THE PRACTICE OF HER PROFESSION

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The Practice of Her Profession
Florence Carlyle, Canadian Painter in the Age of Impressionism
Susan Butlin

THE PRACTICE OF HER PROFESSION

FLORENCE CARLYLE

CANADIAN PAINTER IN THE AGE OF IMPRESSIONISM

SUSAN BUTLIN

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Susan Butlin, Ph.D.
Ottawa, 2008

INTRODUCTION

Florence Carlyle (1864–1923) was both a woman painter and a painter of women. She was an artist who invented herself because there were few examples to emulate or maps to follow on the journey she chose to make. Role models for the kind of strategically organized, self-defined career that Carlyle lived were rare in Canada when she began to establish herself in the 1880s. She found unusual ways of doing so, such as working part of the year at lucrative calendar art commissions for a New York firm. Her life and career as an artist were prototypical examples of the "New Woman's" approach to professional identity.

During the height of her career in the early twentieth century, Carlyle not only attained critical success, winning prizes in Canada and the United States, but her paintings engaged and delighted the viewing public. Prior to 1914 she was considered by critics and peers to be among the leading Canadian women artists of her generation. More Canadian women were setting out to work as professional artists than ever before, the first significant group of professionally trained women artists in Canadian history, yet recent publications remind us how little is known about the history of women artists in Canada before 1920. With the exception of Emily Carr, few of Carlyle's female colleagues who knew professional success during their lifetimes have their lives, careers, and artistic production thoroughly documented in scholarly studies.[1] Painters such as Sarah Holden, Elizabeth McGillivray Knowles, and Sydney Tully and sculpture and craft artists Winnifred Kingsford, Marion Living, and Louise Tully are now largely forgotten. Their achievements and production have been obscured by an incomplete archive and marginalized by the canon of Canadian art history. Recent scholarship on painters Mary Hiester Reid, Helen McNicoll, and Laura Muntz[2] has only begun the process of recovery and re-examination.

Carlyle's paintings evolved from the amateur work characteristic of middle- and upper-class women's pictorial production of the mid-nine-

teenth century. Together with her Canadian women colleagues, Carlyle began painting in this feminine pictorial tradition. Women's social role presented barriers that tended to compromise their aspirations to earning a living as equals alongside male artist colleagues. The era's definitions of femininity and professionalism did not readily admit women to a career as "artist." The professions were traditionally defined as a male preserve, with women positioned as amateurs. Nonetheless, Carlyle continued toward her goal, negotiating her way through competing values, which often involved difficult personal choices.

During her lifetime many aspects of women's traditional roles and status in society were being questioned and in some cases changing. As Carlyle developed from amateur to professional artist, she encountered barriers that challenged her to react against them, to seize opportunities and attain freedom in her career and her role as a woman. From 1890 onwards, finding institutional structures in place that limited her education, she stretched her ambitions, venturing into unknown territory by pursuing art instruction in France.

Women of Carlyle's generation developed networks of support for their quests to enter and work within professional art practice. These included friendships, cultural societies, and art exhibiting clubs. Studying in France, Carlyle found that women art students sustained one another in acquiring specialist art training; supportive friendship between women was an important recurring factor in forging a professional career. Canadian women's cultural societies, a part of the broader women's club trend of the late nineteenth and early twentieth century, were another important factor in advancing women's professional aspirations. The Women's Art Association of Canada (WAAC), the National Council of Women of Canada (NCWC), and the Heliconian Club in Toronto were some exhibition groups with which Carlyle and her women colleagues were associated.

Carlyle questioned social traditions that marginalized women and privileged her male colleagues. She brought her own strategies to her career, striking out into the world of commercial art. Women artists intent on supporting themselves by their brush could not afford to be uncompromising, and Carlyle successfully diversified her art production to make sales and win commissions. Yet her artistic compromises carefully balanced the necessity of supporting herself by selling commercial and other art production with her professional goal of continuing her personal production and exhibiting this at "high art" venues.

If Carlyle is less well known today than she was during her lifetime, this is probably more a reflection of gender politics and the relative place of figural painting in the stylistic hierarchy of Canadian twentieth-century art rather than of the quality of her work. The waning of recognition after her death in 1923, her fall into marginality and ultimately obscurity in Canadian art writing, also occurred with many of her contemporaries who were women artists. Carlyle's national prominence as an artist is evident in the surveys of Canadian art written during the 1920s and 1930s,[3] but by the late 1930s, the style of art she represented was long out of vogue. Collectors lost interest in her, and after 1945 surveys of Canadian art excluded mention of her.

Beginning in the 1970s, as a part of the rediscovery of Canadian women artists dating from Natalie Luckyj's *From Women's Eyes*, Carlyle's career and production began to receive scholarly attention in the form of several short exhibition catalogue entries and articles and two master's theses.[4] In 1995 the first (and until the present volume, the only) full-length scholarly work to focus solely on her appeared in the form of my master's thesis, "Making a Living: Florence Carlyle and the Negotiation of a Professional Artistic Identity."[5] The present book has emerged in part from the initial research and ideas first put forth in that thesis, and from my subsequent work on Canadian women artists.

