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In Her Place:
Changing Images of Women in Western Society from the Seventeenth to the Twentieth Century

Mora Dianne O'Neill, Guest Curator
Mount Saint Vincent University Art Gallery

Foreword

In Her Place celebrates the installation of Mount Saint Vincent University's new president, Dr. Naomi Hersom. We believe that there can be no more fitting beginning for her tenure than this provocative exhibition. Dianne O'Neill has risen triumphantly to the challenge of showing woman *In Her Place* over four centuries of changing artistic styles. With patience, tenacity and flair she has brought together over sixty works which allow us to consider how variously women have been perceived.

We are grateful to Dianne and to the individuals and institutions who have enabled this insight through their generous loans. Most especially do we thank the Nova Scotia Department of Culture, Recreation and Fitness for its support of this exhibition.

Mary Sparling, Director
Mount Saint Vincent University Art Gallery

Acknowledgements

I have admired Mary Sparling since my first introduction to the Mount's Art Gallery more than ten years ago. For her invitation to join the company of curators whose exhibitions have graced these walls, and for her continuing support and affirmation, I cannot record sufficient thanks.

To Catherine Rubinger, who first promoted the idea of an exhibition which traced the history of art using images of women, and to Dr. Nina Konczacki and Dr. Wayne Ingalls, who gave generously of their time and particular skills, I owe much for their continuing support, stimulation and constructive criticism as *In Her Place* developed out of that original idea.

To the participating galleries and individuals who have shared their collections with us, I am grateful. To the curators and other officials who gave so generously of their time and expertise:

Christine Boyanski and Barry Simpson at the Art Gallery of Ontario, Paul Hachey at the Beaverbrook Art Gallery, Gary Hughes at the New Brunswick Museum, Keilor Bentley at the Owens Art Gallery, and Armgard Zentilli at the Dalhousie Art Gallery, I repeat my thanks.

To the Art Gallery of Nova Scotia, to Judy Dietz and Patrick Laurette, to Bernard Riordon and Deborah Young, I owe a more profound debt, since it was in that venue I began to translate art from a narrow academic perspective to the broader concern of an art gallery in today's society.

To the editors of *Atlantis*, I am especially grateful for their willingness to print this catalogue as part of the regular issue.

Mora Dianne O'Neill
Guest Curator, *In Her Place*
Mount Saint Vincent University Art Gallery
July 1986

Lenders to the Exhibition

Acadia University Art Gallery
Art Gallery of Nova Scotia
Art Gallery of Ontario
Beaverbrook Art Gallery
Dalhousie Art Gallery
Manuge Galleries Limited
New Brunswick Museum
Nova Scotia Museum
Owens Art Gallery
Public Archives of Nova Scotia
and several private collections

Preface

As I write, *In Her Place* has been a nine month labour of love and expanding horizons. The time period is circumstantial, but its symbolism is appropriate.

When I began the preparations of this exhibition, I was looking primarily for genre or history paintings which depicted women engaged in some form of activity, not with any particular thesis in mind, but simply to avoid the possible pitfall of a static series of portraits.

Considering the options available after my initial survey, I was astounded by the strength and power registered by the images of women from the two earliest centuries. None of these images could have been painted by artists who considered woman to be home-bound, child-bound, duty-to-her-lord-and-master-bound. Suddenly it seemed that the exceptional women who skirt the pages of history, as stone-mason and goldsmith, as shipchandler and plumber, were not remarkable, but rather representative of a social norm now lost to our sight.

Woman's place, I now submit, was not continuously subservient throughout history, but fluctuated according to the operation of various social, religious and economic factors. Under the pressure of middle class attitudes in the nineteenth century, however, women were edited out of history. More recent historians have too often neglected to look for, or to register, evidence of the active participatory woman in earlier times, because they have been conditioned not to expect the presence of such activity. The challenge issued by *In Her Place* is for the re-examination of primary data from earlier eras. Only then can the true location of woman's place in society be fixed through time.

In Her Place: Changing Images of Women in Western Society from the Seventeenth to the Twentieth Century

> A work of art is not a spontaneous occurrence, but an object produced by a thinking, feeling, and responding individual who is part of of a larger social environment. It is the total situation that is responsible for the meaning inherent in the art object. The method, style, or form of any

> given work indicates the ideas current at the time and place in which it was made.[1]

Venturi's approach to the study of art is fundamental to this exhibition since *In Her Place* attempts to trace both a history of art and a history of attitudes toward women from the seventeenth to the twentieth century.

Paintings are both aesthetic objects and cultural artifacts. *In Her Place* thus addresses two audiences. For those who regard paintings and prints as aesthetic objects, the exhibition will trace the artistic changes which parallel the course of history and literature. For those who approach the pictures as artifacts, the exhibition will chart the changing attitude toward women in each period. Ideally, since art is the expression of human experience, these two audiences are complementary.

Since the twentieth century experience of the viewer is far removed from that of earlier centuries, cursory summaries of major historical changes and of scientific advancements during each stylistic period form part of the introduction to each Style. History, as traditionally written, focused on power and its manipulation in society. As such, history described only the narrow segment of the population who wielded this power. Increasingly social historians are returning to primary sources, such as letters, wills, legal documents and census records, in order to gain some indication of the lives of the ordinary people over whom this power was exercised. In this regard, paintings and prints are not only aesthetic indicators of a society, but artifacts as well, providing primary data about that society uncoloured by subsequent editing. Artists, as members of the society in which they work, will consciously reflect in their painting a given society's artistic taste; as representatives of that society, they will unconsciously reproduce its attitudes toward women. The aim of *In Her Place* is not to represent women's rôles in society, but rather to suggest each era's attitude toward women, as reflected in paintings and prints chosen to represent middle class taste and attitudes.[2]

The notion that woman's place is, and always has been, in the home, circumscribed by *Kirche, Kuche, Kinder*, is now being refuted by social historians.[3] *In Her Place* adds to their voices the evidence of art. If women had always been perceived as an inferior creation, limited to a non-active, domestically-oriented place in society, then it would seem logical that artists have always portrayed women with a domestic referrent and this subservient demeanor in mind. *In Her Place* challenges this basic presumption of inferiority. These images of women, produced over four centuries and in a progression of artistic styles, demonstrate clearly that society's attitude toward women has not been static.

Depictions of women in the Baroque and Rococo Styles of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries suggest, in both content and form, that women enjoyed a position of strength within society at those times, and refute the conventional assertion that woman's place has always been subservient and nurturing in the past. The evidence of these paintings and prints suggest instead that her limitation to a domestic place did not obtain before the rapid and violent economic upheaval occasioned by the French Revolution and the Industrial Revolution at the end of the eighteenth century.

The focus of *In Her Place* on images of women is too narrow to permit a rounded history of art, but the exhibition will provide, I hope, an introduction to the glorious continuity which unites the art of the European and American continents. Availability of works has naturally been in inverse proportion to their antiquity or current insurance valuation. The emphasis on artistic styles rather than individual masterpieces, however, supplies the viewer with the visual clues to place any work of art in its historial context. The option to like, or dislike, any

particular work remains, as it must, with each individual viewer. Sympathy for the interconnection between a work of art and the age which produced it will help that viewer to make an informed decision.

A painting is a fragile thing. The survival of one for centuries is little short of miraculous: paint and canvas are subject to the deteriorating effects of sunlight, heat, humidity and human breath; subject and handling must meet current taste for it to be purchased and treasured; without the good fortune to satisfy the taste of future generations, it will not find a protected and honoured place in a permanent collection.

Today, by virtue of their age, most surviving paintings from the seventeenth or eighteenth century are respected as valid representations of those periods and valued accordingly. Until the last two decades, much nineteenth century painting was still dismissed in derogtatory terms and ignored. Will future generations continue to share our taste, or lament the unfortunate loss of what they perceive as vital connections in their surveys of art history? Collectors and institutions, influenced by the taste of their own society and time, determine the merit of any particular work or artistic style.

In his *Lives of the Artists* (1550) Vasari noted that one Agnolo Doni, "though sparing in other things, spent willingly upon paintings and sculpture, of which he was fond."[4] Collecting works of art has a long tradition in Europe. In Canada, convents and churches in Quebec were importing pictures and receiving them from benefactors in France in the seventeenth century, and private collectors were active by the eighteenth century. Not until 1880, however, was a public collection established in Canada. In that year the Marquis of Lorne, as Governor-General, supervised the creation of the National Gallery. In spite of their relatively late arrival in the collecting field, Canadian art galleries have amassed in their permanent collections an impressive sampling of works which traces the history of western art.

Most comprehensive of the six galleries from which the majority of the works in this exhibition have been borrowed, the Art Gallery of Ontario includes paintings and sculpture in its permanent collection to represent most major artistic styles and artists from the fourteenth century onward. Paintings by Poussin and Rubens, by Boucher and Chardin, and by many important nineteenth and twentieth century artists are further informed by an extensive collection of prints and drawings. British paintings form the heart of the original donation which established the Beaverbrook Art Gallery in 1959, but its holdings include an impressive representation of the Northern and Early Italian Renaissance as well as a wide-ranging collection of nineteenth and twentieth century paintings. The holdings of the original Owens Art Institution, as a reflection of nineteenth century taste, and noteworthy for the prevalence of female subject matter, made the collection of the Owens Art Gallery especially informative for this exhibition. Although its current focus is on African, Asian and European decorative arts, the art collection of The New Brunswick Museum provides good Canadian and foreign art coverage, especially from the large collection donated by Dr. J.C. and Alice Lusk Webster. The Dalhousie Art Gallery emphasizes Canadian works, both historical and contemporary, but the collection provides interrupted glimpses of European historical styles as well. Although the strength of the Art Gallery of Nova Scotia collection rests in works by Nova Scotian artists, its growing historical collection includes isolated examples from the Renaissance onwards. Two volumes of Bartolozzi engravings, printed copies of one hundred and fifty sixteenth, seventeenth and eighteenth century paintings, were especially valuable in the preparation of this exhibition.

