

GENTEEL MAVERICKS:  
WOMEN SCULPTORS IN VICTORIAN BRITAIN

BY

SHANNON HUNTER HURTADO

A Thesis  
Submitted to the Faculty of Graduate Studies  
In Partial Fulfilment of the Requirements  
for the Degree of

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

Department of History  
University of Manitoba  
Winnipeg, Manitoba

(c) June, 2002



National Library  
of Canada

Acquisitions and  
Bibliographic Services

395 Wellington Street  
Ottawa ON K1A 0N4  
Canada

Bibliothèque nationale  
du Canada

Acquisitions et  
services bibliographiques

395, rue Wellington  
Ottawa ON K1A 0N4  
Canada

*Your file Votre référence*

*Our file Notre référence*

The author has granted a non-exclusive licence allowing the National Library of Canada to reproduce, loan, distribute or sell copies of this thesis in microform, paper or electronic formats.

The author retains ownership of the copyright in this thesis. Neither the thesis nor substantial extracts from it may be printed or otherwise reproduced without the author's permission.

L'auteur a accordé une licence non exclusive permettant à la Bibliothèque nationale du Canada de reproduire, prêter, distribuer ou vendre des copies de cette thèse sous la forme de microfiche/film, de reproduction sur papier ou sur format électronique.

L'auteur conserve la propriété du droit d'auteur qui protège cette thèse. Ni la thèse ni des extraits substantiels de celle-ci ne doivent être imprimés ou autrement reproduits sans son autorisation.

0-612-76733-7

**THE UNIVERSITY OF MANITOBA**  
**FACULTY OF GRADUATE STUDIES**  
\*\*\*\*\*  
**COPYRIGHT PERMISSION**

**GENTEEL MAVERICKS:  
WOMEN SCULPTORS IN VICTORIAN BRITAIN**

**BY**

**Shannon Hunter Hurtado**

**A Thesis/Practicum submitted to the Faculty of Graduate Studies of The University of  
Manitoba in partial fulfillment of the requirement of the degree**

**of**

**DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY**

**Shannon Hunter Hurtado © 2002**

**Permission has been granted to the Library of the University of Manitoba to lend or sell copies of this thesis/practicum, to the National Library of Canada to microfilm this thesis and to lend or sell copies of the film, and to University Microfilms Inc. to publish an abstract of this thesis/practicum.**

**This reproduction or copy of this thesis has been made available by authority of the copyright owner solely for the purpose of private study and research, and may only be reproduced and copied as permitted by copyright laws or with express written authorization from the copyright owner.**

## ABSTRACT

Between 1840 and the end of Queen Victoria's reign the number of professional female sculptors in Britain rose phenomenally from just one to over twenty. By adopting this traditionally masculine occupation these middle-class women resisted several social conventions, such as the proscriptions against earning money, doing manual labour, exposing themselves to public scrutiny, and studying the human body. Whether or not they set out to defy class and gender norms, they were deemed by many to be mavericks.

Genteel Mavericks addresses two central questions: how did the female sculptors negotiate the social structures and gender relationships that both facilitated and constrained their professional and personal opportunities; and what was the social impact of their involvement in an unconventional, though otherwise esteemed, occupation? Using a social history approach informed by the feminist theory of positionality articulated by Linda Alcoff, the study assesses the personal experiences of sculptors Susan Durant, Mary Grant, Amelia Paton Hill, and Mary Thornycroft, and the public's perception of them as mediated by art critics and authors of literary works. Alcoff's theory asserts that, although a woman's identity is defined relative to her particular social context,

she nevertheless can use the social position in which she finds herself as a platform from which to mount a critique or instigate political change.

While the women were found to be distinctly different from one another in most areas of life, they all consistently identified themselves as professional sculptors and used their status to further their own careers and to smooth the paths of those who would follow them. An analysis of the representations of female sculptors by critics and authors revealed varying degrees of disparity among portrayals by different writers and in relation to the sculptors' actual experiences. These divergences reflect the varied concerns of a society in the throes of redefining gender roles. As a result of their own actions, and through the ways in which they were depicted by others, the female sculptors became associated with the women's employment movement. Thus, the impact of the first wave of Victorian female sculptors was disproportionate to their numbers, both in their contributions to the art world and to the cause of women's emancipation.

## ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I am grateful to the numerous people who facilitated the writing of this thesis. Primary among them is my thesis supervisor, Dr. Peter Bailey, whose unfailing encouragement and sage advice (not to mention his willingness to develop new skills in information technology) helped me to feel connected with the University of Manitoba despite the intervening distance, and enabled me to produce a much more focused result. My thesis examiners, Drs. Janice Helland, Mary Kinnear, Claudine Majzels, and Arlene Young, each raised challenging questions, offered thoughtful suggestions, and gave warm affirmation, making the examining process a surprisingly pleasant learning experience. Helen Smailes, Curator of British Art at the National Gallery of Scotland, freely shared her knowledge of Mary Grant's career, further paving the way for my research by making introductions to other researchers and to owners of the sculptor's works. Joan Copeland generously made provision for me to read the autograph diary of Mary Grant that is in her possession, and unstintingly made transcripts available for me to have reproduced. I am indebted to Mrs. Margaret Campbell who alerted me to the existence of the Grant diary and provided me with a list of other helpful resources. Sara Stevenson of the Scottish National Portrait Gallery, Alison Morrison-Low of the National Museum of Scotland, and Janice Helland, Queens University, all provided me with copies of important articles that I otherwise would have had difficulty in obtaining.

The specialist staff at the Henry Moore Institute made my long days at the archive especially fruitful, alerting me to auxiliary materials and engaging in stimulating discussions about the implications of my findings. Lady de Bellaigue, the Registrar of the Royal Archives, Windsor Castle, and her staff made my research visits very productive by their efficient presentation of the necessary documents and their friendly welcome. Herr Klaus Dorst, Kustos für Architektur und Denkmalpflege, at Schloss Sanssouci, Potsdam, was most helpful in showing me a grave monument related to Durant's work and in providing further documentation.

Many thanks are due to the staffs of several libraries who made special efforts to assist my work: the National Library of Scotland; the British Library (especially those in the Manuscripts Room); the Conway Library, Courtauld Institute; the Fawcett Library, Guildhall University, London (especially David Doughan); the Royal Scottish Academy Library (especially Joanna Soden); the National Art Library, Victoria and Albert Museum; the House of Lords Library; the National Monuments Record of Scotland Library; the Edinburgh Central Public Library; and the Guildhall Archive, London. Fellow students Rocco Lieuallen and Roddy Simpson, who were working in areas parallel to mine, provided me with some very helpful leads for which I am thankful. Kind friends Linda Parsons and Mary Dewar lent their expertise with word-processing and Shirley Levacy saw the thesis through the photocopying and submission process.

My research was supported by generous financial assistance from the following: the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada Doctoral Fellowship Program; the University of Manitoba Graduate Fellowship program; the J.G. Fletcher Faculty of Arts Award fund, University of Manitoba; and the Henry Moore Institute, Leeds.

Finally, my deep appreciation goes to my husband, Larry, who not only lent a sympathetic ear as I wrestled with data or discouragement, but also took charge of the last-minute technical details of formatting the text and illustrations for printing.



## CONTENTS

ABSTRACT	
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS .....	i
LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS .....	v
LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS .....	vi
INTRODUCTION .....	1
PART I: PERSONAL EXPERIENCES	
CHAPTER 1: FAMILY MATTERS .....	26
CHAPTER 2: CARVING OUT A CAREER .....	98
CHAPTER 3: MAKING THEIR WAY .....	146
CHAPTER 4: CHARACTERS AND CONVICTIONS .....	215
PART II: PUBLIC PERCEPTIONS	
CHAPTER 5: CRITICAL APPRAISALS .....	263
CHAPTER 6: HOYDENS OR HEROINES? .....	299
CHAPTER 7: IMPACTS .....	344
EPILOGUE .....	360
ILLUSTRATIONS .....	371
BIBLIOGRAPHY .....	383

## LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

- BI British Institution
- GI Royal Glasgow Institute of the Fine Arts
- RA Royal Academy of Arts
- RSA Royal Scottish Academy
- SFA Society of Female Artists

## LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

- Illustration 1. Amelia Paton Hill. David Octavius Hill, 1867. Marble. Scottish National Portrait Gallery. Photograph: Scottish National Portrait Gallery.
- Illustration 2. Roger Fenton. Mary Thornycroft with her statue of Princess Helena as Peace, c. 1856. Henry Moore Institute. Negative: Courtauld Institute.
- Illustration 3. Mary Thornycroft. The Hunter (Prince Arthur, Duke of Connaught). Marble. Royal Collection. Engraving: Art Journal.
- Illustration 4. Mary Thornycroft. The Hunter (back view). Photograph: Courtauld Institute.
- Illustration 5. Mary Thornycroft. The Fisher (Prince Leopold, Duke of Albany). Marble. Royal Collection. Engraving: Art Journal.
- Illustration 6. Mary Thornycroft. The Fisher (back view). Photograph: Courtauld Institute.
- Illustration 7. Amelia Paton Hill. Thomas Carlyle, 1867. Marble. Ecclefechan (Carlyle's birthplace). Photograph: Courtauld Institute.
- Illustration 8. Amelia Paton Hill. David Livingstone, 1876. Bronze. Princes Street Gardens, Edinburgh. Photograph: Courtauld Institute.
- Illustration 9. Mary Grant. Henry Fawcett, 1886. Bronze. Victoria Embankment, London. Photograph: Courtauld Institute.
- Illustration 10. Mary Grant. Reredos, 1880. Marble. St. Mary's Episcopal

Cathedral, Edinburgh. Photograph: Royal Commission on the Ancient and Historic Monuments of Scotland.

Illustration 11. Susan Durant. George Grote, 1863. Marble. University College, London. Photograph: Courtauld Institute.

Illustration 12. Susan Durant. Princess Victoria (Crown Princess of Prussia), 1866. Marble. Windsor Castle. Photograph: Courtauld Institute.

Illustration 13. Susan Durant. Nina Lehmann 1871. Marble with hardstone inlay. Private Collection. Photograph: Agnew's.

## INTRODUCTION

Sculpture, once described by Zola as the "most manly" of the arts, became the chosen profession of an increasing number of women during the course of the nineteenth century.<sup>1</sup> By the 1850s the major art exhibitions in Great Britain, Europe and North America regularly displayed statues, reliefs, and busts created by women. This development marked a considerable departure from the art activity of British women during the previous century when Anne Seymour Damer was the sole female sculptor recorded at the exhibitions.

The expanding number of women sculptors is indicative of a trend in the wider world of art; between 1841 and 1871 the number of women employed in the fine arts in Britain rose from 278 to 1069--a 284 per cent increase.<sup>2</sup> Just how many of these women identified themselves as sculptors to the census takers has not been determined, although it is safe to say that the majority of the respondents were painters in oils or watercolours. Nevertheless, a rudimentary tabulation of the numbers of female sculptors named in the *Athenaeum* reviews of the art exhibitions from 1840 to 1900 testifies to their burgeoning ranks. During the 1840s only one female sculptor, Mary Thornycroft, gained the critic's notice, whereas by the 1890s twenty five women were acknowledged in the sculpture gallery reviews. A more refined analysis of the census materials and of the exhibition records is necessary to determine how many women sculpted professionally.<sup>3</sup>

Although there is an increasing amount of research into the lives of the American women who sculpted, even the most recent studies of nineteenth-century British artists have devoted scant attention to the female sculptors. A survey of the literature on both sides of the Atlantic is revealing. Dolly

Sherwood's lengthy biography of Harriet Hosmer, an American based in Rome, is only the second monograph devoted to the study of an individual female sculptor from this period.<sup>4</sup> In the tradition of biographies of 'geniuses' and prominent women, Hosmer is represented as an exception to the (feminine) norm.<sup>5</sup> Beginning with her unconventional childhood, Sherwood traces the development of this indomitable figure. The obstacles Hosmer faced as a woman trying to gain access to a masculine profession, her strategies to overcome them, and the artistic fraternity's attempts to undermine her considerable public success are characteristic of the experiences of many female artists of her time.<sup>6</sup>

Despite its rather uncritical stance, this study does reveal some of the ways in which Hosmer mobilized friendships and influential family connections and involved herself with female support networks so as to achieve her career goals. However, although Sherwood makes reference to Hosmer's engagement with the woman suffrage movement after her return to the United States late in the century, she does not connect this involvement with Hosmer's work as a sculptor or with her lifestyle and social circle in Rome. Much more could be done to understand the social, political, and cultural matrix within which a sculptor such as Hosmer carved out her career.

In his 1973 book, American Neo-Classic Sculpture: The Marble Resurrection, William Gerdts recuperates the careers of hitherto-forgotten male and female sculptors. This is a remarkably enlightened inclusion not only from the standpoint of art-historical scholarship of the late twentieth century but especially given its publication date in the early years of the second-wave feminist movement. Gerdts perceptively states that "the ladies who assembled in Rome in the middle of the nineteenth century constituted something of a

movement. In any case, never before had so many women from one country achieved such relative prominence at one time in the sculptural field."<sup>7</sup> His discussion of the individual women and their works further displays an appreciation of their self-aware location in the societies in which they worked and studied. Gerdts interprets their choice of subjects (Hosmer's *Zenobia*, for example) as wholly appropriate for "artistic feminists who were determined to make their way in a man's world."<sup>8</sup> Anne Whitney, who did much of her work in Boston, was, according to Gerdts, "a symbol of emancipated womanhood."<sup>9</sup> Further exploration of the ways in which the women sculptors (en)countered differing political and social undercurrents will help to embed/locate them in the history of their times.

Eleanor Tufts's exhibition catalogue, *American Women Artists 1830-1930*, and the dictionary-style volume *Women and Art: A History of Women Painters and Sculptors from the Renaissance to the 20th Century*, by Elsa Honig Fine, both document the lives and works of the eight American women who trained as sculptors in Rome.<sup>10</sup> Fine's work is reminiscent of the histories of women artists produced in the nineteenth-century by Clara Erskine Clement Waters with the difference that the women's attitudes to marriage, work, and society are more extensively commented upon.<sup>11</sup> British women sculptors receive little attention in Fine's otherwise international history. Tufts's exhibition catalogue devotes a significant proportion of its space to women's sculpture; one fifth of the works shown are sculptures and one of the three introductory essays focuses on the careers of Harriet Hosmer and German sculptor Elisabet Ney. This is a noteworthy departure from the usual pattern in histories of women's art.

By marked contrast, the British women sculptors receive little comment in

histories of women artists or of Victorian sculptors. To date, the most satisfying treatment of most of them can be found in the individual entries of the Dictionary of Women Artists.<sup>12</sup>

Benedict Read's Victorian Sculptors acknowledges the more prominent female practitioners but their inclusion has the tone of an afterthought. To his credit, he avoids tokenism by discussing the work of five or six women. However, the sum of his comments about them is equivalent to a single page of text in this large volume.<sup>13</sup> Drawing upon an earlier book by Roscoe Mullins, he gives more space to speculation about the physical difficulties that work with a chisel and mallet would presumably pose to women than he does to the works they actually produced. Read makes a rather vain attempt to square Mullins's assumption, that women were too weak to sculpt, with the fact that female sculptors did produce monumental works. He singles out the women who came from artistic families and posits that they would have been exempted from the more rugged work normally required of studio apprentices from outside the family. Mary Thornycroft, the daughter and wife of sculptors, and Mary Grant, niece of a celebrated painter, are cited as examples who "would have started out in a professional artistic milieu which could ameliorate any natural disadvantages. Perhaps the ease with which these two did slip into an otherwise virtually all-male preserve explains the absence of a distinctively feminine character to their work."<sup>14</sup> This suggestion does not account for the success of Hosmer (whom Read praises) and others who did not have such family advantages.

Roughly a decade of scholarship stands between the book by Gerdtz (1973) and this one by Read (1982), yet Read's observations about the women



sculptors could have been written in 1882. The brief (almost dismissive) discussion of them coupled with his focus on their Otherness (physical weakness, dependence upon male relatives, and essential femininity) are features that characterize the critical reception given to these women during their lifetimes. The reader's confidence in Read's appreciation of the contribution these women made to Victorian sculpture is further undermined by his apparent assumption that A. R. Paton and Mrs. D. O. Hill are separate individuals. Indeed, they are the single and married names of the same person.<sup>15</sup>

Charlotte Yeldham's extensive two-volume study, Women Artists in Nineteenth-Century France and England, documents women artists' struggle to create a niche for themselves within the nineteenth-century art world. She deals with the female sculptors in the text and in the biographical sketches presented in the appendix. However, the vast scope of the project permits only a rather brief handling of them.

In Victorian Women Artists, Pamela Gerrish Nunn sets out to determine why so little is known of female artists whose precipitate rise in numbers during the latter half of the nineteenth century facilitated the emergence of a women's art movement. She concludes that their fall into historical oblivion has not been accidental. Nunn chronicles the battle that raged between women who became professional artists, often out of financial necessity, and the male art establishment. She notes that some of the female artists adopted a feminist stance in relation to art and society; others, by their assumption of a masculine profession, tacitly challenged social expectations. "It is this disruption of established ideas about society and about art that the Victorian women artists' movement achieved, and this is why they, their work and the debate they

generated have been excised from conventional accounts of the period."<sup>16</sup>

Nunn mentions the female sculptors, commenting that they experienced even greater marginalization due to the physical rigour presumably demanded by their occupation.<sup>17</sup> However, as if to emphasize their precarious position in the history of art, she is sparing in her discussion of them. The sculptor about whom she speaks most frequently is not a British woman at all, but Harriet Hosmer.

In *A Struggle for Fame: Victorian Women Artists and Authors*, Susan Casteras and Linda Peterson restrict their discussion of female artists to the painters.<sup>18</sup> Undoubtedly, it is because of their greater numbers that the female painters have received much more attention from scholars of art and women's history than have those who sculpted. Given that women artists are generally far less thoroughly documented than their male counterparts (due largely to gender bias), it is not surprising that historians should concentrate their efforts on a cohort of women whose larger numbers makes it easier to gather data about them.<sup>19</sup> Perhaps an additional disincentive for researchers is the second-place status accorded to sculpture. Nineteenth-century sources indicate that painting is given more consideration in exhibition space, review articles, and patrons' collections than is the sister art of sculpture despite the latter's considerable rise in popularity during that period.<sup>20</sup>

Notwithstanding such disadvantages, the effort involved in studying the female sculptors will contribute significantly to our understanding of changing gender relations in the nineteenth century. These women occupied a strategic position in the history of women's emancipation. By adopting sculpture as a profession, they resisted the social conventions which required women of the

middle classes (from which they were almost exclusively derived) to remain in the domestic sphere--earning no money, doing no manual labour. Sculpting was particularly antithetical to middle-class standards of female gentility because of the physicality involved in the materials used, the subject matter treated (i.e., the human body), and the exertion demanded.<sup>21</sup> The exposure to public scrutiny and engagement in the marketplace, which were essential to an artistic career, further contravened social boundaries.<sup>22</sup> Whether or not they set out to defy class and gender norms, these women were often identified as mavericks. Moreover, the obstacles they encountered in pursuit of their profession caused them to re-evaluate the legal and social position of women in Britain, modifying their self-identity in the process. To give one example, Mary Thornycroft's name was among those on the petition (1859) sent by women to the Royal Academicians urging the admission of female students to the Academy Schools. Perhaps emboldened by the eventual favourable outcome of this and other directly related efforts to receive equitable treatment, Mary Thornycroft joined in a protest by English sculptors to the "Notabilia of the Universal Exhibition" (Paris 1867) over unfair exhibiting practices. Hers was the only female name among the twenty-eight signatures of notable sculptors.<sup>23</sup> Thus, the female sculptors stood at the leading edge of the confrontation between the dominant culture, which restricted women's realm of action, and the emerging feminist movement, which championed the right of women to enter the professions and gain control over all areas of their lives.

The two central questions this project addresses are: how did the female sculptors negotiate the social structures and gender relationships that both facilitated and constrained their professional and personal opportunities, and

what was the social impact of their involvement in an unconventional, though otherwise esteemed, occupation? The answers emerge from an investigation of the personal experience of the women sculptors and the public's perception of them. This document is accordingly divided into two parts.

Part One involves a biographical study of Susan Durant, Mary Grant, Amelia Paton Hill, and Mary Thornycroft, who have been chosen as the focus group of the project for several reasons. They are the best known British women sculptors of the nineteenth century and could be considered to have a pioneering status in the Victorian art world. As a group, their careers spanned the whole of the Victorian period with the bulk of their production occurring between the 1850s and 1880s. All of them were awarded important public sculptural commissions and three of them were engaged by Queen Victoria to execute private works. Finally, their personal and professional backgrounds are sufficiently varied as to be reasonably representative of the broader company of known female sculptors of their time.

As little has been written about these women, the picture presented here is constructed largely from letters and diaries by the sculptors and their loved ones; these provide helpful but sometimes patchy information about their lives and work. In order to give as full a representation as possible of the personal experiences of the nineteenth-century sculptors, this information has been augmented with sketches of women whose careers were conducted in other countries or who achieved some recognition as talented amateurs. Among them are Mary Lloyd, amateur sculptor and lifetime companion of feminist Frances Power Cobbe, the ubiquitous Harriet Hosmer and her sculpting compatriots, the German Elisabeth Ney, and the Duchess of Castiglione Colonna ('Marcello'), a

Swiss national who sculpted in Paris. There is readily accessible information about their lives which will serve to corroborate and complement what can be discovered about the four primary individuals.

Although the focus group under examination is very select, some sense of the numbers of women who took up sculpting as a career during the course of the century is provided in statistical data discussed in the final chapter. Unfortunately, the census tabulations for women's occupations are not sufficiently discriminating to be of much use--women artists were recorded as an undifferentiated aggregate. However, exhibition catalogues, RA Schools admission records and critical notices in the periodical press supply useful figures.

The biographical information in Part One is structured around several issues. An obvious starting place is the impact of family upon the female sculptors' work. Under certain circumstances, families could provide a considerable impetus to a woman's sculpting career. The daughters, sisters or wives of artists had the benefits of early and ongoing training in art production and of being connected to an already established network of artists and potential patrons. However, they often had the disadvantage of being overshadowed by successful male family members. In some instances, it was the women who came from families having little involvement with the fine arts who experienced the least opposition to their career aspirations. Children brought an additional complication although once they were older they might be apprenticed to help in the studio. Thus, the first chapter focuses on how the women maximized the benefits and mitigated the obstacles posed by their families of origin and marriage. Relationships with parents, siblings, husbands, children and extended

kin are evaluated with special attention to their influence upon the women's choice of sculpting as a career and upon their pursuit of that career. As well, the social and economic circumstances of these families, with their attendant advantages and responsibilities, have been examined to determine how they affected the success of the individual sculptors' careers. Similarities and differences in the family experiences of the women are discussed.

The second chapter, "Carving Out a Career," concentrates on the women's preparation for and conduct of a sculpting career. Just what was involved in the business of sculpture during the nineteenth century is examined and the questions raised by Read and others about the women's ability to cope with the physical demands of the profession are addressed. The balance struck between domestic and professional arrangements is another significant realm to explore. Whether they worked outside their homes or not, women traditionally took responsibility for domestic management. The successful female sculptors saw their primary role in life to be the pursuit of their careers. However, as it was not uncommon for sculptors of the period to set up studios in their residences, they had to keep the traditional domestic workload from encroaching upon their professional activities. The means by which each of them achieved a reasonable equilibrium is revealed.

While family considerations and social expectations placed undoubted constraints upon each of them, the sculptors nevertheless were in charge of piloting their own careers. Chapter three, "Making Their Way," examines how they negotiated their way through the tangle of social and institutional conventions that hampered their ability to publicize themselves, market their works and make a place for themselves in the Victorian art world. As it was

deemed improper for women to draw attention to themselves, the sculptors had to devise ways of establishing a reputation without alienating potential clients. Whereas male artists had the freedom to frequent private clubs and meet with potential clients or art journalists without fear of exciting controversy, their female counterparts were often denied access to such places and deterred from spending time alone with men.

Although two very recent books provide evidence that middle-class women had more freedom to walk the streets of London than previously thought, their movements were nevertheless more constrained than those of men.<sup>24</sup> In *Shopping for Pleasure: Women in the Making of London's West End* Erika Rappaport demonstrates that, beginning in the 1860s, women participated in developing a public sphere for themselves within the West End shopping and clubland precincts. Based on some suggestive evidence, Lynda Nead asserts the "routine presence of unaccompanied respectable women in the streets of mid-Victorian London."<sup>25</sup> Yet, there remained an acknowledged need for caution in navigating the public thoroughfares during the 1860s and 1870s in order to avoid accidentally attracting unwanted attention, and travel alone at night was to be avoided.

By contrast, male sculptors were at liberty to frequent cafés and to circulate in public places where they might encounter patrons or influential members of the art community by day or night. Few venues, public or private, were automatically closed to them. Nevertheless, the sculpting women managed to promote their work through a combination of socializing, the use of the improved postal system, and deployment of the new technology of photographic portraiture.

The final chapter in Part One is concerned with the personal convictions and characteristics of the sculptors and the ways in which these facilitated their career aspirations. The women's religious commitments, political stances and involvements with reformist movements are examined, and personal ambitions and personality traits are identified so as to provide a sense of their individuality. Questions regarding whether they saw themselves as pioneers clearing the way for other women to follow and to whom they looked for role models in an overwhelmingly male art world are also posed.

Part Two is concerned with the public perception of the sculpting women as mediated through art criticism and literary portrayals of the period. Chapter four, "Critical Appraisals," deals with the construction and preservation of artistic reputations. The reception of each of the women by colleagues and the art establishment is examined and compared with their treatment by art journalists and reviewers. Judgements delivered by their art critics are of considerable significance because they reflect and propel public opinion, and affect the morale of the artists concerned. Consequently, the standard of criticism applied by these writers to the works of the female sculptors needs to be interrogated. Casteras and Peterson, and Nunn have pointed out that the art reviews of the period frequently employed a double standard of judgement toward works produced by men and women.<sup>26</sup> The nineteenth-century art historian, Anna Jameson, lamented that women's work was condemned for not being comparable with that of better trained male artists or was congratulated for being in a class of its own--either exceptionally good or predictably insipid.<sup>27</sup> Deborah Cherry asserts that the female art critics were no more sympathetic to the works of female artists than were their male counterparts.<sup>28</sup> Certainly, Emilia



Pattison's critique of the exhibition of the Society of Female Artists in the Westminster Review is as acerbic as that of the toughest male critics.<sup>29</sup> However, Nunn's essay, "Critically Speaking," offers a more complex discussion of their differing attitudes to the work of female artists and how these were influenced by their own professional concerns and by their convictions regarding women's rights.<sup>30</sup> How much the reviews of women sculptors' work evince the gendered stereotypes and whether there was a change in critical tone over the course of the period is discussed.

In view of the difficulties posed by prejudicial evaluations of women's art what can be said of the aesthetic quality of the four sculptors' work? A brief consideration of this question is warranted. Certainly, each of the sculptors received important public commissions and was represented at the annual exhibitions of the Royal Academies and other prestigious venues regularly.

Notwithstanding such obvious successes, these women have been forgotten. How this fall into oblivion took place is partly explained by Gladys Engel Lang and Kurt Lang's book on the phenomenon of fame. Etched in Memory: The Building and Survival of Artistic Reputation is a useful sociological study of what social and personal factors are necessary to ensure that an artist's name is remembered.<sup>31</sup> Artistic skill, it would seem, is not exclusively, or even primarily, determinative of reputation. A comparison of the Langs's findings with the career paths of the sculptors helps to put their reputations into a larger perspective.

Chapter six examines a range of literary representations of sculpting women. Given the small number of professional female sculptors active in Britain and on the Continent, the subject of sculpting as an occupation for young

women occurs with remarkable frequency in novels and essays during Victoria's reign. A spate of essays dealing with the question of appropriate work for women appeared at mid-century. Several of these, such as Frances Power Cobbe's article entitled "What Shall We Do With Our Old Maids?" present sculpting as a viable career option.<sup>32</sup> Other pieces, including one instalment of a series about "Famous Women Workers," raise the issue of the paucity of successful female sculptors and present differing conclusions.<sup>33</sup>

In *The Artist in Nineteenth-Century English Fiction*, Bo Jeffares asserts that the increasing use of female artists as fictional heroines during the latter part of the century reflects society's developing willingness to take these women more seriously.<sup>34</sup> Other scholars have traced the treatment of women artists by nineteenth-century female authors examining the writers' reworking of cultural myths and their strategic use of the relative position of women to construct alternative social meanings.<sup>35</sup> Seven works of fiction having female sculptors at their centre give a glimpse of how such women were perceived and portrayed by writers with varying social agendas. For example, Nathaniel Hawthorne's *The Marble Faun or the Romance of Monte Beni*, *Ariadne: The Story of a Dream*, by Ouida, and Louisa May Alcott's *An Old-Fashioned Girl* diverge notably in their treatments of their heroines, each of whom was loosely patterned after a living female sculptor.<sup>36</sup> These and other fictional materials, the essays on women's work, and several pieces of advice literature aimed at young women yield an interesting picture of sculpting as a profession for women and the concerns expressed by writers regarding the changing status of women.

The final chapter examines the impacts the female sculptors had upon the Victorian art world and upon nineteenth-century culture. The extent of their

contribution to the sharp rise in numbers of young women entering the sculpting profession toward the end of the century is evaluated. By virtue of their public visibility as successful professionals and as literary heroines, the female sculptors stood alongside others pursuing unconventional careers as exemplars of the new roles available to women.

The interdisciplinary scope of this project is both necessary, due to the scarcity of data on female sculptors, and preferable, because it permits the construction of a relatively complex picture of the social context in which they transacted their careers. The purpose in developing this context is not primarily to delineate the circumstances which 'gave birth' to female sculptors; to do that would be to cast them in a passive role. Rather, it is to discover how each of them negotiated the relationships with individuals and institutions, and engaged the ideologies, that characterized her historical milieu.

Although this is a work about artists, the primary focus is not upon the individual items of sculpture they produced. Consequently, there is no catalogue raisonné and the number of illustrations is modest. A full treatment of this aspect of the sculptors' contribution to the Victorian art world awaits another day.

Recently there has been a move to reassess the validity of the so-called ideology of separate spheres as an organizing principle in the study of Victorian gender relations. Originally used by Alexis de Tocqueville to describe "two clearly distinct lines of action for the two sexes," separate spheres has become a short-hand term for the division of social space (and function) into the private or domestic realm, presided over by middle-class women, and the public domain of industry, commerce, politics, and high culture occupied by their male

counterparts.<sup>37</sup> Since its re-discovery in the mid-twentieth century, this model of social segregation has attained an almost doctrinal status in the scholarship of Victorian social history, especially women's history.

In "Golden Age to Separate Spheres? A Review of the Categories and Chronology of English Women's History," Amanda Vickery finds the framework to be flawed on two levels. First, the nineteenth-century literature characteristically cited as evidence for an all-pervasive application of the domestic ideal is largely propagandistic, not descriptive. And second, the Marxian assumptions that underpin the separate spheres construct are faulted for being too rigidly drawn and too generally applied.<sup>38</sup>

In "Separate Spheres, Female Worlds, Woman's Place: The Rhetoric of Women's History" Linda Kerber voices an uneasiness about the heuristic value of separate spheres. Citing Michelle Zimbalist Rosaldo's concern that, in whatever guise, separate spheres inevitably invokes dualities (male/female, public/private), Kerber concludes that: "To continue to use the language of separate spheres is to deny the reciprocity between gender and society, and to impose a static model on dynamic relationships."<sup>39</sup>

Janice Helland holds the construct of the leisured domestic woman responsible for the exclusion of female painters from the history of art. She contends that because middle-class women were construed as domestic, any art they produced was assumed to be amateur. Consequently, female artists were not associated with the art market, the means by which a name could be both established and perpetuated. In Professional Women Painters in Nineteenth Century Scotland she undertakes to throw off the repressive residual effects of the separate spheres ideology by identifying female painters as producers for the

marketplace.<sup>40</sup>

The criticisms levelled by these historians share a concern that the model has become a totalising narrative often obscuring as much as it explains of social relations in Victorian Britain. Although our current use of the construct is unsatisfactory as a heuristic device, the language of separate spheres had considerable currency during the nineteenth century, enduring, with modifications in response to social and political changes, throughout Victoria's reign. To dismiss it as a hollow polemical device employed by the patriots, philanthropists, sentimentalists, and feminists that Vickery distrusts is questionable (on the basis of her rather inclusive list of participants in the debate alone!).<sup>41</sup> It is better understood as one among several competing discourses of femininity current in the period. Thus, terms from the discourse of separate spheres jostle with those of other ideological positions throughout this study.

A promising solution to the problem of conceiving women's experience in terms of a binary opposition is to be found in Linda Alcoff's concept of positionality. In her landmark essay, "Cultural Feminism Versus Post-Structuralism: The Identity Crisis in Feminist Theory," she offers a compelling critique of the two most influential streams within current feminist theory. Cultural feminism, so named for its project of constructing a female-centred culture, tends to define woman in essentialist terms. Femininity is presented as a universal and timeless amalgam of social attributes and biological characteristics which are generally presumed superior to masculine traits. Alcoff points out that some of these vaunted qualities were forged in response to oppression and contribute to what is a remarkably deterministic formula for liberation. Post-structuralist feminists reject not only the action of defining woman as the

opposite of man but the whole enterprise of defining woman at all. Fundamental to post-structuralist theory is the assumption that human subjects are constructed by social discourse and/or cultural practice. Feminists who adopt this stance counter patriarchal social constructions of woman by deconstructing the notion of gender identity itself. In its place they posit a plurality of differences. Alcoff identifies two problems with this view: the heavy emphasis on the social construction of identity leaves negligible room for individual agency, and it is difficult to "ground a feminist politics that deconstructs the female subject".<sup>42</sup>

As an alternative, Alcoff offers a concept of gendered identity that is neither essentialist nor participates in the nominalism that results from denying sexual difference. Her theory of positionality draws together three distinct strands of feminist thought. The central strand is Teresa de Lauretis's formulation of subjectivity as a dynamic interplay between the continually changing external forces of social discourse and the internal dialogue that evaluates and contributes to the development of these discourses. In her words, the construction of the subject involves "a fluid interaction in constant motion and open to alteration by self-analyzing practice." Individuals are both inscribed by their historical-cultural context and able to influence that context. The second strand is supplied by Denise Riley who tackles the problem of theorizing a non-essentialised female subject while simultaneously campaigning for practical assistance with so-called women's needs. She raises the issue of child care provision noting that women must be able to agitate for adequate programmes without suggesting that the primary responsibility for child care is essentially and eternally female. Again, the emphasis is on the constantly shifting cultural

context within which women must take up positions and act. The final thread is the concept of identity politics. This entails the idea that an individual's identity can be used as a "political point of departure".<sup>43</sup>

Alcoff's theory comprises two interactive components. The first is the notion that a woman's identity is defined relative to the particular historical and cultural context in which she lives. That context is understood to be constantly shifting. Thus, as the context alters so does the position occupied by (and identity of) women. The second element of the model asserts that women's position is not merely determined by society and stamped upon a passive female population. Instead, the position in which women find themselves can itself become a platform from which it is possible to mount a critique and/or instigate political change.

Issues of race and/or class may be incorporated simultaneously with those of gender. The identity of the American sculptor Edmonia Lewis exemplifies the need for such an inclusive model. The daughter of an African American father and an Aboriginal American mother, Lewis occupies a complex position in relation to the societies in which she worked. At least one of her sculptures, *The Freedwoman on Hearing of Her Liberty*, attests to her readiness to use this position to make a political statement.<sup>44</sup>

Alcoff summarizes the utility of her construct: "Seen in this way, being a 'woman' is to take up a position within a moving historical context and to be able to choose what we make of this position and how we alter this context."<sup>45</sup> The Victorian women sculptors approached the opportunities and obstacles that they encountered in just such a manner, thereby building successful careers for themselves and enabling others to follow their lead.

## ENDNOTES

1. Emile Zola, *L'oeuvre*; quoted in Maurice Rheims, *Nineteenth-Century Sculpture*, trans. Robert E. Wolf (New York: Abrams, 1977), 7.
2. Pamela Gerrish Nunn, *Victorian Women Artists* (London: The Women's Press, 1987), 2.
3. Charlotte Yeldham, *Women Artists in Nineteenth-Century France and England*, 2 vols. (New York: Garland, 1984), 1:67.
4. Dolly Sherwood, *Harriet Hosmer, American Sculptor, 1830-1908* (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 1991); Jan Fortune and Jean Burton, *Elisabet Ney* (London: George Harrap and Co., 1943).
5. Germaine Greer, *The Obstacle Race*, (New York: Farrar, Strauss, Giroux, 1979), 72, 105 *passim*.
6. Eleanor Tufts, *American Women Artists 1830-1930* (Washington, D.C.: The National Museum of Women in the Arts, 1987), cat. no. 102.
7. William H. Gerdts, *American Neo-Classical Sculpture: The Marble Resurrection* (New York: Viking, 1973), 46.
8. *Ibid.*, 48.
9. *Ibid.*, 49.
10. Tufts, *American Women Artists 1830-1930*; Elsa Honig Fine, *Women and Art: A History of Women Painters and Sculptors from the Renaissance to the 20th Century* (Montclair, N.J.: Allanheld and Schram; London: Prior, 1978).
11. Clara Erskine Clement Waters and Laurence Hutton, *Artists of the Nineteenth Century and their Works* (Boston: Houghton Osgood, 1894; reprint, New York: Arno, 1969). Clara Erskine Clement, *Women in the Fine Arts from the Seventh Century B. C. to the Twentieth Century A. D.* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1904; reprint, New York: Hacker, 1974).
12. Delia Gaze, ed., *Dictionary of Women Artists*, 2 vols. (London; Chicago: Fitzroy Dearborn, 1997).
13. Benedict Read, *Victorian Sculpture* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1982),



65, 69, 78, 117, 206, 269, 355.

14.Ibid., 78.

15.Ibid., 117.

16.Nunn, *Victorian Women Artists*, 10, 40.

17.Ibid., 12.

18.Susan P. Casteras and Linda H. Peterson, *A Struggle for Fame: Victorian Women Artists and Authors* (New Haven: Yale Centre for British Art, 1994).

19.Whitney Chadwick, *Women, Art, and Society* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1990), Linda Nochlin, "Why Have There Been No Great Women Artists?" in eds. Thomas Hess and Elizabeth Baker, *Art and Sexual Politics* (New York; London, 1971), and Roszika Parker and Griselda Pollock, *Old Mistresses: Women, Art and Ideology* (New York; London, 1981); Nunn, *Victorian Women Artists* (London: The Women's Press, 1987), 2; Shannon Hunter Hurtado, "The Company She Kept: Susan D. Durant, a Nineteenth-Century Sculptor and Her Feminist Connections" (M.A. thesis, University of Manitoba, 1994), 5-6.

20."Royal Academy," *Athenaeum*, 22 May 1841, 406; 27 May 1848, 609; 18 May 1850, 534. The number of column inches devoted by such periodicals as the *Art Journal*, the *Times*, and the *Athenaeum* to a critique of the sculpture galleries in the major British exhibitions was considerably less than the space allotted to the paintings.

21. A. R. Mills, *Two Victorian Ladies* (Letchworth: Garden City Press, 1969), 124; quoted in Pamela Gerrish Nunn, "Critically Speaking," in ed. Clarissa Campbell Orr, *Women in the Victorian Art World* (Manchester; New York: Manchester University Press, 1995), 110; "The Beatrice Cenci: from the statue by Harriet Hosmer," *Art Journal* (1857), 124.

22.Casteras and Peterson, *A Struggle for Fame*, 14; Leonore Davidoff, *The Best Circles: Women and Society in Victorian England* (Totawa, New Jersey: Rowman and Littlefield, 1973), 81.

23."The Royal Academy," *The Athenaeum* 1644 (April 30, 1859), 581. "Notabilia of the Universal Exhibition," *Art Journal* (1867), 156.

24.For discussions of the proscriptions against and eventual accommodation of women in public spaces see: Leonore Davidoff and Catherine Hall, *Family*

Fortunes: Men and Women of the English Middle Class, 1780-1850 (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1987); Griselda Pollock, "Modernity and the Spaces of Femininity," Vision and Difference: Femininity, Feminism and Histories of Art (London: Routledge, 1988); Judith Walkowitz, City of Dreadful Delight: Narratives of Sexual Danger in Late-Victorian London (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1992); Elizabeth Wilson, The Sphinx in the City: Urban Life, the Control of Disorder, and Women (London: Virago, 1991); Lynne Walker, "Vistas of pleasure: Women consumers of urban space in the West End of London 1850-1900," in ed. Clarissa Campbell Orr, Women in the Victorian Art World (Manchester: University of Manchester Press, 1995); Rachel Bowlby, Just Looking: Consumer Culture in Dreiser, Gissing, and Zola (London; New York: Methuen, 1985).

25. Erika Diane Rappaport, Shopping for Pleasure: Women in the Making of London's West End (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2000), chapter three; Lynda Nead, Victorian Babylon: People, Streets and Images in Nineteenth-Century London (New Haven; London: Yale University Press, 2000), 66.

26. Susan P. Casteras and Linda H. Peterson, A Struggle for Fame: Victorian Women Artists and Authors (New Haven: Yale Centre for British Art, 1994), 14-20 passim. Pamela Gerrish Nunn, ed., Canvassing: Recollections by Six Victorian Women Artists (London: Camden Press, 1986), 7. Greer, The Obstacle Race, 74-75; "The Society of Female Artists," Englishwoman's Journal, 1 May 1858, 205-207.

27. Anna Jameson, Sisters of Charity and the Communion of Labour (London: Longman, 1858); quoted in F.D. Maurice, "Female School of Art: Mrs. Jameson," Macmillan's Magazine 2 (July 1860), 234.

28. Deborah Cherry, Painting Women: Victorian Women Artists (London; New York: Routledge, 1993), 72.

29. Emilia F.S. Pattison, "Art," Westminster Review 35 N.S. April 1869, 585-598.

30. Pamela Gerrish Nunn, "Critically Speaking," in ed. Clarissa Campbell Orr, Women in the Victorian Art World (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1995). See also Claire Richter Sherman with Adele M. Holcomb, eds. Women as Interpreters of the Visual Arts, 1820-1979 (London; Westport: Greenwood Press, 1981).

31. Gladys Engel Lang and Kurt Lang, Etched in Memory: The Building and Survival of Artistic Reputation (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1990).

32. Frances Power Cobbe, "What Shall We Do With Our Old Maids?" *Fraser's Magazine* 66, November 1862, 605; William Rathbone Greg, "Why Are Women Redundant?" *National Review* (April 1862); quoted in Janet Horowitz Murray, ed., *Strong-Minded Women and Other Lost Voices from Nineteenth-Century England* (New York: Pantheon, 1982), 50-54.
33. "The World of Art: Famous Women Workers," *Queen: The Lady's Newspaper* 116 (July-December 1904), 323.
34. Bo Jeffares, *The Artist in Nineteenth-Century English Fiction* (Gerrard's Cross: Colin Smythe Ltd., 1979), 159.
35. Suzanne W. Jones, ed., *Writing the Woman Artist: Essays on Poetics, Politics, and Portraiture* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1991); Grace Stewart, *A New Mythos: The Novel of the Artist as Heroine 1877-1977* (Montreal: Eden Press, 1981).
36. Ouida [Louise de la Ramée], *Ariadne: The Story of a Dream* (London: Chatto and Windus, 1877; new edition, 1900); Nathaniel Hawthorne, *The Marble Faun*, Edited and with an Introduction and Notes by Susan Manning (Oxford: Oxford University Press; Oxford World's Classics, 2002); Louisa May Alcott, *An Old-Fashioned Girl*, ed. May Lamberton Becker, Rainbow Classics (London: Saturn Press, n.d.).
37. Alexis de Tocqueville (1835); quoted in Linda K. Kerber, "Separate Spheres, Female Worlds, Woman's Place: The Rhetoric of Women's History," *Journal of American History* 75 (June 1988-March 1989): 9.
38. Amanda Vickery, "Golden Age to Separate Spheres? A Review of the Categories and Chronology of English Women's History," *History Journal* 36/2 (1993), 397, 401, 414.
39. Linda K. Kerber, "Separate Spheres, Female Worlds, Woman's Place: The Rhetoric of Women's History," *Journal of American History* 75 (June 1988-March 1989), 21, 38.
40. Janice Helland, *Professional Women Painters in Nineteenth Century Scotland: Commitment, Friendship, Pleasure* (Aldershot, Hants: Ashgate, 2000).
41. Vickery, "Golden Age to Separate Spheres?" 400-401.
42. Linda Alcoff, "Cultural Feminism Versus Post-Structuralism: The Identity Crisis in Feminist Theory," *Signs: Journal of Women in Culture and Society* 13/3 (Spring

1988): 405-436.

43. Ibid., 431.

44. "A Negro Sculptress," *Athenaeum*, 3 March 1866, 302.

45. Alcoff, "Cultural Feminism Versus Post-Structuralism," 435.

**PART I**

**PERSONAL EXPERIENCES**

## CHAPTER 1

### FAMILY MATTERS

As noted earlier, an individual's identity is forged in the interplay between external circumstances (both physical and ideological) and internal dispositions. Over time, a complex relationship between these internal and external forces is established so that the accumulated experience of the past shapes the person's critical skills and values and affects how subsequent events are perceived and accommodated. The family is the first, and perhaps the most enduring, external contributor to this intricate structure of identity. From birth, each individual is provided with a ready-made social grouping comprising people of different ages, temperaments, and aspirations who exert varying degrees of control over one another's lives. Despite the arbitrary nature of the arrangement, the individual has a certain amount of autonomy in the way that he or she responds to family members and circumstances.

By contrast, the family arrangements that are made in adulthood involve considerably more personal choice. A Victorian woman could elect to marry, remain in the parental home, set up housekeeping with adult siblings or other relatives, or establish long-term family-style households with one or more friends. While any of these options might have significant effects upon the experience of the individual, marriage had by far the most profound effects. In entering into this practically indissoluble contract, a woman forfeited a host of rights. She ceased to exist as a person in the eyes of the law with the consequence that she could not enter into any other contracts, possess property in her own right or the earnings from her labour, exercise guardianship over her

children, or refuse her husband conjugal relations.<sup>1</sup> Furthermore, marriage usually brought with it the added responsibility of numerous children to care for.

Nevertheless, these external factors did not preclude the possibility of substantial autonomy within marriage. Presumably, a woman who had already embarked upon a career would take into consideration a suitor's disposition toward and ability to facilitate that career when deciding whether to marry him. A husband and wife could work together as a team, as did William and Catherine Booth in establishing the Salvation Army, or accommodate each other's separate careers as did painter Barbara Leigh Smith and her husband Dr. Eugene Bodichon.<sup>2</sup> The arrival of children inevitably affected the working arrangements of the couple but, with the help of servants, did not automatically curtail the woman's career.

Those women who remained spinsters had a different constellation of advantages and disadvantages. Legally, the 'feme sole' had the same rights as a man to own and use property, enter contracts, and serve as an executor over the property of another. However, she was often pitied or marginalized for her inability to fulfil the maternal destiny that was deemed to be the crowning achievement of womanhood. Another substantial drawback of spinsterhood was the constant threat of financial insolvency as women characteristically were paid less than men. Nevertheless, many unmarried professional women saw their childlessness as advantageous to their career goals; as the century progressed, a growing number of women, particularly those who campaigned for women's rights, deliberately chose the single life.<sup>3</sup> Despite having "scarcely ever been free

from some strong attraction," Dr. Elizabeth Blackwell felt unable to reconcile the possibility of marriage with a career.<sup>4</sup> Instead, she set up house with one or another of her spinster sisters and, in a surprising move, adopted a young orphan-girl whom she treated more like a housekeeper and personal secretary than a daughter.<sup>5</sup> Other career women established similar family-type living arrangements for mutual emotional and economic support. Frances Power Cobbe shared a home with sculptor Mary Lloyd for nearly thirty years.<sup>6</sup>

Philippa Levine has asserted that the family is a particularly important place to start in examining the personal experience of women for "in [the Victorian] period, the family was the primary site through which their lives were ordered and contained. Frequently that meant also that the choices they made were heavily reliant upon family obligation and opinion."<sup>7</sup> We will begin by looking at the birth families of Susan Durant, Mary Grant, Amelia Paton Hill, and Mary Thornycroft making note of the occupational, religious, social, and political niches occupied by each. This will allow us to map each family's location within the wider social context, to identify the specific economic and ideological environment to which each sculptor was exposed, and to observe where these families overlapped or differed from one another. At a deeper level, we will focus on the relationships between the various members of each family and their illustrious kinswoman, paying special attention to how they facilitated or impeded her sculpting aspirations.

After that, we will examine the family arrangements chosen by these women in adulthood. Considerable significance attaches to these choices as they fix the emotional and social milieu in which the bulk of each woman's career was



conducted. Some of the benefits and drawbacks posed by marriage and spinsterhood have been noted briefly, how each woman in the primary sample group coped with and/or utilized them in their professional lives will be considered in more detail. As with the members of the birth-families, the individual relationships within each household will be scrutinized for their contributions to the success of the individual sculptors' careers. To the material about the four sculptors in the study will be added data drawn from the family experience of other women who sculpted in Britain and on the Continent during the same period.

#### FAMILIES OF ORIGIN

Before delving into the specific family experiences of the female sculptors it will be helpful to consider briefly something of the spectrum of middle and upper-middle class family expectations of daughters. Until roughly 1880, the overwhelming majority of middle-class women lived in the families of their childhood or marriage; after this date educational opportunities at boarding schools and Universities expanded and a wider band of occupations became available to women permitting them to move out on their own. Especially during the earlier part of the century, when Susan Durant (1828-1873), Mary Thornycroft (1809-1895), Amelia Paton Hill (1820-1904), and Mary Grant (1831-1908) went through childhood and adolescence, young girls were characteristically educated at home by their mothers, fathers, or governesses. For some, home-schooling was augmented by sporadic short-term boarding-school attendance<sup>8</sup>. As a result, the family bounded its daughters' experience

and mediated the world to them much more fully than it did with sons who were more often educated outside the household or trained in the family business. However, it would be a mistake to assume that their lives were effectively sealed off from external influences. Access to books and periodicals, charitable call-making, and contact with family friends and extended kin contributed breadth to their lives.<sup>9</sup>

Middle-class families did not comprise a homogenous social grouping during the Victorian era. They exhibited widely differing child rearing practices in keeping with their particular political, philosophical and religious concerns. Based on accounts of the childhood experiences of notable women, we know that families varied considerably in their expectations for and of their daughters. The disparate experience of two cousins, Florence Nightingale (1820-1910) and Barbara Leigh Smith (later Bodichon, 1827-1891), is a case in point. Nightingale's upper-middle-class family was strictly opposed to her wish for professional work. After years of unremitting struggle, her father relented, granting her an ample living allowance and permitting her to do some nursing work at a facility for sick ladies.<sup>10</sup> By contrast, Leigh Smith's interest in drawing and painting was cultivated by her father (the Radical MP for Norwich) who provided private lessons and further training at the Bedford College for Ladies. Upon reaching the age twenty-one Barbara received an annual allowance of £300 as did each of her siblings regardless of gender.<sup>11</sup> Ultimately, both women pursued careers that brought public recognition (Leigh Smith became a painter and feminist activist). Some families, such as the Leigh Smiths, paved the way for their daughters' careers while others littered their paths with obstacles.

Three of the female sculptors in this study were born into comfortably well-off families. Mary Grant came from the highest status background, being the granddaughter of Thomas Bruce, the Seventh Earl of Elgin and Eleventh Earl of Kincardine. Her parents were Lady Lucy Bruce and John Grant of Kilgraston, a Scottish laird who had trained at the Royal Military College, Sandhurst, served with the Grenadier Guards, and filled the roles of Deputy Lieutenant and Justice of the Peace for county Perth.<sup>12</sup>

Susan Durant's father, George, was a prosperous London silk broker with roots in Devonshire. Little is known of her mother, Mary. However, on the strength of Durant's second name--Dugdale--coupled with a reference in a letter to "the Dugdales at Wroxall and various other friends" it is possible that Mary had gentry connections.<sup>13</sup> Certainly there were other extended family members who attained landed status through the accumulation of wealth. Uncle Richard Durant, whose verve and ambition were said to be echoed in Susan's personality, purchased the Sharpham Estate, Devon, in 1842. There he established himself in county life holding the offices of Deputy Lieutenant and Justice of the Peace, becoming the High Sheriff in 1851, and building and maintaining a school for "boys and girls".<sup>14</sup>

Amelia Paton Hill grew up in a comfortable cottage in Dunfermline, Scotland, where her father worked in the town's renowned damask industry. Joseph Neil Paton had initially studied to be a damask weaver, like his father, but displayed superior skill as a textile designer and accepted the position of Master of the Drawing Academy that had been established by a group of Dunfermline manufacturers. He filled this post from 1830-1833 after which he

returned to the industry where he was unofficially held to be the "dean of damask designers in Scotland between 1850 and 1870." He belonged to the Scottish Society of Antiquaries and collected historic artifacts from the old palaces in Scotland. Amelia's mother, Catherine MacDairmid, was related to the Earls of Atholl and had Highland Jacobite connections. She was an avid folklorist who furnished her four children with an imaginary world of heroes and fairies.<sup>15</sup>

Mary Thornycroft is distinguished from the others by being the daughter of a sculptor. John Francis had been a farmer on the Norfolk coast until, in the words of his grandson, Hamo: "My grandfather went to see Nelson's funeral. The wonderful car impressed him. As soon as he returned to Norfolk he went along the sea-shore, picked up [some] jet and carved [a model of the car]. Mr. Vernon saw it, and immediately sent him to Chantrey's studio."<sup>16</sup> During Francis's first eighteen years in the sculpting business the family experienced considerable economic instability. He had to return to farming at least three times before he was well-enough known to make a living at sculpting. By the time Mary was fourteen years old her father had established a studio in London, augmenting his income by taking on apprentices. Her mother, after whom Mary was named, had an integral role in the family business seeing to it that the apprentices were comfortably housed and fed. In addition, she kept abreast of the goings on in the workshop and participated in lively discussions at mealtimes. Her great-granddaughter, Mary Donaldson, described her as a "very spirited" woman who once trapped a late night intruder in the house by his hair.<sup>17</sup>

The Francis family's religious practices may be inferred from those of Mary and Thomas Thornycroft who were described by their son Hamo as "the usual nineteenth-century Christian Churchmen of the vague conservative type"<sup>18</sup>

The eldest of six daughters in a family of thirteen children, Mary Grant spent her girlhood at Kilgraston House, Bridge of Earn, a stately home set in the idyllic Perthshire countryside. Although obviously privileged, the family was on good terms with their village neighbours. Second daughter Annie's wedding luncheon included "many . . . humble friends of diverse grades who were scattered on the lawn."<sup>19</sup> Like most upper-middle-class daughters, Mary and her sisters were taught by governesses and a male tutor in their home. At age fourteen she went abroad with her family for a two year sojourn in Mannheim and Dresden where her education continued under the tutelage of a German-speaking governess.<sup>20</sup> At least part of her training involved the so-called accomplishments of drawing and painting in watercolours, decorative needlework, and music. One biographical dictionary entry describes her as "a lady of singular versatility, skilled at painting, embroidery, and with a touch of great charm on the piano."<sup>21</sup> By the time she was nineteen, the family had taken up the practice of removing to London annually for the "Season."

Given their gentry status it is not surprising that the Grants worshipped at the Scottish Episcopal church. Several members of the family, including Mary, had High Church inclinations which were inspired by the Oxford Movement.<sup>22</sup>

Mary's facility in the visual arts appears to have come from her father's side of the family. John Grant was an amateur artist who specialized in portraits and figure studies executed in oil paints or pen and ink, one of which is in the

National Gallery of Scotland collection. John's sister, Mary Anne Grant, studied landscape painting with Andrew Wilson, a Scottish painter, art dealer, and Master of the Trustees' Drawing Academy.<sup>23</sup> Mary's passion for sculpture was doubtless kindled by her grandfather Lord Elgin's much-applauded acquisition of the Parthenon marbles which he sold to the nation (at a loss) a decade and a half before she was born. Although he died when she was just ten years old, there would have been time enough for him to instill a fascination with Phidias's Classical masterpieces.<sup>24</sup> The first mention of Mary's interest in sculpting is in 1853 when she made portraits of her brother and sister; "I did Ludovic's bust and my first medallion, of Annie." Two years later, during a family sojourn in Paris, she received extensive instruction in modelling from a sculpting Master and took some drawing and painting lessons as well.<sup>25</sup>

Susan Durant's early family experience is very sketchy. Census records indicate that she was born in either Tottenham or Stamford Hill, part of greater London.<sup>26</sup> She was the second of two children, both daughters. It appears that her parents married somewhat later than the average age--26.5 years for women and 29 years for men--that obtained for the middle classes during the first half of the nineteenth century. Assuming that Susan's sister Mary Ann was the first-born--as distinct from first surviving--child, Mary Durant far surpassed the average age (27.3 years) of entry into motherhood by 6.7 years. However, she completed her childbearing (again, assuming that Susan was not followed by other children who did not survive) at the age of 40, in keeping with the middle-class average of 40.6 years.<sup>27</sup> Among the various reasons for women entering marriage late and having few children (the middle-class norm for the time being

four to five) is a commitment to feminist concerns.<sup>28</sup> A tantalisingly brief mention of Susan's reminiscences of her mother, as told to her close friend Emma Wallis, raises the possibility that Mary had unorthodox ideas. "How much I loved to hear her sweet recollections of her mother, and how admirable her grateful sense of that mother's devoted and intellectual aid, though as it might be also, peculiar and impetuous as her nature was: but to her she felt she owed much and beautifully expressed it."<sup>29</sup>

Whether she was caught up in the discussion of women's rights that followed the publication of Mary Wollstonecraft's book, A Vindication of the Rights of Woman (1792), is a matter of conjecture. The timing is propitious for such an interest as she was born in 1788 and would have reached adulthood just six years after the book was first printed. Although the journal entry offers scant information, it clearly indicates Susan's appreciation of her mother's support of something that Susan held important. Perhaps the 'intellectual aid' referred to above was related to Susan's career and/or to her interest in the issues of women's education and suffrage.

As to Susan Durant's early education much is left open to speculation. Given the social location of her family and her frequent and extended stays in France and Germany in adult life, her "diligent and industrious reading of the classic and current literature of modern languages" is not surprising. She also acquired a facility with spoken French and perhaps German. Harriet Beecher Stowe records going to Baron Triqueti's sculpting studio in Paris where she was persuaded to stay to have a portrait done by Durant instead of going to French lessons. Triqueti promised "we will give you French lessons while you sit,"

indicating Durant's proficiency in that language. Her sojourns at the royal residences of the Crown Princess of Prussia and of Princess Louis of Hesse likely required some spoken German.<sup>30</sup> Like other daughters of wealthy families, Susan was given first-hand experience of foreign cultures "travelling as a young girl with her parents in Italy, [especially to] Rome where the family sojourned for a winter."<sup>31</sup> It is probable that she was home-educated in music, dance, art, natural history, botany, and history as well as languages.<sup>32</sup> The end result of her childhood instruction was a relaxed self-confidence that "dwelt with airy ease, but without parade of learning upon art works, art subjects, . . . and the like."<sup>33</sup>

The Durant family's religious affiliations are not mentioned but circumstances suggest that they had Unitarian roots. Exeter, where both George and Mary were born and presumably grew up, "had been for generations the seat of fierce religious controversy, and the place of gathering of many a dissenting synod" especially Unitarians. Many of the significant members of the Unitarian faith throughout Britain were well-to-do industrialists and commercial businessmen, a category into which George fits comfortably. Furthermore, some of the people Durant mentions in her letters are notable Unitarians. Sir John and Lady Bowring are referred to as family friends.<sup>34</sup> Henry Cole appears with regularity in the correspondence; like Bowring, he was also a philosophical radical.<sup>35</sup> One letter refers to "the Hills at Cambridge." Unfortunately, no further information is given about these people with whom she obviously sympathized, perhaps because they were sufficiently well-known as to not require an introduction. James and Caroline (Smith) Hill from Wisbech, Cambridgeshire, certainly fit this profile. Both radical Unitarians, they established the publication



The Star in the East which became "a useful vehicle for women's rights discussions." They were also proponents of innovative approaches to education; their daughter, Octavia Hill, is another famous member of the family.<sup>36</sup> Finally, a Unitarian background would help to explain Mary Durant's somewhat unorthodox personality. Olive Banks's research shows that "the Unitarians, and particularly the more radical of their members, were highly responsive to the doctrine of women's rights. Evidence for this comes from the large number of early feminists who were Unitarians or came from a Unitarian background."<sup>37</sup>

Amelia Paton Hill described her childhood in idyllic terms:

I lived a very romantic life as a child . . . near the old city of Dunfermline. Our house, Wooer's Alley, was in the midst of lovely scenery, a very retired spot, embowered in trees, situated on the top of the hill, close to the Royal Palace of Dunfermline and the grey ruins of the Abbey. . . . I and my brothers and sisters were brought up very much alone, and allowed to roam about as we liked. . . . I was just a wild creature in those early days, climbing trees and playing quoits with my brother. I was passionately fond of outdoor life, of animals and plants.<sup>38</sup>

These rosy recollections, which were recorded when Amelia was seventy five years old, have a remarkable resonance with the childhood experienced by another sculptor, Harriet Hosmer. The only child to evade the tuberculosis that killed her mother and three siblings, Harriet was encouraged by her physician father to take up vigorous out-door exercise as a prophylactic against illness. She spent her days developing her skills as a markswoman with gun and bow, swimming in the river and moulding little creatures out of the clay found on its banks. Neighbours considered her to be an outspoken tomboy.<sup>39</sup>

The somewhat unconventional childhood enjoyed by Amelia, her two

younger brothers, Noel and Waller, Jemima, and at least one other sister is one manifestation of the free-spirited personality of their father (and perhaps their mother, as well). Joseph Neil was given to religious experimentation. Originally of a Presbyterian background, he embraced a succession of denominations from Methodism to Quakerism (about 1821) and Swedenborgianism, eventually choosing to invent his own religion. He was in his Quaker phase during Amelia's childhood, and she and her siblings were taught their early lessons by a Quaker governess who came to their home.<sup>40</sup>

It is uncertain whether Amelia and Jemima followed their brothers' later educational path to the Dunfermline school or continued on with instruction at home. Whatever the case, it is evident that Amelia had an inquiring mind and developed a broad grasp of the natural sciences as well as the liberal arts. She tells of constructing her "first aquarium" in the garden at Wooer's Alley out of "an old stone coffin" that was part of her "father's antiquarian collections." Her fascination with amphibians and reptiles continued throughout her life, as did her interest in antiquarian artifacts.<sup>41</sup>

Of far greater consequence was the all-consuming passion for creating visual art that Joseph Neil inculcated in three of his four children. As the elder son Noel recounts, he was all but compelled to become a painter. "The circumstances and surroundings of my boyhood made it all but impossible that I should be anything but an artist, my father's tendencies and pursuits being all in that direction."<sup>42</sup> Noel and Waller both became painters and members of the Royal Scottish Academy (RSA); Noel attained further honours, being named the Queen's Limner for Scotland in 1866 and knighted in 1867.<sup>43</sup> Amelia also tried

her hand at painting showing sufficient skill to have two portraits exhibited at the RSA in 1844 and to collaborate with Waller on the illustrations for an edition of Burns's works.<sup>44</sup>

The first fourteen years of Mary Thornycroft's life were spent in the rural community of Thornham in Norfolk where her father, John Francis, strove to develop his skill at carving sufficiently to leave the farming life and establish himself as a sculptor. In 1823 he took the family to London where he studied and worked as an assistant in the studios of two eminent sculptors, Francis Chantrey and Samuel Joseph.<sup>45</sup> Mary was the only one of his five children (Georgiana, Bessie, Charley, and one other daughter) who appears to have taken an interest in her father's art. Little is recorded about Charley, who as the only son might have been expected to carry on the family business, except that he died young; however, he is mentioned in a letter tentatively dated 1839.<sup>46</sup>

Commentaries on Mary's early artistic proclivities raise her to an almost legendary status. Frances Hays states that "[f]rom her earliest childhood she made strenuous efforts to imitate her father's works, and to put into form and shape the creatures which even then were teeming in her brain."<sup>47</sup> James Mackay asserts that she "was regarded as a child prodigy." The entry in the ironically titled Men of the Time gives a much fuller rendition of Mary's childhood training:

From an early age [Mary] sought her childish pleasures and amusements in his studio, and during the period of girlhood persevered, through all discouragement, in neglecting the ordinary round of feminine occupations to carry on her favourite experiments with the clay. This 'waste of time,' as it was then called, resulted in increasing manual facility, and about twenty years ago she became an exhibitor, sending heads and busts to the Royal Academy.<sup>48</sup>

While the first two descriptions might be suspected of formulaic adulation, this longer account has a certain ring of authenticity. It was written during the full bloom of Mary Thornycroft's career, whereas the notice by Hays was published eight years into her retirement and Mackay's piece was compiled in 1977.

