books, New York, 1981, have not been undertaken with respect to 19th century Canadian attitudes towards women artists. Nevertheless, one can certainly abstract the notion that women had been deemed incapable of being great artists, from any number of

radical departure from the typically nurturing career usually attributed to women, such as nursing or teaching. These professions not only represented and reflected the caring nature of women, but they also never posed a serious threat to their male counterparts. In the view of the nineteenth century, to become an artist indicated a strong-willed, self-centered and extroverted character. This personality "profile" was considered inappropriate for a young woman of gentle upbringing. Deviations from these established norms were deemed un-natural, and consequently led to querries regarding a woman's moral fibre. If a woman was assertive, intelligent and strongly motivated towards success and independence - in essence disregarding and breaking free from the instituted social type-cast - cries of promiscuity served to draw her back into line.[59]

However, by the third quarter of the nineteenth century, due to significant changes in the Canadian educational system [60]

Canadian texts, including the citation on p. 28 of this thesis.

59. See, for example, Greer, Germaine, "The Repression of Women Artists," Atlantic, September 1979, pp. 66-77.

60. The industrial revolution brought about reform within the educational system, with graded classes, better trained teachers, up-to-date textbooks and an educational hierarchy. As access to schooling was opened to the general public, women were gaining the benefits of an education. The Ontario Ladies College, Whitby, Ontario, established in 1874, offered a liberal education ranging from studies in botany, electricity, English, drawing and

and the success of the women's movement [61], as well as the

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painting, as well as the opportunity to follow courses in a division called the commercial school. Universities also began accepting women students, Mount Allison University, in Sackville, N.B., being the first to do so in 1862. It was also the first university in Canada to grant a degree to a woman, Grace A. Lockheart, in 1875. As women gained the benefits of an education some were breaching the barriers between male and female careers. Jennie Trout was the first woman licensed to practise medicine, in 1874, while in 1889 Kit Coleman was to become the first female newspaper editor, on the Toronto Globe and Mail. In Quebec the feasibility of any type of career was almost nil, between 1850-1920, 9% of Quebec women entered the religious domain, the balance being wives and mothers who took to trade work such as needle-work, for additional income.

For further information on educational changes and their impact on career opportunities, consult: Smith, Walter, "Technical Education: Its Position in a Public System of Education," Technical Education and Industrial Drawing in Public Schools, Council of Arts and Manufactures, Montreal, Gazette Printing Co., 1883; Austin, Rev. B.F., ed., Women: Maiden Wife and Mother, The Woman's Publishing Co., Toronto, Canada, 1898; --- Women of Canada, National Council of Women, Montreal (?), 1900; Careless, J.M.S., Canada - A Story of Challenge, MacMillan of Canada, Toronto, 1963; and L'Esperance, Jeanne, The Widening Sphere, Women in Canada, 1870-1940, Public Archives, Canada, 1982.

61. In addition to the benefits of an education, the suffrage movement was also a factor that enabled women to consider a professional career. Active in Canada during the last quarter of the nineteenth century, the conservative feminists and the radical feminists worked together to attain enfranchisement and the vote. The Young Women's Christian Association, founded in 1870 in St. John, New Brunswick, was organized nationally in 1893/1894, initiated the inception of many women's groups and associations, and was socially and politically powerful. While women's suffrage became an increasingly significant factor by the turn of the century women were only legally declared to be "persons" in 1929.

One of the more comphrehensive texts on the suffrage movement in Canada is Catherine L. Cleverdon's The Woman Suffrage Movement in Canada, University of Toronto Press, Toronto, 1950. Luckyj, Visions and Victories, pp. 108-

impact of numerous women from good homes who had taken the initiative and sought careers, these insinuations became somewhat less credible and justifiable:

> The almost universal prejudice against woman's efforts in every line which required her to appear as a public candidate for public favor or reward, the pressing nature of home duties, the few privileges woman has enjoyed for acquiring artistic culture and skill, may all be argued with good reason against any hasty inference respecting woman's inferior endowment for Art work. Small as is the number of female artists who have reached the front rank, it is suffiently large to fully demonstrate woman's claim to the highest artistic talent, and to prove that lack of suitable opportunity and proper encouragement, rather than lack of talent, is the true explanation of the relative smallness of woman's artistic achievements.[62]

Canadian artists required academic study, preferably attained abroad, at either the Academies of Europe or the United States, to be considered as professionals. Many desired entrance to the reknowned Ecole des Beaux Arts, but due to the severe competition and the high admission standards, the majority were never granted access to this exclusive institution and had to be satisfied with other institutions in France or England.[63] For those students who did not wish to

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109, has included a chronolgy of important dates from 1860 to 1945 concerning women in Canadian life. These highlights are a summation of pertinent events within the educational system, the suffrage movement and the Canadian art world.

62. Austin, pp.40-41.

63. Other European institutions included: L'Academie Colarossi, Paris; Grande Chaumiere, Paris; a multitude of Parisian ateliers, such as those of Robert-Fleury, Lefebvre, L'Hermete, Olivier Mercon, Raphael Collin, Blanc et Courtois, Dagnan et Bouyeret; the South Kensington School of Art, London; St. Ives, Cornwall; and

venture abroad, or who could not afford to attend the European academies, the Pennsylvania Academy of Fine Arts, Philadelphia, and the Art Students' League, New York, were two American institutions that offered academic training. In Canada this training could be obtained at such institutions as the Ontario College of Art, founded in 1875, the School of Art and Design of the A.A.M., Montreal, the Montreal School of Art and Applied Design, established in 1893, or the School of Art in Pictou, Nova Scotia (infra pp. 23-24).

The benefits accompanying this training were multifold; an "academic" education was felt to guarantee technical ability and it often eased access into the established art associations and societies, as well as ensuring public acceptability. Such an education often meant travel and study abroad for an extended period of time and at the turn of the century this was not usually feasable for a young lady without the presence of a chaperone, which indicated respectability:

> Before W.W.I, a woman studying art required a protector. Thus Florence Carlyle travelled to France with the painters 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. [64]

Even then, unknown hazards faced all young women. Alone, a woman was considered to be approachable by men and therefore

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the Grosvenor School of Art, London.

64. Farr and Luckyj, p. 1.

morally loose. This in itself would be inhibiting enough for a woman to reconsider studies abroad, although these were crucial to her career.

Having settled the issue of a travelling companion, two options were made available to Canadian women seeking professional training. Entrance to the ateliers of artist-professors, who accepted non-matriculated students, was always feasible, yet this offered a less rigorous academic training than at the Ecole des Beaux-Arts. The other alternative was acceptance into one of the numerous academies established and specifically organized to accommodate large numbers of foreign students and women who ventured to Europe to pursue their training. L'Academie Julian, one such institution, was established in 1868, by Rudolphe Julian, and was attended by Florence Carlyle (1890-1896), Sophia Pemberton (1896-1899) Mary Hiester Reid (1888), and Sidney Strickland Tully.[65] Although space was at a premium, one of the assets was the professors, hired from the Beaux-Arts and specifically employed to evaluate the work of students.

These schools based their teaching methods and approaches on

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65. Mary Bell Eastlake (1890-1891) was enrolled at the Academie Colarossi, as were Harriet Ford, Laura Lyall Muntz (1891-1898), and Sydney Strickland Tully (1886-1888). See the Appendix for further details concerning the education these women painters acquired.

the format established by the academies of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries: from drawing after engravings, to drawing from sculpture, the live model and finally the nude model, this educational process underscored the emulation of a Master's style and technique. As well, they maintained the hierarchical importance of the subject, following a pyramidic structure: history painting maintained the highest level, overshadowing the arts of landscape, genre, portraiture and finally still-life.[66]

For women, the curriculum was not as intense and they were usually placed in segregated classes. The effects of segregated classes were two-fold. As Germaine Greer and Linda Nochlin have speculated, segregation probably insinuated the differences of gender, reaffirming distinctions in social position of power as opposed to powerlessness, and of artistic credibility and genius.[67]

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66. Boime, Albert, The Academy and French Painting in the Nineteenth Century, Phaidon Press Ltd., New York, 1971, in passim.

67. According to Greer, pp. 75-76:

> "The women artists of the ninteenth century came from sternly repressive households into the largely illusory freedom and excitement of the ateliers. The idolization of the most successful artists produced a highly charged emotional atmosphere, which teachers exploited to the full. The donkey work was done by head girls, while the Great Man stepped in for an hour or two a week, milking the situation for all the ego gratification it afforded, reducing some of the women to tears while others thrilled to a laconic word of praise."

As well, and more concretely established, Canadian female artists had no access to the nude model prior to the 1900's and thus rarely attempted history painting, which required the ability to represent the nude in order to meet the standards set for this type of work. The simple fact of women's exclusion from studying the nude constrained many of them to practise exclusively in the genres of portraiture and still-life, considered within the Academic canon of art as being less significant. By association, the women who practised in the so-called 'lesser' genres might themselves be devalued as artists of 'lesser' talent.[68]

By the last quarter of the nineteenth century the significance of the Academies had begun to wane and the relevance of the hierarchical structure of subjects to become obsolete, giving way to a myriad of subjects, such as landscape, portraiture and still-life, each considered equally significant. It is

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See also, Nochlin, Linda, "Why Have There Been No Great Women Artists?" Art News, January 1971, pp. 22-39.

68. Parker and Pollock, p. 35.

"For almost 300 years from the Renaissance to the hey-day of the Academies of the 19th century, the nude human figure was the basis of the most highly regarded forms of painting and sculpture - what the academic theorists described as 'history painting' and placed at the top of the hierarchy of artistic genres. On the other hand, when avant-garde artists turned from academic theory and took up the hitherto less prestigious fields of portraiture, landscape and still-life, women could and did take full part in radical movements in art based upon these areas of representation."

also interesting to note that this period of transition saw women gain access to the nude model:

> Throughout the 19th century women artists campaigned against this exclusion from the nude. But it is arguable that this struggle diverted their energies. It is not without its irony that their final victory and entry into the full academic curriculum occurred precisely at the point when the hegemony of academic tradition was successfully challenged and finally destroyed by new avant-garde theories and practices.[69]

In Canada it was only by 1914 that the situation had relaxed sufficiently, permitting women to draw from the live nude model, as exemplified by the curriculum of the Ontario College of Art, Toronto.[70]

Academic training in hand, courage and determination abounding, Canadian women painters returned home as professionals. Establishing their careers in such major cities as Montreal, Toronto and Vancouver, members of the female artisitic community were, as we have seen, received with reserve by their male counterparts. This, in combination with the general attitudes of Canadian society, would lead many of these women to opt for the securities afforded by marriage. They often neglected their work to assume responsibility for the demands of husband and children. For those who remained

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69. Ibid, p. 35.

70. Farr and Luckyj, p. 2.

single, the struggle for financial freedom often marred their creative abilities. A case in point is Laura Muntz Lyall (1860-1930) who taught for several years to finance her studies in France in the 1880's. She established a successful career in portraiture in Montreal and Toronto, but following her marriage to C.W.B. Lyall in 1915, put her career on hold until 1924 when she recommenced from her "in-house studio." [71]

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71. Ibid, pp. 1,4,28.

When these female artists married other artists, as often was the case, they played a supportive role to their husbands' career, their own careers being overshadowed. A case in point is Mary Hiester Reid who, when referred to, is usually mentioned in association with her husband George Agnew Reid.

Chapter II - Getting into the Text, 1890-1914

If the major national art organizations elected to withhold full acknowledgement of the success of a number of women's efforts to establish and maintain professional careers in the visual arts, the same cannot be said of certain segments of Canada's press, which were beginning to take note of the growing stature of the arts in general as the nineteenth century drew to a close.

During the early 1890's, literature on the arts was scant. Books or exhibition catalogues dealing with the fine arts were almost non-existent. There was, nonetheless, a search for a format for considering the arts that would be succinct and pertinent, and interesting to the general public. Art periodicals and newspaper columns devoted to the arts began to make an appearance. Two prime examples of this new literature were the short-lived magazine Arcadia, and "Art Notes" published in the Toronto Saturday Night, both of which regularly included references to the work of women artists.