From the collection of the Mount Saint Vincent University Art Gallery, which emphasizes

works in all media by women and regional artists, the most recent works in the exhibition have been chosen. Individual works were borrowed from the collections of Acadia University, the Nova Scotia Museum and the Public Archives of Nova Scotia, and private collections of eighteenthth century prints proved of crucial importance.

The characters of these specific collections have naturally influenced the appearance of this exhibition. Since even the oldest of these lending galleries was established within the past century, the support the available works provide the thesis is in itself an indication of its validity.

The choice of 1600 as the starting point for *In Her Place* reflects the date of the first permanent European settlement at Port Royal in 1605. For a long time settlers imported not only their artistic attitudes from Europe, but their art and artists as well. Not until the 19th century did Canada begin its separate artistic emergence within the European tradition. The works selected for this exhibition reflect this state of the arts. The earliest pictures are international in origin; since France, then England, played pre-eminent rôles in the development of Canada, attention then turns to works from these venues; as it approaches the present day, the exhibition relies increasingly on Canadian works. Since the paintings and prints have been drawn entirely from Canadian collections, they also document Canadian taste and attitudes in art.

The Baroque Style 1600 - 1750

A balance between women and men as equally active human beings is the attitude which registers across almost four centuries from the Baroque Style. Whether making music, making merry, making art, or making war, the women portrayed in Baroque art participated equally in each activity with their male counterparts. This perceived equality is an outstanding feature of the society portrayed in the Baroque Style.

Guercino's *A Concert* (cat. 5) depicts an ensemble of women and men sharing the production of music. Music was a serious pursuit among the emerging middle class, since proficiency in music demonstrated their enjoyment of the leisure time to pursue a skill Castiglione had included among the accomplishments of a courtier in *Il Cortegiano* (1528). Guercino's *Three Women with a Palette and a Sketch of a Design* (cat. 3) may represent Sofonisba Anguissola (1528 - 1625) and two of her students. Another Guercino portrait of Sofonisba grinding colours to make paint is included among this set of Bartolozzi prints. Sofonisba served as court painter to Philip II of Spain for more than twenty years, and was credited in a sixteenth century commentary with raising the social status of artists in general since she herself was nobly born.[5] Regardless of her identity, the portrait demonstrates the active rôle of women in making art and the positive attitude toward women which permitted them a choice of occupation.

The merry-makers in Palamedesz's *Man and Woman Revelling* (cat. 2) reveal that an equitable attitude toward women was not peculiar to Italy. This Dutch painter's inclusion of both a woman and a man in his study for a larger painting suggests that a balance between the sexes was natural to his thought as well in the seventeenth century.

The seventeenth century ushered in the Baroque Age. That this was a time of geographic expansion is fundamental to Canadian history. It was also a time of expanding scientific horizons. In Italy, Galileo had proved the heliocentric theory first described by Copernicus in 1543, although he would be forced to recant in 1633 and allow the earth its primacy at the centre of the universe. In England, however, Francis Bacon promoted a practical and empirical approach to the marshalling of scientific facts, and in France René Déscartes followed a rational and theoretical path to scientific understanding. Before the end of the century, Newton would rec-

oncile these two methods and explain the revolution of the planets around the sun in his universal law of gravitation. This scientific emphasis on what could be observed and measured in the natural world is reflected by the attempt to create an illusion of actuality in the Baroque Style.

In the society which produced this Baroque Style, spiralling inflation continued to plague the economy. Europe was torn apart by the Thirty Years War in Germany and by political and religious intrigue elsewhere. The King of France was assassinated in 1610 and the King of England judicially executed in 1649. It was not an age of peace and tranquility in the public sphere. Except for a widening gulf between rich and poor, and the continuing expansion of a middle mercantile class, however, the regimen of daily life in the private sphere remained little changed. The term 'middle class' was never used before the late eighteenth century, and is, itself, a product of the attitudes which created the Realistic Style. To use it in this earlier context is erroneous, but convenient. The expansion of this middle class was achieved in part by a fundamental change in the conduct of war at this time. During the seventeenth century, professional standing armies replaced the levy of all able-bodied citizens in time of war. France had a standing army of a few hundred soldiers in the mid-sixteenth century who guarded the personal safety of the king. A century later, France's standing army numbered 150,000. This shift in labour practice accomplished the transfer, begun in the twelfth century with the emergence of a middle class, to a money-based economy throughout Europe.[6]

Social and cultural turmoil did not determine the spontaneous appearance of a Baroque Style, but these conditions encouraged the selection of artistic elements, already evident in the preceding Mannerist and High Renaissance Styles, which defined the new style. The Baroque is exuberant, dramatic, filled with movement, and intensely naturalistic. The Mannerist game-playing appeal to the intellect and the Renaissance search for perfect balance and harmony between the physical and the spiritual were replaced by the Baroque demand for an emotional response from the viewer. The Baroque could elicit this reaction because its meticulous renderings of colour, texture, weight and mass were calculated to overwhelm the viewer by the illusion of actuality. The disturbing imbalance of diagonals and curves which cut obliquely through the space represented in a painting, and the extreme edge of reality which frequently formed the subject matter, produce a tension in the Baroque Style which mirrored that of the socio-cultural milieu.

The force and rapidity with which the Baroque Style reformed aesthetic taste can be readily appreciated in Gerolamo's *Queen Zenobia at the tent of Aurelian* (cat. 1). The Bassano family, who considered themselves the 'heirs of Paolo' Veronese, consciously looked back to that master for artistic inspiration. Although his handling of figures recalls Veronese, Gerolamo has already fallen under the Baroque spell. Zenobia's attendants do not cross the picture plane in a slow and stately horizontal file; instead, they form a turbulent C curve which emerges diagonally out of the middle ground. A strong diagonal line climbs from the child at Zenobia's right hand to the top of Aurelian's tent and overpowers the bowed head of the already despondent Emperor. The Baroque Style has triumphed over the Renaissance.

Time and attitudinal changes, however, have triumphed over Zenobia. This Queen of Palmyra, who defeated the army of a Roman Emperor and ruled for five years, in defiance of Rome, as Augusta and Queen of the East, has been forgotten. As one of the Nine Worthy Women, she was well-known in art and literature from the fourteenth through the seventeenth centuries. The Worthy Women themselves, who had their parallel in the Nine (Male)

Cat. 1 Gerolamo da Ponte Bassano, *Queen Zenobia at the tent of Aurelian* (Photograph: George Georgakakis)

Cat. 10 *Pater follower, Fête Galante: The Dance*

Cat. 20 Elisabeth Vigée-Lebrun, *Portrait of Marie-Antoinette*

Worthies, comprised nine forceful female exemplars who have been expunged from popular awareness.[7]

The instance of the Judith and Holofernes subject, based on the story in the *Apocrypha*, repeats this theme of elimination. The image of Zenobia and Aurelian might seem, at first glance, to anticipate an evening of illicit love; by the same token, a Judith decapitating Holofernes might register on today's viewer as a caricature of the archetypal feminist performing the ultimate act of emasculation. For the centuries during which this subject was popular in art, however, Holofernes represented, not his male sex, but that class of persons who offended against God's holy will; Judith, although she was included among the Nine Worthy Women, represented, not particularly her female sex, but rather a human being functioning as the active hand of God. Judith disappeared from the iconography with Giordano's *Triumph of Judith* in 1704 because she no longer accorded with Rococo sensuality and frivolity. Her failure to re-emerge with the moral imperative of the nineteenth century is indicative of the changing attitude toward women.

This new attitude, which limited women to a domestic place and the rôle of homemaker, was foreign to the world portrayed in Baroque art. Evidence of the strong position of women in the seventheenth century can be adduced from such primary sources as marriage contracts. The contract between Françoise-Marie Jacquelin and Charles de la Tour in 1639 provided that:

> the future spouses will be co-owners and partners by one-half in all acquisitions of personal property and real estate that they make during the said marriage, according to the customary laws of this city of Paris.[8]

The contract notes further that she could inherit personal and real estate absolutely in her own right during the marriage and specifies that she would be entitled as a widow to half his personal and real estate. That the document insists on the *coutume de Paris*, the customary laws of Paris, suggests that a seventeenth century Parisienne had very assured rights and that this particular woman insisted on the continuation of those rights across the seas in Acadia.[9] The message conveyed by Baroque art describes an attitude toward women which permitted their equal participation in all the activities of life.

The Baroque Style did not terminate abruptly at the end of the seventeenth century. In North America and parts of Europe, it would continue with little change until the French Revolution. The profound modifications which disrupt this Baroque continuity, in France especially, make it reasonable, however, to describe the Rococo as a separate style.

The Rococo Style 1715 - 1785

As the Baroque Style melted into the Rococo, frivolity replaced nobility, but the image of the Rococo is not a noble male supporting a frivolous female. The world represented in Rococo art did not distinguish woman as a being separate from her male counterpart; this human society was a combination of male and female elements. Both women and men continued equal in their frivouslous pursuit of life's sensual pleasures.