Currency does not guarantee accuracy, but there is a notable similarity between this version of Mary's childhood and that of Elisabet Ney, a German sculptor of the same era. Ney's biography details how she hung about her father's stone-carving workshop, emulating his work and begging for instruction. This he provided covertly in opposition to her mother's wishes that she take up more conventional feminine pursuits. Both of Ney's parents initially opposed her request to study with the celebrated sculptor, Christian Daniel Rauch.<sup>49</sup> The discouragement attributed to Mary Thornycroft may also have taken the form of parental objections, perhaps especially from her mother. Mary's granddaughter notes that "Great Grandmother Francis threw John Francis's first bust out of the window," perhaps hinting that Mrs. Francis had an initial antipathy to her husband's mid-life career change.<sup>50</sup> Judging from Thomas Thornycroft's description of his first week as an apprentice, "when I had been here two or three days I was as much at home with Mr. Francis as if we had been acquainted for years . . . [they are] plain, sensible and good-hearted [displaying] nothing of the gay flightiness which people imagine so prevalent in London," the Francis family does not appear to have stood much on ceremony.<sup>51</sup> John Francis's easy-going disposition and the down-to-earth tenor of the family's life probably swung in Mary's favour.

Clearly, she overcame any initial resistance to her desire to sculpt and

took her place in the studio alongside John Francis's three apprenticed students: Joseph Durham, Thomas Thornycroft, and Matthew Noble. In company with them she learned all aspects of the sculpture business, both in the studio and around the table, where mealtime discussions about various aspects of the profession took place. Her training was well-advanced by 1835, when Thomas joined the family enterprise. She made her *début* at the Royal Academy exhibition that year with a bust of her father. During his final year (1839) as an apprentice, Thomas was required to hone his chiselling skills by carving from the designs of others, Mary's among them.<sup>52</sup>

In addition to the time spent in her father's studio, Mary was no doubt provided with an education in English and biblical literature, perhaps some instruction in Greco-Roman mythology (although likely not in the original languages), history, simple accounting, and music. All of these disciplines would have been essential to an aspiring artist who would be expected to produce ideal works based on historical and literary subjects and to manage business accounts. The polite accomplishments, such as singing and playing a musical instrument, would be necessary to equip her for the socializing requisite to attract sitters and buyers for her work.<sup>53</sup>

Whatever the difficulties faced by Mary Thornycroft in pursuing her desire to become a sculptor, they were far fewer than those that confronted most young women who aspired to such a career. As the daughter of a successful, well-connected artist, Mary had inestimable advantages over the three other women of this study. Until the 1870s, women who were serious about art training had very restricted access to the primary institutions of art education.

The Female School of Design made a basic education in art available to women from 1842 but its remit was narrowed after 1848, in step with a change for all government schools of design, to concentrate exclusively on training for manufacturing design. Middle-class women seeking art training were further discouraged from attending the Female School by its relocation to a neighbourhood of questionable propriety. Another move and a new name in 1852 (Female School of Art) rendered it a respectable institution at which young ladies could study drawing and painting, but without a life class.<sup>54</sup> Similarly, the National Art Training School (established 1857) at South Kensington admitted female students but its curriculum was aimed primarily at training designers and teachers of art.

The Royal Academy of Arts, which was chartered as a training and exhibiting venue for the production of art in Britain, had been founded in 1768 by decree of George III. Among the charter members were Mary Moser and Angelica Kaufmann, both esteemed painters. Although the by-laws of 1797 "expressly contemplate the election of 'Female' Academicians" a reprinted version of 1815 omitted all "allusion to Female Academicians," the result of which was a customary exclusion of women from membership and entry into the Schools. This was despite the fact that the Schools were "free to all students qualified for admission to the same." A campaign mounted by concerned women (including Mary Thornycroft) to convince the Royal Academy Schools to admit qualified female students culminated in the acceptance of Laura Hereford in 1860. Some subterfuge was employed (her portfolio was submitted under the name L. Hereford causing the Academicians to assume she was male) and the

number of women permitted to study there was sharply delimited. By 1864 the Royal Academy threatened to exclude women yet again, claiming insufficient space to accommodate them properly.<sup>55</sup>

Private art schools in London, such as Sass's, Cary's, Heatherly's, and Dickinson's (later Leigh's) accepted female students during the 1840s offering them an uneven quality of instruction. With the advent of the Slade School of Art in 1871 women resident in London finally had untrammelled access to high quality fine art training.<sup>56</sup>

Scottish women fared a little better than their English sisters yet they too had to make do with instruction that was intermittent or intended for industrial design purposes. In Edinburgh, the Trustees' Academy was founded (1760) by a Scottish government body for the purpose of improving textile design. Its initial purview was to provide a "drawing school in which young people 'of both sexes' were to be trained to design for manufacturers." However, the Academy quickly became something of an all-purpose institution for art training, providing tuition to design and fine arts students alike. Its original commitment to include women was honoured only in part as no regular classes in fine art were provided for female students, although some ad hoc arrangements were granted in the early years of its operation. In 1854 David Octavius Hill, Secretary of the Royal Scottish Academy, sent a letter to the Board of Trustees applauding its late decision to offer classes to women and indicating the RSA's willingness to make space available for the venture, as requested.<sup>57</sup>

Different circumstances obtained in Glasgow. In keeping with directives from the Department of Practical Art, the Glasgow School of Art (established in

1845 as the Government School of Design ) began to offer ladies' day classes in 1852. However, the instruction provided was calculated to produce ornamental artists rather than fine art painters or sculptors. Most of the middle-class women who attended these classes had no intention of pursuing design careers but, given the dearth of options, they accepted inadequate training as better than none at all.

Articles written during the nineteenth century comment on the high proportion of female artists with a professional artist in the family background.

Sarah Tytler observes:

in proof of the difficulty which the technicalities of art must present to women, that of all the women painters whom I have chronicled, I am not aware of one . . . who did not overcome the difficulty, by the advantage of an early familiarity with art, from having been the daughter of a painter, or, at least, of an engraver.<sup>58</sup>

Writing in 1859, E. Ellet goes so far as to assert that,

In most instances, women have been led to the cultivation of art through the choice of parents or brothers. While nothing has been more common than to see young men embrace the profession against the wishes of their families and in the face of difficulties, the example of a woman thus deciding for herself is extremely rare.<sup>59</sup>

While Tytler's statement has some credence with regard to Thornycroft, Grant and Hill, Ellet's assumption is not borne out in the experience of any of the four sculptors. To the contrary, the three women who came from artistic families were discouraged from their aim to sculpt professionally. Durant, alone, appears to have had the support of her family from an early age. Parental opposition could be expressed in the absolute refusal to countenance a daughter's request



or, as in the case of Hilary Bonham-Carter, through a type of passive resistance. Bonham-Carter's desire to become a sculptor was effectively sidelined by the weight of minor family duties that devolved upon a spinster daughter.<sup>60</sup>

There are various reasons for family opposition to a sculpting career. The concern over losing caste was voiced with some regularity. Middle-class women were deemed to lower themselves in the eyes of society by taking on paid employment except in circumstances of pecuniary necessity.<sup>61</sup> A family with status anxieties would find it hard to allow a daughter to work at any paid profession.

'Unsexing' was a parallel issue. If a lady took up an activity that put her in the public eye and required her to compete with men, she was said to unsex herself.<sup>62</sup> As late as the 1880s, warnings against this peril were issued. An article opposing the restriction on occupations for women states that: "There is a growing tendency now-a-days for women to unsex themselves--that is, to crowd into occupations which have up to late years been occupied exclusively by men."<sup>63</sup> Indeed, independent action of any sort threatened to undermine the presumed purity of the domestic woman upon whom depended the moral tone of the middle classes. Even at the level of the palace, qualms of this kind were voiced. Queen Victoria vehemently opposed the "mad and utterly demoralizing movement of the present day to place women in the same position as to profession--as men." To those who would point to her as the usurper of a male role came the reply: "The Queen is a woman herself--& knows what an anomaly her own position is--but that can be reconciled with reason & propriety tho' it is a terribly difficult and trying one."<sup>64</sup> When Princess Louise first asked for

sculpting lessons, the Queen is said to have demurred because it was considered a "less suitable hobby for a young girl than painting pretty sketches."<sup>65</sup> However, such a view was inconsistent with Victoria's practice of regularly employing Durant and Thornycroft on personal commissions; ultimately the princess received sculpting lessons from both women.

For some families, the cost of tuition and materials for sculpting would have been a deterrent. Given the dearth of publicly funded art education facilities open to women, private lessons in the atelier of an established sculptor would have been necessary. Unlike painting, sculpting involved a workshop of specialist assistants to cast the artist's clay model in plaster and transfer the resultant template into stone or bronze. Even if the original modelling in clay could be done in the family drawing room, it was essential to have access to a studio to bring a work to completion. Although works might be shown in terra cotta or plaster, it was customary to finish them in marble or bronze, both of which were expensive media. Harriet Hosmer's father was not opposed to her ambition to sculpt but he was hard pressed to finance her move to Rome to study with John Gibson. A family friend, Wayman Crow, became Hosmer's patron, helping her to gain access to the anatomy classes at the St. Louis Medical College and buying her works before she had made a name for herself.<sup>66</sup> Similarly, Thomas Thornycroft was supported by his patron, W.B. Dickinson, who paid his apprenticeship fees.<sup>67</sup>

It was not always a parent who objected to a young woman's ambitions. Amelia Paton Hill's brother, Noel, attempted to dissuade her from sculpting, possibly from motives of envy.<sup>68</sup> In addition to his success at painting, he sought

to make his mark as a sculptor at the urging of John Steell (Sculptor in Ordinary to HM Queen for Scotland) and D.O.Hill (latterly his brother-in-law).<sup>69</sup> He made various bids to produce sculpted monuments for Edinburgh, all of which were rejected. Aside from obtaining some commissions for "small-scale medallions and reliefs," he never succeeded in establishing himself in what he "regarded as his true vocation." A brief biographical note judges his sculpture as "more notable for design than for searching execution."<sup>70</sup> By contrast, Amelia won several significant public commissions such as the Burns monument at Dumfries (1882), three figures for the Scott Monument (1875), and the statue of David Livingstone (1875-76), both in Edinburgh.

Even though Amelia's parents do not appear to have actively opposed her interests, they did little to encourage them. In reply to Sarah Tooley's question about when she began to study art, Amelia produced a miniature portrait of her mother, saying:

This was the first thing I ever drew, and I had had no previous training beyond the fact that all my life I had been accustomed to see my father sketching, and my brother Noel too. But in those days it was not thought necessary to give girls special training, so I had no tuition in drawing and painting. It was when I was twelve years old that I determined to try and paint a miniature of my dear mother.<sup>71</sup>

Tooley comments in a much later article that this "was a wonderful piece of work for a child who had had no teaching. [Yet] even this did not induce her parents to have her trained as an artist."<sup>72</sup> One is reminded of Hilary Bonham-Carter's experience. Another writer who was a long-time friend of the Paton family notes that Amelia was much occupied with drawing "small head studies in pencil,

occasionally to serve as models in some of her brother's compositions."<sup>73</sup> The details of her earliest efforts at sculpting as told by these two journalists are somewhat conflicting. According to Sarah Tooley, Amelia's "ambition took a bolder flight, and she began to model in clay. Her first tools were an ivory crochet-needle and a knife. Eventually she borrowed some better tools from a plasterer."<sup>74</sup> Mrs. Sharp's account suggests that although family members may have been complacent about Amelia's artistic efforts, others were not.

A friend, realizing her possibilities, gave her some wax and a modeling [sic] tool, and she began to model little portrait heads in relief and in the round. Despite the fact that in those days women who aspired to a profession were frowned upon, this woman-artist persevered and trained herself in the handling of clay, and in due course became known in Scotland as a Portrait-sculptor.<sup>75</sup>

It is entirely possible that both versions of the story are accurate. At least three of her extant works, medium-relief portrait medallions of the artist, D.O.Hill and Sir Noel Paton, are in wax and there is the likelihood that a portrait of Richard Irven of New York is also in that medium.<sup>76</sup> Modelling-quality clay occurs naturally along riverbanks and at the seaside. As Dunfermline is approximately three miles from the Forth estuary, Amelia could have collected clay during visits to the beach. The "handling of clay" itself required more skill than is immediately apparent. Thomas Thornycroft explained to his patron that "strange as it may appear there is an art in handling of the clay; an experienced artist will model with very soft clay which greatly assists him in giving a soft fleshiness to his model but it sticks to the fingers of a novice in every touch he attempts and he continually gets his hand clogged with it."<sup>77</sup>

The tools with which Amelia worked the clay are common household items that could be made to serve her artistic purposes. It is ironic that she chose a crochet hook--which has strong associations with the ladylike pursuit of needlework--to shape messy, wet clay. Moreover, it was not a crochet hook made of steel, but of the luxury material of ivory. Thus, this implement connotes both gender and status--a significance that would not have been lost on Sarah Tooley whose other articles in the "Notable Victorians" series included women who had challenged the status quo through work for the abolition of slavery, women's suffrage, and repeal of the Contagious Diseases (CD) Acts.<sup>78</sup> Mrs. Sharp's comments that "women who aspired to a profession were frowned upon" and that this "woman-artist persevered" accord with the symbolism of the crochet hook-cum-modelling tool; she employs the unusually hyphenated term woman-artist to signify the uneasy collocation of Victorian expectations of genteel womanhood with the unconventional adoption of a male-identified occupation.

Nevertheless, these portrayals of Amelia Paton Hill as a self-taught artist must not be taken as uncomplicated presentations of the facts. When Tooley wrote her article of 1895, Amelia was long retired from an active career that began with her exhibition of two portraits at the RSA in 1844 and concluded, in 1882, with the installation of her monument to Burns at Dumfries. Yet, this appears to have been the first lengthy biographical notice published about her. The brief entry in Mrs. Tytler's *Modern Painters and their Paintings* (1874) does state that "Mrs. Hill has mastered great difficulties in becoming a sculptor in established practice."<sup>79</sup> Furthermore, the Tooley interview is the

unacknowledged source of much of the information contained in Gifford's memorial to the Paton family published in 1903. Given these circumstances, Amelia probably seized this interview as a opportunity to immortalize herself in print. Representing herself as an untutored artist would have served at least two purposes: to highlight the difficulties faced by middle-class women who chose to become sculptors and to indicate just how great her talent was in overcoming these difficulties. It might also have been invoked to explain the delayed flowering of her career. Significantly, there is no mention made of any subsequent training in these or any other documents of the time. And, while the 1993 booklet that accompanied an exhibition of works by the Paton family speculates that she received some instruction after her marriage, possibly in "the studio of a sculptor such as William Brodie," it provides little data to substantiate this allegation.<sup>80</sup>

Mary Grant and Susan Durant followed the pattern of many other women artists who arranged to learn their profession in the studios of Continental artists who were willing to teach female students. Although this type of training arrangement undoubtedly enabled women to overcome their exclusion from the Royal Academy Schools, it was by no means exclusive to them. As we have seen, John Francis had three male students in his workshop during the 1830s and other studios accommodated student-assistants.<sup>81</sup> John Gibson's workshop in Rome was one such venue that attracted numerous young women who aspired to sculpt. Beginning with Harriet Hosmer in 1852, Gibson taught a steady stream of American women: Emma Stebbins (arrived 1857), Margaret Foley (1861), and Edmonia Lewis (1865). In company with Vinnie Ream and Louisa Lander these

women were facetiously referred to as the "white marmorean flock," by Henry James.<sup>82</sup> Among Gibson's British pupils were Mary Lloyd and (perhaps) Mary Grant. Lloyd, the lifelong companion of the noted feminist Frances Power Cobbe, studied under Gibson during the 1860s and nursed him through his final brief illness, attending at his deathbed in 1869.<sup>83</sup>

Himself a student of Bertel Thorvaldsen and Antonio Canova, two of the most revered sculptors of the early nineteenth century, Gibson was held to be among the first rank of British sculptors. "A Roman education for ten years under the tuition of a great master" was imperative, in Gibson's estimation. "I do not believe it possible to become great without such advantages. Sculpture is a most difficult and fastidious art which must combine refinement of taste, beauty of form, and purity of style. The greatest sculptors of this age have studied at Rome."<sup>84</sup> Under his tutelage, students not only learned the refined techniques of his elegant neoclassicism but also received the benefit of contact with other famous sculptors and introductions to powerful patrons.

Despite their obvious engagement in collecting and producing art, Mary Grant's family were said to be "quite horrified" when they learned of her intention to make sculpting her profession and "implored her to desist from attempting anything so eccentric."<sup>85</sup> However, she persevered in her plans, perhaps assisted by her uncle, Sir Francis Grant, a painter who later became the President of the Royal Academy of Arts. In a speech given at the Female School of Art in 1866 Sir Francis made his somewhat qualified support of women's art aspirations plain.

For my own part I have always been a warm advocate of the

admission of lady students to the Royal Academy, and I hope they will always enjoy the same privileges as the male students. . . . but while I shall ever be the advocate of an open field, fair play, and no favour, I trust the result will be better art, and a friendly, peaceable, and even affectionate rivalry.<sup>86</sup>

An obituary notice in the London Times indicates that Mary Grant studied under a series of sculptors including John Gibson. However, there is some question about the accuracy of this particular claim. Gibson's name appears in but two of several obituary notices and biographical dictionary entries about Grant, the second of which borrows blatantly from the Times.<sup>87</sup> Gibson's biographers make no reference to her.<sup>88</sup>

Similar difficulties arise with regard to two of the other sculptors who are listed as Grant's instructors. A feature article in the Ladies' Field (1899) states that she studied at first with Fantachiotti in Florence, followed by Merier [sic] in Paris, finally ending up in the London studio of Foley who invited her to complete her training with him on the strength of a portrait bust she had shown in the Royal Academy. In the Thieme-Becker and Clement dictionary entries all names but Foley's are omitted although studies in "Paris and Florence" are recorded.<sup>89</sup> Fantachiotti does not appear in other reference works and her instructor in Paris is variously identified as Merier, Mercier and Mercié. The first version of this name appears to be a typographical error but the latter two identify sculptors working in Paris. Michel Louis Victor Mercier was an established sculptor by the 1860s when Grant is purported to have begun formal sculpting instruction.<sup>90</sup> Born in 1845, Marius-Jean-Antonin Mercié was too young to be her teacher.<sup>91</sup>

John Henry Foley's contribution to Grant's art education appears to be



uncontroversial. He conducted a very successful career in London from 1839 to c.1870, taking on several students over the years. When Mary Thornycroft's children Helen, Alyce and Hamo required a Royal Academician to sponsor their applications to study sculpture at the RA Schools, Foley supplied the need. Undoubtedly, an invitation to join his workshop would have been a considerable compliment to Grant's abilities. He clearly had no difficulty with women taking up sculpting as a career and apparently enjoyed a positive rapport with Susan Durant who made a favourable passing comment about him in a letter.<sup>92</sup>

Susan Durant, whose family apparently had no direct connections with art production, seems to have encountered little or no opposition to her desire to become a sculptor. There is not much information about her childhood or adolescence to be had. An obituary notice written by her journalist friend Cornelia Augusta Hewitt Crosse provides a glimpse of her early interest in sculpture. While "travelling as a young girl with her parents in Italy . . . [Susan] first developed a taste for sculpture, brought forth doubtless by a sight of the galleries and studios of Rome, where the family sojourned for a winter. [There] she studied simply as an amateur."<sup>93</sup> Her family presumably made arrangements for her to take lessons from one of the sculptors whose studios they had visited. As a result of this early experimentation, Durant's enjoyment of sculpting deepened to the extent that she could no longer justify the expense of pursuing it as a hobby and "announced her intention of devoting herself to the work professionally."<sup>94</sup> To achieve this aim, she obtained further training at "the School of Art" where she received a prize conferred by the Prince Consort.<sup>95</sup>

Unfortunately, Emma Wallis's journal is not precise about which art

school Durant attended, or when. However, the Prince's involvement suggests that this was one of the government-sponsored art training centres at which annual awards ceremonies were held. Since Durant made her *début* at the Royal Academy exhibition of 1847, at age nineteen, her art school instruction probably took place sometime between about 1842 and 1848. The only government school that would admit young ladies during this period was the Female School of Design, which opened its doors in October 1842. Despite the government's emphasis on training workers for the art manufacturing sector, the first Superintendent of the Female School offered a diverse enough curriculum to attract middle-class women seeking an education in fine art. For a brief spell, from 1848 to 1852, a change in policy and location made the Female School a less desirable environment for women of Durant's social standing. However, after that period, deliberate efforts were made to induce middle-class women to return.<sup>96</sup> Taking the Thornycroft daughters' experiences of art education as a guideline, it is probable that Durant began her art school studies at age seventeen or eighteen.<sup>97</sup>

Training at the Female School of Design would have given Durant good preparation in drawing, but there was no access to a life class in which artists could learn to draw the undraped figure. It was essential that she find a sculptor willing to give her further studio instruction. By 1856, if not considerably earlier, Durant was studying in the workshop of Baron Henri de Triqueti (c.1802-1874), a Paris-based sculptor favoured by duc Louis-Philippe d'Orléans (the July Monarch) and noted for his experimentation with polychrome inlay and mixed media works.<sup>98</sup> It is difficult to determine how long she remained a student

there because she maintained a close relationship with Triqueti, sometimes working as a guest in his studio, sometimes collaborating on large commissions with him, until her death at his home in 1873. Moreover, even in 1857 she used her home in London to display her works to patrons such as Moses and Lady Montefiore, who came to see a bust they had commissioned.<sup>99</sup>

The number of years spent in studio training varied considerably from Thomas Thornycroft's four-year apprenticeship to Gibson's recommended period of ten years; Robin Lee Woodward's research indicates that sculptors usually spent between six and ten years as pupils.<sup>100</sup> In August 1863 Triqueti, maybe partly in jest, referred to "H. de Triqueti and Co." under which appears Durant's formal signature, signalling perhaps that Susan had completed her studies and was employed as a studio assistant.<sup>101</sup> Correspondence from 1864 indicates that Durant had an independent studio equipped with facilities for sitters and large enough to require at least one assistant.<sup>102</sup>

Having discussed how the female sculptors' families influenced their choice of career, we will now examine how they affected the course of those careers.

In spite of his opposition to Amelia's adoption of the sculpting profession, Noel Paton facilitated her pursuit of it by taking her to live with him and his bride when they moved to Edinburgh in c.1859. Their residence at 33 George Square was well chosen to accommodate the needs of ambitious artists. It was centrally located--less than a mile from the Royal Scottish Academy to which Noel had been elected in 1850--yet it boasted the ambience of a leafy suburb. More than a dwelling place, the residence was equipped with studio space

enough to accommodate both Noel and Amelia.<sup>103</sup> Their brother Waller also had a house in the square. The move to Edinburgh broadened the social and professional horizons of each of the Patons. In Amelia's case, this was an opportunity that she could not have taken advantage of on her own. Being single and lacking a steady income, she was heavily dependent on family support.

Through living with her brother's family, Amelia was afforded excellent opportunities to meet, receive, and cultivate potential sitters and patrons from among the literary and academic circles entertained at the Paton family home. Her active exhibiting career dates from this period.<sup>104</sup>

This pattern of assisting the careers of family members can be seen at various junctures. Patricia de Montfort suggests that the Patons shared patrons amongst themselves. For instance, Joseph Neil Paton produced some damask designs by J.E.H.Wemyss, M.P. and Lord Lieutenant of Fife, in 1862 and in 1865 Amelia made a posthumous bust of him.<sup>105</sup> More mundane help was also given. Noel is credited with providing the materials for one of Amelia's earliest efforts at modelling, an idealized bust of the poet Shelley. He also acted as a catalyst to her artistic progress. In reply to her claim that she could produce a better bust of Shelley than had Mrs. Leigh Hunt he retorted: "I daresay you have audacity enough to try."<sup>106</sup> This type of badinage tells of a friendly, productive rivalry between brother and sister. Amelia's collaboration with Waller on the illustrations for Burns's work, already mentioned, is another example of family cooperation.

Family members could contribute substantially to a sculptor's oeuvre.

Amelia's little nieces and nephews lent themselves as sitters for portraits that made their way to the annual exhibitions. Diarmid, Noel's son, appeared on a medallion at the RSA (1863) and GI (1866) and as a marble bust at the RSA (1866); Maud Roxburgh, her sister's daughter, was rendered as a sketch model titled *Wee Owllet* and shown at the RSA (1866) and as a finished statuette at the RSA (1871). Portraits of her brother Noel, which allowed her to capitalize on his reputation, were shown several times at the RSA, RA, and GI.<sup>107</sup>

Susan Durant's immediate and extended family were as accommodating of her career as they had been of her training. Little is known of her mother, Mary, who died sometime between December 1860 and 1863. How supportive she was of her daughter's unusual occupation is open to speculation. Certainly, she is presented as a positive force in Susan's life, providing "devoted and intellectual aid" for which Susan "felt she owed much."<sup>108</sup> A passing reference indicates that she acted in the capacity of a social secretary, keeping Susan abreast of who came calling for her while she was away working in Paris.<sup>109</sup> On the surface, at least, this appears to be a relatively unproblematic relationship, neither threatened by nor threatening to an ambitious daughter.

George Durant took a relaxed role in Susan's life, apparently interfering only when he was concerned about her immediate financial standing. A letter from Potsdam, where she was doing work for Queen Victoria and the Crown Princess of Prussia, replies to a question about her income:

There are some things you know better than money and that money will not buy. So we must not be too eager to realize the profits of this expedition L.S.D. [pounds, sterling, pence]. Besides you know that it is not the custom even with Princes to pay beforehand. By the end of the year I hope to pay a pretty little sum into Union Bank--

but at present it is all drawing out.<sup>110</sup>

Another letter indicates how various bills were to be handled. "It is all right about [Hindley's] bill, that goes to my account with Mr. de Triqueti."<sup>111</sup> It is not surprising that George, a retired silk broker, would have been anxious about his daughter's financial acumen. His own business skills would have been forged at a time when there was an increasing emphasis on regularized systems of accounting and his presumed religious background would have instilled a heightened sense of ethical responsibility in financial dealings.<sup>112</sup> Furthermore, although daughters traditionally were taught how to manage household accounts, they would have had little experience in the more sophisticated dealings of business. Susan's proficiency in this area appears rather weak, as evidenced by complaints from the Keeper of the Privy Purse.<sup>113</sup> Her answers to her father's queries about money imply that he was attempting to coach her in this aspect of her work. It also may be at his prompting that she took the step of preparing a will at the same time as he drafted his own.<sup>114</sup>

Another very important way in which George facilitated Susan's career was by being on hand to oversee the running of her London studio during her work-related absences. Several letters from Susan contain instructions to be relayed to studio workmen through her father who also fulfilled the role of a studio tour guide, taking customers to see work they had commissioned.<sup>115</sup> A less tangible, but absolutely invaluable, service that he provided was to be a sounding-board for his remarkable daughter. She could boast to him of her achievements with impunity and never be thought immodest.<sup>116</sup>

Members of Durant's extended family, especially her Uncle Richard

Durant, were instrumental in forwarding her work. As we noted earlier, she shared a similar energetic disposition with her uncle that prompted her cousin Elizabeth "to admire her talent more than I might otherwise have done." Susan visited her uncle and cousins at Sharpham where she was apparently introduced to potential clients among the county notables. The Brookings, who were "great friend[s] of my Uncle Richard's family," engaged Durant to sculpt a portrait group of their children. At the time of drafting of her first will, Susan asked Richard Durant to serve as her executor.<sup>117</sup> Although this is probably her cousin Richard, it is clear that she reposed considerable trust in the Sharpham family, for with this office she entrusted to him the duty of dispersing the works in her studio after her death. Another cousin, Sanford Hodgson, did his part by bringing interested members of his acquaintance around to Susan's studio.<sup>118</sup>

Susan's only sibling, Mary Ann, is a shadowy figure to whom Susan made the gift of a shawl and bequeathed £1,000 of her estate. Like Susan, she remained a spinster but, unlike her, appears to have been a somewhat pitiable individual. In a letter from Potsdam Susan sent love and birthday remembrances to "poor Mary Ann" urging her father to visit her.<sup>119</sup>

Perhaps the most important ally in Mary Grant's family was her uncle, Sir Francis Grant. As a successful portrait painter and the President of the Royal Academy he could offer his niece an almost unparalleled entrée into the Victorian art world. Mary's decision to establish her career in London, rather than in her native Scotland, was no doubt heavily influenced by this factor. There certainly is good reason to believe that Sir Francis lent some of the benefits of his position to enhance Mary's visibility as a sculptor. In 1866, the year of his

elevation to the post of President of the Royal Academy, Mary made her *début* at the RA Exhibition with a bust of her illustrious uncle. Several plaster copies of Grant's portrait were made subsequently and the marble version was presented to the Royal Academy by the sculptor in 1876. Her uncle's service to this institution ensured that Mary Grant's bust would be displayed; it was noted at the time of her death that "her bust of Sir Francis Grant is one of the few works by women owned by the Royal Academy."<sup>120</sup>

Mary's aunt, Lady Augusta Stanley (née Bruce), was also in a position to promote her niece's sculpting career. As a former lady-in-waiting to the Duchess of Kent and one of the women of the bedchamber to Queen Victoria from 1861 to her death in 1876, Lady Augusta was well-placed to bring Mary's work to the attention of the royal family and members of the court. She and her husband, the Dean of Windsor (married 1863), were known to be great favourites of Queen Victoria. She may have been instrumental in arranging for Mary to have sittings from the Queen for a colossal bust that was commissioned by the Rajah of Kappurtala in c.1869.<sup>121</sup>

However much she may have assisted Mary in life, Lady Augusta also served her career in death. Mary made several posthumous busts of her kinswoman, among them a reduced version in ivory and a larger one in alabaster, the latter of which was purchased by a sorrowing Queen Victoria for her personal collection.<sup>122</sup> There appears to have been a considerable call for these portraits--a demand which Mary Grant was prepared to fill by making available copies of the bust at £5 for the larger ones and £3 for the smaller ones. What could be construed today as a calculating exploitation of her Aunt's



celebrity does not seem to have been thought untoward at the time. Clearly it did not strike Dean Stanley as an abuse of his beloved wife's memory, as he commissioned Mary to make a monument to her; this is located in Dunfermline Abbey alongside the other memorials to the Bruce family.<sup>123</sup> In 1884 Mary received a royal commission for a memorial portrait medallion of Dean Stanley to be placed in the St. George Chapel at Windsor Castle; a bronze replica of this is located in St.Giles Cathedral, Edinburgh.<sup>124</sup>

The Rajah of Kappurtala commissioned at least two busts from Mary Grant: the oversize bust of Queen Victoria (1870) and a posthumous portrait of Charles John Canning, Earl Canning (1871). It is possible that she received an introduction to this patron either through her uncle James Bruce, eighth Earl of Elgin and Viceroy of India (1862-63), or her brother Robert Henry Grant who was in the service of this uncle in India.<sup>125</sup>

Various members of Mary's extended family sat for portraits which she executed in marble. These may have been displayed in her studio as samples of her work; many of them were exhibited at the Royal Academy and the RSA in hopes of attracting buyers and additional commissions. Each of these sitters not only provided Mary with images to display, they also lent the prestige of their upper-class names, tacitly endorsing her work to their peers and parvenu inferiors.<sup>126</sup>

Toward the end of her career, Mary received practical support from her sister Charlotte and her cousin Isa Geary. Both women lived in London where they were members of Anglican sisterhoods. Very likely they acted as amanuenses when Mary was suffering the after-effects of a stroke that made

letter-writing nearly impossible. Although she was no longer able to sculpt, Mary needed to find buyers for unsold works. In Scotland, her cousin Lord Elgin interceded on her behalf with the members of a trust founded by Andrew Carnegie to provide a monument to Queen Margaret for Dunfermline. Unfortunately, his best efforts failed to win her the commission.<sup>127</sup>

A final indication of her family's attitude to Mary's professional life can be inferred from the fact that tools presumed to have been used by Mary were preserved along with her portraits. These are not very prepossessing items, being constructed of simply-fashioned metal blades or loops fitted to spare wooden handles. Yet, they are more than mere items of family nostalgia--they are the tools of a 'trade' plied by a gentlewoman who challenged the conventions of her class and succeeded.<sup>128</sup>

Mary Thornycroft continued to receive practical support from her family after she had left home and was pursuing a career alongside her husband. John Francis took care of the Thornycrofts' banking arrangements while they were in Rome and looked for ways to sell Mary's work. "[If you would] send the Sappho . . . I would shew it to the Queen, and if she did not purchase it I could then exhibit it."<sup>129</sup>

## MARITAL FAMILIES

Before considering the effects of marriage, it will be useful to examine the impact of spinsterhood upon the careers of female sculptors. Fifty per cent of the focus group of this study were lifelong spinsters; if the women who had successful careers in Europe and America during the mid-nineteenth century are

taken into account, the figure rises to eighty per cent.<sup>130</sup> The restrictions imposed upon married British women by the laws of coverture have been outlined earlier in this chapter; American laws were remarkably similar.<sup>131</sup> A woman free to make contracts and dispose of her own income at will was able to exert much more control over her career than one encumbered by the need to involve her husband in such transactions. Furthermore, spinsterhood usually spared female sculptors the responsibilities of child-bearing and rearing that consumed so much time and energy. Harriet Hosmer's oft-quoted views on marriage and career are worth repeating:

I am the only faithful worshipper of celibacy and her service becomes more fascinating the longer I remain in it--even if so inclined, an artist has no business to be married--for a man, it is well enough, but for a woman, on whom matrimonial duties and cares weigh more heavily, it is a great moral wrong, I think, for she must either neglect her profession or her family, becoming neither a good wife and mother nor a good artist. My ambition is to become the latter, so I wage an eternal feud with the consolidating knot.<sup>132</sup>

Susan Durant betrays similar sentiments in a joking comment to her friend Emma Wallis. "Tell Mr. Wallis I am very proud of my wedding present which I consider the dessert service [a housewarming gift] to be and am saucy enough to think I have the best of it, being minus the husband!"<sup>133</sup> Notwithstanding her dismissal of marriage, there is compelling evidence that Durant became a mother three years before she died, although she did not openly acknowledge the birth and she made arrangements for her son to live with her friend Dr. Elizabeth Blackwell.<sup>134</sup> Hosmer's progeny were of the ideal type--she described her sculptures as "children"--completing the picture of a woman wedded to her

career.<sup>135</sup>

Aside from the legal and domestic constraints faced by married women, there was the difficulty of being overshadowed by a husband's reputation.

Writer Ann Richelieu Lamb stated it thus:

The unmarried woman is ~~somebody~~; the married, nobody! The former shines in her own light; the latter is only a faint reflection of her husband's, in whom both law and public opinion suppose her 'to be lost' . . . Surely the state of the much-ridiculed spinster is better than this very equivocal position; in which is a great risk of losing our identity.<sup>136</sup>

One of the drawbacks of spinsterhood which has particular poignancy with regard to women who worked so hard to achieve success is that "spinsters were the women most rapidly relegated to family and historical obscurity." Even though Durant's and Grant's achievements are recorded in dictionaries of artists and their major commissions still stand in public places, they are largely forgotten. What letters remain of a lifetime's correspondence are those few kept by a couple of devoted friends, a small hoard left behind by a proud father, and those recorded in Mary Grant's journal and letterbook. "Family papers were generally kept by the husband or sons of the married woman, and most spinsters emerge only as occasional shadows in the background of their more fortunate married sisters' correspondence."<sup>137</sup>

The life-stories of women, who, like Mary Thornycroft married and had children, are better preserved than those of spinsters. Men's lives are more fully documented than either. A telling comparison can be made between the way in which Thomas Thornycroft's memory has been preserved and the treatment of

Susan Durant. Although archives hold a similar number of letters for each (just over 200 for Durant; 185 for T.Thornycroft), Thomas Thornycroft is the subject of a biography while Durant's life-story has never been told. The portrayal of Thomas Thornycroft, written by his granddaughter, reveals a man who never quite realized his potential as a sculptor, largely because he lacked concentrated ambition. Durant, who appears to have lacked neither ambition nor skill, had the misfortune to die just as her career was flourishing. Yet she was no less worthy of remembrance than was Thomas.

Sir Henry Paul Harvey, Durant's out-of-wedlock son, barely knew his mother, who died two months after his third birthday; by age four he was orphaned. Had Durant been married, he would have grown up among her extended family from whom he might have learned more about his illustrious mother. Under the circumstances Paul had no access to such information and would have been stigmatized for revealing his relationship to Durant. Nevertheless, he did endeavour to commemorate her by donating a collection of her bronze and gold reductions of the Windsor medallions to the National Portrait Gallery, and by naming his only child after her. But these, like her works themselves, are mute memorials.<sup>138</sup>

Mary Grant made a deliberate attempt to preserve her memory for posterity in the form a detailed diary and letterbook which records the salient features of her family life, religious faith, and career activities. In addition, there are a small number of her papers and letters that were preserved by her friend Bishop Grafton. On at least two occasions she seriously contemplated marriage. In the first instance her romantic ardour was unrequited but in the second she

apparently feared that her career would be compromised and chose to remain single.<sup>139</sup>

A tantalizing quote attributed to Mary's nephew, Colonel Patrick Grant, appears in McEwan's *Dictionary of Scottish Art*. "Mary Grant was a pioneer-- amongst women to take up sculpting professionally, and to set up a studio of her own. In 1879 she was asked by the Prince of Wales to represent British Art [sic] at the Paris Exhibition. . . . Many persons of note frequented her salon in Tite Street, Chelsea."<sup>140</sup> Unfortunately, there is no indication where this quote was obtained but it hints that Col. Grant (now deceased) may have contemplated writing something more substantial about his aunt. Despite Mary's determined efforts and her nephew's obvious admiration, her life story was largely forgotten.

Many contemporaries of Susan Durant and Mary Grant preferred to remain single. Mary Lloyd, as we have seen, became a lifelong companion to Frances Power Cobbe; Dr. Elizabeth Blackwell and her four sisters also chose careers over husbands.<sup>141</sup> For the majority of the female sculptors it seems that marriage was deemed a hindrance to the pursuit of a career. They chose instead to confront the stigma attached to spinsterhood and took great satisfaction in their work.

Both Mary Thornycroft and Amelia Paton Hill contracted what may be described as thoroughly companionate marriages. In each case, "the central fact of marriage was parity and partnership between husband and wife" characterized by "the sharing of both affection and work."<sup>142</sup> Marriage to a fellow artist helped to ensure that the woman's career would continue. In the Thornycroft household, Mary's career provided the primary source of family

income during the early years and she continued to be a consistent earner through commissions from the Queen.<sup>143</sup> It was not merely the obvious economic advantage that induced Thomas to support Mary's career. He had never known her as anything but a fellow sculptor from the days in her father's workshop. Letters sent to Mary and received from his benefactor, W.B. Dickinson, indicate his admiration for Mary's works and his contribution to their completion as an apprentice refining his carving skills.<sup>144</sup> Although he has been suspected of professional jealousy at times, he could also glory in Mary's successes unreservedly. "The praises of your name were echoing in the remotest corners of the Island--when the trumpet-tongued genius of Fame was employed in honouring you. I rejoice at the prosperity of ladies and especially at your prosperity."<sup>145</sup> She, in turn, assisted him with his works, keeping a clay model moist during his absence, ensuring that a plaster cast was clean after shipping.<sup>146</sup>

Within a year of the completion of his training they were married. Their first child, Ann, was born in 1841. Neither Mary nor Thomas assumed that motherhood would mean the curtailment of her sculpting work. In a letter from the Isle of Wight, where Mary and the baby were staying with her brother-in-law, Isaac Thornycroft informs Thomas that: "Mary intends making a bust of her daughter's uncle Isaac. . . . she can get clay from Newport. . . . She therefore wishes thee to send by post 2 or 3 small tools. A large rough tool we must manufacture here."<sup>147</sup> Presumably, Thomas complied with the request. Certainly, he did not hesitate to set off for Rome in November 1842 with a heavily pregnant wife, although they did leave little Ann with her paternal grandmother. Not long after their arrival in Rome Thomas assisted with the

unexpectedly early birth of their son John. Prior to her confinement, Mary had produced the model of ~~Sappho~~ and made the acquaintance of John Gibson.<sup>148</sup>

Other references in the Thornycroft archive indicate that she worked right through her pregnancies--stopping just two days before going into labour, in one instance. Between 1841 and 1853 Mary bore seven children and exhibited at the RA and BI nine times, sometimes showing more than one piece in a year. The works listed in the exhibition catalogues include some of the items commissioned by Queen Victoria who kept Mary exceedingly busy by requesting multiple versions of particular pieces. McCracken claims that in 1846 alone Mary executed seven sculptures for the Queen.<sup>149</sup>

In order to fulfill these and other outside commissions, Mary and Thomas had to work as a team. In a letter to Dickinson Thomas explained their division of labour:

HRH Prince Albert has commissioned Mrs. Thornycroft to make statues in marble of the four Royal Children. Mrs. Thornycroft models the busts and I make the statues. . . . Her Majesty having expressed a desire that the whole series should be complete as soon as possible, I have been compelled to set aside everything else for the present.<sup>150</sup>

On another occasion he told of a commission from the Duchess of Kent that "came at the eleventh hour, as Royal orders often do; and it was only by great effort both on the part of Mrs. Thornycroft and on my own part also that the affair was completed on time."<sup>151</sup> Thomas's role in these commissions is consistent with that of a studio assistant of the period.<sup>152</sup>

There are other instances where Thornycroft family members helped one



another over difficulties of execution or conceptualization. For example, when their son, William Hamo, was having difficulty with a head of Shakespeare Mary went "up on to the scaffold and . . . modelled the face more into drawing."<sup>153</sup> However, there were also times when Thomas threatened to take over his wife's work, with predictable results. A much-quoted anecdote tells how he "assisted [Mary in her modelling by] cutting off the heads of her figures and twisting them about, while she danced round him in agony crying: 'Only tell me Thorney! Only tell me!'"<sup>154</sup> Doubtless frustrated at his own lack of commissions, Thomas made exaggerated claims about his part in the royal portraits saying:

I have been employed chiefly by the Queen during these last three years, and am now pretty well in Her Majesty's good graces. I count it fortunate, to have found commissions during these late troublous times. Art has languished sadly these last two years and there are now many men of great attainments in art totally unemployed.<sup>155</sup>

In the family reminiscences and letters Thomas comes across as a complex individual--blending impetuosity with devotion, lightheartedness with periods of brooding. Such a mercurial personality might have been hard to live with--even harder to work with. Mary's recollection of an incident during the earlier years of their marriage illustrates the difficulties she and Thomas had sharing a studio.

I remember quite well going into the old studio at Stanhope street and saying to Thorney, "I wish that I had something to model. I should like to make a relief of the three girls, " whereat he went into a rage and began to bully me and I became so angry at not being encouraged that I rushed out of the studio and went into the house, got the paste board, took it into the pointing-shop and with some clay began a relief of the subject I had had in my mind some time.

Having laid three heads in, I carried it through the studio just to show him that I had commenced it. As I passed him he said, "Oh you have got three Dumplings on your board." Well, I took it up into the drawing room and went to work at it in earnest--it was there that I also modelled the "Skipping Girl". He afterwards calmed down and came and helped me.<sup>156</sup>

It is difficult to tell what it was that triggered the outburst. Perhaps Mary interrupted a piece of work that Thomas was deeply engrossed in or struggling hard to perfect. He may have been feeling the pressure of a deadline or experiencing frustration over a lack of commissions. As one of his own letters from their courtship attests he sometimes spoke hastily. "When I reflect how harsh my words have sometimes been to thee, how often I have disguised my tenderness in pride or seeming indifference, I cannot but regret [illegible] as an injustice to thy faithful heart."<sup>157</sup>

For her part, Mary was equal to his ill temper. In one rather contrite-sounding letter, Thomas commended Mary for her "candour and expostulation" and accepted her reproof for an outburst of some sort. Remembered by one of her friends as a person who was slow to anger but capable of getting the 'fire up' if she sensed injustice, Mary would have been a formidable opponent.<sup>158</sup> Stung by her husband's fit of temper but still determined to do the work she had in mind, Mary stormed out of the studio, gathered together the necessary materials, and went into the house to make a start on the portrait. Her story is filled with intriguing details that play the workshop space off against the domestic interior.

From the kitchen she got the "paste board," an item on which pastry would normally be prepared, and took it into the "pointing-shop," the place where sculptures were rendered in stone by workmen. There she shaped the clay into a

sketch of her three daughters--those quintessential denizens of the domestic realm. Satisfied that she had made sufficient headway in the pointing-shop to indicate that she was serious about her occupation, Mary again passed through the studio to show Thomas that she was not cowed by his opposition. His comment on her work again invokes domestic roles: "Dumplings" being both a pet-name for children and a doughy confection. Such patronizing criticism only hardened her resolve to sculpt. Effectively barred from the workshop, she set up her materials in the drawing room, thereby investing the conventional site for genteel needlework with a professional function. Out of this setting had come the most successful piece of her career, the ~~Skipping Girl~~.<sup>159</sup> Although the incident ended with Thomas reaffirming his willingness to support her work, Mary evidently saw it as an event of considerable significance, perhaps symbolizing the various struggles she had had to face as a female sculptor.

It appears that Hamo also found Thomas difficult to work with. "The pater is having another turn with his old group Boadicea and makes much fuss and does but little work. I feel inclined to turn out and take a studio elsewhere where I should be more master." While this entry expresses the critical attitude of a young man wishing to be out from under his father's shadow, taken alongside a comment from his mother it also indicates a more substantial discontent. In a note heralding their unexpected return from a holiday Mary commented: "I am sure you are very busy and that you are glad to have a quiet time at home but you know what your father is when he gets tired of anything--he makes others wretched."<sup>160</sup>

If Thomas was difficult to get along with at times, he was also devoted to

Mary. Hamo described him as "very quiet and figitty [sic] if Mama is away a day or so and pleased as a child when she comes back." Despite his fits of jealousy, he also harboured a great admiration for his wife's achievements. He boasted to a friend that "Wyon the Mint medallist . . . pronounces Mrs. Thornycroft's Queen better than Chantrey's--in short, the best sculpture of Her Majesty yet produced." This was high praise indeed as Thomas was of the prior opinion that "in portrait figures and busts all must yield to Chantrey."<sup>161</sup> To Dickinson he proudly reported that "Mrs. Thornycroft continues her professional career, no woman ever attained her position as a bust modeller."<sup>162</sup> For her part, Mary sought the advancement of her husband's career. To Dickinson she declared "I have been devoted to his profession with one object in view, the pride of seeing Thorny a great sculptor." During trying times she "shared all his anxieties and disappointments," when he succeeded, she rejoiced.<sup>163</sup>

Having grown up in the household of a sculptor, Mary was familiar with the ways in which child rearing and the business of the workshop intersected. Even very young children could be used as models for pieces of sculpture. Among the works Mary exhibited at the RA and the BI, at least five are either acknowledged to be of her children or likely involved them as sitters.<sup>164</sup> However, the major task of bringing up seven children and conducting a full-time career, often away from home, required the assistance of others. While Mary and Thomas were in Rome and for a while after their return, Thomas's mother took care of little Ann; when they were more secure financially they employed nursemaids.<sup>165</sup>

Once the children became old enough they were employed as helpers in

the studio and trained in the profession if they showed any inclination. Hamo recorded helping with costume details on a bust of Princess Louise, cleaning the bust for exhibition, and giving studio tours when his mother and sisters were out. In turn, he involved his little son Oliver in his studio, using him as a model from age two; by the time he was five, Oliver regularly spent time at the studio chatting amiably to his father and the other men as they worked.<sup>166</sup> Alyce, Hamo, Helen and Theresa all became artists as a result of their early training, although the daughters eventually abandoned sculpting in favour of painting.

Despite her early and consistent employment by the Queen, Mary was at times overshadowed by the successes of her father, husband, and son. Obituary notices identified her first as "the daughter, the wife, and the mother of sculptors" or some combination of these. The *Athenaeum* twice misattributed works by Mary to Thomas Thornycroft. In one notice, their critic praised "Mr. Thorneycroft's [sic] statue of Princess Beatrice seated in a shell;" a year later he credited Thomas with the designs for a series of statues of the royal children as the four seasons. Paradoxically, in the second notice the critic had corrected his earlier error.<sup>167</sup> One of the later dictionaries of artists presents her only in conjunction with her husband while another ascribes her royal commissions to her name but adds that she "assisted her husband in so many of his works that it is difficult to distinguish her own independent productions." This latter statement indicates how easily the works of one partner may be subsumed under the name of the other but it also suggests that much of her time was taken up in collaborative projects--a conclusion of questionable veracity. Most surprising is the note on the reverse of a photograph of the Poet's Memorial fountain (1875),

formerly located in Park Lane. The note attributes the fountain to Thomas and Hamo Thornycroft. Yet, Hamo's diaries clearly demonstrate that Mary worked on the figures of Melpomene (tragedy) and Thalia (comedy) and made refinements to other elements of the fountain. Finally, Elfrida Thornycroft wrote biographies of her famous family members--Thomas and Hamo. Mary does figure in both of these books, but primarily as a supporting actress rather than a leading lady.<sup>168</sup>

Amelia Paton's marriage to David Octavius Hill was "one of mutual comradeship in art." He was a proficient, if not exceptional, painter who is far better known for his pioneering work in photography commencing in the 1840s. His consummate skill as a portrait photographer coupled with a warm and witty personality drew many celebrated and influential people to his studio in Edinburgh. In addition to his photography and painting, D.O.Hill helped to found the Royal Scottish Academy (1826) and served as its Secretary from 1830 until his death in 1870. Few artists of the time were as well-known or well-loved as David Octavius Hill.<sup>169</sup>

They were wed in 1862, a first marriage for Amelia, aged 42, a second marriage for David who at sixty had been a widower for some time. This was a union involving double bonds, as the Paton and Hill families were apparently related to one another through the Robertsons of Struan. In his long-established correspondence with Noel, David characteristically referred to him, Waller and Amelia as cousins, probably denoting kinship of a lesser degree than children of a parent's siblings.<sup>170</sup> By the time of their wedding, Amelia had begun her sculpting career and was well-acquainted with the Edinburgh art community.

David deemed Amelia to be an ideal companion who "is a good artist and knows artist life--and how to sympathize, advise and aid me in my daily work. Her last finished work, a bust of Lady Elgin in marble, is worthy of ~~any~~ hand it is so good--and she is resolved that the Free Assembly picture shall be done!"<sup>171</sup>

This marriage was not contracted with the intention of promoting David's career to the sacrifice of Amelia's. In their pre-nuptial agreement he took the extraordinary step of expressly renouncing "his right ~~jure mariti~~ and right of administration to . . . the professional earnings of Amelia R. Paton as a sculptor."<sup>172</sup> There are other indications that he was positively disposed to the aspirations of female artists. In his capacity as Secretary of the RSA, he wrote (1854) to the Board of Trustees affirming their decision to offer art classes to women and agreeing to make space available for this purpose.

David took every opportunity to promote his wife's talent and facilitate the exhibition and sale of her works. He invited Dr. J.S. Blackie's "friendly criticism" of a bust of Thomas Carlyle and urged him to "talk over with the sculptress a matter which you yourself [broached] so kindly--as to its possible future destination--the realization of which would do so much good to her name and position in a time of need."<sup>173</sup> As Amelia was a great favourite of the professor, this was likely a welcome request. In 1869, the couple gave reduced copies of Amelia's bust of her husband as New Year's gifts; David's letter to one recipient claimed that "the original was by very many considered the best Bust in the Royal Academy of last year--I mean London." Throughout the eight years of married life, his support of her career never flagged. Just three months before he died, David wrote a letter requesting the very late substitution of a bronze cast

for the plaster version of a piece by his wife already on display at the exhibition. Thereafter, deprived of her greatest help and admirer, Amelia confided to Elizabeth Blackie "I have no pleasure in my work, I miss the kind approving word and look, now it is only a matter of a [living] and that degrades art."<sup>174</sup>

For her part, Amelia fulfilled David's expectations of a sympathetic partner who would spur him on to complete his painting of the Deed of Demission. The scene, with its host of dissenting ministers, was an extremely ambitious project involving approximately five hundred individual portraits. Commenced in 1843, it was still unfinished when the couple married nearly twenty years later. Dr. R.S. Candlish, a participant in the event depicted in the painting, and a close friend of David, urged Amelia "to see that your husband's picture of the Disruption is speedily completed." Determined to expedite the work without appearing to interfere, Amelia "used often to work at it early in the morning before D.O. was about, putting in the shirt fronts and collars, then I grew more adventurous, and worked at the faces. One day he said to me, 'You need not think that your work has been unobserved by me, but go on.'<sup>175</sup> Through their combined efforts the painting was finished by 1866. A valuable side benefit to Amelia's career was the opportunity to render portraits of several of the participating ministers in plaster or marble busts which she exhibited at the RSA and GI.<sup>176</sup> To all appearances, the couple lived up to Lady Mary Ruthven's estimation of them conveyed in a letter just after their wedding: "I do congratulate you most sincerely --and Miss Paton also!--you have both [claimed] prizes I think and few have such prospects of happiness."<sup>177</sup>

Like Mary Thornycroft, Amelia Paton Hill had both the benefits and



drawbacks of living with well-known male artists--albeit painters rather than sculptors, in Amelia's case. It may have been in recognition of this situation that Prof. Blackie nicknamed Amelia "Juno"--the chief goddess of the Olympians and both the sister and wife of Jupiter. Certainly, the majority of obituary notices and dictionary entries begin with "sister of Sir Joseph Noel Paton" or "Amelia Hill . . . who married D.O. Hill but is remembered as a leading artist in her own right."<sup>178</sup> The Englishwomen's Review reprinted the obituary published in the Dunfermline Journal which concludes: "The names of her brothers, the late Sir Noel Paton, . . . and Mr. Waller Paton are known far and wide. Her husband, Mr. D.O. Hill, was not only Secretary of the RSA, but an artist of no mean repute. . . . With these distinguished men she stands, the fourth of a remarkable quartette, whose names will live long in Scottish annals."<sup>179</sup> How ironic, then, is the claim by the donor of a portrait bust of Lady Shand that "the bust is by the late D.O. Hill about 1870."<sup>180</sup> In fact, the bust, which is neither signed nor dated, was exhibited at the RSA in 1865.

Undoubtedly, D.O. Hill's influential position and extensive circle of acquaintance were beneficial to Amelia's career. Among her works were busts of Sir George Harvey, President of the RSA (RSA 1867) and Sir David Brewster, the physicist who introduced David to photography (RSA 1867), both of whom were long-time acquaintances of her husband. An examination of Amelia's exhibiting records at the RSA, RA, and GI, shows a fifty per cent reduction in the number of works exhibited in the period from 1871 to 1882 compared with the number shown between 1863 and the death of her husband in 1870. However, this change may be due to a number of variables, including the depressing effects of

bereavement and her advancing age; it is in no way directly attributable to David not being around to negotiate exhibition juries (he never had influence over the RA) or to facilitate commissions. More significant is the fact that her most celebrated works, all of them important public commissions, were erected after 1870.<sup>181</sup> It is important to remember that the career advantages Amelia enjoyed due to her relationship with David were no different than those realized by Hamo Thornycroft, whose mother arranged an introduction to the Queen.<sup>182</sup>

Families had significant but not altogether predictable effects upon their kinswomen's adoption of sculpting careers. As we have seen, parents who were closely involved in producing and/or collecting fine art often unintentionally inspired their daughters to dream of becoming professional sculptors. However, when asked for help in pursuing this goal many refused, only relenting in the face of their daughters' undiminished determination. Perhaps a personal knowledge of the unpredictability of an artistic career was a factor in their reluctance to see a daughter so placed. As a young boy, Hamo Thornycroft was sent to his uncle to learn farming for this very reason.<sup>183</sup> A remarkable exception to this pattern was the French sculptor Félicie de Fauveau (1802-1886), whose highly cultured aristocratic mother stimulated and facilitated her desire to sculpt professionally.<sup>184</sup> Notably, in none of the available examples was a parent so adamantly opposed to a daughter's wishes as to cut all ties with her. More often it was the parents having no evident personal investment in art who readily acquiesced to their daughters' desire for the lessons that eventuated in sculpting careers. This was the case with Harriet Hosmer, whose father travelled with her to Rome to settle her in Gibson's studio, and with Susan Durant. Whatever their

original disposition to their daughter's artistic aspirations, parents and other family members mobilized their social and professional resources in support of her career once she had embarked upon it.

While parents and siblings might initially discourage their kinswomen from becoming professional sculptors, most of the men who married female sculptors did their utmost to further their wives' careers. However, very few female sculptors opted to get married, and those who did tended to marry fellow artists. Such alliances could result in dynasties similar to that of the Kembles in the theatre world. The Thornycrofts extended John Francis's sculpting lineage down through their own children to their grandchildren and great-grandchildren. Out of the Paton line came a third generation artist, Waller Hubert Paton (fl. 1881-1932), whose career combined the family talents for sculpting and watercolour painting.<sup>185</sup> Strictly speaking, Waller was not a direct product of David and Amelia's union, but he very likely was mentored by his successful aunt.

One of the difficulties faced by women sculptors who had male artists in their families was the challenge of establishing a distinct identity. Even when the woman worked in a different branch of art than her relatives, she was still subsumed under their names. Mary Grant was consistently categorized in the Victorian art world as the niece of the President of the RA. Those who married outside of their profession, as did Elisabet Ney who wed a doctor and Vinnie Ream Hoxie who became a military officer's wife, did not apparently inspire their sons to follow in their footsteps.<sup>186</sup>

The sculptors who remained spinsters enjoyed the freedom to handle their

own business affairs and to go about their studio work unencumbered by children. However, the recognition they received during their careers was rapidly replaced by obscurity after death because they left no heirs capable of perpetuating their memories.

This chapter has delineated the impact of families upon the choice and conduct of a sculpting career. In the next we will look at the ways in which the sculptors themselves negotiated the professional and social conventions in order to succeed at their chosen occupation.

## ENDNOTES

1. Levine, *Feminist Lives*, 88-89, 113-114; Mary Lyndon Shanley, *Feminism, Marriage, and the Law in Victorian England 1850-1895* (London: Tauris, 1989), 8; Olive Banks, *Faces of Feminism: A Study of Feminism as a Social Movement* (Martin Robinson, 1981; reprint, Oxford: Blackwell, 1993), 35-36.
2. Pam Hirsch, "Barbara Leigh Smith Bodichon: Artist and Activist," in *Women in the Victorian Art World*, ed. Orr, 181-182.
3. Levine, *Feminist Lives*, 45-47; Pat Jalland, *Women, Marriage, and Politics 1860-1914* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1986), 280, 287.
4. Carl N. Degler, *At Odds: Women and the Family in America from the Revolution to the Present* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1981), 160.
5. Forster, *Significant Sisters*, 71, 77, 83.
6. Caine, *Victorian Feminists*, 123, 125.
7. Levine, *Feminist Lives*, 29.
8. Davidoff, *Family Fortunes*, 290-293; Levine, *Feminist Lives*, 131.
9. Davidoff, *Family Fortunes*, 291; M. Jeanne Peterson, *Family, Love, and Work in the Lives of Victorian Gentlewomen* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1989), 41-45, 133-38.
10. Levine, *Feminist Lives*, 29; Martha Vicinus and Bea Nergaard, eds., *Ever Yours, Florence Nightingale: Selected Letters* (London: Virago, 1989), 3, 178.
11. Levine, *Feminist Lives*, 29; Jacqui Matthews, "Barbara Bodichon: Integrity in Diversity (1827-1891)," in *Feminist Theorists: Three Centuries of Key Women Thinkers*, ed. Dale Spender (New York: Pantheon, 1983), 90-92. John Crabbe, "An Artist Divided: The Forgotten Talent of Barbara Bodichon," *Apollo* 113 (1981), 311. Levine, *Feminist Lives*, 16. Pam Hirsch, "Barbara Leigh Smith Bodichon: artist and activist," in *Women in the Victorian Art World*, ed. Clarissa Campbell Orr (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1995), 170.
12. Sydney Checkland, *The Elgins, 1766-1917: A Tale of Aristocrats, Proconsuls and their Wives* (Aberdeen: Aberdeen University Press, 1988). Delia Gaze, ed.,

Dictionary of Women Artists (London and Chicago: Fitzroy Dearborn 1997), s.v. "Grant, Mary," by Helen Smailes.

13. Susan Durant usually signed her works 'Susan Durant Durant' and her will is in that name, but her signature on a commission contract with the Corporation of the City of London is Susan Dugdale Durant. Comptroller City of London Deeds, Box 118, Number 41. Susan Durant to Emma Wallis, 24 August [1870], RA Vic Add X2/212 D/12; L.G.Pine and F.S.A.Scott, eds, Burke's Genealogical and Heraldic History of the Landed Gentry, 17th ed. (London: Burke's Peerage Ltd., 1952), s.v. "Dugdale of Wroxall Abbey, Warwickshire". E. Walford, The County Families of the United Kingdom, 6th ed. (London: Robert Hardwicke, 1871), s.v. "Dugdale, James."

14. Elizabeth Durant, Sharpham, to Mrs. Crosse, 18 February 1873, RA Vic Add X2/212 D/15. Pine and Scott, eds, Burke's Landed Gentry, s.v. "Durant of Pelham Place, Hants." Walford, County Families, s.v. "Durant, Richard;" E.R.Kelly, ed., The Post Office Directory of Devonshire and Cornwall (London: Kelly and Co., 1873), 25.

15. St. Andrews Festival Society, The Patons--An Artistic Family, comp. Patricia de Montfort (St. Andrews: Crawford Arts Centre, 1993), 3. Sarah Tooley, "An Interview with Mrs. D.O.Hill," The Young Woman 35 (August 1895), 365. M.H.Noel Paton and J.P.Campbell, Noel Paton 1821-1901, ed. Francina Irwin (Edinburgh: Ramsay Head Press, 1990), 8. Walford, County Families, s.v. Paton, Sir Joseph Noel. Encyclopedia Britannica, 1910-1911 ed., s.v. "Paton, Sir Joseph Noel."

16. Harry How, "Mr. Hamo Thornycroft, RA," Strand Magazine 6 (1893) n.p.; quoted in Dakers, The Holland Park Circle, 181.

17. Elfrida Thornycroft, Bronze and Steel: The Life of Thomas Thornycroft Sculptor and Engineer (Shipston-on-Stour: The 'King's Stone' Press, 1932), 5; Penny McCracken, "Sculptor Mary Thornycroft and Her Artist Children," Woman's Art Journal (Fall 1996/winter 1997), 3; Thomas Thornycroft, Macclesfield, to Mary Francis, London, 7 September 1839; Mary Donaldson, "Reminiscences," Thornycroft Archive, TT.C.67; 1.

18. Diary of Hamo Thornycroft, [16 April 1873]; 24 October 1885, Thornycroft Archive, Henry Moore Institute, Leeds, TH J(a), 162, 235.

19. Joan Copeland, "Mary Grant's Diary and Letter Book 1842-1890," Transcribed

and Rearranged, vol. 2, "A Mark on Time: A Study of the Diary and Letter Book of Mary Grant, Sculptor, 1830-1908" (Archbishops' Diploma for Readers thesis, Lambeth Palace, 1995), 87.

20. Ibid., 2.

21. Peter J.M. McEwan, ed., *Dictionary of Scottish Art and Architecture* (Woodbridge, Suffolk: Antique Collector's Club, 1994), s.v. "Grant, Mary."

22. Mary Grant corresponded with Charles C. Grafton, Bishop of the Cathedral Church of St. Paul the Apostle, Fond du Lac, Wisconsin. Her letters and some written by Charlotte Augusta Grant and Isa Geary (her sister and cousin, respectively) are contained in the Cathedral archive. Copeland, "Diary Transcription," 94.

