

Maria Morris Miller: The Many Functions of her Art¹

Janet Guildford

ABSTRACT

This article examines the career of flower painter and botanical illustrator Maria Morris Miller as a product of the deeply gendered bourgeois ideology of Victorian Halifax.

RÉSUMÉ

Dans cet article, Janet Guildford examine la carrière de peintre floral et d'illustratrice d'espèces botaniques de Maria Morris Miller, laquelle est, à son avis, le produit d'une idéologie bourgeoise profondément établie sur la division des rôles entre les hommes et les femmes, dans le Halifax de l'époque victorienne.

Maria Morris Miller (1810-1875) was the first Nova Scotian woman to gain recognition as a professional artist. Today she is best remembered for her watercolour drawings of wildflowers.² A study of her life and work presents us with ambiguous and contradictory images of the Victorian lady flower painter as the embodiment of bourgeois femininity and the serious professional artist and botanical illustrator, the "Audubon of Nova Scotian field flowers"³, demanding public recognition and acceptance. An examination of the ways in which these conflicting images are embodied in one woman calls into question some longstanding ideas about the role of women in the formation of the middle class and in the production of regional culture and identity. As the first professional woman artist in Nova Scotia Maria Morris Miller can be treated as a lost feminist heroine. But simultaneously we must also see Maria as a victim — although not a passive one — of the ideological and economic milieu she helped to create. Her experience is characterized by irony and com-

plexity as well as triumph.

The triumphal aspects of Maria's career are attractive and compelling. As a young, single woman in the 1830s and 40s she was able to support herself as an artist and art teacher in Halifax. Her work earned her local acclaim as the "Audubon of Nova Scotian field flowers" and, according to family legend, was admired by Queen Victoria.⁴ Even after her marriage to the wealthy Garrett Miller and the birth of five children Maria continued to pursue both her own art and her career as a teacher. Very few Victorian women were recognized as professional artists; in 1871 only 1069 women were listed in the British census as artists.⁵ Maria Morris Miller's status in Halifax was unique and her career was a remarkable one.

Recently, however, historians of women are expanding their inquiries beyond the recovery of heroines and trying to understand the historical processes which create a class-based and gendered society.⁶ A study of Maria Morris Miller and her work suggests that one approach need not exclude the other.

Moreover, it is important, and perhaps even necessary, to recognize as heroines those remarkable women whose lives and careers illustrate the bounds of the possible, in order to develop a more precise explanation of how gender ideologies are created and re-created. We can enjoy Maria Morris Miller as a heroine and still use her life and art as a lens through which to test our understanding of the role of women in the production of regional culture and identity and to deepen our understanding of Maritime history.

This study of Maria Morris Miller is a part of a larger investigation of the role of women in the formation of the middle-class in Halifax in the nineteenth-century. That role was substantial, complex and often ambiguous and this exploration of it is based on the assumption that class formation is both an economic and an ideological process. Maria Morris Miller's experience is very useful in analysing both aspects. Her botanical drawings of Nova Scotia wildflowers have earned her a place in the history of the promotion of the ideology of bourgeois progress with its emphasis on science, patriotism and morality, ideas we have too simplistically assigned to the male sphere. Simultaneously, this body of work ties Maria to the feminine accomplishment of flower painting and interior decoration which emphasized women's special affinity for the purity of the natural world.⁷

There are also interesting economic dimensions to Maria's career. The creation of new ideological and cultural roles for middle class women opened up new economic opportunities in supplying the goods and services that women would need to establish membership in the middle class. Middle class women's status depended on a reputation for personal refinement and an artistic sensibility but it also required lots of the decorative objects that have come to symbolize the over-dressed Victorian parlour. That new market provided economic opportunities for many women, as dressmakers and milliners, as teachers, and even as artists. The women who provided the goods and serv-

ices were very often working class women. But some were also members, or aspiring members, of the middle class. There were niches in this market which middle class women could fill without becoming declassed, or losing status, such as running select private schools and academies for proper young ladies.⁸ Maria Morris, and her mother Sybella, were among the middle class Halifax women who capitalized on these economic opportunities. I want to explore the ideological elements of Maria's work, its economic implications, and finally I want to make connections between the large social forces at work in history and the life of one woman.