The Rococo Style inherited the structure of art formalized during the preceding centure. The establishment of informal academies elsewhere, and of the all-powerful *Académie Royale de Peinture et de Sculpture* in France, encouraged continuity at the expense of change. The rise of the Academies paralleled a socio-economic change in the position of artists within society. Originally artists had been members of the craft guilds. Increased prestige acquired during the sixteenth century elevated the best of them to professional status. No longer were they apprenticed within the craft guild structure; rather they were educated at an academy. Before, the patron

determined both subject and its handling; now, the patron might request a subject, but the artist alone was responsible for its aesthetic interpretation. The artist, however, functioned essentially as a servant of the patron.

Although the Rococo Style is essentially aristocratic in nature, increasingly the middle class exercised more direct artistic input. Wealthy bourgeois, emulating the life-style of the aristocracy, commissioned works from major artists, and artists, in turn, found subject matter in middle class activities — the popular theatre and the country fairs. The middle class at this time began to influence the formation of artistic taste.

Colbert had achieved a rigid control of the French Academy in 1641 and determined a policy to divert the emotional power of Baroque art from support for the church to the aggrandizement of the monarchy and the justification of aristocratic privilege. France's position as the most powerful nation in Europe, under the rule of only two kings between 1613 and 1715, itself assured a certain rigidity. Conventions which determined what an artist might paint were paralleled in daily life by those which prescribed the clothing one might wear, the place one could live, and the foods one might eat. But even Louis XIV, that most absolute of the monarchs, succumbed to the softening effect the Rococo Style would soon impose: in 1699 he issued a Minute to his decorators calling for a lighter and more fanciful decoration in the apartments of the little Duchess of Burgundy. With Louis' death in 1715, the French aristocracy escaped from their prison at Versailles and moved into new small Parisan apartments which they decorated to reflect their new freedom. Since French had become the international language by the eighteenth century, their ideas were communicated throughout Europe.

The Rococo Style is the playful and capricious offspring of the Baroque: the C curve stretches languidly into an S curve and twists into spiral arrangements; the dramatic colour contrast shifts to an ice-cream palette; the emotional fervour relaxes to sensual delight; the monumental framework diminishes to a human scale.

The classification of the subject matter of art into history, portraiture, landscape, still life, and genre was a feature of the Baroque age. The irresistible, if gentle, force of the Rococo is registered by the willingness of the staid Academy to create a new category, the *fête galante*, when accepting Watteau's diploma piece in 1717. In *L'Embarquement de Cythère*, Watteau captures a fleeting sense of the transitory nature of life and its pleasures. As his pilgrims bid adieu to the goddess, the participants, both female and male, share the same bittersweet melancholy induced by the brevity and illusion of love.

Unable to duplicate his evocation of a mood, other artists simply focused on gaiety, frivolity, and a pleasurable delight in life, taking their subjects, as had Watteau, from the popular theatre and upper middle class life, free of court-imposed stricture. In the *Fête Galante* (cat. 10) by a follower of Pater, the pleasures of the participants are immediate. Here is no elevated moral lesson, but a charming and decorative celebration of artifice in which the merry-making is shared equally by men and women.

Among the lower nobility, and the *haute bourgeoisie* who imitated them, collecting *éstampes galantes*, printed versions of the paintings which depicted the dream world of the Rococo, became a mania.[10] In prints such as De Launay's *Le Billet Doux* or *Le Carquois Epuisé* the Rococo penchant to convert every activity to the pursuit of love is readily apparent. The young lovers in *Le Billet Doux* (cat. 13) set music making aside to pass a surreptitious note. Pursuit of glory on the battlefield is cast down with the discarded sword in *Le Carquois Epuisé* (cat. 15) and the little god of love replaces the god of war. In spite of a rigorous equality between women and men in the activities portrayed in

these *éstampes galantes*, they do record a subtle attitudinal change to the basis of the relationship between men and women. What Ivan Illich has described as *gender*, a primary social entity requiring its two complements to make sense, is being replaced by *sex*, "a secondary attribute, a property of an individual, a characteristic of a human being."[11] The traditional attitude toward women as equal participants in the activity of society assured that artists would continue to portray an equitable relationship, but their emphasis on the erotic contains the seed of the new attitude toward women which would appear in art in the Realistic Style.

Although the Van Loo *Lecture Espagnole* (cat. 12) in the exhibition is engraved by Jacques-Firmin Beauvarlet, both his first wife, Catherine-Jeanne-Françoise Deschamps, and his third wife, Marie-Catherine Riollet, were also important engravers. Their peripheral presence underscores both the active rôle women pursued at this time in the making of art, and the rôle of the family as the economic unit of production in pre-industrial society.

The career of Agathe de Saint-Père, the wife of Pierre Legardeur de Repentigny, provides clear indication of the active rôle a woman could exercise in the eighteenth century. She signed contracts, made profits on fur-trading licences, bought and sold land, made loans, and settled her accounts as well as the debts of her husband and her brothers-in-law. Faced with the shortage of linen and wool in Québec, she set up a factory to make linen, drugget and serge in her house, ransomed nine English weavers from the Indians to teach others their craft, and was soon turning out 120 ells of cloth daily. Through experiments, she discovered a number of new dyes and fixatives and a superior process for dyeing deerskins. She was not an invisible helpmeet.[12]

The perception of the family as an economic unit, whether directly as the agent of production, or indirectly as a temporal link in the inheritance of land and power, began to undergo modification in the eighteenth century. Fragonard's *La Bonne Mère* (cat. 17), painted in 1789, supplies an indication of this new sentimental attitude toward the family, which found its impetus in the writing of Jean-Jacques Rousseau. Fragonard's varied career also provides evidence of a further development in the economic interaction of artists with society. Fragonard would paint subjects of his own choosing and sell them direct from his easel, separating the patron-consumer further from the creative process.

Fragonard is remembered today for his naughty images of Rococo frivolity, painted in silk and feather landscapes. For all that Rococo artists looked to Claude for artistic inspiration, their sentimental approach to nature found expression in Rousseau. Rousseau cared little for accurate descriptions of flora and fauna. By contrast, Linnaeus at this time achieved in his *Species Plantarum* (1753) the concise method of naming plants and animals by genus and species which forms the basis of modern classification. Rousseau's interest instead was the 'noble savage' living at the centre of bounteous nature where intrinsic human goodness could come to the fore.[13] For Rousseau, a melon has ridges so that it can easily be divided at the family table: nature had purpose and that purpose was human happiness. Although Rousseau is normally cited with reference to Greuze's sentimental portrayals of village life, the spirit he espoused in fact suffused the whole of Rococo art.

Rousseau's influence did not stop at the perception of nature and the family. The French Revolution was much influenced by his political theories as expressed in The Social Contract and elsewhere. The Revolution interrupted orderly process in every area of life in France, and its reverberations were felt world wide. Aristocrats did not climb to the scaffold alone. Scientists like Lavoisier, whose isolation of oxygen supplied the key to modern scientific experimen-

tation and whose basic rules of chemical combination survive to this day, went to the guillotine along with teachers, religious and artists. Elisabeth Vigée-Lebrun fled successfully from the revolutionary mobs who associated her with the queen whose portrait she had painted frequently. The particular *Portrait of Marie-Antoinette* (cat. 20) included in this exhibition, however, does not register as an official royal portrait, but rather as that of a charming and assured young woman. Although Vigée-Lebrun's life belonged to the Rococo Style, her art already points ahead to the Realistic Style. In the process which led to Revolution, the world was changed, and, inevitably, art changed as well.

The Realistic Style 1780 - 1915

Rousseau's political theories found obvious expression in the French Revolution: his educational theories had not accorded with pre-revolutionary attitudes toward children, family and women, and had to await the change in attitudes which produced the Realistic Style to find their natural expression. "Can she be a nurse today, an Amazon tomorrow?" Rousseau asked regarding women. Certainly society in the past, as recorded by artists, had found this no irresolvable conflict. But Rousseau answered his own question with a resounding no:

> Woman is formed to please and to live in subjection. ...Thus the whole education of women should be relative to men. To please them, to be useful to them, to win their love and esteem, to bring them up when young, to tend them when grown, to advise and console them, and to make life sweet and pleasant to them; these are the duties of women at all times.[14]

Rousseau's natural world was not populated by human beings, but by dominant males and subservient females.

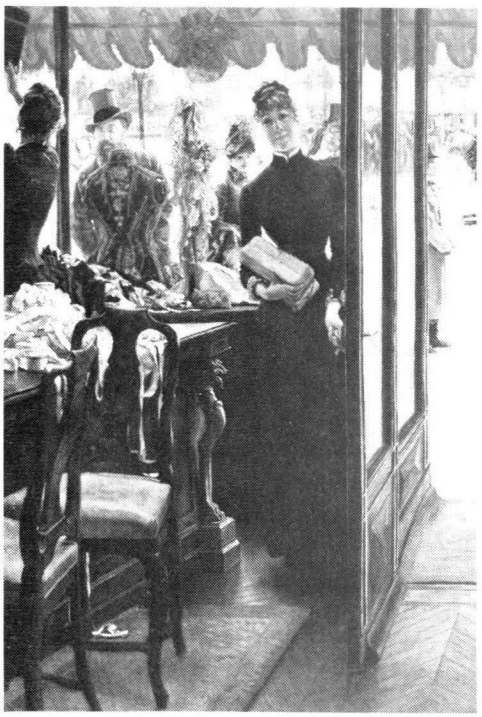
By upsetting the safety and constancy of social process, the French Revolution changed society's and artists' perception of reality and the world. Whether portraying the world as it ought to be, the world as they wished it could be, or the world as it really was, artists working in the Realistic Style portrayed women in a suddenly subservient rôle.