23. McEwan, *Dictionary of Scottish Art*, s.v. "Grant, John;" *Dictionary of Women Artists*, s.v. "Grant, Mary," by Helen Smailes; Frances Fowle, "The Changing Functions of the Royal Institution," *Journal of the Scottish Society for Art History* 4 (1999), 27.

24. Ian Chilvers, Harold Osborne, and Dennis Farr, eds., *The Oxford Dictionary of Art* (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 1988), s.v. "Elgin Marbles," s.v. "Phidias;" "Miss Mary Grant," *The Ladies' Field* (15 July 1899), 248.

25. Copeland, "Diary Transcription," 2, 3, 50, 57, 64, 65, 74.

26. "Census Returns for England and Wales," 1851; 1871, Microfilm, The Family Records Centre, London, HO 107; RG 10.

27. Davidoff, *Family Fortunes*, 222, 335.

28. Levine, *Feminist Lives*, 45-46.

29. Journal of Emma Beaufoy Wallis, 7 January 1866, RA Vic Add X2/211 96.

30. "Susan Durant, the Sculptor," *Queen*, 11 January 1873, 27; Charles Edward Stowe, ed., *Life of Harriet Beecher Stowe, Compiled from her Letters and Journals* (London: Sampson Low, Marston, Searle and Rivington, 1889), 288; RA Vic Add X2/18, X2/22-X2/31, X2/212 D/7.

31. C.A.H.C. [Cornelia Augusta Hewitt Crosse], "Susan Durant, the Sculptor," *Queen* 11 January 1873, 27; Davidoff, *Family Fortunes*, 292.

32. Davidoff, *Family Fortunes*, 290-291.

33. Derek Hudson, ed., *Munby, Man of Two Worlds: the Life and Diaries of Arthur J. Munby 1828-1910* (London: John Murray, 1972), 218.

34. Sir John Bowring, *Autobiographical Recollections of Sir John Bowring*, with a brief memoir by Lewin B. Bowring (London: S. King and Co., 1877), 38; R.K. Webb, "The Unitarian Background," in *Truth, Liberty, Religion: Essays Celebrating 200 Year of Manchester College*, ed. Barbara Smith (Oxford: Oxford University Press and Manchester College, 1986), 1-2, 16; Susan Durant, Ilfracombe, to George Durant, London, 1865, RA Vic Add X2/12.

35. Susan Durant, Osborne House, to George Durant, 17 August 1866, Typescript, RA Vic Add X2/212 C/7; Susan Durant, Paris, to George Durant, 23 August [1866], RA Vic Add X2/151; Susan Durant, London, to Emma Wallis, 9 December [1866], RA Vic Add X2/98; Henry Cole Diaries, 24 June 1866, 3 and 4 September 1866, 26 April 1868, 7 March 1869, Typescript, National Art Library, Victoria and Albert Museum; Dianne Sachko Macleod, *Art and the Victorian Middle Class: Money and the Making of Cultural Identity* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), 57.

36. Susan Durant to Emma Wallis [1866], RA Vic Add X2/95; Kathryn Gleadle, *The Early Feminists: Radical Unitarians and the Emergence of the Women's Rights Movement, 1831-1851* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1995), 5, 39.

37. Banks, *Faces of Feminism*, 30.

38. Sarah A. Tooley, "A Famous Lady Sculptor: An Interview with Mrs. D.O. Hill," *The Young Woman* 35 (August 1895), 364. I am greatly indebted to Janice Helland for bringing this, now obscure, article to my attention and furnishing me with a photocopy of it. D.O. Hill, Edinburgh, to Noel Paton, Wooer's Alley, Dunfermline, 11 August 1852, Typescript, Special Collections, National Library of Scotland, Acc 11315.

39. Joseph Leach, "Harriet Hosmer: Feminist in Bronze and Marble," *Feminist Art Journal* 5 (Summer 1976), 9; Dolly Sherwood, *Harriet Hosmer, American Sculptor 1830-1908* (Columbia, Missouri: University of Missouri Press, 1991), 12.

40. Festival Society, *The Patons*, 3; Paton, Noel Paton, 8, 36; Tooley, "Interview," 364.

41. Tooley, "Interview," 362, 364-65.



42. Paton, Noel Paton, 8.

43. *Encyclopedia Britannica*, 11th ed. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1910-1911), s.v. "Paton, Sir Joseph Noel."

44. Charles Baile de Laperrière, ed., *The Royal Scottish Academy Exhibitors 1826-1990*, comp. Meta Viles and Joanna Soden (Calne, Wiltshire: Hilmarton Press, 1991), s.v. "Paton, Amelia Robertson." "Mrs. D.O.Hill," *Englishwomen's Review*, 5 October 1904, 280-82.

45. Elfrida Thornycroft, *Bronze and Steel: The Life of Thomas Thornycroft Sculptor and Engineer* (Shipston-on-Stour: The 'King's Stone' Press, 1932), 11. See "Mary Thornycroft," *Times*, 4 February 1895, 6; "Mary Thornycroft," *Lady's Pictorial* 29 (1895), 232.

46. Mary Donaldson, "Mary Donaldson's Reminiscences," Typescript [c. 1926]; Thomas Thornycroft to Mary Francis, [10 July 1839], Thornycroft Archive, Henry Moore Institute, Leeds, TII - E(M)3, 1; TT.C.120.

47. Frances Hays, *Women of the Day: A Biographical Dictionary of Notable Contemporaries* (London: Chatto and Windus, 1885), s.v. "Thornycroft, Mary."

48. James Mackay, *The Dictionary of Western Sculptors in Bronze* (Woodbridge, Suffolk: Antique Collectors' Club, 1977), s.v. "Thornycroft, Mary;" *Men of the Time* (1856), s.v. "Thornycroft, Mary," in *British Biographical Archive*, ed. David Bank and Anthony Esposito (London: K.G. Saur, 1990), entry 149-50, microfiche.

49. Jan Fortune and Jean Burton, *Elisabet Ney* (London: George G. Harrap and Co., 1943), 11-16; Elsa Honig Fine, *Women and Art: A History of Women Painters and Sculptors from the Renaissance to the 20th Century* (Montclair: Allanheld and Schram; London: Prior, 1978), s.v. "Ney, Elisabet."

50. Mary Donaldson, "Reminiscences," 1.

51. Thomas Thornycroft, London, to Mrs. Thornycroft, Tidnock farm, 3 September 1835; quoted in McCracken, "Sculptor Mary Thornycroft," 3.

52. W.B. Dickinson, Macclesfield, to Thomas Thornycroft, London, 27 September [1838]; Dickinson to T. Thornycroft, [12] January 1839, Thornycroft Archive, TT.C.28, TT.C.30.

53. Dakers, *The Holland Park Circle*, 179.

54. Cherry, *Painting Women*, 58; Charlotte Yeldham, *Women Artists in Nineteenth-Century France and England*, 2 vols. (New York: Garland, 1984); Stuart Macdonald, *The History and Philosophy of Art Education* (London: University of London Press, 1970); Adrian Rifkin, "Success Disavowed: The Schools of Design in Mid-Nineteenth-Century Britain. (An Allegory)," *Journal of Design History* 1/2 (1988): 89-102; also Shannon Hunter Hurtado, "The Promotion of the Visual Arts in Britain, 1835-1860," *Canadian Journal of History* 28/1 (April 1993):60-80.

55. *Athenaeum* 19 March, 394; 23, 30 April, 549, 581; 2 April 1864, 477; 7 February 1880, 191; *Art Journal* 1860, 286; see also William Sandby, *The History of the Royal Academy from its Foundation in 1768 to the Present Day*, 2 vols. (London: Longman, Green, Longman, Roberts and Green, 1862), II:272; Sidney C. Hutchison, *The History of the Royal Academy 1768-1968* (London: Chapman and Hall, 1968).

56. Cherry, *Painting Women*, 58-59.

57. Lindsay Errington, *Master Class: Robert Scott Lauder and His Pupils* (Edinburgh: National Galleries of Scotland, 1983), 10; Frances Fowle, "Changing Functions," 27-28; Helland, *Professional Women Painters*, 17.

58. Sarah Tytler, *Modern Painters and their Paintings*, (1874); quoted in Pamela Gerrish Nunn, "Training and Professionalism: 19th and 20th Centuries," in *Dictionary of Women Artists*, ed. Delia Gaze (London: Fitzroy Dearborn, 1997), 83.

59. E.F. Ellet, *Women Artists in All Ages and Countries* (New York, 1859), 3; quoted in Rozsika Parker and Griselda Pollock, *Old Mistresses: Women, Art and Ideology* (London: Routledge, 1981), 9.

60. Orr, ed., *Women in the Victorian Art World*, 16.

61. Margaret Todd, *The Life of Sophia Jex-Blake* (London: Macmillan, 1918), 67; quoted in Ellen Jordan, *The Women's Movement and Women's Employment in Nineteenth-Century Britain* (London; New York: Routledge, 1999), 35. Davidoff, *Family Fortunes*, 275, 315.

62. Davidoff, *Family Fortunes*, 451.

63. "The Effects of Civilisation upon Women, by A Woman," *The National Review* 9(March-August 1887), 26.

64. Queen Victoria, Osborne House, to W.E. Gladstone, 6 May 1870; quoted in Carol Bauer and Lawrence Ritt, eds., *Free and Ennobled: Source Readings in the*

*Development of Victorian Feminism* (Oxford: Pergamon, 1979), 247.

65. David Duff, *The Life Story of HRH Princess Louise Duchess of Argyll* (Bath: Cedric Chilvers, 1971), 100-101.

66. Joseph Leach, "Harriet Hosmer: Feminist in Bronze and Marble," *The Feminist Art Journal* 5 (Summer 1976), 10; Cornelia Carr, ed., *Harriet Hosmer Letters and Memories* (London: John Lane, the Bodley Head, 1913), 37-39 passim; Sherwood, *Harriet Hosmer*, 101.

67. Thornycroft, *Bronze and Steel*, 5-7.

68. Tooley, "Interview," 366.

69. D.O. Hill, Edinburgh, to J. Noel Paton, Wooser's Alley, Dunfermline, 21 July 1852, L transcript, Special Collections, National Library of Scotland, Edinburgh, Acc 11315.

70. Paton, Noel Paton, 80; Festival Society, *The Patons*, 7; *Encyclopedia Britannica*, 11th ed., s.v. "Sir Joseph Noel Paton."

71. Tooley, "Interview," 365.

72. Sarah Tooley, "Notable Victorians: Some Recollections of Edinburgh's Foremost Women, Mrs. D.O. Hill," *Weekly Scotsman*, 13 February 1932.

73. Mrs. William Sharp, "D.O. Hill, RSA," *Camera Work* 28 (October 1909), 18. I am indebted to Sara Stevenson for alerting me to and providing me with a copy of this article.

74. Tooley, "Interview," 365.

75. Sharp, "D.O. Hill," 17, 18. Mrs. William Sharp was likely the wife of the Paisley muslin firm owner for whom Noel became director of design after receiving training from his father (Paton, Noel Paton, 2).

76. E.J. Pyke, *A Biographical Dictionary of Wax Modellers* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1973), s.v. "Hill, Amelia R.;" Festival Society, *The Patons*, 8; Penny Dunford, ed, *Biographical Dictionary of Women Artists in Europe and America Since 1850* (New York; Toronto: Harvester Wheatsheaf, 1990), s.v. "Hill, A.R.;" George C. Groce and David H. Wallace, eds, *The New York Historical Society's Dictionary of Artists in America 1564-1860* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1957), s.v. "Paton, A.R."

77. Thomas Thornycroft, London, to W.B. Dickinson, Macclesfield, 1835, Thornycroft Archive, TT.C.92.

78. The article on Amelia Paton Hill was the third of the series. It was immediately preceded by a recollection about Eliza Wigham, whose activities have just been described. The first article dealt with Lady Muir and Margaret Blaikie who sought further education for women and promoted temperance, respectively.

79. Tytler, Modern Painters, s.v. "Hill, Amelia R.;" quoted in Clara Erskine Clement, Women in the Fine Arts from the Seventh Century B.C. to the Twentieth Century A.D. (Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1904; reprint, New York: Hacker, 1974), s.v. "Hill, Amelia R."

80. Festival Society, The Patons, 8.

81. Read, Victorian Sculpture, 67-8.

82. Leach, "Harriet Hosmer: Feminist," 11; Fine, Women and Art, s.v. "Edmonia Lewis;" Joy Kasson, Marble Queens and Captives: Women in Nineteenth-Century American Sculpture (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1990), 11.

83. T. Matthews, The Biography of John Gibson, R.A., Sculptor, Rome (London: William Heinemann, 1911), 239.

84. Matthews, Gibson, 103-04.

85. "Mary Grant," Ladies' Field, 248.

86. "Sir Francis Grant at the Female School of Art," Englishwomen's Review, 1 October 1866, 396.

87. "Miss Mary Grant," Times, 29 February 1908, 6; "Miss Mary Grant," Englishwomen's Review, 15 April, 1908, 136.

88. Matthews, Gibson; Elizabeth Eastlake, ed., Life of John Gibson R.A., Sculptor (London: Longmans, Green, 1870).

89. "Miss Mary Grant," Ladies' Field, 15 July 1899, 248; Ulrich Thieme and Felix Becker, Allgemeines Lexikon der bildenden Künstler von der Antike bis zur Gegenwart (Leipzig: E.A. Seemann, 1907-47), s.v. "Grant, Mary;" Clement, Women in the Fine Arts, s.v. "Grant, Mary."

90. Odoardo Fantacchiotti (1809-1877) was born in Rome but worked in Florence. Something of a prodigy, he quickly rose to fame and was admitted to several Academies. His most acclaimed monumental works are to be found in Italy and as far away as the United States. Michel Louis Victor Mercier (1810-c.1894) studied under Pradier and exhibited at the Salon in Paris from 1835 to 1848 where he received a first class medal in 1841. He had an abundance of public commissions, mainly in Paris. Emmanuel Benézit, ed., *Dictionnaire critique et documentaire des peintres, sculpteurs, dessinateurs et graveurs*, nouvelle ed. (Paris: Grund, 1999), s.v. "Fantacchiotti", "Mercier." Gaze, ed., *Dictionary of Women Artists*, s.v. "Grant, Mary," by Helen Smailes.

91. Anne M. Wagner, "Learning to Sculpt in the Nineteenth Century: An Introduction," in *The Romantics to Rodin*, ed. Peter Fusco and H.W. Janson (Los Angeles: Los Angeles County Museum of Art in association with George Braziller, 1980), 303.

92. Foley (1818-1874) was elected as an Associate of the RA at the age of thirty-one (1849) and as a full member in 1858. He exhibited at the RA from 1839 to 1861 after which year he boycotted the Academy over a disagreement with their policies. Rupert Gunnis, *Dictionary of British Sculptors 1660-1851*, rev. ed. (London: Abbey Library, c.1964), s.v. "Foley, John." Read, *Victorian Sculpture*, 69; Yeldham, *Women Artists*, Appendix V; Susan Durant to Emma Wallis, 31 March [1867], RA Vic Add X2/121.

93. [Crosse], "Susan Durant," 27.

94. Ibid.

95. Journal of Emma B. Wallis, 6 January 1866, RA Add X2/212B.

96. Algernon Graves, *The Royal Academy of Arts: a Complete Dictionary of Contributors and their Work from its Foundations in 1769 to 1904* (London, 1905; reprint, London: Kingsmead, 1970), s.v. "Susan Durant;" Cherry, *Painting Women*, 58.

97. McCracken, "Sculptor Mary Thornycroft," 3, 5, 6; Yeldham, *Women Artists*, Appendix V.

98. C.E. Stowe, ed., *Life of Harriet Beecher Stowe*, 288; Jonathan P. Ribner, "Henri de Triqueti, Auguste Préault, and the Glorification of Law under the July Monarchy," *Art Bulletin* 70 (September 1988), 486-88 passim; Gert Schiff, "The Sculpture of the Style Troubadour," *Arts Magazine* 58 (June 1984): 102-110; Stanislas Lami,

Dictionnaire des sculpteurs de l'École française au dix-neuvième siècle (reprint Nendeln, Liechtenstein: Kraus, 1970), s.v. "Triqueti, Henri, baron de."

99. Susan Durant, 15 Rue Pigalle [Triqueti workshop], Paris, to George Durant, Friday 28 December [1866], RA Vic Add X2/103; H.de Triqueti to Emma Wallis, London, 4 May 1866, RA Vic Add X2/59; Moses and Lady Montefiore to Susan Durant, 3 December 1857, RA Vic Add T.

100. Matthews, Gibson, 103-04; Thomas Thornycroft, Macclesfield, to Mary Francis, London, 7 September 1839; McCracken, "Sculptor Mary Thornycroft," 3; Robin Lee Woodward, "Nineteenth-Century Scottish Sculpture" (Ph.D. diss., University of Edinburgh, 1979), 7.

101. Henri de Triqueti, 14 Conduit St., London, to A.H.Layard, BL Add Ms 38989 ff. 220,221.

102. Susan Durant to George Durant, 31 December 1864; 5 October 1865, RA Vic Add X2/3, 30; Susan Durant to Emma Wallis, 28 January 1866, RA Vic Add X2/55, 56.

103. Festival Society, Patons, 6; Tooley, "Interview," 365; Tooley, "Notable Victorians," 6.

104. Festival Society, Paton Family, 8; Pyke, Wax Modellers, s.v. "Hill, Amelia R.;" Smailes, Scottish National Portrait Gallery, s.v. "Hill, Amelia Robertson.;" Roger Billcliffe, comp., The Royal Glasgow Institute of the Fine Arts 1861-1989: A Dictionary of Exhibitors at the Annual Exhibitions (Glasgow: Woodend Press, 1992), s.v. "Paton, Amelia R.;" Algernon Graves, The Royal Academy of Arts: A Complete Dictionary of Contributors and their Work from its Foundation in 1769 to 1904 (London: Henry Graves and Co. and George Bell and Sons, 1905), s.v. "Hill, Mrs. D.O.;" Laperrière, RSA Exhibitors, s.v. "Hill, Mrs. D.O."

105. Festival Society, The Patons, 3.

106. Tooley, "Notable Victorians," 6; Tooley, "Interview," 365.

107. Laperrière, RSA Exhibitors, s.v. "Hill, Mrs. D.O.;" Graves, Royal Academy Dictionary, s.v. "Hill, Mrs. D.O.;" Billcliffe, Royal Glasgow Institute, s.v. "Hill, Mrs. David Octavius.;" Tooley, "Interview," 366.

108. Journal of Emma Beaufoy Wallis, 7 January 1866, RA Vic Add X2/211 96. In July 1864; Susan Durant to George Durant, 7 July 1864, X2/2; Lucy R. Shilston,

Typescript, RA Vic Add X2/212 A/4.

109.Susan Durant, Paris, to A.H.Layard, Friday 14 December [1860], British Library, Add.58162 f.104.

110.Susan Durant, Potsdam, to George Durant, London, 5 October [1865], RA Vic Add X2/30.

111.Susan Durant, Osborne House, Isle of Wight, to George Durant, London, January 1866, RA Vic Add X2/51.

112.Davidoff, Family Fortunes, 202-03.

113.Major General Sir Thomas Biddulph to Susan Durant, 1866, RA PP 2/105/11080.

114.Susan Durant, London, to Emma Wallis, 22 [December 1866], RA Vic Add X2/101.

115.Susan Durant to George Durant, [24 August 1865], RA Vic Add X2/16; Susan Durant to George Durant, 1866, RA Vic Add X2/74; Sir Moses and Lady Montefiore to Susan Durant, 3 December 1857, RA Vic Add T.

116.Susan Durant to George Durant, 11 September, 27 November [1865], 30 December 1865, 11 January [1867], RA Vic Add X2/24, 42, 47, 109.

117.Elizabeth Durant to Mrs. Crosse, 18 February 1873, RA Vic Add X2/212 D/11; Susan Durant to Emma Wallis, 6 August, 8 November 1866, 22 [December 1866], RA Vic Add X2/75, 92, 101; Susan Durant to George Durant 13 May 1869, RA Vic Add X2/196; Graves, Royal Academy Exhibitors, s.v. "Durant, Susan."

118.Susan Durant to George Durant, 31 December 1864, RA Vic Add X2/3; Lucy R.Shilston, Notes to typescript, RA Vic Add X2/212 A/8.

119.Susan Durant to Emma Wallis, 5 February 1866, RA Vic Add X2/56; "Last Will and Testament of Susan D.Durant," 15 May 1872 (proved 30 January 1873), Public Record Office, Family Records Division, London; Susan Durant to George Durant, London, 4 September 1865, RA Vic Add X2/19.

120."Stanley, Augusta," Newspaper clipping, Victoria and Albert Museum, Sculpture Department, A.37-1938; "Last Will and Testament of Mary Grant," 10 June 1902 (proved 22 April 1908) Public Record Office, Family Division, London;

Richard Ormond, National Portrait Gallery: Early Victorian Portraits, vol. I (London: HMSO, 1973), s.v. "Grant, Sir Francis;" M.Sukhorovsky, "Miss Mary Grant," Art Journal, 20 February 1908, 156.

121."Stanley, Augusta," Newspaper clipping, Sculpture Department, Victoria and Albert Museum, A.37-1938; "Mary Grant," Ladies' Field, 248.

122.Royal Collection at Osborne House, Royal Collection Inventory 34364; "Stanley, Augusta," Sculpture Department of the Victoria and Albert Museum, A.37-1938.

123.Lady Ely to Queen Victoria, 6 January 1877, RA Vic Add T 149; The "Journal" Guide to Dunfermline (Dunfermline, n.d.), 91; John Gifford, Colin McWilliam, David Walker, and Christopher Wilson, The Buildings of Scotland: Edinburgh (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1984), 40, 181.

124.Smailes, Dictionary of Women Artists, s.v. "Grant, Mary;" Gifford, Edinburgh, 115.

125.Ormond, National Portrait Gallery, 189, 489; Helen Smailes, "Sketch Genealogy of the Elgin and Grant Families," Photocopy in my possession.

126.Busts of the extended family include: General Sir James Hope Grant, uncle, 1861 (RA 1864, RSA 1870); Charles Thomas Constantine Grant, brother, 1856; John Henry Grant, father, 1865; Annie Brooke, sister; John P. Hamilton Nisbet-Grant; Mrs. Hamilton Ogilvy [Miss Nisbet Hamilton] (RA 1879, RSA 1880); Alan Grant, 1874 (RA 1875, RSA 1877). Private collection. I am indebted to Helen Smailes for facilitating a visit to see these works and for making available her handwritten notes about the collection.

127.Mary Grant to Bishop Grafton, n.d., Cathedral Archive, 8-41; Mary Grant, Hern Bay, to Bishop Grafton, 14 July 1904, Cathedral Archive, 8-43; Isa Geary to Bishop Grafton, 25 March 19--., Cathedral Archive 8-39; Sister Augusta to Bishop Grafton, 16 July 1900, Cathedral Archive, 8-45.

128.The tools are kept in the same private collection as the family busts.

129.Georgiana Francis to Mary Thornycroft 1 March 1843, Henry Moore Institute Archive, TT.C.59; Frances Hays, Women of the Day: A Biographical Dictionary of Notable Contemporaries (London: Chatto and Windus, 1885), 197; Graves, Royal Academy, s.v. "Thornycroft, Mrs. Thomas."



130. In a sample of ten sculptors, seven had never married and one, "Marcello," was widowed six months after her wedding. The sculptors are: Harriet Hosmer, Louisa Lander, Edmonia Lewis, Vinnie Ream Hoxie, Margaret Foley, Anne Whitney and Emma Stebbins (United States); Félicie de Fauveau (France); Adèle d'Affry, Duchess Castiglione-Colonna, otherwise known as "Marcello" (Switzerland); and Elisabet Ney (Germany). H.W. Janson, *Nineteenth-Century Sculpture* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1985), 148; Fine, *Women and Art*, s.v. "Félicie de Fauveau," "Elisabet Ney," "Harriet Hosmer," "Edmonia Lewis."

131. Erna Reiss, *Rights and Duties of Englishwomen: A Study in Law and Public Opinion* (Manchester: Sherratt and Hughes, 1934), 22; Nancy Woloch, *Women and the American Experience*, 2d ed., vol. 1 (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1994), 194-95.

132. Harriet Hosmer to Cornelia Carr, 7 August 1855, Schlesinger Library, Radcliffe College; quoted in Sherwood, *Harriet Hosmer*, 124.

133. Susan Durant, London, to Emma Wallis, October 1866, Typescript, RA Vic Add X2/212 C/10.

134. Shannon Hunter Hurtado, "The Company She Kept: Susan D. Durant, a Nineteenth-Century Sculptor and Her Feminist Connections" (M.A. thesis, University of Manitoba, 1994), 151-53. Under English law, "illegitimate children belonged to their mother and the father could not take possession of them, even if he avowed that he was their father." Perkin, *Victorian Women*, 154-55.

135. Whitney Chadwick, *Women, Art, and Society* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1990; reprint, 1991), 199. A similar statement is made about the work of John Gibson, a life-long bachelor. Matthews, *John Gibson*, 63.

136. Ann Richelieu Lamb, "Can Women Regenerate Society?," 1844; quoted in Joan Perkin, *Women and Marriage in Nineteenth-Century England* (London: Routledge, 1989), 229.

137. Jalland, *Women, Marriage, and Politics*, 253.

138. Elinor Rice Hays, *Those Extraordinary Blackwells* (New York: Harcourt, Brace and World, 1967), 173, 265-66; Sir Henry Paul Harvey, Dorset, to the Director of the National Portrait Gallery, 7 February 1924, Collection file on Susan Durant, National Portrait Gallery, London.

139. Copeland, "Diary Transcription," 96, 98.

140. Peter J. McEwan, ed., *Dictionary of Scottish Art* (Woodbridge, Suffolk: Antique Collectors' Club, 1994), s.v. "Grant, Miss Mary."
141. Banks, *Faces of Feminism*, 97; Alice S. Rossi, ed., *The Feminist Papers: From Adams to de Beauvoir* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1973), 325-327; Degler, *At Odds*, 160.
142. Peterson, *Victorian Gentlewomen*, 188.
143. McCracken, "Sculptor Mary Thornycroft," 4.
144. Thomas Thornycroft to Mary Francis, 9 January 1840, TT.C.125; Thomas Thornycroft to Mary Francis, 12 May 1839, TT.C.65; W.B. Dickinson, Macclesfield, to Thomas Thornycroft, London, 9 May 1839, TT.C.33.
145. McCracken, "Sculptor Mary Thornycroft," 4; Thomas Thornycroft to Mary Francis, 12 May 1839, TT.C.65.
146. Thomas Thornycroft, Macclesfield, to Mary Francis, London, 17 June 1839, TT.C.119; Thomas Thornycroft to Mary Francis, London, 9 January 1840, TT.C.125.
147. Isaac Thornycroft, Ventnor, to Thomas Thornycroft, London, 24 November [1841], TT.C.83.
148. Thomas Thornycroft to Mrs. Thornycroft, 22 November 1842, 13 February 1843, TT.C.85, 132; Georgiana Francis to Mary Thornycroft, 1 March 1843, TT.C.59; F.G. Stephens, "The Late Mrs. Mary Thornycroft," *Magazine of Art* (1895), 305.
149. Elfrida Manning, *Marble and Bronze: The Art and Life of Hamo Thornycroft* (London: Trefoil in association with the Henry Moore Centre for the Study of Sculpture and Leeds City Art Gallery, 1982), 27. McCracken, "Sculptor Mary Thornycroft," 4; Graves, *Royal Academy*, s.v. "Thornycroft, Mrs. Thomas;" Algernon Graves, *The British Institution 1806-1867: A Complete Dictionary of Contributors and their Work* (London: George Bell and Sons and Algernon Graves, 1908), s.v. "Thornycroft, Mrs. Thomas."
150. Thomas Thornycroft, London, to W.B. Dickinson, Macclesfield, 30 April 1846, TT.C.138
151. Thomas Thornycroft, London, to W.B. Dickinson, Macclesfield, 27 May 1850, TT.C.142.

152. Anne Pingeot, commissariat général, *La Sculpture Française au XIXe siècle* (Paris: la Réunion des musées nationaux, 1986), 60.
153. Hamo's Journal, 12 March 1872, Henry Moore Institute, J(a).90.
154. Thornycroft, *Bronze and Steel*, 52.
155. Thomas Thornycroft to W.B. Dickinson, 3 June 1849, TT.C.141; McCracken, "Sculptor Mary Thornycroft," 4-5.
156. Hamo's Journal, 17 April 1879, J(a)246.
157. Thomas Thornycroft to Mary Francis, 24 December 1839, TT.C.124.
158. Thomas Thornycroft to Mary Francis, 7 September 1839, TT.C.67; Emilie Isabel Barrington, "Mrs. Mary Thornycroft," *Spectator*, 23 February 1895, 263.
159. Barrington, "Mrs. Mary Thornycroft," *Spectator*, 263.
160. Hamo's Journal, 27 October 1883, J(a)231; Mary Thornycroft, St. Leonard's, to Hamo Thornycroft, London, 4 March [1882], TII.C.T(Ma).23.
161. Thomas Thornycroft to W.B. Dickinson, 1837; quoted in Thornycroft, *Bronze and Steel*, 21.
162. Hamo's Journal, 8 July 1872, J(a)125; Thomas Thornycroft to ? [1850], TT.C.143; Thomas Thornycroft, London, to W.B. Dickinson, Macclesfield, 16 November 1853, TT.C.154.
163. Mary Thornycroft to W.B. Dickinson, 29 June [1861], TT.C.87.
164. Miss Thornycroft (bust RA 1857), Three sisters (portrait group RA 1865), A Young Girl (bust RA 1868), Head of a boy (BI 1864), The Skipping Girl (statue RA 1856); Hamo's Journal J(a)77, 155, 158.
165. Thomas Thornycroft to Mrs. Thornycroft, 22 November 1842, 13 February 1843, 19 May [1843], TT.C.132, 85; McCracken, "Sculptor Mary Thornycroft," 5.
166. Hamo's Journal March-April 1871, April 1872, J(a)6, 51, 53, 101; 27 October 1887 J(2)97, 20 January 1888 J(3), 29 October 1890 J(4)90, 12 April 1891 J(6)33.
167. "Mary Thornycroft," *Englishwomen's Review*, 15 April 1895, 119; Athenaeum, 1 July 1861, 733; 19 April 1862, 535.

168. T.S.R. Boase, *English Art 1800-1870* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1959), s.v. "Thornycroft;" Gunnis, *British Sculptors*, s.v. "Thornycroft, Mary;" Thornycroft Archive, TII PE.168; Hamo's Journal, J(a)76, 84, 90; Elfrida Thornycroft, *Bronze and Steel: The Life of Thomas Thornycroft Sculptor and Engineer*, Elfrida Manning, *Marble and Bronze: the Art and Life of Hamo Thornycroft*.
169. Tooley, "Notable Victorians," 6; Tooley, "Interview," 362; Grace Seiberling with Carolyn Bloore in association with the International Museum of Photography at George Eastman House, *Amateurs, Photography, and the Mid-Victorian Imagination* (Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1986), 43; Heinrich Schwarz, *David Octavius Hill, Master of Photography*, trans. Helene E. Fraenkel (London: George G. Harrap, 1932), 18, 20, 28, 30; S.C. Hall, *A Book of Memories of Great Men and Women of the Age, From Personal Acquaintance*, 3d. ed. (London: J.S. Virtue, n.d.), 493.
170. D.O. Hill to Jane McDonald, 23 September 1862, 23 September 1863 National Library of Scotland (NLS) Acc McDonald 1.12; Walford, *County Families*, s.v. "Paton, Sir Joseph Noel;" D.O. Hill to Noel Paton, [July 1851], 23 December 1851, 19 July 1852, 6 August 1854, Transcript, NLS Acc 11315.
171. D.O.H. to Jane McDonald, 23 September 1862, NLS Acc McDonald 1.12.
172. "Last Will and Testament of David Octavius Hill," Scottish Record Office, SC 70/4/129, 82. The Married Women's Property (Scotland) Act [40 and 41 Victoria, c.29] was enacted in 1877. Until then "the law there still consigned all of a woman's real and personal property as well as her earnings to her husband." Shanley, *Marriage and the Law*, 121 n. 50.
173. Helland, *Professional Women Painters*, 17; D.O. Hill to Professor Blackie, 7 May 1867, NLS MS 2628 f. 19 Blackie Letters 1867-8.
174. Paton, *Noel Paton*, 48; D.O. Hill to John and Jane McDonald, 29 December 1869, NLS Acc McDonald 1.12; D.O. Hill to the President and Council of the RSA, 9 February 1870, RSA Archive, Letter Book, 1869; Amelia Paton Hill to [Elizabeth] Blackie, 26 June [1870], NLS MS 2629 f. 248.
175. Mrs. Sharp, "D.O. Hill," 18; Tooley, "Interview," 363.
176. R.S. Candlish, Principle of New College, Edinburgh (RSA 1864, plaster bust; RSA 1865 marble; GI 1866); Rev. Alexander Duff (RSA 1865); Rev. Horatius Bonar (RSA 1865); Rev. Robert Buchanan (RSA 1865; GI 1866); Rev. John Bruce (RSA 1866); Hugh Miller, the new reporter included in the painting, (RSA 1869, marble

- statue; GI 1870); Fiona Pearson, "The Collection of Portrait Busts at New College, Edinburgh," M.A. diss. (Department of Fine Art, University of Edinburgh, 1976), 1-2, 14.
177. Lady Mary Ruthven to D.O.Hill, 1862, NLS Acc McDonald 1.6.
178. Paton, Noel Paton, 48; J.E. Zimmerman, *Dictionary of Classical Mythology* (New York: Harper and Rowe, 1964; new edition New York: Bantam, 1977), s.v. "Juno;" Edward Goodwillie, *The World's Memorials of Robert Burns* (Detroit: Waverley Publishing, c.1911), 54-55; Murdo Macdonald, *Scottish Art* (London: Thames and Hudson, 2000), 113. Similar descriptions are found in: Pyke, *Wax Modellers*, s.v. "Hill, Amelia R.;" Thieme-Becker, *Allgemeines lexikon*, s.v. "Hill, Amelia R. (Paton);" Mackay, *Sculptors in Bronze*, s.v. "Hill, Amelia Octavius (née Paton)."
179. "Mrs. D.O.Hill," *Englishwomen's Review*, 5 October 1904, 282.
180. Amy R. Peel, Burnham, Somerset, to [the President of the RSA], 5 June [1918], RSA Archive, Letter Collection "1928" folder.
181. They are: the David Livingstone monument, Edinburgh (1875-76); the figures of Magnus and Minna Troil, and Richard Coeur de Lion on the Scott Monument, Edinburgh (1874); and the Burns Memorial, Dumfries (1882).
182. Mary Thornycroft, Osborne House, to Thomas Thornycroft, London, 21 December [1869], Transcription, TII.C.T(Ma).31.
183. Dakers, *Holland Park Circle*, 179.
184. Fine, *Women and Art*, s.v. "Félicie de Fauveau."
185. McCracken, "Sculptor Mary Thornycroft," 7; Peter J.M. McEwan, *Dictionary of Scottish Art and Architecture* (Woodbridge, Suffolk: Antique Collectors' Club, 1994), s.v. "Paton, Waller Hubert."
186. Tufts, *American Women Artists*, s.v. "Hoxie", "Ney."

## CHAPTER 2

### CARVING OUT A CAREER

The success of any sculpting career depended upon the artist's ability in three operations: the production of high-quality work in a style and subject matter that appealed to collectors' tastes; the promotion of the work via exhibitions, the print media, and word-of-mouth; and the sale of the work at a profit. Repeat sales and commissions from new patrons were essential to keep the business going. These were demanding enough qualifications for young men just entering the profession; for young women of the middle and upper classes there was the added dimension of social constraint to be overcome. In the previous chapter the fears that women would unsex themselves or lose caste if they took on professional work that was traditionally labelled as masculine and/or had the taint of the market about it were discussed. Further scruples about being exposed to the nude figure and doing business with men were major impediments to a sculpting career.

Nineteenth-century anxieties about the use of nude models were not confined to their presumed effect upon the sensibilities of female artists. The Royal Academy Schools regulated contact with undraped female figures by admitting no (male) student under age twenty to the life class unless he were married, as artist's models were assumed to be of easy virtue. For female students, the proscription extended to all nude figures, not merely those of the opposite sex, and had no age limits. Speaking of Amelia Paton Hill as "a remarkable example of a Victorian woman conquering limitations" to her career, Sarah Tooley noted that "[in] Mrs. Hill's youth it was a monstrous thing for a girl

to aim at being a professional artist--scarcely proper for her to model [from] the nude, even from a statue!"<sup>1</sup> Two reasons can be given for this interdiction. The first, and more generally applied of these, is that ladies were presumed to possess a highly refined moral sensitivity that required them to shun any display of immodesty. Secondly, it suited the convenience of influential bodies, such as the Royal Academy (RA), to bar women from life classes, thereby effectively reducing their ability to compete in the professional arena. Writing in 1862, P.G. Hamerton stated the first concern clearly, raised the second obliquely, and betrayed his own anxieties about being compared with other men.

In order to paint the human figure truly, it is necessary to copy from vast numbers of men and women; and these models, as they are called, stand quite naked in the centre of a circle of students. . . . What would be thought of a young lady who selected as her favourite recreation the minute and studious comparison of naked men? And yet, without such discipline as this, no young lady can ever hope to draw the figure.<sup>2</sup>

As an art form, sculpture relied more heavily upon representation of the human body than did painting. Female painters could choose to work on landscape, still life or animal subjects, thus avoiding the difficulties posed by the human figure. However, unless a sculptor strictly confined herself to portrait busts and animals, effectively forsaking most public commissions, she had to be equipped to draw and model the bodies of men and women. Elizabeth Barrett Browning confronted this fact (and her own squeamishness) when she visited Hosmer's studio while the artist was sketching from a female model.

I felt rather shy, & preferred the company of Mr. Gibson's painted Venus, who is only nearly as bad . . . as any natural nudity. Robert

was quite vexed at me for this piece of prudery,--but not being 'professional' there was not much reason, I thought, to struggle against my womanly instincts in the case. . . . I would rather see a nude male model in the company of a man (though my husband) than a nude female model--& I would rather not see either.<sup>3</sup>

Others voiced even stronger objections. Upon seeing Hosmer's *Sleeping Faun* an amateur water-colourist wrote:

She must have lost all feeling of womanly modesty, in choosing such a subject. It would really seem that she must have been actuated by a defiant feeling, as the slightest alteration of the leopard skin would have hidden all that is absolutely scandalous and made it comparatively innocent, besides to such prudish women as myself making it less disagreeable to look at.<sup>4</sup>

Taboos about transacting business with members of the opposite sex added to the difficulties faced by women who sculpted professionally. By some, it was considered highly improper for a man to meet with a female artist alone in her studio. An interview with Jessie Macgregor, an independent painter, illustrates this problem.

A well-known artist was my next door neighbour, and had a picture-dealer calling regularly at his studio. "Why don't you go in and see Miss Macgregor's pictures?" my friend said to his dealer one day. "Because I can't do business with ladies," was the reply. Of course, since those days I have learned to do my own business, but a woman is generally at a disadvantage, in a matter of selling.<sup>5</sup>

In order to succeed as sculptors, women had to devise strategies for conducting their careers that sufficiently accommodated social norms to allay suspicion, while simultaneously redefining women's roles within society. Outright rebellion was unthinkable as they could not risk offending the very



segment of society upon whom they relied for patronage. In this and the chapter to follow these strategies will be examined. The primary focus of the chapter at hand will be upon the ways in which the sculpting women prepared for and organized their careers so as to be taken seriously by the art community while maintaining a diminished but socially acceptable level of domestic involvement. We will begin by looking at the business of sculpture as it was conducted during the nineteenth century, noting how its practice both facilitated and hampered the involvement of women.

### THE BUSINESS OF SCULPTURE

The art of sculpting was a collective enterprise involving specialist personnel at each of several stages of production. Harriet Hosmer emphasized the pervasiveness of this arrangement: "If there are a few instances in which the sculptor himself conducts his clay model through every stage, it is usually because [of] pecuniary necessity."<sup>6</sup> A brief summary of these steps will provide a context for the women's experience.<sup>7</sup> Beginning with a conceptual drawing, a small model roughed out in clay, or sometimes both, a sculptor went on to model a full-size version in damp clay. This process might take several days, even weeks, and require a number of sittings from a paid model or, in the case of a portrait, the person whose likeness was being taken. Once the desired form and finish for the piece was achieved, a plasterer took over. Starting with a tinted layer, which indicated the surface of the sculpture, he covered the clay with sufficient coats of plaster to make a 'waste mould' of the object. After it had hardened, the mould was cut in half, emptied of the clay, fit together again and

filled with liquid plaster. When this had set the mould was chipped away until the tinted layer was revealed. Alternatively, a 'piece mould' could be made which allowed many casts of the work to be produced.

Although there was nothing to prevent a sculptor from casting his or her own model, it was a generally accepted practice to hire a specialist. Thomas Thornycroft's experience illustrates this point.

I have got the group well cast after a week's very severe labor [sic]. Luccasi could not come at the time appointed so I was compelled to set about it myself. . . . after we had been at work two days Luccasi came and we managed altogether to do it well.<sup>8</sup>

Amelia Paton Hill arranged for

A man [to come from] Edinburgh . . . to cast the first bust. He was a little Italian, and I remember what an event it was when he arrived at Wooer's Alley with the stucco on his back. After I had modelled the bust of Noel, he came to cast it.<sup>9</sup>

These men, who were integral to the sculpting business, appear generally to have operated as independent workers, contracting with sculptors for specific jobs including making death masks. When Sir Charles Phipps died, Durant summoned "Lucchesi to go at once to St. James's Palace to make a cast from [Phipps's] head" to facilitate her execution of a posthumous portrait.<sup>10</sup>

A work in plaster could be painted or waxed for exhibition and sold as is, or it could be sent to the 'pointers' to be transferred into stone.<sup>11</sup> The pointing machine, which was perfected in the early nineteenth century, enabled the duplication or enlargement of a plaster template in stone via a series of measurements that were drilled into the featureless block.<sup>12</sup> Workmen pointed

the stone and then chipped away the unwanted portions leaving the broad contours of the work. The rough-hewn sculpture was then turned over to a skilled carver who incised the details, perhaps leaving the surface finishing to be done by the sculptor. Thomas Thornycroft, who took some pride in his own carving abilities, nonetheless hired assistants to do the work for him.

Unfortunately, reliance on specialist carvers did not always yield the best results. Amelia Paton Hill sent her clay model of the Burns statue (1882) "to Italy to be cut on an enlarged scale, and in the process the sculptor's work was bereft of some of its finest features . . . both the meaning and beauty of the original were obscured."<sup>13</sup> Had she been on site supervising the work the subtlety and grace of her model might have survived in marble.

The final product in stone could be tinted or waxed if the sculptor wished. Durant was instructed to "[tint] the face [of a bust of the infant Prince Sigismund] rosy and [the] pillow [a] different colour" by his mother, the Crown Princess of Prussia.<sup>14</sup> Hosmer's *Zenobia* was given "a rosy tint" before it was shown in the London International Exhibition of 1862 and other examples of her work were sometimes given a creamy tint.

Although marble was an expensive medium--an unblemished block for a life-size statue cost around £100--most sculptors felt it necessary to have their work rendered in it.<sup>15</sup> Harriet Hosmer equated work in marble with artistic success: "one may model till one is blind and if one gets no commissions for one's work, what is the use of it, for a work can never really be finished 'till it is in marble."<sup>16</sup> Thomas Thornycroft sent sculptures to the RA in marble whenever possible because "almost any trash if carved in that material is received into the

Exhibition."<sup>17</sup> Whether or not this was an accurate assessment of the tendencies of art juries, it is noteworthy that Grant, Durant, Hill and Thornycroft all exhibited a significant proportion of their works--between thirty-seven and sixty-five per cent--in marble.<sup>18</sup> Precisely because it was an expensive material its use would signal the sculptor's confidence to prospective buyers; as well, its fine, semi-translucent texture would show off the creator's skill to best advantage.

By mid-century, the art buying community's immense appetite for portrait busts and ideal works made a high degree of specialization in sculpture production imperative. Of equal importance was the profession's concern to maintain its credentials as a genteel occupation primarily involving the creative faculties of the intellect as opposed to manual labour. The atelier system allowed sculptors to maintain their status as gentlemen by delegating the more arduous tasks to workmen and students.<sup>19</sup> Yet the public were largely unaware that individual sculptors seldom took a work through all of its phases unassisted. In an extremely spiteful move, an envious sculptor exploited this naïveté by making a stinging allegation in the *Art Journal* that "the *Zenobia*--said to be by Miss Hosmer [was] really executed by an Italian workman at Rome." The implication was that a statue of such quality could not have been produced by a woman. Hosmer immediately refuted the claim in a letter to the editor of the *Art Journal*. There, and in a personal letter to Hiram Powers, she identified the attack for what it was--an insinuation that female sculptors were frauds.

We all know that few artists who have been in any degree

successful enjoy the truly friendly regard of their professional brethren; but a woman artist, who has been honoured by frequent commissions is an object of peculiar odium. . . . you will at once perceive that it is the battle of the Amazons to which I allude.<sup>20</sup>

William Wetmore Story, who had been similarly maligned, wrote to the Athenaeum to condemn the attack on his colleague and John Gibson published a terse rejoinder in defence of his student. Instead of mounting a libel action or exposing the perpetrator in print as she had initially intended, Hosmer subsequently published an article designed,

to raise the veil upon the mysteries of the studio, and enable those who are interested in the subject to form a just conception of the amount of assistance to which a sculptor is fairly entitled, as well as to correct the false but very general impression, that the artist beginning with the crude block, and guided by his imagination only, hews out his statue with his own hands.<sup>21</sup>

This was a bold step calculated to put to rest a lengthy whispering campaign that she had "treated . . . with the contempt and silence which . . . it deserved" until it "assumed the form of a serious charge in public print." Unable to rely upon her own reputation as proof against such charges, Hosmer made use of her status as a student of the universally esteemed John Gibson.

For seven years I have worked in Mr. Gibson's studio and I am authorized by him to state that during that time I had no more assistance than every other artist considers legitimate, nor, to use his own words, "would he have permitted me to send forth works from his studio which were not honestly my own."<sup>22</sup>

Thus, she shifted her position in the art world from the uncertain category of 'female sculptor' to the unassailable designation of 'Gibson's student.' This more widely accepted position furnished a platform from which she was able to

expose the double standard that legitimized the use of art-workers by gentlemen but devalued the professionalism of ladies who did likewise. Hosmer not only vindicated her own career, but she put an end to similar speculations about the authenticity of works by other female sculptors.

Notwithstanding the accepted division of labour in the studio, it must be acknowledged that the women, like their male counterparts, ~~were~~ taught how to carve. Even before entering Gibson's studio, Hosmer executed a bust of Hesper for which she employed a workman only to remove large chunks from the marble block. Durant's letters chronicle the metamorphosis of her monument to the King of the Belgians from a two-dimensional design to its embodiment in marble. She not only monitored the carving of the sculpture, she also took an active role in its completion. "I am just returned from inspecting the progress of my monument at Bruyère's Studio; it is quite satisfactory and tomorrow we begin to work at finishing the head."<sup>23</sup> Corroborative evidence is found in the experience of Princess Louise, who received sculpting lessons from both Durant and Mary Thornycroft. Palace records indicate that under Mary's tutelage, which commenced in 1863, the Princess was provided with "one pair of silver compasses" for taking measurements, "carving tools and hammer," and sundry boxes of clay.<sup>24</sup> Evidently, Thornycroft deemed carving to be a standard element of a sculptor's training--even for a Princess.

Until the efflorescence of the 'New Sculpture' movement in the 1870s, bronze was not used as frequently as marble for finishing sculptures. However, certain small items, such as statuettes and portrait medals, were produced in that medium as were some of the larger public monuments. Although some

sculptors established foundries for art casting, they normally left the work to specialists. Thomas Thornycroft briefly operated an electro-bronze-casting foundry at the family studio on Stanhope Street, but he was exceptional.<sup>25</sup> The French sculptor, Félicie de Fauveau, also manifested an unusual degree of commitment to work in bronze. She took considerable pains to perfect her bronze-casting skills endeavouring to "revive certain secrets known to the ancients" that would enable her to "cast a statue entire, instead of in portions, and with so much precision as to require no farther [sic] touch of the chisel."<sup>26</sup>

Durant's experience was more in line with the mainstream of sculptors. Her portrait medallions of the royal family were reduced and cast in bronze, by the esteemed house of Barbedienne in Paris, to be used as official gifts. Another work, *Ruth* (1869), was so well received at the RA exhibition that Durant contracted with Barbedienne to have it reproduced in life-size and smaller format for sale to the public.<sup>27</sup> Many of the sculptures that Mary Thornycroft executed for the royal family were also ordered as bronze reductions to be given as personal gifts. Some may have been cast at the family studio.<sup>28</sup>

Another medium for casting reduced copies of sculpture was "statuary or parian [sic] porcelain, which was a very reasonable imitation of marble and could be moulded into intricate forms."<sup>29</sup> Parian figures proved to be immensely popular and offered sculptors a means of marketing their works to a wider public. The Art Union of London received permission from the Queen to have Mary Thornycroft's bust of the newly betrothed Princess of Wales reproduced in smaller Parian ware versions for distribution as subscription bonuses. A much sadder occasion was marked by a command from the Queen that a reduced copy

of Thornycroft's bust of Princess Alice be cast in Parian. Prince Albert had made minor adjustments to the clay model of the portrait a scant two weeks before he took ill and died. His widow wished to commemorate the Prince's love of sculpture by multiplying the last work to which he gave his imprint.<sup>30</sup>

As the making and marketing of copies in bronze and porcelain indicates, there were no qualms on the part of Victorian buyers or sculptors about the authenticity or originality of multiple reproductions of a single work. Jeanne Wasserman cites two reasons for repetition: technical manipulation of a piece to achieve a desired effect and multiplication for the market.<sup>31</sup> All four of the British women duplicated certain works for the latter reason. Mary Grant prepared copies of her bust of Lady Augusta Stanley in ivory and alabaster for Queen Victoria. Mary Thornycroft did a brisk business in reproductions of the *Skipping Girl* (the Prince Consort purchased a bronze version) as did Hosmer with *Zenobia*, the *Sleeping Faun*, *Will-o'-the-Wisp* and *Puck*; the last of these sold in excess of thirty copies, realizing a profit of over \$30,000.<sup>32</sup> Amelia Paton Hill had various works reproduced, among them her busts of *D.O.Hill* (Ill. 1) and *Sir Joseph Noel Paton*. As well, Minton made "a reduced and very accurate copy," in Parian, of the finished Livingstone statue.<sup>33</sup> Durant's bronze reproductions of *Ruth* have already been noted.

Although replication of a sculptor's own works was an unexceptionable aspect of the business, making a copy of another artist's sculpture was a different matter. Unauthorized reproduction, often after the death of the artist, was frowned upon and could be brought to law as a copyright offense.<sup>34</sup> Mary Grant received an unusual commission from Hallam Tennyson to produce a marble



copy of a bust of his father originally sculpted by the late Thomas Woolner. Hallam owned a plaster version of the portrait from which Grant made the copy. The finished work, which was donated to the National Portrait Gallery, excited no opposition from the Woolner heirs despite their offer to furnish another rendition of the poet's likeness. The only controversy that is recorded about the venture was over the quality of the reproduction.<sup>35</sup>

Alongside the creative aspects of a sculpting career were the administrative tasks of keeping track of accounts and contractual arrangements, and managing studio assistants. Mary Thornycroft had the substantial benefit of observing how her father handled the various transactions of the sculpting business during her adolescence and young adulthood. This is evident from her confident dealings with Sir Charles Phipps (Keeper of the Privy Purse) even when misunderstandings arose. In reply to a note from him regarding an unanticipated charge she stated that

a piece mould is very expensive to make--Her Majesty having had several casts of the other statues which paid the expense of the mould, Mrs. Thornycroft thought it better to put it in that form than to charge it upon the plaster cast as it would appear an unreasonable charge and she trusts that this explanation will be quite satisfactory to Sir Charles Phipps.<sup>36</sup>

On two other occasions the palace queried her fees. A note from Phipps to a palace staff member questioned the accuracy of Mary's account; O. Bauer confirmed that "the account of Mrs. Thornycroft is quite correct." Mary's reply to the second query displays a tinge of exasperation. "[My] charge has always been £100 but having to stay at [illegible] for a fortnight and traveling [sic]

expenses has made it £125.<sup>37</sup> She was equally direct in requesting payment for outstanding bills. "Mrs. Thornycroft says she sent you a copy of the account at the latter end of September. She would not again tender it but that she is much in need of money just now."<sup>38</sup> Phipps's difficulties in interpreting Mary Thornycroft's accounting statements appear to be due to a lack of knowledge about the cost of the processes involved in producing sculpture rather than to inadequate reporting of those costs.

Amelia Paton Hill and Mary Grant also could call upon near relatives for help with business dealings. In his capacity as Secretary of the RSA, D.O. Hill sometimes wrote business letters on his wife's behalf and likely contributed to her knowledge of professional protocols. Amelia's correspondence after she was widowed shows that she was a very able businesswoman.<sup>39</sup> By contrast, Durant's dealings with members of the Queen's staff betray a degree of inexperience that is not evident in the other women's transactions. She naïvely sought professional advice about the King Leopold monument from the Dean of Windsor.

I should be obliged by your informing me if I am to communicate with Mr. Poole [Henry Poole and Sons, Marble and Stone Works] about the execution of the canopy--or whether I am to refer him to Sir Thomas Biddulph--or to Mr. George [John L. George, monument installer] for further orders.<sup>40</sup>

The Dean forwarded the question to Biddulph, expressing annoyance at Durant's ignorance of proper business practice. "I enclose a letter from Miss Durant. Pray give her an answer about Mr. Poole--for the woman plagues my life out."<sup>41</sup> Biddulph was not altogether certain how to advise her but he did

alert her to the need for an estimate of the cost which she duly obtained and had authenticated by "Mr. Fergusson, the eminent architect."<sup>42</sup> The latter consultation was presumably undertaken to assure Biddulph of Durant's professional capability. Her initial awkwardness in making arrangements with the stone masons and monument fitter can be put down to her lack of experience with work of that type and scale. In addition, Triqueti, to whom she naturally would have turned for guidance, was across the channel in France. Her readiness to tackle aspects of the trade that were new to her and the alacrity with which she took instruction are commendable.

The women's business management practices were generally in line with those of the male sculptors with occasional lapses due to inexperience or inadequate advice. A few examples will suffice to demonstrate this. Owing to the high cost of materials it was customary for sculptors to request payment in two instalments for sizeable works. Durant received £300 at the commencement of work on the Leopold monument and a cheque for £400 at completion. Mary Thornycroft applied for a £100 advance on a series of sculptures for the Queen explaining that "The expenses of our new studios [are] very considerable this quarter."<sup>43</sup>

Another routine, but essential, piece of business was making arrangements to have works shown at the annual exhibitions. In addition to the tasks of preparing and submitting pieces for evaluation to exhibiting societies, sculptors had to obtain consent from patrons to show commissioned works. Although it appears that permission was usually granted, Durant's application to enter the Leopold monument in the Paris Exposition was refused by the

Queen, who might have thought it unseemly for a memorial effigy to be displayed at such a festive event. Durant seems to have made a serious misjudgment in this instance, perhaps presuming too much on her royal patron's approbation and goodwill. As a means of salvaging an unfortunate situation she planned "to have it on show at my studio part of April."<sup>44</sup>

The pricing practices of the female sculptors diverged notably from those of their sisters who painted professionally. Helland shows that even though "the women priced their own pictures when they placed them in exhibiting venues . . . they subscribed to the domestic ideology to such an extent that rarely did a woman artist sell her work for as much as her male colleague."<sup>45</sup> Cherry does not discuss whether the women instigated a differential pricing system, but she acknowledges that "in the upper reaches of the market . . . works by women did not command high prices" even though the size and quality of their paintings merited parity with those of their male counterparts.<sup>46</sup> Although the records of the prices demanded by female sculptors are scant--no accounting books have been located for the four British women--evidence from exhibition catalogues, reports of patrons, and passing comments in sculptors' correspondence place the women on a level footing with their male colleagues. Read provides a helpful estimate of the average prices for marble busts over three decades. Henry Weekes, Professor of Sculpture at the RA Schools 1869-77, charged £113.8s., inclusive of pedestal, in 1845, £110 in 1853, and £126 in 1866. From this and further evidence Read concludes that "the price of around £100 must have been standard about this time."<sup>47</sup>

Mary Thornycroft's charges for marble busts varied from 50 guineas in

the BI catalogue of 1864 to £84 in 1867 Privy Purse records, ultimately peaking at £100, a price that must have been fixed for several years given her claim in 1876 that her charge had "always been £100."<sup>48</sup> The RSA Exhibition records of 1877 show that Mary Grant had also adopted the £100 price-tag for marble busts. However, her fees had risen substantially by 1885 when she "offered . . . to undertake, at a considerable reduction (namely £120) a life-size Medallion [of Henry Fawcett, M.P.] in either marble or bronze." Her price was lowered "in consideration" of the fund-raising difficulties encountered by the women's monument committee.<sup>49</sup>

Amelia Paton Hill's pricing for busts remained constant at £105 throughout her career excepting two portraits of Sir David Brewster and Thomas Carlyle for which she asked £131. 5s. (1867) each. These might have included pedestals which would explain the unexpected differential. For statues in marble, prices began at £157 for a half life-size figure (1870) and went as high as £367 for figures of children (1874).<sup>50</sup>

When asked by Emma Wallis what her charges (1866) for portraits were, Durant replied, "The price of a marble bust is a hundred and twenty guineas--that is what Her Majesty and the Magistrates of Surrey have paid--though sometimes a hundred guineas is charged to friends."<sup>51</sup> The preferential rate for friends is the equivalent of Hill's standard fee, otherwise Durant's prices for busts are the highest among the four women. Another London-based sculptor, Bruce Joy, gave his price as "120 guineas" for "a life-sized bust in Marble" when asked by Isabella Gore-Booth who was endeavouring to enter the ranks of the professional sculptors in Scotland. The GI Exhibition records show that she set

her own sights much lower, charging just £52.10s. for a "Female Head (Semi-Ideal) Marble" in 1883.<sup>52</sup>

Durant's fee of £700 for large commissions, such as the Leopold monument (1867), was probably based on the sum she was paid by the Corporation of the City of London for the *Faithful Shepherdess* (1861). This latter work was executed as part of a decorative program for the Egyptian Hall of the Mansion House. The commission contracts for each of the fourteen sculptors (all male save Durant) chosen to represent figures from English literature were identical, stipulating the price (£700), the material, and the dimensions of the finished statues.<sup>53</sup> According to Read the cost of marble statues ranged from about £1,200 to £3,000 depending on how large and elaborate they were. When the cost of the masonry surround with gilded canopy and the fee for mounting the Leopold monument are combined with the price of the effigy, the total expenditure amounted to £939.5s., leaving a margin of difference from Read's lower figure of roughly £260. This is no inconsequential disparity, but two things must be born in mind when interpreting the available data. First, Read makes no claim to absolute precision in the figures he offers. Second, the amount paid by the Mansion House cannot be dismissed easily. Unfortunately, the Hill, Grant and Thornycroft records are silent regarding their usual charges for large pieces of sculpture in marble.

The variation in prices among the four professional women sculptors is instructive, reminding us that they were individuals with differing clienteles and ideas about how best to market their works. In the sharply contrasting cases of Durant and Isabella Gore-Booth, it is possible to see how prior experience

influenced the sums they fixed for their works at least as much as knowledge of the rates charged by others. The relatively high cost of Durant's busts is predicated upon what her clients during the 1860s were prepared to pay for such items. Throughout that period she was heavily occupied with commissions from the royal family and titled members of British, German, and French society.<sup>54</sup> Patronage by the Queen and other wealthy notables was both an endorsement of her skill as a sculptor and also a sort of guarantee or hallmark of value, in monetary terms, of the works she produced for them. Their ability and willingness to pay premium prices helped to determine the amount of money she could charge thereafter. Similarly, her experience with the Mansion House commission, in which the fee and schedule of payments was predetermined (and gender-blind), gave her the confidence to command the same amount and terms for sculpting the Leopold effigy.

Gore-Booth's low prices reflect her experience as a promising but inadequately prepared sculptor who struggled to transcend this deficit throughout her exhibiting life (1856-1883). Bringing up nine children on her own left little time to take sculpting lessons.<sup>55</sup> Although encouraged and assisted by professional sculptors such as Bruce Joy and John Mossman, Gore-Booth succeeded in getting only thirteen of her works shown at either the RA (10) or the RSA (3). Such a weak exhibiting record likely would have reduced her hope of sales, causing her to price her works well below the average.

Despite the differences among the four professional women, their expectations are very much in line with the amounts male sculptors charged for similar work, especially in the field of portraiture which was the economic

backbone of most careers.<sup>56</sup> Comparisons of fees for large works in marble are more tenuous. We have but two examples from one woman to deal with: one of them demonstrates exact parity with the amount tendered to male sculptors, the other falls below the average price range. Until more data becomes available, it is ill-advised to assert either that female sculptors underbid their male competitors or met their prices for sizeable sculptures.

#### HOME AND STUDIO: THE BALANCING ACT

In her "Essays on Woman's Work" Bessie Rayner Parkes offered a challenge to would-be artists.

to become a good artist requires talent, industry, and opportunity, and added to all these a large share of that moral courage which dares to dedicate a life to one end, and sweeps aside, with deliberate calmness, the petty temptations, the accumulated distractions, of domestic hours.<sup>57</sup>

Parkes's call for dedication to a single cause was somewhat exaggerated in order to make the point that professional artists could not afford the luxury of dabbling. However, if not impossible, it was certainly impractical for most female sculptors to "sweep aside" the domestic obligations that customarily fell to them. F.T. Palgrave acknowledged that domestic cares comprised an additional obstacle to the success of female artists. "Even a single woman cannot well avoid giving more time to household details than a man; much more if she be married."<sup>58</sup> Nonetheless, finding the right balance between professional and domestic duties was an essential aspect of carving out (time and space for) a career. In this section the ways in which the women sculptors ordered their



households and their workshops so as to achieve their career goals will be evaluated.

Unlike painting or writing, sculpture required access to studio facilities that would accommodate both small and large scale works and permit the storage of quantities of wet clay and sculpting implements. Although Mary Thornycroft did, on occasion retreat to the drawing room to model, she usually shared studio space with her husband and, eventually, her children. When the family designed and built a new studio-house at Melbury Road, Holland Park (1877), the floor-plan included separate studios for each of the three sculptors and a shared painting studio for the daughters. In addition there were workshops for large scale modelling, pointing, and storage; a full complement of assistants occupied these areas. The house, which adjoined the studio complex, was mainly used at night by the family as a place to relax and entertain friends.<sup>59</sup>

An establishment of this sort signalled the success of its owners. According to Caroline Dakers's research, "[during] the second half of the nineteenth century, the most desirable locations in London for artists' colonies were St. John's Wood, Hampstead, Chelsea and Kensington; the most prestigious address was Holland Park."<sup>60</sup> Although this residence-work place was much larger and more advantageously located than their former addresses of Wilton Place, Stanhope Street, and Albany Street, throughout their years as sculptors the Thornycrofts always combined home and studio space under one roof.<sup>61</sup>

Such an arrangement had substantial advantages for Mary Thornycroft as she juggled child care and professional responsibilities. During the years from 1841 to 1844 there is a gap in her exhibition record that corresponds with the

birth of her first three children--Ann (1841), John (1843), and Alyce (1844). This was a financially precarious time as neither Mary nor Thomas had commissions, although they likely produced and sold some work in Rome over the course of their sojourn there (1843-44). It is doubtful that they could have afforded a nursemaid for the babies but Mary was given some relief from child care by her mother-in-law who kept one-year-old Ann in Macclesfield while the couple were in Rome. Even though John was born shortly after their arrival there, Mary seems to have carried on sculpting through the latter stages of her pregnancy and, at a diminished rate, while caring for her new infant. By the time Alyce came along in 1844 they were back in London living with Mary's family, where her mother likely helped with the children while Mary was occupied in the studio.