It is at the intersection of the economic and ideological implications of class formation that Maria emerges as a victim of the process of a deeply gendered bourgeois ideology. Many women who earned their living through the production and sale of the goods and services associated with bourgeois status found their work demeaned and degraded both materially and intellectually because of its association with the private feminine sphere. Participation in the process of middle class formation and the promotion of bourgeois ideals was a double-edged sword for women, especially those who hoped to gain recognition in what was becoming the increasingly masculinized public sphere.

Maria Morris was born in 1810 to a socially prominent family.⁹ Her father, Guy Morris, was part of a successful merchant family from Halifax, although he and his wife Sybella (Leggett) were living in Country Harbour, Guysborough County, when Maria and her brother James were born. In 1813 Guy Morris died and Sybella took her two young children to live in Halifax where somehow she found the money to raise and educate them. Either Guy's estate was substantial enough to provide for the needs of the family or other members of the Morris family looked after them. Although the years of Maria's childhood remain shrouded, the family seems to have continued to be

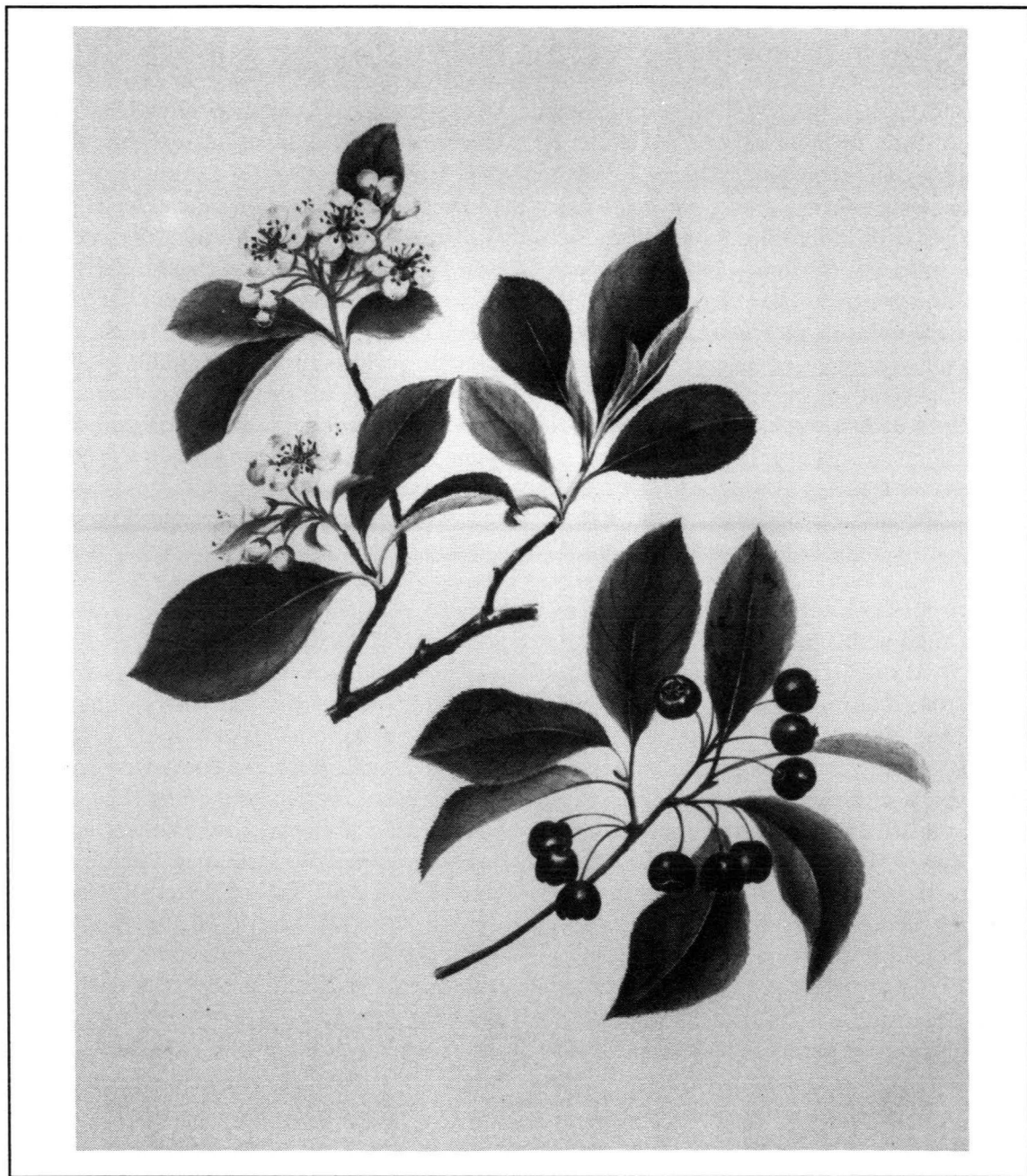


Figure 1. Cockspur, (?), water colour, Maria Morris Miller. Photo courtesy of History Collection, Nova Scotia Museum, Halifax.

part of respectable society and to have moved in literary and artistic circles. Robert Field, an artist who painted miniatures on ivory, was a regular visitor with the family until his death in 1819. Five years later when artist William Valentine arrived in Halifax he became "a dear friend" of the Morris family.¹⁰ Maria was also a part of an informal group of young literary women in Halifax which included the Herbert sisters and A.M. Valentine.¹¹ The family had enough money that when Maria began to show a gift for drawing Sybella was able to hire a professional artist to give her daughter some lessons. In 1828, when Maria was about fifteen years old, she began studying with W.Y. Jones, an artist who had come to Halifax from Boston.¹²