Many of Carlyle's generation of Canadian women artists including her friends and contemporaries Sydney Strickland Tully, Laura Muntz, and Elizabeth McGillivray Knowles, once renowned as professionals on a par with male peers, were also largely written out of the histories of Canadian art. Feminist work has brought attention to this marginalization, resulting in a questioning of the canon that excluded women artists. Feminist art historians are seeking to redress this imbalance with the recovery of these women's careers and reintroduction of their work. In Canada over the past several decades, a number of articles, exhibition catalogues, books and theses have appeared that correct the assumptions of Canadian art history that there were few, if any, Canadian women artists of any consequence in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century.[6] These studies have done more than broaden the base of scholarship on women artists – they have called attention to the need for a revision of the canon of Canadian art history. The work and careers of Canadian women artists form part of a lost cultural heritage.

Carole Gerson's studies of nineteenth-century Canadian women writers observe a similar negation of their professional careers. Such evidence

points to the fact that a national cultural canon, whether artistic or literary, is a social construct imbued and inscribed with the prejudices and attitudes of social and gender power.[7] How can Canadian art history be considered whole and complete when it is missing more than one-third of its history? Once women artists are re-inscribed in the canon and the challenge has been met, as Natalie Luckyj wrote, "to reconstruct the complex and multi-layered social and artistic contexts" of the practice of Canadian women artists, Canadian art history will look and read very differently.[8]

That Carlyle was a woman, a Canadian, and a figure painter were all equally significant in determining her distinctive art and career. At a time when women were encouraged to paint only as lady amateurs, how did she come to leave small-town Ontario to study painting in France for five years? When she began her early art education in the 1870s, there were few professional women painters in Canada. How did she establish her art practice and earn her living in Canada and New York City? The answers to these questions may only be understood by placing her life and work within the broader social and historical context of her time.

In her own way, Florence Carlyle exemplified many qualities of the late nineteenth century New Woman, a prominent example of a self-sufficient, independent single woman. Like her contemporaries, a pioneer generation of women professionals and reformers who included poets, journalists, and writers like E. Pauline Johnson, Kathleen Blake Coleman, and Sara Jeannette Duncan, Carlyle was a serious champion of a new ideal for women. That ideal was one in which they could lead self-determined professional lives, effectively creating their own stories.

Carlyle painted the world she knew intimately. In seeming contradiction to her own fast-paced, urban professional life, her work offers glimpses into a primarily female world and into the contemporary domestic spaces and experience of women. Her multi-layered images are of that sphere of activity that engaged most women of her time and class, aptly named "spaces of femininity" by Griselda Pollock.[9] Carlyle depicted the women with whom she was most familiar, middle-class women at leisure or engaged in light household domestic tasks, and women servants at work in the home. She admired feminine concerns and honoured and cherished women's domestic role in creating and maintaining these spaces of femininity.

Carlyle's creative work and life in New York City should be seen within her generation of men and women, a number of whom worked for periods in the United States. The Canadian poet Archibald Lampman wrote in 1892

FIG. 1 *Sketch of the Artist*, Florence Carlyle, ca. 1904. [PLATE 1]

that American magazines were "attracting to them most of our literary and artistic effort."[10] Canadian journalist Sara Jeanette Duncan (1862–1922) was hired by the *Washington Post* in 1885 and went on to have an internationally successful career as a writer.[11] While some Canadian artists pursued careers in the United States and abroad in the 1890s, it was rare for Canadian women artists to do so and even rarer, as Carlyle did, to succeed.

Carlyle had to define an identity for herself as both woman and professional artist. Her self-portrait, *Sketch of the Artist* (1904), reveals very little. In contrast to her colour-filled portraits of women in bright sunshine, in

her self-portrait she is veiled and in a shadowy, ill-defined space (fig. 1); she has depicted herself in a way that is simultaneously dramatic and secretive. The painting hints at her own life experience, one of ambiguities and contradictions in which she struggled to establish a public identity for herself. Yet she also maintained an independent, even mysterious side; perhaps because of the times in which she lived, she was protective of her private life, cautious of interviews, and often preferred to keep her own counsel.

In direct contradiction of these conventions, however, the life of a professional artist required her to seek notice and publicity and to enter the world of commerce, effectively working as an entrepreneur. Like the suffragists of her day, Carlyle dreamed of what might be possible, but she also went further, engaging in the new age of the mass-circulation media, carefully managing a wide range of resources. A major concern in this study is to reveal how she shaped a professional identity while negotiating traditional social conventions, how she overcame barriers that discouraged women's participation in professional life and became a role model for the generation of aspiring Canadian women artists. Her novel solutions to the challenges of women's entry into the commercial and professional world contributed to a new model of the art professional in Canada, one accessible to women.

PLATE 1 *Sketch of the Artist*, ca. 1904. Oil on canvas, 43.5 × 33 cm. Collection Woodstock Art Gallery.

PLATE 2 *The Tiff*, 1902. Oil on canvas, 183.8 × 134.6 cm. Art Gallery of Ontario, Toronto.