That same year marked the beginning of her steady employment by Queen Victoria, which would have both permitted and required her to engage a nursemaid for the children and probably a cook, thereafter. Thomas's letters make mention of Mary's attendance at "Court" or at the "palace," sometimes for days on end, as though this was a matter of routine even when she was pregnant or had a young baby. Their daughter Ann's diary records work-related absences during June and December 1857 that took Mary to Windsor while Ann stayed nearby at Eton, perhaps with a relative. Hamo, then age seven, was living at Tidnock farm in Cheshire with his uncle John, who had agreed to train him in farming. The five children who remained at home ranged in age from four to fourteen years old. Although Thomas tended to be at home working, Ann records a great deal of coming and going of both parents in the latter half of

1857.<sup>62</sup> By relying on domestic servants, extended family members and the speed of rail transport, the young Thornycroft family was able to accommodate two very active sculpting careers and remain in close-knit contact with one another.

Mary was well-versed in integrating career and family. Her own childhood experience can be seen reflected in the lives of her children and grandchildren, who were permitted to wander about in their parents' studios from a young age. Thomas constructed a miniature steam locomotive that pulled a train of three cars on which the children rode about the studio. As soon as Hamo's son, Oliver, was "sufficiently independent to amuse himself at the studio . . . with out [sic] much looking after" he accompanied his father to work. This relaxed amalgamation of home and work spaces could be hazardous, however, as Mary was chagrined to learn. When just a toddler, Hamo picked up a hammer and chisel in imitation of his mother and struck off the finger of a figure that she was carving, causing her to burst into tears.<sup>63</sup>

In a eulogy to Mary's career accomplishments, a friend noted the difficulties faced by female artists:

Many do not attain to the best they might have done in art . . . a few (and these are chiefly women) do not attain to the best because they willingly sacrifice ambition and their passion for art to what appears to them to be a higher duty; and perhaps the most trying way in which such a sacrifice can be effected is when duty calls on the art not to be given up but fitted in with domestic duties, the art suffering by such a combination.<sup>64</sup>

It cannot be denied that domestic responsibilities impinged upon Mary's work but she was able to deflect a good portion of them to servants and managed to

integrate the roles of sculptor and mother sufficiently so that neither suffered serious neglect. She could be seen to exemplify Dinah Mulock Craik's image of the professional woman who made optimum use of her time. "[The] best housekeepers, the neatest needlewomen, the most discreet managers of their own and others' affairs, are ladies whose names the world cons over in library lists and Exhibition catalogues."<sup>65</sup> Mary's efforts were greatly facilitated by Thomas's willingness to share responsibilities for the family when she was out of town and to act as a studio assistant at a crucial point in her career. Thus, the Thornycrofts conducted a family enterprise as mutually involving as those discussed in Davidoff and Hall's study of an earlier generation of the English middle class, with the difference that both of them did the same type of work and Mary was a more fully enfranchised partner, rather than an adjunct. Her contributions to the enterprise were the sustained ability to earn a comfortable income, a strategic relationship with royal patrons to whom she introduced sculpting family members, and the creation of additional personnel in the form of children.<sup>66</sup>

Because Amelia Paton Hill married relatively late, she conducted a career as a spinster, a wife, and a widow. Before moving to Edinburgh with her brother and sister-in-law, Amelia worked out of her parents' home, where she was the only remaining daughter. Consequently, when her mother took ill for "six or seven weeks" Amelia became her "sole nurse from the commencement of her illness," a task that left the sculptor "greatly exhausted." When D.O. Hill extended an invitation to Noel to come to Edinburgh where "a little room is at your service" to permit him to "finish [a] picture," he added "[if] Miss Paton will

come to take care of you I think we can make her comfortable."<sup>67</sup> Thus, she fulfilled the role of the biddable daughter, providing domestic assistance to parents or brothers as the situation warranted.

By the time these letters were written, Amelia was in her early thirties and had been trying to establish an art career for a little over six years. She made a start as a painter, showing two portraits at the RSA in 1844, but she abandoned this path in favour of sculpting from about 1849. Only five of her works survive from this period: a self-portrait wax cameo (1849), wax medallions of Noel Paton and D.O. Hill (1851), and plaster casts of the two medallions (1851). Several impediments slowed her progress thereafter. An acute attack of bronchitis requiring a lengthy convalescence broke the momentum she had built up. When she did resume sculpting it was in a "desultory way, for in those days very little encouragement or opportunity was given to girls to enter upon a professional career." A further encroachment upon her artistic activity came when her mother died in 1853 and she shouldered the responsibility of managing her father's household, with the help of one maid.<sup>68</sup>

That the hiatus in Amelia's art production was at least partially connected with her increased role in domestic affairs is suggested by the changes that took place when she moved to Noel's home in Edinburgh in 1860. There her sister-in-law was in charge of household management and Amelia had both the free time and dedicated studio space that were requisite to an artistic career. Within the first year of relocating, Amelia exhibited one work at the GI followed by a steady stream of contributions to the RSA, RA, and GI thereafter. A similar support structure would have obtained when she married D.O. Hill in 1862.

During his years as a widower, Hill shared accommodation at Rock House on Calton Hill with his widowed aunt, Mrs. Watson, and her family. There he also established a painting and photography studio. Amelia moved into this household after her wedding and there is no hint that the Watsons, who were also blood relations of the Patons, moved elsewhere. With her aunt to manage the domestic details, Amelia was at liberty to work in the studio she shared with her husband.<sup>69</sup>

Because the couple had no children and due to D.O.'s sympathetic support of her work, Amelia had fewer demands upon her time than the average married woman faced. The advantages of her domestic situation are reflected in her productivity. With approximately sixty-two works produced in twenty-one years, she was the most prolific of the four principal female sculptors in Victorian Britain.<sup>70</sup> Even after D.O. died in 1870 Amelia made household arrangements that facilitated her career. She invited her widowed sister, Jemima Roxburgh, and her niece, Maud, to share her life at Newington Lodge, where she employed at least two servants. It is impossible to say whether Mrs. Roxburgh saw to all the domestic arrangements, but even if the women shared the tasks equally this would have resulted in a significantly lightened workload for Amelia.<sup>71</sup>

None of the articles that describe the Hills's life at Newington Lodge refer to a studio on site, although there must have been one. The house, which was "built for D.O. Hill . . . out of the proceeds" of Amelia's art, was located "on the outskirts of Edinburgh."<sup>72</sup> It would be inconceivable for an artist to erect a house at such a distance from the centre of town without studio facilities, especially as

Amelia still had approximately one third of her career ahead of her.

Although not on such a grand scale, Newington Lodge had some of the trappings associated with the ornate studio-houses in Holland Park. It was situated in an area populated by "the aristocratic and wealthy." The public rooms were decorated with furnishings and objects collected from Florence, Rome and Venice, suits of armour, exotic costumes and souvenirs of Scottish royal history. Like a small art gallery, the vestibule and a sky-lit circular hall displayed busts and models of Amelia's sculpture and examples of her husband's and two brothers' work.<sup>73</sup> Without a doubt this house was designed to convey prosperity, cosmopolitan taste, even a measure of celebrity, to clients and guests.

However much overlap there was between the domestic and the professional space at Newington Lodge, there is no clear indication that Amelia took up the full burden of domestic management in addition to her work as a sculptor. An obituary notice in the Englishwoman's Review, which was also carried in the Dunfermline Journal, characterized her as "shrewd and sensible as well as gifted" in conducting her sculpting career. This is in marked contrast to notices about Mary Thornycroft that applaud her professional achievements but rush to qualify them with evidence that she was "in no wise . . . less loveable as a woman . . . an ideal wife and mother."<sup>74</sup> In the Englishwoman's Review obituary, at least, Amelia Paton Hill was portrayed primarily as a businesswoman, not a domestic woman; she had tipped the balance in the direction of her art work.

Mary Grant experimented with various degrees of separation between

her house and work place throughout her career in London. In the early 1860s her family led a peripatetic life, generally taking a house in London for the season. During those sojourns Mary arranged for studio space nearby. By 1869 she "took possession of [a] studio [at] no. 64 Great Titchfield St." in Fitzrovia, probably marking the end of her training with Foley and preparatory to her launch as a professional sculptor within the year. For a brief time in 1873 she "made a studio of [an] unfurnished drawing room" in their house at Gloucester Gate, Regents Park until she was able to lease 12a Park Village West, a former studio of her uncle's. The two properties shared a back garden wall into which Mary put a door allowing easy access to her workshop. In 1885, left alone by her mother's death three years earlier, Mary moved to Canwell House, Tite Street, Chelsea and had a "studio built onto [the] house while still occasionally visiting the old studio at P.V. West."<sup>75</sup> Though not especially opulent by the standards of the day, her Tite Street studio, which is pictured in the *Ladies' Field*, was spacious. She subdivided its forty-six foot length into an anteroom hung with tent-like draperies, a middle room for her workmen, and an inner studio for herself. With no one to make domestic claims on her, the new living and working environment proved very convenient; within months she divested herself of the old studio, remaining in Canwell House until illness ended her career.<sup>76</sup>

While her parents were alive, Mary's domestic obligations involved nursing sick relatives, being a travelling companion, and entertaining guests. Nevertheless, she was enabled to work around these demands by her mother's management of household affairs, cooperative siblings, and a considerable



retinue of servants. Nowhere in her diaries is there a hint that she was begrudged time to conduct her career. Conversely, although she did express exasperation at having to sort out her brother Charlie's bungled finances, she seldom voiced resentment of family responsibilities.<sup>77</sup> Whenever possible, she combined domestic and artistic duties, modelling while a sick brother slept on the studio sofa and asking for portrait sittings from house guests. She accompanied her dying brother Harry to Cannes one winter, leaving only when her sister Charlotte arrived "to take 'a turn' of our duties." During the respite she finished her entries for the upcoming International Exhibition in Paris (1878). Despite such interruptions Grant's output was sizeable. Over her twenty-eight year career she exhibited at least sixty-nine works and produced forty additional pieces on commission--a ratio of 3.5 per year--outstripping Amelia Paton Hill's rate of productivity.<sup>78</sup>

Although Susan Durant was a spinster who was able to afford servants and separate studio facilities, she succeeded in exhibiting only about forty three pieces of sculpture before her twenty six years as an artist came to an abrupt end. Some major differences in lifestyle distinguish her from Mary Grant and Amelia Paton Hill. After Durant's mother died, sometime between December 1860 and 1863, she had sole responsibility for household management and the care of an increasingly frail father. Further, because of her close relationship with Baron Triqueti as a student-assistant and collaborator, Durant made frequent journeys between Paris and London, working in both cities. Finally, commissions from the royal family necessitated numerous trips to Windsor, Osborne House, Potsdam and Darmstadt.

While work at the royal residences enhanced Durant's reputation and facilitated introductions to influential people and potential patrons, the time spent in travelling to and fro disrupted and/or precluded other projects. Furthermore, despite the advantages of participating in the Parisian art community, where she cultivated a different set of aristocratic patrons, Durant never truly established herself there. Her sculpture did not figure in the annual Salon nor did any of it find its way into public places in the city.

When she began her exhibiting career in 1847, Durant lived with both parents and her sister at 11 Garway Road, Bayswater.<sup>79</sup> In 1848 or 1849 the family moved to the slightly more prestigious address of 14 Conduit Street West, Westbourne Terrace, Hyde Park where they remained until sometime following the 1851 census. During the ensuing ten years Mary Ann moved away and Mary Durant died, leaving Susan and her father alone in the house. They continued to live together, moving to 3 Bryanston Place, Marylebone in September 1866, until George's death in 1872. By the beginning of 1873 Susan had followed him to the grave.

Her studio, at Radnor Place, was less than a kilometre from both Conduit Street and Bryanston Place.<sup>80</sup> Its easy proximity to either residence and its setting in a pleasant green neighbourhood on the verge of the West End made it attractive to sitters and visitors. Having a studio so near to home would have been a convenience during the first decade of Durant's career; after the death of her mother it became a necessity. Her letters provide a surprisingly full picture of the effort involved in maintaining a household whilst conducting a very demanding sculpting career.

Servants and generous friends made it possible for Susan to carry on working despite George Durant's intermittent bouts of debilitating illness.<sup>81</sup> During some of her prolonged absences she arranged for Emma Wallis's niece, Lucy, to act as a companion to George and to oversee the running of the house. After one of her sojourns at Potsdam she wrote expressing relief that George was well. "[N]ow I am in Paris and can reach home so quickly I feel quite easy especially as Lucy's accounts are so invariably favourable." At other times George was left in the care of up to three maids and a cook who comprised the household staff.<sup>82</sup>

Even with such measures in place Durant did not shirk her obligation to ensure the smooth operation of the domestic side of life while she was away from home. Many of her letters to her father include instructions regarding the duties and/or conduct of the servants. When an outbreak of cattle disease threatened to drive food to "famine prices" she wrote

I am very anxious the servants should have a lecture on the subject of management so as not to run up heavy bills. They must reduce the quantity of butter consumed in the kitchen considerably--I shall only allow them one pound a week--and butcher's meat also must be ordered more economically and made to go farther. It is alarming to read of the scarcity there is likely to be and the price of everything.

At the same time she required four tons of coal to be ordered for winter because the cheapest time to buy was in August.<sup>83</sup> In January of 1867 when she was "very busy . . . [with] dinners and theatres and soirées--to say nothing of my actual work at the studio," she wrote "I am anxious to hear that all is going on well at home and that the servants take care of you. Please remind Price to look

after my fern case, but not to give any water except when the glass looks dry." Such directives were issued at times when Durant was intensely occupied with the combination of sculpting and social engagements that comprised her professional life. She might describe herself as anxious but that connoted a business-like desire to see things running smoothly rather than a sense of guilt about leaving the house to the care of her father and the servants. There is a murmur of concern about leaving George after his long convalescence, but she made the journey to Paris nonetheless--perhaps at her father's urging.<sup>84</sup> It bears noting that although he was hampered by physical complaints, George still asserted his independence by entertaining guests when Susan was away and replying to letters when it suited his convenience.<sup>85</sup>

Nowhere does she apologize for putting domestic affairs second to her career. Durant's work took unquestioned precedence over all but the most urgent household matters. In January 1866 she had been negotiating an agreement to lease the house at Bryanston Place but was called away to Osborne House to model the Queen's portrait before the matter was concluded. After describing the initial sitting given by Her Majesty and telling of the social life at the royal residence Durant added "I hope to have finished so as to return about the 17th. I have answered [Kidson's] note saying that my other engagements have prevented my attending to the business connected with the houses."<sup>86</sup> Evidently the lease agreement, which was finally signed in May, involved both Susan and her father. Given the modest proceeds of George's estate ("effects under £450") at his death in 1872, it is likely that Susan contributed substantially to the house payments.<sup>87</sup>

Durant's business-like attitude toward her home-life should not be mistaken for callousness. When a young house-maid, whom she had only just engaged in August, became very ill with a serious lung condition in November Durant made extraordinary efforts to help her. Moved by her plight, Durant devised a plan to find her a new post.

. . . I have been thinking of trying through the Combes and Macgregors to get her a quiet place for the winter at Hastings. . . . So I shall . . . make a little trip to Hastings next Saturday taking Dennis with me--to see and be seen by someone wanting such a servant--and in the day or two I should stay there she could judge if the air suited her.<sup>88</sup>

In spite of some initial difficulty she managed to settle Dennis away from the polluted fogs of London and maintained occasional contact with her thereafter.<sup>89</sup>

The need that prompted this act of kindness came at an extremely inopportune time. A letter to Emma conveys the pressure under which Durant was labouring.

I have had a week of such hard work Dearest Emma, and such trouble with an invalid household! [George Durant was still convalescing] You say my best plan is to answer advertisements for a maid to replace poor Dennis. But how can I when, off in the morning at 9:30 and home at six, I have neither time to write the letters, and if I did, could not make an appointment to see servants as, till my sitting of one day is over, I don't know what may be H.M.'s [Her Majesty's] orders for the next day! I am in a regular fix.<sup>90</sup>

Despite investing over a week in both placing and replying to advertisements and assessing thirty candidates she did not succeed in finding a replacement until after New Year's day.<sup>91</sup>

An added domestic concern came in the form of Henry Paul Harvey Durant, her unacknowledged son. He was born in Paris in October 1869 and after an initial few months there Durant brought him to London where she arranged for him to live with her friend Dr. Elizabeth Blackwell. Although Dr. Blackwell also had full-time professional duties, her twenty-three-year-old adopted daughter, Kitty Barry, was delighted to take charge of the baby, whose origins were kept secret from her. In addition to her ministrations Paul benefitted from the care of "two nurses, and the devoted attention of Miss Durant," who was described as his French foster mother.<sup>92</sup> Paul is never mentioned in letters to either her father or Emma but it is clear from the Blackwell records that Durant invested time and affection on him, taking him to Paris to visit his father, Baron Triqueti (see chapter three).

Three Bryanston Place had none of the exotic accoutrements favoured by Amelia Paton Hill in Newington Lodge. It was furnished in the current fashion and ornamented with gifts from friends. Chief among the contributors was Emma Wallis who sent a handsome dessert service and supplied blankets for the guest room.<sup>93</sup> Durant depended a great deal on Emma's advice on and assistance with various other domestic concerns. In anticipation of the move to Bryanston Place she consulted Emma. "I am very eager to know who it is you can recommend to assist me in my moving. It is a most anxious thought just now and I shall be so grateful if you can help me."<sup>94</sup> Her generous-hearted friend not only made recommendations, she took a personal role in the move, staying in London long enough to put all in motion and departing when it was appropriate to leave the Durants to their unpacking.<sup>95</sup>

The move to this spacious and ideally located house which she chose and appointed was an important milestone for Susan. Behind her bantering comment, "I am very proud of my wedding present which I consider the dessert service to be," is the implicit message that by the act of making this house her own, she had attained full adult status. For women in the Victorian era the entry into adulthood was marked by marriage rather than by the attainment of a designated age, as it was for men.<sup>96</sup> By virtue of remaining single, a woman occupied a liminal state between childhood and adulthood. If she continued to live with her parent(s) the perception of her dependence was intensified. However, Susan Durant wanted to be known in her own right, not as someone's wife or as a dependent daughter. Her friend Cornelia Crosse described her as "ambitious of making for herself a place in the world amongst the great thinkers and workers of the day. . . . Few persons were ever more thorough in their devotion to work than the subject of this memoir. It was her first idea in life, and one to which all others were subordinated."<sup>97</sup> The "wedding present . . . minus the husband" alludes to her desire for autonomy and the legal advantages of spinsterhood.

Durant negotiated the domestic world with the substantial help of a network of friends, family, and servants. People like Lucy and Kitty freed her from two of the responsibilities that circumscribed the lives of most women: the care of an invalid parent and child-rearing duties. Others, such as Emma Wallis and George Durant encouraged and facilitated her career by helping her to ensure that the household was adequately staffed and provisioned to meet the needs of its inmates and their guests. In return, Durant undertook errands in

London and Paris for them, acted as cicerone when they wished to visit galleries, and entertained them at her home. Her tender solicitude for the unfortunate Dennis demonstrates how much effort she would expend to help those within her domestic purview.<sup>98</sup>

Harriet Hosmer preferred to keep her studio and lodgings separate. When she first arrived at Rome (1852) she was given rooms in Charlotte Cushman's household and installed in a small studio that had once belonged to Antonio Canova. Cushman saw to the domestic concerns of her enclave of artists, acting toward Hosmer "like a mother . . . who spoils me utterly." Thirteen years later Hosmer moved to her own apartment and established herself in a studio nearby that she had built to personal specifications.<sup>99</sup>

The professional counterpart to domestic organization for these women was the management of the studio and its personnel. Ordering tools and materials was a routine task akin to provisioning a house, and the various ancillary workers were the business equivalents of household servants. Hosmer is pictured with her twenty-four Italian workmen in a photograph taken c. 1867.<sup>100</sup> However, it does not appear that any of the British women employed such a prodigious number of staff. As part of a sculpting enterprise, Mary Thornycroft likely never had sole responsibility for hiring and paying studio workmen but she would have at least been familiar with this aspect of the work. Over the years the Thornycrofts employed a succession of stonecutters from a family named Smith. In addition there were pointers Radburn and Rice and, of course, the plasterers who came and went as required.<sup>101</sup> Mary's handling of the accounts with the Keeper of the Privy Purse has been examined already. That



she was scrupulous in all her financial dealings is evident from her concern to pay bills on time, keep to a budget, and balance her bank books both during her career and after retirement.<sup>102</sup>

Grant entrusted the superintendence of her studio to Mr. Schoonjans, her assistant of over ten years, leaving him in charge during her frequent absences. The complement of workers she employed varied according to the number of commissions on hand. In July 1876 she recorded, "Studio very busy. Five men at work--a lovely sight! i.e., two men on marble of memorial, one casting bust of Mrs. Drummond, one carving lettering, one polishing marble--while I still am busy modelling in my inner studio."<sup>103</sup>

Amelia Paton Hill might have had studio assistants but they are nowhere recorded. Like Grant, she used specialist carvers to render at least two of her works in stone: the Burns monument and her group entitled *Goodnight Papa* (1877), which was carved in London by A. Fontana.

Various workmen's names appear in Durant's correspondence. Dawes was instructed "to prepare the clay" in anticipation of her return from Paris. In another letter she asked "if Read attended to my orders about packing the marble medallion, and if he has begun the work at Conduit Street."<sup>104</sup> She was discriminating in her choice of workers. She told Emma that "Tomorrow . . . my Milanese sculptor [is] to come on approval." Apparently he did not pass muster as a letter dated one week later announced, "I have a bit of good news--a ~~treasure~~ of an assistant--a Belgian; so steady and clever he has been working at the studio since Thursday last and we are making progress." A subsequent letter identifies him as Fabris and depicts him working cooperatively with his

employer.<sup>105</sup>

Certain developments in the art world, some of which had their roots early in the century, had a significant impact on the prospects of female sculptors who were active in the last quarter of the nineteenth century. By the time Sarah Tooley wrote her article of 1895, Amelia Paton Hill had been retired for over a decade. Yet, like Mary Thornycroft, she "never ceased to model, . . . sitting at one end of the dining-room, with her tools spread out on a long narrow table, and a piece of waxcloth put on the floor to catch the bits. . . . She . . . love[d] to have friends around her chatting as she work[ed]."<sup>106</sup> Her use of the dining room and Mary Thornycroft's of the drawing room in which to sculpt illustrate how domestic locations and professional functions were occasionally brought together by the women. Yet it was not women, alone, who practiced this elision of the professional and the domestic. A circle of artists and literary luminaries, including Baron Triqueti, Ary Scheffer, Paul Delaroche, and Baron Gros, "would gather around a large table and improvise drawings or model in clay or wax" at Mme. de Fauveau's house.<sup>107</sup> Her daughter Félicie eventually joined their ranks having embraced sculpting as a life's profession.

Increasingly, and for various reasons, artists fostered a fusion of house and studio by building ever more elaborate premises in which to live and work. Such establishments were often sumptuously appointed in keeping with the celebrity status that was beginning to accrue to artists. They became showcases for their works and hallmarks of their success. Earlier in the century art aficionados made informal tours of studios in their leisure time, often seeing several sculptors at work in the course of an afternoon. But with the advent of

the grand studio-houses in the late 1870s came also the institution of "Shew Sundays" for which sculptors dressed up and decorated the studio with flowers to receive the public. The opportunity to see artists in their homes, at work, was extended to those who did not reside in major art centres by magazine and journal articles which featured descriptions and photographs of painters and sculptors in, what had become, their natural habitat.<sup>108</sup>

This blurring of the distinction between home and work place was not due to any special influence exercised by female artists. Rather, Cherry suggests that "the artist-house was less a space of domestic femininity and more the sign and visible manifestation of artistic masculinity."<sup>109</sup> The rise of the artist-house did not signal a feminisation of the studio but amounted to a further masculinization of art production. However, a beneficial side effect of the phenomenon was an increased association of fine art production with the home and an implication that the home and the cultural market-place could be allied without sullyng the domestic environment. Even though some of the female sculptors did not actually combine living and studio spaces, the nineteenth-century discourse of middle-class domesticity associated them with the home. By logical extension, the publicity surrounding the studio-houses of other artists would have the effect of validating the professional activities of the sculpting women.

It was precisely their professional identity, rather than their gender, that the female sculptors chose to emphasize. There is every indication that they were prepared to participate in the creative processes of sculpting to the same extent as any of their confrères. Faced with exclusion from academic life classes,

they made private arrangements for comprehensive training from master sculptors. Yet, far from being permanently disadvantaged by the prejudicial rules of the academies, the women positively benefitted. Their experience of working in a busy atelier among other students, most of whom were male, endowed them with considerable confidence in their ability to compete in the Victorian art world. This is evident in their handling of confrontations with exhibiting societies (see chapter three) and slanderous colleagues and in their engagement with the market place.

Most of them proved to be capable businesswomen, learning either from experienced family members or as a result of occasional blunders from which adroit recoveries were made. The transferable skills of provisioning, staffing, supervising and keeping accounts for a household offered additional preparation for managing a studio. Although involved in domestic affairs, theirs was a heavily revised domesticity, influenced more by the model of the studio-house than by the dicta of Mrs. Beeton.<sup>110</sup> They were certainly not defined by their engagement with household tasks. Those who married chose husbands who facilitated their careers and, in the case of the Thornycrofts, incorporated the children into the family enterprise. Remarkably, Durant reversed the usual gender and generational roles by enlisting her father as her agent in both domestic and professional matters. All relied on the help and goodwill of friends, family members, and servants both to minimize the demands of household management and to ease their way in the business of sculpture. Thus they combined the advantages of a female support network with those of the mentor-protégé relationship upon which their male

counterparts customarily depended.

In addition to acquiring proficiency in sculpting techniques and competence in conducting studio business, the sculpting women had to avail themselves of opportunities to advance their reputations. How they created public profiles for themselves and established advantageous professional relationships will be considered in the next chapter.

## ENDNOTES

1. Tooley, "Notable Victorians," 6.
2. P.G. Hamerton, *Thoughts About Art* (1862), 354; quoted in Alison Smith, *The Victorian Nude: Sexuality, Morality and Art* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1996), 29-30.
3. Sherwood, *Harriet Hosmer*, 91.
4. Nunn, "Critically Speaking," in *Victorian Art World*, ed. Orr, 110.
5. Sibyl, "Art as a Career for Girls: an Interview with Miss Jessie Macgregor," *The Girl's Realm Annual for 1904* (London: Bousfield and Co., 1904), 934-42.
6. Carr, *Harriet Hosmer*, 373-74.
7. For a full description see Read, *Victorian Sculpture*.
8. Thomas Thornycroft to Mary Thornycroft, Macclesfield, 31 May 1844, TT.C.135. See also Read, *Victorian Sculpture*, 56.
9. Tooley, "Interview," 365.
10. Hamo Thornycroft's Journal, 1 November 1877, J(a) 196; Susan Durant to [Emma Wallis] 25 February 1866, RA Vic Add X2/212 C/3.
11. Hamo's Journal 2 April 1887, J(2); 30 March 1890, J(5) 32.
12. Chilvers, ed., *Oxford Dictionary of Art*, s.v. "pointing."
13. Hamo's Journal, 19 July 1873, J(a) 174; Edward Pinnington, *Art Journal* (1897), 240.
14. Susan Durant, Short Diary, 15 November 1865, RA Vic Add X2/37, 12; Sherwood, *Harriet Hosmer*, 212, 216.
15. Read, *Victorian Sculpture*, 52.
16. Harriet Hosmer to Wayman Crow, 7 August 1855, Schlesinger Library, Radcliffe College; quoted in Sherwood, *Harriet Hosmer*, 107.

17. Thornycroft, *Bronze and Steel*, 39.
18. The exact figures are: Durant 65.7 per cent ; Grant 52 per cent; Thornycroft 38.8 per cent; and Hill 37.5 per cent.
19. Janson, *Nineteenth-Century Sculpture*, 10-13 passim; Sherwood, *Harriet Hosmer*, 45.
20. Harriet Hosmer, "Miss Hosmer's *Zenobia*," *Art Journal* 26 (January 1864), 27; Harriet Hosmer to Hiram Powers, 19 January 1864, Hiram Powers Papers, Microfilm, Archives of American Art, Smithsonian Institution, no. 1145; quoted in Sherwood, *Harriet Hosmer*, 220.
21. Sherwood, *Harriet Hosmer*, 218-221; W.W. Story, "Our Weekly Gossip," *Athenaeum*, 9 December 1863, 840; Harriet Hosmer, "The Process of Sculpture," *Atlantic Monthly* 14, no. 86 (December 1864); quoted in Carr, ed., *Hosmer Letters*, 370; John Gibson, November 1863, Rome; quoted in Frances Power Cobbe, *Life of Frances Power Cobbe as told by Herself* (London: Sonnenschein, 1904), 390.
22. Hosmer, "*Zenobia*," 27; Hosmer, "The Process of Sculpture," 372-73.
23. Susan Durant to Emma Wallis, 28 December [1865], 24 July 1866, RA Vic Add X2/46, 73; Queen Victoria's Journal, 16 August 1866; Susan Durant to George Durant, 28 December [1866], 4 [June 1867], X2/103, 129.
24. Prince of Wales to Princess Louise, 30 August 1863, RA Vic Add A17/80; Privy Purse Papers, 17 July 1868, RA PP Vic 2/123/14451. Prince Arthur to Princess Louise, 16 January 1866, RA Vic Add A17/135.
25. Read, *Victorian Sculpture*, 60; Wasserman, *Metamorphoses*, 7-8; Thornycroft, *Bronze and Steel*, 55-56, 63-64; Charles Avery and Madeleine Marsh, "The Bronze Statuettes of the Art Union of London: the Rise and Decline of Victorian Taste in Sculpture," *Apollo* 121 (May 1985), 329, 331.
26. Ellet, *Women Artists in All Ages*, 224-26 passim.
27. Susan Durant to Sir Thomas Biddulph, 5 April 1866, RA PP Vic 2/101/10303; "Miss Durant's Bust of Ruth," *Art Journal* (1870), 94; Jeanne L. Wasserman, ed., *Metamorphoses in Nineteenth-Century Sculpture* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Fogg Art Museum and Harvard University Press, 1975), 8.
28. See, for example, RA PP Vic 2/33/947; 2/43/604; 2/61/3610.

29. Elizabeth Aslin, "The Rise and Progress of the Art Union of London," *Apollo* 85 (January 1967), 15; Asa Briggs, *Victorian Things* (London: Batsford; University of Chicago Press, 1989), 150-51.
30. "Passing Events," *English Woman's Journal* (March- August 1863), 215; "A bust of HRH the Princess Alice," *Art Journal* (1862), 110. A sample of the Parian commissions will suffice: RA PP Vic 2/57/2972; 2/63/3901; 2/119/13738.
31. Macleod, *Art and the Victorian Middle Class*, 69; Wasserman, *Metamorphoses*, 2.
32. Lady Ely to Queen Victoria, 6 January 1877, RA Vic Add T 149; Copeland, "Diary Transcription," 109-10; "The death of Mary Thornycroft," *Lady's Pictorial* 29 (1895), 232; Hamo's Journal, 18 April 1872, J(a) 101; *Illustrated London News*, 18 October 1862, 416; Sherwood, *Harriet Hosmer*, 119; Tufts, *American Women Artists*, 101, 102, 103; Heller, *Women Artists*, 85-86.
33. "Livingstone," *Art Journal*, April 1874, 191. D.O.Hill to John and Jane McDonald, 29 December 1869, NLS Acc McDonald 1.12; Ormond, *Dictionary of British Portraiture*, s.v. "D.O.Hill," "Sir Joseph Noel Paton;" Gifford, *Edinburgh*, 390; "Journal" *Guide to Dunfermline*, 131.
34. Wasserman, *Metamorphoses*, 1-2; "Copyright Law and Sculptors," *Athenaeum*, 7 March 1863, 337.
35. Ormond, *Early Victorian Portraits*, s.v. "Tennyson, Alfred first Baron."
36. Mary Thornycroft to Sir Charles Phipps, 5 January 1859, RA PP Vic 2/33/9749.
37. [27 January] 1869, RA PP Vic 2/127/15356; Mary Thornycroft 15 December 1876, PP Vic 1876/22537.
38. July 1858, RA PP Vic 2/31/9417; 20 October, PP Vic 2/65/4300.
39. D.O.Hill to the President and Council of the RSA, 9 February 1870, RSA Letterbook 1869; [illegible] Wistanley, House of Commons, to Mrs. D.O.Hill, 1 June 1899, NLS Acc McDonald 1.15; Robert Moffat, Forfar, 30 June 1873, NLS Acc McDonald 2.6.
40. Susan Durant to the Dean of Windsor, 14 November 1867, RA PP Vic 1867/796.
41. Dean of Windsor to Sir Thomas Biddulph, November 1867, *Ibid.*



42. Sir Thomas Biddulph to Susan Durant, November 1867, RA PP Vic 1867/795; Susan Durant to Sir Thomas Biddulph, 28 January 1868, RA PP Vic 1868/1292.
43. Susan Durant to Sir Thomas Biddulph, 12 September 1866, RA PP Vic 2/105/11080; Mary Thornycroft to Sir Charles Phipps, 4 January 1861, PP Vic 2/48/1503; Read, *Victorian Sculpture*, 59.
44. Susan Durant to Sir Thomas Biddulph, 6 April [1866], RA PP Vic 1866/21392; Susan Durant to Emma Wallis, 10 March [1867], X2/118. The monument was subsequently scheduled to be shown at Durant's studio in June. Susan Durant to Emma Wallis, 22 May [1867], X2/127.
45. Helland, *Professional Women Painters*, 42.
46. Cherry, *Painting Women*, 98.
47. Read, *Victorian Sculpture*, 59.
48. Graves, *British Institution*, s.v. "Mary Thornycroft;" 27 August 1867, RA PP Vic 2/75/5802; 15 December 1876, PP Vic 1876/22537; 8-14 December 1864, PP Vic 2/88/7924; 3 August 1868, PP Vic 2/127/15356.
49. "Women's Fawcett Memorial," *Englishwoman's Review*, 15 July 1885, 325.
50. Billcliffe, *Royal Glasgow Institute*, s.v. "Hill, Mrs. David Octavius;" Laperrière, *Royal Scottish Academy Exhibitors*, s.v., "Hill, Mrs. D.O."
51. Susan Durant to Emma Wallis, 12 July [1866], RA Vic Add X2/73.
52. Bruce Joy, London, to Isabella Gore-Booth, 22 April 1873, Correspondence to Mrs. Gore-Booth, Strathclyde Regional Archives, Mitchell Library, Glasgow, TD1/459; Billcliffe, *Royal Glasgow Institute*, s.v. "Isabella Smith, Mrs. Henry Gore-Booth." I am indebted to Helen Smailes for the information about Isabella Gore-Booth.
53. Susan Durant to Sir Thomas Biddulph, 12 September 1866, RA PP Vic 2/105/11080; 1867, PP Vic 2/113/12673; Sydney Parks (City Surveyor to the Corporation of the City of London), *The History of the Mansion House* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1922), 204; "Minor Topics of the Month," *Art Journal* (1856), 126; Contract for the erection of a statue of the Faithful Shepherdess, between Miss Susan Durant and the Mayor and Commonalty and Citizens of the City of London, 11 July 1861, Guildhall, Corporation of London

Records Office, Compt. C.L.Deeds, Box 118, No. 41.

54.Susan Durant to George Durant, RA Vic Add X2/18; X2/47; X2/106; X2/109; X2/128.

55.Graham Hopner, Local Studies Librarian, Dumbarton Public Library, to Miss Helen Smailes, Scottish National Portrait Gallery, Edinburgh, 10 November 1988, Research on Isabella Gore-Booth.

56.Read, Victorian Sculpture, 171.

57.Bessie Rayner Parkes, "Essays on Woman's Work;" quoted in "Miss Parkes' Essays on Woman's Work," Victoria Magazine 5 (May - October 1865), 175-76.

58.F.T. Palgrave, "Women and the Fine Arts," Macmillan's Magazine 12 (June 1865), 126.

59.Hamo's journal, 20 March 1888, J(3). Dakers, Holland Park Circle, 181-182 passim.

60.Dakers, Holland Park Circle, 1.

61.Graves, Royal Academy, s.v. "Francis, Mary," "Thornycroft, Mary;" Graves, British Institution, s.v. "Thornycroft, Mary."

62.Thomas Thornycroft to [?], 27 May 1850, 5 March 1851, 10 April 1860, TT.C.142, 144,156; Ann Thornycroft's diary, 11-14 June; 30 August; 22 and 23 December 1857; Dakers, Holland Park Circle, 179.

63.Hamo's journal, 29 October, 1890, J(a)90; Manning, Bronze and Steel, 52.

64.Barrington, "Mrs. Mary Thornycroft," 263.

65.Dinah Mulock Craik, A Woman's Thoughts About Women (1858); quoted in Perkin, Women and Marriage, 56.

66.Mary Thornycroft, Osborne House, to Thomas Thornycroft, 21 December 1869, Transcript, Thornycroft Archive, TII.C.T(Ma)31; Davidoff, Family Fortunes, 32, 279-282 passim.

67.Noel Paton to Mrs. Tod, [1853], NLS MS 1749 f. 54; D.O. Hill, Edinburgh, to Noel Paton, Dunfermline, [January or February 1850], Transcript, NLS Acc 11315.

68. Laperrière, *RSA Exhibitors*, s.v. "Paton, Amelia R.;" Festival Society, *The Patons*, 8; Smailes, *Scottish National Portrait Gallery*, s.v. "Hill, Amelia Robertson;" Tooley, "Interview," 365; D.O. Hill to Noel Paton, 11 July 1853, 6 August 1854, Transcript, NLS Acc 11315; Marriage Certificate, 1858, Scottish Record Office 424/1 100. I am indebted to Roddy Simpson for the information about the 1851 census and the Marriage Certificate. Roddy Simpson, "Scottish Women Artists," (unpublished essay, 2000), 10 n. 7, 8.

69. Schwarz, *David Octavius Hill*, 28; D.O. Hill to Noel Paton [July 1851], Acc 11315; Laperrière, *RSA Exhibitors*, s.v. "Hill, Mrs. D.O.;" Sharp, "D.O. Hill," 19.

70. Figures are taken from Hill's exhibition records with duplicate showings excluded. The same treatment applies to the other women with the inclusion of unexhibited works named in their letters. Their approximate rate of output per year was: Hill - 2.9, Grant - 3.5, Durant - 1.6, and Thornycroft - 1.2. These numbers cannot be exact, especially in view of Mary Thornycroft's unacknowledged contributions to family projects. As well, each sculptor likely produced unexhibited works for which records have been lost.

71. Tooley, "Interview," 364; "Mrs. Amelia Robertson Paton or Hill, Record of Inventory," [Last Will and Testament] vol. 1139 p. 131, Scottish Record Office, SC 70/4/360.

72. Tooley, "Notable Victorians," 6; Schwarz, *David Octavius Hill*, 28 n. 12; Sharp, "D.O. Hill," 17.

73. Tooley, "Interview," 361, 365.

74. "Death of Mrs. D.O. Hill," *Englishwoman's Review*, 5 October 1904, 281-82; Barrington, "Mrs. Mary Thornycroft," 263.

75. 1866, 25 March 1869, 13 August 1873, January 1874, January to September 1885, Copeland, "Diary Transcription," 4, 5, 9, 29-33.

76. *Englishwoman's Review* (1880), 333. Dakers, *Holland Park Circle*, 1. Mary Grant to Charles C. Grafton, 22 October [1887], St. Paul's Cathedral Archive, 8-37; "Miss Mary Grant," *Ladies' Field*, 15 July 1899, 248-49.

77. 26 September 1868, 7 November and 17 December 1874, 5 July 1877, October 1877, 2 February 1878, 26 March 1878, 10 May 1880, Copeland, "Diary Transcription," 97, 10, 16, 17, 18, 19, 27.

78. See: Copeland, "A Mark on Time," appended list of works by Mary Grant.
79. Graves, Royal Academy, s.v. "Durant, Susan D."
80. Lucy R. Shilston, Marginal notes, RA Vic Add X2/212 C/1; Susan Durant, Radnor Place, to George Durant, 31 December 1864, X2/3; Susan Durant, Radnor Place, to Emma Wallis, 6 November 1866, X2/212 C/10.
81. Susan Durant to Emma Wallis, 25 November 1866, 22 March 1868, X2/94, 178.
82. Susan Durant to Emma Wallis, 17 March [1867], 22 August 1870, X2/119, 199; Susan Durant, Paris, to George Durant, [n.d. 1867], 13 May [1869], X2/129, 196.
83. Susan Durant to George Durant, [24 August 1865], 5 October 1865, X2/17, 30.
84. Susan Durant to Emma Wallis, 2 December 1866, X2/96.
85. Susan Durant to George Durant, 7 July 1864, September 1865, 30 December 1866, 1 January 1867, 4th, Thursday [1867], X2/2, 20, 104, 105, 129.
86. Susan Durant, Osborne House, to George Durant, January 1866, X2/51.
87. Susan Durant to Emma Wallis, 11 May 1866, X2/68; "Will of George Durant, Esq." proved 11 April 1872, Public Record Office, Family Division, London.
88. Susan Durant to Emma Wallis, 24 August 1866, 25 November 1866, X2/212 C/8, 94.
89. Susan Durant to Emma Wallis, 2 December 1866, Saturday 22nd [December 1866], 17 March [1867], X2/96, 101, 119; Susan Durant, Paris, to George Durant, 30 December 1866, X2/104.
90. Susan Durant, London, to Emma Wallis, 25 November 1866, X2/94.
91. Susan Durant to Emma Wallis, 2 December 1866, X2/96.
92. Hays, Extraordinary Blackwells, 173.
93. Susan Durant to Emma Wallis, [?] October 1866, 25 November 1866, 2 December 1866, [22 May 1867], X2/212 C/10, X2/94, 96, 127; Susan Durant to George Durant, 30 December 1866, X2/101.
94. Susan Durant to Emma Wallis, 24 July [1866], X2/73.

95. Susan Durant to Emma Wallis, October 1866, 22 [December] 1866, X2/212 C/10, X2/101.
96. Levine, *Feminist Lives*, 42; Davidoff, *Family Fortunes*, 322.
97. Crosse, "Susan Durant, the Sculptor," 27.
98. Susan Durant to Emma Wallis, 24 July [1866]; 22nd [no month, 1866], RA Vic Add X2/73, 101; Susan Durant to George Durant, 15 May [1869], X2/196.
99. Sherwood, *Harriet Hosmer*, 147, 237, 238; Comini, "Who Ever Heard of a Woman Sculptor?," 18.
100. Comini, "Who Ever Heard of a Woman Sculptor?," 19.
101. Dakers, *Holland Park Circle*, 182; Hamo's Journal, 19 and 25 November 1877, J(a) 196.
102. Mary Thornycroft to Hamo Thornycroft, 13 and 14 October [1894], 8 November 1894, 3 September 1885, T II.C.T(Ma)12, 14, 24.
103. September 1886, July 1876, Copeland, "Diary Transcription," 35, 13.
104. Susan Durant, Paris, to George Durant, 22 August [1865], [n.d.] 1866, X2/16, 74.
105. Susan Durant to Emma Wallis, 28 January 1866, 5 February 1866, 11 March 1866, X2/55, 56, 60.
106. Tooley, "Interview," 367.
107. Fine, *Women and Art*, s.v. "Félicie de Fauveau."
108. For example: Harry How, "Hamo Thornycroft," *Strand Magazine* 6 (1893) and Mrs. Haweis, *Beautiful Houses* (London 1882). Hamo's Journal, 2 and 3 April 1887, 30 March 1890, J(2)2, J(5)32; Sherwood, *Harriet Hosmer*, 257.
109. Cherry, *Painting Women*, 87.
110. Isabella Beeton, *Household Management* (1861).

## CHAPTER 3

### MAKING THEIR WAY

Much like explorers traversing infrequently travelled jungle terrain, the female sculptors had to make their way through the undergrowth of law and custom that obscured and obstructed their career paths. Even though others such as Mrs. Damer had preceded them, the track she had cleared was quickly overgrown and barely discernible to the next generation of sculpting women. How they obtained public recognition and who they chose to assist them in mapping out their careers are the questions this chapter will attempt to answer.

#### CREATING A PUBLIC PROFILE

One of the more difficult tasks facing a woman sculptor was making herself and her work known without ending up on the wrong side of the fine line that divided notability from notoriety. Unlike their male counterparts, who were strongly urged to make good names for themselves, virtuous women were expected to eschew publicity. The middle-class maxim that a lady's name should appear in the newspapers only twice during her lifetime--upon her marriage and at her death--held considerable sway. Even successful writers such as Christina Rossetti and the women's rights activists Maria Grey and Emily Shirreff practised a surprising degree of self-effacement.<sup>1</sup>

The conflict between the social expectations of feminine modesty and the professional demands of publicizing and marketing is illustrated by two comments about the work of the sculpting women. The first is found in a paean

to Mary Grant's career. Although "overcoming all obstacles, and in the end making for herself a name," Grant is portrayed as approaching this task with considerable ambivalence. The reader is told that her name "would be a great deal more famous than it is were not the lady of so retiring a disposition as to avoid anything like that amount of publicity which at present seems indispensable to the acquisition of celebrity."<sup>2</sup> While this tribute to her modesty was presumably intended to magnify Grant's professional merits, such a ploy would be senseless if it did not resonate with contemporary conventions of femininity. The second illustration comes from a satiric article, entitled "The Girl of the Period Art Student," which ridiculed both the noteworthiness of work produced by young ladies and society's anxiety that they would make spectacles of themselves. Speaking of the inroads made by various female artists, the author marvelled that

even sculpture, with its more laborious manipulation, has recently received new attractions from feminine fingers by the works of Mrs. Thornycroft. . . . But most of these lady artists, it will be urged, developed their talents, and followed the bent of their artistic proclivities within the sanctuary of their own homes, and no undue ~~personal publicity~~ [emphasis mine] was incurred by them either during the period of their studies, nor even in the eventual exhibition and sale of their works.<sup>3</sup>

Derisory tone notwithstanding, the passage suggests that artists such as Thornycroft and Durant, who were active from the 1840s onward, provided some of the impetus behind the attitudinal changes about feminine occupations. How was it that they were able to establish themselves as serious artists and avoid alienating the public to whom they sought to sell their works? Answers

may be found by examining the social circumstances that facilitated their career aspirations and the means employed by the women to realize them.

Three socio-political developments stand out as being particularly influential in preparing people to countenance sculpting as a career for women. Firstly, Victoria's accession to the throne at age eighteen had unanticipated ramifications for her female subjects. Despite the Queen's vociferous condemnation of the "mad, wicked folly of 'Women's Rights'," she nevertheless provided a new image of womanhood to the nation.<sup>4</sup> Nina Auerbach notes the ironic effect that both the Queen and Florence Nightingale had on women's prospects. "Neither woman wanted to be a feminist, each saw herself as working for and through men, but their lives added transfiguring possibilities to the Victorian myth of womanhood, particularly of woman alone and in command."<sup>5</sup>

A second factor that stimulated discussion about women's engagement in fine arts careers was the 1851 census of England and Wales which provided the worrying evidence that women over age twenty-one outnumbered men of the same age range by approximately ten per cent.<sup>6</sup> This meant a reduced expectation of marriage for a significant proportion of the female population, among them gentlewomen, whose only sanctioned recourse to self-support was governessing. The spectre of genteel poverty, combined with a growing ennui among young ladies who yearned for meaningful employment, prompted a spate of articles and remedial programs.<sup>7</sup> One of the latter was the Society for Promoting the Employment of Women which was founded in 1859 with the dual purpose of helping women to obtain respectable employment and of widening



the field of occupations available to them.<sup>8</sup>

Articles in monthly periodicals examined the crisis from diverse perspectives. Barbara Bodichon's essay on "Women and Work" (1857) characterized the drawing-room accomplishments that filled the days of most ladies as "killing to the soul" insofar as they were practiced solely as "amusements." She counselled women to seek more purposeful outlets for their energies.<sup>9</sup> In sharp contrast, William Rathbone Greg raised the question "Why Are Women Redundant?" and answered it by blaming men for selfishness and women for demanding their rights.<sup>10</sup> Many other pieces written during the 1850s and 1860s suggested suitable paid occupations for middle-class women. Careers in fine and applied art feature frequently in this literature.<sup>11</sup>

A third development that further encouraged women to contemplate becoming professional artists was the government's energetic program to improve the state of the fine and manufacturing arts in Great Britain. Following the recommendations of the Select Committees on Arts and Manufactures (1835-36) and the Promotion of the Fine Arts (1841), a series of high-profile projects was initiated.<sup>12</sup> In the 1830s a national network of Schools of Design was instituted to provide artisans with superior training in industrial design. During the 1840s a competition for decorating the Houses of Parliament was held to stimulate the growth of a British school of painting and sculpting.<sup>13</sup> Both initiatives were well-received but it was the Great Exhibition of 1851 which generated the most excitement about the industrial arts. Along with a dazzling array of manufactured goods, the exhibition included a display of fine British sculpture. This fabulously successful event was followed by the Manchester Art

Treasures Exhibition in 1857. Dedicated exclusively to the promotion of the fine arts, it featured old master works from private collections and contemporary British paintings and sculptures gathered together in an opulent homage to art.

Something of the impact of the government's schemes to encourage and enhance fine and applied art production can be inferred from the response of women to the Schools of Design. Although never intended to dispense fine art training, these schools increasingly attracted middle-class women attempting to compensate for their exclusion from the RA Schools. Ten years after its inception, the Female School of Design (1842) was re-named the Female School of Art, signalling the decision to include fine art training in its curriculum.<sup>14</sup> Such a substantial shift in policy indicates the heightened demand for professional art instruction that was being made by young women. It also reveals a greater openness, on the part of the Female School administration and perhaps a wider public, to the idea of women taking up art as a career.

This constellation of social developments was pertinent to the opening up of sculpting to women for several reasons. Each development had profound implications for the identity of the nation. It had been over a century since a woman had been the head of state; British pride in her cultural and industrial products was threatened; and the failure to provide husbands for so many of the nation's women raised anxieties about the future of the race. Individuals were forced to confront their stereotypes and alter their perceptions of society. Two of these circumstances, the coronation of a queen and the gender imbalance, related directly to the place of women in society. The concern to find livelihoods for "surplus" women and the government project to enhance the production and

consumption of British art both focused national attention on the composition and preparedness of the workforce, especially as it related to art. Thus, in addition to the impact these issues had singly, they also worked in concert, compounding their effects and complicating the possible responses to them. By the end of the 1850s, the populace had been sufficiently indoctrinated in the civilizing effects of fine art and introduced to new roles for women to wear down some of the resistance to the idea that ladies could be professional sculptors without sacrificing their refinement.

Encouraged by these changes, female aspirants made their way into the professional arena by subtly stretching and/or transgressing the boundaries of existing institutions and social conventions. The expansion of the Female School of Design curriculum to include fine art instruction was one such operation. Another area of approved feminine activity that lent itself to augmentation and re-definition was the upper and middle-class practice of educating daughters to an amateur level of proficiency in drawing and painting.<sup>15</sup>

While such accomplishment training has been identified as an obvious staging ground for many professional female painters, the connection with sculptors is more complex. Because of its lesser compatibility with domestic life, sculpture "would certainly not have formed part of the standard education of most haute bourgeois women [sic]. . . . A serious engagement with this medium was most likely to stem from a commitment to seek training outside the home (unless . . . the artist was her father's pupil) and the assumption of a professional identity."<sup>16</sup> This observation readily accords with what is known of the experience of Thornycroft and Durant, neither of whom appears to have taken

up modelling as a drawing-room pursuit, representations of Durant's early art training notwithstanding. Nevertheless, there is evidence that some young women did dabble at sculpting. Princess Caroline of Brunswick "practiced sculpting as an accomplishment art" as did Maud Paget who received instruction at her home in Cambridge.<sup>17</sup> The fictional Miss Guest, a haughty young gentlewoman in George Eliot's novel, *The Mill on the Floss*, is described as "the most enviable person . . . to have the talent of modelling."<sup>18</sup> It was not necessary for the earliest of the Victorian female sculptors to have been introduced to sculpting as an accomplishment in order for them to have expanded the limits of that social convention to encompass professional practice. All that was needed was the potential for young ladies to engage in sculpting at an amateur level; as long as accomplishment art was presumed to embrace sculpture as well as drawing and watercolours it was possible for people to conceive of women sculpting.

Durant's obituary notices give further credence to the hypothesis that accomplishment art provided a discursive framework upon which Thornycroft and Durant were able to build careers. Four different periodicals represented her as an accomplished lady who turned her favourite amusement into a life's work. The *Athenaeum* branded her art as purely avocational. "Miss Susan Durant, a pupil of the late M. Triqueti, and herself an amateur, rather than a severely trained sculptor, died lately."<sup>19</sup> This comment is characteristic of the periodical's disdainful attitude toward the "amateur" efforts of ladies.<sup>20</sup> The *Times* was careful to do justice to Durant's achievements by citing the royal commissions she was given and her more celebrated portrait busts. In addition,

the obituarist portrayed her as a genteel practitioner of the plastic art. "With Miss Durant the art of sculpture was followed, not for the sake of pecuniary gain, but through a love of the art itself."<sup>21</sup> The careful wording here also casts Durant in the guise of an amateur but it does not belie the prior information that she was a sought-after professional. A similar elision of the accomplished and the professional pursuit of sculpting is found in the *Art Journal's* treatment of her death.

She studied her art in France, . . . but without, as we understand, any intention of adopting it as a profession; this, however, she ultimately did, and . . . [she] rarely was absent from the exhibitions of the Royal Academy.<sup>22</sup>

The final representation is a notice in the *Queen* that was written by her friend Cornelia Crosse.

She was not driven to art by [pecuniary] necessity . . . . .  
. . . but the plastic art becomes an expensive amusement, and she found that her work would have to be circumscribed if followed only as a pastime. Rather than be restricted in her favourite pursuit, she announced her intention of devoting herself to the work professionally, and this she did heart and soul from the moment her resolution was formed.<sup>23</sup>

All but the *Athenaeum* acknowledged Durant's professional status which they explained by referring to an earlier acquaintance with sculpting as an accomplishment activity. While it is questionable that Durant ever idly dabbled at modelling--her intense commitment to work is evident in her correspondence and in Crosse's description--it is entirely likely that she was portrayed as doing so to make her career choice more compatible with social norms.<sup>24</sup> This need

not have been a calculated action on the part of the authors of the pieces. More likely, it is the inadvertent expression of an underlying presupposition about women and art. Something of the purpose behind this kind of portrayal is captured by Sally Mitchell's term "frontlash." "[A]ttitudes about certain kinds of work were simultaneously revised by women's entry. We might call this something like 'frontlash'--as women move into a new profession, the conception of that profession is altered to show how it serves the womanly ideal."<sup>25</sup>

In order for the sculpting women to gain a toe-hold in their profession there had to be a sufficient level of public receptivity to their endeavour. The transfer of some of the social approbation of accomplishment art onto the professional activities of the female sculptors contributed to that receptivity.

Furthermore, on the basis of the personal qualities they displayed and the contacts they cultivated, the sculptors amassed enough social capital to permit them to stretch the boundaries of acceptable practice without provoking social retribution. Mary Thornycroft's experience demonstrates how, and how much, cultural credibility could be accrued. At Gibson's recommendation she entered the employ of the Queen with whom she became firmly identified by the art press, likely due to certain similarities between the sculptor and her royal patron. A female head of state, behind whom stood a devoted and collaborative husband, was echoed in the family arrangements of Mary Thornycroft, the only female sculptor of note since Damer. The association was made more perfect by Mary's almost continuous engagement to sculpt the Monarch's growing family. Art publisher S.C. Hall made much of this arrangement, applauding Victoria's

support of the work of a fellow woman.

Apart from the discriminating judgement which Her Majesty is well known to possess in all matters of art, and which would always assign her royal patronage to competent hands, it is highly gratifying to see a preference shown for those of her own sex; such preference is both queenly and womanly. In the present instance it has been most worthily bestowed, for these regal commissions have met with the highest approval--they confirmed the judgement which elicited them, and have served to spread, far and near, the reputation of the fair artist.<sup>26</sup>

So enduring was the connection made between the sculptor and her royal patron that some twenty-five years after she had retired a friend eulogized her in regal terms.

Though her life was simple and unpretentious, the atmosphere around her was influenced by her natural nobility. There was a gracious, courtly distinction in all she did and said. . . .  
. . . [A] few women . . . have proved that a woman can be a professional artist, and in no wise be less loveable as a woman; and that work need never mar the charm . . . of the ideal wife and mother. Such a one was Mrs. Thornycroft, and in her was also proved the fact that the finest and most feminine nobility is above all class-distinctions.<sup>27</sup>

Thus, her credentials as a wife and mother coupled with the endorsement of (and identification with) the topmost member of society gave a legitimacy to her anomalous occupation not unlike the claim made by the Queen of her own situation.<sup>28</sup> Similarly, Durant's winsome personality, Grant's evident piety and aristocratic connections, and Hill's marriage to a highly respected artist endowed each of them with considerable social capital.

Whereas certain avenues of self-promotion were closed to the sculpting

women, they did have access to some of the more important vehicles for publicizing and marketing their works in the Victorian art world, albeit with some restrictions. We will examine the ways in which they took advantage of the means that were open to them, noting how they deployed their social capital and subtly transgressed cultural norms so as to obtain public recognition without suffering serious disapproval.

### Exhibitions

By the start of Victoria's reign, the primary point of contact between artists and the public was furnished by the annual exhibitions of the Royal Academy of Arts (founded 1768) and the British Institution in London (1805), and the Royal Scottish Academy in Edinburgh (1826). Midway through the period, the Royal Glasgow Institute of the Fine Arts (1861) and the Society of Female Artists (1856) were added to the exhibition circuit. The Academies were the most prestigious exhibiting venues in the United Kingdom. The RA's annual exhibition opened each May amid considerable fanfare with a grand banquet for the forty Academicians and a private viewing for invited guests.<sup>29</sup> It was both the most important event of the artistic calendar and a significant feature of the London social season. Treuherz estimates that the RA show drew yearly crowds of approximately 250,000 in the early Victorian period, rising to 350,000 by the 1880s.<sup>30</sup> For exhibiting artists it was an unparalleled marketing opportunity. They were given complimentary tickets to the galleries and no commission was exacted on the sale of their works.

The institutional culture of the RA was deeply ambivalent to female



artists. Two of its founding members were painters Angelica Kaufmann and Mary Moser. However, after their deaths (Moser survived Kaufmann until 1819) no other woman was elected to Academy membership until 1922.<sup>31</sup> In the intervening years the Academicians conducted their business along the lines of a gentlemen's club, excluding men of an inferior social status as well as all women. Helland has argued cogently that the outright exclusion or abstemious admission of women to instruction at the RSA and its English counterpart was motivated by a concern that they would flood the art market over which male artists had exercised a near monopoly.<sup>32</sup>

Despite the restrictions placed on women's involvement as members or students, the RA's exhibition policy was remarkably open, especially in comparison with those of other venues. Membership was not a requirement, but limits applied to the number of non-members' works that could be accepted. A jury of Academicians made selections from among a multitude of anonymously submitted pieces of art. Consequently, female artists need not have feared immediate disqualification from exhibiting solely on the basis of gender. However, the proportion of female exhibitors in the RA show was low both in comparison to the number of men and in relation to the number of professional female artists enumerated in the censuses.<sup>33</sup>

Undaunted by either the challenge of obtaining exhibition space or the consequences of being 'known,' the sculpting women regularly showed their work in major exhibition venues. All of them exhibited at the RA, with the Scotswomen sending work to the RSA and GI and the Englishwomen showing at the BI and SFA as well. They contributed pieces to additional special

exhibitions including the Great Exhibition, Art Treasures Exhibition, the International Exhibition (1862), the RSA's "Works of Deceased and Living Scottish Artists" (1880) and the Paris exhibitions of 1855, 1867 and 1871. Thornycroft and Hill also made use of private venues; the former had viewings at the New Gallery, the Suffolk Street Gallery, and Colnaghi's and the latter showed at the stylish Grosvenor Gallery.<sup>34</sup> What was it that emboldened them and other female artists to enter what Helland demonstrates was, courtesy notwithstanding, a deeply contested arena?<sup>35</sup>

Several qualities of the Royal Academies permitted the female sculptors to publicize their works without suffering any injury to their reputations. Firstly, the prestige of these institutions made them impeccable in the eyes of polite society. Their connections with the Crown both through the original charters granted by George III and Victoria and via the ongoing interest of the Prince Consort gave them the highest endorsement possible. Further, relations with the elites of society were carefully cultivated at an institutional as well as an individual level. The Laws of the RA (revised 1815) made provision for an "Annual Dinner. . . The guests shall consist exclusively of persons in elevated situations, of high rank, distinguished talents, or known patrons of the Arts."<sup>36</sup>

Secondly, the exhibitions were carefully structured and controlled, as is evidenced by the jurying procedure, the rules governing the display of works, and the admission regulations. The Private View was by invitation only, otherwise admission was by an entry fee sufficient to ensure that none but the respectable classes could attend.<sup>37</sup> Perhaps for these reasons, genteel exhibitions of cultural products were among a select number of public spaces in which

women were made to feel welcome. Female artists could circulate among the galleries without being identified to members of the public and sales transactions were conducted by the RA or RSA on the artists' behalf. This polite distancing of artists from their works and from direct contact with buyers insulated women from what would have been considered the glare of publicity while still permitting them to make their names known. Exhibition catalogues published the studio addresses of artists thereby facilitating studio visits and enquiries by post.

Finally, the ambivalent relationship between the RA and female artists allowed the women to exploit inconsistencies to their advantage. Because the RA numbered two founding mothers among its charter members there was a residual association of women with the institution.<sup>38</sup> Moser's and Kaufmann's memory was carefully kept alive by both those who sought to promote the cause of women's art and others who opposed it. The former party cited the female Academicians in the manner of lawyers arguing from precedent while the latter invoked female predecessors so as to discredit their work and dismiss any claims made by their Victorian counterparts. Both the *Art Journal* and *The Times* chided the RA Council for refusing to admit ladies as students noting the involvement of women in the past as justification for their acceptance in the present. "When the Academy has been reformed, and wisdom pervades over its councils, women will not only be received there as students but as members. Members of the RA women have been, and will be again."<sup>39</sup> By contrast, the *Athenaeum*, which had a grudging tolerance of female artists at best, published a coolly disparaging profile of the "Female Royal Academicians" noting that

Both . . . were in the first batch [of RAs], and were created by the King, not elected by the Academy. Much irritation was provoked by this circumstance, and complaints were numerous. . . . When an election for a PRA was going on, Fuseli nominated Mrs. Lloyd [née Moser] in opposition to [Benjamin] West--"as well one old woman as another," said he.<sup>40</sup>

Where the female sculptors were the focus of attention, Anne Seymour Damer's name was often enlisted to confer legitimacy upon, or offer an historical antecedent for, such unusual women. Her credentials were impeccable; she had been designated an Honorary Exhibitor by the RA. Evidently Victorian society had to locate a respectable forebear as a means of reassuring itself that the likes of Thornycroft, Durant, Hill and Grant were not bastard pretenders to the profession.<sup>41</sup>

The four sculptors made their career debuts at either the RA or the RSA. Once they had attained recognition through exhibiting at the Academies, it was a relatively uncontroversial step to show works in one or another of the respectable second tier exhibitions such as the GI or BI, both of which received mention in the art press and appear to have been well-attended by the public.

The SFA, which was originally set up by women friendly to the feminist-identified Langham Place circle as a showcase for the works of serious female artists, had a mixed impact on the Victorian art world.<sup>42</sup> While it enabled novice female artists to gain professional experience in a friendly environment, facilitated sales of their work, and raised public awareness, it was also dismissed by its critics as a venue for substandard work. The *Athenaeum*, *Punch* and the *Spectator* claimed to encourage the ladies in their new endeavour but paid

disparaging homage to their works and their aspirations. A characteristic example is the *Athenaeum's* cutting critique of the exhibition of 1867.