It is possible that Sybella Morris regarded her daughter's education as an investment. In 1830, by the time Maria was seventeen, she was teaching in a school run by her mother. For the next three years Maria and Sybella taught together on Salter Street, and later in more comfortable premises on the Grand Parade. In 1833 Maria branched out on her own and opened a separate drawing school in the family home where she taught "fine art in all its branches".¹³ At the same time Maria was continuing her own studies with L'Estrange, a professor of drawing in the city.¹⁴

Maria Morris Miller's major work as an artist was a series of watercolour drawings of Nova Scotian wildflowers in the style of botanical illustrations. I will not attempt an artistic assessment of Maria's status as an artist, which is beyond the scope of this paper and my ability to comment. I have, instead, accepted Mary Sparling's assessment that Maria, although her work is very attractive and engaging, was not in the first rank of botanical illustrators.¹⁵ She began working on the series in 1834 and continued to expand it over the next few decades. The original illustrations were executed in watercolour, but a substantial number were also reproduced as coloured lithographs. The first set of lithographs was published in

1840 and further editions followed in 1853, 1866 and 1867.¹⁶ Taken together the choice of Nova Scotia wildflowers as a subject, and the decision to adopt the style of botanical illustration, bring Maria's work into the major intellectual and philosophical currents of her era.

Because the image of feminine flower painting has become a favourite target for critics of idle bourgeois women, any consideration of Maria's work should begin with an analysis of its scientific aspects. Her drawings were part of a project she undertook in collaboration with Titus Smith. Smith, who achieved a somewhat more lasting fame than Maria, is remembered as the first scientist to catalogue the flora and fauna of Nova Scotia, and also as a promoter of the natural advantages of the colony.¹⁷ Smith had a dual role in the project. An expert specimen collector, he brought her live plants which she then had to capture on paper immediately, before the plant wilted or deteriorated. Secondly, he wrote the botanical notes which accompanied the illustrations.