The visually divergent Neoclassic, Romantic and Realistic modes of artistic expression are facets of a single Realistic Style which informed artistic taste after the French Revolution and throughout the nineteenth century. The Neoclassic is austere, intellectual, moralistic, and hard-edged, with colours isolated in individual areas. Figures are arranged on one plane against an historically accurate background. The Romantic, by contrast, valued intuition above judgment, emotion above intellect, content above form, and colour above line. Reciprocal exchange occurs between adjacent colours; brushwork, and even use of the palette knife, is obvious; composition emphasizes centrifugal curves and spirals. The Realistic blended the clarity and moral tone of the former with the compositional and brush handling freedom of the latter, but tended to sacrifice the rich chromatic variety of both for a palette emphasizing the brown, blue, grey and green of the natural world. (The Pre-Raphaelites are an obvious exception to this limited palette.)

The freedom to choose a mode of expression accompanied a further shift in the rôle of the artist from a recognized niche in the social structure to a position outside it. The individual genius of the artist was the source of art; the intensity of the artist's feeling would produce the painting. Artists were beings set apart from formal society by their peculiar genius, and they were free to choose whatever artistic mode of expression fitted their mood of the moment. The whim of the marketplace, increasingly controlled by the middle class, was the only constraint on their artistic expression.

Regardless of the mode of expression, the image of woman in art changed: woman's happ-

Cat. 34 Adolphe Monticelli, *The Return from the Chase*



(Not available for this exhibit) James (Jacques-Joseph) Tissot, *La Demoiselle au Magasin*

Cat. 31 William Frith, *The New Model*

Cat. 35 James (Jacques-Joseph) Tissot, *The Convalescent*

iness and well-being was now subject to male approval. Writing of Millais in 1852, the art critic for *Punch* noted that "the women in *Ophelia* and *The Huguenot*. . .show his ideal of womanhood as gentle lovable creatures;. . .his aim —the portrayal of woman at her best — is one distinctly of our own national school." The artist himself observed in this connection:

> It is only since Watteau and Gainsborough that woman has won her right place in Art. The Dutch had no love for woman, and the Italians were as bad. The women's pictures by Titian, Raphael, Rembrandt, Van Dyck, and Velasquez are magnificent as works of Art; but who would care to kiss such women? Watteau, Gainsborough, and Reynolds were needed to show us how to do justice to woman and to reflect her sweetness.[15]

Was the nineteenth century artist's antipathy to the image of woman in Baroque Art an unconscious reject of the power and equality with which those artists had infused their portrayals of women?

Works in this exhibition show woman in Millais's new "right place in Art." Gilbert Newton's *The Deserted* (cat. 25) might have been a study of human dejection, but its title makes it a commentary on the new attitude toward women. Deserted by her betrothed, the young woman faces a future in which she has no rôle. Only as a wife and mother could she satisfy the new attitude toward women. The young man and woman in Tito Conti's *The Proposal* (cat. 26) wear Italianate Renaissance clothing to cater to Romantic delight in the exoticism of the past. She is glorified by his proposal in accord with society's new expectations of womanhood: at his side she would now achieve her place as wife and mother. In *Awaiting Daddy's Return* (cat. 27) a mother and two children gaze longingly out to sea. Thomas Faed captures the essence of this new attitude toward women: maternal, virtuous and dependent on the male presence to complete her existence. Both stylistically and attitudinally these paintings could not have happened before the nineteenth century.

Women now become observers of male action rather than participants in social activity. In Laurence Alma-Tadema's *Music Hath Charms* (cat. 29) the woman watches in adoration while the man makes the music. Woman's involvement in music was to be in its enjoyment or in the solo exercise of a polite accomplishment. *The New Model* (cat. 31) in William Frith's painting is not making art; rather she was the subject for the male artist's nude study displayed on his easel. Moreover, the nude on his canvas is anonymous. Artists had always delighted in the portrayal of the nude human figure, but the nude in earlier styles was justified by the allegorical, mythological or historical framework of each painting. From the time of the Realistic Style, the anonymous nude has been a frequent image of woman. Adolphe Monticelli's *Return from the Chase* (cat. 34) depicts an eighteenth century *fête galante* from the new perspective on women. Three beautifully dressed women cluster under sculptured putti with nothing to do, separated from the active men who comprise the subject of the painting's title. Only the form betrays any connection with the *fête galante* of the previous century; both content and style are different. Woman's only proper milieu was domestic in this middle class vision. Societal attitudes now countenanced no other viable rôle. Within this limited scope, however, she was placed on a pedestal.

The French Revolution had ripped across the fabric of French society and torn the selvedges from all societies. Had the economic basis of these societies remained constant, the damage might have been mended. Instead, hard on the heels of the political French Revolution came the economic Industrial Revolution, which converted the economic base in society quickly and

violently from the family production unit to the factory crew.[16]

In the past, family based units produced goods which were marketed directly or through a middle mercantile class, to consumers in the wider society. With the Industrial Revolution, a new industrial working class emerged and political power shifted from hereditary land-owners to the industrial capitalists. The land-owning aristocracy maintained its social prominence, and basic producers remained at the bottom of the social scale, but the middle class expanded greatly in size and social importance. The members of this middle class did not make goods or provide services directly; they made money by handling the paper and ideas which transferred the goods produced at the lowest level to all levels of society. Poets revived the Arthurian legends and invented new tales of romance, but his ignoble pursuit of money denied the middle class male a share in that chivalrous nobility. By placing his female counterpart on a pedestal, by ascribing to her a domestic divinity, he could ennoble the crass fruit of his labour by using it to purchase offerings to his domestic goddess.[17]

Each man's home became his castle/temple presided over by its queen/goddess. The creation of this pure and sanctified goddess of the domestic hearth, moreover, permitted the institutionalization of her nether aspect — the lascivious *femme fatale* ready to tear the male worshipper from his altar of domesticity. For the good woman, the home was the only venue; if she failed to achieve her own domestic temple, a rôle in its subsistence-support system was her only option. The pressure of this necessity took its toll physically. Although after World War I the perforated peptic ulcer became a disease of middle-aged men, in the nineteenth century peptic ulcers were a disease primarily of young women in their twenties.[18]

The mores of a society are defined by its most powerful sub-group; its increasing numerical superiority permitted middle class attitudes to percolate upward and downward through all social strata. This goddess of the hearth became the ideal of all levels of society. Thus, in Nova Scotia, Attorney-General Longley, during the debate on women's suffrage in the 1895 Session of the House of Assembly, noted that if women "threw off their sweet garb of femininity and fought their way to the hustings," they would lose their inspirational ability. Women were created, he argued, "physically and morally better fitted for functions that were equally important, [but] indefinitely higher" than those of men.[19] This perception of the infinitely higher, virtually divine, female nature limited woman's active participation in the world.

Study of the abortive suffrage movement at the end of the century, in Nova Scotia as elsewhere, has unfortunately ignored the stronger position women held here prior to the 1851 Elective Franchise Bill which first granted universal male suffrage. Dickie's motion, during the debate on the Bill, that women be allowed to vote had prompted an amendment to the proposed Bill:

> that every native-born or naturalized subject residing in this province of twenty-one years of age shall henceforth be entitled to vote,

which carried 25 to 24 on that reading. The Act as finally passed on 7 April 1851, however, provided that "every elector. . .shall be a male, twenty-one years of age."[20]

No attempt has been made to match voters lists in Sheriff's Books to lists of eighteenth century land grantees in this province to document all cases, but there are instances recorded of women freeholders exercising their elective franchise, in particular, at Amherst in 1806.[21] Under the old electoral system which tied the right to vote to ownership of land, women freeholders were not disbarred by statute from voting. The vital feature of this evidence is not that a minor-

ity of women were entitled to vote, since, likewise, only that minority of men who satisfied the land-owning requirement had been granted the franchise, but rather that women had been judged by the same criterion as that applied to men. The new social attitude toward women separated them from male humanity and a loss of legal individuality accompanied woman's acquisition of domestic divinity.

While this domestic goddess is not portrayed directly, her presence in the place of the viewer is implied in the portrait of her vestal virgin, *La Demoiselle de Magasin*, who holds in her hand an offering to the goddess. On an overt level, James (Jacques-Joseph) Tissot's painting is a pleasant trifle, depicting life in Ruskin's 'mere vulgar society,' and recording a pleasant hour spent in the milliner's shop in dedicated search for the perfect ribbon. The highly finished surface and meticulous delineation of the shop girl and the world inside the shop are in marked contrast to the broken brushwork and impressionistic treatment used to convey the sunlit street beyond this small world. As a record of a social attitude, therefore, *La Demoiselle* suggests that the world of the viewer/goddess is limited to the clearly defined space of the shop as an extension of her home. The greater world, represented by the street outside, is too nebulous, too hazy, to permit her a mode of entry, except at the side of the man, who, as chief priest and architect of her existence, awaits her outside the window. Tissot's many paintings of women provide a rounded picture of the domestic goddess. Her strength lay in her weakness. The delicate creature of *The Convalescent* needed to be tended and protected as carefully as the exotic conservatory plants which surround her; she could not on her own withstand direct involvement with the world.

This apotheosis of woman to domestic divinity was accomplished at the cost of her independent existence and humanity: her rôle was limited to the lavish consumption of goods and services made available by her male worshipper's offerings. Among this accumulation of offerings, she became no more than *prima inter pares*, first among equals, an object, no longer a person.