Arcadia, a semi-monthly journal devoted to music, the visual arts and literature, was initiated by the Montreal-based editor and publisher Joseph Gould. Although little is known of his life, Gould was thoroughly implicated in the artistic

community, as was demonstrated by his being granted a life-membership in the Art Association of Montreal for his "signal services" to the organization.[72] Of his journal, Gould wrote:

> Were there already in the Dominion even one such journal, or did the various existing publications furnish readers who are interested in these subjects with regular current information respecting them, an additional publication might, perhaps, be considered superfluous. But, unfortunately, such is not the case....
> It is with the hope of effecting this change that Arcadia has been established. In so far as promoters can ascertain, nothing similar to it in aim and scope has ever appeared in this country.[73]

As the following selection of material demonstrates, Arcadia chronicled and discussed any occurrence within the fields of music, art and literature that was of import. Anonymous writers covered art in Canada, specifically in Toronto and Montreal, and there were correspondents in all three departments in London, Paris and various major cities across the United States, such as New York and Boston. This

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72. ed. Gould, Joseph, Arcadia, vol. 1, no. 1, May 2, 1892, pp. 1-24.

    Joseph Gould (no dates available), an art critic residing in Montreal, was proprietor and editor of Arcadia, during its two-year existence (1892-1893). His publication was regarded as being in advance of the general culture of the mass of Canadian people and for this reason was not well supported. It had for contributors many of the best writers and critics in the provinces. ed., Morgan, Henry James, The Canadian Men and Women of the Time: A Handbook of Canadian Biography, 1st edition, William Briggs, Richmond Street West, Toronto, 1898, p. 394.

73. Ibid, p. 1.

comprehensive approach is reflected in the organization of the section devoted to the visual arts: "Art in Toronto"; "Art in the U.S."; "Art in London"; "Art in Paris"; "Art in Montreal"; "Art Notes" (which also included summaries of new books, sales of pictures, etc.); as well as other points that would be of interest (e.g.: the first volume included "Art Galleries in Canada" and Robert Browning's art poems).

With respect to Canadian art, an introduction to the Art Association of Montreal's annual exhibition of 1892 is presented in the first issue of Arcadia. The anonymous review presents a consideration of the show in general:

> If the Spring Exhibition of the Art Association of Montreal were to be judged by Keat's immortal line - 'A thing of beauty is a joy forever' - and a re-hanging considered from that basis, the pictures that would be allowed to contain even a temporary amount of perfect felicity might easily be catalogued on one page, and not number more than a dozen.[74]

Although this is a rather harsh introduction to the A.A.M.'s spring exhibition, the negative tone is not consistently present. The author does mention those works considered to be of promising quality. Categorized amongst the twenty-one best pictures exhibited are Florence Carlyle's A Bretagne Peasant, Mary Hiester Reid's Flower Pieces, and two watercolours by Louise McLennan and Miss E. Plimsoll. However no stylistic assessment of their work is attempted, even though the author

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74. Ibid, p. 14.

has taken the time to review in greater detail the works of such renowned male artists as Robert Harris, William Brymner, J.M. Barnsley and John Hammond.[75]

The next volume of Arcadia, published in May, once again makes mention of the A.A.M.'s 1892 spring exhibition.[76] The author details the prizes awarded for the best pictures in a number of categories:

> ... best painting of Still Life, in oil, $100.00, Mrs. M.H. Reid, Roses and Antique Vase; best painting by an artist under thirty years of age, not a Royal Canadian Academician or Associate,... second best, $50.00, Miss S.B. Holden, Serious Thoughts; best painting, in oil, by an artist who has been within three years, or is now a pupil of the association,... second best, $50.00, Miss C. S. Penfold, Evening Task; best water colour, ... second best, Mrs. L. McLennan.[77]

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75. Ibid, p. 14.

> "Of the landscapes, we prefer Mr. W. Brymner's no. 16, a most careful piece of realistic work of excellent composition and fine color, with good early afternoon effects of light and shade.... One of the best landscapes is Mr. Barnsley's no. 4, in which the mellow sky, the warmth of the last reflected rays and the coldness of the long shade are attained with great felicity of expression."

76. Ibid, vol. 2, no.2, May 16, 1892, pp. 33-34.

77. Ibid, p. 33-34.

> The breakdown of the awards was as follows: best figure painting, best sea or landscape, best portrait, best painting of still life, best painting by an artist under thirty years of age who is neither a Royal Canadian academician nor associate, best painting, in oil, by an artist who is or has been within the last three years a pupil of the Association, and finally best watercolour.

It is interesting to note that three of the five second place prizes were obtained by women, but only one of the seven: Reid, in Still Life. First place prizes were awarded to P. Woodstock, W. Brymner, J.M. Barnsley, H. Watson, R. Harris, O. Leduc, J.L. Graham and F.M. Bell-Smith, some of the most reputable Canadian male artists of the time.

The section devoted to art in Toronto in the same issue makes mention of women's art as well, specifically referring to the activities of the Women's Art Association:

> Indeed the work done by the club is meritorious in a high degree, and chiefly because the larger number of examples are by amateurs who are only able to devote snatch moments to their favorite pastime, one must acknowledge their commendable excellence.[78]

This is a revealing passage. While favourably disposed towards the W.A.A., the author has neglected to mention that a number of the women involved with the Association were academically-trained artists rather than amateurs, able only to "snatch" a few moments for their art. Mary Ella Dignam, founder of the Association, had not only studied abroad but had exhibited there as well. As we have seen, the purpose of the W.A.A. was similar to those of other professional art organizations [79]: Arcadia's brief note effectively portrays the Women's Art

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78. Ibid, p. 33.

79. Infra, pp. 14-19.

Association as limited in scope and relevance, thus diminishing somewhat the importance of the organization.

The February 28, 1893, Royal Canadian Academy exhibition at the gallery of the A.A.M. was also reviewed by Arcadia in its March 1st issue. The exhibition itself was considered a success, as the majority of works were of high quality owing to the fact that from those exhibited a select few were to be chosen to represent Canada at the World's Fair of 1893.[80] Although the review is brief, a substantial amount of space is dedicated to Mary Bell's works, A September Evening, Lake Huron and Summertime:

> 'A September Evening, Lake Huron,' and 'Summertime,' by Miss. M.A. Bell, are two camping scenes painted last summer at Muskoka. The atmosphere in both these is particularly good, the former suggesting the still, half-misty twilight of summer, the latter bright with August sunshine. In 'Summertime' there are some lovely touches of colour. Miss Bell won first prize for genre painting at the Montreal Exhibition two years ago. She belongs to the Impressionist School, as can easily be seen from her 'Portrait of a Lady,' which does not appeal to the public taste.[81]

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80. Arcadia, March 1, 1893, vol. 22, no. 22, pp. 449-450.

> "The date is earlier than that of former years, owing to the fact that from these pictures Canada's contribution for the World's Fair must be selected....
> Exhibitors have been granted the unusual privilege of sending in any work done by them, whether or not it has been hung before, as the committee considered that in this way they could stand a good chance of securing a fair representation for all."

81. Ibid, p. 449.

This text is significant for the prominence it gives to Bell, and also for its insight into the "public taste." The assessment of Bell's work typifies the contradictory essence of the literature of the end of the century, on the one hand praising her sense of atmosphere while at the same time indicating the lack of appreciation for her Impressionist style on the part of the general public.

Perhaps stimulated by the efforts of Arcadia, there was a blossoming of writing on the arts from 1893 to the end of the century, in such periodicals as the monthly Canadian Magazine and The Week, 1883-1896.[82] Confined to the spatial limitations of a column, the articles were brief and at times critically vague, but included an increased amount of material focusing on women painters. A prime example of this expanded coverage is to be found in another Toronto periodical, the weekly Toronto Saturday Night which, from 1887 on, carried a fairly regular column covering the arts: this column was entitled variously, "Art," "Art and Artists" or "Art Notes."[83]

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82. The Canadian Magazine of Politics, Science, Art and Literature, with a regular section devoted to the arts, was produced in Toronto by the Ontario Publishing Company. The Week, with its weekly column on the arts, was edited by Charles G.D. Roberts and published by C. Blackett Robinson of Toronto.

83. Toronto Saturday Night, was an illustrated weekly published in Toronto by the Sheppard Publishing Company. The first editor was Edmund E. Sheppard, former proprietor of The News.

By 1893 these columns contained regular references to women painters, professional and otherwise, in their critiques of exhibitions, comments in reference to specific artists, accounts of the artistic situation in Ontario and discussions of art in general. An overview of the three-year period from 1893 to 1896 indicates the interests of the general public, as mirrored by the authors: there was a preference for the academic style, importance was placed upon technique, drawing, perspective, the use of colour and light, and upon landscapes dominated by atmospheric effects.

The authors responsible for these texts wrote under the pseudonyms of Effigy (articles dating 1893-1894) and Lynn C. Doyle (articles from 1895-1896).[84] The preoccupations, presentation and style of each author as reflected in the following selections of their work typifies the initial grapplings of the literary community when assessing and reviewing women's art.

The article "Art and Artists" by Effigy, dated March 11th,

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84. The identities of Effigy and Lynn C. Doyle are unknown, although Effigy, in the citation presented on p. 44, is a "he".

It is interesting to note the choice of pseudonyms: Effigy, defined as a likeness or representation, a crude image of a disliked person; and Lynn C. Doyle, a pun upon linseed oil, a drying agent used in the preparation of oil paints.

1893, reviews an R.C.A. exhibition held at the A.A.M., in Montreal, February 21st, 1893:

> Among the oils in the large room is No. 17, Mrs.(sic) Brymner's Lake Louise, a broad and powerful painting of an early morning effect on one of the most impressive views in the Rocky Mountains, the deep tone of the sky and gloom of shadow below giving intense brilliancy to the sun-lighted slope of the glaciers. In No. 67 The Great Illicillwach Glacier is treated in quite a different spirit by Mr. Hammond. It is a gray, and poetic rendering of a scene no less remarkable, and in it and others of this year he gives evidence of a power hardly suggested by his previous work. Miss Bell's Summertime No. 11, is in striking contrast to both of these large pictures. It is a delicious little flood of glorious sunshine - the gem of the exhibition.[85]

In this passage essentially two types of art are represented; a traditional, academic landscape and an impressionist sun-light scene.[86] It is interesting to note the author's descriptors: the academic work is termed as "powerful and poetic" while the impressionistic work is termed as "a delicious little flood." Although Effigy appears to have a marked preference for the Impressionistic rendering of the landscape, termed as the "gem" of the exhibition, the

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85. Toronto Saturday Night, March 11, 1893, "Art and Artists," p. 15.

    No information exists on Mrs. Brymner. This was probably a typographical error and the artist was in fact Mr. Brymner.

86. Miss Bell was considered by at least one of her contemporaries to have belonged to the "Impressionist" school, as noted earlier, infra pp. 40-41.

terminology used in assessing the work is underdeveloped.

Effigy is generous with his praise in this article, but later in the same month he demonstrates a different attitude and preoccupation. His review of the fifth exhibition of the Women's Art Association of Canada, held at their quarters in the Canada Life Building, Toronto, is more overtly critical in nature:

> Mrs. Dignam is represented by six paintings of which I prefer the Sheep Cote. This subject is well handled. The work of this artist in flowers is too well known to be referred to particularly....Miss Bell of Montreal has a very good [illegible]mp scene worth special attention. The Flemish Inte[illegible] by Vanden Broeck is one of the best colour and l[illegible] studies. I would like to see the perspective improved. This lady has a splendid eye that sees, and if she will take the trouble to see Effigy he will be glad to give her a full criticism, for which there is not room here....The Chess Problem by Miss Drummond is not good enough for exhibition. This young lady attempts too difficult subjects, and as I see plenty of ability in her work I hope she will take instructions, for she will certainly make a success.[87]

Effigy, wearing very obviously the hat of the art critic, indicates that the work of these women was sound, although in some instances it lacked finesse, particularly with respect to basic technical accomplishments. The question that must be addressed here regards the identity of the author. Who exactly is Effigy, and what background and knowledge does he possess that allows him to dispense these criticisms on art? While Effigy was, as well, predisposed towards careful

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87. Toronto Saturday Night, March 13, 1893, "Art and Artists," p. 15.

assessment of works produced by male artists, these criticisms were far less specific:

> In Mr. Homer Watson's large landscape we find a delicate luminosity in the sky, which is a distinct step forward, and some lack of his old fresh vigor in the treatment of the terrestrial parts of the picture which, we trust, does not indicate a lapse into the poverty of conventional color, but he has enough strong stuff in him to pull him through.[88]

In his judgment of Watson's painting, Effigy is clearly more gracious towards a work that does not reflect the artist's merit. If such a difference in critical approach was intended to indicate that women artists lacked, or were denied, the technical training of their male counterparts, Effigy never made the case overtly.

By 1895 Lynn C. Doyle had taken over the arts column for the Toronto Saturday Night and, as revealed in selected passages, a new perspective was presented. This author was not only concerned with the art of women, but also with their position and influence in the Canadian art world. Commentaries referring to women's art associations, women's participation in international exhibitions, and art lectures presented by leading women artists became a staple within each column. Critical reviews were also presented in a different light:

> Harriet Ford has a portrait in the window of Messrs. Matthews Bros., which is a very striking and clever piece of work in what, for want of a better word, we might call the vibratory manner. It is something

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88. Ibid, March 11, 1893, "Art Notes," p. 15.