[There are] evidences of increasing earnestness and longer practice in studies on the part of the contributors, proofs of 'work' performed by many among them which go far to redeem the whole from the former besetting triviality of conception, inadequacy of thought, foolish ambition and incompetence. . . .  
. . . there are many pretty thoughts prettily expressed and much pleasantly facile execution.<sup>43</sup>

Both Durant and Thornycroft, who had already achieved reasonable success as exhibitors at the RA, sent pieces in the early years (1857-1867) thereby lending some of their own prestige to the fledgling Society. However, it is debatable how much positive publicity they gained from this association. Thornycroft persevered as an exhibiting supporter of the SFA for a decade (and continued as a member of the society until her death) but Durant showed her work there only once.<sup>44</sup>

Inclusion in the special exhibitions such as the Great Exhibition or one of the Paris expositions was a much sought-after opportunity. These events were ceremoniously opened by royalty, they attracted huge crowds from the international art community (the Manchester Art Treasures Exhibition drew 1,300,000 during six months) and were chronicled in the press and in lavishly illustrated souvenir albums.<sup>45</sup> Durant's letters of 1867 tell of the gruelling work-schedules and mounting excitement as artists prepared for the Universal Exhibition in Paris. "[We] have none of us a minute to lose if we are to be ready" for the deadline when the "works . . . are ordered to be delivered" to the Exhibition.<sup>46</sup> However, in response to discriminatory regulations, several well-

known sculptors of the British contingent (including Mary Thornycroft) sent a memorial of protest to the organizers, withdrew their work from the "competition for honours," and requested their protest to be inserted in the official report of the Exhibition.<sup>47</sup>

As this boycott demonstrates, exhibiting was not a simple matter of submitting a work and enjoying the public recognition that followed. Hosmer observed that "the position of a work in relation to other works often made the difference between critical acclaim, utter rejection, and ignominy."<sup>48</sup> Because women artists had fewer exhibition opportunities generally, obtaining favourable placements for their works was imperative. The Arranging Committee retained ultimate control but sculptors were able to exert some influence on the location of their submissions. In her preparations for the 1867 exposition, Durant negotiated with "the Secretary of our English Exhibition . . . about the placing of my monument" for which she was promised a good spot.<sup>49</sup> Hamo Thornycroft rejoiced that "My good friend Armstead," who was presumably a committee member, "placed my two statues of Artemis and Teucer in the best places possible in the RA Exhibition and . . . I have been greatly complimented on my work."<sup>50</sup> Amelia Paton Hill expressed frustration over the poor location of her works in the RSA exhibition of 1872 and issued a stark ultimatum.

It is hard indeed that the labour of a year should be so utterly lost. You were kind enough yesterday to say that you would endeavour to get the position of my statuette of Sir James Simpson improved. If that cannot be done, I beg the Council will have the kindness to allow me to withdraw it--as I cannot possibly permit it to remain in its present position. I need not say how deeply mortified I felt to

see the other statues in the damaging positions they are all placed in. Can nothing be done?<sup>51</sup>

Her commanding tone implies that she was accustomed to better placements when her husband was alive and able to demand membership privileges. Hill's robust exhibition record at the RA and GI preempts any suspicion of favouritism on account of her husband's position. What she asked for was nothing more than Hamo Thornycroft got from his friend on the committee.

Special consideration was given to portraits of the royal family. Describing the situation of three of her works at the RA Durant explained that the Arrangement Committee were "obliged to put" her medallion of "the Prince of Wales prominently" and that it was "only fair the others should be second best."<sup>52</sup> The women took advantage of this convention by seeking permission to exhibit all of the portraits they made of the Queen and her relatives. These examples serve to illustrate how a sculptor's success in publicizing his or her art depended upon the support of friends or relations as well as on personal finesse at negotiating with officials, the subject matter chosen, and the skilled manipulation of materials.

Sending sculpture for exhibition could be hazardous. Durant's *Faithful Shepherdess* (1863) suffered damage at the hands of RA porters. When she applied to the Council for compensation all she received was a letter of regret and a "copy of the law by which the Academy holds itself not accountable for 'loss or accident'." Three years earlier a work by Thomas Woolner suffered an identical fate with no indemnification tendered.<sup>53</sup> Both male and female sculptors occasionally paid a high price for the publicity they gained at the RA shows. However, neither calculated the cost in terms of a loss of public esteem.

### Notices, Articles and Correspondence

The frequency with which artists' names appeared in print and the tone adopted by writers had important implications for the creation of a public profile. Yet, for the most part they had little direct control over much of what was written about them, or when and where it appeared. Exhibition reviews are the most obvious instances of unpredictable publicity; art gossip, notices of commissions and events, and feature articles were rather less unexpected and often involved some level of collaboration between journalists and the artists, even if only to have photographs taken or sculptures engraved. As this chapter is devoted to the female sculptors' own strategies for career promotion, the latter sources of publicity will be examined leaving discussion of the reviews for a later chapter.

Works by several of the women were featured in good quality steel engravings. Between 1860 and 1864 seven of Thornycroft's sculptures appeared in the Art Journal as full-page engravings, each accompanied by a commentary on the facing page. Six of the pieces depicted members of the royal family whom the public had little opportunity to see: the young royal children and the Prince of Wales's newly-arrived fiancée. Undoubtedly, the images would have appealed to readers' curiosity and sense of patriotism, attracting a nation-wide audience to the sculptor's work. The writer did Thornycroft the additional favour of reporting that royal permission had been given to sell Parian reductions of the bust of the future Princess of Wales. Although no overt claim was made, the incorporation of such details virtually implied a royal warrant



and implicitly urged readers to purchase copies. In all likelihood the engraving of the Skipping Girl also facilitated the sale of replicas.<sup>54</sup>

An earlier showcase for Mary Thornycroft's oeuvre, The Gallery of Modern Sculpture (1854), contained an even more blatant commercial puff.

It may not be out of place to state here that reduced copies of the originals have been made in statuary porcelain, and have met with a most extensive sale; independent of the interest which attaches to them as portraits, they are valuable as elegant ornamental works.<sup>55</sup>

Her statues of the eldest royal children in personification of the seasons are the only works by a woman in the collection. This publication did much to enhance her status in the Victorian art world and was likely the impetus behind her inclusion, two years later, in Men of the Time. For sometime thereafter Thornycroft's name figured in other dictionaries of biography all of which contributed to her reputation as a serious artist.<sup>56</sup>

Mary Grant's St. Margaret and the Dragon, which had engendered great admiration at the Paris Exhibition of 1878, was glowingly reviewed and subsequently engraved by the Art Journal. Durant was doubtless pleased that the exhibition of her bust of Harriet Beecher Stowe at the RA occasioned a laudatory article about her career embellished with a reasonably good wood block engraving of the portrait in the Illustrated London News.<sup>57</sup> What it lacked in the quality of its illustrations the paper made up for in breadth of sales; by 1852 it boasted a weekly circulation of 250,000.

All four female sculptors were the subjects either of celebrity articles during their later lives or posthumous tributes. Thornycroft was memorialized in lengthy letters to the editors of The Times, the Lady's Pictorial, and the

*Spectator* and in an extensive biographical notice in the *Magazine of Art*. This last piece was illuminated with pictures of her sculpture and herself. Durant's life and work were celebrated in a sizeable notice in the *Queen* which had published a large engraved portrait of the sculptor a few days prior. Grant and Hill were the subjects of celebrity interviews that featured in ladies' magazines.<sup>58</sup>

By the time the latter two items appeared in print, Hill was a retired woman of seventy-five and Grant, at age sixty-eight, was very near the end of her active career. Both articles appropriated the 'artist-at-home' approach that was currently in vogue and combined it with the 'remarkable-female-role-model' type of literature that crowded the pages of books and magazines directed at girls and young women (see chapter six). Photographs of each sculptor, her work, and her home or studio environment gave readers an intimate glimpse into the life of an illustrious woman. Not surprisingly, the two women presented very different emphases to their interviewers. Grant, whose anticipation of several years of sculpting ahead was betokened by a photograph of her at work, presumably welcomed the opportunity to present her credentials as a professional before the art-buying public. For Hill, who was "practically resting on her oars," the article offered a chance to tell the story of how she had surmounted obstacles and succeeded in an unconventional profession. The ultimate effect of the pieces written about all four women was to preserve the memory of their achievements and personal characteristics for posterity, despite an intervening period of almost total obscurity.

Brief columns devoted to art gossip or coming events kept the names of artists before the public. The *Lady's Pictorial* magazine reported on a reception

given by Mary Grant at her "well-known studio in Tite Street . . . to witness the unveiling of her latest work, a memorial in Carrara marble of the late Lady Anne Haddoway." The notice, which gives a full description of the "magnificent" monument, concludes with a list of wealthy and titled guests and hints that Grant also had a substantial following on the other side of the Atlantic.

Among Miss Grant's guests were the Duchess of Buckingham, the Marchioness of Ripon, Viscountess Galway [sic]. . . . Miss Grant is greatly appreciated in New York, and Mr. George Vanderbilt made an early appointment [for a portrait sitting] on his arrival in England.<sup>59</sup>

Presumably art writers gathered information by spending time at the clubs and societies frequented by artists and by visiting their studios. Women were at a distinct disadvantage because they were excluded from London club life and the premier art societies.<sup>60</sup> Granted, through the establishment of parallel organizations such as the SFA and, much later, the Glasgow Society of Lady Artists (c. 1883), women procured for themselves gathering places, greater access to exhibition facilities, and an aggregate public face.<sup>61</sup> However, they had to balance the drawbacks of being associated with a very mixed society of professional and amateur artists with the benefits of whatever public recognition a collective entity could command. Other gender inclusive art societies such as the Fine Arts Club and the Burlington Fine Arts Club had curbs on the number of female members or associates they would admit.<sup>62</sup>

Female artists could be contacted readily enough at their work places. Hosmer had visiting hours between 1-2 p.m. daily. Mary Grant logged literally hundreds of studio visitors, among whom was Alfred, Lord Tennyson.<sup>63</sup> The list

of guests who came to see Durant at her ateliers in Paris and London included the Crown Prince and Princess of Prussia and their entourage, Lady Amberley and Harriet Grote, David Livingstone, Moses and Judith Montefiore, and Frances Power Cobbe. Some dropped by unexpectedly while others, such as the Prussian royalty and an acquaintance named Miss Ryland, either arranged appointments or were invited by the sculptor.<sup>64</sup> Because artists congregated in particular neighbourhoods it would have been easy for writers to tour several workshops in the course of a morning or afternoon, gathering intelligence for notices and articles.

There is some evidence that more direct approaches were made to journalists. Durant placed herself on a cordial footing with the press via the judicious use of socially approved activities. Speaking of a day out at Ascot she remarked that "we had Delane (editor of *The Times*) and a pleasant party to meet me. I was made much of" and the day was "quite a success."<sup>65</sup> Another example demonstrates the confidence with which she approached Delane when she needed assistance. Concerned to alleviate the suffering of combatants in the Franco-Prussian war, Durant drafted a letter asking the editor "to make known through your column that any sums of money confided to me by friends and sympathizers with the sick and wounded . . . will be remitted to and distributed personally, where most wanted, by H.R.H. the Crown Princess of Prussia."<sup>66</sup> Delane's admiration for the sculptor was expressed in his personal appreciation of her career published in *The Times* some days following a very brief intimation of her death. "It is scarcely fitting that a lady so well known in the world of art as Miss Susan Durant, the sculptress, should pass away without a

short obituary notice."<sup>67</sup> Much as celebrities today meet with the print and broadcast media at Society watering holes, promote their charitable interests, and attract public attention when they die, Susan Durant availed herself of what respectable publicity the Victorian press could offer.

Some ready-made opportunities for self-promotion in the press were available to those who sculpted for the Queen. Mary Thornycroft made certain that the public was aware of her attendance at the palace. A letter from her husband to Sir Thomas Biddulph requested the insertion in "tomorrow's Court Circular of a notice that Princess Louise is sitting to Mary Thornycroft." This intelligence would have appeared on the front page of *The Times* in the column devoted to the comings and goings of the royal family. It was probably not the first time that Mary's name had appeared there. Durant and Triqueti decided to forego this honour, perhaps anticipating a high level of public and journalistic interest in the programme of decoration for the Albert Memorial Chapel. To her father Durant explained, "now that we have the substantial we care very little for the empty notoriety and at Court they appreciate this reserve."<sup>68</sup>

Finally, women artists enlisted the press to help them fight gender discrimination. We saw earlier that instead of mounting a lawsuit against her libeller, Hosmer countered his accusations by publishing a letter to the editor of the *Art Journal* and submitting an article on "The Process of Sculpture" to the *Atlantic Monthly*.<sup>69</sup> When thirty-eight female artists, including Thornycroft, sent a memorial to each of the forty Royal Academicians requesting the admission of women to the RA Schools they also notified the press. The *Athenaeum*, the *English Woman's Journal*, and the *Art Journal* published the petition.<sup>70</sup>

Thus far we have examined how the female sculptors negotiated the gender barriers raised by the homosocial network of clubs and artists' fraternities and by the dictates of middle-class etiquette. It must be remembered that increasing numbers of women were becoming journalists during the century. Like the sculptors, these writers were drawn from the middle and upper-middle classes; consequently, no obvious social barriers prevented the two bodies of professional women from associating freely. Frances Power Cobbe's extensive piece, "What Shall we do with our Old Maids?," and Bessie Rayner Parkes's Essays on Woman's Work both refer to individual sculptors, some of whom they knew personally.<sup>71</sup> Parkes became acquainted with Hosmer during a visit to Rome (1857) and carried on friendly correspondence thereafter. Cobbe's known sculpting friends were her companion Mary Lloyd, Hosmer, and Durant.<sup>72</sup> By including the sculptors' names in their essays, Cobbe and Parkes gave their subjects free publicity. Doubtless the artists kept their friends abreast of developments in their careers.

By contrast, the potential benefit to women artists from a rise in the number of female art critics was only marginally realized as the new recruits focused their attention predominantly on male artists. Nevertheless, the women critics did occasionally acknowledge the work of the female sculptors. For instance, Florence Fenwick Miller and Emilia Barrington both expressed appreciation for Mary Thornycroft's professional achievements in statements published immediately following her death. Indeed, Miller took the opportunity to promote female sculptors more generally by incorporating remarks on Hosmer's work in the same column.<sup>73</sup>

It is plausible that the sculpting women compensated for their restricted access to the usual haunts of (male) artists by making use of the increasingly efficient postal system.<sup>74</sup> At the end of a busy day Durant reported, "it is 11 p.m. and I am not half through the necessary letters for tomorrow's post." Her correspondence contains evidence of communiqués posted to patrons and other members of the art community. For example, she wrote "a long letter" to the King of the Belgians inviting him to join the Prussian delegation at a private showing of her monument to his late father, King Leopold.<sup>75</sup> Hill and Grant sent letters to potential patrons and well-placed friends advertising the availability of selected works. Several appeals for help in obtaining commissions and placing extant ecclesiastical works are found in Grant's letters to Bishop Grafton, whom she furnished with sample casts of her sculptures hoping "to get them seen as advertisements of my work."<sup>76</sup> Replies to two (now lost) letters from Amelia Paton Hill reveal her efforts to attract buyers. In June 1873 she had sent a photograph of her statue of Livingstone to Robert Moffat, the African missionary's father-in-law, as a gesture of friendship but also as an unspoken reminder that she could supply an excellent likeness for the projected monument in Edinburgh. Years later, upon hearing of the British Government's plan to erect a memorial to Livingstone in Africa, Amelia dispatched a letter offering a copy of her famous statue.<sup>77</sup>

#### The Pleasure of Doing Business: Parties, Receptions, and Travel

Another way in which the sculpting women could overcome the limits imposed upon their movements in public was by cultivating a rich social life.

Attending or holding parties permitted them to circulate among a larger public within the socially approved setting of private homes. Such gatherings provided artists, male and female, with a multitude of benefits. Susan Durant, whose circle of acquaintance encompassed an impressive selection of titled, wealthy, and influential people in London, Paris, and Berlin, was introduced to many of them by highly-placed well-wishers who sought to further her career.

Perhaps through the auspices of Baron de Triqueti, Durant was befriended by the Marquise de St. Clou [sic] who "gave splendid dinners" for the sculptor to which she invited "all [Durant's] old friends." Quite possibly these friends included some of "the Dukes and Duchesses of the Faubourg St. Germain" with whom Durant joined in "a whist party" a week later. Certainly she had the Marquise to thank for an introduction to Prince Grimaldi later the same year.<sup>78</sup>

In London, Durant took advantage of opportunities to mingle with influential figures in and associated with government. Though she was heavily occupied in preparing for the Paris Exhibition in 1867 she determined to "try to return [to London] in time for the soirée at the Gladstones." Other names that figured frequently in the guest-lists of parties that Durant either held or attended include: Sir A.H. Layard, M.P. for Southwark, Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs (1861-66) and Commissioner of Works and Buildings (1868-69); Henry Cole, who served on the executive committee of the Great Exhibition, was acting Commissioner and Secretary to the royal commission for Great Britain at the Paris Exhibitions in 1855 and 1867, and Secretary of the Department of Art and Science at the South Kensington Museum (1853-73);



George Grote, best known for his *History of Greece*, became an honorary member of the RA and held the position of Professor of Ancient History of the RA Schools between 1859 and 1871.<sup>79</sup>

In addition to the benefits they could confer through the power of their positions, these men provided entrées into other social circles. Grote and his wife Harriet had the sculptor to weekend house parties in the country and to dinners and whist parties in town.<sup>80</sup> The Coles included her as part of their company on a holiday in Austria and Germany.<sup>81</sup> Layard was related to the Dowager Lady Huntly, her sister Lady Charlotte Schreiber, and Lucie Duff Gordon, each of whom in turn entertained Durant and put her in touch with others.<sup>82</sup> From Paris Durant reported: "I am constantly receiving cards from the different families who are living at this Hotel en pension and most of them friends of the Duff Gordons who wish to make my acquaintance."<sup>83</sup>

Introductions at one social gathering often begot invitations to meet friends of the other guests, thus increasing an artist's circle of acquaintance exponentially and augmenting the pool of potential sitters and buyers for her work. At a dinner given by Helena Faucit and Theodore Martin, Durant met Annie and Minnie Thackeray, daughters of the well-known writer. Within two years she was modelling the bust of Miss Ritchie, a cousin of the Thackerays.<sup>84</sup> Durant welcomed invitations to dinners at which the first Earl of Lytton was the featured attraction. "He is very interesting and as people always get their most distinguished friends to meet him the parties are pleasant."<sup>85</sup> Such events not only provided her with excellent opportunities to meet important people, they enhanced her public image by bringing her name into association with that of

the august guest.

Harriet Hosmer had similar good fortune in being adopted by luminaries of the literary and theatre worlds who drew her into their social sets. The actor Charlotte Cushman introduced her to John Gibson and a wide array of other artists, many of whom were feminists. She became an habituée of the bi-weekly social gatherings presided over by the singer Adelaide Sartoris, sister of Hosmer's long-time friend Fanny Kemble. There she met with a "glittering musical circle" and two of her most devoted allies, the Brownings.<sup>86</sup>

One type of social gathering from which female artists were pointedly excluded was the annual banquet held by the RA. on Exhibition eve. However, the emergent art patron, Sir John Pender, held a luncheon on opening day to which social luminaries and artists of both sexes were invited.<sup>87</sup> Durant enjoyed the benefits of their lavish hospitality and the consequent attention of one of their other guests. "I have seen the Penders two or three times. The Great Ex-pender as he is now called! I dined there with many fashionables, amongst others Lady Molesworth who has begged permission to call on me. And I have no objection as you meet at her house the pleasantest society in London."<sup>88</sup>

Durant reciprocated whenever possible, entertaining dinner guests at her home when her father's health permitted.<sup>89</sup> Although she did not characterize the activities of her very busy social life as an integral part of her career, the way that she inter-leaved descriptions of parties with accounts of the "shop" suggests that they comprised a coherent whole. Even when she was at Osborne House modelling the Queen's medallion Durant took part in the off-duty amusements of the Lords and Ladies of the royal household.<sup>90</sup>

The Thornycrofts appear to have done much of their socializing at home, hosting musical evenings with the glee club they had formed and holding "At Home" parties. To celebrate the move into the Melbury Road house Mary "had an 'At Home' and afterward [sic] a dance which lasted till broad daylight, the last guests leaving at 5 a.m.--about 100 were present."<sup>91</sup> The circles they entertained tended to be connected with the theatre, literature and the fine arts. John Bell, Ford Madox Brown, Edmund Gosse, George Frederick Watts, Val Prinsep and their families are some of the names included in the Thornycroft papers.<sup>92</sup> Mingling in such company allowed the family of artists to extend their support network and exchange shop gossip.

Mary's work for the Crown brought her opportunities to shine in her own right and to develop independent contacts among the Lords and Ladies of the royal household. She enjoyed such privileges as attending the wedding celebrations of her former student, Princess Louise.<sup>93</sup> Comments made after her retirement indicate that Mary, who was normally very sociable, saw such events primarily as opportunities to promote her career interests. She declared the round of visits to "all the lions [celebrities] of Hastings" whilst on vacation to be wearying for "one that has spent a life in work and whose greatest pleasure is now to see it done by younger hands."<sup>94</sup>

Amelia Paton Hill had the benefit of circulating among the acquaintance of two extremely well-connected artists--her brother Noel and her husband. The Patons entertained fellow artists and members of the literary and academic communities of Edinburgh at their George Square home; among their guests were authors Dinah Mulock Craik, George MacDonald, and Dr. John Brown

(writer of the account of Marjorie Flemming--"Pet Marjorie").<sup>95</sup> The titles of Amelia's works (Dinah Mulock Craik (1845), Pet Marjory [sic] (RSA 1870) testify to the importance of these social contacts to her career. D.O. Hill's substantial social network encompassed Sir David Brewster, Professor Blackie, and numerous Free Church ministers, many of whom sat for Amelia, and several titled people to whom he introduced his wife and her brother Noel with the aim of furthering their careers. Lady Mary Ruthven invited the couple to "come to Winton [Castle, Pencaitland] . . . and meet the Belhavens" and facilitated introductions to other titled women. She likely arranged for Amelia to sculpt the bust of Mary Louise, Countess of Elgin that was presented to "the Rt. Honourable the Earl of Elgin . . . by a number of his friends and admirers in the County of Fife."<sup>96</sup>

Hill cultivated influential social contacts of her own. Andrew Carnegie, the industrial tycoon, corresponded with her and stayed at her home whilst visiting Scotland. Although their friendship went back to childhood days in Dunfermline, the other Patons had apparently lost touch with him. That Amelia proposed to rectify this lapse is evident from Carnegie's reply that "I should greatly like to meet your distinguished brother as suggested." He in turn probably introduced her to Richard Irven of New York whose bust she exhibited at the RSA in 1876. Carnegie added a commission of his own to Hill's oeuvre in the form of a portrait of Mrs. Carnegie exhibited in 1881.<sup>97</sup>

By virtue of birth, Mary Grant was endowed with a prestigious social circle. Visits to the homes of Dukes and Duchesses and references to titled portrait sitters stud her diary. Her uncle Frank's position as President of the

RSA put her in touch with important artists and her aunt Augusta's engagement at court afforded introductions to the Crown Princess of Prussia and "Prince and Princess Christian."<sup>98</sup>

As her nephew, Col. Patrick Grant, remarked, "Many persons of note frequented her salon in Tithe [sic] Street, Chelsea." His choice of the word salon denotes a place where social and intellectual elites gathered regularly. Grant apparently succeeded in mitigating the restrictions imposed upon women of her class by "receiving her many friends and critics, the list of whom includes the names of most of those who rank high in social, artistic, and literary circles" at her Chelsea address.<sup>99</sup> The salon tradition that had been defined by Mmes. Récamier and de Staël in the eighteenth century permitted these women to wield considerable influence, if not power, in the social, political and intellectual realms. Orr suggests that during the nineteenth century Madame de Staël became an emblem of unusual female achievement, especially suggesting one

who transgressed received boundaries between male and female spheres but whose achievement was so outstanding, and her social if not her moral status so impeccable, that she could not be derisively dismissed.<sup>100</sup>

Perhaps Grant assumed something of the style of this remarkable woman or of her nineteenth-century counterpart, Mme Mohl, who was a friend of Grant. In any case, by adopting the role of a salon-like hostess, Grant took up a position of social strength that compensated for her exclusion from the public rendezvous of male artists.<sup>101</sup>

There is an energy and aggressiveness apparent in her efforts to become known in the United States. Deprived of the entrées into society that she

enjoyed at home, Grant turned to her friend Bishop Grafton, then resident in Boston, for introductions to his ecclesiastical colleagues. She also sought out Mrs. C. Perkins, likely the widow of Charles Calahan Perkins, an art critic and author who lived many years in France before returning to Boston where he founded the Museum of Fine Arts. Mrs. Perkins would still have had connections with the Boston art community that could have helped Grant.<sup>102</sup>

Denied access to the more public means of self-promotion, the sculpting women exploited the prescribed round of social gatherings to meet with potential and actual patrons. Thus, they conducted business by subverting the ideal of leisured femininity, often with the collusion of female friends.

Travel was an important element of every artist's life. Most of the female sculptors from Britain and the United States took their studio training on the Continent and attended the international exhibitions to which they sent their work. Some commissions required journeys abroad or to the stately homes of clients. For example, Amelia Paton Hill went to France where she modelled the head and crown for a statue of Richard Coeur de Lion from the effigy on his tomb at Fontainebleau.<sup>103</sup> While the means of travel became increasingly convenient during the century, young women were still hampered by the need of a chaperon. For the most part the sculpting women complied with this code of conduct by travelling in company with friends, taking a female companion along, or making arrangements to be escorted by a family member or trusted colleague.<sup>104</sup>

Durant employed various stratagems for making long and short journeys suitably accompanied. Friends Emma Wallis and Jeanie Davison were invited to

share her working trips to Osborne House and she made one of her journeys to Potsdam with Baron Triqueti and Lina, possibly a lady's maid, to execute commissions for the Crown Princess of Prussia.<sup>105</sup> Often she enlisted the help of supportive male friends such as Layard, who escorted her to Orton where she visited his cousin, Lady Huntly, for a few days.<sup>106</sup> When travelling to Paris she coordinated her plans with those of friends or other lone women (in one instance a Miss Squires) who were going to the same destination.<sup>107</sup> The many daily trips to Windsor were made in the company of whichever gentlemen happened to be going there on palace business. Lord Russell shared a carriage with Durant on one such occasion.<sup>108</sup> As a married woman Mary Thornycroft had the advantage of travelling with her husband to Rome and, much later, with son Hamo who came as her assistant for one sojourn at Osborne House.<sup>109</sup>

There were times when the sculptors had no option but to travel alone. Thornycroft shuttled between London, Windsor and the midlands on her own for some months in 1857.<sup>110</sup> Admittedly, it was less crucial that a middle-aged married woman have a companion on train journeys than it would have been for a younger spinster. When first invited to Potsdam Durant faced the dilemma of turning down an important sculpting commission because there was no one available to accompany her, or undertaking a long journey through unfamiliar territory by herself. Her proposed solution was to "find out at the Prussian Embassy if they are sending any Courier and try to get him to look after me and my luggage."<sup>111</sup> Mary Grant made no mention of a companion for her tour of the Eastern Seaboard of the United States, although she might have taken a maid with her as was her habit while travelling in Britain and Europe.<sup>112</sup>

Travel offered the sculpting women wider opportunities to display their works and to meet potential patrons. While at Windsor Durant met Lords Farrington and Russell among others; Grant's sojourn in the United States yielded similar results.<sup>113</sup> Recognizing how important such opportunities were for publicizing their careers, the women made determined efforts to overcome the social obstacles to their mobility and independence.

### Photographs

The sculpting women made good use of new developments in photography. Both ordinary prints and the massively popular cartes-de-visite provided them with an excellent means of presenting themselves and their works in an enduring and portable form to interested parties.<sup>114</sup> Before embarking for Rome, Hosmer had daguerreotypes taken of her bust of Hesper as testimony of her sculpting skill. On the basis of those pictures a previously reluctant John Gibson agreed to take her on as a student. Perhaps to galvanize support for an entry to a public competition, she sent A.H. Layard a "photograph of [her] design for a political monument."<sup>115</sup>

By mid-century it was common practice for sculptors to have photographs taken of their studios, individual pieces of their work, and themselves either posed beside a completed sculpture or modelling a work-in-progress.<sup>116</sup> Among the Thornycroft papers are numerous shots of Thomas, Mary and Hamo with their most famous works. A series of three photographs presents Mary standing in different attitudes next to a statuette of the Skipping Girl; two others, taken by the renowned Roger Fenton, depict her standing



beside a portrait bust and with her statue of Princess Helena as *Peace* (Ill. 2). The pictures were clearly intended as promotional materials, some of which may have found their way into the Photographic Society Exhibition or a series such as Maull and Polyblank's *Photographic Portraits of Living Celebrities*, the first numbers of which were published in 1856. The avidity with which cartes-de-visite were collected by private individuals is illustrated by an album of 180 portrait cartes "by various photographers of various sitters including [painters] . . . sculptors such as Richard Westmacott and John Gibson as well as clergy, nobility, . . . politicians and British royalty." Among them is a photograph by Maull and Polyblank of Mary Thornycroft, dated 29 December 1864.<sup>117</sup>

Durant made similar use of the medium, having portraits done up in standard size and carte-de-visite formats for distribution to friends and well-wishers. A Miss [Sanders] was the recipient of one such print.<sup>118</sup> An extant carte-de-visite depicts the impeccably dressed artist seated in front of a large desk preparing to write a letter or engage in some type of business transaction. This image would have served equally well for personal and work-related purposes.<sup>119</sup> Durant also had photographs made to publicize her works. A series of pictures of the royal medallions, taken before they were framed and mounted, appeared in a volume of photographs of the Triqueti marbles in the Albert Memorial Chapel. The project, which was undertaken by Jane (Jeanie) and Margaret Davison, was likely conceived during Jeanie's stay with Durant at Osborne House while she sculpted the portraits. Unfortunately, Durant was never to realize the benefits of this venture as she died before the publication date.<sup>120</sup>

The images of Mary Grant and her works that survive are all found in the biographical article of 1899. These comprise a large picture of her studio, busts of Dean Stanley and An Indian Prince, a statue of Diana at her Bath, and two portraits of the artist, one of which shows her at work on a bust. Presumably, all but the magazine's shot of the studio were part of a stock of publicity materials Grant kept on hand.

Amelia Paton Hill's début exhibition at the RSA was commemorated by D.O. Hill in a portrait photograph entitled The Sculptor of Sir Galahad the Good Knight. The pensive sitter inclines her head toward a print of Raphael's Parnassus as though attending to Apollo, god of the Fine Arts, and the muses, but the fruit of their inspiration is conspicuously absent. However, the title clearly identifies this genteel woman with her profession, perhaps challenging the preconceptions of its viewers. A later photograph of her is found in an album of prints taken by either Thomas Rodger or Dr. John Adamson. These portraits likely made their way into photographic society exhibitions and published compilations, thereby contributing to Hill's public recognition.<sup>121</sup> Not surprisingly, she made more deliberate use of the medium by having prints of her works taken to send to people such as Moffat.

The female sculptors' use of photographs to advertise their careers excited no opposition, having both respectable antecedents and novelty in its favour. Ladies had long been the subjects and painters of (miniature) portraits and the cartes, which were a hybrid of portraiture and the personal visiting card, were popular products of the industrial age. Perhaps because they drew upon traditions that were not gender specific there was no stigma attached to their use

by women.

One form of advertising that was spurned by three of the four women was the inclusion of their names in post office and business directories. Durant, Grant and Thornycroft are absent from sample numbers of the Post Office London Directory of the 1860s and 1870s and the London Business Directory for selected years in the 1870s and 1880s. Their omission seems to be neither class nor gender related, as their male relatives figure in the residential, commercial and trades sections and other professional women's names appear in the residential pages. Whereas it was not considered proper for ladies to be associated with trade, their apparently voluntary exclusion from the commercial portions of these publications suggests that there remained an antipathy to women's full involvement in the professions that they did not wish to arouse. For her part, Amelia Paton Hill either chose to ignore public opinion or did not encounter such attitudes in Edinburgh, as her name appears among the sculptors in the Fine Arts portion of the New Edinburgh, Leith and County Business Directory (1867-70).<sup>122</sup>

We have seen that the sculpting women made deft, sometimes cautious, and often imaginative use of both public and private opportunities to present themselves and their work to the art-buying public. A measure of their success in navigating between the Scylla of obscurity and the Charybdis of immodesty was their ongoing ability to be financially self-sustaining. Hill used the proceeds of her work to build a house and left behind a legacy that significantly exceeded the amount she inherited from D.O. For her part, Thornycroft kept the family economically solvent during much of the 1840s and continued to contribute

handsomely to the aggregate income. Durant had sufficient money of her own to lease and furnish her London home, rent an additional house at Blackheath, and leave a substantial sum to provide for her young son. Of the four women, Mary Grant was the only one to complain of straitened circumstances at the end of her life. However, her financial worries appear to be more a reflection of class expectations than actual penury as she was still able to employ a number of servants and left slightly more money in her estate than did George Durant.<sup>123</sup>

#### MENTORS, PATRONS, STUDENTS AND ASSOCIATIONS

Among the most important decisions made by the professional women sculptors were those involving questions of affiliation. The scope and direction of their careers were heavily influenced by such choices as where to seek training, who to consult for encouragement and advice, which patrons to cultivate, whether or not to take on students, and which associations to join. In this section the impact of the women's professional relationships upon their success as sculptors will be evaluated.

Virtually all of the sculpting women who were active from the 1850s onward had mentors from among the male sculpting community. In many cases these were their sculpting masters but they could also be supportive contemporaries willing to share their expertise on an informal basis. John Francis was both mentor and sculpting master to his daughter. Upon the completion of her training, he put his contacts and reputation at Mary's disposal, offering to show her sculpture of *Sappho* to the Queen and urging her to introduce herself to Gibson whilst in Rome, perhaps using his name as an entrée.

Whether Francis's plans for Sappho were realized is unknown; it is certain that making Gibson's acquaintance had profound implications for her career.

John Gibson proved to be a conscientious mentor to several of the sculpting women. Impressed by Thornycroft's model of A Sleeping Child, he recommended her to Queen Victoria, thereby virtually sealing her success as a sculptor. He further demonstrated his esteem by collaborating with her on a Monument to Sarah, Baroness Braye (1862), one of his keenest promoters. Although Gibson was the pre-eminent partner in the project, he took a secondary role, ceding responsibility for Lady Braye's effigy to Thornycroft, himself contributing the bas relief angels that hover above it.<sup>124</sup> In so doing, he lent his fame to the piece while giving her work the limelight. Merely being associated with Gibson had a salutary effect on public opinion; it is not surprising, then, that some commentators wishing to emphasize Mary Grant's significance as a sculptor list him as one of her instructors, although supporting evidence for this assertion is tenuous.<sup>125</sup>

We have seen how Hosmer benefitted from Gibson's instruction and loyal defence of her professionalism. He also gave sound guidance in financial matters, convincing her to raise the asking price of her statue Puck from \$500 to \$800 in gold.<sup>126</sup> His reputation as a peerless sculptor and woman-friendly mentor attracted several other female students from the United States and the United Kingdom.<sup>127</sup>

Baron Triqueti likewise taught a number of young women including the Princess Royal (later Crown Princess of Prussia) and Princess Marie d'Orléans.<sup>128</sup> The most successful of his female students was Susan Durant, who maintained a

close relationship with him throughout her career, occasionally collaborating with him and ultimately becoming his lover. In addition to good technical training, Triqueti provided Durant with an entrée into a large social circle comprised of royalty and aristocracy from both sides of the Channel, liberal-leaning writers, and members of the British and French art communities. His most valuable contribution to her advancement was the invitation to share in the decorative programme for the Albert Memorial Chapel. In the course of executing the portrait medallions for this, Durant met the Queen and other members of the royal family many of whom employed her for additional commissions.

Grant referred to her former instructor, J.H. Foley as her "faithful friend." Upon hearing of his death only four years after she commenced her professional life she lamented, "I have sustained a very great loss . . . I could not have had a greater loss to all my art concerns--nor can I fail to miss him as a great personal friend. He was the first of English sculptors, and was as simple as he was great."<sup>129</sup>

Neither Amelia Paton Hill nor Isabella Gore-Booth had sculpting masters to give them career guidance. Instead they looked to a few established and sympathetic sculptors for advice and introductions. John Mossman, a Glasgow-based sculptor, energetically fulfilled the role of mentor for Gore-Booth. He supplied her with letters of introduction to Foley and Baron Marochetti and offered constructive criticism and technical recommendations.<sup>130</sup>

Another contemporary who endeavoured to advance the careers of both women was the highly successful sculptor, John Steell. Through the agency of a

mutual friend he conveyed an encouraging appraisal of Gore-Booth's work and indicated "that his studio would be open to [her] at any time and he would be only too happy to shew [her] his way of working." His efforts to promote Hill's interests were even greater. Entrusted with the commission to erect a Scottish National Monument to the Prince Consort, he approached Hill to sculpt one of the groups of mourners at its base. Remarkably, she declined despite repeated entreaties by both Steell and Sir George Harvey (President RSA). Although "evidently gratified by the offer having been made" she gave a firm refusal, perhaps hoping that her brother Noel, who had submitted a competing design for the commission, would be offered the task in her stead.<sup>131</sup> On another occasion Steell backed Hill in her decision "to put down her name upon the list of applicants for an Associateship" in the RSA with the intention of opening membership to qualified women. Unfortunately, he was unable fully to defend her against the ensuing "storm amongst the members."<sup>132</sup>

The mentors chosen by the sculpting women all had two features in common: they were well-recognized in their field and they willingly accepted--even actively recruited--female students. Given the scepticism with which women's art was viewed, it was valuable to have the endorsement of an esteemed master sculptor. Gibson, Foley and Steell not only shared their expertise and vouched for the quality of the women's work, they advocated their inclusion in all aspects of the sculpting profession, most notably Academy membership. Triqueti, who had a reputation for sympathetic dealings with independent women, generously supported the SFA.<sup>133</sup> Clearly, the women turned for support to sculptors with a proven record of artistic success and

sufficient self-confidence to welcome female counterparts.

While the mentors to this first wave of female sculptors in the Victorian era were necessarily all male, their patrons were drawn from both genders. Several important women exercised what Cherry has termed "matronage," either deliberately choosing to support the work of female artists or disinterestedly employing them and incidentally enhancing their reputations.<sup>134</sup> Queen Victoria is a prime exemplar of the latter type. Durant expressed the inestimable value of royal approval in a note attached to an accounting ledger. "I trust the monuments will merit the Queen's approbation, as this is the only recompense for my labours which I have sought to secure."<sup>135</sup> Victoria's impact upon Mary Thornycroft's career is summed up in a book of role models for young girls:

Her Majesty's appreciation of the talents of Mrs. Thornycroft was to her of signal advantage; not simply because it was the patronage of Majesty, but because it is well-known that Her Majesty, by taste and culture, is capable of appreciating and discriminating a true work of art.<sup>136</sup>

In addition to enhancing the careers of the individuals she employed, the Queen contributed further to the public's accommodation of sculpting as a profession for women by engaging Thornycroft and Durant to instruct Princess Louise. This action and the above encomium together demonstrate that, however unwittingly, she prepared the way for a second generation of female sculptors.

The benefits of royal favour extended beyond constant employment and public recognition. Queen Victoria was known to express her gratitude for service well-rendered in very practical ways. Durant observed that the royal family "never turn away from those they have engaged in any way and



esteemed as with Mr. and Mrs. Thornicroft [sic]. . . . They pension, or show their attention in some way."<sup>137</sup> Mary Thornycroft received several presents, including "a print of the Princess Helena," as "marks of her Majesty's approbation of the models [she] had made."<sup>138</sup> Durant was never to know that she was the recipient of similar solicitude. A brief death notice indicated that "the Queen has very kindly inquired if any of Miss Durant's relations were dependent upon her, with a view of assisting them if they were."<sup>139</sup>

Through her work on the Albert Memorial Chapel project Durant found another influential ally in Vicky, the Crown Princess of Prussia. Her hope that portrait sittings at the palace in Potsdam would "be the means of securing me a valuable friend in the Princess" was realized beyond expectation. To Triqueti Vicky confided, "J'apprécie entièrement son talent et je l'aime véritablement comme une personne douée de rares qualités d'esprit et de douceur . . . je serais toujours heureuse de la recevoir."<sup>140</sup> When time and proximity permitted, the two women toured art galleries, and, at least once, Vicky prevailed upon Durant "to give her one or two lessons" to improve her modelling skills, joking that they should set up a "joint studio."<sup>141</sup>

Although personal qualities played a significant role in the development of this patron-artist relationship, Vicky's appreciation for Durant was also founded on the quality of her work. She was so pleased with Durant's portrait of her that she ordered a marble copy to be made and had medals struck for official use. When her favourite son, Sigismund, died at age two, it was a bust by Durant that she placed on his tomb.<sup>142</sup> By these actions she ensured that the sculptor's work was seen by other heads of state and dignitaries. Vicky also

took more deliberate steps to promote Durant's career. She facilitated introductions to Dr. Waagen, the internationally known Professor of Art History at the University of Berlin and founding Director of the Berlin Museum, and other important figures in the German art world. As a result, Durant expected that "the unusual success I have had here in pleasing the Princess, who is most fastidious in all matters of art, will travel to England and I hope be of use."<sup>143</sup>

Harriet Grote, a woman's rights activist and founder of the SFA, exercised her own peculiar type of matronage. When Durant was modelling a statue of the Faithful Shepherdess, Harriet, who was particularly proud of her legs, "proffered herself as a model for the legs, which . . . were scant of covering."<sup>144</sup> Otherwise she followed the more conventional practices of commissioning a relief medallion of Homer and acquainting Durant with her large social circle.

Hosmer likewise had a staunch coterie of female supporters. Charlotte Cushman's contribution of lodgings and strategic introductions in Rome has been noted already. In Britain, Hosmer was befriended by Lady Marion Alford, the widowed daughter of the second Marquess of Northampton, and Louisa Lady Ashburton, also a wealthy widow. Both women used their money and influence to promote the work of female artists. Having executed a fountain for Lady Marion, Hosmer wrote, "my work will be seen by everybody worth having as spectators in England."<sup>145</sup> Hosmer owed her career to the support of a much less exalted patron. Wayman Crow, the father of a school friend, paved the way for her to become a sculptor by arranging for anatomy classes, giving her her first commission, and offering loans and financial advice as required. The easy friendship that developed between them continued until his death.<sup>146</sup>

Some of those who befriended the female sculptors and helped to further their careers were not patrons in the strict sense that they commissioned or purchased sculpture. Rather, they were people with either social or professional influence who used their positions to promote the women's work. Austen Henry Layard was an avid supporter of the sculpting women.<sup>147</sup> To Hosmer he wrote:

I cannot tell you how much I have rejoiced at your success, not only on account of the regard and esteem I feel for you personally, but because of the example you have set to other women. I have lately been interesting myself (as the term is) for Miss Durant (a sculptress whom you may know by name, if not personally). She has been competing for a marble statue to be raised in the Mansion House. In representing to our Lord Mayor and Aldermen the importance of giving fair encouragement to a woman of ability and energy, I cited your case. I am glad to say that Miss D. has succeeded.<sup>148</sup>

His advocacy for Durant in this instance was prompted by a passing remark in a letter from her. "I have been very busy with the design for a statue I have been requested to make for the Mansion House. It will be a competition so my chances of ultimately executing it are small."<sup>149</sup> A well-established political figure and amateur archaeologist, Layard also held considerable sway in the British art scene. The year following his lobbying effort on Durant's behalf he was made a member of the Committee for Sculpture at the International Exhibition of 1862. The friendship between Layard and Durant, which was based on a mutual commitment to art and Radical politics, brought the added dimension of valuable contacts with his illustrious kinswomen: Lady Huntly, Lucie Duff Gordon, and Janet Ross.

A similar combination of political and artistic interests characterized

Henry Cole, another long term patron to Durant. As the Director of the Department of Art and Science at the South Kensington Museum, he was able to offer the sculptor unparalleled opportunities to display her work. Having just completed medallions of the royal grandchildren, Durant obtained "Her Majesty's permission for Mr. Cole . . . to put up the whole series in one of the rooms in the new buildings at the museum."<sup>150</sup> Such an arrangement was calculated to give her portraits maximum public exposure. The double inducement of new buildings to explore and images of seldom seen members of the royal family on display would have proven irresistible to museum-goers.

Amelia Paton Hill numbered Sir George Harvey, President of the RSA, among her allies. With the backing of Harvey and Dr. Keith Johnson, Hill submitted a bust of Sir David Brewster to a competition jury despite being informed that women need not apply for the honour of sculpting a statue of the subject. Using their considerable reputations, her friends "tried to get it admitted, but in vain, in spite of the fact that [she] was the only one among the competitors to whom Sir David had sat."<sup>151</sup> Others to whom she turned for help in placing works or obtaining commissions did not have any official connection with the art establishment but had alternative spheres of influence. Professor John Blackie, a Classicist and close friend of the Hills offered to explore a potential destination for Amelia's portrait bust of Carlyle. Most likely he approached the University of Edinburgh for which Carlyle was the Chancellor.

Family ties, rather than an institutional affiliation made Isabella Begg a powerful, though project-specific, patron. Herself a member of the Burns family, Begg championed Amelia's efforts to get a commission from the town of

Dumfries for a statue of the Poet. She "wrote to Mr. M'Diarmid, proprietor of the Dumfries Courier [and Secretary to the local Burns Club], asking his aid for Mrs. D.O. Hill."<sup>152</sup> The petition was ultimately successful.

Mary Grant's chief patron was little involved with the art world yet he was a source of considerable moral, emotional and practical support. Father Charles Grafton, an American adherent of the teachings of the Oxford Movement, met Mary during an extended stay in Britain. Impressed by her sculpture and wishing to foster her Christian faith he urged her to consider "the idea of doing something for the Glory of GOD in the way of art." For roughly three decades he advised her on how to achieve that aim in the ecclesiastical commissions she undertook and in her personal piety. But more than that, he became the confidant to whom she poured out her plans, disappointments, and fears. Early in her career, when she was frustrated by contradictory criticisms of a portrait of the Queen, Grafton soothed her saying, "It is very easy to find fault. Every good thing can be found fault with," and affirmed the counsel she had received from W.W. Storey. Later, after a hiatus of several years in their correspondence, he responded to her unheralded arrival in Boston by furnishing her with the introductions to potential customers she sought. Although her letters to him were often highly emotionally charged, and, toward the end of her life almost stifling in their dependence (Your letters "have touched my soul more than I can say for I have little to touch me, and I try to think over everything you have told me. . . . [they] carry me through such a long time, but I yearn for more!"), Grafton consistently came to her aid.<sup>153</sup>

The patron-protégé relationship between the bishop and the sculptor is

noteworthy for at least two reasons. Firstly, it echoed the relations between artists and the Church that had obtained centuries earlier when religious foundations were the primary patrons of art. Secondly, Grafton had considerable sympathy for women, especially single women fulfilling a calling. This is most evident from his work to establish the Anglican sisterhoods in Britain which deployed a self-governing body of women to do what would be recognized today as unpaid social work.<sup>154</sup>

It is difficult to determine from available evidence whether the sculpting women's relationships with mentors and patrons were generally within the bounds of Victorian propriety or not. Given the ostracism that the sculptor Louisa Lander faced in Rome (1858) for allegedly being on "uncommonly good terms with some man" and exposing "herself as a model," it is reasonable to assume that most of the women inclined in the direction of caution.<sup>155</sup> However, Durant's experience ran counter to social expectations.

George Grote's patronage of Durant eventuated in a love affair that carried on during the 1860s despite Harriet Grote's remonstrances. She finally enlisted the help of a third party to bring the dalliance to a discreet close. Remarkably, neither party appears to have suffered any damage to his or her reputation. Perhaps because of the thirty-eight-year age difference between them people assumed it to be a father-daughter type relationship rather than an amour.<sup>156</sup>

Certainly this was the case in the relationship with Baron Triqueti, which appears to have kindled into a romance between 1867 and early 1869. Hitherto, Triqueti referred to Durant as "ma seconde et bien aimée fille;" Princess Vicky

similarly described her as "quite like a daughter to him."<sup>157</sup> Unlike the Grote affair, there is no statement directly linking Durant and Triqueti as lovers. However, the child, "Henry Paul Harvey otherwise Durant," for whom Susan made guardianship arrangements in her will, is the evidential connection. Paul's university records and marriage certificate give Baron Triqueti as his father and the Blackwell papers refer to his illegitimacy. This and other information touched upon in chapter one strongly suggest that he was born of a liaison between the two sculptors.<sup>158</sup>

Again, Durant contrived successfully to keep the illicit relationship, and her pregnancy, secret. Her willingness to risk the ignominy reserved for women who defied the standards of middle-class morality is astounding. However, there is a pattern discernible in these two affairs that suggests the risks she took were calculated. The age differential made it relatively easy to disguise the true nature of the relationships. Also, there were important advantages to be had in choosing married men as lovers. Durant had the benefit of a warm, romantic relationship without having to suffer the legal and financial restrictions imposed upon married women by the laws of coverture.

Having benefitted greatly from the assistance given by mentors and patrons, some of the female sculptors, in turn, became guides and instructors to a younger generation of artists. Thornycroft trained and advised her children and gave lessons to Princess Louise and Miss Cholmondeley. Hill, who was noted for her readiness "to give advice and encouragement to young beginners," likely had a hand in the preparation of her nephew, Waller Hubert Paton, for a sculpting career. Durant made her contribution through lessons to Princess

Louise and the Crown Princess of Prussia. It is possible that the "Mr. Oules" whom Grant "supervised" at a "portrait of Aunt Augusta" was a student of hers.<sup>159</sup>

Group affiliations played a significant part in the women's career progress. Although denied membership in the premier exhibiting societies, there were alternative associations to which female sculptors could belong. Thornycroft's and Durant's involvement with the SFA has been touched on. The Albert Institute in Edinburgh (established 1877) was conceived to encourage young and relatively unknown artists. Housed in the purpose-built Albert Gallery, the Institute offered studio space and sponsored an annual exhibition at which prizes were awarded. Hill, who was a founding member, won the medal for sculpture in 1878 and executed the figures representing Painting and Sculpture that decorate the building's facade.<sup>160</sup> The publicity she gained from these two honours more than repaid any effort she might have invested in starting the organization. The Glasgow Society of Lady Artists opened in 1882 but there is no evidence that either Hill or Grant contributed to their exhibitions.

Durant was one of eight women admitted to the Burlington Fine Arts Club which boasted a membership of over two hundred distinguished gentlemen including Sir Charles Eastlake (PRA), the Rothschilds, Ruskin, Gladstone, J.C. Robinson (Curator of the Oriental Museum of Art), Cole and Layard. Although not a venue for artists to display their own handiwork (its purpose was "to bring together collectors, amateurs and persons variously interested in matters of art, and to provide a centre for the exhibition and comparison among its members of objects of interest in their possession"<sup>161</sup>),



there was much to be gained by mingling with other members at club gatherings. With Robinson's encouragement, Durant hosted "one of the 'Fine Art Soirées' at Bryanston Place" in May 1867, an event she described as "a serious undertaking!"<sup>162</sup>

Conspicuously absent from among the various professional relationships cultivated by the British female sculptors is any evidence of mutual aid. Although they doubtless knew of each other, the women made virtually no mention of their female counterparts in Britain or elsewhere. Durant's cursory references to Mary Lloyd, Frances Power Cobbe's adulthood companion, are exceptional but they may only indicate a secondary acquaintance with the amateur sculptor via Cobbe rather than the reverse. Similarly, Grant joyously recorded that "the famous American sculptress Miss ~~Hosmer~~ visited my studio" but apparently had no further contact despite Hosmer's frequent visits to Britain until 1900. While Hill could be readily excused from associating with her London counterparts due to geographical distance, she seems not to have had any involvement with Gore-Booth who lived near Glasgow. A possible explanation for the sculpting women's seeming indifference to one another is that each enjoyed her almost unique status and used it as a means of interesting potential clients. Being one of several unusual women might detract from the individual's novelty, even identity, or it could imply a sort of Amazonian threat. Nathaniel Hawthorne remarked a similar reserve among male artists which he attributed to professional jealousy in a highly competitive market.

Success in art is apt to become partly an affair of intrigue, and it is almost inevitable that even a gifted artist should look askance at his gifted brother's fame, and be chary of the good word that might

help him to sell still another statue or picture; . . . a sculptor never has a favourable eye for any marble but his own.<sup>163</sup>

Clearly, the enclave of female sculptors at Rome was extraordinary.

The sculpting women made their way through the contested terrain of the Victorian art world with ingenuity and determination. Some of the routes they took were broad avenues traversed with little effort, others were narrow paths delimited by hegemonic tradition, while yet others were improvised detours around obstacles too imposing or time-consuming to surmount. They used the relative ease of access to academy and international exhibitions as a primary means of building up public familiarity with their names and works. Although excluded from most traditionally masculine gathering places at which art business was conducted informally, the female sculptors turned accepted feminine activities to the purpose. Thus, parties, receptions, and other social occasions became venues for polite self-promotion and unobtrusive business transactions. They embraced technological innovations such as the photograph to make themselves and their works present to potential customers while maintaining a proper social distance.

In the same manner as their male colleagues, they cultivated relationships that furnished them with the technical skills, professional and social contacts, and guidance necessary to conduct successful careers. However, some of these relationships provided the added dimension of emotional support from a confidant, a spiritual advisor, a lover, or a husband that would have been crucial as they encountered the unfair criticism, false accusations, and exclusion from competitions and art fraternities born of gender bias. Likewise, by belonging to parallel associations, the sculpting women were able to mitigate the professional

isolation that exclusion from the unyieldingly masculine Academies precipitated. Those who participated in women's exhibiting societies enjoyed mutual encouragement and empowerment to contest the art establishment's low estimation of their capabilities. New institutions that catered to a mixed membership permitted the sculptors to become better acquainted with a wider circle of fellow artists and other influential people in a relaxed atmosphere. Hill, Thornycroft, Grant and Durant made inroads into the British art market by subtly moving boundary markers and making the most of alternative routes to attain their objectives.

These were indeed colourful and courageous women to take on such challenges for the sake of becoming sculptors. To enhance our understanding of what motivated them to pursue such demanding careers the next chapter will examine their personal qualities, ambitions and convictions and the ways in which these occasioned and facilitated their artistic goals.

## ENDNOTES

1. Jan Marsh, "Art, Ambition and Sisterhood," in Orr, *Women in the Victorian Art World*, 35-6. Maria G. Grey and Emily Shirreff, *Thoughts on Self-Culture, Addressed to Women*, vol. 2, (London: Edward Moxon, 1850), 201, 202-203. See also: Fulford, *Votes for Women*, 44, 277, 281; Levine, *Feminist Lives*, 28, 136.
2. "Miss Mary Grant," *Ladies' Field*, 248.
3. The term "The Girl of the Period" was coined by Eliza Lynn Linton, a proponent of domestic femininity who wrote a series of articles in the 1860s decrying the behaviour of a rising generation of young women who rejected such traditional values. The ensuing debate about the place of women raged on in the periodical press up through the 1880s. Eliza Lynn Linton, *The Girl of the Period*, 2 vols. (repr. from the *Saturday Review*, 1883). For further discussion see Lynda Nead, *Myths of Sexuality: Representations of Women in Victorian Britain* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1988), 180, 181. "The Girl of the Period Art Student," *The Girl of the Period Miscellany* 5 (July 1869), 163. This was a comic publication produced as an adjunct to the weekly magazine *Echoes from the Clubs: A Record of Political Topics and Social Amenities*. The article mocks both the women's rights agenda and the ideal of domesticity propounded by Linton. For more information about the piece see J. Don Vann and Rosemary T. VanArsdel, eds., *Victorian Periodicals and Victorian Society* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1994).
4. Queen Victoria to Theodore Martin, 29 May 1870; quoted in Carol Bauer and Lawrence Ritt, eds., *Free and Ennobled: Source Readings in the Development of Victorian Feminism* (Oxford: Pergamon, 1979), 247.
5. Nina Auerbach, *Woman and the Demon: The Life of a Victorian Myth* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1982), 119-20.
6. Bessie Rayner Parkes, "Statistics as to the Employment of the Female Population of Great Britain," *English Woman's Journal* (March 1860); quoted in Candida Ann Lacey, ed., *Barbara Leigh Smith Bodichon and the Langham Place Group* (New York: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1984), 174-179 passim; Martha Vicinus, *Independent Women: Work and Community for Single Women 1850-1920* (London: Virago, 1985), 3.
7. Kathleen E. McCrone, "The Assertion of Women's Rights in Mid-Victorian England," *Canadian Historical Association: Historical Papers* (1972), 44.

8. Levine, *Feminist Lives*, 149-51.
9. Lacey, *Bodichon and Langham Place*, 39.
10. W.R. Greg, "Why Are Women Redundant?," *National Review* (April 1862); quoted in Janet Horowitz Murray, ed., *Strong-Minded Women*, 50-54.
11. A sampling of articles in chronological sequence follows: J.W. Kaye, "The Employment of Women," *North British Review* 26 (February 1857): 291-338; Harriet Martineau, "Female Industry," *Edinburgh Review* 109 (April 1859): 293-336; "Woman's Work," *Once a Week* 2 (1860): 372-74; D. Greenwell, "Our Single Women," *North British Review* 36 (February 1862): 62-66; Bessie Rayner Parkes, *Essays on Woman's Work* (London: Alexander Strahan, 1865).
12. *Report from the Select Committee on Arts and Manufacturers, 1835-36* (House of Commons, 1836); *Reports from the Select Committees and Commissioners on the Promotion of the Fine Arts 1841* (House of Commons, 1841). See also: Macdonald, *History and Philosophy of Art Education*; Bell, *Schools of Design*; Minihan, *Nationalization of Culture*; Hurtado, "Promotion of the Visual Arts in Britain."
13. Treuherz, *Victorian Painting*, 42.
14. Macdonald, *Art Education*, Appendix A, 383; Cherry, *Painting Women*, 58.
15. For a brief explanation of accomplishment art see Lisa Heer, "Amateur Artists: 18th and 19th Centuries," in *Dictionary of Women Artists, Gaze*, 76-79.
16. Tamar Garb, *Sisters of the Brush: Women's Artistic Culture in Late Nineteenth-Century Paris* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1994), 130.
17. Gaze, *Dictionary of Women Artists*, s.v. "Damer, Ann Seymour," by Alison Yarrington. Peterson, *Family, Love and Work*, 48.
18. George Eliot, *The Mill on the Floss* (London: Blackwood, 1860; repr., Oxford: Clío Press, large print ed., 1990), 458. It is risky to ascribe historical accuracy to social behaviour described in Victorian fiction. However, in the case of this reference, Eliot seems to be suggesting nothing more than that ladies of the gentry cultivate tastes in leisure pursuits that appear rather fruitless and exotic to those much below their station. Miss Guest's activity is placed on a level with the embroidery skills of another young lady and both are contrasted with the competent plain-sewing of Maggie Tulliver. No further references are made to

sculpting in the novel.

19. "Miss Susan Durant," *Athenaeum*, 1 February 1873, 153.
20. "Paris Salon," *Athenaeum*, 20 June 1870, 844; "Gossip," 30 May 1874, 741; "Marcello," 2 August 1879, 153.
21. "The Late Miss Susan Durant," *The Times*, 25 January 1873, 10.
22. "Miss Susan D. Durant," *Art Journal* (1873), 80.
23. [Crosse], *Queen*, 11 January 1873, 27.
24. For a capsule description of proper female behaviour see Sarah Stickney Ellis, *Family Monitor and Domestic Guide* (New York, 1844); quoted in Griselda Pollock, *Mary Cassatt* (New York: Harper and Row, 1980), 11.
25. Sally Mitchell, *The New Girl: Girls' Culture in England 1880-1915* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1995), 42.
26. S.C. Hall, ed., *The Gallery of Modern Sculpture* (London: G. Virtue, 1854), unpaginated.
27. Barrington, "Mrs. Thornycroft," *Spectator*, 23 February 1895, 263.
28. Queen Victoria, Osborne House, to W.E. Gladstone, 6 May 1870; quoted in Bauer, *Free and Ennobled*, 247.
29. Orr, *Women in the Victorian Art World*, 10.
30. Treuherz, *Victorian Painting*, 10-11, 159.
31. Wendy Wassing Roworth, "Britain (Academies of Art)," in *Women Artists*, ed. Gaze, 51, 53; Chilvers, *Oxford Dictionary of Art*, s.v. "Moser, Mary;" Yeldham, *Women Artists in France and England*, I:71.
32. J.E. Hodgson and F.A. Eton, *The Royal Academy and its Members* (London: John Murray, 1905), 341; quoted in Macdonald, *History and Philosophy of Art Education*, 66-67; Cherry, *Painting Women*, 57; Helland, *Professional Women Painters*, 16.
33. Jan Marsh and Pamela Gerrish Nunn, *Women Artists and the Pre-Raphaelite Movement* (London: Virago, 1989), 28, 29.

34. Algernon Graves, A Dictionary of Artists Who Have Exhibited Works in the Principal London Exhibitions from 1760-1893 (London: Henry Graves and Co., 1901), s.v. "Durant, Susan," "Grant, Mary," "Hill, A.R.," and "Thornycroft, Mary;" Catalogue of the Art Treasures of the United Kingdom Collected at Manchester in 1857 (London: Bradbury and Evans; Manchester Art Treasures Exhibition, 1857); F.T. Palgrave, International Exhibition 1862 Official Catalogue of the Fine Art Department (London: Truscott, Son and Simmons, 1862); "Fine Art Gossip," Athenaeum, 27 February 1858, 280-81.
35. Helland, Professional Women Artists, chapter two "Guild and Venue: Women Artists, Exhibition Spaces, and Separate Societies."
36. Laws of the Royal Academy (1815); quoted in "Royal Academy," Athenaeum, 23 April 1859, 549-50.
37. Frances Fowle, "The Changing Functions of the Royal Institution," Journal of the Scottish Society for Art History 4 (1999), 29. Boris Ford, ed., The Cambridge Cultural History, vol. 6, The Romantic Age in Britain (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992), 129.
38. Athenaeum, 8 September, 1860, 330. The RA Laws of 1767, which were quoted at length in the Athenaeum a year earlier, "expressly contemplate the election of 'Female' Academicians" although an 1815 reprint expunged that reference. Athenaeum, 23 April, 1859, 549.
39. "We learn with much regret," Art Journal (1863), 230; "RA Exhibition," The Times, 22 May 1866, 12.
40. "Female Royal Academicians," Athenaeum, 7 February 1880, 191.
41. "Ernst Guhl, Women Artists (Die Frauen in die Kunstgeschichte)," Westminster Review 14 (July and October 1858), 184.
42. Cherry, "Women Artists and Feminism," in Orr, Women in the Victorian Art World, 55; Katy Deepwell, "A History of the Society of Female Artists," in The Society of Women Artists Exhibitors 1858-1996, ed. Charles Baile de Laperrière, comp. Joanna Soden (Calne, Wiltshire: Hilmarton Manor Press, 1996), xxiii.
43. "Society of Female Artists," Athenaeum (1867), 125; 27 June 1857, 825; 3 April 1858, 438-39.
44. Laperrière, The Society of Women Artists Exhibitors, s.v. "Durant, Susan" and

"Thornycroft, Mary."

45. Treuherz, *Victorian Painting*, 124; *The Illustrated Exhibitor: A Tribute to the World's Industrial Jubilee, 1851* (London: Cassell, 1851).

46. Susan Durant, Paris, to George Durant, 16 January [1867], RA Vic Add X2/111; 11 January, X2/109; 13 January, X2/110; Susan Durant to Emma Wallis, 28 January, 1867, X2/117; 10 March, X2/118.

47. "Notabilia of the Universal Exhibition," *Art Journal* (1867), 156.

48. Harriet Hosmer to Wayman Crow, 13 September [1856]; quoted in Sherwood, *Harriet Hosmer*, 140.

49. Susan Durant, Paris, to George Durant, 18 January [1867], RA Vic Add X2/112; 13 January, X2/110; Susan Durant to Emma Wallis, 28 January 1867, X2/117.

50. Thomas Thornycroft to ?, 27 May 1850, TT.C.142; Hamo's Journal, [May] 1882, J(a) 225.

51. Amelia Paton Hill to Mr. Dick Peddie, Secretary of the RSA, 14 February [1872], RSA Hill Archive.

52. Susan Durant, Paris, to George Durant, 13 May [1869], RA Vic Add X2/196.

53. Minutes of Council, 10 July 1863, RA Archive; David Robertson, *Sir Charles Eastlake and the Victorian Art World* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1978), 214.