Titus Smith was just one of three prominent Nova Scotian scientists with whom Maria Morris Miller was associated in the series of wildflower illustrations. The other two were Reverend Alexander Forrester, the Scottish-born first principal of the Nova Scotia Normal School, and George Lawson, a university-trained botanist who came to Halifax in 1863 as the chemistry professor at Dalhousie University. They both contributed botanical notes to later editions of Maria's work. All three of these men had considerable reputations in Nova Scotia as scientists, but they shared another experience. All served terms as secretary of agriculture for the colony, later the province, of Nova Scotia.¹⁸ In fact, all three were serving in that position when they did the notes for Maria's illustrations. There is no evidence to suggest that these illustrations were commissioned by the Nova Scotia government, but it is significant that Maria Morris Miller worked with scientists and government officials.



Figure 2. Mayflower, (?) hand coloured Lithograph, Maria Morris Miller. Photo courtesy of History Collection, Nova Scotia Museum, Halifax.

Maria's collaboration with secretaries of agriculture ties her work not only to the nineteenth-century enthusiasm for collecting and classifying botanical information, but also with the patriotic application of scientific knowledge to the development of Nova Scotia's natural resources. She began to work on the series in the late 1830s, in the heyday of the "intellectual awakening" of Nova Scotia, a period in which Nova Scotian patriotism and the dream of creating a prosperous and nearly utopian society captured the imaginations of many residents of the province. Regional historians generally have regarded responsible government as the crowning achievement of this awakening, and as a result, studies of it have focused almost exclusively on the male-dominated public sphere.

Historians have just begun to explore and assess the contribution and participation of women in this period.¹⁹ However, Gail Campbell, in her study of mid-nineteenth-century women petitioners in New Brunswick, has demonstrated that exclusion from the franchise did not prevent women from participating in and shaping the political culture of the region.²⁰ Certainly contemporary observers would have argued that Maria Morris's work was a part of the broader campaign to bring wider public attention to the rich resources and splendid talents of Nova Scotia and its people. The 'Man about Town' columnist for the *Novascotian*, writing in January, 1837, suggested that the possession of Maria Morris's botanical illustrations would establish a family's reputation for good taste in art and appreciation of science.²¹

The business of establishing a family's credentials for good taste and patriotism, so important to inclusion in the middle class, was, to a very large extent, women's work. In the case of Maria Morris's wildflower illustrations, both the production of the cultural symbols and their consumption was carried out by women. In 1836 it was Lady Campbell, the wife of the Lieutenant-Governor of Nova Scotia, who set "the good example" of purchasing an album of Maria's illustra-

tions.²² There is, however, a snideness in the reporter's tone as he exhorts his female readers to follow Lady Campbell's example. This tone alerts us to the ambiguity surrounding women's role in class and gender ideology. He hoped that:

other ladies whose purses are well stored and even those moderate means, by putting a wreath or two less of artificial flowers on their heads, might adorn their drawing rooms with a beautiful collection, that could not fail to diffuse through the family circle a love for the land which during its brief summer, produces so much natural loveliness.²³

This same paternalistic and patronizing humour, was reflected in an item a year later, when the reporter quipped that he "should be half-induced to propose to one of the daughters" in a household in possession of Maria's work.²⁴ While on the one hand affirming the value and attractiveness of the illustrations, this comment simultaneously trivializes and patronizes them — a condition not unfamiliar to women in Victorian Nova Scotia. When the first album of the lithographs was published in 1840 *The Times* carried a similar notice:

Every wealthy family in the Province should send Miss Maria Morris an order. The boudoir or the drawing room should claim her volume as its most appropriate ornament; aye, although all the vases, petrified dogs, shell boxes, et hoc genus omne, which now cumber the round tables were swept into the fire to make room for it. The "Wild Flowers" would convey a distinct and favourable impression, give assurance that the mistress of this fair mansion prefers encouraging native talent, to wasting her

money on foreign manufactures and Italian Jews.²⁵

Maria's press notices help us to link together the scientific and patriotic aspects of her work with the traditions and conventions of nineteenth-century bourgeois femininity. The formation of the middle class in western capitalist societies has been closely associated with a gender ideology that prescribed new sets of innate characteristics and roles for men and women. This ideology, which we refer to today as the ideology of separate spheres, must not be confused with a description of nineteenth-century middle class life. But it does offer us valuable guidelines in interpreting cultural ideals.

The link between women and nature was a particularly important and complex one. The natural world and all its products were regarded by many Victorians as revelations of God's handiwork. Women, regarded as especially spiritual, were closer to God and to nature than men, and they used natural decorations both to adorn themselves and their surroundings.²⁶ In doing so they reinforced the connections between themselves and God and emphasized their special role as the moral and spiritual guardians of the family, and, eventually, of the society. The relationship between women and nature had its attractive and appealing side, but it could also slip over into something darker and more dangerous for women. Women were regarded as more natural than men, an association which translated into a perception of a more limited capacity for rational thought and artistic creation.²⁷ An ideal woman was artless: not given to art or artifice. Hence, women were more primitive than men and less evolved, by virtue of their much more obvious role in reproduction. Therefore, returning again to the newspaper promotion of Maria's wildflower illustrations, we see that the many complex ideological elements expressed permit men to both admire and exalt women and also to denigrate and patronize them. Adorning one's hair with artificial flowers is not really so different from

adorning one's walls with coloured lithographs of flowers, but the distinction was made to the detriment of Nova Scotian women.

Although still an under-studied process, the development of nineteenth-century middle class gender ideology of separate spheres and the cult of true womanhood has received much more attention than the economic activities of bourgeois Victorian women. Taken at face value, the ideology of separate spheres would seem to preclude entirely a role for middle class women in the formal economy. But, of course, many women had long careers in independent business, the professions and within family businesses.²⁸ Not all women who belonged to the middle class, through association or status, had adequate financial resources to remain outside the formal economy, and not all wanted to. At various times in her life Maria Morris Miller found herself in both these situations. Moreover, as I have already suggested, the formation of the middle class created new economic opportunities for middle class women.

Maria Morris apparently regarded her career as an artist as a serious economic undertaking. It began in 1830 when she started teaching in her mother's school, almost certainly to help support the family. The school Sybella Morris and her daughter conducted fell solidly within the range of market activities regarded as suitable for middle class women who had fallen on hard times. For many women who were left with children to support, running a school was the ideal activity because it not only saved the tuition fees that would be required if their children were to be educated by someone else, but the fees of other students subsidized the family's standard of living. Maria's teaching career was combined with her own work as an artist, and, by 1840, as a promoter and publisher of her lithographs.

In some respects the entrepreneurial aspects of Maria's career after her marriage to Garrett Miller are more challenging to our understanding of wom-

en's roles in the nineteenth-century than is the case with her single years. Maria was married in 1840 at twenty-seven years of age, the same year that her first portfolio of coloured lithographs was published in London. One could argue that she was at the height of her career. In the ten years following her marriage Maria gave birth to three sons and two daughters. During this decade when virtually all of her time and energy must have been devoted to bearing and raising small children, Maria and her art disappear from the public record. For at least some of these years she was living in seclusion and obscurity on the Miller family estate in LaHave, Lunenburg County. However, by the early 1850s, with a houseful of young children, the youngest still a baby, she re-emerged. In the fall of 1852 an advertisement for her drawing school reappeared in the Halifax press, and it continued to run intermittently until at least 1872.²⁹ In the City Directories of 1858 and 1863 Maria Miller advertised her services as an artist. Nor had she abandoned her enthusiasm for publishing albums of coloured lithographs of her wildflower illustrations. In 1853 a second set appeared. In 1860 Maria petitioned the provincial government for financing to assist with the publication of a third set which appeared in 1866. There was a fourth and final printing in 1867, the same year in which her lithographs were shown as part of the Nova Scotia exhibit at the International Exposition in Paris.³⁰