> many will admire exceedingly, while the conservatives in art will condemn.[89]
>
> ....Miss Ford's portrait of herself and mural decoration are already familiar to the art public of Toronto; her portrait of a child has called forth the most opposite and conflicting criticisms. The uninitiated find fault with the flatness of the face out of which the eyes look so big and dark, with the crouching position; the initiated admire the spirited action of the figure, the daring colour schemes of yellow and green. 'It grows on me every time I see it; it improves on acquaintance, and that is a great test,' was the verdict of one of these.[90]

In contrast to an overtly personalized and subjective approach, the author purports to disclose multiple viewpoints, those of the initiated and uninitiated. Clear indication is made regarding the educated awareness and preference for modern art by the "initiated," thereby indicating the changing taste of the art-conscious public. At the same time, the author reveals that women's art was considered sufficiently legitimate as to be a focus for discussions concerning changing aesthetic values.

Doyle as well refers to public lectures and presentations on art made by various women artists:

> Miss Harriet Ford's first lecture in the Ontario Society of Artists' Art Gallery, King street west,

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89. Ibid, October 12, 1895, "Art Notes," p. 9.

    Ford (1859-1939) was very active during this period in exposing her works, and lecturing on art and publishing ("The Royal Academy of Arts," The Canadian Magazine, III, Toronto, 1894, pp. 45-49).

90. Ibid, April 4, 1896, "Art Notes," p. 15.

> was so well attended that the second on the Renaissance on Tuesday week was held in the large gallery instead of the smaller rooms as the first was, and the change was decidedly for the better....[91]

Doyle not only presents the happenings of exhibitions and open studios but goes a step further and presents a full rounded perspective of events within the Toronto art community:

> The seventh annual meeting of the Woman's Art Association of Canada took place in the studio, 89 Canada Life building, on Monday, October 5, at 3 p.m.; the president, Mrs. Dignam in the chair, and all the other officers present, with a good attendance of members. Most satisfactory reports were presented by the secretary and treasurer. Mrs. Gerald Fitzgerald was elected 1st vice-president, Miss McConnel having expressed her desire to retire from that position.... The most progressive year in the history of the W.A.A. of Canada has ended, and the promise for the year just entered is most encouraging. A special meeting is called for Monday, October 12, at 10:30, at the Canada Life Building, to plan and outline the year's work and appoint committees. All active members are earnestly requested to attend.[92]

Reviewing the articles written for Toronto Saturday Night by Effigy and Doyle, acknowledgment must be made of the maturing of this periodical's attitude towards the art world. Annie Elizabeth Mutch, employing the pen name Jean Smart, took over the art column in 1897, and followed the guidelines set by Lynn C. Doyle, with comparable attention being given to the

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91. Ibid, April 6, 1895, "Art Notes," p. 9.

92. Ibid, October 10, 1896. "Art," p. 9.

activities of women artists and with art appreciation having progressed from a general description of art and events to a form of connoisseurship. The authors, and the educated public of whom they spoke, recognized that Canadian art was no longer simply a reflection of the old academic style but was open to the influences of the modern movements.

Nevertheless, these early columns never fully explored the depths of the artistic situation in Canada. Thus, while recognition is forthcoming regarding the achievements of women artists the writers in question never placed these achievements in a context which revealed the greater efforts required by these women to attain the status of "professional."

By 1900, interest surrounding the subject of Canadian women painters appears to have lost some of its appeal, as suggested by a significant decrease in the number of references made to women in publications such as Toronto Saturday Night. This was possibly due to a number of factors. The question of professional status and women's position within the Canadian artistic community was temporarily answered when the R.C.A. elected a few chosen women as Associate Members, even though their rights did not include political power within the

institution.[93] As well, the suffragate movement of the last quarter of the nineteenth century had lost some of its impact, no longer being viewed as a matter of great urgency.[94] While certain concessions had been made and women were to play a more distinct role during the 1920's [95] it would not be until much later, with the rise of the modern feminist movement during the 1970's, that strong interest regarding women painters active at the turn of the century would once again be aroused.

Although newspaper articles referring to women artists were scant, and followed along the guidelines established by such periodicals as Toronto Saturday Night, [96] exhibition

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93. Infra, pp. 12-13.

94. L'Esperance, Jeanne, The Widening Sphere, Women in Canada 1870-1940, Public Archives of Canada, Ottawa, 1982, pp. 30-32.

    Even the reports of the actions of the militant groups in England from 1908 to 1914 failed to have an effect on the Canadian campaign. However, the 1914-1918 war acted in many ways as a catalyst in Canadian society. By March of 1918 a Bill was passed giving all Canadian women the right to vote and by 1921 women had entered federal and provincial politics.

95. During the 1920's and 1930's women artists became far more involved in the artistic community, firmly establishing themselves and their art in their contemoprary setting. Paraskeva Clark, Yvonne McKague Housser, Lilias T. Newton, Marion Long and Prudence Heward, to name a few, all established solid careers.

96. The Montreal papers of the period - the Gazette, the Star, Le Canada, and Witness - all had sections devoted to the fine arts, as did the Toronto papers, The Globe and The Star Weekly. The articles were a reflection of

catalogues of this period had begun to play a role, albeit minor, in the presentation of the work of women professionals.

Early catalogues were employed as guides and aide mémoire to exhibitions held at the A.G.O., the A.A.M., privately owned galleries such as Messrs. W. Scott and Sons Galleries, Toronto, and Art Metropole Galleries, Toronto, or in relation to R.C.A. exhibitions held in major cities throughout Canada. Focused on group showings, they proferred neither biographical information for the artists, whether male or female, nor descriptions of the works. Each catalogue simply listed the artists and titled works. Although no written material is provided for a literary and historiographical assessment, the accompanying price guides are, as we have seen (infra p. 22), beneficial to this study in their attestation of women's professional and financial standing.[97]

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the format employed by Toronto Saturday Night. Brief assessments of the exhibitions presented at the Gallery of the Art Association of Montreal and acknowledgement of the works presented by the more prominent artists were the usual fare in the Montreal papers, while the Toronto papers concentrated on exhibitions at the O.S.A..

97. Price listings were included in these catalogues:

Catalogue of the Work of Canadian Artists, Art Gallery, 23 Phillips Square, Montreal, Quebec,June 15th to September 15th, 1903.

Thumb-Box Exhibition, Messrs. W. Scott and Sons Galleries, November 4th to 17th, 1908, Yonge Street Toronto, Ontario.

Royal Canadian Academy, Winnipeg, 1913.

In 1911 the Canadian Magazine published an article dedicated solely to Laura Muntz and her art. This review, written by Newton MacTavish, was a major step forward in the development of writing dealing with women's art.[98] Prior publications had not yet focused upon a specific woman, her career and achievements, nor had they made mention of women's situation within the Canadian art scene.

MacTavish's introduction questions the established orthodoxy regarding women in art:

> The artistic career of Laura Muntz is a good refutation of the popular fallacy that to succeed in any art one must begin its study early in life. It is, on the other hand, a verification of the axiom that every person who responds to the natural impulses discovers ahead of him a well - defined course. However that may be, Miss Muntz had reached the mature age of twentyfive years before she broke the ties that bound her to the farm and set out to enter a new sphere of life in the city....She undertook to find her own way, and that she found it should ever stand to her as an inexhaustible credit.
> Miss Muntz is an associate of the Royal Canadian

The R.C.A. catalogue lists R.C.A. and A.R.C.A. members, past and present, according to their field of endeavour. In addition there is a list at the end of the catalogue indicating the addresses of the artists taking part in the exhibition.

98. MacTavish, Newton, "Laura Muntz and Her Art," The Canadian Magazine, vol. XXXVIII, no. 5, September 1911, pp. 419-426.

MacTavish (1877-1941) was a journalist on the staff of the Toronto Globe from 1898 to 1906, and from 1906 to 1926 was editor of the Canadian Magazine. He was a trustee of the National Gallery from 1920 to 1932. ed., Wallace, W.S. The Macmillan Dictionary of Canadian Biography, Macmillan of Canada, Toronto, 1978, p. 549.

> Academy. That does not mean much, but it is the greatest academic distinction that a woman painter can obtain in Canada. In a sense, it is a pity that we cannot write "R.C.A." after her name, for if ever a Canadian painter deserved that appendage it is this intense, serious woman, who resides in the city of Montreal. But the mere fact that she may append "A.R.C.A." and not "R.C.A." to her name recalls to mind a singular discrimination observed by the paternal art association of the Dominion. That discrimination is the refusal to admit any woman to full membership.[99]

The purpose of the introduction is twofold. MacTavish presents his subject, albeit aggrandised, as a determined and hard-working professional, and employs a single element of her career as a vehicle to discredit the R.C.A. for its policy regarding professionals of the female gender. With this text, which neglects to mention Charlotte Schreiber who was elected R.C.A. by 1880, although without the benefits associated with the title, MacTavish presents an issue that had yet to be addressed and presented to the general public.

Having expounded on this subject, MacTavish resumes his biography of Muntz, concerning himself with the artist's education in Canada and in France at the Academie Colarossi, her travels to Holland and Italy, her establishment in Toronto and subsequently her residency in Montreal.[100] His assessment of Muntz's style is augmented by illustrations, eight in

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99. MacTavish, p. 419.

100. Ibid, pp. 419-420.

total, including a photograph of the artist. The author interprets and discusses each illustration, considering the style, technique and subject matter:

> She has more commission work than she can do, and one of the regrets of her life during the last few years has been the small amount of time she been able to give to big creative work, things that are allegorical, like "Protection," a reproduction of which decorates the frontispiece of this magazine....
> Miss Muntz's work is unusually dramatic, yet her results are achieved without trace of effort or affectation. She has an admirable sense of contrast, both in colour and theme, and it is an exceptional thing for her not to present an antithesis to the chief motive. We observe this, for instance, in "The Daffodil," which at first blush is simply a portrait study of a young woman - a fine symphony of colours, a satisfactory composition, with a brisk, virile treatment. But it suggests something more than these superficialities, and, apart altogether from the flower and flesh and the environment, we feel a heart beating and realize that here is a personality that, even though so young and innocent, has experienced some of the inevitable pathos of humanity.[101]

Although MacTavish's terminology is at times flowery and charged, he employs this style to augment Muntz's status and increase her recognition. Of significance is the specific terminology MacTavish employs to describe the painter's work: "brisk and virile treatment" are words more generally applied at the time to the paintings created by male artists.

Canada and its Provinces, [102] published in 1914, included a

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101. Ibid, pp. 423-424.

102. Johnston, E.F.B., "Painting and Sculpture in Canada" Canada and its Provinces, 1914, pp. 607-627.

chapter dedicated to the arts of painting and sculpture in Canada. It was one of the first, if not the first, general history texts to deal with a selection of women artists: Sydney Strickland Tully, Laura Muntz, Florence Carlyle, Elizabeth A. Forbes, Charlotte Schreiber, Mary Hiester Reid, Clara Hagarty, Mary Ella Dignam, Harriet Ford, Agnes Chamberlain, and Mary Evelyn Wrinch. Its author, E.F.B. Johnston, also refers in passing to Dorothy Stevens, Henrietta Shore, Estelle M. Kerr, Beatrice Hagarty, H.N. Vickers, Elizabeth McGillivray Knowles, C. Spurr Cutts and Helen McNicoll as deserving of recognition. These women were the better-known women painters of the day working in Toronto and Montreal. A restricted perspective is thus presented, as women's involvement in the arts was not confined to the provinces of Ontario or Quebec. However, the author also placed these same restrictions on his selection of male artists.[103]

The passages devoted to the aforementioned artists are brief, relaying their interests, subject matter, style and accomplishments. The following statements clearly indicate the author's perceptions concerning these artists:

Sydney Strickland Tully:

"She was a frequent and acceptable exhibitor at all the exhibitions for several years.... Her talents varied, including portraiture, and genre subjects, interiors and

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103. Ibid, pp. 609-610.

landscapes, together with a considerable amount of decorative work...."

Laura Muntz:

"Children are favorite models, and there are very few painters who can so effectively and almost unconsciously express the characteristics of childhood."

Florence Carlyle:

"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. One always finds in her pictures combined decorative and pictorial elements, and while they may not appeal to the critics as evincing any great subtlety or power to paint from the subjective point of view, it is quite beyond question that her art shows talent of a high order."