PLATE 9 *The Garden*, 1913. Oil on canvas, 65.8 × 48.4 cm. Also known as *The Garden at Englewood*. Collection Woodstock Art Gallery.

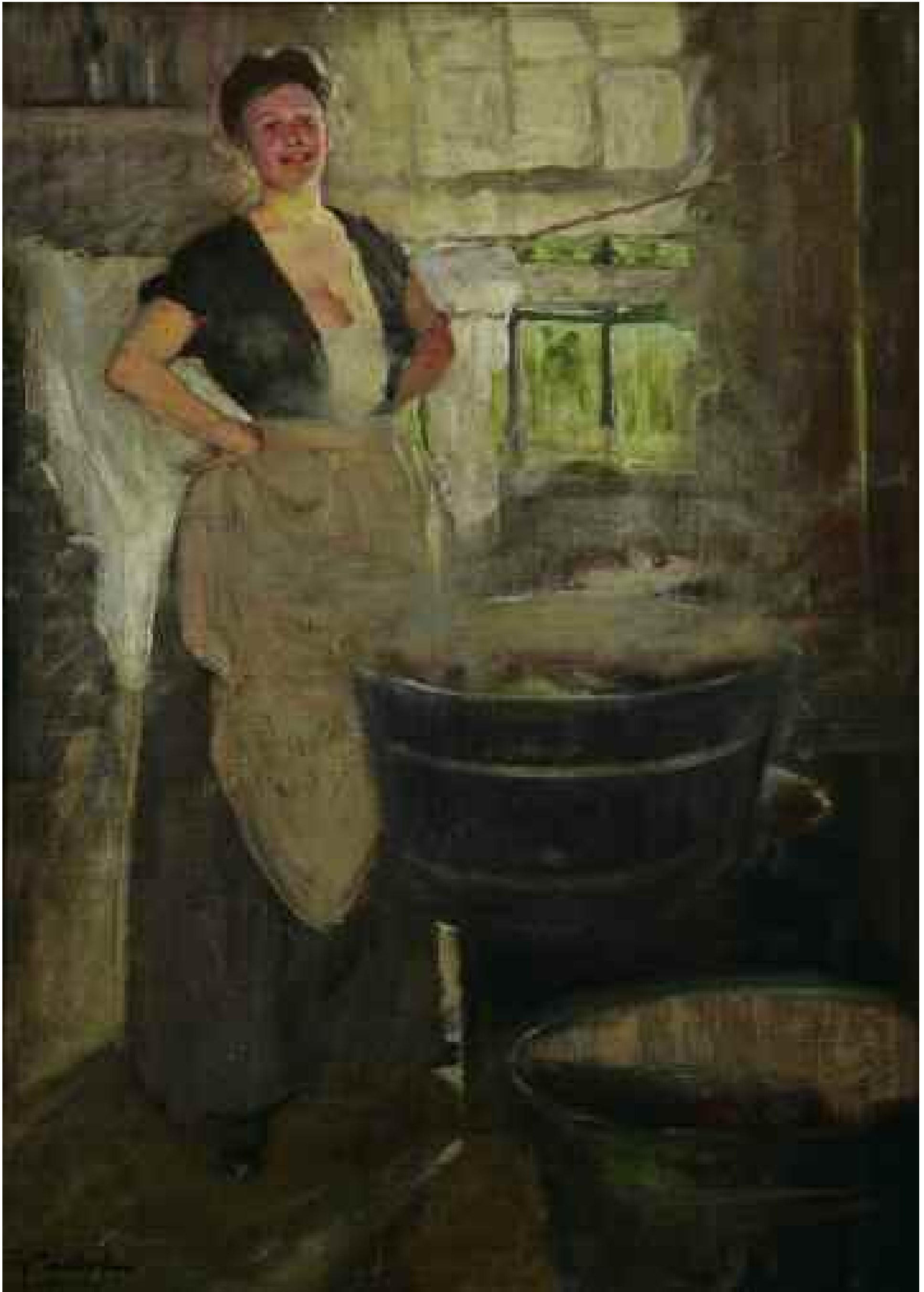

PLATE 13 *The Joy of Living*, 1910. Oil on canvas, 88 × 61.5 cm. Collection Woodstock Art Gallery.

PLATE 19 *High Noon*, ca. 1916. Oil on canvas, 118 × 100 cm.

PLATE 20 *The Threshold*, 1912. Oil on canvas, 100.7 × 80.4 cm. Collection Woodstock Art Gallery.

PLATE 24 *Still Life: My Studio Corner*, ca. 1921. Oil on canvas, 65.5 × 54.5 cm. Collection Woodstock Art Gallery.

PART ONE

Formation

1864–1890

1

First Lessons 1864–1883

What must a woman have in order to work as a professional artist? She needs food and shelter, tools, materials, and education. She must have a source of inspiration, something about which she feels it is worth making art. And, not insignificantly, she requires support. That aspiring women artists today have access to these things may be taken for granted; however, the reality was very different in Canada in the 1860s when Florence Carlyle was born. At this time a woman's family and the broader social context could either facilitate or discourage her pursuit of a career. Without a doubt these factors helped to shape her desires and aspirations.