When Maria died in 1875 she was still well known as an artist. She had not faded into obscurity and her death and her career were well documented in the local press.³¹ Maria's business career was possible because of the growing market in the trappings of bourgeois culture in the region. Her persistence in that career, despite a wealthy husband and five children, suggests that participation in appropriate paid work did not, in fact, disqualify women from middle class status in Halifax.³² The lines between public and private were not clearly drawn.

Thus far we have examined Maria Morris Miller's

work in the context of the ideological and economic developments of her day. In situating her work within a framework which takes into account both the most obvious and more subtle limits imposed on women by the gendered ideologies of the period, it is important, too, to consider her later career in the context of her personal situation, especially her marriage in 1840 at the age of twenty-seven to thirty-five-year-old Garrett Trafalgar Nelson Miller, a wealthy merchant.³³ By the conventions of Maria's world Garrett would seem to be a thoroughly appropriate husband. The Miller family had been part of the Loyalist migration to Nova Scotia and had prospered as West Indies merchants and land speculators. By 1840 Garrett's family had acquired valuable waterfront property in the heart of the port and four houses at the intersection of Water and Morris Streets. The family also owned fifty house lots in the area of what would later be developed as Young Avenue, the wide street leading to Point Pleasant Park. Through his marriage to Catherine Pernette, Garrett's father had expanded the family holdings to include an extensive estate on the banks of the LaHave River in Lunenburg County. The family also had social pretensions. The genealogist of the family has claimed that Garrett's grandfather was a close friend of the Duke of Kent during his stay in Halifax. The same source also described Garrett as "one of the handsomest of men, tall and stately, and to the last soldierly in bearing".³⁴

Maria Morris and Garrett Miller would certainly have been part of the same social circles in Halifax. Both were members of socially prominent families, and were distantly related by marriage.³⁵ According to family lore, lustre was added to the couple's wedding at St. Paul's Church by the fact that Maria's dress was made of fabric given to her as a present by Queen Victoria as a token of her admiration for Maria's wildflower illustrations.³⁶

Despite its apparent suitability the marriage was not a happy one. The most striking evidence we have

for this claim are two letters written by Maria to Garrett's brother Joseph accusing Garrett's mother of fomenting trouble within the marriage by sending her servant to spy on Maria and then reporting her activities to Garrett. Maria asked her brother-in-law to intervene because her mother-in-law's spying was "productive of much mischief and strife which believe me I am most anxious to avoid".³⁷ Family tradition also supports the idea that the marriage was unhappy.³⁸ There is no evidence to suggest a legal separation between Maria and Garrett, but there are clues that the couple probably lived apart at various times. Unfortunately, there are no residency records extant for the early 1850s. But on the basis of her advertisements in the *Novascotian*, we can speculate that Maria may have returned to teaching school in Halifax in 1852 to get away from both her husband and her mother-in-law in LaHave. It is possible that while Maria was willing to set aside her art career in favour of a career as wife and mother, she found her life in LaHave too constricting. Her unwillingness to conform to contemporary expectations about the appropriate behaviour of Victorian wives and mothers may have been the cause of her marital unhappiness.³⁹ In 1866 Maria was living in Halifax with at least two of her sons, but Garrett was not listed as living with the rest of the family. However, in 1871, Maria and Garrett and all five children were listed in the census as living together in their Pleasant Street home. A final cause for speculation about living arrangements is the fact that Maria's funeral in 1875 was held from the home of her daughter Alicia Grant, not from the family home on Pleasant Street.