Mrs. M.H. Reid:

"Her flower pieces are exceedingly delicate and beautiful. She paints very charming landscapes."

Mary E. Wrinch:

"Her miniatures, delicate in execution and fine colour, are very faithful likeness."[104]

Johnston employs such terms as delicate, decorative, delightful and charming to describe the work of these women. The author appears to be developing what he considers to be an appropriate terminology with regard to the art these women produced, by employing analogies associated with the female sex. This becomes increasingly apparent in the decidedly different approach which Johnston adopts when presenting the lives and art of male artists. Introduced as president of the

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104. Ibid, pp. 609-610.

R.C.A., William Brymner is described as an artist whose works are distinguished by their naturalness and remarkably fine treatment of light. Horatio Walker's compositions are defined as, "simple, but convey, by reason of their fine execution, ideas and impressions of the greatest magnitude." Lawren Harris's subjects are strong, with wonderful power, while James Wilson Morrice is an acknowledged genius, at home and abroad.[105] Johnston sets a tone that was to be followed during this period: the notion that women's work was associated with femininity and was represented by feminine characteristics, while men produced works that displayed power and strength.

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105. Ibid, pp. 609-627.

Johnston also refers to the numerous paintings Brymner presented at the Salon and English exhibitions, as well as to the gold medal he received at the Pan-American Exhibit and the silver medal Brymner won at the Louisiana Purchase Exhibition. By comparison Laura Muntz's work is not referred to in such a manner even though her works had, as well. won major awards.

Chapter III - Staying in the Text, 1915-1988

Concurrent with the active portions of their careers, Canada's first wave of professional women artists had been able, by 1914, to find their way into both the press and a major text dealing with the history of Canada. These early successes were not to be followed by steady progress in the decades that followed. Indeed, it would not be until the 1970's that even professional literature on the arts in Canada would begin to pay serious and sustained attention to the accomplishments, individual and collective, of the artists in question.

The 1920's began well for some of the artists of concern to this thesis, in the sense that three of them were accorded, upon their deaths, major memorial exhibitions and accompanying catalogues.[106] Two of these catalogues, Mary Hiester Reid (A.R.C.A., O.S.A.), 1922, and Florence Carlyle, A.R.C.A., 1925, followed the growing pattern of including biographical

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106. --- Memorial Exhibition of Paintings by Mary Hiester Reid, A.R.C.A., O.S.A., The Art Gallery of Toronto, 1922.

--- A Memorial Exhibition of the Paintings of the late Florence Carlyle, A.R.C.A., The Jenkins' Art Galleries, Toronto, May 26th - June 6th, 1925. The authors of these publications are unknown.

--- Memorial Exhibition of Paintings by the late Helen G. McNicoll, R.B.A., A.R.C.A., The Art Association of Montreal, 1925.

information and some stylistic analysis along with a list and a selection of reproductions of the works exhibited. The third, Helen G. McNicoll, R.B.A., A.R.C.A., 1925, restricted itself to a list of works and six reproductions that could serve as an aide mémoire for the viewers.

The Art Gallery of Toronto organized and published the catalogue for the memorial exhibition of Reid's work, which was held from October 6th to October 30th, 1922. Most importantly this was the first one-woman show at the Gallery. The introduction to the catalogue clearly indicates the intention of following a biographical path.[107] Information is provided in relation to Reid's parentage, her marriage to G.A. Reid, and her artistic background. Although the focus is primarily a chronology of her life, there are brief passages alluding, in the most general way, to style:

> Her work (as the present exhibition shows) was of a varied character. Beginning as a painter of flowers and still-life, she painted landscapes, gardens, interiors, mural decorations and some figure work, her style broadening and maturing as the years, filled with constant work, passed by. She rarely dated her work and only those who know it intimately can follow this maturing of her style, although the exhibition contains 300 examples, this represents only a part of her life work, many of her

107. Memorial Exhibition of Paintings by Mary Hiester Reid, p. 3: "The subject of this biographical note was born in Reading, Pennsylvania, on April 10th, 1854 and died in Toronto, Canada, on October 4th, 1921...."

paintings not being available for exhibition.[108]

Following along the lines of this balance between biography and art are excerpts taken from Saturday Night and The Toronto Globe. Mrs. Appelby wrote in regard to Reid's life and art:

> Eminently sane, Mrs. Reid adopted none of the freak and hideous methods of the ultramodernists. What she saw in Nature that delighted her she reverenced, and loved, and would have scorned to distort its beauty into the deformity of decadent imagining. She herself had no startling theories about art to air, but applied herself with diligence and sincerity to the study and interpretation of nature in those aspects that appealed most to her.... Her sense of colour was increasingly fine and some of the harmonies evolved from her colour-arrangements linger caressingly in the memory after many years.[109]

For The Toronto Globe, Miss Marjory MacMurchy wrote:

> A word picture cannot easily convey any idea of the attractiveness of the artist's personality. Yet it must be attempted, since the camera cannot portray the eager, gracious look, the soft colouring, the gentle grace of this lady of the brush and palette....[110]

The stance taken by these women critics directly relates the character of the artist to the art produced, with a familiar

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108. Ibid, p. 4.

109. Ibid, pp. 5-6. The Saturday Night article containing this passage was published on October 15, 1921, although without any acknowledgment of the author's identity.

110. Ibid, p. 6.

The article written by MacMurphy has not been located in what the catalogue purports to have been the original place of publication.

emphasis placed on qualities associated with the feminine.

Included with the biographical notes and exhibition listings are twelve reproductions, reflecting the range of subject matter approached by the artist, and a photograph of the painter at work.

The catalogue accompanying the memorial exhibit of Florence Carlyle presents another approach employed in art historical literature, but one that had yet to have been associated with women: that of following the path of a genius. The opening passage is devoted to the work of the artist:

> The keynote of the work of Florence Carlyle is its vigorous fidelity to nature, the result of her unswerving allegiance to Truth in Art during her life in many lands and under widely varying conditions.[111]

What follows is a general overview of Carlyle's art and a listing of the paintings presented during the exhibition. The final section of the catalogue deals with the artist's life story:

> Florence Carlyle was born in the village of Galt, Ontario, in 1865, and those who delight in associating genius with heredity will be pleased to find a measure of support for their theories in her relationship to Thomas Carlyle, that famous man of letters, of whose brother she was a direct

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111. --- A Memorial Exhibition of the Paintings of the late Florence Carlyle, p. 2.

descendant.[112]

In this instance, it is implied that the artist's genius could be associated with heredity and was not entirely the result of her own diligence and vision. This passage distracts the reader's attention from Carlyle's work and places a certain emphasis on her illustrious relation. Had she no such relative would this painter still have been termed a genius? The myth or legend surrounding Carlyle and her art is further perpetuated through additional statements in this vein:

> When about the age of three years, the Carlyle family moved to Woodstock, Ontario, and even at this early age the future artist manifested that love of beauty and that sympathy with nature which were so characteristic of her mature years.[113]

The myth of genius, creation and artistry are built up around Carlyle, distinguishing her from the population as a whole. The artist has become exalted, while the art produced is almost a secondary consideration.

It should be noted that memorial exhibitions were almost the sole reason for one-woman shows in Canada;[114] otherwise women painters showed with groups of artists. The situation was

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112. Ibid, p. 13.

113. Ibid, p. 13.

114. A notable exception is the 1927 Art Gallery of Toronto exhibition of Mary Bell Eastlake's work.

somewhat different abroad. Professionally-trained Canadian women painters sometimes received opportunities for solo shows and were often more openly praised for their work than was the case at home.

For example, in 1926 Mary Ella Dignam had two solo exhibitions in Europe; at the Galeries Simonson, Paris, from June 5th to the 19th, and in London, at the Arlington Gallery from July 5th to the 16th.[115] This travelling exhibition consisted of thirty-eight works dedicated to autumn scenes of Canada, and was well received abroad, while receiving little or no written attention in Canada:

> Peintre de talent, sincere et spontanée, Mrs. Mary Dignam apparaît comme la plus expressive des descriptifs du Canada. Pour avoir choisi un sujet si bien adapte à son coeur et à son mètier, elle mèrite notre reconnaisance; elle la mèrite davantage pour les belles, les trés belles et trés emouvantes etudes qu'elle expose.[116]

In short, Canadian women painters still required at home the

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115. Exposition Mary E. Dignam, L'Automne dans les regions du Nord du Canada, Galeries Simonson, 19 rue Caumartin, Paris, du 15 au 19 juin, 1926.

    --- M.E. Dignam, Autumn Scenes in Canada, Arlington Gallery, 22 Old Bond Street, W., London, July 5-16, 1926.

116. Hesset, C., "L'Exposition de Mrs. Dignam à la Galerie Simonson," La Review Moderne, Paris, juin 1926, unpaged. Also highly complimentary of Dignam's work was Jules de Saint Hilaire, "Les Oeuvres de Mary E. Dignam à la Galerie Simonson," Review du Beau et du Vrai, Paris, juin 1916, unpaged.

kind of champions a few of them had found abroad. With his publication The Fine Arts in Canada, 1925, Newton MacTavish clearly wished to be seen in this light. Chapter twenty-two is entirely devoted to a select group of women artists and may be considered as the first general consideration of women in the arts.[117]

MacTavish begins his consideration in the following manner:

> Perhaps the women painters will regard it as a compliment if they are considered in an exclusive chapter. Because in the first place, the Royal Canadian Academy, although it did admit one woman, Mrs. Charlotte M.B. Schrieber, as described in Chapter III, into full membership, does not permit women nowadays to get beyond associate standing. That attitude, which is not tolerated by the Ontario Society of Artists, which gives women equal footing with men, is open to criticism, for it puts a premium on sex and at once subjects women to a handicap.[118]

As was the case in his 1911 Canadian Magazine article on Laura Muntz, MacTavish is not a flawless "champion." He compares, in this instance, the archaic mentality of the R.C.A. with that of the O.S.A., which embraced women as equals. Although he has corrected his earlier error concerning the membership of Charlotte Schreiber in the R.C.A., the author neglects to indicate that the O.S.A. had placed its own set of

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117. MacTavish, Newton, The Fine Arts in Canada, Coles Publishing Co., Toronto, 1925, Chapter XXII, pp. 139-146.

118. Ibid, p. 139.

restrictions on women painters; they as well were not invited to participate fully in meetings.[119]

Another problematic passage taken from this introductory paragraph indicates the author's continuing affinity for Laura Muntz:

> At that time there were few professional women painters, and therefore we have to look forward several decades in order to discover women painters of distinctive merit. One of these is Laura Muntz (Mrs. Lyall).[120]

MacTavish here insinuates that after Mrs. Schreiber there were few female professionals of note in the field of painting until Muntz asserted her career in the early ninteen-hundreds. By beginning his text with her, he reaffirms this insinuation, disregarding the fact that Mary Ella Dignam was exhibiting her work by 1883 with the O.S.A., and Mary Bell Eastlake with the R.C.A. by 1887. The following page and a half is assigned to Muntz and is a duplicate of his article in The Canadian Magazine of 1911.

In the remaining six pages of this chapter, MacTavish goes on to cite other women who were working during the time of Muntz and those of a generation later: Florence Carlyle, Sydney

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119. Infra, p. 12.

120. MacTavish, The Fine Arts, p. 139.

Strickland Tully, Mary Hiester Reid, Elizabeth McGillivray Knowles, Henrietta Shore, Kathleen Munn, Dorothy Stevens and Mary Evelyn Wrinch. Passing mention is made of many others: the Des Clayes sisters, Mabel H. May, Lorna Fyfe Reid, Estelle Kerr, Gertrude Spurr Cutts, Eva Brook Donly, Marion Long, Mary Riter Hamilton, Kathleen M. Morris, Regina Seiden, Henrietta Ford, Clara S. Hagarty, Therese Lessore, Marjorie E. Grass, Mary Bell Eastlake, Maud McLaren, Mary Grant, Helen Mason Davidson, Marjorie Sankey, Mrs. J.E. Elliott, Alberta Cleland, Mrs. Mary E. Dignam, and Minnie Kallmeyer. A parallel can be drawn between this text by MacTavish, which is shorter, and that by Johnston, in his chapter "Painting and Sculpture in Canada," from Canada and its Provinces, of 1914 (infra, pp. 53-56). Almost the same artists have been cited, whether for biographical note or for honourable mention.[121] Both authors have focused their studies on women painters in Ontario and Quebec, disregarding the achievements of other women artists such as Sophia Pemberton and Elizabeth Nutt, who were working elsewhere in the country at the turn of the century.