Florence Carlyle was born on 24 September 1864 in the town of Galt in Canada West, now southern Ontario, two years after her brother William. Her place as eldest daughter would play an important role in her life, particularly in her relationships with her two younger sisters and three younger brothers.[1] The Carlyles belonged to the conventional, educated middle class of British descent. There was no precedent in the immediate family of a serious, professional commitment to art.

In one instance, however – in the early career of Florence Carlyle's mother – the family had come close to breaking the customary social boundaries for women. Emily Carlyle (1834–1913), born Youmans, was originally from Picton, Ontario (fig. 1.1). The land grant received by a United Empire

FIG. 1.1 *Portrait of My Mother*, Florence Carlyle, ca. 1911. Emily Youmans Carlyle (1834–1913), the artist's mother, was about seventy-eight when Carlyle completed the portrait. [PLATE 3]

Loyalist ancestor was described as a good one, and the family had prospered. Emily was raised in a comfortable home with servants. Like other women of her generation and class, she was groomed for a life of domestic responsibility, motherhood, piety, and gentle accomplishment in arts such as needlework, watercolour painting, music, and singing – *les arts des femmes.*

She was also given training in a profession. She studied to be a teacher at Fort Edward Collegiate Institute in New York State, receiving an education that would have been regarded as superior for a woman of her time. In the late 1850s she accepted a position as the principal of a ladies' college in North Carolina. The decision to work so far away from home (unlikely to have

been encouraged by her family) reveals that Emily Youmans was no "shrinking violet" but possessed an independence of mind and a confident personality. After working for several years, she was compelled by the outbreak of the American Civil War to return to Canada in 1860.[2] In 1861 she married William Carlyle, whom she had met at Fort Edward Collegiate. In keeping with fixed notions of appropriate feminine behaviour and school-board regulations, she gave up her teaching career when she married.

William Carlyle was born in the English Lake District town of Cockermouth in 1834 (fig. 1.2). His most notable family connection was that his father, John Carlyle, was the half-brother of the eminent essayist Thomas Carlyle (1795–1881).[3] Florence Carlyle was thus the grand-niece of one of the most influential thinkers of the nineteenth century, well known throughout Canada and Britain, and commonly referred to as "the Wise Man of Chelsea."[4]

About 1838, when William was a child, John Carlyle immigrated to Canada, settling his family in Upper Canada near the village of Mount Pleasant south of Brantford.[5] Canada appealed to the Carlyles, and in 1843 William's uncle, Alexander Carlyle, half-brother to John, settled on a farm in nearby Burford, west of Brantford.[6]

Educated first at the local "common school," William was determined at an early age to leave the farm life behind. He attended the local normal school and graduated at the head of his class at the age of seventeen.[7] After continuing his education for two years in New York State at Fort Edward Collegiate,[8] he returned to Ontario and studied for several years at the University of Toronto and Toronto's Congregational Theological Institute. He supported these years of study by teaching part-time. He may also have had aspirations to pursue a career in medicine, which he studied for a time, but these plans were abandoned when Emily returned to Canada.[9] Accepting a teaching position in Hamilton, Ontario, William married Emily in the summer of 1861. Their first child, named after his father but always called Will, was born in Hamilton the following year.

In 1864, William Carlyle took a new position as principal of the Galt Graded School in Galt, Ontario, and the family moved to that town. Their first daughter, christened Florence Emily, was born in September. In 1871, William Carlyle was appointed county school inspector for Oxford County, an important and prominent position, and the family moved again, this time to Woodstock, the largest town in the county.

An English tourist of 1856 described it: "Woodstock stands on undulating ground and is a completely rural, straggling place, like a large village with a number of gentlemen's homes in it … It contains six churches, a gaol,

FIG. 1.2 *Portrait of My Father*, Florence Carlyle, 1911. This portrait of William Carlyle has the original label from the artist's dealer, O.B. Graves, on verso. [PLATE 4]

a court-house, a grammar school, a mechanics' institute, some mills and boasts of a newspaper … Full of promise, as is the whole land, that, after all, is the garden of the province."[10] By the 1870s Woodstock had become the centre of a prosperous rural community in Canada West, the western portion of the united province of Canada created in the 1840 Act of Union. The town was served by the newly completed Great Western Railway and occupied a strategic location within a rich agricultural area, accessible to the markets and population centres of Toronto and the United States.

The home environment into which Florence Carlyle was born was one of contrasting personalities and high ideals. Family anecdotes describe her

father as austere and stern. These characteristics were attributed to his impoverished background and the rigid self-discipline he was forced to acquire during his student years. His children respected and admired him but feared him as well.[11] In his professional life he was said to have possessed "a rugged individuality that manifested itself in his … questioning of both teachers and scholars." He encouraged "originality in the scholars he addressed" and was to have a significant impact on his two eldest children.[12] In contrast, Emily Carlyle worked to create a gentler way of life in the family home. While she encouraged excellence in education, she was especially interested in furthering her children's interests in music and art.