More Romantic in conception is the licentious scene in Willam Etty's *Classical Composition* (cat. 36). Here the fate of the woman with no male protector is revealed. Without the redeeming love of a good man, the nether aspect of woman's basic nature leaves her the legitimate prey of the evil demands of the world. A society which made purity an absolute requirement for its domestic goddesses readily accepted 'adventures' with 'fallen' women by its young men before they married and achieved admission to their domestic temples. In 1857 *The Lancet* estimated that one house in sixty in London was a brothel and that one woman in sixteen was a prostitute[22]. The brothel might have virtue by necessity, but Etty's painting describes society's disregard for women outside the pale security of the domestic temple.

The new attitude toward women limited them to a functionally inferior place, able to offer only passive support to the men who conducted the real business of the world. The denial of participatory rights to women should have been no more than a temporary aberration while society adapted to economic changes. What then occasioned the pervasiveness of this attitude toward women across time, and, indeed, its superimposition on our perception of earlier eras? Its permanence can be attributed perhaps to the ever-widening reach of formal education in the nineteenth century with the eventual goal of universal public education.

Faced with continual demand for increasing numbers of books, nineteenth century authors wrote new history textbooks, new reading primers, new surveys of literature. Conditioned by their own attitudinal bias, these middle class authors re-wrote the history of the world. Women were expunged from any but a domestic place,

since these writers (both women and men) considered the instance of a woman playing an active participatory rôle in society to be the aberration. The supremacy of the written word vanquished the oral tradition which might have offered a challenge. The audience taught this new view of history carried it forward into the next century.

Since modern art criticism and historiography is itself the product of nineteenth century thought, the loss of the participating female artist has produced a very imbalanced view of art history. Recent scholarship by feminist art historians has revealed the existence of the thousands of women who pursued careers as artists over the centuries since the reawakening of European culture after the fall of Rome.[23]

Even more limiting for an understanding of the operation of art in society has been the emphasis art history places on great art, whose greatness is measured, not against the opinions and standards of the society in which it was produced, but against aesthetic criteria first determined in the nineteenth century and centred on the almost mystical aura of a great painting. Because of this, art textbooks supply, not a history of what has been painted, but, instead, a survey of what current opinion considers to have been great art.

Hand in hand with this attitude is the continuing image of the artist as the person of incalculable genius which emerged as part of the Romantic vision of the nineteenth century, which continues to colour our perception of the artist today, and which has been imposed backwards through time on artists who functioned as members of craft guilds. Feminist art historians, while lamenting that these modern criteria exclude works by women, have too often applied these same criteria to excuse the absence of great women artists.[24] Writing on art and women, Griselda Pollock recognizes that history has been modernized "by projecting back into the past the features of the present order so that they appear as universal, unchanged and *natural*," and acknowledges that nineteenth century definitions of the artist and conceptions of femininity are mutually exclusive. Even so insightful an observer, however, still accepts the presumption of inferiority which has formed the attitude toward women since the nineteenth century and assumes that "the bourgeois notion that woman's place is in the home and that woman's only genuine fulfillment lies in childbearing" has in fact obtained since the beginning of history. Notwithstanding the thousands of women whose careers as artists are now documented, she assumes that each of them prevailed against enormous social constraint to pursue her career, and does not consider the possibility that our perception of woman's position throughout history has been coloured by those same modernizing trends she condemns.[25]

Fragmentation 1874 onward

So limiting a world view, which automatically relegated half its members to inferior status could not be sustained unchallenged. Neither could the centuries long tradition, since the early Renaissance, of realistic representation in art. In the last quarter century of the nineteenth century, both artistic approaches and the attitude toward women began to fragment. Fragmentation is not a term which appears in conventional surveys of art history, but the word expresses succinctly the proliferation of myriad art movements during the last hundred years, while still permitting the simultaneous continuation of an essentially realistic mode.

Even within the realistic mode, no single perception of women now obtained. The now traditional attitude to women continued to find artistic exponents; but other artists shared woman's search for new rôles and the agony of the isolation her new questions imposed. The elegant lady entering a poor district of town in Henry Sandham's *Baie St. Paul* (cat. 42) is perhaps

engaged in the 'good works' which formed an inseparable component of the women's suffrage movement at the end of the nineteenth century. In Archibald Barnes's *Interior* (cat. 43) the simple combination of a still life and portrait becomes, through the device of a subtlely oblique, and tension-producing line to mark the corner of the room, a poignant comment on the isolation of woman in the modern world. Women's assumption of (male) rôles in industry during World War I had assured them the right to vote, but society's ambivalence toward women's proper place in society left them separated from the mainstream. In the age of Fragmentation, society cannot define its attitude toward art or toward women: ambiguity characterizes both.

Artistic styles are the expression of human experience. As such, changing aesthetic styles parallel changing social attitudes; they also reflect changing levels of intellectual awareness and activity. The rediscovery of classical science in the Renaissance, when the European world was still united under one Church, had set the world on this path toward Fragmentation.

In the period defined by the Baroque Style, the division of the Christian community into Catholic and Protestant and the development of separate national loyalties undermined the central authority of the church. Dispassionate observation of natural phenomena led to the formulation of the universal law of gravitation which governs the visible, external movement of objects.

The Rococo Style paralleled a period of increasing nationalism and scientific investigation which produced the rules governing chemical combination, whose effects are visible even though the process is not discernible to the eye. Practical science had invented the spinning jenny and the steam engine which anticipated the Industrial Revolution.

During the period characterized by the Realistic Style, the industrial age, with its continuing mechanical advancements, made national unities an economic necessity. Most of the national boundaries which mark the modern maps of Europe and North America were achieved. Study of human interaction established the social sciences as disciplines beside the biological and physical sciences. Psychoanalysis developed as a method for investigating human behaviour. Capitalism and Marxism emerged as opposing economic ideologies. Theoretical investigation of the wide interconnections among electricity, magnetism, heat and light led Clerk-Maxwell to the formulation of a single electromagnetic theory. Scientific awareness expanded to include two of the four basic forces which hold the matter of the universe together: gravitation and electromagnetism. Only the two nuclear forces remained to be discovered.

In 1869 Dimitri Mendeleyev published his Periodic Table of the Elements. (Incidentally, in that same year, John Stuart Mill published *On the Subjection of Women.*) In 1874 there appeared the first textbook of organic chemistry based on Mendeleyev's Periodic Table of the Elements according to their atomic weights. The world was on the threshold of the Atomic Age. From Mendeleyev's Periodic Table, atomic fission, the ultimate fragmentation, was an inevitable step. In 1874 as well, the first Impressionist Exhibition in Paris, by Monet, Renoir, Cezanne, Degas, Morisot and others, introduced the world to their new artistic vision of fragmented light and colour. The age of Fragmentation had begun.

Impressionism sparked the emergence of a host of artistic movements which continue to act and react against each other, frequently in non-representational forms outside the limit of this exhibition. The impetus to each of these movements, as indeed it had been to each of the earlier styles, was the question: what really is reality?

For the nineteenth century Realist, reality had been limited to the visible and concrete. Monet and the Impressionists painted their answer in

terms of the transitory effects of light. Reality was ephemeral. Their subject matter was not in fact landscape or figures, but the momentary effect of light on a visible object. In his pursuit of light, especially in his repeated series of variations on a single object, Monet devalued the object as a thing in itself and pointed out the pathway later artists would follow to the non-representational painting of pure forms and shapes. Frances Bannerman's *The Conservatory* (cat. 45) is not an Impressionist painting. Her quick brushstrokes to suggest flowers and plants, however, were motivated by the same urge to paint only what the eye in fact registered. Her subject is indicative of the ambiguous attitude toward women. The conservatory setting suggests the artificially cultivated world to which women had been relegated, but the woman reading a book is expanding her personal horizon beyond the prison of the domestic temple.

In his search for the permanence of reality, Cezanne turned away from the momentary materialism of Impressionism. In order 'to make of Impressionism something solid and durable,' he looked again at the world and reduced it to its simplest forms — the sphere, the cone, the cube. Cezanne served as inspiration to the Cubists whose paintings were based, not on sensory perception, but on an intellectual, virtually mathematical, awareness of the subject. Cubism eliminated the individual viewpoint and provided the artistic vocabulary for painting a totally objective conception of the world and reality. Charles Quest uses the Cubist vocabulary in *Figures* (cat. 46); in spite of the modernity of his method, the arrangement of the figures recalls Titian's *Danae* and innumerable representations of Venus.

Van Gogh, by contrast, took the Impressionists' techniques and added to them human emotion. The things of the spirit — emotions, excitement, sympathy — were as real as the physical objects he painted, and the rhythm of his brushwork charged them with his passion and imagination. The Expressionists carried Van Gogh's vision further to a more spiritual and passionate vision of the world, cramming every form and colour with an inner vitality so great that it could subjugate the objects and twist them out of shape. The immediacy of the experience of life, of events happening, is the reality and the subject matter of Expressionist art. In *The Blue Rocker*, David Milne charges his simple subject with vibrancy and vitality. Like a piece of mediaeval cloisonnée, the painting glows with assurance and vibrates with freedom. The aesthetic expression mirrors the subject, a woman reading and imagining new freedom for herself.