MacTavish's presentation of the careers of these women painters is traditional. He mentions their educational backgrounds, cites a few works, alludes to their style, offers

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121. While MacTavish has a more complete listing of women painters, he has omitted such key figures as Elizabeth A. Forbes, Harriet Ford and Helen McNicoll.

personal anecdotes, and indicates if they have won any competitions, or if they have exhibited abroad. The entire chapter seeks to demonstrate the author's familiarity with the artists and workings of the art world:

> ... A year after [Florence Carlyle's] death a very fine exhibition of her paintings was held in Toronto. Not long before she died, thoughts of early days in Paris drew her back again to that city, and she wrote: 'It was delightful. My first visit since the wonderful old days of thirty years ago. The experience was beautiful, but it was also sad....Step by step I found my way to the old studio in the Latin Quarter, asked if my old master was still alive, and was told that he was at that very moment inside. I opened his door and went in. He lifted his head, looked at me and held out his arms, 'Meess Carlyle' he cried, and I found myself clinging to him, and both of us were crying. All the old haunts were like dreams.[122]

This passage is certainly endearing, the artist having been endowed with a personality. However, personal anecdotes of this type had not been employed elsewhere in the text where MacTavish deals with male artists. Therefore, it serves to diminish slightly the artist's professional merit, presenting instead a sentimental woman.

As for Mary Hiester Reid, we learn that she was a prolific artist with a maturing style:

> The year following her death a memorial exhibition of her work was held at the Art Gallery of Toronto. This exhibit was notable in as much as it was the first to be composed exclusively of the work of one woman.... And, as the 300 examples of her art gave

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122. Ibid, p. 141.

> evidence, she had undergone a gradual broadening and maturing of style, which could be observed, however, only on close scrutiny.[123]

However this seems to be a double-edged compliment; while Reid was prolific and broadened her style, it was only upon close scrutiny that one could see her maturation as an artist. A telling comparison can be drawn between MacTavish's text and that of a passage from the 1922 memorial exhibition catalogue dedicated to Mary Hiester Reid. Virtually the same format is employed, [124] with a subtle change of wording which now clearly indicates that her maturation of style is intrinsically difficult to recognize rather than difficult to come to terms with because of the absence of dates and the fact that many of her works were not included in the exhibition.

Included within MacTavish's text are illustrations of works by Dorothy Stevens, Florence Carlyle, Laura Muntz, Mary H. Reid, Mary E. Wrinch, H. Mabel May, Sydney Strickland Tully, Kathleen Morris, and Berthe, Alice and Gertrude Des Clayes. These reproductions include landscapes, interiors and portraits, and reflect the interests and styles of those

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123. Ibid, pp. 142-143.

> It is interesting to note that Mary H. Reid is referred to as G.A. Reid's wife.... Would she have been unrecognizable otherwise or is she remembered through association?

124. Infra, pp. 58-59, footnote 108.

artists. They serve to illustrate and enhance the information within the text. It should be noted, however, that only eleven works are reproduced, representing only eleven of the thirty five women mentioned, as opposed to the one hundred and five plates dedicated to the work of the 155 male artists mentioned.

Although MacTavish has dedicated one chapter exclusively to women in the arts, his major concerns revolve around the counterparts of these women. Like contemporary critics, whether male or female, he has not addressed his subject thoroughly, nor has he concerned himself with the limitations acting upon these women in terms of education, social standards and professional acceptability. He may express dismay with the R.C.A. and its policy regarding membership within the Academy, yet this plea finally seems to be a hollow one.

Morever, urgent concern must be expressed regarding the seriousness of MacTavish's self-assumed role as the "champion" of Canadian women painters once one has encountered his 1938 publication Ars Longa.[125] This text is in essence a collection of personal anecdotes concerning the arts and artists of Canada. It presents a writer in complete contradiction with

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125. MacTavish, Newton, Ars Longa, Ontario Publishing Co. Ltd., Toronto, 1938.

his earlier position.

With regards to Florence Carlyle, he writes:

> Florence Carlyle was a prolific painter...In her industry she was like her namesake Geordie Carlyle... who himself was credited with shipping more fat cattle out of Ecclefechan than any other man in Scotland.[126]

That Carlyle was a prolific painter is accurate and indeed might be seen as commendable, considering the arduous obstacles that a female artist of single status had to overcome. Comparing her industry with the shipping of fat cattle is, however, beyond belittling.

In reference to Laura Muntz Lyall, a supposed personal favorite, MacTavish describes her interest in painting as follows: "There she remained, doing domestic work, until "well on," and then the urge to paint seized her."[127] Not only does the author negate his prior championing of the artist, but he has become rather derogatory. Lyall had been diligently pursuing her studies at home and abroad while alternately working to gain the status and acceptability due a professional. MacTavish effectively wipes these factors aside with his insinuation that suddenly the "old maid" had an urge

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126. Ibid, pp. 106-107.

127. Ibid, p. 170.

to escape the doldrums of domesticity through art.

He continues in this demeaning tone, leaving the impression that he is not wholly satisfied with the humiliation already bestowed upon Lyall. In reference to her studies in Paris he writes:

> And one thing there that she was inordinately proud of was the publication in L'Illustration of a painting done by herself. That increased her self-confidence and gave her courage. And that was about all she possessed of inherent equipment.[128]

As opposed to "looking forward several decades in order to discover such women painters of distinctive merit as Laura Muntz," as MacTavish had previously written in his 1925 chapter, the artist once so revered now possesses only courage and self-confidence. Having earlier characterized Lyall as a dramatic artist who possessed an admirable sense of contrast, both in colour and theme, and whose work was accomplished without a trace of effort or affectation, these passages regarding the author's "protege" are shocking and do more than merely call into question the reputation MacTavish had earlier pursued as the "white knight" of Canadian women painters. While his treatment of Carlyle and Muntz are harsh to say the least, MacTavish proffered humour rather than malice to his

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128. Ibid, p. 170.

male subjects.[129]

Early texts by MacTavish, which expounded upon the merits of women artists, may well have to be viewed as a smokescreen for the real purpose behind his work: an assault upon the R.C.A. With the publication of Ars Longa any importance placed upon the status of women painters, whether in the context of public consciousness or within the various associations and especially within the R.C.A., loses all its impact and becomes questionable. Had women painters merited the championing of MacTavish based upon their professionalism and artistic accomplishments, or were they a means to a greater end?

Newton MacTavish, however, was not the only author to dedicate a section of his introductory text on Canadian art to women. M.O. Hammond's 1930 work, Painting and Sculpture in Canada, also has a section devoted to women artists, Chapter IX which consists of three and a half pages, one of which is taken up

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129. Ibid, pp.91-92.

> "John Russell dropped in one day to see Cruikshank after the latter had moved from the arcade to a studio located on Queen street near Bay.
> 'Well, Cruik' said this painter of nudes, 'I hear you're going to get married.'
> 'Me get married? Not me! Why, mon, then I'd have to take a bath every day. And who could think 'o that?'
> 'Well, Cruik, single or married, how do you find Toronto?'
> 'Toronto?' the older artist repeated inquiringly. 'It's the real Simon pure backside of the universe.'"

by photographs of prominent female artists.[130] His opening remarks indicate the dilemma faced when attempting to place women artists in the history of Canadian art: "It may be more convenient than discrete to segregate the women painters of Canada in this brief survey."

Convenience overrides discretion, however, and Hammond sums up the contribution of women artists in a meagre two pages of a 72-page text. Citing Charlotte Schreiber, Sydney Strickland Tully, Mary Hiester Reid, Elizabeth McGillivray Knowles, Clara S. Hagarty, Marion Long, Laura Muntz Lyall, Mary Wrinch Reid, Dorothy Stevens, Henrietta Mabel May, Kathleen M. Morris, Emily Coonan, Lilias Torrance Newton, Florence H. McGillivray, Helen G. McNicoll, Elizabeth S. Nutt, Estelle Kerr, Minnie Kallmeyer, Stella Grier and Emily Carr, the author has chosen only a few women, past and present, to indicate the contribution of women artists. Although Hammond's section on women painters is extremely limited, it is the first to seek a balance between women artists working in central Canada and those working in other areas of the country. Unfortunately, absent from this "chapter" are Florence Carlyle, Mary Ella Dignam, Mary Bell Eastlake and Mary Riter Hamilton, to name

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130. Hammond, M.O., Painting and Sculpture in Canada, The Ryerson Press, Toronto, 1930, pp. 53-56

Those represented are: Florence Carlyle, Emily Carr, Elizabeth Wyn Wood, Lilias Torrance Newton, and, centrally located, Mrs. Schreiber.

but some of the important women who had made distinctive contributions to the Canadian art world.

As we have seen, the period between 1914 and the 1930's indicates a certain degree of interest in the situation of "professional" women painters. Although the information is not especially detailed, is largely repetitive and may not always have emerged from genuine concern, the authors did bring to the attention of the public the careers and works of these artists, who had diligently pursued their goals and attained acceptability. By the 1940's, following the interest initiated by the Group of Seven in the 1920's, the arts had aroused a more serious concern, that of nationalism in Canadian art. Historical surveys of the Canadian arts were published, an example being William Colgate's Canadian Art, Its Origin and Development, 1943, as were monographs, such as Muriel Miller Miner's text G.A. Reid, Canadian Artist, 1946, which dealt with past as well as contemporary figures.[131]

The early publications of this period were primarily survey texts or monographs, reaffirming, or representing the arts in

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131. Colgate, William, Canadian Art: Its Origin and Development, McGraw Hill Ryerson Ltd., Toronto, Canada, 1943.
Colgate's text covers the early origins of Canadian art up to 1940.

Miller Miner, Muriel, G.A. Reid, Canadian Artist, Ryerson Press, Toronto, 1946.

Canada in a defined and concise manner. Their references to Canadian women painters active from 1890-1914 were scant. In the majority of cases, any mention made regarding these women was limited to a few lines of brief acknowledgment: Colgate, for example dedicated two full pages to the reputable botanical painter Maria Morris (1813-?) in his 1943 general survey text Canadian Art: Its Origin and Development. It is interesting to note that while she was the first recognized artist of her native province Nova Scotia, passages dedicated to professionally-trained artists such as Muriel C.W. Boulton, Marjorie Earle Gass, Jean Munro Maclean and Mabel Killiam Day are limited to a few lines in the majority of cases, or, at best, to a brief paragraph.[132]

While these publications provided no new focus on women artists, the exhibition catalogue was beginning to take on new dimensions. If the majority of the exhibition catalogues published from the forties through the sixties are traditionally biographical in their presentation of the artist's life, work and status, a new, if yet underdeveloped, element is present in some instances. This is clearly the case with the small catalogue accompanying the 1954 retrospective exhibition of Sophie Pemberton, which consists of an illustrated cover, an introduction and a listing of works

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132. Colgate, pp. 157-159.

loaned for the exhibition.[133] An awareness of the social situation of the times is indicated. The author clearly states that during the early nineteen hundreds, in a "pioneer milieu," art was not highly regarded, and even less so the notion of a woman wishing to pursue a career in the art and finalize her education alone in Europe.[134]

This publication indicates the orientation Canadian art history was beginning to develop after mid-century, whether in regards to women artists or their male counterparts. No longer simply dealing with the lives, works, careers and personal notes of the artist, art history was becoming more contextual. Concerns were no longer exclusively focused on the artist as an entity unto him or herself but were directed to dealing with the socio-economic conditions and other events that led to the development of the artist, the style and the movement.

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133. --- Sophie Pemberton, Retrospective Exhibition, Vancouver Art Gallery, British Columbia, 1954.

134. Ibid, p. 1: "In spite of her pioneer environment, in which the pursuit of the arts was regarded as a somewhat less than useful activity, Miss Pemberton's talent developed steadily from an early age, her first work having been exhibited when she was scarcely twelve. After overcoming parental misgivings about the hazards facing a young girl of gentle schooling in the ateliers of Europe, a determined Miss Pemberton set out to study abroad, first at the Slade School in London and then at the Academie Julian in Paris...."

In the case of the Pemberton catalogue many contextual insights were brought to light, either directly or indirectly. These revolved around the limitations and hindrances encountered by women when attempting to enter the domain of the arts as professionals. This publication indicates a modern train of thought and direction being taken by this new art historical perspective. However, not all, indeed perhaps not even the majority of authors shared this interest or direction as it pertained to Canadian women painters of the turn of the century.

John Russell Harper's 1966 text Painting in Canada, and Dennis Reid's A Concise History of Canadian Painting, 1973, both deal only marginally with women artists.[135] Harper refers to Pemberton, including an illustration of her work, and he also mentions Laura Muntz Lyall as an artist who failed to accomplish all that her Parisian study promised, although her mother and child compositions possessed mere subtleties and freedom of brushwork.[136] In the same vein, Reid makes one serious reference to a female artist of the turn of the

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135. Harper, John Russell, Painting in Canada, University of Toronto Press, Toronto, 1966.