54. "The Cradle [Princess Beatrice]," *Art Journal* (1860), 370. "Skipping Rope" (1861), 125; "Peace [Princess Helena]," 344; "Plenty [Princess Louise]," 368. "The Princess of Wales" (1863), 18, 144. "The Hunter [Prince Arthur]" 1864, 150; "The Fisher [Prince Leopold]," 144.

55. S.C. Hall, ed., *The Gallery of Modern Sculpture* (London: G. Virtue, 1854), unpaginated.

56. The notice in *Men of the Time* refers directly to the engravings. *Men of the Time* (1856), s.v. "Francis, afterwards Thornycroft, Mary;" C. Knight, *The English Encyclopaedia: Biography*, div. 12, 7 vols. (1856), s.v. "Thornycroft, Mary;" S.J. Hale, *A Cyclopaedia of Female Biography* (1857), s.v. "Thornycroft, Mary;" *A Dictionary of Contemporary Biography*, s.v. "Thornycroft, Mary;" Cassell's



- Biographical Dictionary (Cassell and Co., 1867-69), s.v. "Thornycroft, Mary; quoted in British Biographical Archive, microfiche, entries 149-154.
57. "Paris Exhibition," Art Journal (1879), 106; "St. Margaret and the Dragon," (1881), 284; "RA," (1857), 176. Treuherz, Victorian Painting, 124. "Mrs. Beecher Stowe," Illustrated London News, 18 July 1857, 53-54.
58. F.G. Stephens, "The Late Mrs. Thornycroft," Magazine of Art (1895); [Cornelia Crosse], "Susan Durant," Queen, 11 January 1873; "Miss Mary Grant," Ladies' Field, 15 July 1899; Tooley, "Interview," The Young Woman 35 (August 1895).
59. "Art Notes," Lady's Pictorial, 23 May 1891, 899.
60. Women's clubs were rare until the 1880s. See Rappaport, Shopping for Pleasure, 85-96 passim.
61. Janice Helland ably addresses these issues in the second chapter of Professional Women Painters.
62. Ann Eatwell, "Private pleasure, public beneficence: Lady Charlotte Schreiber and ceramic collecting," in Women in the Victorian Art World, ed. Orr, 131.
63. Copeland, "Diary Transcription," 118-23.
64. Sherwood, Harriet Hosmer, 257. Susan Durant, Paris, to George Durant, 28 June [1867], RA Vic Add X2/128; Susan Durant to Emma Wallis, 11 March 1866, X2/60; Bertrand Russell and Patricia Russell, eds., The Amberley Papers, 2 vols. (New York: Simon and Schuster; London: George Allen and Unwin, 1937, repr. 1966), I:314; Susan Durant to George Durant, 22 August 1865, X2/16; Moses Montefiore to Susan Durant, 3 December 1857, RA Vic Add T 286; Susan Durant to Emma Wallis, 22 May [1867], X2/127; 7 April [1866], X2/65; 24 July [1866], X2/73.
65. Susan Durant to Emma Wallis, 21 May [1868], RA Vic Add X2/212 D/3.
66. Susan Durant, London, to Countess Brühl, Potsdam, 25 August [1870], RA Vic Add X2/202; Countess Brühl, Hamburg, to Susan Durant, 15 October 1870, X2/212 D/13.
67. "The Late Miss Susan Durant," The Times, 25 January 1873, 10.
68. Thomas Thornycroft to Sir Thomas Biddulph, 5 March 1856, RA PP Vic Add 133; Susan Durant to George Durant, 27 November 1865, RA Vic Add X2/42.

69. "Miss Hosmer's Zenobia," *Art Journal* 26 (January 1864), 27; Hosmer, "The Process of Sculpture," *Atlantic Monthly* 14 (December 1864).
70. "The Royal Academy," *Athenaeum*, 30 April 1859, 581. Cherry, *Painting Women*, 57.
71. Frances Power Cobbe, "What Shall we do with our Old Maids?," *Fraser's Magazine* 66 (November 1862), 604-05; Bessie Rayner Parkes, *Essays on Woman's Work* (London: Alexander Strahan, 1865), 127.
72. Bessie Rayner Parkes, Savile Row, to Harriet Hosmer, Rome, 30 December 1857, Parkes Papers, BRP IX letter 32, Girton College Archive, Cambridge; Frances Power Cobbe, *Life of Frances Power Cobbe as told by Herself* (London: Swan, Sonnenschein and Co., 1904), 390, 393; Susan Durant to Emma Wallis, 17 March [1867], RA Vic Add X2/119; 22 May [1867], X2/127.
73. Orr, *Women in the Victorian Art World*, 118; Cherry, *Painting Women*, 72; Florence Fenwick Miller, "The Ladies' Column," *Illustrated London News*, 16 February 1895, 214; "Correspondence: Mrs. Mary Thornycroft," *Spectator*, 23 February 1895, 263.
74. Briggs, *Victorian Things*, 327-336 passim.
75. Susan Durant to Emma Wallis, 11 May [1866], RA Vic Add X2/68; Susan Durant to George Durant, 4th ? [1867], RA Vic Add X2/129.
76. Mary Grant to C.C. Grafton, 22 October [1887], St. Paul's Cathedral Archive 8-38.
77. Robert Moffat, Forfar, to Amelia Paton Hill, 30 June 1873, NLS Acc McDonald 2.6; [Wistanley] to Amelia R. Hill, 1 June 1899, McDonald 1.15. "The Statue of Dr. Livingstone," *Glasgow Herald*, 8 June 1875, 3; "Unveiling of the Livingstone Statue," *Scotsman*, 16 August 1876, 5.
78. Susan Durant, Paris, to George Durant, 30 December [1866], RA Vic Add X2/104; 3 January [1867], X2/106; 11 January [1867], X2/109; 2 June [1867], X2/131.
79. Susan Durant, Paris, to George Durant, 2 June [1867], RA Vic Add X2/131; Susan Durant, Paris, to A.H. Layard, 14 December [1860], British Library Manuscript Add. 58162 f. 104; Typescript, RA Vic Add X2/212 A/5; Susan Durant to Emma Wallis, 13 December 1868, RA Vic Add X2/185; *Art Journal* (1869), 382;

Sir Leslie Stephen and Sir Sidney Lee, eds., *The Dictionary of National Biography*, 1917 edn., (Oxford: Oxford University Press, repr., 1921-22), s.v. "Cole, Sir Henry;" Martin Lowther Clarke, *George Grote: A Biography* (London: University of London, the Athlone Press, 1962), 93; Frank M. Turner, *The Greek Heritage in Victorian Britain* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1981), 85-86; Sandby, *History of the Royal Academy*, 274; David Robertson, *Sir Charles Eastlake and the Victorian Art World* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1978).

80. Susan Durant to George Durant, 31 December 1864, RA Vic Add X2/3; 1 January 1865, X2/5; 11 March 1866, X2/60; Thomas Herbert Lewin, ed., *The Lewin Letters*, 2. vol. (London: Archibald Constable and Co., 1909), 241-42, 249.

81. Susan Durant to George Durant, 23 August [n.d.], RA Vic Add X2/151.

82. Layard was a cousin of Lady Charlotte Schreiber and Lady Huntly. Typescript, RA Vic Add X2/212 A/5; Susan Durant to George Durant, 31 December 1864, X2/3; Susan Durant to Emma Wallis, 31 December 1864, X2/4; 7 April [1867], X2/123; Orr, *Women in the Victorian Art World*, 130.

83. Susan Durant, Paris to George Durant, 15 May [1869], RA Vic Add X2/196.

84. Susan Durant to Emma Wallis, 18 February 1866, RA Vic Add X2/58; 19 August 1866, X2/77; 29 December 1867, X2/177.

85. Susan Durant to Emma Wallis, 7 June [1868], RA Vic Add X2/212 D/3; [? June] 1868, X2/180.

86. Sherwood, *Harriet Hosmer*, 67, 97, 168-69.

87. Macleod, *Art and the Victorian Middle-Class*, 244-45.

88. Susan Durant to Emma Wallis, 22 March 1868, RA Vic Add X2/178.

89. Susan Durant to Emma Wallis, 25 November [1866], 17 March [n.d.], 22 March 1868, Vic Add X2/94, 119, 178.

90. Ibid; Susan Durant to George Durant, 30 December [1866], RA Vic Add X2/104; 1 January 1867, X2/105; January 1866, X2/51.

91. Dakers, *Holland Park Circle*, 179; Hamo's Journal, 10 July 1877, J(a) 193; 26 February 1890, 29 November 1890, J(5) 22, 100.

92. Manning, Marble and Bronze, 127; Hamo's Journal, J(a) 45; Dakers, Holland Park Circle, 179; Orr, Women in the Victorian Art World, 24. Thanks is due to Fiona Darling-Glinsky for bringing some of these names to my attention.
93. Hamo's Journal, 18 April 1872, 21 March 1871, J(a) 101, 51.
94. Mary Thornycroft to Hamo Thornycroft, 12 March 1881, TII-C-T(Ma) 3.
95. John Brown, Marjorie Flemming: a Sketch, Being the Paper Entitled "Pet Marjorie: A Story of Child Life Fifty Years Ago" (Edinburgh: Edmonston and Douglas, 1863); Paton, Noel Paton, 47.
96. Schwarz, D.O. Hill, 27-30 passim; Lady Mary Ruthven to D.O. Hill, 1862, NLS Acc McDonald 1.6 and 2.3; Laperrière, RSA Exhibitors, s.v. "Hill, Mrs. D.O."
97. Andrew Carnegie to Amelia Paton Hill, 16 June 1874, NLS Acc McDonald 1.4; Laperrière, RSA Exhibitors, s.v. "Hill, Mrs. D.O."
98. 7 March 1871, Copeland, "Diary Transcription," 6.
99. McEwan, Dictionary of Scottish Artists, s.v. "Grant, Mary."
100. Orr, Women in the Victorian Art World, 90.
101. Schwarz, D.O. Hill, 61; Dean of Windsor and Hector Bolitho, eds., Letters of Lady Augusta Stanley: A Young Lady at Court 1849-1863 (London: Gerald Howe, 1927), 38, 59, 183; McEwan, Dictionary of Scottish Art, s.v. "Grant, Mary;" "Miss Mary Grant," Ladies' Field, 249. M.C.M Simpson, Letters and Recollections of Julius and Mary Mohl (London: Kegan Paul, Trench and Co., 1887).
102. Mary Grant to C.C. Grafton, 6 September 1887, undated note, St. Paul's Cathedral archive, 8-37; John A. Garrity and Mark C. Carnes, eds., American National Biography (New York; Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999), s.v. "Perkins, Charles Calahan;" Susan Durant, Paris, to George Durant, 30 December [1866], 1 January 1867, RA Vic Add X2/104, 105.
103. N.M. McQueen Holmes and Lyn M. Stubbs, The Scott Monument: A Historical and Architectural Guide (City of Edinburgh Museums and Art Galleries, 1979), 29.
104. Davidoff, Family Fortunes, 404.
105. Susan Durant to Emma Wallis, 13 December 1865, 27 July 1869, RA Vic Add

- X2/43, 140; Susan Durant to George Durant, 25 and 27 April [1865], 27 April 1869, X2/7, 8, 212 D/7.
106. Susan Durant to George Durant, 31 December 1864, X2/3; Susan Durant to Emma Wallis, 31 December 1864, X2/4.
107. Susan Durant to George Durant, 7 August 1865, X2/15; 1 January 1867, X2/105.
108. Susan Durant, Short Diary, 11, 14, and 15 November 1865, X2/37; Susan Durant to Emma Wallis, 7 April 1866, X2/65.
109. Mary Thornycroft to Thomas Thornycroft, Transcription, 21 December 1869, TII-C-T(Ma) 31.
110. Anne Thornycroft's Diary, 8 June, 30 July, 5 August, 8 August 1857, HMI Thornycroft Archive TII D1.
111. Susan Durant to George Durant, [September] 1865, X2/18.
112. February 1872, November 1876, 18 October 1877, Copeland, "Diary Transcription," 7, 14, 17.
113. Susan Durant, Short Diary, 11, 13, and 15 November 1865, RA Vic Add X2/37.
114. Briggs, *Victorian Things*, 132-33; Grace Seiberling with Carolyn Bloore in association with the International Museum of Photography at George Eastman House, *Amateurs, Photography, and the Mid-Victorian Imagination* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1986), 69-70.
115. Leach, "Feminist in Bronze and Marble," 11; A.H. Layard to Harriet Hosmer, 15 April 1861; quoted in Carr, *Letters and Memories*, 172-73.
116. See Philip Ward-Jackson, "Carlo Marochetti et les photographes," *Revue de l'Art* 104 (1994), 44-45.
117. Anne Thornycroft Diary, 5 February and 27 May 1857, TII D1; photographs of Mary's sculptures TII PS 12-23, 37-39; Agatha Thornycroft's Photo Album TII PP[a] 13,14; TII PP 85; TII PP[a] 26; Seiberling, *Amateurs, Photography and the Mid-Victorian Imagination*, 70, 131, 164 n. 9, 165 n. 14; Graves, *Royal Academy*, s.v. "Thornycroft, Mrs. Thomas;" Martin Barnes, Assistant Curator of Photographs, Victoria and Albert Museum, to Shannon Hunter Hurtado, 10 April 2000, album

pressmark MX8 X21, inventory number PH.555-1885.

118.Susan Durant to George Durant, 31 December 1864, RA Vic Add X2/3.

119.RA Vic Add X2/1.

120.Jane and Margaret Davison, The Triqueti Marbles in the Albert Memorial Chapel, Windsor: as series of photographs executed by the Misses Davison (London: Chapman and Hall, 1876), pl. XLVIII, XLXIX; explanatory notes by Lucy R. Shilston, Typescript, RA Vic Add X2/212 A/2.

121.Zimmerman, Dictionary of Classical Mythology, s.v. "Apollo;" Hall, Dictionary of Subjects and Symbols in Art, s.v. "Parnassus." Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, ref. 46.1.13; National Museums of Scotland T.1942.1.1 p. 283. Thanks are due to Roddy Simpson who brought the Sir Galahad photograph and the portrait by either Adamson or Rodger to my attention. See A.D. Morrison-Low, "Dr. John Adamson and Thomas Rodger: Amateur and Professional Photography in Nineteenth-Century St. Andrews," in Photography 1900: The Edinburgh Symposium, ed. Julie Lawson, Ray McKenzie, and A.D. Morrison-Low (Edinburgh: National Museums of Scotland, 1992), 19-37.

122.Post Office London Directory 1860, 1861, 1864, 1871, 1872 (London: Frederick Kelly); London Business Directory 1874, 1875, 1886, 1887 (London: Spottiswoode and Co.); The New Edinburgh, Leith and County Business Directory 1867-70 (Edinburgh: Ballantyne and Co.).

123.Hill's personal estate situated in Scotland was £541; an additional \$16,224.72 was situated abroad. D.O. Hill left her £954/14/4. "Inventory of the Personal Estate of David Octavius Hill," SRO SC 70/1/150, p. 429; "Inventory of the Personal Estate of Mrs. Amelia Robertson Paton or Hill," SRO SC 70/1/439, p. 131. Susan Durant to Emma Wallis, 22 August 1870, RA Vic Add X2/199. Susan Durant's effects were valued at "under £8,000;" George Durant's effects were valued at under £450; Probate records of Wills and Admons, 1873 and 1872 respectively, PRO Family Division, Somerset House, London. Mary Grant left £968/12/7; Probate records of Wills and Admons, 1908; Mary Grant to C.C.Grafton, 25 August-3 November [19??], Cathedral Church of St. Paul archive, 8-40.

124.John Francis to Thomas Thornycroft, 1 March 1843, TII C 59; "Mary Thornycroft," Lady's Pictorial, 232; Gunnis, Dictionary of British Sculptors, s.v. "Thornycroft, Mary;" Stephens, "Late Mrs. Thornycroft, 305; Hall, Gallery of

Modern Sculpture, n.p.; British Biographical Archive, s.v. "Thornycroft, Mary." A rival attribution of the angels to Flaxman is vitiated by Lady Braye's patronage of Gibson. "Gossip," Athenaeum, 3 June 1865, 755; Elizabeth Eastlake, ed., Life of John Gibson RA, Sculptor (London: Longmans, Green, 1870), 71, 220; Janson, Nineteenth-Century Sculpture, 125; Benedict Read and Philip Ward-Jackson, eds., Late Eighteenth and Nineteenth Century Sculpture in the British Isles, Courtauld Institute Illustrated Archive, ed. Peter Lasko, archive 4, pt. 3 (London: Harvey Miller in association with the Courtauld Institute of Art, University of London, 1977) 4/3/116-119.

125. "Mary Grant," Ladies' Field, 248.

126. Sherwood, Harriet Hosmer, 119.

127. Heller, Women Artists, 86; Eastlake, John Gibson, 89, 95, 243.

128. Janson, Nineteenth-Century Sculpture, 125.

129. August 1874, Copeland, "Diary Transcription," 9.

130. John Mossman to Isabella Gore-Booth, 13 May 1854, 7 June 1855, undated letter, 23 March 1874, Strathclyde Regional Archives TD1/459.

131. Walker to the Duke of Buccleuch, 22 April 1865, Buccleuch Muniments GD 224, 666/3/6/28, Scottish Record Office. I am indebted to Rocco Lieuellen for calling this reference to my attention. Festival Society, Patons, 7; Rupert Toovey and Co., Order of Sales: 10 October 2001, lot 2376, p.33.

132. Mr. Campbell to Isabella Gore-Booth, 21 January 1856, Strathclyde Regional Archives, TD1/459; "Royal Scottish Academy: Scheme of Reform," Glasgow Herald, 10 August 1889, Newspaper Cuttings Scrapbook from 1889 to 1894, RSA Archive. Thanks is due to Helen Smailes for alerting me to this competition design by Noel Paton

133. Hurtado, "The Company She Kept," 156-57.

134. Cherry, Painting Women, 102-04.

135. Susan Durant to Sir Thomas Biddulph, 1867, RA PP Vic 2/113/12673.

136. Joseph Johnson, Clever Girls of Our Time and How They Became Famous Women (London; Edinburgh: Gall and Inglis, 1863), 235.

137. Journal of Emma Wallis, 29 December [1865], RA Vic Add X2/212 B/9.
138. Thomas Thornycroft to W.B. Dickinson, 3 June 1849, TT.C.141.
139. Unidentified newspaper cutting, RA Vic Add X2/207.
140. Susan Durant to George Durant, [August], RA Vic Add X2/18; Crown Princess of Prussia to Baron de Triqueti quoted in Susan Durant to Emma Wallis, 11 March 1866, X2/60.
141. Crown Princess of Prussia to Queen Victoria, 30 [October] 1868, "Letters from Queen Victoria," vol. 18, Z 22, p. 33; Susan Durant to George Durant, [August], 11 and 13 September, 5 and 9 October 1865, 28 June [1867], 27 April 1869, RA Vic Add X2/18, 24, 26, 30, 31, 128, 212 D/7; Susan Durant Short Diary, passim, X2/37.
142. Susan Durant to George Durant, 27 April 1869, X2/212 D/7. An official monument by the court sculptor Reinhold Begas has replaced the earlier one described in Durant's letter of April 1869. Nevertheless, the portrait bust that rests on the top of the sarcophagus may be Durant's original or a copy of it.
143. Susan Durant to George Durant, 16 September, 5 October [1865], X2/27, 30; Chilvers, *Oxford Dictionary of Art*, s.v. "Waagen, Gustav Friedrich."
144. C.A.H. Crosse, *Red Letter Days of My Life*, 2 vols., (London: Richard Bentley and Son, 1892), II:35-6.
145. Sherwood, *Harriet Hosmer*, 204-05, 271, 310; Tufts, *American Women Artists*, 103.
146. Leach, "Feminist in Bronze and Marble," 10; Sherwood, *Harriet Hosmer*, 80, 323.
147. Asa Briggs, *Victorian People: A Reassessment of Persons and Themes 1851-67* (London: Odhams, 1954; repr., Harmondsworth: Penguin, Pelican Books, 1975), 72; Joseph O. Baylen and Norbert J. Grossman, eds., *The Biographical Dictionary of Modern British Radicals*, vol. 2, 1830-1870 (Brighton: Harvester Press, 1984), s.v. "Layard, Austen Henry." *Art Journal* (1892), 103-06.
148. Austin Henry Layard to Harriet Hosmer, 15 April 1861; quoted in Carr, *Letters and Memories*, 173.
149. Susan Durant to A.H. Layard, 14 December [1860], BL MSS Add. 58162 f. 104.



150. Susan Durant to George Durant, 17 August 1866, RA Vic Add X2/212 C/7.
151. Tooley, "Interview," 366.
152. D.O. Hill to Professor Blackie, 7 May 1867, NLS MS 2628 f. 19; Isabella Begg to Miss Cathcart, [n.d.], NLS Acc McDonald 1.7.
153. C.C. Grafton, Oxford, to Mary Grant, 6 May 1867, 10 August 1869, Copeland, "Diary Transcription," 94, 100; Mary Grant to C.C. Grafton, 26 December 1903, St. Paul's Cathedral Archive, 8-41.
154. Susan Mumm, Stolen Daughters, Virgin Mothers: Anglican Sisterhoods in Victorian Britain (Leicester: Leicester University Press, 1999), 48-49, 95.
155. John Rogers, Jr., Rome, to Henry Rogers, 13 February 1859, Miscellaneous MSS, Rogers John, Jr., New York Historical Society Library; quoted in Sherwood, Harriet Hosmer, 214; Joy Kasson, Marble Queens and Captives: Women in Nineteenth-Century American Sculpture (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1990), 12.
156. Martin Lowther Clarke, George Grote: A Biography (London: University of London, the Athlone Press, 1962), 92-96; Russell, The Amberley Papers, I: 477-78. Thomas Herbert Lewin, ed., The Lewin Letters, 2 vols. (London: Archibald Constable and Co., 1919), 324, 362-63.
157. Baron Triqueti to Emma Wallis, 4 May 1866, RA Vic Add X2/59; Crown Princess of Prussia to Queen Victoria, 10 January 1873, RA Letters from Queen Victoria, vol. 23 Z27 p. 29.
158. "Last Will and Testament of Susan D. Durant," 15 May 1872 (proved 30 January 1873), Public Record Office, Family Records Division, London; Perkin, Victorian Women, 154-55; Joseph Foster, ed., Oxford Men 1880-1892 (Oxford: J Parker Co., 1893), s.v. "Harvey, Henry Paul;" Marriage Certificate for Henry Paul Harvey and Ethel Frances Persse, 6 August 1896, General Register Office, London.
159. Hamo's Journal, 14 June 1872, J(a) 117; Tooley, "Interview," 367; McEwan, Dictionary of Scottish Artists, s.v. "Paton, Waller Hubert;" July 1875, Copeland, "Diary Transcription," 11.
160. Journals of Noel Paton, NLS Dep. 351, f. 11; Art Journal (1879), 57; Helland, Professional Women Painters, 178, n. 18.

161. "The Burlington Fine Arts Club," Burlington Magazine 94 (April 1952), 98.
162. Orr, Women in the Victorian Art World, 131-32; David Robertson, Sir Charles Eastlake and the Victorian Art World (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1978), 184. Susan Durant to Emma Wallis, 28 January 1867, 10 March [1867], RA Vic Add X2/117, 118.
163. Nathaniel Hawthorne, The Marble Faun, Edited and with an Introduction and Notes by Susan Manning (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), 103.

## CHAPTER 4

### CHARACTERISTICS AND CONVICTIONS

The gender stereotyping of the Victorian era not only relegated women to a subordinate status, it had the effect of depersonalizing them as well. Comments on the works of individual female sculptors frequently classified their efforts as conforming to or deviating from the dominant norms of femininity rather than dealing with them as the products of substantially different artists. For example, Durant's group Constance (1866) was criticized for being "singularly free from anything effeminate in conception or treatment; . . . [deficient in the] tenderness which we should have expected in a woman's rendering of the subject." In the same vein, Hosmer's Roman Sentinel was complimented as deserving "to be called a masculine work, grave, earnest and energetic."<sup>1</sup> This tendency to categorize the sculpting women as interchangeable representatives of, or exceptions to, a type contributed to their eventual omission from the historical record. Thus, any attempt to win them back from obscurity must do justice to their individuality. Furthermore, as studies by Caine and Vicinus have demonstrated with regard to the Victorian feminists, our understanding of the experience of other female sculptors will be enhanced by examining the "ways in which particular personalities negotiated" the constraints they encountered in their quest for new opportunities for women.<sup>2</sup> This chapter will explore the sculptors' personal qualities, such as temperament and intellect, and the beliefs, allegiances and ambitions to which these gave expression. Some attention will be given to the role models they drew upon. In addition to

revealing the rich textures of their characters, such an investigation is intended to discover how each mobilized her unique blend of characteristics and convictions to accomplish her career objectives.

Each woman's personal qualities will be considered separately followed by a summary discussion in which some contrasts and comparisons will be drawn. The result will be a picture of Durant, Grant, Hill and Thornycroft as distinctive, self-conscious agents who focused their personal resources on the task of defining themselves as professional artists and active participants in the social and political ethos of the period.

## CHARACTER SKETCHES

### Mary Grant

Mary Grant's diary and letter book, which summarizes the contents of personal journals and studio notes (1842-1890) that were destroyed by fire or curtailed during bereavement, offers insight into her character both in her own words and those of two of her well-wishers. Although this is a heavily (re)constructed document intended to "set a mark on time," the personal qualities portrayed therein are echoed in her letters to Father Grafton written in later years and in the observations of others.<sup>3</sup> Four personality characteristics appear consistently from girlhood through to the end of her life: gregariousness, emotional reserve, determination, and impulsiveness. Grant had an extensive social circle and preferred companionship to solitude; this is not surprising given that she was the second of thirteen children in a family that entertained frequently. From her aunt Augusta's journal we get a glimpse of her life as a

vibrant eighteen-year-old attending grand dinner parties for "Royal Ladies" at the Bruce family home and dancing "every dance" at a ball held by neighbouring gentry. Like her father, she was possessed of the "gift of drawing the best out of people and making them feel vastly important--without herself being highly intellectual." An "entertaining and vivacious" conversationalist, she was equally comfortable talking with strangers on a train, critics, and her numerous friends from among the social, artistic and literary elites that she entertained at her home and studio. Although her warmth and helpfulness continued to draw people to her up to the end of her life, Grant's earlier confidence in her social skills was shaken by the ill health that confined her to her home. Correspondence from her final years reveals a woman who craved the company of others and whose greatest fear was to die alone.<sup>4</sup>

Despite her affinity for company, Grant exhibited an almost crippling emotional reserve. She lamented the "absolute inability to express one's feelings in times of great emotion" that had robbed her of the opportunity to "express all I felt concerning [my mother] to Her own self." Lacking sufficient outlets, Grant's pent up feelings periodically spilled over in fits of vague melancholia and overwhelmed her with "terrible mental depression" following the deaths of her mother and favourite brother and in the wake of a debilitating stroke.

A further effect of her own inhibition was an impaired ability to evaluate the feelings of others toward her. She misjudged the affection of her widowed brother-in-law (Brooke), with whom she had fallen deeply in love: "by every act and movement I believed him to be the same and thought my duty was to be very careful and reserved in my bearing towards him." Joan Copeland cites the

legal prohibition against marrying a deceased wife's sister as the probable reason for her dutiful concern. Just when she had resolved to defy the law and have "him or none," he announced his engagement to another.<sup>5</sup> She appears not to have confided her feelings of attraction or rejection to family members, leaving them to assume that she merely shared their dismay that Brooke would choose to remarry so soon. It was to a close friend that she revealed the strong emotions with which she contended. "[A]nd now here I am again having to take my place upon the stage the first act or acts being over. I represent his friend once more listening to a tale of love from his lips and all his confidences. . . . To say that I have no touch of jealousy would not be true." She was unable to acknowledge such feelings when Brooke and her sister Annie became engaged although they are obliquely stated in her idealized record of their courtship and marriage. "Her dream was realized--her hope was realized--her prayer was granted--and we--what were we--the other two [sisters]? Astounded and Astonished."<sup>6</sup> Likewise, the highly emotional tone of Grant's letters to Father Grafton suggests that she had again fallen in love with an unattainable man although she could not admit it even to herself. Instead her romantic feelings were sublimated in religious fervour.

Such blind spots notwithstanding, Grant valued self-awareness and submitted to phrenological and graphological analysis on several occasions. The results of one session with the "head-reader" were conveyed to Mary by her devoted older friend and spiritual mentor, Edward S. Cayley. Her most prominent features were deemed to be "secretiveness," pride and "firmness" to which Cayley himself added "impulsiveness . . . being apparently phlegmatic for

a season and then suddenly becoming imbued with a new notion which you must carry at once into speediest execution [until] . . . it palls and you subside into lethargy again."<sup>7</sup> Doubtless the phrenologist gained some immediate insights into Mary's character from their conversation during her examination. However arrived at, his assessment certainly concurs with other information about her. That she did not take opposition to her will easily is evident from her resolve to sculpt despite family objections and from her "wrathful" response to Hallam Tennyson's suggestions for improving the nose on his father's portrait. Such raw determination had to be tempered so as to achieve her goals. Father Grafton counselled her to "conquer [her] strong impulses of jealousy, anger, passion," in favour of an alignment of her will with the divine will. To what extent she was able to embrace that advice is uncertain. However, she did develop the ability to judge when to compromise without sacrificing the drive that enabled her to carry on working despite emotional upheaval and devastating illness.<sup>8</sup>

Given the religious and social context out of which Cayley and Grafton spoke, it is probable that Grant's ambition to "leave a mark on time" was construed as pride. She contrived to attain public recognition both by studying "profoundly . . . the human figure and its anatomy" and leaving a detailed record of her personal and working life for posterity. Indeed, it would appear from the inclusion of explanatory phrases such as "Sir Francis Grant, my uncle," that the edited version of her diary was intended to be read by a wider audience than her family. Her "desire to catch up the thread of passing time and hold it fast if but for a minute" verged on obsession. At the close of each year she wrote a

"summary of what had occurred" which included an itemized list of her "absences" from home, house-guests entertained, those with whom she had dined, the dates of parties given and names of those who attended. By cataloguing everything from her social engagements to her extensive jewellery collection, Grant sought to impose order upon a rapidly changing world and to confirm her own place in it. To what extent she thought of herself as breaking new ground for women is not readily apparent from her writings. In the estimation of her nephew, Col. Patrick Grant, she "was a pioneer--if not the pioneer--amongst women to take up sculpting professionally, and to set up a studio of her own."<sup>9</sup>

The impetuousness that Cayley identified seems to have been triggered by times of uncertainty or boredom. To Grafton she wrote, "What should you say if I told you I was going to be married and to settle abroad? . . . often worries make me cry for peace [and] I am tempted by a single word to put myself into the keeping of a kind, strong man." Similarly, her sudden "strong impression that I should like a studio somewhere in this land of freedom [United States] with which I am greatly in love," arose after her mother's death when she felt "quite alone . . . [and] very much disposed for a change."<sup>10</sup>

Three constants governed her actions--family, the creative impulse, and faith. The lament of her cousin Isa Geary evinces the close, congenial ties Grant had with her extended family. "I cannot say what her loss is and must always be to me . . . her dear helpful presence . . . attracted friends and relatives to come to her and she loved and helped them each so much."<sup>11</sup> Throughout her life visits with siblings, nephews, nieces, aunts, uncles and cousins were recorded fondly



in her diaries.

Sculpture was Grant's preferred mode of creative expression but she also cultivated the more conventionally feminine arts of embroidery, composing tunes, and poetry writing which she practiced as private enjoyments. The ability to model in clay or compose a poem brought her considerable satisfaction and often allowed her to release intense emotions that she was otherwise unable to communicate. She memorialized her sister Annie's death and her own conflicted feelings for Brooke in a series of free-verse poems. Her eloquence and comparative freedom of expression in written form was praised by Cayley who urged her to speak more as she wrote. For him also she composed a small piece of music, "the Uncle's tune," as an expression of gratitude.<sup>12</sup>

Grant's most profoundly held conviction was her faith in God although this too was affected by the vagaries of her moods and impulses. While the majority of her family identified themselves as church-going believers, her sister Charlotte, cousin Isa (both members of holy orders) and aunt Augusta Stanley shared with Mary a heightened piety and sense of calling.<sup>13</sup> Much of her correspondence with Cayley and Grafton was occupied with the state of her spiritual growth and the doubts that assailed her in times of grief and disappointment ("[I] fear lest it should be forced upon my dullness that there is no GOD") or in relation to philosophical arguments raised by others. Both men tirelessly supported her through her trials, offering spiritual consolation and detailed advice.<sup>14</sup>

Grafton exhorted her to integrate her work and faith, "doing something for the Glory of GOD in the way of art . . . . and so place . . . living sermons daily

before the people." Whereas he saw her sculpture as an instrument of proclamation (and a means to deepen her faith), Cayley's vision for her was circumscribed by the conventional middle-class association of women's Christian service and creative work with charity bazaars. He counselled her to look upon her "so-called accomplishments" as gifts from God through the sale of which she could aid the unfortunate. Grant ultimately adopted Grafton's advice, expressing her faith through the figures she sculpted for cathedrals and parish churches, not least because it concurred with her desire to be a professional sculptor and did justice to her talent.<sup>15</sup> Apart from the solace and sense of calling Grant gained from her religious beliefs, she also drew upon her spiritual resources to guide and comfort others.<sup>16</sup>

Evidence from the latter half of her life suggests that she supported the campaign for female suffrage. An 1878 pamphlet, "The Franchise: An Educational Test, A Remedy for the Degeneracy of the House of Commons," by one Mary Grant argued that a more enlightened electorate would select representatives of a higher calibre who, in turn, would see the value of granting "females . . . the privilege which is justly their due," that is, the vote. There is nothing that directly links this Mary Grant with the sculptor although there are several clues that favour such a connection. Two emphases in the pamphlet, first on the obligation to teach "true religion" as something which "must be carried into our every act and by which all our actions and motives are influenced", and second on ensuring just legislation with regard to divorce and marriage of a deceased wife's sister, also figured deeply in Grant's experience. Furthermore, she associated with a number of vocal advocates of female suffrage. Anna

Swanwick, Lady Louisa Goldsmid, and the Dowager Countess of Buchan were signatories to the petitions of 1867 and/or 1875 and members of the women's committee to erect a monument to Henry Fawcett. Each figures repeatedly in Grant's diaries, with Swanwick noted as a dinner guest in 1877 and Lady Buchan as a frequent patron of the sculptor from 1875; Lady Goldsmid's acquaintance seems to have dated from the Fawcett commission negotiations which, though difficult at first, issued in an amicable working relationship plus a series of invitations to social events unrelated to business. That Grant was selected to sculpt the memorial portrait of Fawcett, which was erected by the women of Britain in recognition of his efforts to advance their "social and political interests," further suggests that she was supportive of the suffrage cause.<sup>17</sup>

Something of Grant's character and convictions is reflected in the subject matter of her works. Many of the portraits are of family members, indicating both the value she attached to filial ties and the elevated social circles in which she circulated. The portrait of Sir Francis Grant not only celebrates his elevation to PRA, it also presents Mary's credentials as a member of an artistic line and testifies to her skill as an independent sculptor. Her ideal works are heavily dominated by statues of saints and other ecclesiastical figures that attest to her adoption of Oxford movement piety. Prime among these was the statue of St. Margaret of Antioch (1878), a legendary virgin saint who was imprisoned for refusing to abjure her vow of Christian celibacy and marry a Roman governor; in prison she encountered a terrible dragon which was rendered harmless by the cross she brandished.<sup>18</sup> Taken broadly, the figure of St. Margaret (who was one of the voices heard by Joan of Arc) could be understood to signify some of

Grant's own struggles: as a believer beset by doubts, a female artist confronting prejudice, a woman seeking political empowerment, and a spinster choosing whether to marry.

Grant made the most of her character traits to advance her career. She combined social and business activities with consummate ease, drawing clients such as the Dean of Lichfield and his wife into her social ambit and enlisting the help of friends in the studio. "Mrs. Carr Gomm brought her baby to sit for the Holy Child in the arms of the B. Virgin--for Lichfield. Hope Brooke's arms were cast for the benefit of my crucifix."<sup>19</sup> Although her emotional reserve wrought negative effects in her personal life, she was able to transmute her "active secretiveness and caution" into discretion and circumspection in her business dealings.<sup>20</sup> Thus, clients could trust her to keep the details of their commissions and conversations in strict confidence and she exercised prudence in her financial affairs. The impulsive side of her personality had the potential to undermine her work, yet it equally may have provided the initial impetus to take up sculpting. By felicitously balancing caution with adventurousness, Grant was able to remain open to new ideas and experiences while maintaining a steady rhythm of production in the studio. Her tour of the eastern United States is a prime example of a burst of spontaneity judiciously channelled so as to expand her clientele across the Atlantic. Above all, her unwavering determination to succeed as a sculptor despite opposition and occasional failures in pleasing clients, was her most important characteristic aside from artistic talent.

Her religious convictions coincidentally enhanced her career progress. A massive resurgence in church decoration arising out of the growth of Anglo-

Catholicism vastly increased the number of sculptural commissions available to her at the height of her professional life. Notably, the commission Grant received for the reredos of St. Mary's Cathedral in Edinburgh was subscribed to by "the Church-women of Scotland," in a move that affirmed both her calling and her status as a female artist.<sup>21</sup>

Grant directed her talent, personal qualities and beliefs so as to pursue an unconventional career. Who provided an acceptable example of womanhood that could accommodate such an ambition? Although not an artist herself, Lady Augusta Stanley was likely Mary Grant's primary role model. Eight years Grant's senior, Aunt Augusta was both near enough in age to understand the social pressures she faced and sufficiently mature as to inspire admiration. For most of her adult life she had been employed at court, first as the Duchess of Kent's secretary and later as resident bed chamber woman to Queen Victoria, not marrying until she was forty-one. She was well-known and much loved in society. In addition to her religious commitments, it appears that she was sympathetic to some of the women's rights concerns. In a letter of 1870, Dr. Elizabeth Garrett reported that "Lady Augusta sees all the advantages our victory [the opening of Hitchin College, precursor to Girton, in 1869] brings to the general cause and rejoices over them very cordially." Four years later she founded the Westminster training school and home for nurses. She also had a stake in the future of female artists whose access to professional opportunities she supported by being a patron of the SFA from 1865-1876.<sup>22</sup> For Grant, Lady Augusta supplied an example of a genteel working woman who retained close ties with family whilst leading a relatively independent life, and one who

welcomed new initiatives for women.

### Susan Durant

Arthur F. Munby's vivid description of his first meeting with Susan Durant conveys much of the range and force of her character.

Miss Durant is a very striking person: . . . erect, high-couraged, and superbly drest. . . she dwelt with airy ease, but without parade of learning, upon art works, art subjects, upon Italy and Dresden and the like. . . And withal she was full of graceful fun, . . . a strong and handsome woman, dignified and self-reliant; and moreover, ladylike, highbred, blazing, as it were, with talent, and sleek with cultivation; just the person to impress some men with awe and admiration.<sup>23</sup>

Durant's scintillating personality was indeed attractive to men and women; Cornelia Crosse claimed that "few had a larger social circle in London" and Durant's letters are dominated by news of numerous friends and the heady social whirl she enjoyed. She befriended people with ease and was confident that others would like her in turn. At Windsor she was "on the best terms with all the [royal] family, they are so friendly and gracious." Her warmth and self-confidence were enlivened by a well-developed sense of humour. Several letters contain clever puns and joking references to her marital status; to Emma she wrote that she and the author Emmanuel Deutsch were "engaged (not to be married) but to dance the first Quadrille at the 'Paupers Ball'."<sup>24</sup>

The assurance she exhibited in social contexts was equally evident in her working practice. Emma marvelled that

S.D. . . . is quite your model for independence, she pursues her own

course, very direct and unthinkingly of others; absorbed in her own work, measures the Queen's throat, or Prince Arthur's nose, lets the former place herself before or behind her, quite unheeding, and makes them sit or stand, just as it suits her, and goes straight on to her end.<sup>25</sup>

Crosse characterized her as "ambitious of making for herself a place in the world amongst the great thinkers and workers of the day." The first entry in Durant's short diary of 1865 reveals that she saw herself as a significant participant in an historically important undertaking. "It seems a pity not to record somewhere the daily events of this period when I spend so much time at Windsor in contact with different members of the royal family and other personages who will figure in history."<sup>26</sup> A letter from Osborne House to her father further demonstrates how privileged she deemed herself to be.

Contrary to all rules of Court etiquette . . . I was today invited to lunch at the table of the Master of the Household with the Lords and Ladies in waiting. . . . the Queen had herself . . . desired I might . . . join them every day during my stay here! I suppose I am the first artist in whose favour such an exception has been made. . . . I am very pleased at what has happened for the sake of the 'status' of artists in general--and also because it shows the Queen's kind feelings.<sup>27</sup>

This robust estimate of her professional status was probably more a manifestation of her optimistic temperament than an expression of self-aggrandizement. Whether in descriptions of people's reactions to her and her work or the circumstances of her life, Durant tended to accentuate the positive. Genuine compliments she received were magnified slightly by her choice of words. When the Queen and others expressed approval of a work, she reported that they were "enchanted" or "charmed" by it. More prosaically, the Queen's

Journal commends the "likeness [of Leopold as] remarkably good." Similarly, those with whom Durant was on friendly terms, such as Deutsch and Princess Hohenlohe, were referred to as "a great ally of mine" and "my Princess Hohenlohe" suggesting a special devotion to Durant.<sup>28</sup> Her responses to difficult or uncertain circumstances further betokened optimism. Upon hearing of the defeat of Mill's amendment to the franchise bill she exulted that "seventy members voted . . . for female suffrage!" signing herself "Ever yours a Female Voter!" Even when convalescing from a serious operation she greeted Emma with a joke and reassured her that "[m]y health continues excellent, and the wound doing as well as possible."<sup>29</sup> Within six months she was dead.

Durant's vivacious personality was complemented by a "powerful . . . intellect." Her pursuit of knowledge was broad-ranging, encompassing the sciences, religion and culture, the classics, and art. She attended at least one meeting of the Geographical Society and counted Dr. John Percy, a Lecturer in Metallurgy in the Government School of Mines, among her close friends. When duties permitted, Durant went to Dr. Elizabeth Garrett's medical lectures which she wished she was "able to attend regularly for I never passed a more pleasant and instructive hour than in listening to you."<sup>30</sup>

Although artists had to have a working familiarity with classical mythology, a profound understanding was not essential. Yet, Durant was sufficiently acquainted with Greek classical texts to venture the opinion that Lord Derby's translation of the Iliad was "overrated." Her appreciation of the subject was honed, no doubt, by discussions with her friends George Grote and Philip Stanhope Worsley, the Historian of Greece and the Fellow of Corpus



Christi College, Oxford who translated the *Odyssey*, respectively.<sup>31</sup>

In the realm of art, Durant's grasp of the technical elements of sculpture was paralleled by her engagement with the scholarly discourse of art history. She contributed a featured review of Charles C. Perkins's ground-breaking book, *Tuscan Sculptors*, to the esteemed *Fine Arts Quarterly Review*. The extensive article offers a lucid and incisive critique of the book, noting its importance and shortcomings alike. Although the review appears under Triqueti's name this is merely an indication that he was the member of the journal's board of "Contributors" who "authenticated" or endorsed its publication. Durant unambiguously identifies it as her own work in a reference to Mr. Perkins, "the American author whose book I reviewed in the *Fine Arts Quarterly*."<sup>32</sup>

For all her wit and charm, Durant could be a very demanding person, transferring her high expectations of herself onto others. She complained to Emma that "Lucy . . . seems very deaf and this makes her ~~more~~ than usually stupid--and very trying to my impatient temper accordingly." However, she was also deeply compassionate, attending to the needs of bereaved friends such as Mrs. Blackwell, Lady Eastlake and Triqueti and raising funds for the care of the wounded in the Franco-Prussian war.<sup>33</sup>

As to convictions, Durant was strongly committed to liberal politics--particularly to Radical liberalism--a credo that was shared by a significant number of her friends including the Grotes, Layard, Cole, the Amberleys, and the Montefiores. The extent of her enthusiasm can be seen in her congratulatory letter to Layard upon his election to Parliament in 1860. "I so thoroughly sympathize with all the sentiments expressed in your public speeches that I am

~~politically speaking~~ delighted that such principles should be ably advocated in Parliament." She also professed pleasure in reading Parliamentary speeches in The Times especially "when the Debate is going in favour of the [Russell] government." In the Crown Princess of Prussia Durant sensed a kindred political stance that enhanced her feelings of friendship. "We talk of everything ~~except~~ politics--but I can see how liberal they are and how they dislike the present government."<sup>34</sup>

Durant was a convinced supporter of women's rights initiatives, taking a special interest in female suffrage and "the improvement of female education" so as to equip women for professional work if desired. Her circle of friends includes a list of the more prominent feminist activists of the 1850s and 1860s. Barbara Leigh Smith Bodichon was a frequent visitor at Durant's home and the names of Cobbe, Lady Amberley, Dr. Blackwell, Harriet Grote and other adherents figure prominently in her correspondence.<sup>35</sup>

While Durant's papers are not devoid of references to religion, there is little indication that she invested much time in matters of worship. There is a single mention of attending the Temple Church with one of the Benchers where she was amused to find a preacher who belonged to the school of "muscular Christians." It seems that she admired her friend Emma's rather more pious stance but felt no urgency to imitate her example of living "too much out of the world."<sup>36</sup> If, as it appears, she was from a Unitarian family, her interest in social justice and politics likely comprised the central tenets of her faith. Perhaps prompted by her acquaintance with Sir Moses Montefiore, who was an active campaigner for Jewish freedom of religion and the founder of Jews College in

Ramsgate, she took an interest in the Jewish religion and middle-eastern culture. Deutsch's apologetic article on the Talmud in the *Quarterly Review* and Greaves's book [illegible] and *Palestine* received favourable mention in her letters.<sup>37</sup> Such a desire to foster religious tolerance would be in keeping with a Unitarian ethic.

Some of Durant's traits and values can be traced in the subjects and techniques she employed in her sculpture. Images of strong women, depicted in the ideal figures of *Constance* (1866), *Ruth* (1869), *Thetis* (1863), and the *Faithful Shepherdess* (1863), or busts of *Elizabeth Garrett Anderson* (1873) and *Harriet Beecher Stowe* (1857) reflect Durant's women's rights involvements. Her political persuasion is evinced in portraits of *Daniel Whittle Harvey* (1851) and *George Grote* (1863), both of whom were Radical reformers.<sup>38</sup> Durant's treatment of a portrait of *Nina Lehmann* (1871) is indicative of her openness to experimentation. The composition (see below) is embellished with a colourful hardstone inlay representing flowers trained over an archway.

Although Alexander Munro was exploring polychrome effects as early as 1864, Durant had pushed the technique much further by using coloured stone to achieve a narrative effect in the portrait. Had she lived longer she might have become yet more innovative, sharing in Alfred Gilbert's and George Frampton's triumph over sculptural convention. She certainly saw herself as making significant contributions to her profession. She interpreted the invitation to dine at the Master's Table at Windsor as an enhancement to the status of artists. Another venture, which she referred to as "Our School of Art" when acknowledging a cash donation from Emma, might have been what Crosse

alluded to when stating that Durant gave "every possible assistance to the improvement of female education." Whether this "School" took the form of a cooperative arrangement like that organized by Eliza Fox or existed as a more formalized entity is not indicated. It is entirely possible that she meant the Female School of Art which had come to rely on private fund-raising initiatives following the government's decision to withdraw its annual operating grant in 1860. Whatever the case, any such undertaking would signal progress for the professionalization of female artists.<sup>39</sup>

Apart from her evident skill with portraiture, Durant's greatest personal asset as a sculptor was her winsome personality. She made friends with consummate ease, readily expanding her circle of potential patrons and sitters thus ensuring the success of her career. More than friendliness, Durant had an intellectual depth that enabled her to entertain her portrait sitters with lively discussions of the classics, current affairs, the arts or other topics of mutual interest. She effortlessly exemplified the quality that another sculptor, Henry Weekes, was at pains to instill in his students who were urged to be well-read in the classics so as to converse pleasingly with sitters.<sup>40</sup> Her optimism and industriousness equipped her to take on ambitious tasks, such as hosting the Burlington Fine Arts Club *soirée*, with confidence that they would go well.

A couple of likely role models for Durant present themselves. Margaret Carpenter (1793-1872), a portrait painter to whom Durant sat in 1860, was a highly successful and prolific artist who maintained an active career while raising several children. During her heyday in the 1840s she exhibited so frequently at the RA that her name was put forward for membership at the

urging of art reviewers. Presumably the portrait of Durant is an indication of their mutual respect.<sup>41</sup> Another painter, Margaret Gillies (1803-1887), is also a potential candidate. Like Durant, she was strongly committed to improving women's access to education and to suffrage--the result of a Unitarian upbringing which probably characterized Durant's childhood as well. Gillies moved in some of the same circles as Durant, regularly showing at the SFA and associating with Bodichon, and was known to have "provided support and tuition for several generations of younger women" artists.<sup>42</sup> Although neither Gillies nor Carpenter sculpted, their success as artists in a male-dominated profession would have served as inspiration to a younger woman entering the field.

#### Mary Thornycroft

The qualities most mentioned in eulogies of Mary Thornycroft are warm-heartedness, lack of pretence, judiciousness, and perseverance. She loved to entertain friends and family inviting them to participate in informal evenings of music-making, share in intimate luncheons, or dance until dawn at one of her "At Home" parties which were attended by upwards of one hundred guests.<sup>43</sup> A friend described her as "the most loveable of women, [who] endeared herself, not only to her children and grandchildren, but to all who had the privilege of knowing her." Another notice, possibly written by the same hand, emphasized her "tact, brightness and sweetness of disposition;" a third drew a parallel between her beautiful face and the beauty of her personality.<sup>44</sup>

Mary retained the "plain, sensible and good-hearted" qualities that

marked the Francis family regardless of the exalted company in which she often worked. Her frankness and lack of pretence were disarming rather than abrasive. When she sent a reminder to the Crown about an overdue bill, she straightforwardly explained that "She would not again tender it but that she is much in need of money just now." Thomas expressed appreciation for her "candour and expostulation" when handling a difference of opinion between them.<sup>45</sup> She did have her small vanities. Although born in 1809, she maintained a fictive birth date of 1814 throughout her adult life, probably to hide from Thomas the fact that she was seven years his senior. While she was not known for putting on airs, she did enjoy reminiscing about the glory days when she sculpted four generations of the Royal family.<sup>46</sup>

Mary was intensely practical. During the early years of marriage when Thomas could not get commissions, she became the primary breadwinner taking on so many projects that Thomas was obliged to assist, thereby permitting him to contribute to the family enterprise and bolstering his self-esteem. However, she never saw her career as a mere expedient to balance the family accounts. Aware of the advantages she had in obtaining thorough professional training and introductions to influential patrons, she wholeheartedly embraced the opportunity to exercise her skills. In addition she sought to extend such advantages to other women by petitioning the RA schools to accept female students and providing studio training to her son and daughters alike. Upon her death, Emilia Barrington hailed Mary as one of "a few women who have really won the cause for women workers," proving by her actions "that a woman can be a professional artist and in no wise be less loveable as a woman."<sup>47</sup>

Equally adept as a solo performer and a team worker, Mary was strongly supportive of the efforts and aspirations of others. Her studio was known as a "free rendezvous for many poor struggling students."<sup>48</sup> Speaking of Thomas's ambitious project, the statue of *Boadicea*, she affirmed "I have been devoted to his profession with one object in view, the pride of seeing Thorny a great sculptor." When Hamo experienced difficulty with the head of Shakespeare, "Mama came up on to the scaffold and helped me, by working at it she modelled the face more into drawing, whilst I looked on." She encouraged and advised him and his sisters in their work and in matters of the heart that threatened to alienate him from his profession. "[I]f you go on for a year or two as you are now, you may be quite independent [of the family enterprise] and find one that would be devoted to you, and value your profession, before horses and carriages." Perhaps the most poignant evidence of Mary's unselfish encouragement of others was her decision to retire to make way for the younger generation, "though her love for her work never abated."<sup>49</sup>

Part of her personal charm was her good-naturedly piquant sense of humour. Those who knew her took it in good fun but she was aware that her joking style might be misconstrued. An amusing passage in a letter to her brother-in-law was followed by a caution: "Be careful not to leave this letter about, as I should not like it to be seen by people who don't understand this kind of letter." In a note to Hamo she apologized for being distracted by Thomas's music making. "Not having a very perfect taste for music, I am afraid I do not write the better for it." It certainly was not a lack of appreciation of music that prompted her comment; she took Hamo to the Opera at Drury Lane, an event

she deemed worthy of the purchase of expensive tickets for the "dress circle." On another occasion Mary urged Hamo to take a brief rest after which they could both return to their appointed tasks: he to sculpting and she "to cut[ting] you up a little lest you should grow conceited."<sup>50</sup>

Mary's personal convictions were rather broadly defined. Hamo characterized her and Thomas as "Nineteenth-Century Christian Churchmen of the vague conservative type" who attended Sunday services but did not conceive religion as a demand on daily life. Although no mention is made of particular social concerns or a political stance adopted by her it is apparent that she had a keen sense of justice which she exercised especially with regard to equitable access to employment. Having persevered in establishing a career for herself while also contending with domestic demands, she sympathized with those who encountered unfair obstacles and took action to remedy their situation where possible. Endorsing the petition for equal access to professional training at the RA Schools was one such act. On another occasion, when Baron Marochetti received a commission to sculpt a national monument a storm of protest arose against the intrusion of foreign sculptors in British competitions. Upon hearing that his design was chosen over the one submitted by Thomas, Mary wrote to the Queen appealing for her intervention in the matter. In a diplomatically worded reply the Queen voiced her dismay at the circumstances and her inability to overturn the decision.<sup>51</sup> In addition to being unafraid to "say what I think when it is right to speak," Mary took measured steps to promote the work of female artists.<sup>52</sup> She supported the efforts of the SFA by sending pieces to some of the annual exhibitions, maintaining a life-long membership, and urging her



daughters to do likewise.

Indeed, of the four British sculptors in this study, Thornycroft was most instrumental in expanding the field to welcome other women. When she signed the petition to the Academicians in April 1859 Mary had four daughters. The eldest, fifteen-year-old Alyce, was nearing the average age of admission to the RA Schools. It was doubtless with the education of her girls in mind that Mary agitated for the change in policy that came into effect in 1860.<sup>53</sup> Three years later Alyce was the first of the Thornycroft children to gain entry to the Schools. Another means by which Mary paved the way for women to become professional sculptors was through her duly publicized engagement as instructor to Princess Louise during the 1860s. It has been suggested cogently that the Princess was inspired to take lessons in the plastic art by her own sittings to Mary Thornycroft for the statue of *Plenty* when she was a young girl. Thus, Mary became a palace-approved role model to the Princess and the daughters of the middle and upper classes. During the decade that followed she taught at least two other female students (besides her daughters)--Miss Cholmondeley and "Lula."<sup>54</sup>

Her own role model was her father who provided her with the requisite professional instruction and an example of success achieved through perseverance. Neither his wife's initial opposition to his metamorphosis from a farmer to an artist, nor a succession of set-backs in establishing himself in London blunted his determination to make a name for himself as a sculptor. Moreover, "in her father's studio Mary was known by the nickname Minerva" (the goddess who sprang fully-formed from the head of Zeus) signalling that she

was very much her father's daughter, having taken up his profession--one of the arts of which the goddess was a patron. An article in *The Lady's Realm* claimed that the nickname was applied "on account of her beautiful face, sound judgment, and superior intellect."<sup>55</sup> Perhaps it was merely a coincidence that Minerva, in her guise as a warrior, was renowned for championing just causes; it certainly proved to be a fitting epithet.<sup>56</sup>

Thornycroft's practical turn of mind equipped her well simultaneously to conduct a career and manage a large family efficiently. She made judicious use of extended family assistance and integrated the children into the studio business as soon as was feasible. However, due to her strong emphasis on practicality Mary left herself scant opportunity to explore stylistic innovation, although she was evidently capable of original compositions. Indeed, Andrea Garrihy has suggested that her full potential as a sculptor was not realized because of her long-term commitment to family--the Queen's family. "Although . . . the queen's [sic] patronage kept her constantly employed, she was left with neither time nor incentive to develop her talents and extend her repertoire; thus the artistic fashions of the day passed her by."<sup>57</sup> Thomas reported that by early 1861 "We have executed in bronze or marble for the Queen not less than thirty original works. Not counting minor commissions of copies in plaster the number has been very large."<sup>58</sup> Thus, excepting her earliest works and occasional pieces like the *Skipping Girl* and *A Young Cricketer* (1869), most of her subjects were assigned by her royal patrons while yet others, such as *Melpomene* (1872), were elements of large family projects.

Mary's good natured disposition and lack of pretension rendered her a

relatively easy person to get along with although her strong sense of fairness made her both a good ally and a formidable opponent when her own or the rights of others were infringed. She was equally capable of independent initiatives or collaborative work as the situation warranted, yet she never became subservient to family demands nor allowed her distinct career path to be confused with those of her husband and son. However, although she maintained a separate professional identity, she divided the force of her ambition between her own work and her desire to see Thomas and the children succeed. As a consequence, the full depth of her talent does not appear to have been plumbed.<sup>59</sup>

#### Amelia Paton Hill

Of the British women sculptors, Amelia Paton Hill had the most unusual array of interests. Her eclectic and unconventional tastes were formed during a childhood marked by the freedom to "roam about as [she] liked" outdoors and exposure to her father's increasingly unorthodox religious enthusiasms. "Passionately fond of . . . animals and plants" from an early age, in later life she maintained a menagerie of pet dogs and cats, "a pair of Marmozet [sic] monkeys," and an assortment of reptiles which she kept in the garden of her Newington home. She developed a fascination for the Axolotl, a Mexican amphibious creature understood to be an evolutionary link between sea and land animals, several of which she grew from spawn. Her enthusiasm for botany took the form of propagating oak and eucalyptus trees and various cacti from seed, and researching or preparing medicinal remedies "to recommend or supply to

friends." Had she not chosen to be an artist she might have become a natural scientist. An entertaining and informed conversationalist, she loved to discuss literature, sociology, science, and psychic phenomena with her frequent visitors whose own lives often were spent on the exploration of the world of nature or of the intellect. Livingstone, Dr. Blackie, and Miss Gordon Cumming, a travel writer and illustrator, are some of the diverse guests welcomed at Newington Lodge. Like many others of her time, Amelia took an avid interest in the pseudo-science of phrenology, which she applied to some of her portraiture.<sup>60</sup>

Hill's openness to exploration and experimentation was balanced by a reverence for the heritage of Scotland fostered by her father's antiquarian interests and her mother's knowledge of national folklore. In younger days she and her brother Waller had collaborated on an illustrated edition of Burns's works; her desire to memorialize the poet for whom she had "such an enthusiastic admiration" was later fulfilled in the form of a statuette and a full-blown monument.<sup>61</sup> Other famous sons of Scotland, most of them her contemporaries, also figured in her works. David Livingstone, Hugh Miller (geologist), and Thomas Carlyle are but a few. Remarkably, she did not sculpt any of the notable Scotswomen of hers or an earlier era.

Some of her other interests are reflected in the pieces she made. The figure of Burns is accompanied by his pet collie, Luath, and "'the wee timorous beasties' which he loved;" her bust of Shelley was undertaken to correct what she deemed a phrenological error in another artist's portrayal-- the lack of "a poet's brain." Finally, the portrait bust of Sir Roderick Murchison, President of the Geographical Society, represented another facet of her interest in science.<sup>62</sup>

Hill was a dependable ally regardless of the cost to herself. She took great pains to fulfil her promise to help D.O. complete his painting of the disruption and selflessly refused Steell's very attractive invitation to contribute to the Prince Consort memorial out of deference to her brother Noel's disappointment over the commission. Her dependability was matched by her diligence. When she undertook a project she thoroughly researched the subject, going to such lengths as using casts of Burns's skull and of the tomb effigy of Richard Coeur de Lion to ensure good likenesses in these posthumous portraits. Because she maintained such high standards it was doubly galling to be excluded from the Brewster monument competition "in spite of the fact that [she] was the only one among the competitors to whom Sir David had sat." Her tenacity was not sufficient to change the judges' minds in that instance.

Although she was very able to conduct her own career, Hill drew considerable strength from her husband's approval of her work. Shortly after his death, when she was also struggling with ill health, she lamented her lack of enthusiasm for "a commission given me in kindness to try and set me to work once more . . . tho' now I have no pleasure in [it]." She tackled the task with determination "to do it well" but had serious anxieties about her ability to succeed. "I have my hands but I am not so ~~strong and young~~ as I have been--and cannot look forward to the same hard work in the future." Fortunately, she eventually regained the strength and confidence necessary to take up the art she was "so fond of," and carried to fruition at least two of the projects she had discussed previously with D.O.<sup>63</sup>

Notwithstanding her sometimes intimidating demeanour (notable in her

outrage at poor placement of her works in the RSA), Hill nevertheless attracted staunch allies. Sir George Harvey's and Dr. Keith Johnson's support of her bid for the Brewster memorial has already been mentioned. The members of the Livingstone Monument Committee "all loved Mrs. Hill, and would do anything for her." Professor Blackie's fondness and respect for her were summed up in the nickname he conferred. As the "queen of the gods of heaven" and protector of women, the name Juno aptly invoked Hill's enviable status in the Edinburgh art scene as the foremost, if not sole, female sculptor.<sup>64</sup>

Although she made no overt statements in favour of women's rights, there are several points at which she mounted resistance to the dominant culture's expectations of women. In both her pre-nuptial agreement and her will, Hill required that her earnings and the bequests she made be exempt from the law of *jus mariti*, whereby a husband could claim his wife's income as his own.<sup>65</sup> Furthermore, she took the opportunity of challenging the status quo by describing to interviewers the obstacles she had to surmount to become a professional sculptor. Despite the fact that "it was not thought necessary to give girls . . . tuition in drawing and painting," not to mention modelling, Hill told of fashioning tools out of household implements and teaching herself how to sculpt. She further emphasized the prejudice she faced by recounting her exclusion from the Brewster portrait competition on the basis of gender. Tooley summed up Hill's determination to succeed: "Her career was a remarkable example of a Victorian woman conquering the limitations which Mrs. Grundy tried to enforce on women's work."<sup>66</sup>

Whether she thought of herself as blazing a path for future generations of

female sculptors is difficult to say. Certainly others were of that opinion. In 1901 The Englishwoman's Yearbook published a feature article, "The Women's Movement in the British Empire: Landmarks of a Century," which chronicled "Mrs. Hill's statue of Livingstone unveiled, Edinburgh" as a significant event of 15 August 1876. At the time of the unveiling a member of the Livingstone Monument Committee stated that "the Livingstone statue was, he believed, the first statue that had been erected by a lady, but he hoped it would not be the last." Encouraging as this comment was, it nevertheless demonstrates how readily the pioneering efforts of women were forgotten; Anne Seymour Damer's statue of George III was erected at Register House, Edinburgh in 1794.<sup>67</sup>

Given her family background and personal proclivity for experimentation it is not surprising that Hill's religious convictions had a certain fluidity about them. Her Quaker upbringing and early education, which traditionally asserted the right of women to speak out in meetings and to become ministers, appears to have contributed considerably to her sense of self-direction and social conscience but not to an external piety. Nonetheless, she was able to accommodate the more evangelical faith of her husband and his Free Church friends. For his part, when D.O. announced to a relative that he and Amelia were engaged he offered assurance that "[i]n the religious element I have reason to believe you will be satisfied." In addition to these more conventional beliefs Amelia professed some interest in the occult. Although no specifics are given, it is reasonable to assume that, like so many others, she had turned to Spiritualism in hopes of contacting her beloved husband on the other side of the grave.<sup>68</sup>

In the Tooley interview Hill identified her father and Noel, whom she

"had been accustomed to see . . . sketching," as her earliest role models.

However, as she began to develop her talent in modelling, an area in which Noel also sought to shine, she became an unwonted rival. A journal entry from 1878 demonstrates that despite his great success as a painter, Noel never outgrew his envy of Amelia's achievements. "Long letter from Amelia at Rome--roused many 'sleeping dogs' and unfitted me for work. The old story: might have been!"<sup>69</sup>

Given Steell's obvious admiration of Amelia's work and his ready acceptance of other female sculptors, such as Isabella Gore-Booth, it is likely that Amelia latterly looked to him as a pattern for her sculpting career.