Maria Morris Miller's unhappy marriage affected her activity as an artmaker, not in terms of her subject matter, which remained conventional, but in terms of her persistence in the public arena. Although she was absent from the public art world for over a decade of childbearing she returned permanently in the early 1850s. Her return to public life may, in fact, have

been the cause of the end of her childbearing. Maria did not resign herself to becoming an amateur artist, a lady who painted flowers to demonstrate her idleness as a badge of her husband's wealth. She apparently needed to function as an artist in the public sphere and to pursue some degree of economic independence through her artistic activities. Maria Morris Miller's life and art help us to understand the social trends and ideas of her era, but it is also necessary that we recognize that individual people and individual circumstances have an impact on historical change.

The life and the work of Maria Morris Miller remind us that men and women together shaped the culture of the emerging middle class in Nova Scotia, just as they did elsewhere. Her work demonstrates the centrality of women's role in cultural and ideological production and class formation and the ambiguous consequences of that process for women. The role of women in that process, as well as the fundamental importance of gender as an organizing principle, have received much too little attention from historians until very recently. Together those Victorian women and men shaped and promulgated a class-based gender ideology of great persuasiveness and longevity. Even in the late twentieth-century we live in a culture which is still blinkered by the separate spheres gender ideology created by that nineteenth-century middle class. As a result we have been too reluctant to examine the true nature of that collaboration. We have accepted the idea that it was only in the rarest of cases that women stepped outside their appointed domestic sphere, forgetting that men also inhabited the domestic world and that families together created their lives and their society. It is through examining the activities and experiences of individual women like Maria Morris Miller that we can understand the development of hegemonic ideologies and then use our new understanding to develop new strategies for resistance.