Reid, Dennis, A Concise History of Canadian Painting, Oxford University Press, Toronto, 1973.

136. The illustration of Pemberton's work is the 1899 Little Scribe, Harper, pp. 227-229. Muntz is represented by her painting Mother and Child, undated, pp. 253-255.

century, Sophia Pemberton, and only alludes to Mary Hiester Reid, albeit never once by name, but only as the wife of G.A. Reid: "After graduation Reid married a fellow student from the Pennsylvania Academy and honeymooned on the continent...."[137]

His acknowledgement of Sophia Pemberton is no better, squeezing her quickly into the context of the art scene in Vancouver and Victoria during the early 1900's, and the career of Emily Carr.[138] While Reid acknowledges that Pemberton was the first native-born painter to gain attention he slights her achievements with his comments on her ability as a painter, "uneven and often awkward," when, with a little research, he would have uncovered that she was the first woman to receive the Prix Julian in 1899, and that she had been regularly exhibiting her work in England and France since 1897 (infra pp. 1, 21 and Appendix). It is unusual that Reid cites Pemberton when he has not made direct mention of any other professionally-trained woman painter prior to or contemporary with her. One can only assume that she is brought to attention as a stepping-stone to introduce British Columbia and Canada's first female genius, Emily Carr.

With the 1970's came a resurgence of the feminist movement

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137. Reid, p. 99.

138. Ibid, p. 154.

and, despite some authors' reluctance to deal with the subject of women painters, this new awareness appears to have made a strong impact on the literature dealing with the fine arts.

Two leading authors recognized the existence of women painters practising between 1890-1914: Colin S. MacDonald and the art historian John Russell Harper. MacDonald had begun to publish his Dictionary of Canadian Artists, in 1967 and acknowledged the careers of a number of women artists, such as Florence Carlyle and Laura Muntz.[139] In sharp contrast to his earlier effort (infra, p. 76), Harper in his 1972 dictionary, Early Painters and Engravers in Canada, compiled a rather complete listing of male and female artists born before 1867, professional and otherwise, who were working in Canada.[140]

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139. MacDonald, Colin S., Dictionary of Canadian Artists, 7 volumes, Canadian Paperbacks Publishing Ltd., 1990.

MacDonald began collecting information on Canadian artists in 1953 as a result of his interest as a landscape painter. He consulted with scholars in this field, ie. R.H. Hubbard, John Russell Harper and William Colgate, and went ahead with his plan for a dictionary of Canadian artists. He has included the following women active at the turn of the century in his important publication: Mary Alberta Cleland; Eva Brook Donly; Mary Bell Eastlake; Elizabeth A. Forbes; Harriet Ford; Clara Hagarty; Alice Hagen; Mary Riter Hamilton; Rebecca Harrington; Estelle M. Kerr; Elizabeth McGillivray Knowles; Martha Logan; Florence H. McGillivray; Edith Macklin; Jean Munro Maclean; Helen McNicoll; Emma Martin; Jean Cockburn Munro; Elizabeth Nutt; Sophie Pemberton; Mary Hiester Reid; Mary Evelyn Wrinch.

140. Harper, John Russell, Early Painters and Engravers in Canada, University of Toronto Press, Toronto, 1972.

From Women's Eyes; Women Painters in Canada, 1975, a catalogue survey of historical and contemporary artists, was extremely significant for the context it provided for Canada's first wave of professional women painters.[141] Its authors, Dorothy Farr and Natalie Luckyj, readily acknowledged that the chosen women artists and works were personal favorites, but this is the only overtly subjective aspect they attest to in their text. Those referred to during the time-frame of 1890-1914 were artists working in central Canada: Sydney Strickland Tully, Mary H. Reid, Florence Carlyle, Elizabeth McGillivray Knowles, Laura Muntz Lyall, Mary Bell Eastlake, Helen Galloway McNicoll, and Mary E. Wrinch. As references to these women and their respective careers had emerged in some cases repeatedly throughout various publications since 1890, Farr and Luckji believed that these women represented the best examples of Canadian women painters of the period in question.

The "Introduction" and "A Short History" raised issues rarely,

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141. Farr, Dorothy, and Luckyj, Natalie, From Women's Eyes: Women Painters in Canada, Agnes Etherington Centre, Queens' University, Kingston, 1975.

A slightly earlier catalogue is Joan Murray's Sparkling Water: Mary Wrinch and her Contemporaries, Paintings and Prints, Art Gallery of Ontario, Toronto, 1971. While its title might lead one to assume that it would offer a substantial consideration of the artist and of early Canadian women painters it is in fact a slim offering. The text deals briefly with Wrinch's painting in the Muskoka area prior to the Group of Seven and the influence of Gaugin and Van Gogh upon her use of colour.

if ever, explored before in literature pertaining to Canadian women artists active betwen 1890-1914. Perhaps the most obvious example of the pioneering nature of the catalogue is its consideration of subject matter:

> In general, women painters have tended to choose psychological and narrative themes, rather than action subjects, or the 'empty landscape tradition.' This is not in keeping with the major trends of Canadian art. A striking number of their pictures depict people, populated environments, houses, gardens, interiors, etc., or personal relationships and emotions.... One might argue that in the early days, women were restricted; that they did not avail themselves of a wider selection of subjects; and that they kept close to home. Modern interpretations of the same themes frustrate this argument and one must conclude that women painters have been more willing to grapple with the presentation of delicate human relationships and strong emotions than have other Canadian artists.[142]

It should be pointed out, however, that many Canadian male artists of the period were at the same time portraying individuals and events that one might argue came close to the psychological presentations of their female counterparts: Paul Peel (1859-1892) comes to mind with such works as After the Bath, 1889, as does Robert Harris (1849-1919) in such works as Meeting of the School Trustees, 1886, and Harmony, 1886. As well, George A. Reid is to be considered because of such works as Forbidden Fruit, 1889. Moreover, as we have seen (infra p. 2) women artists like Mary Bell Eastlake and Mary Evelyn Wrinch had worked in the landscape tradition and had

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142. Ibid, pp. 1-2.

received acclaim for their efforts. Hence, in asserting that women were more willing and able than men to portray human relationships, without making a carefully documented case, Farr and Luckyj segregate women's art in a manner that may not be legitimate.

Thoroughly in keeping with the tone of their discussion of subject matter, the authors contend more forcefully than had been the case in previous literature, that women artists in Canada have endured more than the usual obstacles faced by men. Socio-economic and educational impediments are sketched in, as are the attitudes of the leading art associations.[143] Given the length of their text it is not surprising that these themes are not pursued in any detail. Nevertheless, it is rather surprising that their characterization of the Women's Art Association - "[it] practiced 'mutual help and improvement' through lectures and exhibitions for women interested in the arts," ibid, p. 3. - overlooked the attempts of Dignam et al to compensate for their lack of power in the O.S.A. and the R.C.A.

Of particular significance and unique in Canadian literature at the time was Farr and Luckyj's acknowledgement that in French Canada there were virtually no professionally trained

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143. Ibid, p. 34.

female painters until the 1930's.[144] As the authors testify, women in Quebec appeared to express themselves in other forms of production, such as elaborate embroideries, as opposed to painting.

After the general introduction, subsequent sections take the form of brief biographies of the chosen women, accompanied by a few illustrations of their oeuvres. These notes reiterate the basic facts of the artist's life: birth and death dates, education, memberships, exhibitions, association with contemporaries (usually male), and a general assessment of style. The illustrations accompanying the texts augment and enhance the reader's understanding of the style and temperament of the artist.[145]

Both Farr and Luckyj are to be acknowledged as concerned authors bringing to light the problems confronted by women painters seeking professional recognition and acceptance in the late nineteenth century. However, although the introductory section and short history sought to afford the reader with an overall understanding of the difficulties and

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144. Ibid, p. 2.

145. An interesting addition to the catalogue is the extensive bibliography published. This inclusion lends credence to the authors' research and at the same time informs the reader that material is provided for further study, pp. 77-80.

shortcomings a professionally-trained female painter faced, the points presented at times took on the character of sweeping generalizations, with sporadic highlights of an exaggerated nature.

Another major monographic catalogue of this period, dated 1978, focuses on the life and art of a single artist, Sophia Theresa Pemberton (1869-1959).[146] This catalogue on the British Columbia artist covers her student days from 1886 to 1897, her short-lived professional career from 1897-1909, and her later years.[147] Nicholas Tuele, who researched and wrote this monograph, covers aspects of Pemberton's education, exhibitions, career, and marriages. Ten pages are devoted to the artist, and included are photographs of the artist, her parents, family, school and friends, and of course, her weddings. A personal perspective is accorded her creating the image of a woman determined to succeed, yet cut short by the demands of life.

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146. Tuele, Nicholas, Sophia Theresa Pemberton (1869-1959), Art Gallery of Greater Victoria, Victoria, British Columbia, 1978.

    Tuele is Curator of Historical Art, Art Gallery of Greater Victoria.

147. The author of the catalogue's preface, Colin Graham, was already familiar with the work of Pemberton. While curator of the Greater Victoria Art Centre he had written the introduction to the retrospective catalogue on Pemberton: Infra, pp. 74-76.

As documented by Tuele, her initial studies in England at the School of Art at South Kensington met with great success; she passed first in life, antique and still-life.[148] Having switched to the Academie Julian, Pemberton achieved the signal honour of winning the 1899 Prix Julian, the first woman ever to be so honoured.[149] Pemberton continued to exhibit her work, and notwithstanding the fact that she suffered from illness, subsequently travelled throughout Europe, recuperating and finishing her artistic training. Plagued by declining health, the need to care for her ailing mother, and the obligations of her first marriage in 1905, she put an end to her professional career. Tuele's descriptive passages regarding her travels, illnesses and marriages, heightens the reader's understanding of the events that led to Pemberton's professional demise, and for the first time puts "flesh" on generalizations concerning the circumstances surrounding the careers of Canada's first women artists.

The catalogue terminates with a chronological listing of major events in Pemberton's life, a brief biography, the

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148. Ibid, p. 19.

> As Tuele notes: "A First in life class was outstanding.... It had not been too many years earlier that proper young Victorian ladies would not even have been allowed in life classes."

149. Ibid, p. 20.

listing of principal exhibitions, and a partial price guide and a final statement. The forty-seven plates, selected from the eighty works in the exhibition, are presented in chronological order, providing the reader with an unprecedented opportunity to observe the range, technique and style of a woman artist active at the turn of the century.

The significance of this catalogue lies in the fact that it is one of the very few substantial contextual considerations of a specific female artist active at the beginning of the twentieth century. Tuele succinctly presents the dilemma facing one woman painter and by doing so presents Pemberton's career as a framework within or against which other artists of her generation may be studied. Unfortunately, the contextual structure does not include a careful assessment of her stylistic development and of the relative merit of the work.

During the 1980's, scholars with feminist concerns have tended to direct their attention to the art world. As a result, the promise afforded by the efforts of MacDonald, Harper, Farr, Luckyj and Tuele, has not been fully realized.

One significant text from this most recent period, and one that clearly seeks to continue the work of Farr and Luckyj, is Gemey Kelly's Backgrounds: Ten Nova Scotian Women Artists,

1984.[150] The exhibition and the accompanying catalogue focuses on the work of ten Nova Scotian women artists working from 1880 to 1955, and is divided into three sections: the introduction; a listing of women painters and the works exhibited; and artists' biographies, complemented in each case with an illustration. Although, as Kelly indicates, the preparation for the exhibition itself was limited in time, an overview of women's art is presented, as well as an introduction to the works of three artists - Frances Jones Bannerman (1855-1940), Edith Smith (1867-1954) and Elizabeth Nutt (1870-1946) - active at the turn of the century.

Kelly's brief introduction,[151] plays a dual role. It presents one of the first general overviews of the history of the establishment of art institutions in Nova Scotia and of the significant involvement of women within this context. Nonetheless, it is not without its problems: no mention is made of the specific obstacles these three women faced when choosing a career in the arts, nor does it offer any concrete explanation as to why women played such a dominant role in the establishment of art institutions.

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150. Kelly, Gemey, Backgrounds: Ten Nova Scotian Women Artists, Dalhousie Art Gallery, Dalhousie University, Halifax, Nova Scotia, 1984. The exhibition ran from October 4 to November 11, 1984.