Hill's personal constellation of characteristics and convictions admirably equipped her to conduct an unconventional career. Her willingness to attempt the untried and her ingenuity and perseverance in pursuing her goals proved invaluable when she encountered opposition both at the outset and during the course of her professional life. While the art practices of her family no doubt provided the initial inspiration to become a sculptor, the Quaker conviction that an individual's calling to ministry was based on spiritual gifting rather than on gender likely emboldened her to presume that the same principle applied to other types of gifts such as artistic talent. Thus, it was not only possible to justify sculpting as an appropriate activity for a young woman, it could also be understood as a God-given vocation that should be embraced.

Sometimes otherwise laudable characteristics were disadvantageous to Hill's career advancement; for example, loyalty to Noel meant setting aside a very prestigious commission. However, her constancy was repaid by the loyalty that others in the Edinburgh art world showed to her.



## SUMMARY DISCUSSION

From the available data it is evident that the artists who were tagged with the one-dimensional label "women sculptors" comprised a refreshingly disparate company. Those qualities that they had in common were often readily found and/or advisedly cultivated among their successful male counterparts as well. One feature that the women shared was a high degree of sociability. They were variously described as lively conversationalists, warmly hospitable, or possessed of large circles of friends. Although these were considered feminine attributes, such qualities were also greatly prized by artists in general. Weekes's admonition to his students that they should be interesting conversationalists and Dickinson's repeated advice to Thomas Thornycroft that "[i]t is necessary that you should be upon easy, though respectful terms with your employers" underscore the value placed on an amiable personality. Sitters were not only spared boredom by a gregarious sculptor, it was easier for them to maintain an animated expression during a modelling session, thereby contributing to the success of the portrait.<sup>70</sup>

Because the sculpting women had to rely more heavily upon their private contacts as a means of publicizing their work, it is not surprising that they were known for their sociability. However, each had her own distinctive style and tastes when it came to socializing. Thornycroft preferred to welcome guests to her home where the entertainment consisted of homespun music and dance rather than making the necessary round of visits to resident luminaries in Hastings and the other vacation spots she and Thomas frequented.<sup>71</sup> Durant

relished invitations to dinner parties and soirées held by, or in honour of, titled and famous people; Grant enjoyed salon-type evenings at home that began over dinner with a select number and concluded with a reception for additional guests who joined the company later and wandered between the house and the studio. The Hills spent evenings with friends and family members who represented the artistic and learned elites of Edinburgh.

Another personality trait prominently displayed by all of the women was an unflagging determination to achieve their goals. Hill, Grant, Thornycroft and Durant were severally convinced of the legitimacy and sagacity of their decisions to become sculptors. Unlike Hilary Bonham-Carter who was worn down by family resistance, they imaginatively confronted the obstacles placed in their way, making optimum use of personal strengths rather than acquiescing to social stereotypes of feminine frailty. Thornycroft's capacity to continue working late into her pregnancies is a remarkable example of the kind of tenacity with which these women pursued their careers.

Sheer determination should not be confused with ambition. Although all four of the sculptors were resolutely committed to their careers, their personal goals were varied. Both Durant and Grant wished to make a lasting impact upon history but Grant's artistic efforts were shaped by her desire to produce sculpture that would glorify God while Durant's aim was to contribute to the advancement of women. Thornycroft's aspirations were both for her own success and for the furtherance of the artistic dynasty begun by her father. It is difficult to say with certainty what Hill's objectives were; given her involvement with the Albert Institute and failed attempt to become an associate member of the RSA it is

possible that she sought a place alongside her brothers and husband in the Edinburgh art establishment.

While the words and actions of the sculptors suggest that they all grappled with questions of women's rights, there is no clear indication that they would have been in agreement with one another about which were the crucial issues and how they should be addressed. As Caine and Levine have shown, participants in the various single issue feminist campaigns exhibited a considerable diversity of opinion despite their common aim to improve the lot of women.<sup>72</sup> Excepting Thornycroft's inclusion in the protest to the RA, the sculptors' names do not appear on extant petitions for suffrage, property rights, access to education and other causes; because many such records have been greatly condensed to economize on space, it is impossible to tell if a signature is absent due to accident or design.<sup>73</sup> Of the four, Durant was the most visibly and programmatically identified with initiatives for the advancement of women. It appears that her convictions were formed before she took up her career and likely contributed to her decision to sculpt professionally.<sup>74</sup> Grant's presumed support of female suffrage seems to have taken shape after her disappointment over the loss of Brooke, given the reference in her pamphlet to a need for better laws regarding the marriageability of a deceased wife's sister. In company with Hill, whose pre-nuptial agreement and will appear to favour protection of the property rights of married women, Grant's and Thornycroft's engagement with particular women's rights issues was predicated upon unsatisfactory personal experiences--they became politicized in response to specific grievances. Thornycroft and, to a lesser extent, Hill were actuated by work-related issues

such as women's want of access to training and membership in professional societies and, in Hill's case, a desire to retain control over the income she generated by sculpting.

Apart from these rather qualified similarities, the sculpting women diverged sharply from each other in the convictions they held and the temperaments they exhibited. Grant's fervent piety and emotional volatility stand in stark contrast to Thornycroft's down-to-earth practicality and irenic temper. Hill's propensity to collect exotic plants and animals and her openness to religious experimentation made her something of a novelty in most social circles. Durant was distinguished from the others by her incandescent personality, devotion to political liberalism, and willingness to risk clandestine love affairs. Professional gatherings aside and with a few other salient exceptions, the sculpting women travelled in different social circles. Very little overlap may be found between the lists of friends recorded in their papers.

Although Hill and Thornycroft might be seen as predictable in selecting artistic family members as their role models, a comparison of all four women's choices with the examples held out to them reveals that they disappointed yet another cultural stereotype--that women artists derived their legitimacy from female forebears. The invocation of Damer's name to validate the actions and ambitions of subsequent female sculptors has been discussed above. Other female exemplars were drawn from much earlier periods to constitute a venerable lineage from medieval times to the Victorian present.<sup>75</sup> While Grant and Durant might have looked to women for inspiration, the available candidates were near contemporaries with solid career experience upon which to

draw. None of the four British sculptors demonstrated any inclination to enter a pink ghetto in company with the socially approved role models from the distant past. Accustomed to working with men in the family workshop or as apprentices in the studios of others, they identified themselves as professional sculptors, without emphasis on gender, and immersed themselves as fully as possible within the Victorian art world.

A final means by which these women asserted their personalities and convictions was in the preparation of their wills. Marcia Pointon characterizes the contents of a female artist's will as a "discourse of friendship--of power through naming and human proximity--to which money and property are subsidiary. . . . a declaration of reputation earned and won."<sup>76</sup> All but Mary Thornycroft left legal instructions about the disposition of their property and personal effects upon their deaths.

Grant's, which was the briefest of the three wills, very simply ceded all of her estate to her youngest sister, Charlotte, otherwise known as Sister Augusta of the Order of the Ascension. It was a modest sum of money, the gross value being £968/12/7 and the net value £451/9/2, perhaps reflecting the impact of her brother Charlie's mismanagement of family funds in earlier years. No outward circumstances constrained Mary's choice of legatee--her brothers Alan and Alaric survived her by at least a decade and as a working member of a holy order Charlotte had no financial needs. Rather, Mary's will was a final declaration both of her love and gratitude to Charlotte and her enduring commitment to their shared faith. The nineteen-year age difference between them made Charlotte more like a daughter than a sister to Mary who had taken a

hand in nurturing her spiritual development. In turn, Charlotte had been a major source of help and encouragement during the final years of Mary's life. Despite knowing that Charlotte's vow of poverty would not permit her to benefit directly from the legacy, Grant conferred all her worldly wealth upon her as though affirming Charlotte's vocation and symbolically joining with her in turning "her back on the world and her face to another and far better . . . life."<sup>77</sup>

Durant's will was much more elaborate. In addition to a bequest to her sister Mary Ann, of the annual income arising from an investment of £1,000 to be paid during her lifetime, she made provision for "Henry Paul Harvey otherwise Henry Paul Harvey Durant an infant of the age of two years or thereabouts." So as to ensure that the estate (valued at "under £8,000") would be adequate to cover the costs of maintenance and education for little Paul, she instructed the trustees to "call in and convert into money" the "residue of my Personal Estate and Effects of every description."<sup>78</sup> Thus, the contents of her studio were dispersed to their contracted owners and the remainder auctioned, as were her household goods. In death, as in life, Durant took a very business-like approach to the disposition of her assets. Her legacy to Paul involved much more than financial security. By appointing her executors, John C. Lethbridge, Baron H. de Triqueti, and Thomas Rammohun Roy Davison, to be his guardians during his minority Durant discreetly contrived to provide him with legal ties to his father, although he continued to reside at the home of Dr. Elizabeth Blackwell until Triqueti's death in 1874.

The absence of any bequests of valuables such as jewellery, selected works or personal papers is all the more stark in view of the detail devoted to her

financial arrangements. Presumably her wishes regarding the distribution of such keepsakes were confided to Triqueti in whose home she died. Emma Wallis, who was well-known to Triqueti, received several items including a self portrait bust of her friend, photographs of the Windsor medallions, Durant's letters to her father and a short diary. Paul Harvey was given "about a dozen . . . reductions of larger medallions . . . made for Windsor . . . most of them in metal, some of them gilt" and doubtless other items that have not been recorded.<sup>79</sup> To each of the executors she gave "a legacy of £25 pounds for the purchase of a ring" as a gift of thanks for their work on her behalf.

Of the three who left wills Amelia Paton Hill distributed her possessions amongst the greatest number of people. Not counting the household servants, to each of whom she left "£5 sterling free of legacy duty," and her executors, she enumerated twelve individuals and two institutions. The antique furnishings said to belong to Queen Mary together with some Roman and Etruscan antiquities brought by Hill from Italy were allocated to the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland "to be placed in the Scottish National Museum." To the Scottish National Portrait Gallery she left the busts she executed of her brother Noel and her husband and expressed "a wish that these . . . should be placed in proximity to one another" in the gallery. By the latter act, Hill ensured that her works would be displayed and that her name, if not her portrait, would be represented in a prestigious institution of the Scottish art establishment.

The bulk of her real and personal property, including such things as household furnishings, jewellery, books, and pieces of art, and investment income was given in ~~liferent~~ to her sister and niece with whom she had shared

her home after her husband's death. With one exception, her other heirs are divided along gender lines, the men (including the executors) receiving designated pieces of art and the women being given sums of money, usually £100. Hill deliberately endowed her female heirs with something that she had valued so much herself--a measure of financial independence. This she ensured by stipulating that bequests to "females shall be exclusive of *jus mariti*, right of administration and other rights of any husbands they may have married or may marry and shall not be affectable by their debts or deeds or attachable by their creditors."<sup>80</sup>

The women who were attracted to and successfully conducted careers in sculpting were not in any way representatives of a type. Apart from certain commonalities shared by people of their class and experience, they were no more alike than were their male counterparts. The distinctives of temperament, intellect, and conviction possessed by each were not only apprehensible in their social behaviour but also in the types of work that they produced. Thornycroft's oeuvre was by far the most conservative in tone, reflecting her preference for assured success, whereas Durant's later pieces demonstrate a growing commitment to experimentation with colour and composition.

Although a considerable degree of determination was required in order to pursue an unorthodox occupation, the sculpting women manifested that quality in varying ways. Grant invested her career aspirations with the unassailable status of a divine calling; Thornycroft channelled her energies into cooperative efforts rather than individual triumphs. In whatever way they pursued their goals, the women inevitably confronted gender-defined obstacles to their



progress. Their responses to such hindrances exemplify the type of uneven developments posited by Poovey. Durant is the only one of them that can be identified, with any certainty, as an active proponent of the women's rights causes, although circumstantial evidence links Mary Grant with the female suffrage campaign. Hill and Thornycroft appear to have had a more broadly defined sense of fairness, any violation of which (real or potential) galvanized them to exert just enough pressure to rectify the particular situation.

The four women neither sought out one another's company nor felt constrained to follow in the footsteps of a marginalized artistic sorority. Instead they each drew inspiration from individuals who either concurred with their most cherished convictions or stood out as leading figures in the field of sculpture. Two significant components of the legacy they left to subsequent generations of female sculptors were their uncompromising commitment to professionalism and their individual ways of fulfilling that commitment.

In part two of this study the spotlight will shift from the sculptors' personal experiences to the way in which they were perceived by a society largely unaccustomed to independent women engaged in non-traditional careers. The sculptors' treatment at the hands of art critics, themselves relative newcomers to the field of journalism, and colleagues and the interaction of aesthetics, gender politics and critical acumen in the construction of artistic reputations will be considered in the upcoming chapter.

## ENDNOTES

1. "RA Exhibition," *The Times*, 24 May 1866, 12; *The Times*, quoted in "Women in Sculpture," *Englishwomen's Review* (1878), 430.
2. Barbara Caine, "Feminist Biography and Feminist History," *Women's History Review* 3 (1994), 254; Vicinus, *Independent Women*.
- 3.5 April 1872, 1 October 1890, Copeland, "Diary Transcription," 7, 29.
4. Her brother Charles shares her birth year of 1831. Dean of Windsor and Hector Bolitho, eds., *Letters of Lady Augusta Stanley: A Young Lady at Court 1849-63* (London: Gerald Howe, 1927), 38, 59; McEwan, *Dictionary of Scottish Art*, s.v. "Grant, Miss Mary;" *Ladies' Field*, "Mary Grant," 249; Mary Grant to C.C. Grafton, 6 September 1887, Same to same, 25 August-3 November [n.d.], Isa Geary to Bishop Grafton, 27 February 1908, Fond du Lac archives, 8-37, 8-40, 8-46.
5. October 1890, 18 and 20 May 1880, Mary Grant to C.C. Grafton, 26 September 1868, Edward Cayley to Mary Grant, [1855], Mary Grant to E[lizabeth] M. O[swald], December 1869, Copeland, "Diary Transcription," 29, 28, 38, 39, 91-92, 97; Mary Grant to C.C. Grafton 25 August - 3 November [n. d.], St. Paul's Cathedral archive, 8-40. Copeland, "A Mark on Time," 2:12.
6. "Brooke and Annie," Mary Grant to Elizabeth Oswald, 1859, January 1874, Copeland, "Diary Transcription," 84, 92-3, 9.
7. Edward Cayley to Mary Grant, [1855], 25 August 1855, "Contents of lock-up box," Copeland, "Diary Transcription," 65, 77-78, 82, 113.
8. Edward Cayley to Mary Grant, [1855], C.C. Grafton to Mary Grant, 15 November 1869, February 1885, June 1885, Copeland, "Diary Transcription," 65, 104, 30, 32; Ormond, *Early Victorian Portraits*, s.v. Tennyson, Alfred.
9. 1 October 1890, 1886, Copeland, "Diary Transcription," 29, 33-34; McEwan, *Dictionary of Scottish Art*, s.v. "Grant, Miss Mary."
10. Mary Grant to C.C. Grafton, 25 July 1868, Copeland, "Diary Transcription," 96; Mary Grant to C.C. Grafton, 6 September 1887, St. Paul's Cathedral archive, 8-37..
11. Isa Geary to C.C. Grafton, 27 February 1908, St. Paul's Cathedral archive, 8-46.

12. "Brooke and Annie," Edward Cayley to Mary Grant, 25 August 1855, 3 and 6 March 1855, Copeland, "Diary Transcription," 83-87, 78, 53, 57.
13. "Lady Augusta Stanley," *Atalanta* 2 (October 1888-September 1889), 387.
14. Mary Grant to C.C. Grafton, 26 September 1868, 11 November 1870, Copeland, "Diary Transcription," 97, 105; Mary Grant to C.C. Grafton, 25 August-3 November [n.d.], St. Paul's Cathedral archive, 8-40.
15. Edward Cayley to Mary Grant, 6 March 1855, C.C. Grafton to Mary Grant, 6 May 1867, 30 September 1869, Copeland, "Diary Transcription," 57, 94, 102, 103.
16. 26 May 1878, Copeland, "Diary Transcription," 21.
17. Mary Grant, "The Franchise: An Educational Test, A Remedy for the Degeneracy of the House of Commons" (London: William Ridgway, 1878), 26-30 passim; August 1875, 23 May 1877, February 1885, 6 June 1885, Copeland, "Diary Transcription," 11, 15-16, 30, 32; Fulford, *Votes for Women*, 44, 77, 282; F.W. Torrington, ed., "Reports of the Select Committee on Public Petitions 1833-1900," Great Britain: House of Commons, Appendices to the Votes and Proceedings 1817-1890, Microfiche (Cambridge: Chadwyk-Healey, 1983), fiche 3, 2322; "The Women's Fawcett Memorial Committee," *Englishwoman's Review*, 15 January 1885, 31; 14 February 1885, 90-1; 15 June 1885, 275; 15 July 1885, 325.
18. Cappadona, *Dictionary of Christian Art*, s.v. "Margaret of Antioch, Saint."
19. May 1877, August 1878, September 1880, Copeland, "Diary Transcription," 15, 21, 26.
20. Edward Cayley to Mary Grant, 25 August 1855, Copeland, "Diary Transcription," 78.
21. Cherry, *Painting Women*, 100; *St. Mary's Monthly Paper* (December 1879), 16.
22. Elizabeth Garrett to J.G.S. Anderson, 8 December 1870, Parkes Papers, Girton College Archive, BRP Appendix C 27, p. 106; Barbara Stephens, *Emily Davies and Girton College* (London: Constable, 1927), 125; "Stanley," Victoria and Albert Museum, A.37-1938; "The Women's Movement in the British Empire: Landmarks of a Century," *Englishwoman's Yearbook* (1901), 345-51; Charles Baile de Laperrière, ed., *The Society of Women Artists Exhibitors 1858-1996*, compiled by Joanna Soden (Calne, Wiltshire: Hilmarton Manor Press, 1996), xvii-xxxi.

- 23.Hudson, *Munby*, 218-19.
- 24.[Crosse], "Susan Durant, The Sculptor," 27; Susan Durant to Emma Wallis, 31 December 1864, 22 March 1868, RA Vic Add X2/4,178.
- 25.Emma Wallis's Diary, 7 January 1866, RA Vic Add X2/212 B/10.
- 26.Crosse, "Susan Durant, The Sculptor," 27; 10 November 1865, Susan Durant, Short Diary, RA Vic Add X2/37.
- 27.Susan Durant to George Durant, 30 December 1865, RA Vic Add X2/47.
- 28.Susan Durant to George Durant, 28 December [1865], 30 December 1865, Wednesday [1866], RA Vic Add X2/46, 47, 54; Susan Durant, Short Diary, 13 November 1865, X2/37; Susan Durant to Emma Wallis, 22 March 1868, X2/178; RA Queen Victoria's Journal, 12 July 1867.
- 29.Susan Durant to Emma Wallis, 22 May [1867], 19 June 1872, RA Vic Add X2/127, 205.
- 30.[Crosse], "Susan Durant, The Sculptor," 27; Susan Durant to Emma Wallis, 22 March 1868, RA Vic Add X2/178; C.A..H. Crosse, *Red Letter Days of My Life*, 2 vols., (London: Richard Bentley and Son, 1892), I:317; Susan Durant to Elizabeth Garrett, n.d., Elizabeth Garrett Anderson correspondence, Fawcett Library, Guildhall University, London; Levine, *Feminist Lives*, 147; Russell, *The Amberley Papers*, I:479.
- 31.Susan Durant to Emma Wallis, 7 April [1866], 11 May 1866, [undated letter], RA Vic Add X2/65, 68, 95; Susan Durant to George Durant, [24 August 1865], marginal note in different handwriting, X2/17; "Lord Derby's Translation of the Iliad," *Edinburgh Review* 121/247 (January 1865), 141-45 passim.
- 32.Baron H. de Triqueti [Susan Durant], "Tuscan Sculptors," *Fine Arts Quarterly Review* 1 n.s. (July-October 1866): 271-284; "Editorial Policy," *Fine Arts Quarterly Review* 1 o.s. (May-October 1863), preface; "Gossip," *The Art Student* 2 (June 1865), 404; Susan Durant to Lucy, 9 December [1866], RA Vic Add X2/7; Susan Durant to George Durant, 1 January 1867.
- 33.Susan Durant to Emma Wallis, 22 May [1867], 22 August [1870], RA Vic Add X2/127, 199; Susan Durant to George Durant, 15 May [1869], X2/196; Emma Wallis's Journal, 7 and 11 January 1866, X2/212 B/96, 25; Susan Durant to A.H. Layard, 12 November [before 1866], BL Add 58166 f 59; Susan Durant to Countess

Brühl, 25 August [1870], X2/202.

34. Susan Durant to A.H. Layard, 14 December [1860], BL MS Add 58162 f 104; Susan Durant to George Durant, 7 July [1864], 11 September [1865], RA Vic Add X2/2, 24.

35. [Crosse], "Susan Durant, The Sculptor," 27; Crosse, *Red Letter Days*, II: 35-36, 54-55; Russell, *The Amberley Papers*, I:314; Susan Durant to Countess Brühl, 1870, RA Vic Add X2/198; Susan Durant to George Durant, 7 July 1864, X2/2; Susan Durant to Emma Wallis, 11 March 1866, 17 March [1867], X2/60, 119.

36. Susan Durant to Emma Wallis, 18 February 1866, 7 April [1866], 11 May 1866, 22 [December 1866], RA Vic Add X2/58, 65, 68, 101.

37. Susan Durant to Emma Wallis, 24 July [1866], 22 March 1868, RA Vic Add X2/73, 178; Emmanuel Deutsch, "Talmud," *Quarterly Review* 123/246 (October 1867): 417-464; marginal notes in the Durant papers identify Deutsch as "a Silesian Jew who had a post in the Library of the British Museum," RA Vic Add X2/212 D/2; Moses and Lady Montefiore to Susan Durant, 3 December 1857, RA Vic Add T; Joseph O. Baylen and Norbert J. Gossman, eds., *Biographical Dictionary of Modern British Radicals*, vol. 2, 1830-1870 (Brighton: Harvester Press, 1984), s.v. "Montefiore, Sir Moses, Bart."

38. *The Concise Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1992), s.v. "Harvey, Daniel Whittle;" M.L. Clarke, *George Grote, A Biography* (London: University of London, the Athlone Press, 1962), 21.

39. Benedict Read And Joanna Barnes, eds., *Pre-Raphaelite Sculpture: Nature and Imagination in British Sculpture 1848-1914* (London: Henry Moore Foundation in assoc. with Lund Humphries, 1991), 127; Fine Art Society, *Gibson to Gilbert: British Sculpture 1840-1914* (London: Fine Art Society, 1992), 4; Susan Durant to Emma Wallis, 3 July [n.d.], RA Vic Add X2/212 D/3; [Crosse], "Susan Durant, The Sculptor," 27; Cherry, *Painting Women*, 55-57 passim; "The Gower Street (Female) School of Art," "Woman and Art. The Female School of Design," *Art Journal* (1860, 1861), 61, 107-08.

40. Read, *Victorian Sculpture*, 70.

41. Pamela Gerrish Nunn, *Problem Pictures: Women and Men in Victorian Painting* (Aldershot: Scolar Press, 1995), 13; Gaze, ed., *Dictionary of Women Artists*, s.v. "Carpenter, Margaret," by Richard J. Smith.

42. Orr, *Women in the Victorian Art World*, 8, 61-62; Cherry, *Painting Women*, 62, 93; Gaze, *Dictionary of Women Artists*, s.v. "Gillies, Margaret."
43. Dakers, *Holland Park Circle*, 179; Hamo's Journal, 10 July 1877, 10 June 1889, 26 February 1890, 29 November 1890, HMI archive J(a).193, J(a)4.52, J(a)5.22, 100.
44. "Mrs. Thornycroft," *The Times*, 4 February 1895, 6; "The Death of Mary Thornycroft," *Lady's Pictorial* 29 (1895), 232; Barrington, "Mrs. Mary Thornycroft," *The Spectator*, 23 February 1895, 263.
45. McCracken, "Sculptor Mary Thornycroft," 3; Mary Thornycroft to Sir Charles Phipps, October 1862, RA PP Vic 2/65/4300; Thomas Thornycroft to Mary Francis, 7 September 1839, HMI archives TT C.67.
46. "Mary Thornycroft," *Lady's Pictorial*, 232.
47. Thornycroft, *Bronze and Steel*, 67; Barrington, "Mrs. Mary Thornycroft," 263.
48. "Mothers of Celebrated Men," *The Lady's Realm* (October 1897). This article is included in an uncatalogued collection of notices kept in the Henry Moore Archive, Archive Acquisition files for Mary Thornycroft, "Aunt Helen's book of cuttings."
49. Mary Thornycroft to W.B. Dickinson, 29 June [1861], TT.C.87; Hamo's Journal, 12 March 1872, J(a).90; Mary Thornycroft to Hamo Thornycroft, 22 January 1881, 12 March 1881, 19 July 1881, TII.C.T(Ma).20, 3, 4; Barrington, "Mrs. Mary Thornycroft," 263.
50. Reminiscences of Mary Donaldson, HMI TII.E(m).3; Thornycroft, *Bronze and Steel*, 69; Hamo's Journal, 10 May 1871, J(a).57; Mary Thornycroft to Hamo Thornycroft, 13 August 1889, TII.C.T(Ma).10.
51. Hamo's Journal, 24 October 1885, J(a).235; Thornycroft, *Bronze and Steel*, 54; Thomas Thornycroft to W.B. Dickinson, 15 November 1851[?], TT.C.152.
52. Barrington, "Mrs. Mary Thornycroft," 263.
53. Cherry, *Painting Women*, 57.
54. "Minor Topics," *Art Journal* (1863), 210; Hilary Hunt-Lewis, "Appendix II," in *The Life Story of H.R.H. Princess Louise Duchess of Argyll*, David Duff (Bath: Cedric Chivers, 1971), 338; Hamo's Journal, 20 January and 14 June 1872, J(a)78,

117.

55. "Mothers of Celebrated Men," *The Lady's Realm* (October 1897).
56. Thornycroft, *Bronze and Steel*, 67; Hamilton, *Mythology*, s.v. "Pallas Athena (Minerva);" Hall, *Dictionary of Subjects and Symbols in Art*, s.v. "Minerva."
57. Gaze, *Dictionary of Women Artists*, s.v. "Thornycroft, Mary," by Andrea Garrihy.
58. F.G. Stephens, "The Late Mrs. Mary Thornycroft," *Magazine of Art* (1895), 951; Thomas Thornycroft to [?], [18 March 1861], TT.C.161.
59. See the *Architect* (1895); cutting from uncatalogued collection of notices kept in the Henry Moore Archive, Archive Acquisition files for Mary Thornycroft.
60. Tooley, "Interview," 363-65 passim; Tooley, "Notable Victorians," 6.
61. "Mrs. D.O. Hill," *Englishwomen's Review*, 5 October 1904, 280-82; D.O. Hill to Jane McDonald, 29 December 1869, NLS Acc McDonald 1.12; Isabella Begg to Miss Cathcart, [n.d.], McDonald 1.7.
62. Tooley, "Interview," 365, 367; Susan Durant to Emma Wallis, 22 March 1868, RA Vic Add X2/178.
63. "Statues of Robert Burns," *Art Journal*, 240; Holmes, *The Scott Monument*, 29; Amelia Paton Hill to Mrs. [Elizabeth] Blackie, 26 June [1870], NLS MS 2629 f. 248-249; Isabella Begg to Miss Cathcart, [n.d.], NLS Acc McDonald 1.7; Tooley, "Interview," 367.
64. "Unveiling of the Livingstone Statue," *The Scotsman*, 16 August 1876, 5; Zimmerman, *Dictionary of Classical Mythology*, s.v. "Hera;" Hall, *Dictionary of Subjects and Symbols in Art*, s.v. "Juno."
65. "David Octavius Hill: Record of Inventory," SRO Record of Testamentary Deeds, November 1870, SC70/4/129, vol. 150, p. 429; "Mrs. Amelia Robertson Paton or Hill: Record of Inventory," Record of Testamentary Deeds 21 September 1904-31 October 1904, SC70/4/360, vol. 1139, p. 131.
66. Tooley, "Interview," 365, 366; Sharp, "D.O. Hill, RSA," 18; Tooley, "Notable Victorians," 6.

67. "The Women's Movement in the British Empire: Landmarks of a Century," *The Englishwoman's Yearbook* (1901), 348; "Unveiling," *The Scotsman*, 5; Gaze, *Dictionary of Women Artists*, s.v. "Damer, Anne Seymour," by Alison Yarrington.
68. Banks, *Faces of Feminism*, 24-5; Daniel G. Reid and others, eds., *Dictionary of Christianity in America* (Downers Grove, Illinois: InterVarsity Press, 1990), s.v. "Friends, The Religious Society of (Quakers);" D.O. Hill to Jane McDonald, 23 September 1862, NLS Acc McDonald 1.12; Tooley, "Interview," 363.
69. Journals of Noel Paton, 14 February 1878, NLS Dep 351.
70. W.B. Dickinson to Thomas Thornycroft, 3 August 1840, HMI TT.C.42; Thomas Thornycroft to Mary Francis, [10 July 1839], TT.C.120.
71. Mary Thornycroft to Hamo Thornycroft, 12 March 1881; Mary Thornycroft to Alyce Thornycroft, November 1881, TII.C.T(Ma)3, 22.
72. Caine, *Victorian Feminists*, 78, 84, 92; Levine, *Feminist Lives*, 40-1, 93, 101.
73. For example see: Public Petition 6376 (14 March 1856), "Married Women's Property Rights," *Reports of the Select Committee on Public Petitions*, 1856, Appendix to the Seventeenth Report, p. 338; Public Petition 8501 (7 July 1866), "For Extensions of the Elective Franchise to All Householders without Distinction of Sex," *Reports of the Select Committee on Public Petitions*, 1866, Appendix to the Twenty-Seventh Report, vol. 334, p. 305; "Women's Suffrage: A Reply," *Fortnightly Review* 46 (July-December 1889), 123-139.
74. Levine, *Feminist Lives*, 17-19 passim.
75. "Correspondence," *The Art Student*, 1 September 1864, 146; quoted in Pamela Gerrish Nunn, *Problem Pictures: Women and Men in Victorian Painting* (Aldershot: Scolar Press, 1995), 7-8. For a fuller discussion of these exemplars see: Annemarie Weyl Carr and others, "Women as Artists in the Middle Ages," in *Dictionary of Women Artists*, ed. Gaze, I:14; *Ibid.*, s.v. "Rossi, Properzia de'," by Fredrika H. Jacobs; "Schurman, Anna Maria van," by Kate Bomford; Mary Hays, *Female Biography; or Memoirs of Illustrious and Celebrated Women of all Ages and Countries*, vol. 6 (London: Richard Phillips, 1803), s.v. "Schurman, Anna Maria."
76. Marcia Pointon, *Strategies for Showing: Women, Possessions, and Representation in English Visual Culture 1665-1800* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997), 143.



77. Mary Grant, "Last Will and Testament," proved 22 April 1908, Probate Department, Principal Registry of the Family Division, London; June 1876, 21 October 1876, May 1880, 5 October 1880, Copeland, "Diary Transcription," 13, 14, 25, 26-7.

78. Susan Durant, "Last Will and Testament," proved 30 January 1873, Public Record Office, Family Division, London. The passage is reproduced as recorded--without punctuation; Henri de Triqueti to the Keeper of the Privy Purse, 27 February 1873, RA PP Windsor 832.

79. Biographical sketch by great-niece of Emma Wallis, Typescript, RA Vic Add X2/212 A/2; H.P. Harvey to the Director of the National Portrait Gallery, 7 February 1924, file on Susan Durant, National Portrait Gallery, London.

80. Amelia Robertson Paton Hill, "Record of Inventory," Scottish Record Office, SC 70/4/360, vol. 1139, p. 131.

**PART II**

**PUBLIC PERCEPTIONS**

## CHAPTER 5

### CRITICAL APPRAISALS

Few individuals had as profound an influence upon the construction of an artist's reputation as did the art critics. They variously reflected and shaped public opinion about the work of individual artists and endeavoured to educate the populace in matters of taste. A sociological study of the "building and survival of artistic reputation" by Gladys Engel Lang and Kurt Lang defines reputation as a social construction formed by a combination of factors among which are the public's opinion as stimulated by critics, the esteem of professional colleagues, and the artist's efforts at preparation and self-promotion.<sup>1</sup> Their investigation concentrates on the first two factors which they term renown and recognition, respectively. Far from each being of equal influence, the Langs' findings demonstrate that the critic's contribution often had a disproportionate impact upon the way that an artist was perceived both during his or her career and, more especially, by succeeding generations.

This chapter will examine the degree of recognition and renown enjoyed by each of the female sculptors with a view to assessing how well they were accepted during their lifetimes and accounting for their subsequent treatment by historians. Evaluations of the sculptors' works are unavoidably inflected with the pre-existing attitudes of critics and colleagues toward major issues such as women's capacity to produce fine art and the acceptability of stylistic diversity or development. Consequently, a critique of the critics is necessary to expose preferential or prejudicial treatment of the sculptors. The broader company of

female sculptors will be considered with a particular focus on the four British women.

## RECOGNITION

Using the definition given by the Langs, recognition is the esteem in which insiders hold the artist. Insiders encompass teachers, colleagues, discerning connoisseurs, and institutions such as the Royal Academies and major schools of art. Recognition is measured by the professional status of supportive colleagues and the institutional honours, such as election to artistic societies, inclusion in juried exhibitions, and awards conferred upon the individual. While approval of this sort did not guarantee an artist fame, it did act as an endorsement of the quality of his or her work within certain favoured stylistic bounds of the time. Judgements made by the blind juries of the RA and RSA may be taken as more reliable estimates of a sculptor's skill because the variables of gender and name recognition did not come into play. However, as these were rather conservative institutions, works could be disqualified on the basis of innovations in style or subject-matter that challenged the established canons. The famous confrontation between Ruskin, the Slade professor of art at Oxford, and Whistler over the latter's expressive application of paint is a prime example of this type of bias.<sup>2</sup>

All of the professional female sculptors who began their careers during the second third of the nineteenth century had numerous examples of their work shown in the RA and RSA exhibitions. This was indeed an achievement given the volume of submissions for a limited number of exhibition spaces each year.

The women's frequent inclusion in special events such as the Great Exhibition, Manchester Art Treasures Exhibition, International Expositions in Paris and Chicago, and the RSA retrospective show (see above) further attests to their aesthetic success in the mainstream artistic community. However, despite such triumphs when incognito, they were much less well received by the Academies when their identities were known. Institutional bias against female artists was blatantly evident in the grudging acceptance of them into a reduced course of study at the RA Schools and the entrenched opposition to admitting them to Academy membership in spite of sporadic campaigns mounted by dissenting members and pressure from influential journals such as *The Times*, the *Athenaeum*, and the *Art Journal*. When Amelia Hill's and painter Margaret Carpenter's names were put forward as potential associates of the RSA and RA, respectively, the governing bodies rejected them as a matter of course.<sup>3</sup>

Recognition shown by alternative art societies such as the Albert Institute and the SFA lacked the top-drawer cachet of Academy endorsement and could even undermine the reputation of the sculptor. Because the SFA was a women's association that served as an entry-level venue for aspiring amateurs and professionals alike it was branded with a second-rate status by many of the critics (see below). Although Thornycroft persevered in spite of the adverse comments in the press, sending previously exhibited pieces to six exhibitions during the early years, both she and Durant made the RA shows their first priority. Hill's receipt of a medal from the Albert Institute did nothing to enhance her reputation because the honour was conferred by a new organization that had been established for the benefit of untried artists, not seasoned

professionals like herself. In Durant's case the medal conferred upon her has not yet been identified so it is difficult to gauge its effect on her public image.

The male sculptors who sought to promote the careers of their female counterparts had themselves achieved success, even distinction in their profession. John Gibson, who taught and/or facilitated the careers of Hosmer, Thornycroft and (possibly) Grant, was internationally known as an outstanding Neoclassical sculptor. In Scotland, Sir John Steell was the pre-eminent member of a newly emergent native Scottish school of sculpture in which he sought to include Hill and, earlier on, Gore-Booth. John Henry Foley was the successful head of an atelier when he recruited Grant to join his complement of students. In each case it was the quality of work produced by the female sculptors that prompted the men to offer their assistance. When F. Jerichau, a sculptor and Professor at the Royal Academy of Fine Arts, Copenhagen, saw Thornycroft's statue of the Skipping Girl at the Paris Exhibition (1855) he proclaimed it "one of the six most beautiful statues in the world." This was indeed extravagant praise but probably genuine coming from a man whose esteem of female artists may be inferred from his marriage to a painter.<sup>4</sup> Endorsement by men of such standing in the Victorian art world suggests that the sculpting women had more than mere novelty to recommend their work.

What were the immediate and ongoing ramifications of institutional attitudes and collegial approbation? Institutional ambivalence toward female artists meant that the favour given with one hand was at least partly withdrawn by the other. Inclusion in the major exhibitions validated the professional standing of the sculpting women. Their names and the titles of works on display

appeared in the official catalogues which were perused by gallery-goers at the time and preserved in the records of the organization for future generations to research. Likewise, the acquisition of pieces of the women's sculpture by the Academies and other government schools of art meant that, at least potentially, their work would be kept before the eyes of the public long after their deaths. Both Grant and Hill availed themselves of such advantages by donating busts of their famous family members to the RA and the Scottish National Portrait Gallery, respectively; Marcello sold her rendition of La Gorgone to the Department of Art and Science of the South Kensington Museum.<sup>5</sup> However, the exclusion of women from membership in the Royal Academies devalued their skills and implied that their success in getting works accepted for exhibition was an exceptional feat for members of their sex.

Being professionally associated with a well-known male sculptor could have far-reaching benefits. Gibson turned the strength of his own reputation to Thornycroft's advantage when he recommended her to Queen Victoria. On the basis of his word she not only obtained a series of valuable commissions, in addition the resultant sculptures are fully documented and permanently placed in the Royal collection. Throughout Thornycroft's lifetime, Gibson's assistance to her was recited by biographers as an almost legendary event that guaranteed her success.<sup>6</sup> As we noted previously, esteemed male sculptors could also serve as advocates against unjust accusations levelled at their female counterparts. Gibson and Story pitted their own credibility against the libellous statements made by another sculptor about Hosmer. Eminent colleagues were in a position to do considerable good for the sculpting women's careers without

overshadowing them. However, as far as ongoing influence was concerned, the prestigious art fraternities had more potential for keeping the women's achievements in the public memory in spite of their inconsistent approach to female artists.

## RENOWN

In the Langs' model renown refers to how well an artist is known outside specialist circles. This aspect of reputation is heavily dependent upon publicity, the critics' reception of individual works, sales, and museum acquisitions. In Victorian Britain royal approval, expressed via commissions and special invitations, had a marked effect on an artist's reputation. The *Art Journal* notified readers that Thornycroft was "appointed by the Queen to instruct the younger princesses" and Durant had "been entrusted by the Queen with the execution of a monument . . . to the late King of the Belgians."<sup>7</sup> Simply gaining the agreement of the monarch to sit for a portrait reflected well on the sculptor.

Royal approbation notwithstanding, of the contributing variables, critical opinion was the most influential as it indirectly affected sales and museum acquisitions and supplied a significant proportion of the media attention received by any given piece of sculpture. The renown of an artist can be gauged by the amount and tone of the critical commentary and other publicity that appeared in the periodical press, sales of original works and reduced copies, inclusion in special exhibition volumes, entries in the various dictionaries of notable people, and popular demand for collector's items such as portrait cartes and autographs.



Obtaining the approval of critics and the art fancying public was crucial to both the immediate success of the female sculptors' careers and to their preservation for posterity. The Langs argue that if an artist's work sold well there is a greater likelihood that his or her papers and memorabilia would be hoarded, ultimately becoming part of a private collection or institutional archive. While it is difficult to establish with certainty the extent to which critical reception of the individual female sculptors' works affected sales, it is possible to identify the critics' contribution to the public perception of these women. A careful examination of the reviewers' assessments of each woman's sculpture will be made. In order to set the critics' comments within their historical context, we will begin with some observations on the practice of art criticism during the nineteenth century.

In tandem with a greater public awareness of art fostered by government initiatives from the late 1830s onward, a growing number of publications began to devote space to fine art reviews. While care was usually taken to assign journalists with some background in art to report on the major exhibitions, there was no specific training in art criticism provided or required. A broad spectrum of critical expertise obtained. John Ruskin was distinguished as an erudite and thoroughly prepared fine art critic. F.G. Stephens, Allan Cunningham, and Emilia Dilke were also unusual, having received some initial art training at the RA Schools, Chantrey's sculpting studio, and South Kensington Schools, respectively, and augmenting their knowledge of fine art through diligent reading.<sup>8</sup> However, many art critics were "literary men primarily and self-taught amateurs in art." Even as late as the 1880s they were castigated for assessing

painting and sculpture in literary terms, looking "first to the subject, and then to the technique," and for a lack of consistent standards. "There is really no such thing as an art of art criticism . . . . If one were to select from the criticisms (say on the Academy) by the critics from the twelve most important journals, he would find the most astonishing contradictions, contradictions which seem almost impossible as uttered by men who have made a special study of art."<sup>9</sup>

The women who turned their hands to art criticism from mid-century were also amateurs who had cultivated their knowledge of art and art history to a high level. Several of them were very successful, contributing regularly to a spate of well-known journals, publishing scholarly monographs, even becoming art editors for magazines such as *Academy*. However, the pressures upon them to conform to a male-defined hierarchy of aesthetic values caused many to distance themselves from the work of female artists for fear of being marginalized by association. An unfortunate consequence of this stance was the ultimate omission of women's art from the historic record at a point when the so-called Western canon was being shaped.<sup>10</sup>

Throughout the century the bulk of art criticism was blatantly prejudiced against women's painting and sculpture. The SFA with its blend of amateur and professional exhibits was almost routinely heaped with polite ridicule. For example, *Punch* feigned surprise that it was a display of paintings rather than needlework and baking and warned male readers to be "tender" and "courteous," not giving in to the "little bit of Ruskin" they normally exercised at exhibitions. Doubtless there were many items deserving of the reviewers' disdain. However, research by Helland proposes that works shown at female exhibiting societies

were treated more seriously by critics when later exhibited at mainstream venues such as the Royal Academies. Her findings concur with Marsh and Nunn's observation that the terms lady or female prefixed to the word artist brought immediate stigma.<sup>11</sup> Even articles that ostensibly favoured women's art bestowed condescending compliments. The *Art Journal's* report on the "Progress of American Sculptors in Europe" noted that

women, by nature . . . are prompted in the treatment of sculpture to motives of fancy and sentiment, rather than to compete with men in realistic portraiture or absolute creative imagination. But this distinction . . . has its exceptions. The works of Harriet Hosmer are all of a robust, masculine character . . . as if wrought out by hard head-work and diligent study of models by a mind that had forced itself, as with a manly energy, to achieve a mechanical mastery of a profession for which it has no supreme aesthetic predilection.<sup>12</sup>

Hosmer is congratulated for transcending the inherently feminine tendency to make petty, poorly drawn, derivative work.

Whereas male artists were studied with interest, their female counterparts customarily were treated as inconsequential. E.C. Clayton's *English Female Artists* (1876) was criticized by the *Athenaeum* for providing detailed biographical information one third of which was deemed "more than enough for all the world can possibly care to know of them." Satiric images of women artists as unattractive blunderers or charming young Misses slavishly copying Old Masters appeared with some regularity in *Punch* and other magazines from the 1860s. As Nunn points out, "[w]hile the artist was frequently made fun of in *Punch* . . . when that artist was male his sex was not the joke, but rather his artistic theories, his personality, his rivalry with a confrère or his bad luck with

patrons; when the artist was female it was simply as a woman that she was mocked."<sup>13</sup>

Such dismissive treatment did not go unchallenged. Anna Jameson, seconded by F.D. Maurice, condemned the pervasive tendency to devalue women's skills by acknowledging their undeniable successes in "an insolently complimentary style as an exceptional case; while the mistakes or failures of certain women are singled out as a theme of the bitterest ridicule, and visited upon all." F.T. Palgrave published a lengthy essay on "Women and the Fine Arts" arguing that their signal lack of lasting success in that field was not the "result of external circumstances [inadequate free time], or want of endeavour, but of deficient general training, and the absence of fair judgement on men's part." He prescribed a thorough education for girls and an end to the false flattery that men habitually substituted for constructive criticism.<sup>14</sup> The Rose, the Shamrock and the Thistle, a journal which promoted the employment of women, underlined the importance of even-handed criticism.

[T]he woman who takes up the pencil or the chisel as her bread-winner, enters the lists of competition with the ruder sex, and must be equal to the issue or she loses the object for which she struggles. Firm but courteous criticism is what she wants if she wishes to prepare herself for her *métier* and to profit by it; and warm and generous appreciation is due to her from the Public when she proves herself worthy.<sup>15</sup>

Nevertheless a gender biased critical standard remained in force for the rest of the century.

The periodical press flourished from the 1850s onward adding an ever-increasing number of titles aimed at a broad spectrum of society.<sup>16</sup> A variety of

weekly, monthly and quarterly journals carried reviews of art exhibitions, notices of commissions and other honours conferred upon artists, and feature articles. Each had a distinctive social and/or political agenda, editorial tone, target audience, and stable of art critics. In order to assess the reviewers' treatment of the female sculptors' work, it is necessary to identify the characteristics of a selection of the most relevant of these publications.

The Art Journal was unparalleled as a monthly magazine concerned exclusively with fine art. Its founding editor, Samuel Carter Hall, launched the journal in 1839 with a resolve to promote British art and dissuade the public from investing in fraudulent "Old Masters." In particular, he took pains to make "[t]he art of sculpture . . . as prosperous as the sister art of painting" through his monthly offerings of news, reviews, and engraved images of sculpted works. In line with the liberal sympathies of Hall, the Art Journal consistently gave more attention to women's art than did any of its standard competitors.<sup>17</sup>

The English Woman's Journal (later Englishwomen's Review) was established in 1858 by Barbara Leigh Smith Bodichon in association with Bessie Rayner Parkes and Anna Jameson; it remained the primary forum for discussion of women's issues during the nineteenth century and had a particular mission to promote women's employment. Among the many new occupations it advocated for women were careers in fine art. Consequently, the journal reported assiduously on the fortunes of female artists but it adopted a fairly rigorous critical tone so as to avoid becoming a women's mutual admiration society. For example, from 1859 it voiced disappointment in the failure of the SFA to promote higher quality in women's art. However, the commentary on specific artists and

their works often relied upon quotes from other publications. For instance, a favourable review in the *Daily News* of Durant's bas-reliefs of *Thetis and Achilles* (1863) was quoted without comment despite the unflattering observation that they were "remarkable as the work of a woman."<sup>18</sup>

Foremost among the weeklies that reported on the art world were the *Athenaeum*, the *Saturday Review*, and the *Spectator*. The *Athenaeum* was the most prestigious and perhaps the most important of these with an estimated circulation of 20,000 for 1855. It was owned and sometimes edited by three generations of the Dilke family between 1830 and 1901, all of whom had Liberal, even Radical, sympathies. During the exhibiting careers of the sculpting women the editorial tone fluctuated widely. The early 1840s were marked by a deliberate avoidance of political bias in the literary reviews. However, between 1846 and 1853 political matters were overtly expressed and the critical quality declined, becoming "notorious for rather smug and pontifical judgements" pronounced on those who overstepped the bounds of Victorian convention. For most of the 1850s and 1860s the journal's critics were encouraged to give forceful expression to their likes and dislikes which at times were based "on nothing worthier or safer than personal friendships or animosities, or subservience to publishers and advertisers."<sup>19</sup> Attitudes in literary matters were echoed in the writers' approach to art as well.

The *Saturday Review* was a highbrow publication known for its caustic reviews. Hamo Thornycroft's complaint that "[t]he 'Saturday Review' as usual abused shamefully Thornycrofts [sic] contributions to the RA Exhibition . . . criticism is pardonable but not abuse in order to extol a favourite" demonstrates

a consistency in the journal's treatment of both art and literature. An article entitled "Ideal Women" (1868), which surveyed various national cultures, marvelling at the American crusading type of woman and endorsing the British domestic angel, signals the journal's support of conventional gender expectations.<sup>20</sup>

The Spectator, which represented itself as the voice of "educated Radicalism," often found little to praise in British sculpture. In a critique of the 1883 bound edition of the Art Journal the reviewer urged the editors to "discontinue . . . their uninteresting reproductions of second-rate statuary." Reviews of the RA shows from 1848 to 1894 gave scant notice of the sculpture galleries, remarking only on pieces that stood out for their excellence or their poor quality; none of the female sculptors was deemed to merit critical mention although Thornycroft's death was acknowledged at length.<sup>21</sup>

Of the daily newspapers, The Times took precedence in its coverage of art (the Glasgow Herald and Edinburgh Courant commented at greater length on the Scottish scene). During the exhibition season it reported on the offerings at the major exhibiting societies including the RSA in Edinburgh and venues in other provincial cities. Hill, Durant, Thornycroft and Grant, among other female sculptors, all received mentions in The Times reviews and obituary columns. In general the tone of these notices was polite and direct; where praise was given it was not fawning and criticism usually was dispensed without sarcasm or rancour. Nevertheless, The Times and its Scottish counterparts reflected the gender stereotyping that pervaded much of middle-class society during Victoria's reign.

Because most contributions to nineteenth-century periodicals were published anonymously and journals often employed several critics concurrently, it can be difficult to match reviewers with their work. During the period from 1848, when the first review of Mary Thornycroft's work appeared in its pages, until 1901, the *Athenaeum* had an overlapping series of five art critics on its staff. Allan Cunningham (1830-46) was a self-taught amateur who became a competent reviewer. Toward the end of Cunningham's time the editor, T.K. Hervey (1846-53), assumed responsibility for some of the art criticism, in particular the reviews of the sculpture galleries at the RA Exhibition. Having had no training in the field it is not surprising that his commentary was considered rather lacklustre. Although George Walter Thornbury had more than a passing knowledge of art, his affinity for eighteenth-century aesthetic values was hopelessly out of step with the trends that emerged during his tenure as primary art critic in the 1850s. He was at odds with Ruskin, having little tolerance for gothic revival and the medievalizing tendencies that had supplanted the grand style advocated by Sir Joshua Reynolds. In stark contrast, W.M. Rossetti and F.G. Stephens, who joined the staff in 1860-61, were both founding members of the Pre-Raphaelite Brotherhood which shared Ruskinian values and disdained Reynolds. Stephens, who went on to become Art Editor, contributed to all but two issues of the journal during a forty-year tenure that ended in 1901. He was considered a "learned, industrious and careful [critic although] he was out of sympathy with modern developments of his art." His reviews betrayed some bias in favour of the Pre-Raphaelites and a distaste for the classical and baroque traditions.<sup>22</sup>



The female art critics contributed to several journals sometimes concurrently. Emilia Pattison (later Lady Dilke) published reviews of art and art books from 1863 in the Saturday Review and the Westminster Review; beginning in 1869 her work appeared in the Academy, for which she became the art editor in 1873, and eventually in the Athenaeum (1876). Although a determined supporter of trade unions for working women and the suffrage cause, she did not indulge in special pleading for the work of female artists except to argue for assisted access to life drawing opportunities. In 1869 she expressed a low opinion of sculpture, purportedly shared by other critics, as "the art which is at the moment of its fullest decadence, the art of which all others we practise [sic] most inartistically."<sup>23</sup> Florence Fenwick Miller was another staunch advocate of the need for legal changes to the status of women. She drew attention to female artists and the difficulties they faced in her "Ladies' Notes" column in the Illustrated London News from 1886 to 1910 and contributed also to several women's magazines including the Lady's Pictorial. However, she too criticized the SFA for becoming a venue for second-rate art by women instead of raising the standard of their work as originally envisioned.<sup>24</sup>

Of the periodicals listed above, the Athenaeum meted out the sharpest, most sarcastic criticism of women's art. Even when it selected a female sculptor's work for praise it was grudgingly given. A few comparisons will be instructive. Mary Thornycroft's Skipping Girl (plaster, 1855) was facetiously described by Thornbury of the Athenaeum as "a quiet subject, not devoid of interest to skipping rope makers." The Art Student remarked the statue's great popularity and mildly commended it as a "composition full of freshness . . . [and] very

charming, though not quite free from mannerism" while the *Art Journal* lauded Thornycroft's skill at representing a figure in motion and published a full-page engraving of the piece. The reviewer observed that:

The attitude is graceful, the general expression buoyant and joyous, the limbs soft and round, yet firm and well-set: it is an excellent representation of a young girl full of life and energy, placed, by the healthy amusement she is occupied with, in a *pose* favourable to the development of a form of considerable natural elegance, and the display of lines which the sculptor has arranged most agreeably and with a judicious *balancing* of the projecting leg and arm.<sup>25</sup>

Jerichau's strong appreciation of this work has been noted. A later review by the *Athenaeum* (Stephens or Rossetti) of the same work in marble bestowed one of the "insolent compliments" so abhorred by Jameson: "Mrs. Thornycroft's *The Skipping Girl* is worthy of her reputation for such works."<sup>26</sup>

Likewise, Durant's bust of *Harriet Beecher Stowe* (1857) was damned with faint approval by the *Athenaeum* (Thornbury, again) as "a careful bust . . . plain, but by no means unprepossessing." While the commentary accompanying an engraving of the work in the *Illustrated London News* smugly applauded Victorian society for producing skilled female artists such as Durant, it nonetheless provided a detailed description of the portrait, itemizing its praiseworthy features, and commented briefly on the sculptor's other achievements. The *Art Journal's* glowing pronouncement that "we have seldom seen a work of more entire excellence; it is a striking likeness . . . simple and unaffected in style and character--charmingly modelled, and very skilfully wrought" could be suspected of exaggeration if it were not for a corroborating statement by Stowe's daughter. Mary Beecher Perkins proclaimed it as

"altogether the best, most beautiful likeness of her I have yet seen" at a time when there were numerous other contenders for that honour.<sup>27</sup>

The Athenaeum was not incapable of giving unreserved praise to the work of a female sculptor. Mary Thornycroft's success in catching "with truth the expression of frank, open-eyed innocence and maidenly truth" in her bust of the Princess Royal was amply acknowledged.<sup>28</sup> However, it was more usual for work attributed to a woman to be given muted acceptance. A difference in tone can be seen in comments made by an art gossip columnist regarding works by Mary Thornycroft, some of which he erroneously assumed to be by Thomas. "Mrs. Thornycroft" was credited with "success and skill" in portraying Princess Alice whereas "Mr. Thornycroft's" depictions of the Hunter (Prince Arthur) and the Fisher (Prince Leopold) (Ills. 3-6) were described as "elegantly, gracefully, and simply modelled." All three pieces plus a statue of the Earl of Hardwicke's son, also attributed to Thomas, are unambiguously inscribed with Mary's signature.<sup>29</sup> It is tantalizing to contemplate whether the reviewer's verdict might have been different had he been correctly informed of the artist's identity. As it is, Mary's Princess Alice got somewhat abstemious recognition compared with the adverbs, evocative of the canonical ideal, that were lavished on Thomas's supposed contributions.

Despite the tendency to give cursory attention to work from female hands, particular pieces drew strong responses from the critics. Mary Grant's statue of St. Margaret and the Dragon (1879) received two enthusiastic accolades from the Art Journal. In each case the reviewer implied close connections between the subject, the style in which it was rendered, and the artist herself.

The subject [Mild Margarete . . . the chosen type of female innocence and meekness] is peculiarly one for feminine handling, and Miss Grant has treated it with a kindred feeling of sympathetic tenderness to that which inspired Raphael's beautiful picture . . . The face youthful and refined, mild and beautiful; the hair without ornament; the attitude firm, with a conscious strength, but yet calm and placid; the whole figure simple and composed, 'placing before us an allegory . . . and not an action--innocence triumphant over the power of sin.'

The contrast of the huge earthly monster and the delicate spiritual girl is

perfectly rendered . . . the young saint[']s] . . . drapery falls in classical folds, while the growling of the demon is almost audible beneath his coarse scales.<sup>30</sup>

In this instance a female artist has supplied, and in the reviewer's mind participates in, a representation of the Victorian domestic ideal of a meek, chastely coiffed and apparelled, angelic woman fending off the brutish immorality of the outside world. Grant had hit upon an irresistible combination of artistic skill and (probably unintentional) compatibility with social expectations.

This tendency to interpret the subject matter in personal terms when treating with female artists was more abrasively demonstrated in the *Athenaeum's* obituary notice for Marcello in which several of her works are criticised.

An amateur sculptor, who had assumed the name of 'Marcello,' and was better known in society as the Duchess Colonna di Castiglione [sic] died in Florence last week, aged forty-two years. She was conspicuous in the Salons by her busts, which were marked by a peculiarly unsculpturesque affectation, exaggerated picturesqueness, and crude execution. It was probably owing to a

desire that its students should learn by example what to avoid in art, and to illustrate effectively certain vices of taste and style, that the Art Department bought one of these busts, which, if not lately withdrawn is still exhibited at South Kensington. If still on view, the sooner it is withdrawn the better. It is no duty of a public department to exhibit specimens of meretricious art.<sup>31</sup>

Couched in the discourse of prostitution, this critique (likely by Stephens) served as a warning to other female sculptors of the fate that would befall those who forsook chaste naturalism and virtuous heroines in favour of neo-baroque voluptuousness and *femmes fatales*. Beginning with her adoption of a false masculine identity, the writer traced the Duchess's transgression of feminine propriety, concluding that she was neither a proper lady nor a professional artist--she was a fallen woman. Her work was impugned as "peculiarly unsculpturesque, exaggerated . . . and crude," suggesting that there was something improper or unnatural about what she did. This theme was carried further in the use of the phrases "vices of taste and style" and "meretricious art" as thinly veiled references to Marcello's own character. Perhaps the reviewer knew that she had used a cast of her own shoulders to make her statue of *La Pythie* (1870).<sup>32</sup> In so doing she had elided the functions of (re)fine(d) artist and lowly model and erased the crucial distinctions between her work and her body, making herself "conspicuous" in the Salons "by her busts," both sculpted and anatomical. Marcello's penchant for female subjects who possessed ominous powers, such as the Pythian Sibyl, Hecate, and the Gorgon (the latter bust owned by the South Kensington Museum), and her preference for a neo-baroque expressiveness were deeply suspect, perhaps subversive.<sup>33</sup> As with the *St. Margaret* by Grant, subject, style and sculptor were melded into a seamless

whole by the critic. By contrast, male sculptors were not intimately identified with their works.

A different type of critical predisposition can be discerned in reviews of Amelia Paton Hill's sculpture. An underlying nationalist bias complicates our reading of the renown accorded her. Reports in the Art Journal on Hill's success at the RSA (February) and the RA (May) differ sharply from one another. The reviewer of the RSA deems Hill's bust of Thomas Carlyle (1867) (Ill. 7) "a most telling" portrait whereas the critic of the London exhibition warns readers against four portrait busts, including Carlyle, "which . . . can only be intended as parodies on England's honoured men." To be fair, the Scotsman's comments that the bust "will probably disappoint most people" also diverge from those of the first reviewer with the difference that the shortcomings were specified and suggestions for improvement made. Thus Hill was not summarily dismissed but treated as a serious art-producer. The north-south distinction is further evinced by reviews of the bust of Sir Joseph Noel Paton (1874). The Saturday Review condemned it as one of several portrait busts to avoid--"Her Majesty's Limner for Scotland appears somewhat in the style of a river-god"--while the Edinburgh Evening Courant claimed it a "noble and knightly bust."<sup>34</sup>

Such disparities could be explained as simple differences of taste or sophistication. However, the emergence of an indigenous school of sculptors in Scotland was a point of national pride after a long dependence upon practitioners from England. Scottish reviewers frequently reminded readers that "it is both gratifying and wonderful that we should possess such sculptors as Steell, Brodie, Hutchison, Mrs. D.O. Hill, Clark, Stanton and others." Although

Hill suffered from instances of gender bias (see for example the Brewster competition, above), she was also ranked by critics as an important member of a select company. The Scottish correspondent for the Art Journal extolled her "vigorous and masterly handling" of portraits noting that she had "taken a very leading position as a sculptor" and counted her "for several years . . . one of the most rising artists in Edinburgh." Consequently, she was often spared the snide comments customarily aimed at female artists although her model for the Livingstone statue did receive a condescending compliment: "It cannot be denied . . . that this is a work of great vigour and that, as the production of a lady, it claims a high degree of praise."<sup>35</sup> Critical notices of the full size statue dispensed with such posturing and variously concurred with "Professor Blackie and Sir Francis Grant, PRA . . . Dr. Norman Macleod and Mr. John Steell, Her Majesty's Sculptor for Scotland . . . in expressing the highest satisfaction with a work of art at once so real and so ideal, so original in design and perfect in execution."<sup>36</sup>

The critics' treatment of the sculpting women was not unrelentingly negative. Sincere compliments were paid them, some of which have been noted above, and constructive criticism was offered, on occasion, to help them improve. Palgrave's suggestion that Durant needed to strengthen her "knowledge of human form" if she wanted successfully "to copy Phidian style" was a fair comment as applied to her rendering of the Faithful Shepherdess. A similar observation in the Athenaeum indicates that the reviewer took her for a serious artist. She was chastened for sloppiness: "[Miss Durant] affects classic sculpture, but in aiming at the Phidian manner, has even neglected to mark the distinctions of fabrics in her draperies: see those of Thetis and Vulcan . . . where the smith

god's robe and that of the sea goddess are much alike."<sup>37</sup>

Critical attitudes toward female sculptors also changed over time. Sara Dodd notes that by the end of the 1860s qualities such as "strength, vision or imagination" were beginning to be applied to women's art, augmenting or even replacing the dainty adjectives customarily used. From the 1880s there is a marked change in the number and tone of comments made by the *Athenaeum* about sculpture shown by women in the RA. More female sculptors are named in the reviews and the vocabulary employed is sprightlier and less sarcastic, suggesting that a new critic (perhaps Emilia Dilke) was assigned to the exhibition beat. As well, during this time a more assertive lot of female art journalists (Dilke, Fenwick Miller, Meynell) entered the lists.<sup>38</sup>

Given the competing agendas noted above, how should we interpret the critical reception of the sculpting women? Nicola D. Thompson's work on Victorian literary criticism provides a useful approach to the question of gender bias. Based on the assumption that reviews "functioned as a social structure which reproduced and naturalized the dominant ideologies of the period," she argues for a complex, multi-layered gender code rather than a simple sexual double standard.<sup>39</sup> Thus, critics commented more favourably upon works by women that accorded with the domestic ideal than on pieces of equal technical quality which appeared to challenge conventional femininity. The contrasting experiences of Grant and Marcello bear this out. This critical standard is further complicated by the competing values of a fine art canon, with its masculine-identified hierarchy of subject and style, and a chaste domesticity. Too much emphasis upon the latter value brought objections that the work was petty and



lacking in originality; if the former was dominant the sculptor was faulted for a deficiency of feminine sentiment. In order to receive enthusiastic praise, the women had to strike a fine balance between the two. Where an additional ideological agenda took precedence over gender, such as Scottish nationalism, sympathetically aligned works by female sculptors were evaluated primarily on the basis of their support of that agenda and their technical merits. Nevertheless, they were not wholly exempted from gender bias as the contradictory reviews of Hill's work indicate.

In addition to being aware of the differential critical codes applied to the work of the female sculptors, it is useful to note how much attention they received from reviewers. Their work was acknowledged with an impressive regularity, however briefly and guardedly. Even the *Athenaeum's* reports on the sculpture gallery at the RA or BI often make short but reasonably favourable mentions of work by Durant, Thornycroft, Grant and Hill.<sup>40</sup> Taking into consideration the tendency to undervalue women's art the very fact of their inclusion in exhibition notices and art gossip columns may be seen as a testimony to their skill.