Florence Carlyle and her elder brother received much of their early education from their parents. As they worked at household chores, Emily lectured them on history and geography. In the evenings their father read with them and discussed the works of Shakespeare, Addison, and their great-uncle, Thomas Carlyle. These lessons and later discussions and debates over the dinner table, attesting to a lively intellectual life and strong emphasis on learning and education, were to continue throughout Florence Carlyle's life.[13]

Encouraged by her mother to develop her talent for painting, Florence Carlyle's birthday gifts were frequently "watercolour boxes."[14] Her attraction to colour had begun early in childhood; she recalled "the first time I saw colour. Nurse brought in a big pink blossom … It seemed so large … and so pink. I have never seen an apple blossom like that since."[15] As a girl, she amused herself by painting flowers in the garden.[16] This fascination with paint and visual imagery continued to develop: "In childhood, play for her consisted in making copies of pictures. In this way she taught herself to paint."[17] She progressed to a preference for drawing and painting figures: "We children all used to draw a great deal … and the others would draw everything else, but when it came to the heads of people and animals, I always had to do it."[18]

In 1874, to accommodate the growing family, the Carlyles moved to Norwich Street. By this time Florence Carlyle had been a student in Woodstock's public and grammar schools for three years, since the age of seven.[19]

While her artistic facility seemed to emerge almost effortlessly, her mother's influence nurtured it. Emily Carlyle likely had no intention of encouraging her daughter to enter a long-term artistic career; she was merely promoting the development of an amateur gift. With this in mind, she organized a class of young art students, including Florence, from among the children of neighbours and friends. Setting up a small studio for the class in a house on Simcoe Street in Woodstock, she engaged a professional artist

"from New York" to conduct regular classes.[20] Although little information is available, it appears that the artist was William Lees Judson (1842–1928), who settled in nearby London during the late 1860s and earned a living as an artist by selling landscapes, soliciting portrait commissions, and teaching art.[21] In 1872–73 Judson studied painting in New York with John Beaufain Irving (1825–1877). On his return home, he established a studio,[22] regularly advertising his art classes and portraiture business in the London newspapers. It was at this time that Emily Carlyle likely approached him to make trips into Woodstock to tutor her daughter and the other aspiring artists.[23]

Florence Carlyle was between nine and fifteen years old when Judson taught her the rudiments of drawing and painting. Although she had from an early age shown skill and interest in drawing the faces and heads in her own and her friends' pictures, her instruction from Judson, with his acknowledged skill as a portraitist and figure painter, undoubtedly encouraged her preference for such subjects.

Her mother was fortunate in finding such a talented teacher for although it was prosperous, Woodstock remained somewhat of a provincial backwater. In addition to taking an art class at London's Hellmuth Ladies College, Judson instructed the young Paul Peel (1860–1892) between 1875 and 1877, when Peel entered the Pennsylvania Academy of Art. Peel would go on to become one of Canada's most celebrated late-nineteenth century artists. Judson eventually moved to California to a position as a professor of painting at the University of Southern California.[24]

Little else is known about Florence Carlyle's childhood and adolescence. Mid-nineteenth century ideas on the education and socialization of young women gave priority to inculcating domesticity. Carlyle would have grown up amid commonly held assumptions about femininity that took for granted that a woman's primary interests would be marriage and family. A young woman was taught to think that she was a success if she fulfilled the roles of wife and mother and to put the activities of "breeding, nurturing and servicing" first in her life.[25] Art had long been one component of a middle-class girl's education, alongside music, familiarity with light literature, and conversation. Well-to-do Canadian families encouraged their daughters' accomplishments in such areas as embroidery, sketching, and painting, sometimes hiring private instructors as Emily Carlyle had. Working-class families placed more emphasis on practical arts such as weaving, quilting, knitting, and clothing design, skills that were passed on within the home environment. Although Carlyle and her sisters' experience fell somewhere between these

two models, their education in the arts was nonetheless designed to prepare them for their domestic roles.[26]

In 1878, when Carlyle was fourteen, she began studying at the co-educational Canadian Literary Institute, later renamed Woodstock College. This was considered at the time a more than adequate education for women, but William and Emily Carlyle saw it as important to educate not only their eldest daughter but her two younger sisters in such an institution. Although William held a respected position as school inspector, the family was not wealthy and the commitment would have been a financial burden. The Literary Institute, one of several Baptist educational colleges established across Canada during the nineteenth century, was a private school relying upon tuition fees.