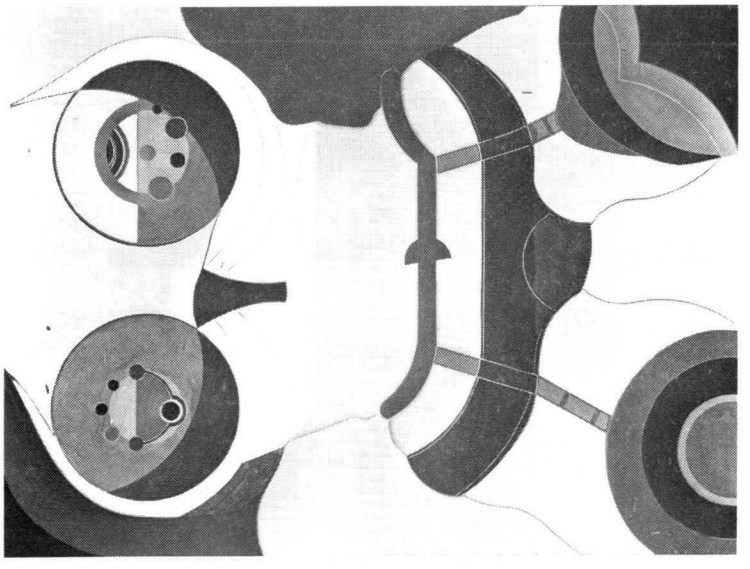
Monet, Cezanne and Van Gogh each looked at external reality and reinterpreted it in new artistic ways. Symbolist artists conceived a reality beyond the objective world, an imaginative, non-corporeal reality not immediately apparent to hand or eye. After the irrationality and illogical horror of World War I, this impulse found new expression in Surrealism. Artists like Dali and Ernst explored the subconscious and revealed latent images from the dark domain of the soul. Alfred Pellan uses the vocabulary of Cubism and Surrealism in *Femme d'une Pomme*, dismembering the woman in his dream, whose eyes search for understanding and find none.

Fragmentation in the twentieth century has given the artist freedom to explore all modes of artistic expression. Attitudinal fragmentation has led some artists to record woman's reclamation of participatory roles. In Sidney Tully's *Working from the Model* (cat. 51), woman once more is making art. Since she operated an art school in Toronto between 1888 and 1890, the subject probably comes from her own experience. Like Tully, Sir John Lavery studied at the Académie Julian and the Atelier Colarossi in Paris. In *Lloyd-George and Miss Stevenson* (cat. 52), he portrays the British prime minister and his secretary; she fills a rôle traditionally limited to men when she took on this job in 1916.

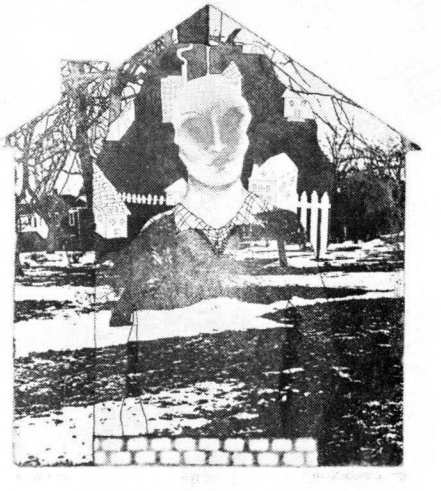
The work of other artists continued to reflect the pervasive, and destructive, attitude toward

Cat. 57 Fred Challener, *Portrait of Margaret Ethelreda Wilson and Quan-Yin (Queen of Heaven)*

Cat. 43 Archibald Barnes, *Interior*



Cat. 58 Dennis Burton, *Mother, Earth, Love*



Cat. 65 Minna Zielonka, *Apparition*

women which had characterized nineteenth century art. Fred Challener's *Portrait of Margaret Ethelreda Wilson and Quan-Yin (Queen of Heaven)* (cat. 57) follows in the tradition of the domestic goddess, but here the woman, surrounded by *objets d'art*, is truly reduced to being one object among many. As *prima inter pares*, an attitude has received concrete from. Painted from a palette of colours which almost duplicates Challener's picture, the mechanized horror of Dennis Burton's *Mother, Earth, Love* (cat. 58) is a portrait of the crippling nether goddess, her gun barrel nipples targetted on the viewer. Burton's artistic debt is to the machine-inspired Cubism which Léger made popular in America after World War I, but his attitudinal inheritance is the bequest of the nineteenth century.

The ambiguity of the current attitude toward women is captured perfectly in M.C. Escher's *Rind* (cat. 62). She is here and not here, denied the assurity of a fixed place. The idea inspiring *Rind* was H.G. Wells's *The Invisible Man*, and the direct impetus was the bust of his wife which sat in Escher's studio; his choice of the female image to capture the essence of Wells's idea, however, provides an icon for woman's position in the modern world.

Society's ambiguity toward women, sometimes willing to grant their participatory rights in society, sometimes confining them to wife and mother rôles only, leaves the woman in isolation. Minna Zielonka's *Apparition* (cat. 65) depicts her lonely struggle to escape a world confined to the limits of the domestic temple. The picture allows a supplementary reading as an expression of her agony that the framework of civilization confines the natural environment. Similarly Marina's *Silent Wait* (cat. 66) admits the interpretations that woman is at last free of the imprisoning attitude recalled by Whistler's *Arrangement in Black and Grey, No. 1*, or that the freedom of the natural world exceeds humankind's attempts to measure and contain it. Regardless of interpretation, the collage celebrates the freedom of the contemporary artist to choose elements from past or present, from home or museum, as components of creation. The fragmented image of Carol Fraser's *The Solipsist* (cat. 67) suggests the price that isolation will exact if we continue to separate woman from humanity and humanity from the natural world. In the self will be the only true existence, but in the self is no human society.

The age of Fragmentation has not ended. We converse at the speed of light with someone on the far side of the globe, but fear to travel there because the world is divided by conflicting polemics. We have crossed the threshhold into the nuclear age; we have learned how to split one atom asunder, but have not learned how to fuse two atoms into one corporate whole. Artists have painted woman exalted by participation, or debased by separation. What will they paint tomorrow? Where is her place?

Notes

1. Lionello Venturi, *History of Art Criticism*, rev. ed., trans. Charles Marriott (New York: E.P. Dutton and Co., 1964), pp. 4-5.
2. In order to isolate a general attitude toward women from other attitudes which may be layered within a painting, or brought to it by the viewer, I have deliberately avoided representations of extreme youth or age, religious subject matter, and genre works with subjects drawn from the lowest level of society.
3. N.E.S. Griffiths, *Penelope's Web. Some Perceptions of Women in European and Canadian Society* (Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1976), is particularly appropriate since it examines the lives of women during the same time frame as this exhibition. In "*Kinder, Kuche, Kirche* as Scientific Law: Psychology Constructs the Female," Dr. Naomi Weisstein describes the myth that psychology in our culture has used to characterize women: "They are inconsistent, emotionally unstable, lacking in a strong conscience or superego, weaker, 'nurturant' rather than productive, 'intuitive' rather than intelligent, and, if they are at all 'normal,' suited to the home and the family. In short, the list adds up to a typical minority group stereotype of inferiority: if they know their place, which is the home, they are really quite lovable, happy, childlike, loving creatures." See Robin Morgan, ed., *Sisterhood is Powerful: An Anthology of Writings from the Women's Liberation Movement* (New York: Vintage Books, 1970), p. 219.
4. Cited in Carl Zigrosser, *Six Centuries of Fine Prints* (New York: Covici-Friede, 1937), p. 74.
5. By Alessandro Lamo in *Discorso intorno alla scoltura e pittura*, published in Cremona in 1584. The set of Bartolozzi engravings also includes a *Sleeping Boy* by Elisabetta Sirani (1638 - 1665).
6. Colin McEvedy, *The Penguin Atlas of Modern History (to 1815)* (Penguin, 1972), p. 5. This exhibition emphasizes works created originally to satisfy middle class taste and attitudes, be

cause the people in this rank of society enjoyed at least limited control over the operation of their private lives, a power denied to both men and women alike in the lowest orders. As a result, the imposing grandeur of large Baroque paintings is missing, as indeed it would have been absent in their dwellings. In a letter to the English ambassador in 1618, Rubens noted descriptions of certain paintings, including:

> 600 florins. Leopards from life, with Satyrs and Nymphs. Original, by my hand, with the exception of a most beautiful landscape, by the hand of a master skilled in the genre. 9 x 11 ft.

The florin contained 3.5 grams of pure gold, worth roughly $40 today. This $24,000 price tag placed Rubens's painting as far beyond the resources of the middle class of 1618 as a presumed value of several millions would place it today. The middle class gave its patronage to lesser artists who followed the style set by aristocratic taste. A minor artist, Mary Beale of London, received 429 English pounds for eighty-three commissions of watercolours and crayon drawings in 1677, the equivalent of $100 gold today for each picture, at a time when domestic servants received the equivalent of $60 gold per annum. See Edward Lucie-Smith, *Rubens* (London: Spring Books, 1962), pp. 10-11, and Antonia Fraser, *The Weaker Vessel. Woman's lot in seventeenth century England* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1984), p. 342.