151. Ibid, p. 6.

More illuminating is the catalogue accompanying a 1985 exhibition organized at the Art Gallery of Greater Victoria, which attempts to link the past with the present in its consideration of women artists and, as such, must also be seen as an extension of the pioneering work of Farr and Luckyj. British Columbia Women Artists 1885-1985 contemplates the changing role of women artists in the province, the first such exhibition to be presented in the west.[152]

The introduction to this catalogue not only raises pertinent questions regarding the status of women in the art world, but also bluntly states the meaning of such an exhibition for the profession of art history:

> The discussion of feminist issues is not as visible in the art world as it was ten years ago. Nonetheless, the thesis of this exhibition has touched a sensitive nerve.... In fact, one part of our goal in presenting this 100-year survey has been the hope that it will engender meaningful discussions of some important but as yet unanswered questions....[153]

Christina Johnson-Dean is responsible for the catalogue's text on B.C. women artists working from 1885-1920. Although her text is but a brief five pages, Johnson-Dean conveys a general notion of women artists' situation in the West, including

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152. Tuele, Nicholas, British Columbia Women Artists 1885-1985, Art Gallery of Greater Victoria, Victoria, British Columbia, 1985.

153. Ibid, pp. 5-6.

their close connection with developments in Great Britain, the wide range of mediums in which they worked, and their important role in the development of "an informed context for artmaking in the province."[154]

Having presented a general overview of the artistic situation in late nineteenth and early twentieth-century British Columbia, Johnson-Dean goes on to discuss the lives, education, involvment, work, style and exhibitions of women working during that period. Miss Drake, Lollie P. Worsford, Martha Harris, Margaret MacLure, Josephine Crease, Sarah Crease, Mary Maberly Walker, Susan Reynolds, Barbara Lindley, Sophia Pemberton, Amelia Bullen, Margaret Kitto, Mary Hamilton, Louise Loveland, Annie Webster, and Adelaide E. Langford are mentioned and briefly discussed, and eight illustrations are provided to show the nature of their work.

British Columbia Women Artists, like all such survey catalogues or texts, is very general in its format and in the information it is able to convey. Nevertheless, it takes its task seriously, providing a substantial bibliography as well as a record of what is contained in the Art Gallery of Greater Victoria's B.C. women artists' files. The catalogue is thus eloquent in its desire to foster further research.

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154. Ibid, p. 8.

In 1988 Dennis Reid published his second edition of A Concise History of Canadian Painting.[155] Citing the remarkable growth in the study of the history of Canadian art, to be found in the scholarly journals RACAR and The Journal of Canadian Art History, and in serious publications, usually in the form of exhibition catalogues, Reid states that he was encouraged to prepare a revised and enlarged version. It contains numerous change and additions, some reinterpretations, and a long additional chapter devoted to painting of the period 1965-80. Unfortunately, the place accorded to the professionally-trained woman painter working between 1890 and 1914 does not differ from the first edition. Notwithstanding the accomplishments of such catalogues as From Women's Eyes: Women Painters in Canada, Sophia Theresa Pemberton (1869-1959), Backgrounds: Ten Nova Scotian Women Artists, and British Columbia Women Artists 1885-1985, - in themselves part of the growth in the discipline of Canadian art history which he uses to justify a second edition - Reid has chosen to deny the role of women within Canadian art. The text has remained concise at the price of presenting an imbalanced view of the history of Canadian painting, thus clearly demonstrating that some of the attitudes which allowed the O.S.A. and the R.C.A. to deny for some time full membership to women artists have not completely died out.

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155. Reid, Dennis, A Concise History of Canadian Painting, second edition, Oxford University Press, Toronto, 1988.

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155. Reid, Dennis, A Concise History of Canadian Painting, second edition, Oxford University Press, Toronto, 1988.

Conclusion

The theme that has dominated this thesis has been one of accessibility. Chapter I referred to the hesitant, yet ultimately decisive admission of professionaly-trained women into the domain of the Canadian art world. Chapters II and III, in their sweep through some one hundred years of writing on Canadian art, lay the groundwork for an assessment of the degree to which our understanding of artistic development in this country has incorporated a consideration of the accomplishments of an historically significant group of artists. The latter two chapters demonstrate that there is much research to be undertaken if the discipline of art history is to make accessible to the scholar and the general public the achievements, individual and collective, of Canada's first wave of professional women painters.

Our survey of the literature reveals that very few women painters active between 1890-1914 have been the subjects of monographs. To be sure, the career of Emily Carr, which commenced at the very end of the period under study, has been well-documented. The story of her life, as revealed in her published memoirs and numerous publications, attests to her initial interest in the arts and subsequently to the obstacles, discriminations and hardships she faced gaining the

status of "professional."[156] Unfortunately this treatment of Carr is very much the exception rather than the norm, in terms both of her direct contemporaries and, even more so, of those artists who immediately preceeded her.

References in scattered texts to once highly-regarded artists such as Laura Muntz have not inspired monographic consideration; indeed, they do not even guarantee an artist's file in the National Gallery archives nor at the Public Archives. Mary Riter Hamilton, a painter who not only studied in Germany but was also highly regarded in France (infra, pp. 1, 20-21), is yet another example of a reputable woman artist of the period who justly deserves greater recognition.

Equally impoverished has been the consideration of possible relationships and joint efforts involving members of the first group of professionally-trained women painters. Many of these women eventually entered the schools and academies of the United States, England and the Continent to further the artistic education they required to be considered as professionals. It is interesting to note that Eastlake and Ford were studying at the Academie Colarossi in 1891, while Carlyle and Pemberton were both at the Academie Julian in

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156. Blanchard, P., The Life of Emily Carr, Douglas & McIntyre, Vancouver, 1987 and Schleicher, Hembroof, Emily Carr, the Untold Story, Hancock House, Saanichton, B.C., 1978,

1896. Although no specific dates are available, a number of women, namely Cutts, Dignam, Eastlake, Forbes, Harrington, Kerr and Wrinch, were enrolled at the Art Students' League in New York. Canadian women studying abroad and overseas would most likely have associated with one another, forming some type of allegiance, as friends and study partners, which may have continued upon their return home. At present, however, we can only speculate on such issues.

The W.A.A., significant for its dedication to the arts and women artists, has been dismally neglected as a topic of research. What little documentation is to be found is of a very general nature. Needless to say, an organization of such magnitude, with associate divisions throughout the country and affiliations with other major associations in Canada, the United States and England, does not warrant such disregard.

Little research has been done regarding women's role and place within the general artistic community. That women were accorded a certain membership status within such associations as the A.A.M., O.S.A. and the R.C.A. is undisputed, as is the resulting absence of a concrete political voice. What remains to be analyzed are the results, if any, of this lack of representation.

The limited scholarship that exists on women painters and the

circumstances surrounding their careers remains, in general, isolated from the rest of the history of Canadian art. Comparative studies between the production of men and women are required. We cannot assume the existence of such a difference, yet all hypotheses - an inherent "feminine" style, constructed differences between the sexes, no differences - must be tested.

APPENDIX: A Listing of Canadian Women Painters Active or Presumed Active from 1890 - 1914

Abbreviations:

A.A.M.	Art Association of Montreal
A.G.O.	Art Gallery of Ontario
C.N.E.	Canadian National Exhibition
C.S.A.A.	Canadian Society of Applied Arts
O.P.E.	Ontario Provincial Exhibition
O.S.A.	Ontario Society of Artists
R.A.	Royal Academy, England
R.C.A.	Royal Canadian Academy
R.I.	Royal Institute of Painters in Water Colours
S.C.A.	Society of Canadian Artists
T.I.E.	Toronto Industrial Exhibition
T.S.A.	Toronto Society of Artists
W.A.A.C.	Women's Art Association of Canada
W.A.C.T.	Women's Art Club, Toronto
W.I.A.C.	Women's International Art Club

Bannerman, Frances Jones

b. 1855 - Halifax, Nova Scotia
d. 1940 - Great Marlow, Nova Scotia

Studies: Canada - Halifax, Forshaw Day

Membership: A.R.C.A. 1882

Major Exhibitions:

1881-1883	R.C.A.
1882	Paris Salon
1888-1891	R.A.

Carlyle, Florence

b. 1864 - Galt, Ontario
d. 1923 - Crowborough, Sussex, England

Studies: France - Paris, Academie Julian (1890-1896)
Delecruse
Robert Fleury
Lefevre
Bouguereau

Membership: A.R.C.A. 1897
O.S.A. 1900-1906

Major Exhibitions:

1892-1915	A.A.M.
1893	Columbian Exposition, Chicago
	Paris Salon
1895-1916	R.C.A.
1895	Paris Salon
1896-1921	R.A.
	Walker Art Gallery. Liverpool
1897-1902	T.I.E.
1897-1922	O.S.A.
1901	Buffalo, Pan-American Exposition
1903	Paris Salon
1904	St. Louis, Louisinana Purchase Exhibition
1924	Wembley Exposition, England
1925	Jenkins Art Gallery, Toronto

Cleland, Mary Alberta

b. 1876 - Montreal
d. unknown

Studies: Canada - Montreal, Art Association of Montreal
William Brymner

Cummins, Jane Catherine

b. 1841 - Amherst Island, Ontario
d. 1893 - Munich, Germany

Studies: Canada - Montreal, Otto Jacobi

Major Exhibitions:

1891 A.A.M.

Cutts, Gertrude Spurr

b. 1858 - Scarborough, Yorkshire, England
d. 1941 - Port Perry, Ontario

Studies: England - Yorkshire, Scarborough School of Art
Albert Strange
London, Lambeth School of Art
John Smith
W.S. Lewelyn
U.S.A. - New York, Art Students' League
J.A. Bridgman
John Carlson
B. Harrison

Membership: O.S.A. 1891
A.R.C.A. 1895

Major Exhibitions:

1891-1902 T.I.E.
1891-1928 O.S.A.
1891-1929 R.C.A.
1893 Columbian Exposition, Chicago
1894-1912 A.A.M.
1903-1930 C.N.E.
1904 St. Louis, Louisiana Purchase Exhibition

Dignam, Mary Ella

b. 1860 - Norfolk County, Ontario
d. 1936 - Toronto, Ontario

Studies: U.S.A. - New York, Art Students' League (1885-1886)
France - Paris, Atelier Olivier Mercon
Italy - Venice, The Victorian(?) Wattes Colour School (illegible from artists' file)
- Amsterdam, The Hague

Founder Women's Art Association 1886

Major Exhibitions:

1883-1912	O.S.A.
1883-1924	R.C.A.
1886-1931	A.A.M.
1891-1900	T.I.E.
1891	W.A.C.T.
1896-1902	W.A.A.C.
1922	Regina College, Regina, Sask. May 11-12
1923	W.A.A.
1924	Arlington Galleries,N.Y. March-April
1926	Galeries Simonson, Paris June 5-19
1926	Arlington Gallery, London July 5-16
1926	Galeries Simonson, Paris July-August
1928	Durand-Ruel Galleries, N.Y. January 16-28
1933	J. Merritt Mallonet Gallery, Toronto
1938	Memorial Exhibit, Mellors Gallery, Toronto November-December

Donly, Eva Brook

b. 1867 - Simcoe, Ontario
d. 1941 - Simcoe, Ontario

Studies: Canada - St. Thomas, Alma College
F.M. Bell-Smith
U.S.A. - New York, School of Artists and Artisans
John Ward Stimson
Mexico - Mexico City, San Carlos Academy
Jose Pino

Bequest to the Norfolk Historical Society which founded the Eva Brook Donly Museum of Art and Antiques, Simcoe, Ontario

Major Exhibitions:

1916	Frank Jarman Ltd., Ottawa
1918-1921	O.S.A.
1918-1926	R.C.A.
1926-1927	Great Western Fair, London

Eastlake, Mary Bell

b. 1864 - Douglas, Ontario
d. 1951 - Ottawa, Ontario

Studies: Canada - Montreal, Robert Harris
U.S.A. - New York, Art Students' League (1885)
William M. Chase
France - Paris, Academie Colarossi (1890-1891)

Membership: A.R.C.A. 1893

Major Exhibitions:

1887-1943	R.C.A.
1888-1943	A.A.M.
1892	O.S.A.
1893	Columbian Exposition, Chicago
1894	T.I.E.
1894-1929	R.A.
1901	Buffalo, Pan-American Exposition
1924	Wembley Exposition, England
1927	Toronto

Forbes, Elizabeth Stanhope

b. 1859 - Kingston, Ontario
d. 1912 - Newlyn, Cornwall, England

Studies: England - London, South Kensington Arts Schools
U.S.A. - New York, Art Students' League
William M. Chase

Membership: O.S.A. 1876
R.I. 1880

Major Exhibitions:

1876	O.S.A.
1883-1912	R.A.
1889	Paris Universal Exhibition
1909	R.A. "When Daffodils begin to Peer" 1916 acquired by the R.C.A.
1910	C.N.E.
1919	Toronto "A May Evening"