The Carlyles were not Baptists themselves, regularly attending Woodstock's St Paul's Presbyterian Church; however, Baptist schools welcomed all those "who might wish to have their children educated in a Christian setting dedicated to practical educational goals."[27] Known to be progressive, concerned with providing "the necessary skills and the background for its young men to join the forward march of society,"[28] Baptist schools also tended to place a high value on female education. Within Baptist colleges there was "surprisingly little discussion over whether females should be educated." The education of women was "closely allied with, even a contributing factor to, all the other aspirations … of the Baptist body."[29]

In entering the vibrant co-educational atmosphere of the Canadian Literary Institute, only a short walk from her home, Carlyle took the first step in a career pattern of cultivating and aspiring to intellectual and artistic excellence. In 1878 when she began her studies, the facility had the status of a "junior college." The school served not only southern Ontario but all of Canada. It accepted non-Baptists as teachers as well as students, and by 1881 the institute had twelve instructors and over two hundred students.[30] It offered an extensive elementary and secondary program of education. Carlyle's curriculum centred around literature, art and music, each subject apparently holding an equally strong interest for her.[31]

She never lost her early love of music, and while her talent at the piano remained at the level of accomplished amateur, she drew from her musical experience to enrich her art. Literature too captured her imagination. She was inspired by the romantic poetry of Elizabeth Barrett Browning and could recite it from memory. She also admired the essays of Ralph Waldo Emerson (1803–1882). Artists in Europe and North America by mid-cen-

tury were concerning themselves with revealing nature's "truth" unmodified by humankind. Emerson's essays such as "Nature," "Beauty," and "Art" spoke of art as important in preparing artists for the wider experience of finding their place in the natural universe.[32]

Yet it was her ability in art that distinguished Carlyle from her peers. At the Institute her art instructor was Professor Jones H. Farmer. Although little is known of his methods, one of Carlyle's classmates, Amos Jury, attended Farmer's classes and later attained a professional art career in London, Ontario.[33] Another friend and classmate, Joseph Whiteside Boyle (1867–1923) went on to a career in the Yukon as a prospector developing the Klondike goldfields. The Boyles lived in the east end of Woodstock near the Carlyle home.[34]

In 1881, when Carlyle was seventeen (fig. 1.3), the family moved to Englewood, a property on the edge of town, "a handsome, old-fashioned, English style house with spacious grounds and handsome trees."[35] Photographs show a compact house with a small upper storey and a large white verandah along the front (fig. 1.4). Behind the house was a red barn, a flower garden, and a utility yard for hanging washing, with groves of trees and open fields beyond. This gracious setting, close to nature, ensured that the house became one of Carlyle's favourite places, providing the setting for many of her paintings.

Although family and teachers had encouraged her artistic ability, Carlyle did not focus on painting to the exclusion of all else. She had wide-ranging interests outside of the arts, enjoying riding and tennis in particular.[36] She had an exuberant, cheerful personality, and for this reason perhaps was always known to her family and friends as "Bird." So commonly used was this nickname that her cousin Helene Youmans, who maintained a lifetime friendship with her, rarely heard her called anything else.[37]

As the eldest daughter in a large family, Carlyle had many practical responsibilities including the frequent care of the younger children. A family member later recalled that she loved "the joyous attachment they felt toward each other, and the harmony that prevailed among them in spite of strongly differing opinions, ranging from the personal habits of each other through politics and religious beliefs down to the correct way to eat soup."[38] Family debates around the dinner table were rescued from acrimony by the "keen sense of humour" with which the whole family was endowed.[39] Carlyle recalled of this time, "Just when we seemed to be on the verge of an explosion, someone was sure to make the witty remark that made us all appear ridiculous, and the tension was broken. Our most serious arguments always ended in gales of laughter."[40]

FIG. 1.3 Hand-tinted studio photograph of Florence Carlyle, ca. 1885–90.

The family was intimately connected to the community. William Carlyle held a position of responsibility as school inspector for the county and had many acquaintances. He also served in municipal affairs on the local town council. Emily Carlyle was active in fundraising and charity work. An annual garden party hosted by the family on the grounds at Englewood was considered an important local social event.[41] They were regular church-goers, and neighbours recalled the three "Carlyle sisters wending their way to New St. Paul's Church on Sunday mornings."[42]

FIG. 1.4 Photograph of Englewood, the Carlyle family home in Woodstock, Ont., ca. 1923. Carlyle's home studio, on the ground floor of the red barn, was located to the left of the house.

During the 1880s, while Carlyle continued her studies at the Canadian Literary Institute, Will went to McGill University in Montreal.[43] Although both parents placed a high value on education for all their children, Carlyle's brothers were advantaged over their sisters. All three sons were educated at McGill. At a time when women were beginning to enter Canadian universities, none of the Carlyle daughters attended. Money was tight at times; school-teaching was not "conducive to luxurious living … Most of what surplus there was went toward the education of the boys."[44] Carlyle had to be content with eight years of study at the local Canadian Literary Institute, and she absorbed all she could from this opportunity.[45]

APPENDIX

Short Biographies of Women Artists Mentioned in the Text

BRADSHAW, EVA THERESA

b. London, Ont., 1873, d. London, Ont., 1938

Figure, portrait, and still life painter. Bradshaw studied with Florence Carlyle and briefly with Robert Henri. Exhibited with the OSA, and with the RCA in 1902. Her painting *Plums* was in the Canadian art section at the Wembley Exhibition (1924) in London. She worked as a teacher in London, Ont. Her student, Clare Bice, who later served as president of the RCA, wrote the catalogue essay for an exhibition of her work at the ML in 1970. Her career is discussed briefly in Nancy Pool's *The Art of London, 1830–1980.*

CAWTHRA, ANN MABEL

b. 1871, Lucerne, Switzerland, d. 1943, Port Credit, Ont.