7. For Zenobia's career see Philip K. Hittie, *History of the Arabs from the Earliest Times to the Present* (London: Macmillan and Co., 1951), pp. 75-76, and David Magie, *Roman Rule in Asia Minor*, 2 vols. (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1950), pp. 709-718. For discussions of two variations in the roster of the Nine Worthy Women see Ann McMillan, "Men's Weapons, Women's War: The Nine Female Worthies, 1400-1640," *Mediaevalia* Vol. 5 (1979), pp. 113-139, and Eugene M. Waith, "Heywood's Women Worthies," in Norman T. Burns and Christopher J. Reagan, ed., *Concepts of the Hero in the Middle Ages and the Renaissance* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1975), pp. 222-238.
8. The complete text is cited as Appendix A in M.A. MacDonald, *Fortune & La Tour: The Civil War in Acadia* (Toronto: Methuen, 1983), pp. 184-193.
9. Indeed, the *coutume de Paris* became the basis of civil law throughout New France.
10. Zigrosser, *op. cit.*, pp. 103-104.
11. Ivan Illich, "Vernacular Gender," *The CoEvolution Quarterly* (Spring 1982), p. 17.
12. *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*, Vol. IV, pp. 580-581. See also Jan Noel, "New France: Les femmes favorisées," in *Rethinking Canada: The Promise of Women's History*, ed. by Veronica Strong-Boag and Anita Clair Fellman (Toronto: Copp Clark Pitman Ltd., 1986), pp. 23-44.
13. This phrase first appeared in John Dryden's *The Conquest of Granada* (1670), "When wild in woods the noble savage ran." Rousseau's phrase was, instead, *honnête homme*, decent, or reasonable man. Since the 19th century, however, 'noble savage' has been used popularly to describe Rousseau's 'honnête homme.'
14. Jean-Jacques Rousseau, *Emile, Julie and Other Writings*, ed. R. L. Archer (Woodbury, NY: Barron's Educational Series, 1964) pp. 218, 221.
15. Tom Taylor, in *Punch*, Vol. 1, 1852, pp. 216-7, quoted in John Guille Millais, *The Life and Letters of Sir John Everett Millais*, Vol. I (Toronto: George N. Morang & Company, 1900), p. 147.
16. In England, the Industrial Revolution had been largely accomplished by 1780, but England was in advance of the rest of Europe.
17. For a related discussion of this new attitude, see Barbara Welter, "The Cult of True Womanhood: 1820-1860," in Michael Gordon, ed., *The American Family in Social-Historical Perspective* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1983), pp. 372-392.
18. Edward Shorter, *A History of Women's Bodies* (New York: Basic Books, 1982), pp. 235-236.
19. Michael J. Smith "Female Reformers in Victorian Nova Scotia: Architects of a New Womanhood," M.A. Thesis, St. Mary's University, 1986, p. 134.
20. See debates for 12 March 1851 in *Parliamentary Reporter: Containing the Debates of the Assembly of Nova Scotia for 1851* (Halifax, 1852), p. 52, and *Nova Scotia Statutes 1851* (Halifax, 1852), p. 519.
21. *N.S. Ass. J.* Nov. 20, 24, 1806, cited in John Garner, *The Franchise and Politics in British North America 1755-1867* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1969), p. 156. Beamish Murdoch is reticent on the subject in his discussion of electoral law: "It has not been agitated whether females may vote or sit. In Lower Canada they vote at the election of members," but his inclusion of the Québec reference where women did vote frequently, does suggest an affirmative legal opinion. See his *Epitome of the Laws of Nova Scotia* (Halifax, 1835), p. 68.
22. Cited in Angela Lambert, *Unquiet Souls: A social history of the illustrious, irreverent, intimate group of British aristocrats known as "the Souls"* (New York: Harper & Row, 1984) p. 40.
23. Two examples among many are Germaine Greer, *The Obstacle Race* (London:Picador, 1981), and Karen Petersen & J.J. Wilson, *Women Artists: Recognition and Reappraisal from the Early Middle Ages to the Twentieth Century* (New York: Harper & Row, 1976).
24. Such as Linda Nochlin, "Why Have There Been No Great Women Artists?" in *Art and Sexual Politics*, ed. Thomas B. Hess and Elizabeth C. Baker (New York: Collier, 1973), pp. 1-43.
25. Griselda Pollock, "Vision Voice and Power. Feminist Art History and Marxism," *Block*, No. 6 (1982), pp. 6, 20. Rozsika Parker, *The Subversive Stitch* (London: The Woman's Press, Ltd., 1984), concludes after careful investigation of primary data and later use of sources that the Victorian historians of embroidery obscured its past, and attributes the tenacity of the Victorian reading of this history to the way it meshed with 19th century ideologies of femininity. Some social historians are beginning to set aside current value judgements about woman's place in society and to look at the primary data with fresh eyes. See, for example, Sally Fox, *The Medieval Woman. An Illuminated Book of Days* (Toronto: Key Porter Books, 1985), Christine Fell, *Women in Anglo Saxon England* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1984), and Louise Plamondon, "A Business Woman in New France: Marie-Anne Barbel, the Widow Fornel," in *Rethinking Canada*, *op. cit.*

The Exhibition: List of Works

Catalogue entries are arranged in the following pattern:

Artist
Place and dates
Title of picture and date if known
medium
size in centimetres, height precedes width
Collection

IN HER PLACE

BAROQUE

1. Attributed to Gerolamo da Ponte Bassano
Italian 1566 - 1621
Queen Zenobia at the tent of Aurelian, c.1615
oil on canvas
83.4 x 111.7 cm
Art Gallery of Nova Scotia
Bequest of Robert J. MacAdam, 1941
On permanent loan from the City of Halifax Art Museum

2. Attributed to Anthonie Palamedesz, called Stevens
Dutch 1601 - 1673
Man and Woman Revelling
oil on wood
30.3 x 23.2 cm
Art Gallery of Nova Scotia
Gift of Miss Sarah Hicks, 1976

3. Francesco Bartolozzi
Italian 1725 - 1815 after
Giovanni Francesco Barbieri, called Guercino
Italian 1591 - 1666
Three Women with a Palette and a Sketch of a Design, I-6
etching
28.9 x 40.3 cm (imp.)
Art Gallery of Nova Scotia
Gift of Mr. Hugh Conrod (Conrod-Jakabos Collection), 1984

4. Francesco Bartolozzi
Italian 1725 - 1815 after
Giovanni Francesco Barbieri, called Guercino
Italian 1591 - 1666
Sibyl with a Book (Sibilla Libia), I-19
etching
35.6 x 30.8 cm (imp.)
Art Gallery of Nova Scotia
Gift of Mr. Hugh Conrod (Conrod-Jakabos Collection), 1984

5. Francesco Bartolozzi
Italian 1725 - 1815 after
Giovanni Francesco Barbieri, called Guercino
Italian 1591 - 1666
A Concert, I-21
etching
22.2 x 32.3 cm (imp.)
Art Gallery of Nova Scotia
Gift of Mr. Hugh Conrod (Conrod-Jakabos Collection), 1984

6. Francesco Bartolozzi
Italian 1725 - 1815 after
Giovanni Francesco Barbieri, called Guercino
Italian 1591 - 1666
Young Woman with a Book, I-38
etching
26.8 x 23.9 cm (imp.)
Art Gallery of Nova Scotia
Gift of Mr. Hugh Conrod (Conrod-Jakabos Collection), 1984

7. Giuseppi Zocchi
Italian 1711 - 1767 after
Francesco Solimena
Italian 1657 - 1747
etching
(Dido and) *Eneas going into the cave*, II-46
25.6 x 24.6 cm (imp.)
Art Gallery of Nova Scotia
Gift of Mr. Hugh Conrod (Conrod-Jakabos Collection), 1984

8. Richard Earlom
British 1743 - 1822 after
Claude Gellée, called Lorraine
French 1600 - 1682
Liber Veritatis No. 136, 1776
mezzotint
19.2 x 25.0 cm (sight)
Private Collection

9. Richard Earlom
British 1743 - 1822 after
Claude Gellée, called Lorraine
French 1600 - 1682
Liber Veritatis, No. 169, 1776
mezzotint
19.2 x 25.0 cm (sight)
Private Collection

ROCOCO

10. follower of Jean-Baptiste-Joseph Pater
French 1695 - 1736
Fête Galante: The Dance
oil on canvas
40.4 x 48.3 cm
Art Gallery of Ontario
Bequest of Miss Aileen Larkin, 1967

11. Jacques-Philippe le Bas, A-R
French 1707 - 1783 after
Francois Boucher, A-R
French 1703 - 1770
Pensent-ils au raisin?
manière de lavis engraving
40.2 x 45.5 cm (sight)
Private Collection

12. Jacques-Firmin Beauvarlet, A-R
French 1731 - 1797 after
Carle Van Loo, A-R
French 1705 - 1765
Lecture Espagnole
engraving
54.6 x 38.8 cm (sight)
Private Collection

13. Nicolas De Launay, A-R
French 1739 - 1792 after
Niklas Lavreince/Lafrensen
Swedish 1737 - 1807
Le Billet Doux
manière de lavis engraving
43.5 x 30.0 cm (sight)
Private Collection

14. Nicolas De Launey, A-R
French 1739 - 1792 after
Niklas Lavreince/Lafrensen
Swedish 1737 - 1807
Qu'en dit l'abbé
manière de lavis engraving
43.5 x 34.0 cm (sight)
Private Collection

15. Nicolas De Launay, A-R
French 1739 - 1792 after
Pierre-Antoine Baudouin, A-R
French 1723 - 1769
Le Carquois Epuisé
engraving
35.2 x 25.0 cm (sight)
Private Collection

16. Jean Mathieu
French 1749 - 1815 after
Jean-Honoré Fragonard
French 1732 - 1806
Le Serment d'amour
manière de lavis engraving
46.2 x 35.8 cm (sight)
Private Collection

17. Nicolas De Launay, A-R
French 1739 - 1792 after
Jean-Honoré Fragonard
French 1732 - 1806
La bonne mère
manière de lavis engraving
46.5 x 34.0 cm (sight)
Private Collection

18. Samuel Phillips
British f. 1790 - 1808 after
William Hogarth
British 1697 - 1764
Taste in High Life (in the Year 1742), 1798
stipple engraving
38.6 x 46.6 cm (sheet cut inside plate)
Art Gallery of Ontario
Gift of John M. Lyle, 1942