Ford, Harriet

b. 1859 - Brockville, Ontario
d. 1939 - Toronto, Ontario

Studies: Canada - Toronto, Central Ontario School of Art
England - London, St. John's Woods, R.A. Schools
France - Paris, Academie Colarossi

Membership: A.R.C.A. 1895
O.S.A. 1895

Major Exhibitions:

1881-1929	O.S.A.
1894-1911	A.A.M.
1894-1924	R.C.A.
1895-1896	T.I.E.
1911-1926	C.N.E.
1924	Wembley Exposition, England

Hagarty, Sophia

b. 1871 - Toronto, Ontario
d. 1958 - Toronto, Ontario

Studies: Canada - Toronto, Miss S.S. Tull
Wyle Grier
U.S.A. - Long Island, N.J., William M. Chase School
France - Paris, Merson
Casteluchi
Caro-Delvaille

Membership: O.S.A. 1899
A.R.C.A. 1904

Major Exhibitions:

1928	T. Eaton Fine Arts Galleries, Toronto
1937	Mellors Galleries, Toronto

Hagen, Alice Mary (nee Egan)

b. 1872 - Halifax, Nova Scotia
d. unknown

Studies: Canada - Nova Scotia, Mount St. Vincent Convent
Victoria School of Art & Design
Dr. George Harvey
Kathleen Evans
U.S.A. - New York, Mrs. Alsop Robineau
Mrs. Warren O'Hara

Hamilton, Mary Riter

b. c1873 - Teeswater, Ontario
d. 1954 - Vancouver, British Columbia

Studies: Canada - Toronto, G.A. Reid; M.H. Reid
Wyle Grier
Germany - Berlin, Franz Skarbina
France - Paris, Academie Vittie
J. Blanche
Mereon
Gervais
Castuluchi, private class

Major Exhibitions:

1905	Paris Salon
1911	Toronto Exhibit
1913	Calgary Public Library
1918	Paris, Foyer Grand Opera House
1925	Paris International Exhibition
1952	Vancouver Art Gallery
1959	Art Gallery of Greater Victoria, retrospective in conjuction with works of Sophia Deane Drummond

Harrington, Rebecca Christina

b. 1869 - Toronto, Ontario
d. 1930 - uknown

Studies: U.S.A. - New York, Art Students' League
Frank Vincent du Mond

New York, Enid Carlson
Emma Scott

Major Exhibitions:

1924 O.S.A.

Kerr, Estelle Muriel

b. 1879 - Toronto, Ontario
d. unknown

Studies: Canada - Toronto, Mary Ella Dignam
Laura Muntz
U.S.A. - New York, Art Students' League (1889-1900)
France - Paris, Academie Grande Chaumiere

Major Exhibitions:

1948 Gavin Henderson Galleries, Toronto
joint exhibit with Edgar Noffke

Lyall, Laura Muntz

b. 1860 - Radford, England
d. 1930 - Toronto, Ontario

Studies: Canada - Toronto, Toronto Art School (1882-1883)
- Hamilton, J.W.L. Forster (1883)
England - London, South Kensington School of Art (1887)
Canada - Toronto, G.A. Reid (1890-1891)
France - Paris, Academie Colarossi (1891-1898)
Joseph LeBlanc
Fritol
G. Gourtois
Giradet

Membership: O.S.A. 1891-1908
A.R.C.A. 1895
O.S.A. 1924-1930

Major Exhibitions:

1891-1928 O.S.A.
1891-1902 T.I.E.
1893-1928 R.C.A.
1893 Columbian Exposition, Chicago

1895	Paris Salon Honourable mention
1901	Buffalo, Pan-American Exposition Silver medal
1903-1931	A.A.M.
1904	St. Louis, Louisiana Purchase Exhibition Bronze medal
1905	Pan-American Exhibition Silver medal
1905	Paris Salon Honourable mention
1909	Canadian Art Club
1924	Wembley Exposition, England
1926	A.G.O., Canadian Painting

Macklin, Edith

b. 1871 - Fenella, Ontario
d. unknown

Studies: Canada - Toronto, G.A. Reid

MacLean, Jean Munro

b. 1879 - Pictou, Nova Scotia
d. 1952 - Montreal, Quebec

Studies: U.S.A. - Boston, E.M. Carpenter
England - Liverpool, Liverpool School of Art
R.A. Bell
Frederick Burridge
John Compton
- London, Heatherley's School of Art

Membership: W.A.A. 1919

McGillivray Knowles, Elizabeth A.

b. 1866 - Ottawa, Ontario
d. 1928 - Riverton, New Hampshire, U.S.A.

Studies: Canada - Toronto, Toronto Normal School
F. McGillivray Knowles

Membership: A.R.C.A. 1908
National Association of Women Painters and Sculptors, N.Y.

Major Exhibitions:

1908	R.C.A. "Nocturne" acquired by the National Gallery
1921	Montreal, Johnson Art Galleries
1929	Toronto, Robert Simpson Co., retrospective

McGillivray, Florence H.

b. 1864 - Whitby, Ontario
d. 1938 - Ottawa, Ontario

Studies: Canada - Toronto, Central Ontario School of Art
W. Cruikshank
J.W.L. Forster
L. O'Brian
F. McGillivray
France - Paris, Grande Chaumiere
- Paris, Lucien Simon
Menard (1913)

Membership: A.R.C.A. 1925
O.S.A.

Major Exhibitions:

1892	O.S.A.
1913	Paris, Salon des Beaux Arts
1957	Continental Gallery, Montreal
1970	Whitby, Ontario, retrospective

McNicoll, Helen Galloway

b. 1879 - Toronto, Ontario
d. 1915 - Swanage, England

Studies: Canada - Montreal, Montreal Art Gallery
William Brymner
England - London, Slade School (1906)
- Cornwall, St. Ives
- A. Talmage

Membership: A.A.M. 1900
R.A. 1913
A.R.C.A. 1914

Major Exhibitions:

1906-1914 R.C.A.
1910 Liverpool
1926 Montreal, A.A.M., retrospective
1970 Toronto, Granite Club, retrospective

Martin, Emma May

b. 1865 - unknown
d. unknown

Studies: Canada - Toronto, T. Mower Martin (father)
Marmaduke Mathews

Membership: O.S.A. 1887

Major Exhibitions:

1886-1938 O.S.A.
1887-1913 R.C.A.
1888-1915 A.A.M.
1890-1897 T.I.E.
1893 Columbian Exposition, Chicago
1905-1932 C.N.E.

Munro, Jean (nee Cockburn)

b. 1869 - Orilla, Ontario
d. unknown

Studies: Canada - Toronto, Ontario School of Art
Robert Holmes
G.A. Reid
France - Paris, Grande Chaumiere
Lucien Simon

Major Exhibitions:

1922 R.C.A.
1928 O.S.A.

Nutt, Elizabeth S.

b. 1870 - Isle of Man
d. 1946 - Sheffield, England

Studies: England - London, Sheffield School of Art
Newlyn, Stanhope Forbes
France - Paris, Sorbonne
Italy - Florence, Professor Simi
England - University of Sheffield, Art Masters Diploma

Membership: Nova Scotia Society of Artists 1922
A.R.C.A. 1929

Major Exhibitions:

1929 R.C.A.
1931 Nova Scotia College of Art

Pemberton, Sophia Theresa

b. 1869 - Victoria, British Columbia
d. 1959 - Victoria, British Columbia

Studies: England - London, South Kensington Schools (1890-1896)
France - Paris, Academie Julian (1896-1899)
- Paris, J.P. Laurens & Benjamin Constant

Membership: A.R.C.A. 1906

Major Exhibitions:

1895 A.A.M.
1897 R.A. "Daffodils"
1897 Westham Exhibition, England
Brighton, Corporation Art Gallery
1898 R.A. "Little Blue Boy"
Westham Exhibition, England
Birmingham Society of Artists
Manchester Art Gallery
Liverpool, Walker Art Gallery
1899 Paris Salon "Little Blue Boy"
Manchester Art Gallery
1900 Paris Salon "Bibi la Puree"
1901 R.A. "Livre Ouvert"

1902	Victoria, Waitt's Hall
1903	R.A. "John-a-Dreams"
	Manchester Art Gallery
1904	St. Louis, Louisiana Purchase Exhibition
	Victoria, Victoria Agricultural Show
	30 works
	Paris Salon
1907	R.C.A. "Penumbra"
1909	London, Dore Gallery
	Vancouver Island Landscapes
1910	R.A. "Memories"
1947	Victoria, Little Center Gallery
1949	Greater Victoria Art Centre, retrospective
1954	Vancouver Art Gallery
1967	Art Gallery of Greater Victoria, retrospective
1978	Art Gallery of Greater Victoria, retrospective

Reid, Mary Hiester

b. 1854 - Reading, Pennsylania, U.S.A.
d. 1921 - Toronto, Ontario

Studies: U.S.A. - Philadelphia, School of Design for Women
- Pensylvania, Pensylvania Academy of Fine Arts
Thomas Eakins (1883-1885)

France - Paris, Academie Julian (1888)
- Paris, Dagnan-Bouveret
- Paris, Rixens
- Paris, Blanc & Courtois

Membership: O.S.A. 1887
A.R.C.A. 1893
C.S.A.A. 1904

Major Exhibitions:

1893	Columbian Exposition, Chicago
1901	Buffalo, Pan-American Exposition
1904	St. Louis, Louisiana Purchase Exhibition
1913	A.A.M.
1915	C.N.E.
1920	Toronto, Heliconian Club
	in conjunction with husband G.A. Reid

1922 Toronto, Art Gallery of Toronto, retrospective
1st one woman show at gallery, 300 works

Seath, Ethel

b. 1879 - Montreal, Quebec
d. unknown

Studies: Canada - Montreal, Art Association of Montreal
Edmond Dyonnet
W. Brymner
Maurice Cullen
U.S.A. - Provincetown, Charles Hawthorne

Major Exhibitions:

1924-1925 Wembley Exposition, England
1927 Paris
1939 New York World Fair
1968 Retrospective of Beaver Hall Hill Group

Smith, Edith

b. 1867 - Halifax, Nova Scotia
d. 1954 - Petite Riviere, Nova Scotia

Studies: Canada - Halifax, Victoria School of Art and Design
Stanley Royle
U.S.A. - Boston Art Club
Ernest Major
England - London, Chelsea School of Art

Major Exhibitions:

1935 O.S.A.

Strickland Tully, Sidney

b. 1860 - Toronto
d. 1911 - Calgary, Alberta

Studies: Canada - Toronto, Central Ontario School of Art
W. Cruikshank
England - London, Slade School
Legros (1884-1885)
France - Paris, Academie Julian
- Paris, Academie Colarrosi (1886-1888)
- Paris, Gustav Courtois (1890-1892)
Tony Robert-Fleury
U.S.A. - New York, William M. Chase

Membership: O.S.A. 1888
A.R.C.A. 1889
91 Club, London 1895

Major Exhibitions:

1882	O.P.E.
1888	Paris Salon
1888-1910	R.C.A.
1888-1911	O.S.A.
1890-1902	T.I.E.
1892-1909	A.A.M.
1893	Columbian Exposition, Chicago
1896-1897	R.A.
	Society of Women Artists, London
1901	Buffalo, Pan-American Exposition
1904	St. Louis, Louisiana Purchase Exhibition
	Bronze medal
1911	Toronto, Art Metropole Galleries, retrospective

Wrinch, Mary Evelyn

b. 1877 - Kirby le Soken, Essex, England
d. 1969 - Toronto, Ontario

Studies: Canada - Toronto, Central Ontario School of Art (1893)
G.A. Reid
Robert Holmes
England - London, Grosvenor Art School (1899)
Walter Donne
- London, Alyn Williams
U.S.A. - New York, Art Students' League (1900)

Membership: O.S.A. 1901
A.R.C.A. 1918

Major Exhibitions:

1894	O.S.A.
1901	New York, Society of Miniaturists
1907	O.S.A. "Saw Mill, Muskoka"
1924	Wembley Exposition, England
1926	Toronto, Art Gallery of Toronto Canadian Painting "Fire Rangers' Canoe" "Green and Gold" Wembly
1929	O.S.A. "Temagami From the North"
1936	R.C.A. "The Saw-Mill, Dorset" Art Gallery of Toronto
1938	Tate Gallery, London
1939	New York, World's Fair
1943	Toronto, Arts Club
1946	Toronto, Lyceum Women's Art Association in conjunction with Sylvia Hahn
1966	Toronto, Prince Arthur Street Gallery
1969	A.G.O., Grange House, retrospective

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September 7	- 1895
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