Painter, artist in the applied arts and crafts (enamel, metal work), interior designer. Cawthra studied at Charles Ashbee's Guild of Handicraft in England. In 1902 she was the first president of the Society of Art and Crafts of Canada; she was a founding member of the Heliconian Club. She opened a Toronto franchise of the English furniture firm Thornton-Smith Co. and decorated theatres and churches. Her personal life is mentioned in Gwyn's *The Private Capital* and in McLeod's *In Good Hands.*

DAVIS, CECILE

b. 1866, near Uxbridge, Ont., d. 1935

Painter. Tutored in private classes by her cousin Florence Carlyle. Davis married in 1890 and does not appear to have progressed thereafter in her professional career. Like Clara Peel (q.v.), Davis is an interesting example of a woman artist whose career aspirations were unfulfilled.

DIGNAM, MARY ELLA WILLIAMS
b. 1857, Port Burwell, Ont., d. 1938

Painter of figures and landscapes, arts journalist. Studied at the NYASL and in Paris. Founder and president of the WAAC, she exhibited with the OSA and RCA but was never elected an associate of the RCA. She has received scholarly attention for her involvement with the WAAC and the Canadian Handicrafts Guild, as in McLeod's master's thesis, "Enterprising Women and the Early History of the Canadian Handicrafts Guild," and *In Good Hands*.

EASTLAKE, MARY ALEXANDRA BELL
b. 1864, Douglas, Ont., d. 1951, Ottawa

Painter of figures, landscapes, portraits; jewellery designer and producer. Studied at the AAM School in Montreal, the NYASL, and the Académie Colarossi in Paris. She taught at the Victoria School of Art in Montreal in 1892. She first exhibited with the RCA in 1892 and the following year was elected an associate. Shortly thereafter she married English painter Charles H. Eastlake, moved to England, and resigned from the RCA. Especially admired for her paintings of children, she also designed and executed Arts and Crafts inspired jewellery, which she exhibited at the 1907 RCA exhibition. She returned to Canada in 1939. She is included in Farr and Luckyj's *From Women's Eyes.*

FARNCOMB, CAROLINE B.
b. 1859, Newcastle, Ont., d. 1951, London, Ont.

Portrait, still life, and landscape painter. Studied in Paris at the Académie Julian. Her career was focused principally in London, Ont.: she exhibited in the Western Fair and was an active member of the Women's Art Club of London. She also exhibited with the WAAC. She had contacts with Toronto artists and exhibited along with Gertrude E. Spurr and Clara S. Hagarty at the *Thumb-Box Exhibition* at W. Scott & Sons' Galleries in 1908. She frequently exhibited in the CNE and OSA exhibitions between 1897 and 1910 and became a member of the OSA in 1908. While she exhibited with the RCA in 1900 and 1901, she was not elected an associate.

FORBES, ELIZABETH ADELA ARMSTRONG
(also called Elizabeth Stanhope Forbes)
b. 1859, Kingston, Ont., d. 1912, Newlyn, Cornwall

Figure painter, printmaker. Studied at the South Kensington School, the NYASL, and with Frank Duveneck and J. Frank Currier. Moving to Newlyn, Cornwall, she married the founder of the Newlyn School, Stanhope Forbes (1857–1947) in 1889. She spent most of her professional career in England and did not maintain many artistic links with Canada; thus she is often

NOTES

ABBREVIATIONS USED IN NOTES

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

INTRODUCTION

1 Recent scholarship on this generation of women artists includes several exhibition catalogues, scholarly articles, a master's thesis and a doctoral dissertation. Catalogues include Dorothy Farr and Natalie Luckyj's groundbreaking 1975 exhibition catalogue, *From Women's Eyes*; Luckyj's *Helen McNicoll: A Canadian Impressionist*; Brian Foss and Janice Anderson's *Quiet Harmony: The Art of Mary Hiester Reid*; and two catalogues and Jennifer Watson's article on the artists Harriet Ford and E. May Martin. Ellen McLeod's *In Good Hands* derives from her master's thesis on this topic, while Julia Gualtieri's thesis "The Woman as Artist and Subject in Canadian Painting" focuses on a comparison of the paintings of Carlyle, Laura Muntz, and McNicoll. Elizabeth Mully's article on Muntz, "Madonna/Mother/Death and Child: Laura Muntz and the Representation of Maternity," reproduces the findings of her dissertation, "Women and Children in Context: Laura Muntz and the Representation of Maternity," which focuses analysis on the artist's many mother and child paintings.

2 See Foss, Anderson, Luckyj, and Mulley above.

3 Carlyle's work and contributions were included in the following publications prior to World War II: Newton MacTavish, *The Fine Arts in Canada*, 141; M.O. Hammond, *Painting and Sculpture in Canada*, 54; A.H. Robson, *Canadian Landscape Painters*, 161; Graham McInnes, *A Short History of Canadian Art*, 66.