NOTES

1. I would like to thank Marie Elwood of the Nova Scotia Museum for her generosity in sharing her research and her interest in Maria Morris Miller, SSHRC for the financial support to pursue my interest in this artist, and the Institute for the Study of Women, Mount Saint Vincent University, for its support.
2. For a treatment of Maria Morris Miller as an historical heroine see Elizabeth Nutt, ARCA, "An Incident in the Golden Age of Fine Art in Nova Scotia", Journal of Education (Nova Scotia), (February, 1932), 71-75.
3. Rev. W. Bowman Tucker, The Romance of the Palatine Millers: A Tale of Palatine Irish-Americans and United Empire Loyalists (Montreal: Southam Press 1929), 78.
4. Mary Sparling, "The British Vision in Nova Scotia 1749 - 1848: What Views the Artists Reflected and Reinforced", MA thesis, (Dalhousie University, 1978), 93.
5. Patricia Gerrish Nunn, Victorian Women Artists (London: The Women's Press 1987), 3.
6. For a discussion of recent trends in Canadian women's history see Franca Iacovetta and Mariana Valverde, eds., Gender Conflicts: New Essays in Women's History, (Toronto: University of Toronto Press 1992), especially the Introduction, xi-xxviii.
7. For a discussion of this process see Jane Leigh Cook, "Bringing the Outside In: Women and the Transformation of the Domestic Interior in Atlantic Canada, 1830 - 1860", Material History Review, 38 (Fall 1993), 36-49.
8. For a more extended discussion of this theme see Janet Guildford, "More than Idle Ladies: Businesswomen in 19th-Century Halifax", (unpublished paper) Presented to the Atlantic Canada Studies Conference, Memorial University, St. John's, Newfoundland, May 1992.
9. The details of Maria Morris's life and career vary from one author to another. I have drawn on Nutt, "Golden Age"; Sparling, "The British Vision", 89ff; Phyllis Blakeley, "Nova Scotia Women", A talk given at Mount St. Vincent University, 1972, Phyllis Blakeley Papers, Public Archives of Nova Scotia (PANS) MG1, v.3043, #7; Harry Piers, Titus Smith, "The Dutch Village Philosopher", Pioneer Naturalist of Nova Scotia, 1768 - 1850 (Halifax: Nova Scotian Institute of Science 1938). In general I have regarded the work of Mary Sparling as the most reliable.
10. Nutt, "Golden Age", 72.
11. Gwendolyn Davies, "'Dearer than his Dog': Literary Women in Pre-Confederation Nova Scotia", in Gwendolyn Davies, Studies in Maritime Literary History, (Fredericton: Acadiensis Press 1991), 85.
12. Nutt, "Golden Age".
13. Nutt, "The Golden Age", 73.
14. Ibid.
15. Sparling, "The British Vision".
16. Wildflowers of Nova Scotia, (Halifax: Nova Scotia Museum (nd)).
17. Piers, Titus Smith.
18. Piers, Titus Smith. The picture of Titus Smith included in this publication is "after a now lost original sketch by Mrs. G.T.N. Miller". Judith Fingard, "Alexander Forrester", Dictionary of Canadian Biography, vol.IX (Toronto: University of Toronto Press 1976), 270-2; Janet Guildford, "Technical Education in Nova Scotia, 1880-1930", MA thesis, Dalhousie University, 1983.
19. One important exception to this generalization is the work of Gwen Davies on Maritime women writers during the intellectual awakening. See Davies, "'Dearer than his dog'".
20. Gail Campbell, "'Disfranchised but not Quiescent': Women Petitioners in New Brunswick in the Mid-Nineteenth Century", Acadiensis, 18,2 (Spring, 1989): 22-54.
21. Novascotian, 19 January 1837.
22. Novascotian, 15 September 1836.
23. Novascotian, 15 September 1836.
24. Novascotian, 19 January 1937.
25. The Times, 1840, 179, col.2. This quote also, of course, reminds us of the sense of white anglo-saxon protestant superiority so integral to most strains of the ideology of bourgeois progress in Nova Scotia.
26. Cook, "Bringing the Outside In".
27. For a discussion of these themes see Sherry B. Ortner, "Is Female to Male as Nature Is to Culture?", in Michelle Zimbalist Rosaldo and Louise Lamphere, eds., Women, Culture and Society, (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1974), 67-88.
28. Lenore Davidoff and Catherine Hall, Family Fortunes: Men and Women of the English Middle Class (London: Hutchinson 1987); Mary Ryan, Cradle of the Middle Class: The Family in Oneida County (Cambridge: Cambridge Uni-

versity Press 1981).

29. Novascotian, 22 November 1852, 384; Mrs. Maria Miller listed her drawing school in the Nova Scotia and Halifax directories of 1858, 1863, 1866, and 1869.

30. Catalogue of the Nova Scotia Department of the Paris Exhibition 1867, PANS V/F V.48 #3.

31. See death notices in Acadian Recorder, 30 Oct 1875; Morning Chronicle, 30 Oct. 1875. When Garrett Miller died in 1897 his obituaries also carried references to his wife's fame as an artist. See Halifax Herald, 22 July 1897, 8.

32. See Lucy Murphy Eldersveld, "Business Ladies: Mid-western Women and Enterprise, 1850-1880", Journal of Women's History, 3,1 (Spring 1991), 65-89 for a more detailed discussion of this argument.

33. Garrett Miller was born the same month as Nelson's great victory at Trafalgar. See PANS Biographical file for this and other information on Garrett Miller and his family. Tucker, The Romance of the Palatine Millers has a chapter on Garrett's family. The Grigor-Miller papers, PANS MG1, are also useful.

34. Tucker, The Romance of the Palatine Millers, 77.

35. Ibid.

36. Sparling, "The British Vision", 93.

37. Maria Morris Letters, Blakeley Papers, PANS MG1, v. 3078, #10.

38. Interview with Marie Elwood, 1992.

39. I would like to thank Gail Campbell for suggesting this interpretation of Maria Morris Miller's move to Halifax.