19. Giovanni Battista Piranesi
Italian 1720 - 1778
Carcere d'Invenzione, VI
etching
54.8 x 40.3 cm (imp.)
Private Collection

20. Louise-Elisabeth Vigée-Lebrun
French 1755 - 1842
Portrait of Marie-Antoinette
oil on canvas
73.0 x 60.0 cm (oval)
Dalhousie Art Gallery

REALISTIC

21. Anonymous
British 19th century
Landscapes
watercolour on paper
22.6 x 32.0 cm
New Brunswick Museum

22. John Raphael Smith
British 1752 - 1812 after
George Morland
British 1763 - 1804
The Fair Penitent. Laetitia in penitence finds relief and protection from her parents, 1789
hand-coloured engraving
27.1 x 21.3 cm (sight)
Private Collection

23. Mary Tidmarsh
Canadian 1834 - 1855
Medora
watercolour on paper
22.1 x 16.3 cm (sight)
Nova Scotia Museum

24. Benjamin F. Tibbitts
Canadian 1813 - 1853
Mrs. Kate MacFarlane, 1840
pencil on paper
32.4 x 24.1 cm
New Brunswick Museum
Gift of Carl Smith

25. Moses Isaac Danforth
American 1800 - 1862 after
Gilbert Stuart Newton, R.A.
British 1795 - 1835
The Deserted, 1834
engraving
26.4 x 18.4 cm
Art Gallery of Nova Scotia
Gift of Miss Constance Groom, 1972

26. Tito Conti
Italian 1842 - 1924
The Proposal
oil on canvas
105.5 x 79.0 cm
Owens Art Gallery

27. Thomas Faed, R.A.
British 1826 - 1900
Awaiting Daddy's Return, 1862
oil on canvas
77.9 x 63.3 cm
Art Gallery of Nova Scotia
Bequest of Robert J. MacAdam, 1941
On permanent loan from the City of Halifax Art Museum

28. William Holman Hunt, R.A.
British 1827 - 1910
The Father's Leavetaking, 1879
etching
18.7 x 25.1 cm (imp.)
Art Gallery of Ontario
Gift of Touche Ross, 1979

29. Laurence Alma-Tadema
British 1836 - 1912
Music Hath Charms
watercolour on paper
34.9 x 25.4 cm
Owens Art Gallery

30. Charles Kennedy Burt
American 1823 - 1892 after
Daniel Huntington, N.A.
American 1816 - 1906
The Signing of the Death Warrant of Lady Jane Gray, 1848
engraving
46.0 x 56.0 cm (sight)
Manuge Gallery, Halifax

31. William Powell Frith, R.A.
British 1819 - 1909
The New Model, 1898
oil on canvas
61.1 x 51.1 cm
Beaverbrook Art Gallery

32. William Etty
British 1787 - 1849
The Flower Girl, c. 1834 - 1840
oil on pressed paperboard
50.8 x 31.8 cm
Beaverbrook Art Gallery

33. William Etty
British 1787 - 1849
By the Shore, c. 1835 - 1840
oil on pressed paperboard
63.8 x 48.6 cm
Beaverbrook Art Gallery

34. Adolphe Monticelli
French 1824 - 1886
The Return from the Chase, ca 1875
oil on canvas
64.8 x 100.3
Art Gallery of Ontario
Bequest of F.W.G. Fitzgerald, 1949

35. James (Jacques-Joseph) Tissot
French 1836 - 1902
The Convalescent, 1872
oil on wood
37.5 x 45.7 cm
Art Gallery of Ontario
Gift of R.B.F. Barr, Esq., Q.C., 1966

36. William Etty
British 1787 - 1849
Classical Composition
watercolour on paper
24.8 x 37.5 cm
Owens Art Gallery

37. Paul Falconer Poole, R.A.
British 1807 - 1879
Tired and Weary
watercolour on paper
24.0 x 36.5 cm
Owens Art Gallery

38. John Everett Millais, R.A.
British 1829 - 1896
Amine and the Lady, or *Avoraine*
gouache on panel
15.0 x 11.5 cm
Owens Art Gallery

39. John Everett Millais, R.A.
British 1829 - 1896
Study of a Woman at a Table
ink on paper
12.5 x 10.0 cm
Owens Art Gallery

40. Louis Weldon Hawkins
French ? - 1910
The Departure
oil on canvas
115.5 x 115.5 cm
Owens Art Gallery

41. William G.R. Hind
Canadian 1833 - 1889
The Winding Sheet, 1861/2
gouache on paper
15.2 x 28.9 cm
Dalhousie Art Gallery

42. J. Henry Sandham
Canadian 1842 - 1910
Baie St. Paul
oil on canvas
43.0 x 38.0 (sight)
Dalhousie Art Galery

43. Archibald George Barnes, R.C.A.
Canadian 1887 - 1972
Interior
oil on canvas
76.2 x 76.2
Art Gallery of Ontario
Gift of the Canadian National Exhibition Association, 1965

44. Thomas Reid MacDonald, R.C.A.
Canadian 1908 - 1978
Sandy, 1953
oil on canvas
56.0 x 44.5 cm
Manuge Gallery, Halifax

45. Frances M. Jones Bannerman
Canadian 1855 - 1940
The Conservatory, 1883
oil on canvas
65.0 x 82.0 (sight)
Fine Arts Collection, Public Archives of Nova Scotia

46. Charles Francis Quest
American 1904 -
Figures, 1948
wood engraving
28.5 x 35.7 cm
Dalhousie Art Gallery

47. Pablo Ruiz y Picasso
French 1881 - 1973
Old King, 1959
lithograph
65.5 x 49.0 cm
Art Gallery of Nova Scotia
Gift of Mr. and Mrs. Leroy J. Zwicker, 1977

48. Jack Weldon Humphrey
Canadian 1901 - 1967
The Bather
oil on canvas
46.0 x 60.8 cm
Art Gallery of Nova Scotia

49. David Milne
Canadian 1882 - 1953
Figure in the House, II
watercolour on paper
50.1 x 37.4 cm
Art Gallery of Ontario
Gift from the J.S. McLean Collection
on loan from the Ontario Heritage Foundation, 1970

50. Alfred Pellan
Canadian 1906 -
Les Polychromées - A, 1969
ink and coloured chalk on paper
34.7 x 20.9 cm
Art Gallery of Ontario

51. Sidney Strickland Tully, A.R.C.A.
Canadian 1860 - 1911
Working from the Model
watercolour and pencil on paper
22.3 x 17.4 cm
Art Gallery of Ontario

52. John Lavery, R.A.
British 1856 - 1941
The Rt. Hon. David Lloyd-George and Miss Stevenson, 1934
oil on canvas
50.8 x 61.0 cm
Beaverbrook Art Gallery

53. (Ted) Edward Ingram
Canadian
Untitled, 1947
ink and wash on paper
46.1 x 33.2 cm
New Brunswick Museum

54. Hugh Seaforth Mackenzie, R.C.A.
Canadian 1928 -
Girl with Fencing Mask, 1970
58.4 x 58.4 cm
Art Gallery of Nova Scotia

55. Jack Reppen
Canadian 1933 - 1964
Beauty Contest, 1960
oil on gesso on board
90.0 x 120.2 cm
Art Gallery on Ontario
Gift of Dr. and Mrs. David Shaul, 1981

56. Ann Williams
American
The Chorus Girls Keep Dancing, 1974
lithograph
40.5 x 56.0 cm
Mount Saint Vincent University Art Gallery

57. Frederick Sproston Challener, R.C.A.
Canadian 1869 - 1959
Portrait of Margaret Ethelreda Wilson and Quan-Yin (Queen of Heaven), 1939
oil on canvas
193.0 x 193.0 cm
Art Gallery of Ontario
Gift of Grace Irene Simmons, Daniel Wilson, Jean Wilson, Nikki Templeton, Connie Wilson and Michael Wilson, beneficiaries of the estate of Margaret Ethel Allan, 1982

58. Dennis Burton
Canadian 1933 -
Mother, Earth, Love, 1965
oil and acrylic copolymer on canvas
152.4 x 203.2 cm
Art Gallery of Ontario

59. Robert B. Maclean
Canadian 1942 -
Hoar's Doom
lithograph
61.1 x 43.5 cm
Art Gallery of Nova Scotia

60. Noboru Sawai
Canadian 1931 -
Matrimony
etching and woodblock
50.5 x 66.0 cm
Owens Art Gallery

61. Alex Colville
Canadian 1920 -
New Moon
serigraph
36.0 x 45.0 cm
Acadia University Art Gallery

62. Maurits Cornelis Escher
Dutch 1898 - 1971
wood engraving
34.5 x 23.5 cm
Private Collection

63. Sue Gibson
Canadian 1947 -
On the Riverbank, 1977
pencil on paper
93.5 x 114.0 cm
Mount Saint Vincent University Art Gallery

64. Rosamond Campbell
Canadian 1919 -
Royal Danse, 1964
oil on masonite
106.7 x 102.9 cm
New Brunswick Museum
Gift of Rosamond Campbell

65. Minna Zielonka
Canadian 1954 -
Apparition, 1973
etching
36.5 x 32.0 cm
Mount Saint Vincent University Art Gallery

66. Marina
Canadian
Silent Wait, 1973
mixed media collage
63.0 x 88.0 cm
Dalhousie Art Gallery

67. Carol Fraser, R.C.A.
Canadian 1930 -
The Solipsist, 1974
oil on linen
128.3 x 102.9 cm
Mount Saint Vincent University Art Gallery

Art Gallery
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