4 Farr and Luckyj's *From Women's Eyes* includes a brief entry on Carlyle; another exhibition catalogue, *Florence Carlyle: Against All Odds* (2004) by Joan Murray, contains an essay giving a limited and general overview of the artist's life and production. Master's theses relating to Carlyle include Elisabeth Leiss McKellar's "Out of Order: Florence Carlyle and the Challenge of Identity, 1864–1923" (1995), which examines Carlyle's life choices with regard to partnership and marriage, and Julia Gualtieri's "The Woman as Artist and Subject in Canadian Painting," which compares the subject matter of Carlyle's paintings to that of several of her women colleagues.

5 Butlin, "Making a Living: Florence Carlyle and the Negotiation of a Professional Artistic Identity."

6 Farr and Luckyj's exhibition catalogue *From Women's Eyes* was followed by Luckyj's study of one of Carlyle's colleagues, *Helen McNicoll: A Canadian Impressionist.* See also Foss and Anderson, Gualtieri, and Mulley.

7 Gerson, "Anthologies and the Canon of Early Canadian Women Writers," 56–7.

8 Luckyj, *Helen McNicoll*, 75.

9 Pollock, "Modernity and the Spaces of Femininity," 50–89.

10 This artistic exodus was regarded as an important issue at the time. See Barrie Davies, *At the Mermaid Inn*, xv–xvii.

11 Doyle, "Research – Problems and Solutions – Canadian Women Writers and the American Literary Milieu of the 1890s," 31.

PREAMBLE

1 Carlyle was living intermittently in Woodstock and London, Ont., and New York City at this time. She taught art classes in her studio in the Ontario Masonic Hall in London from

1902 to 1904, and thus it is possible that she attended the OSA exhibition in Toronto in 1902.

2 "Fine Exhibit of Oil Paintings."

3 In 1914 Johnston published a monograph on Canadian art. See E.F.B. Johnston, "Painting and Sculpture in Canada," 593–640.

4 The following contemporary articles informed this section: Quiller, "Studio News," 2; T. Square, "Notes on the OSA Exhibition," 7; "Ontario Society of Artists Held the Annual Opening," 2; "Fine Exhibit of Oil Paintings"; "Artists and Friends Thronged Gallery"; "OSA Exhibition: More Pictures and of Better Quality."

CHAPTER ONE

1 William Arthur (b. 1862); Florence Emily (1864–1923); Lillian; Maud (d. ca. 1936); Ernest Jerrold; Edwin S.; Russell A. (d. 1932). See Ernest J. Carlyle, "The Carlyle Tree," ca. 1950, typescript, Artist Files, WAG, Woodstock, Ont.

2 "Mrs. W. Carlyle, Passing of a Woman Who Had Not Lived in Vain," *Woodstock Daily Sentinel-Review*, 12 December 1913; and "Memory of Florence Carlyle Honored by Art Association," *Woodstock Daily Sentinel-Review*, 7 February 1936, Artist Files, WAG; Florence Johnston, "Florence Carlyle, 1864–1923," typescript, ca. 1984, Artist Files, WAG, 4. See also F. Beatrice Taylor, "Her Own Country," *London Free Press*, 7 July 1956, n.p.

3 "The Carlyle Tree," Artist Files, WAG.

4 Doyle, "Art Notes," *Saturday Night* (19 October 1895): 9.

5 Mount Pleasant was located on part of Joseph Brant's "Indian Lands." See Johnston, *Florence Carlyle*, 3.

6 A.S. Garrett, "Old Windmill's History," editorial letter in the *Globe and Mail*, n.d., Artist Files, WAG.

7 "Passing of William Carlyle."

8 Oxford Historical Society pamphlet, "Florence Carlyle and the New Gallery," *Oxford through Time* (February 1983): 2, Artist Files, WAG; Poole, *The Art of London*, 1830–1980, 69.

9 Johnston, "Florence Carlyle," 4.

10 William Kingston, *Western Wanderings, or, A Pleasure Tour in the Canadas*, vol. 2, 3–5, quoted in Johnston, *McMaster University, the Toronto Years*, vol. 1, no. 14.

11 Johnston, "Florence Carlyle," 5.

12 "Memory of Florence Carlyle Honored," (1936), n.p.; Kritzwiser, "At Home with Florence Carlyle"; Taylor, "Her Own Country"; Macbeth, "Canadian Women in the Arts," 25.

13 Johnston, "Florence Carlyle," 5; "Mrs. W. Carlyle, Passing of a Woman," 1913.

14 "Miss Florence Carlyle," *The Gentlewoman.*

15 Deacon, "Representative Women: Florence Carlyle."

16 Bell, "Women and Art in Canada," 7.

17 Osborne calendar title-leaf, *Always Room for One More.*

18 Deacon, "Representative Women." See also "Miss Florence Carlyle," *Gentlewoman.*

19 "Memory of Florence Carlyle Honored."

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American Art News
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