To this rather back-handed way of imputing success may be added the evidence of other indicators of renown. The three London-based sculptors received royal favour in the form of repeat commissions and invitations to fill special roles such as instructing royal children or representing British art at the Paris Exhibition (1879).<sup>41</sup> All four women won at least one major public commission each, with Grant and Hill claiming a series of them. In addition to positive mentions in art gossip columns, the women were individually featured

in celebrity profiles, contemporary dictionaries of famous people, books showcasing British sculpture and extensive obituary notices.<sup>42</sup> Some sense of popular interest in the careers of Thornycroft and Hill is betokened by a written request for Hill's autograph and the inclusion of Thornycroft's photograph in a private collection of portrait cartes.<sup>43</sup>

An evaluation of the critical success of each of the women must also be tempered by the recognition they received from the colleagues and institutions discussed at the outset of this chapter. Visual representations of the women by other sculptors and painters may be taken as additional professional tributes. Carpenter's portrait of Durant and Wirgman's depiction of Thornycroft modelling her statue of Princess Louise have been noted (see above). Mrs. A. Melville also painted Thornycroft with her bust of Princess Alice, and Alyce Thornycroft sculpted a portrait of her mother.<sup>44</sup> A male sculptor, D.W. Stevenson, exhibited a "statuette of Mrs. Hill standing by a bust of her husband" at the RSA in 1869. It is less remarkable that Grant sat to her assistant for a bust; however, if shown in a respected exhibition it may have generated some desirable publicity.<sup>45</sup>

What positions within the spectrum of nineteenth-century British sculpture did the four women occupy? To answer this question we will take a brief look at the style and execution of a few pieces representative of the mature oeuvre of each. Like their male counterparts, the female sculptors tended to reflect the style of those who trained them, with modifications born of the changing times. Thornycroft drew upon Gibson's neoclassical idiom but infused it with a graceful hint of realism evident in the *Skipping Girl* and *A Young*

Cricketer (1869). One of her eulogists made the exaggerated claim that Thornycroft displayed

great originality and a strong desire to avoid . . . slavish copying of the antique. . . . As time wore on, she almost more than any of her contemporaries, showed that feeling for realism and constant reference to nature which is the distinguishing feature of the modern school of English sculpture. In this she was, no doubt, in advance of her time.<sup>46</sup>

However, this is more a case of overstatement than outright fabrication. F.G. Stephens commented that "she knew where to draw the line between realism of an unchastened sort and the great art of sculpture proper which refuses to be realistic," and allowed that she occupied an intermediate position between rigid devotion to the antique and thoroughgoing adoption of the realist mode of New Sculpture. Although it is inaccurate to place her at the vanguard of stylistic innovation, her work may be said to stand on the brink of the new trend. J. Beavington Atkinson's review of her portrayals of the "young princes [in] the guise of The Hunter and The Fisherman" remarked the "tendings of picturesque naturalism" in the works.<sup>47</sup> Thornycroft incorporated an expanded range of subject matter in her ideal figures, such as the Young Cricketer, and utilized contemporary costume in her portraits, notably the Highland dress of the Hardwicke boy, thereby distancing herself from the strictly antique code pursued by Gibson. Perhaps her main contribution to the development of a modern idiom was in the training and advice she gave to Hamo who became a central figure in the New Sculpture movement.

Amelia Paton Hill's work strongly reflects her status as a leading member

of an emergent Scottish nationalist school. The overwhelming majority of her portraits are of Scots--living and dead, famous and titled--and her ideal works represent figures from Scottish legend and literature. Although some of her portraits were criticized for being too studied and massive, her ability to combine likeness, character and finesse of handling improved over time.<sup>48</sup> The bronze statue of Livingstone (Ill. 8) represents the zenith of her career. It exhibits an easy naturalism of form and costume and a sympathetic likeness of the man. Accoutered with pistol, Bible, haversack and sextant, the explorer is vigorously and robustly modelled and poised to move forward after a brief reconnaissance of the terrain. A similar use of naturalistic detail and expression to convey personality is noted in her statuette of Burns--qualities which were unfortunately lost when it was rendered in full size by an insensitive carver (see above).<sup>49</sup> Had it been cast in bronze instead it may have more successfully embodied the fluid fusion of form and material that characterized the New Sculpture. Certainly the Livingstone monument represents a step in that direction.

Mary Grant was said to be distinguished by her use of a "Renaissance style" which probably referred to the early Renaissance or late Medieval period to which the Pre-Raphaelites looked for inspiration. Although she was not a member of that coterie, examples of her work, such as the relief portrait of Henry Fawcett (1886) (Ill. 9) and an earlier medallion of Georgiana Moncreiffe, Countess Dudley (1862), have much in common with the work of Pre-Raphaelite sculptor Alexander Munro. A further indicator of her stylistic affinity with Pre-Raphaelitism was the invitation she received to copy the bust of Tennyson by Woolner, who was an original member of the brotherhood.<sup>50</sup> Her monumental

works hark back to quattrocento forms; the reredos for St. Mary's Cathedral, Edinburgh (Ill. 10) bears stylistic echoes of Ghiberti's *Gates of Paradise* (1425-52) reliefs. Yet, although she drew upon the past, she showed herself ready to accept modernist developments by her unapologetic use of contemporary costume and naturalistic features such as incised pupils in the eyes of her later portraits (see, for example, the reliefs of *Henry Erskine* (1879) and *Dean Stanley* (1882)). Her bust of *Lady Augusta Stanley* that was presented to the Dean by his friends was deemed "a singularly unconventional work" much praised by French critics at the Paris Exhibition (1878).<sup>51</sup> However, her oeuvre in general cannot be said to represent the cutting edge of nineteenth-century sculptural style.

Durant adopted particular aspects of the style of her sculpting master, Triqueti, who was "officially considered the leading Romantic sculptor" of the July Monarchy in France.<sup>52</sup> However, it is likely that her initial training in Rome is the major influence seen in some early examples of her oeuvre such as the medallion of *George Grote* (Ill. 11), the bust of *Harriet Beecher Stowe*, and the statue of the *Faithful Shepherdess*. These demonstrate a neoclassical handling of her subjects, but it is a softened classicism having more in common with Flaxman's lyrical line than with Thorwaldsen's severity. Consequently, there is no abrupt disjunction of form between her earlier sculpture and her mature work. Later pieces, such as the Albert Memorial portraits (1866-69), reflect Triqueti's influence in the use of polychrome marble inlay (*tarsia*) and attention to surface handling.

The medallions were not well-received by *The Times*, which flatly stated that "[w]e cannot congratulate Miss Durrant [*sic*] on having triumphed over the

difficulties of portraiture in relief in her series of the Royal Family (Ill. 12), excellent as the likenesses may be."<sup>53</sup> However, given the immense pressure to please the grieving Queen, who was deeply involved in the details of the commission, it is unwise to assume that the portraits were strictly representative of Durant's style and compositional skill.<sup>54</sup>

By contrast, and perhaps in response to criticism, her high relief portrait of Nina Lehmann (1871) (Ill. 13) more than triumphs over the constraints of the genre. Nina, a child of ten or eleven, is shown leaning out of an open casement; her abundant hair cascading over the window sill infuses the work with a dynamism completely lacking in the royal medallions. Tarsia work flowers in yellow and green follow the arch of the window frame above her head, culminating in an embedded orb of bright bluejohn stone. The purely decorative elements of the Windsor medallions are here utilized to present a fully integrated image.<sup>55</sup> This experiment in polychromy both borrowed from Triqueti's tarsia murals and anticipated later works of George Frampton and Alfred Gilbert (fl. 1884-c.1930), two exponents of the New Sculpture movement noted for their imaginative use of multi-coloured stone and mixed media. There are few examples of comparable work before 1871. Munro's high relief of Eva Butler with Live Dove (c. 1864), in which the wings of the bird overlap the green marble surrounding the white medallion, predates the Nina Lehmann by seven years but its use of colour is limited.<sup>56</sup> Durant's untimely death curtailed what appears to have been a promising contribution to a new direction in British sculpture.

As this brief discussion demonstrates, the work of the four female sculptors was representative of the broad stylistic cross-currents of their era.

Perhaps to spare themselves the type of attack Marcello came under they produced uncontroversial sculptures that were in step with the changing times. Later pieces by all four women exhibit experimentation with the naturalistic elements and, for Durant, polychromy that characterized the New Sculpture. Durant's work alone could be described as ground-breaking, although not unprecedented. From what is known of their work, either in the form of critical commentary or the actual objects themselves, it is safe to say that their historical marginalization was not a result of resistance to changing aesthetic values or disruptive avant-garde-ism.

If the women did not produce clumsy and inappropriate sculpture, why have they been forgotten? Returning to the Langs' study we read that although reputation "inevitably rests in some way or manner on the products that [artists] produce . . . this linkage . . . can be indirect and is certainly influenced by existing opportunities and prevailing taste, both of which are eminently social and have little to do with characteristics intrinsic to the art objects themselves."<sup>57</sup> Victorian taste in art was affected to a considerable extent by reviews in the periodical press. The frequently patronizing treatment meted out by the art critics, whether they were praising or condemning a particular piece, conveyed the message to the public that women sculptors could not hope to be better than second-rate artists precisely because they were female. Those writers who rejected this assumption had the difficult task of supplanting the gender conventions and preconceptions embedded in Victorian culture with a more egalitarian code.<sup>58</sup> Although the sculpting women achieved a certain amount of renown during their careers, it was primarily predicated on their exceptional professional

position rather than grounded in the art they produced. Thus, the tangible legacy they left behind was forgotten after the novelty of their existence faded. The recognition that they received from individual colleagues also proved evanescent because it was not acknowledged at an institutional level. An additional shroud of obscurity fell upon them in the form of the scholarly distaste for Victorian art that prevailed for nearly two thirds of the twentieth century.<sup>59</sup> Consequently, until recent times their sculpture did not occupy a place in the discourse of art history even though it can be found in the public spaces of British cities.

The present chapter has been concerned with the public perception of the female sculptors as mediated by members of the Victorian art world. In the next, we will consider public opinion as reflected in and shaped by the works of predominantly non-specialist writers. Literary portrayals of female sculptors and presentations by social commentators on the propriety of sculpting as a career for women comprise the primary resources to be examined. Thus, the focus will turn away from questions of artistic reputation (whether women could sculpt) to issues of social suitability (whether women should be encouraged to sculpt).



## ENDNOTES

1. Gladys Engel Lang and Kurt Lang, *Etched in Memory: The Building and Survival of Artistic Reputation* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1990), 11. The Langs' prosopographical study is based on a sample of 126 British and 160 American etchers divided equally by gender for each country. The artists were active between 1880 and 1940.
2. J.A.M. Whistler, *The Gentle Art of Making Enemies* (London: Heinemann, 1899); *The Complete Works of John Ruskin*, ed. E.T. Cook and Alexander Wedderburn, *Fors Clavigera* (London, George Allen, 1903-1912).
3. "Selected Pictures," *Art Journal* (1869), 184; "RA," *The Times*, 22 May 1866, 12; "Art Gossip," *Athenaeum*, 12 March 1859, 361-2; Gaze, *Dictionary of Women Artists*, s.v. "Carpenter, Margaret;" "RSA," *Glasgow Herald*, 10 August 1899, "Newspaper Cuttings Scrapbook 1889-1894," RSA Archive.
4. "Death of Mme Jerichau," *Athenaeum*, 16 July 1881, 88.
5. "Miss Mary Grant," *The Times*, 29 February 1908, 6; Ormond, *Early Victorian Portraits*, s.v. "Grant, Sir Francis;" "RA," *Athenaeum*, 1 May 1866, 673.
6. See for example: Hays, *Women of the Day*, s.v. "Mary Thornycroft;" *Men of the Time* (1856), s.v. "Thornycroft, Mary," in *British Biographical Archive*, entry 149-50, microfiche.
7. "Minor Topics," "Art in Scotland and the Provinces," *Art Journal* (1863, 1866), 210, 285.
8. *Dictionary of National Biography*, Second Supplement (London: Smith and Elder, 1912), s.v. "Dilke, Emilia Francis Strong," "Stephens, Frederic George;" Leslie A. Marchand, *The Athenaeum: A Mirror of Victorian Culture* (New York: Octagon, 1971), 51, 178, 212.
9. William Sharp, "The Royal Academy and the Salon," *National Review* 9 (March-August 1887), 515-16.
10. Cherry, *Painting Women*, 72; Orr, *Women in the Victorian Art World*, 109-118 passim.
11. "Let us Join the Ladies," *Punch*, 18 July 1857, 27. See also: "SFA," *Athenaeum*, 3 April 1858, 439; Emilia S.F. Pattison, "Art," *Westminster Review* 1 o.s. (April 1869),

597; Helland, *Professional Women Painters*, 50; "Lost by Emily Osborn," *Art Journal* (1870), 168; quoted in Marsh, *Women Artists and the Pre-Raphaelite Movement*, 79.

12. "Progress of American Sculptors in Europe," *Art Journal* (1871), 7.

13. "English Female Artists," *Athenaeum*, 22 July 1876, 119; "Shocking Incident in Real Life," "Difficulties of Art," "Varnishing Day at the Royal Academy," *Punch*, 24 September 1864, 126, 25 April 1874, 172, 19 May 1877, 226; Susan P. Casteras, "The Necessity of a Name," in *Gender and Discourse in Victorian Literature and Art*, ed. Anthony H. Harrison and Beverly Taylor (De Kalb, Illinois: Northern Illinois University Press, 1992), 214; Nunn, *Problem Pictures*, 18-19.

14. Anna Jameson, *Sisters of Charity and the Communion of Labour* (London: Longman, 1858); quoted in F.D. Maurice, "Female School of Art; Mrs. Jameson," *Macmillan's Magazine* 2 (July 1860), 234; F.T. Palgrave, "Women and the Fine Arts," *Macmillan's Magazine* 12 (June 1865), 119 and (July 1865), 220.

15. "Exhibitions: SFA," *The Rose, the Shamrock and the Thistle: A Journal for the Fair Daughters of Great Britain and Ireland* 1 (May-October 1862), 65.

16. Best, *Mid-Victorian Britain*, 245-49 passim; Asa Briggs, "The Later Victorian Age," in *The Cambridge Cultural History* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992), vol. 7, *Victorian Britain*, ed. Boris Ford, 30; Briggs, *Victorian Things*, 324-25.

17. Samuel Carter Hall, *Retrospect of a Long Life from 1815 to 1883*, 2 vol. (London: Richard Bentley and Son, 1883), I:343, 347; S.C. Hall, *A Book of Memories of Great Men and Women of the Age, From Personal Acquaintance*, 3d ed. (London: J.S. Virtue and Co., n.d.), 463; Marsh, *Women Artists and the Pre-Raphaelite Movement*, 29.

18. Banks, *Faces of Feminism*, 34; Judith Johnston, *Anna Jameson: Victorian, Feminist, Woman of Letters* (Aldershot: Scolar, 1997), 232; "Passing Events: Social, Industrial and Artistic," *Englishwoman's Journal*, 1 May 1863, 216.

19. Nicola Diane Thompson, *Reviewing Sex: Gender and the Reception of Victorian Novels* (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1996), 122; Adele M. Holcombe, "Anna Jameson: The First Professional Art Historian," *Art History* 6 (June 1983), 174; Marchand, *The Athenaeum*, 78, 80-81, 167.

20. Thompson, *Reviewing Sex*, 122; Hamo's Journal, 7 July 1874, J(a)185; "Ideal

Women," *Saturday Review* 25 (1868), 609-10.

21. George Sampson, *The Concise Cambridge History of English Literature*, 3d ed. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1982), 692; "The Art Journal for 1883," *Spectator* (1884), 55-56.

22. Marchand, *The Athenaeum*, 91 n. 238; 178, 212, 226, 340; *Dictionary of National Biography*, Second Supplement, s.v. "Stephens, Frederick George;" Timothy Hilton, *The Pre-Raphaelites* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1970; repr. 1989), 11.

23. Nunn, "Critically Speaking" in *Women in the Victorian Art World*, ed. Orr, 115-16; *Dictionary of National Biography*, Second Supplement, s.v. "Dilke, Emilia Francis Strong;" Emilia F.S. Pattison, "Art," *Westminster Review* 91 o.s. (April 1869), 597-98; Cherry, *Painting Women*, 57, 72.

24. Levine, *Feminist Lives*, 96, 103; Cherry, *Painting Women*, 57, 68; C.S. Nicholls, *Dictionary of National Biography: Missing Persons* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1993), s.v. "Miller, Florence Fenwick." For a description of Miller's "Ladies' Column" see Cherry, 241 n 34.

25. "RA," *Athenaeum*, 31 May 1856, 687; *The Art Student* 1 (February 1864), 13; "The Skipping Rope. from the Statue by Mrs. Thornycroft," *Art Journal* (1861), 125.

26. "RA," *Athenaeum*, 1 June 1867, 733.

27. "RA," *Athenaeum*, 20 June 1857, 795; "Mrs. Beecher Stowe--Bust in Marble," *Illustrated London News*, 18 July 1857, 53; "RA," *Art Journal* (1857), 176; Mary Beecher Perkins to Isabella Beecher Hooker, 12-16 November [1856], Typescript, Stowe-Day Library Collections, Hartford, Connecticut; Annie Fields, *Life and Letters of Harriet Beecher Stowe* (Boston: Houghton, Mifflin and Co., 1897), 206-207.

28. "Fine Arts Gossip," *Athenaeum*, 27 February 1858, 280-81.

29. "Fine Art Gossip," *Athenaeum*, 19 April, 1862, 535. Until very recently, the identity of the portrait of the Hardwicke son was forgotten. The full description in the *Athenaeum* enabled me to determine with certainty who the sitter was and what date it had been completed. All that was known previously about the statue was that it had been executed by Mary Thornycroft whose signature along with an unclear date are incised in the stone.

30. "St. Margaret and the Dragon," "Paris Exhibition," *Art Journal* (1881, 1879), 284,

106.

31. "Marcello'," *Athenaeum*, 2 August 1879, 153.

32. Janson, *Nineteenth-Century Sculpture*, 150.

33. "Gossip," *Athenaeum*, 19 May, 1866, 673. For another rabid denunciation of Marcello's work see: "Paris Salon," *Athenaeum*, 25 June 1870, 844.

34. "RSA," "RA," *Art Journal* (1867), 122, 146; "RSA," *Scotsman*, 21 March 1867, 5; "RA," *Saturday Review* 37 (1874), 811; "RSA," *Edinburgh Evening Courant*, 27 February 1874, 6.

35. Helen E. Smailes, "Thomas Campbell and Laurence Macdonald: the Roman Solution to the Scottish Sculptor's Dilemma," Fiona Pearson, "Sir John Steell and the Idea of a Native School of Sculpture," Robin Lee Woodward, "Nineteenth-Century Sculpture in Glasgow," in *Virtue and Vision: Sculpture and Scotland 1540-1990*, ed. Fiona Pearson (Edinburgh: National Galleries of Scotland, 1991), 65, 73, 91; "RSA," *Edinburgh Evening Courant*, 12 February 1870, 5; "RSA," *Art Journal* (1865, 1867), 113, 122; "RSA," *Scotsman*, 24 April 1869, 7.

36. "The Statue of Dr. Livingstone," *Glasgow Herald*, 8 June, 1875, 3; "Unveiling of the Livingstone Statue," *Scotsman*, 16 August 1876, 5; "Art in Scotland, Ireland, and the Provinces," *Art Journal* (1869), 19.

37. F.T. Palgrave, "The Royal Academy," *Essays on Art* (London: Macmillan, 1866); quoted in Nunn, *Problem Pictures*, 145; "SFA," *Athenaeum*, 25 April 1863, 560.

38. Sara M. Dodd, "Art Education for Women in the 1860s," in *Women in the Victorian Art World*, ed. Orr, 188. See, for example, "RA," *Athenaeum*, 21 June 1884, 800; 27 June 1885, 829; 3 July 1886, 24; 24 May 1890, 681. Nunn, "Critically Speaking," 118.

39. Thompson, *Reviewing Sex*, 5-6.

40. "RA," "Fine Art Gossip," "Sir Joseph Noel Paton," *Athenaeum*, 18 May 1850, 617; 27 February 1858; 29 May 1869, 739; 4 January 1900, 25.

41. McEwan, *Dictionary of Scottish Art*, s.v. "Grant, Mary."

42. Tooley, "Interview," 361-367; Gifford, *The Patons of Dunfermline*; "Miss Mary Grant," *Ladies' Field*, 248-9; Clement, *Women in the Fine Arts*, s.v. "Grant, Mary,"

"Thornycroft, Mary;" *Men of the Time*, s.v. "Thornycroft, Mary;" Hall, *The Gallery of Modern Sculpture*; M.H. Spielmann, *British Sculpture and Sculptors of To-Day* (London: Cassell and Co., 1901), 161-2. For obituaries see: *Art Journal*, *Art Magazine*, *Englishwomen's Review*, *Illustrated London News*, *Lady's Pictorial*, *Queen*, *Spectator*, and *The Times* for the appropriate dates.

43. Amelia Paton Hill to Angela, 26 October 1887, NLS MS 10291 f. 143; "Album of Photographs," invoice number PH.555-1885 pressmark MX8 X21, V&A.

44. "RA Exhibition: Portraits of Ladies," *Queen*, 5 July 1862, 355; Hamo's Journal, 10 March 1890, J(5)26, HMI.

45. "RSA," *Scotsman*, 24 April 1869, 7; Copeland, "Diary Transcription," January 1876, 12.

46. "Mrs. Thornycroft," *The Times*, 4 February 1895, 6; "Mrs. Mary Thornycroft," *Spectator*, 263; McCracken, "Sculptor Mary Thornycroft," 7.

47. Stephens, "The Late Mrs. Thornycroft," 306; J. Beavington Atkinson, "International Exhibition," *Art Journal* (1862), 229.

48. "RSA," *Scotsman*, 21 March 1867, 5; "RSA," *Art Journal* (1873), 102.

49. "RSA," *Edinburgh Evening Courant*, 6 May 1872, 7; "RSA," *Art Journal* (1872), 112;

50. Gaze, *Dictionary of Women Artists*, s.v. "Grant, Mary," by Smailes; Pearson, "Sir John Steell and the Idea of a Native School of Sculpture," 73.

51. "Miss Mary Grant," *Ladies' Field*, 249.

52. J.P. Ribner, "Henri de Triqueti, Auguste Préault, and the Glorification of Law Under the July Monarchy," *Art Bulletin* 70 (September 1988), 498 n. 57.

53. "RA Exhibition," *The Times*, 24 May 1866, 12; "RA Exhibition," *Art Journal* (1866), 172.

54. Elisabeth Darby and Nicola Smith, *The Cult of the Prince Consort* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1983), 32-35 passim. Durant was temporarily unnerved at the constant relocation of her work at the palace and a tinge superstitious, as well. "The first day was Friday, rather ominous for beginning a portrait [of the Queen] the success of which is so important to me." Susan Durant, *Short Diary*, 10 and 27

November 1865, RA Vic Add X2/37; Susan Durant to George Durant, January 1866, X2/54;

55. For a useful discussion of polychrome sculpture see The Fine Art Society, Gibson to Gilbert: British Sculpture 1840-1914 (London: Fine Art Society, 1992).

56. The Fine Art Society, Gibson to Gilbert: British Sculpture 1840-1914 (London: Fine Art Society, 1992), 4; Read, Pre-Raphaelite Sculpture, 127; André Michel, "Paris Salons," Athenaeum, 20 January 1896, 816.

57. Lang, Etched in Memory, xii.

58. Thompson, Reviewing Sex, 1.

59. For a full treatment of this problem see the introductory chapter in Read, Victorian Sculpture.

CHAPTER 6  
HOYDENS OR HEROINES?  
LITERARY PORTRAYALS OF FEMALE SCULPTORS

As female sculptors represented a tiny fraction of the middle-class population of Victorian Britain, it is remarkable that they figured with some frequency in an array of literary works across the century. They were presented in various guises, reflecting the differing purposes of the writers who invoked them and the changing social concerns of the period. Although much that was written about them was intended to shape public opinion, in order to succeed it also had to resonate with readers' assumptions or concerns. Likewise, the *mise-en-scène* and motives of fictional characters had to be sufficiently recognizable and appealing to convince ordinary readers to purchase the next instalment of the novel. Thus, how the sculpting women were portrayed in a selection of works drawn from such disparate genres as polemical essays, poetry, novels, and magazines for girls and women can provide us with clues about the reading public's perceptions of them.

Were the women who pursued this unlikely career seen to be hoydens or heroines? Were they labelled as rebels, aberrations, dreamers, serious cultural producers, exemplars, or some combination of these categories? This chapter will address these questions by looking at relevant examples from three kinds of literature: the debate on women's employment, fiction, and advice literature.

Attention will be given to variations in the representation of female sculptors over time, in relation to particular social concerns, and as reflective of individual authors' agendas.

### THE DEBATE ON WOMEN'S EMPLOYMENT

Kindled in 1851 by census figures showing an imbalance between the number of men and women of marriageable age (see chapter 3), the debate over suitable employment for middle-class women was waged in the periodical press with particular fervour from the 1850s through the 1870s. Partly due to its genteel associations and partly because it was a growth industry, art was frequently proposed as an acceptable means of earning an income. However, just what was meant by art varied widely, subsuming everything from the industrial arts of china painting, colouring stereoscopic drawings, and wood engraving to the fine arts of oil and water colour painting and sculpture.<sup>1</sup> While most articles that urged careers in art enumerated drawing and painting along with various branches of handicraft, sculpting was often omitted. Some publications, such as the *Magazine of Art*, further narrowed the field by declaring women innately unsuited to the fine arts, steering them instead to work in the decorative industries.<sup>2</sup>

Those writers who nominated sculpting as a viable occupation tended to hold somewhat unorthodox views on women's capabilities and rightful status. Ernst Guhl's preliminary volume on women artists, which received extensive comment in the *Westminster Review* (1858), challenged conventional assumptions that women were second-rate artists by nature, citing the successes



of sculptors Sabina von Steinbach and Elisabetta Sirani as evidence to the contrary. To this list the reviewer added A.S. Damer as the British equivalent. Each of these women was commended as an exemplar of both artistic achievement and domestic virtue; indeed, Steinbach's work was said to embody "all that is beautiful and superhuman in the sculpture of the Middle-Ages." The review concluded that Guhl approved "[t]he serious and sustained cultivation of [painting and sculpting] by woman . . . as one of the most promising indications of the present age. . . . [and rejoiced] that the sphere of her activity is enlarged and enlarging."<sup>3</sup>

A paper presented by one Dr. Zerffi to the Victoria Discussion Society championed women's induction into the sculpting profession even if genius normally eluded them.<sup>4</sup> The usual catalogue of female predecessors was augmented by the sculpting performances of Princesses Marie d'Orléans and Louise of Britain, and the superlative Harriet Hosmer. In addition to obtaining satisfying employment, Zerffi averred that female recruits to the visual arts would infuse the languishing British school with renewed vigour, spurring their male counterparts to produce better work. Emily Faithfull's report on the presentation tempered the doctor's high-flown rhetoric with the observation that given better training and release from domestic duties women would exhibit genius as well. The *Victoria Magazine* and the eponymous discussion society were founded by women's rights activists devoted to the promotion of women's employment.

Another well-known feminist, Frances Power Cobbe, wrote an extensive apologia for female sculptors in her article "What Shall We Do With Our Old

Maids?" (1862). Desiring to lay to rest the prevalent assumption that women did not possess "any creative artistic power," Cobbe proposed the practice of sculpting as "the sharpest test to which the question of woman's genius can be put." She presented it as the ultimate form of creative expression, being analogous to the work of the Divine Creator who moulded human beings out of clay. Therefore, if women were found to be capable of achieving the high standard of "both creative power and scientific skill" demanded by the plastic art they could truly claim to be artists. As evidence that this indeed was possible Cobbe paid homage to the Joan of Arc by Marie d'Orléans and Hosmer's Zenobia. She also confronted the stereotype that would confine women's sculpture to insipid "feminine" forms and subjects, likening it to the Chinese practice of foot-binding, and appealed for an enlightened recognition that strength could have a womanly dimension. Cobbe's portrayal of female sculptors rejected the image of the delicate domestic angel and replaced it with a robustly creative figure exhibiting "all the charms of youthful womanhood" and the divine spark of genius.<sup>5</sup> Undoubtedly her close companionship with amateur sculptor Mary Lloyd and her friendships with Hosmer and Durant informed this representation.

Bessie Rayner Parkes's volume of Essays on Woman's Work (1865) attributed the paucity of female sculptors to the difficulties posed by "cumbrous" materials and the rarity of opportunities. As if obsessed by numbers, she devoted little space to praising those who had attained professional success, naming Durant, Hosmer, Thornycroft and Fauveau simply to illustrate how small was their company. Her greatest concern was that the sculptors and

painters did their utmost to achieve "that recognized position which is necessary . . . if they are to stimulate others and to clear a new and beautiful field of labour for women."<sup>6</sup> Thus, it was primarily as pioneering role models that Parkes depicted the female sculptors.

A recurring theme among these articles is the question of genius. Conventional wisdom decreed that men possessed the creative impulse and women provided the inspiration for that creativity. Only in exceptional cases were women endowed with the masculine ability. This issue was hotly contested in the art world not solely because genius was the hallmark of the great sculptor or painter but because it was that which dignified fine art above artisanal labour or dilettantism. Serious female artists were anxious to avoid both of the latter designations. The writers discussed here represent a partial selection of the range of opinion on the subject. Zerffi, though cordial to women artists, was unable to ascribe artistic genius to them. Guhl reserved judgement on the question until all the advantages afforded men were granted to women artists. Cobbe and Faithfull maintained that it was not due to any inherent lack that women seldom achieved artistic greatness but rather because their opportunities were limited.

Whatever position they occupied on the issue of creative endowment, the writers in this sample saw sculpting as a viable career option for middle-class spinsters. Cobbe alone addressed the potential concern that by becoming professional sculptors young women would compromise their femininity. Her answer was to expand the definition of womanliness to encompass the strength and imagination required to excel at the "noblest of the arts."<sup>7</sup>

## FICTION

While the debates carried in the periodical press had a considerable influence on the more educated sectors of society, it was to fiction that the majority of the populace turned for exploration of and commentary on contemporary social issues. A further understanding of how the female sculptors were perceived can be gained by looking at how they were represented in popular fiction. The materials to be considered in this section are all works of the imagination: one is a poem, another a play and the remainder are novels.

An important question to ask before engaging in a discussion of individual works is whether imaginative literature bore much resemblance to the social realities of the period. Victorian sources indicate that by the middle of the century most novels were set in the present day and dealt with an array of current concerns. Writing in 1862, P.G. Hamerton noted that "by their love of truth our novelists are driven to register the manners of their own time. . . . [making] it possible for our descendants to live over again in the England . . . of today."<sup>8</sup> Three years earlier David Masson remarked on the emergence of a new sub-genre, the "Novel of Purpose," which explored such timely topics as:

Chartism, Socialism, etc. in the sphere of secular politics, and Anglo-Catholicism, Evangelicism [sic], Broad Church, etc. in the sphere of ecclesiastical opinion; we have also had novels in which the doctrines distinguished by these and other names have been either inculcated, or satirized and reprobated, separately or jointly . . . Christian Socialist novels, Temperance novels, Women's Rights novels, etc."<sup>9</sup>

More recently, Richard Altick has demonstrated cogently how the Victorian mentalité was manifest in novels through the use of what he terms "topicalities," that is references to events, places, people, and objects that were present in the public consciousness. He argues that because novels were first published in serial form authors could incorporate current events as they arose, expunging those that had waned in importance at the time of publication as a volume. Novels were not only extremely topical, many also had a quasi-documentary tone due to their inclusion of factual information gleaned from various sources such as the Parliamentary blue-books.<sup>10</sup>

Imaginative literature served as a vehicle for confronting and accommodating the massive changes that occurred throughout the century.<sup>11</sup> As the quote from Masson indicates, nearly every social and political development in the Victorian era became fodder for fiction writers who chose to satirize, condemn, or commend certain attitudes and/or courses of action for the instruction and entertainment of their readers. Several types of novel, reflecting particular issues, came into being and various themes, which cut across those issues, emerged. Most of the works featuring female sculptors addressed the multifaceted issue of the changing role of women and participated in the broader theme of the artist as hero/heroine. Therefore, how these women were portrayed depended upon an interaction between the particular social circumstances at the time of writing, the cultural myths pertaining to both artists and womanhood, and the author's purposes and personal convictions.

Preparatory to an examination of specific works, it will be helpful to consider briefly the figure of the artist in Victorian fiction. Bo Jeffares presents

the case that "an artist, such as a painter or sculptor, was an extremely popular figure in nineteenth-century fiction." As an embodiment of the romantic myth of the suffering genius and/or Bohemian outcast the artist provided a refreshing contrast to the stultifying regimentation and utilitarian ethos of the industrial age; the feminine version of the artist represented radical independence from domesticity. Yet these heroes/heroines were not merely the products of romantic imagination. Jeffares posits a strong link between the fictional artist and real life asserting that various writers were either themselves *artistes manqués* or admiring acquaintances of painters or sculptors. This was certainly the case with the creators of roughly half of the fiction involving female sculptors. Veristic details, such as art historical references, descriptions of studio life, and the commingling of the names of actual artists with those of the fictive characters invested their portrayals with a sense of authenticity.<sup>12</sup> Not surprisingly, most of the literature featuring women artists was meant not only to entertain but also to serve a didactic purpose.

Certain distinctions are notable between the depictions of female artists and their male counterparts. As in life, fictional women's artistic efforts were often restricted to socially approved media, such as water colour painting, and hampered by technical insufficiency or conflicting demands upon their time. Grace Stewart's work on the mythological underpinnings of the figure of the artist as heroine identifies a fundamental difference between the traditions that apply to the male artist and those of the female. Whereas experientially mediated self-fulfilment or preoccupied solitariness characterize the male artist, these traditions are in direct conflict with the conception of woman as a social

being engaged in service to others. Consequently, a fictional female painter or sculptor is ultimately forced to choose between being a selfless (maternal) heroine or an unfettered self-expressive artist.<sup>13</sup>

In her study of women working in industry and the professions between 1832 and 1850, Wanda Fraiken Neff claims that novelists did not make any of their heroines artists. Although there are a few examples to the contrary--women earn their income by painting in Anne Brontë's *Tenant of Wildfell Hall* (1848) and Dinah Mulock Craik's *Olive* (1850)--it was not until after mid-century that the figure of the female artist became more prevalent in literature.<sup>14</sup> Sculpting women appeared as early as 1828, in Felicia Hemans's poem "Properzia Rossi," but this seems to be an isolated example not to be duplicated until 1856 with the publication of *Callista* by John Henry Newman. The remaining decades of the century were each marked by one work with a female sculptor at its centre, excepting the 1870s when the number rose dramatically to four or five.<sup>15</sup> This publishing pattern generally coincides with the debate on women's employment and, more significantly, peaks in the decade following the women's petition to the Royal Academicians (1859) and the admission of female students to the RA Schools (1861). It is also noteworthy that during the 1850s and 1860s Durant and Thornycroft figured prominently in major art publications, such as the *Art Journal* and S.C. Hall's *The Gallery of Modern Sculpture* (1854), which highlighted their work for the Queen and other successes. In combination these circumstances likely inspired authors to create sculpting heroines.

While the works selected for evaluation probably do not comprise an exhaustive list of Victorian fiction involving female sculptors, they do represent a

range of differing viewpoints. Most are the lesser-known products of successful authors, some of whom continue to be read today. We will consider how the sculptor in each piece was portrayed, how that representation related to current social circumstances and the personal agendas of the author, and how the work was received. They will be assessed in roughly chronological order of publication.

Although Felicia Hemans died in 1835, her works were reprinted and continued to be read up to the end of the century. "Properzia Rossi," a poem based on a legendary event in the life of the successful sixteenth-century Bolognese sculptor, appeared in a collection entitled The Records of Woman which was said to "illustrate the depths of woman's heroism, constancy, and tenderness."<sup>16</sup> Prefaced by an explanation that the sculptor "died in consequence of an unrequited attachment," it recounts Rossi's last futile attempt to kindle the affection of the man she adored by sculpting an exquisite marble relief of the love-lorn Ariadne to speak on her behalf. Sadly she realizes that this mute supplicant has no power to persuade and she laments her vain decision to cultivate her "soul's lofty gifts" of artistic genius in pursuit of the "worthless fame! / That in his bosom wins not for my name / the abiding place it asked!"<sup>17</sup>

Fame and happiness form the primary pair in a series of interlocking contrasts--dream and reality, prideful independence and matrimonial cooperation, creative genius and childbearing--which are woven throughout the five stanzas of highly sentimentalized verse. Rossi vacillates between the opposing choices, even briefly entertaining the hope that she can strike a compromise.<sup>18</sup> Allusions to the biblical accounts of the creation of woman and



the fall are employed to convey her rebellion against the ordained order. Deluded by her creative imagination into believing that she might win her beloved with a marble image she exclaims "I shall not perish all!" echoing the words of the serpent in Genesis, "You will not surely die!" Yet when she confronts the sterile form to which her chisel has given birth she wails "But I have been/Too much alone!" acknowledging the validity of the statement, "It is not good for the man to be alone," which directly anticipates the creation of Eve.<sup>19</sup> The sculptor is made to warn readers that artistic aspirations are but a "wild fitful song," a maverick impulse that cannot satisfy the in-built longing for a husband and a home--the lack of which hastens Rossi to her death.<sup>20</sup>

Such admonitions notwithstanding, Hemans appears to have been fascinated by the figure of the highly successful female artist. In a tribute poem, "Corinne at the Capital," she applauds the superlative talents of Mme de Staël's heroine yet judges her to be flawed because she too privileged fame over humble domesticity.<sup>21</sup> There is some indication that these pieces evinced the poet's own struggle with the conflicting attractions and demands of professional and domestic life as she supported herself and five sons following the failure of her marriage. She was reported to say that there was "more of herself to be found" in "Properzia Rossi" than in her preceding works.<sup>22</sup> However, rather than encouraging her readers to make their own accommodations between home and career, she portrayed the life of a sculptor as antithetical to domestic happiness.

Records of Woman received some positive reviews during the poet's lifetime and even long after her death. When first published it was praised by Francis Jeffrey of the Liberal-identified Edinburgh Review. In 1847 George

Gilfillan of Tait's Edinburgh Magazine declared that "[t]he genius of Mrs. Hemans was as pure and feminine in its impulses as in its outpourings . . . . Sympathy, not fame, was the desire of her being." By contrast, Cobbe and Palgrave had little taste for her work in general, respectively characterizing it as "stamped with the . . . impress of feebleness and prettiness" and floridly sentimental.<sup>23</sup>

John Henry Newman's historical novel, Callista: A Tale of the Third Century (1856), was begun three years after his induction into the Church of Rome (1845) but was not completed until 1856 when it was published anonymously. Set in Africa under Roman Imperial rule, the story traces the conversion to Christianity of a young Greek woman who worked alongside her brother "carving, painting or gilding the [cultic images required by] the established religion."<sup>24</sup> Newman invested his heroine with impressive qualities. In addition to possessing artistic skills Callista was "a literate or blue-stocking. She had never indeed worn the philosophic pallium . . . but there was no reason why she should not do so. [She was known as] a lady of singular genius and attainments."<sup>25</sup> Such brilliance was too wonderful to last. Having embraced the Christian faith, the image-maker refused to worship her handiwork and was executed by the Romans. The narrative concludes on a triumphal note: "A Greek had come to Africa to embellish the shrines of heathenism, to minister to the usurpation of the evil one, and to strengthen the old ties which connected genius with sin; and she had suddenly found salvation."<sup>26</sup>

Newman's intended audience were the Roman Catholic residents of the United Kingdom. In the person of Callista, his readers encounter a heroine who

is both thoroughly Other and possessed of admirable qualities. She is a sojourner in a foreign land which is itself occupied by an alien power. As a sculptor and a woman of superior intellect and education she is exceptional.<sup>27</sup> Whilst wise in philosophy she lacks spiritual light and lives under the thrall of a state religion. Although no direct correspondence with the character is possible, Catholic readers would have found much with which to identify in her circumstances.

Newman's decision to make his image-maker female may have hinged upon the sense of role incompatibility it would conjure up in the readers' minds, rendering her a more exotic figure. However, it is not the propriety of Callista's sculpting career, per se, that is at issue. Rather, it is her occupational contravention of the biblical injunction against the making and worshipping of idols that is problematic.<sup>28</sup> She is a pagan seeker after truth, an individual increasingly at odds with the religion that she serves through her work and her cultic activity but equally uneasy with the claims of the new faith to which she is exposed. Ian Ker's biography of Newman remarks the parallels between Callista's conversion and Newman's adoption of Roman Catholicism.<sup>29</sup>

It is noteworthy that Newman endowed a heroine with some of his own experiences. In so doing, he perhaps gave tacit expression to his positive regard for women's capacities and rights. Elsewhere he voiced his support more directly. While still a Protestant he spoke out against "the scoffing spirit in which [his denomination] . . . set itself against institutions [religious orders] which give dignity and independence to the position of women in society." He opposed the double standard that admitted only "virtuous women" to membership of the

Tamworth Reading-room "while bad men are admitted" without scruple. In 1884 he remarked, "It is one of the best points of this unhappy age, that it has made so many openings for the activity of women."<sup>30</sup>

Although the novel was positively received, Newman was disappointed with the treatment it got from its intended audience. He had conceived it as "an attempt to imagine and express from a Catholic point of view, the feelings and mutual relations of Christians and heathens at the period to which it belongs." Some years after its publication he commented, "I don't think Catholics have ever done justice to the book; they read it as a mere story book--and I think Protestants are more likely to gain something from it."<sup>31</sup>

The Marble Faun or the Romance of Monte Beni (1860) by Nathaniel Hawthorne does not have a sculpting heroine.<sup>32</sup> However, the two female painters (Hilda and Miriam) in this gothic romance were inspired by sculptors Harriet Hosmer and Louisa Lander, both of whom Hawthorne met during the year he spent in Rome as part of a sizeable expatriate community of writers and artists. Direct and oblique references to the female sculptors may be found throughout the book. Both of the painters, the male sculptor (Kenyon), and even the so-called faun (a hybrid creature not unlike Hawthorne's estimate of Hosmer) exhibit elements of the lives of these women.<sup>33</sup> Hosmer is identified in the preface as the originator of the "noble statue of Zenobia" which Hawthorne would have appropriated for the oeuvre of his hero "were he capable of stealing from a lady."<sup>34</sup> There is a complimentary reference to "Harriet Hosmer's clasped hands of Browning and his wife" and an allusion to her figure of Beatrice Cenci (1856) in the text.<sup>35</sup>

Lander is nowhere named, having been accused of improper behaviour and ostracized from expatriate society sometime after Hawthorne's sittings for a portrait bust in 1858. However, the description of Kenyon's studio is based upon the author's observation of Lander's work space. More remarkably, his initial impression of her was transposed from his notebook onto the character of Hilda, the American copyist of Old Master paintings. Lander was described as "living in almost perfect independence . . . yet acting with quietness and simplicity, and keeping . . . within a homely line of right."<sup>36</sup> Hawthorne further idealized Hilda and approved her occupational emancipation for others provided they adopted a like demeanour. Thus she became

an example of the freedom of life which it is possible for a female artist to enjoy at Rome. She dwelt . . . all alone, perfectly independent . . . doing what she liked, without a suspicion or a shadow upon the snowy whiteness of her fame. The customs of artist-life bestow such liberty upon the sex, which is elsewhere restricted within so much narrower limits; and it is perhaps an indication that whenever we admit woman to a wider scope of pursuits and professions, we must also remove the shackles of our present rules, which would then become an insufficient restraint on either maid or wife. The system seems to work unexceptionably in Rome; and in many other cases as in Hilda's, purity of heart and life are allowed to assert themselves, and to be their proof and security.<sup>37</sup>

The passage also appears to echo Elizabeth Barrett Browning's remark that Hosmer "emancipates the eccentric life of a perfectly 'emancipated female' from all shadow of blame by the purity of her's," although there is a hint of unease in Hawthorne's words.<sup>38</sup> Hilda's pellucid nature is contrasted with that of Miriam, a tempestuous painter of original works, who bears a mysterious similarity to a portrait of Beatrice Cenci, attributed to Guido Reni, which Hosmer drew upon

for her sculpture of the same name.<sup>39</sup>

Given Hawthorne's use of Hosmer and Lander as sources for his characters why did he not create a sculpting heroine? A clue may be found in his depictions of Hilda and Miriam. Despite his apparently enlightened comments on the admission of women to a "wider scope of pursuits and professions," he is loath to meddle with the "conventional rules." His description of Miriam in her studio emphasizes domesticity over emancipation. "The artist was not just then at her easel, but was busy with the feminine task of mending a pair of gloves. There is something extremely pleasant . . . in this peculiarity of needlework, distinguishing women from men . . . however gifted with intellect or genius."<sup>40</sup> Although he was fascinated with the sculpting women he had met, there was a tinge of danger in their lack of "household ties." Moreover, he believed that sculpting attracted greater public attention than painting. For Hawthorne it was more satisfying to portray them as painters--an occupation that was more easily associated with genteel domesticity.<sup>41</sup>

Indeed, for all his talk of emancipated womanhood, Hawthorne was deeply ambivalent about professional women. In a churlish note to his publisher he condemned "all women authors [as] feeble and tiresome."<sup>42</sup> As an author, he undercut the professional opportunities of his heroines. Hilda's vaunted freedom was largely illusory; as a copyist she occupied the most subservient status among artists, producing creditable likenesses of other people's work but never venturing to paint an original composition. Likewise, the passionate creativity of Miriam was curtailed when she became implicated in the murder of a deranged model who had been stalking her.

How aware was the reading public that the heroines of the Romance were based on female sculptors? Certainly the close-knit expatriate community would have learned from Hawthorne himself. From there the information would have spread by word-of-mouth to contacts at home. Although Lander was relatively unknown outside of Rome, Hosmer's name was readily recognized in Britain where her Beatrice Cenci had been advantageously displayed at the RA four years earlier.<sup>43</sup> Those readers who did not find out via gossip would have deduced her influence from the overt references to her in the novel. A letter from A.H. Layard to Hosmer demonstrates the type of speculation engaged in by readers.

I have been recently reading [The Marble Faun]. . . [and] of course concluded that you were the heroine [Miriam],--but I cannot believe that you ever threw a gentleman over the Tarpeian Rock! . . . as to the other lady, I could not fancy you with doves and a pet Madonna,--so I gave up all attempts at further identification.<sup>44</sup>

The critical reception of the novel was mixed. Ralph Waldo Emerson declared it "mere mush," while The Times gave it the dubious distinction of being "worth all the guide-books we ever met." Nonetheless, in the first year, alone, it sold more copies than did any of his other novels during his lifetime. Many readers adopted it as a guide to the sights of Rome prompting publishers to produce special illustrated editions for travellers, presumably including the addresses of actual artists' studios.<sup>45</sup> The women sculptors had widely differing responses. Hosmer, who was not impressed with Hawthorne's art criticism, did enjoy the novel for its depictions of Italy for "perfection of writing, beauty of thought, and for the perfect combination of nature, art and poetry" although she

found the plot very weak. Anne Whitney, an avowedly feminist sculptor, told a friend that she was "trying hard to read" The Marble Faun which she found to be a "detestable book."<sup>46</sup>

Louisa May Alcott was an energetic proponent of certain of the women's rights movements that took shape in the 1860s. In her novels she especially asserted the right of women from the middle classes to enter into paid employment as a means of achieving financial independence and helping others. Two of her works, An Old-Fashioned Girl (1870) and an unfinished, untitled novella about two artists, Diana and Persis (1879), give a glimpse into the lives of female sculptors.<sup>47</sup>

In the first of these stories Alcott compares the lives of Polly, an impoverished but cheerful young gentlewoman who supports herself by giving piano lessons, and her friend Fanny, the jaded daughter of a wealthy family. The earnest Polly contrives to rescue Fanny from her ennui by introducing her to an array of women whose vibrant devotion to their work and each other irresistibly convinces her to broaden her horizons. One of these compelling individuals is a female sculptor (Rebecca) whom they encounter at work on a "great clay figure" representing the artist's "idea of the coming woman." The ensuing discussion about the attributes of such a figure raises and dispatches most of the standard arguments used against women's emancipation and interposes the blend of domestic virtue and robust self-reliance that Alcott advocated in Little Women (1869). The needle, pen, palette, broom and ballot-box to be arrayed at the statue's feet are clear indications of the author's vision for women.<sup>48</sup>

Rebecca herself is endowed with the "strong-minded, strong-hearted,



strong-souled, and strong-bodied" autonomy that Alcott promoted to her young female readers. Although her published diaries and letters make no mention of Harriet Hosmer, there is a distinct resemblance between the "strong face, keen eyes, [and] short curly hair" of the fictive sculptor and photographs of Hosmer. The clay figure may also be a reference to her *Zenobia* which was displayed in Boston and several other American cities in 1864. Nathaniel Parker Willis's comment that the statue was a foreshadowing of the ideal woman of the future comes close to the words uttered by Alcott's character.<sup>49</sup> Rebecca's rejection of a suggestion to make her model a queen, because "the kingdom given them isn't worth ruling," likely referred to Ruskin's poem, "Of Queen's Gardens" (1865), but also might allude to the Queen of Palmyra's shackles. Whether the sculptor and the author ever met, either in Europe during Alcott's tour of 1865-66 or in their native Massachusetts, their shared interest in women's work and women's suffrage would have rendered Hosmer a logical source of inspiration for the figure of Rebecca.<sup>50</sup>

The story of Diana and Persis has a similarly polemical purpose. Based on Alcott's sister May's experiences as an art student, it gives a snapshot of the difficulties faced by a sculptor (Diana) and painter (Persis) trying to pursue careers in Paris. Their frustrations with prejudicial treatment due to their gender, and their anxieties about the potential effect of marriage and motherhood on their careers are the central features of the narrative. Even in the relatively tolerant Parisian art world, the women encounter bars to their education, unhelpful criticism of their works, and condescension from their male counterparts.<sup>51</sup>

The "marble-hearted" Diana acts as a foil to the effusive Persis cautioning her friend not to abandon her love of painting in favour of matrimony. This warning was sadly prescient. May Alcott Nieriker died just seven weeks after the birth of her first child. While the cause of death (cerebrospinal meningitis) was not directly related to the delivery, family members interpreted it as a consequence of maternity.<sup>52</sup> The story was never published but Alcott's recurrent use of female sculptors in her work is suggestive. Perhaps they most readily distilled the elements of artistic creativity, independence and industriousness that Alcott admired. Hosmer was her inspiration again, as evidenced by the attribution of Puck to Diana's oeuvre.

An Old-Fashioned Girl was hugely successful, selling over 40,000 copies in the first eighteen months. Alcott was gratified to hear from friends abroad that her "books [were] found every where, especially every railway book stall in England."<sup>53</sup> The unpretentious charm with which she invested her heroines permitted her to advocate new roles for women without incurring disapproval. A reviewer in The Graphic gave favourable mention to Little Women and An Old-Fashioned Girl noting that her "characters were more commonplace, more lifelike, and more varied" than those by other American novelists, but took exception to the "young heroines--who certainly are ladies in action and principle"--expressing themselves in un-ladylike language.<sup>54</sup>

Ariadne: The Story of a Dream (1877), by Ouida (Louise de la Ramée), is the tale of Gioja, a young woman in need of a means to support herself following the death of her artist father. When her talent at modelling in clay is revealed, a mentor (Crispin) arranges for her to receive training in the studio of a renowned

sculptor (Maryx). However, this course of action is not taken without considerable soul-searching on Crispin's part. While Gioja's skill was readily apparent, he had misgivings about her chances of success: "Marble costs gold, and sculpting is not for women. Sculpture is always an epic? [sic] and what woman ever has written one?"<sup>55</sup>

Using this question as a point of departure, Ouida explores the capacity of her heroine to possess artistic genius and to fulfil its promise in spite of the tumultuous developments in her life. In heroic fashion Gioja (otherwise referred to as Ariadne or Nausicaa) surmounts the hurdles placed in her way with some advice and assistance from Crispin, who sets the adventure in motion by arranging for Maryx to examine a piece of her work to determine if its unidentified creator is worthy of instruction. His verdict, "there is genius in it. . . . I will teach him what I can, though more probably he will only teach me," quashes the most damning contemporary argument against women's creative abilities. Other objections to a woman sculpting are voiced by various characters and dismissed by the narrator. Although agreeing to train her in all aspects of the profession, Maryx perceives her combination of technical skill and originality to be aberrant for her sex. His elderly mother decries Gioja's shamelessness in producing female nudes and urges her to abandon her unnatural career in favour of conventional marriage and motherhood lest she become as cold as the stone figures she creates. Critics (her beloved Hilarion among them) disparage her work by insinuating that its undoubted brilliance is due to the genius of her sculpting master who either conceived the composition or had a hand in carving the stone.<sup>56</sup>

Gioja works on unperturbed by these challenges to her occupation, taking encouragement from Crispin who predicts that she will be as great as Properzia. Her virtues of patience, diligence, and loyalty are not diminished by the thoroughgoing sculpting training she receives nor is she demoralized by unfair criticism. Moreover, when she falls in love with the fickle Hilarion her genius does not wane; rather, her productivity intensifies. Too late she discovers that her trust in him is misplaced and finds herself used and abandoned like Ariadne, the statue of which tragic heroine Gioja was said to resemble.<sup>57</sup>

Although the plot is somewhat sketchy and the emotional tone is highly strung, Ouida does provide her heroine with reasonable authenticity as a sculptor. Her background, as the only daughter of a sculptor, is congruent with the experience of many female artists. The stereotypes which she must overcome are well articulated as are the defences offered. Most of the details of the sculpting process are correct except that the role of workmen is greatly downplayed. She dedicated the novel to "mon amie . . . 'Marcello;' Qui a tout le charme de la femme, a su réunir la force de l'art," from whom she presumably drew much of the information, adding to it her own experience as "an excellent [amateur] artist," mainly of drawings.<sup>58</sup> However, the more substantial elements of Gioja's character jar with the trancelike ethereality attributed to her and the spirit of independence is incongruously eclipsed by her tragic submission to the will of an unprincipled man.

Ouida was regarded as a flamboyant novelist of minor talent who invested her female characters with an alarming degree of independence and passion. She vociferously opposed both the "obscurity and captivity" of the

domestic ideal and the "vanity-inflated conceits of the crusaders of 'woman's rights'," preferring a chivalric "golden mean" in which gender difference is celebrated and women make better use of their own endowments of culture and influence.<sup>59</sup> She maintained that although some women possessed genius, neither they nor similarly gifted men "are any criterion for the rest of their sex." Presumably, her tale of *Ariadne* was not to be taken as a prescription for female readers but merely the story of a dream, as the subtitle claims.

Her sensational romances sold well despite the acerbic critiques she received. The *Westminster Review* applauded her impartial quest for truth but rebuked her "predilection for bizarre incidents" and the "absence of chasteness." The *Magazine of Art* condemned her depiction of studio life as "an extraordinary combination of moonlit madness and deadly commonplace, in which [the artist] is, at best, a mere lay-figure [artist's dummy]."60

Iota (Kathleen Mannington Caffyn) has been variously described as "one of the most powerful, if soft-centred, of the New Woman novelists" and an avowed anti-feminist. The heroine of her novel *Anne Mauleverer* (1899) is equally difficult to define. Left in genteel poverty at the death of her philanthropic mother, Anne declares her intention to "go to Italy and be a sculptor" in fulfilment of an earlier penchant for modelling in clay.<sup>61</sup> After six years spent training in a studio in Florence she encounters a widowed former sweetheart whom she nurses through the final days of a terminal illness. Upon his death she is left with two remembrances of him, a posthumous likeness she sketched in clay and his orphaned child (Julian) whom she adopts. Even as she carves his father's bust in stone, Anne finds caring for Julian an onerous

responsibility: "In an entirely irrational way Julian was coming between her and her career."<sup>62</sup> This realization sets the theme for the rest of the book--it is impossible to do justice to both motherhood and a profession.

In spite of good intentions and a growing fondness for the boy, the heroine never succeeds in being more than an "amateur mother" to him. By contrast, repeated references to Anne's goddess-like proportions, "sculptured face," and statuesque bearing intimate that she was cut out to be a sculptor. This is confirmed in the words of her suitor. "Don't you see . . . that you want the things men do when they are set on a future. . . . You're no hearthstone woman with the mark of the thimble on her. . . . You must stand aside and aloof from the fret-saw abominations that warp the souls of half the women going, or you'll never do the best of which you're capable."<sup>63</sup> Finally, in a remarkably emancipated move Anne entrusts the child to the village priest and bids farewell to her suitor choosing instead a celibate life that permits her to pursue her career wholeheartedly.

Iota presents readers with a complex role model. Utterly devoid of maternal skills, she is nevertheless glowingly described as "so ample, so gracious, so ungrudging . . . a superb example of a celibate by choice."<sup>64</sup> Her chief destiny is not domesticity but the type of life that is more characteristic of men--this sculpting heroine is a hoyden.

C.M. Yonge's novel Magnum Bonum or Mother Carey's Brood (1879) presents the case for providing young women with a thorough education in order to equip them for any eventuality. The imperturbable heroine, Carey, undergoes several dramatic and unanticipated changes in her fortunes between

childhood and middle age. Orphaned as a girl, she was sent to a school for young ladies where she received training to be a governess. She later married a surgeon whose friendly involvement with artists awakened in her an interest in modelling clay. With his help she acquired sufficient training in anatomy "to make her work superior to that of most women."<sup>65</sup> Shortly after the story opens she is widowed and left to care for her children with the grudging assistance of her husband's relatives. Unable to balance her household accounts Carey assesses her earning-potential and concludes, "I can model, and I can teach. Was I not brought up to it?" Thereafter she produces small-scale models depicting such subjects as the children in Wordsworth's poems, woodland flora, and dinner-table ornaments which she markets to "a porcelain manufactory, to be copied in Parian," for a handsome sum.<sup>66</sup>

Yonge uses the unhappy circumstances in Carey's life to underscore the economic value of a good education. In addition, she presents the interpersonal benefits of her heroine's training. Her modelling is described as "the art which had given her husband so much pleasure," and as a means of amusing her children. Moreover, the income she earned from it enabled her to perform acts of charity. Yonge does not neglect to mention the joys of personal fulfilment. Even when financially secure, Carey took instruction at a studio in Rome, so as to improve her technique, and visited the art galleries to refine her taste.<sup>67</sup>

Nonetheless, practicality is the leitmotif running through this novel. Just as an ornamental education is rejected in favour of a more substantial curriculum, there is an implied caution against producing work for the fine art market. Carey resigned herself to working on uninspiring projects, noting that

"'pot boilers' had unfortunately much more success than the imaginary groups she enjoyed." When asked if she would send a particularly skilful group of Hector embracing his infant son to the Royal Academy, she replied, "it is not big enough," and outlined a plan to have it reproduced in "terra cotta or Parian" for easy sale.<sup>68</sup> Her action is inexplicable in light of the vogue for fine art statuettes in bronze and terra cotta fostered by the Art Union of London and heralded by French art critics.<sup>69</sup>

In this latter instance it appears that the pragmatism is overlaid by a further, more conservative agenda. While Carey's decision is more economically prudent than gambling on a favourable reception at the exhibition, it is also indicative of a narrow expectation of women's creative abilities which is curiously at odds with her investment in studio training at Rome. Yonge restricts her character to a highly domesticated version of sculpting, apparently unwilling to encourage her readers to aspire to anything more than a modicum of success even when equipped with a superior education.

Yonge was a prolific and immensely popular author with anti-feminist views but a strong interest in improving women's capabilities through education. A devout adherent of the Oxford Movement, she "always viewed [herself] as a sort of instrument for popularising church views."<sup>70</sup> Her novels sold very well, providing her with a steady income which she turned to charitable use at the behest of her family.

A final fictional reference to a sculpting woman is found in a play acted by Sarah Bernhardt, herself an amateur sculptor. Harry Furniss, an illustrator and satirical cartoonist for *Punch*, commented briefly on the performance and the



interest it excited among the critics: "Sarah Bernhardt, who is supposed to be something of an artist as well as an actress, is called upon in one of her marvellous creations to enact the role of a sculptor, and to model a certain bust in view of the audience. This fairly electrified the . . . theatrical critics."<sup>71</sup> The response suggests that there was something arresting about Bernhardt's actions, either in the skill with which she wrought the bust, in her depiction of a female sculptor at work, and/or as a gesture of personal defiance. This last possibility was addressed specifically in *Punch* which derided her precipitate decision to abandon the Comédie Française and her stated intention to quit acting altogether to pursue a career in painting and sculpting instead.<sup>72</sup> However, it is equally likely that critics reacted with surprise at the competence with which a woman tackled the still unconventional task of moulding wet clay into a portrait.

Although Bernhardt's performance would have helped to dispel the usual myths about female creativity, it might also have insinuated an otherwise unsupported association between women's art production and a Bohemian lifestyle based on the flamboyant actress's much publicized eccentricities.<sup>73</sup> Unfortunately Furniss did not record the name of the play or the date, although it is probable that the performance took place between 1880 and 1884 when she was in London with her own theatre company. An extensive investigation of relevant biographical and reference works has failed to identify the work in question.<sup>74</sup>

While these fictional treatments of female sculptors exhibit some shared features, such as exotic locations and self-supporting heroines, they are nevertheless remarkably disparate in characterization and purpose. All save *Callista* address the compatibility of women's domestic roles with professional

activities, but they arrive at very different conclusions. Hemans and Yonge subordinate their heroines's career aspirations to the satisfactions found in the higher calling of caring for a family. For Hemans's heroine this truth is sadly acknowledged in retrospect of a life dedicated to the attainment of professional glory. Neither author objects outright to sculpting activity, especially where there is pecuniary need, but their portrayals are reactionary, not emancipatory. Despite pretensions to the contrary, Hawthorne adopts much the same approach, seeing domestic activity as a prophylaxis against the transgressive behaviour that can arise from independence. The message given to readers is that the career path is strewn with temptations to abandon woman's proper role in life which only the vigilant can resist.

Couched in the language and form of a Greek tragedy, Ouida's *Ariadne* is not so much a caution against adopting the life of a sculptor as it is about avoiding treacherous men. The heroine is as chaste and serene as the antique statue she resembles and the pieces of sculpture she produces--her professional success is not the cause of her downfall. Rather, it is her good-natured inability to discern the self-seeking character of her lover that brings her to grief. In stark contrast to Hemans's *Rossi*, this heroine is not expected to find happiness in domesticity, but in her art.

An Old-Fashioned Girl and Anne Mauleverer are tempered versions of the New Woman genre of novels. In both cases the sculpting profession itself is intended to represent emancipation. Alcott's character Rebecca occupies a small part of the novel but she plays the important role of embodying the qualities of the new woman in her person and in the statue that is intended to promote the

cause to the public. Anne Mauleverer likewise mirrors her profession in her physical appearance, a device by which Ouida, Alcott and Iota signal to readers that their heroines were made to be sculptors. Furthermore, Iota and Alcott redefine spinsterhood, transforming it from a cheerless servitude to a positive opportunity for personal growth and autonomy. Rebecca is part of a sororal community that provides emotional and practical support while requiring a minimum of domestic obligation. Iota's character lives alone but maintains a benevolent involvement in the lives of those who work on her family's former estate. Of all the sculptors in this literary sample, she most effectively breaks free from the mythic role of the self-sacrificing heroine to embrace the unfettered lifestyle of the artist. She leads a larger-than-life existence without a hint of Bohemianism.

*Callista* is refreshingly distinctive because the struggle she represents is a credal conflict, not a gendered one. Indeed, she does not personify the New Woman so much as Newman himself, although readers were disappointingly slow to apprehend that point.

How was the public affected by these portrayals of sculpting women? Barbara Sicherman's case study of female readers' responses to literature in late-Victorian America demonstrates that while there was no direct relationship between reading and a woman's active pursuit of personal aspirations, where women were permitted to spend time reading they were more likely to imagine new possibilities for themselves. Engagement with a novel involved much more than mere escapist identification with the heroine. In contradistinction to their brothers, the women in the study focused their attention on the interaction

among all the characters, perhaps with the purpose of assessing the social ramifications of particular behaviours. Sicherman concludes that "books could not create a desire for [heroic roles outside of family life] when none existed in the reader."<sup>75</sup> But where such desires were fostered, imaginative literature could provide inspiration to act. Caine's work on the impact of reading upon feminists also demonstrates how receptive women drew upon fictional treatments of the woman question in formulating their own positions.<sup>76</sup>

By the same token, it must be supposed that readers generally selected novels that accommodated their personal beliefs. Given the spectrum of attitudes represented by the seven authors we have considered, and the popularity of their works, it is fair to assume that by the 1870s the figure of the female sculptor, however inflected, was gaining acceptance in an increasing portion of Victorian society. Yet, the critical reaction to Bernhardt's portrayal of a sculptor suggests that such a character still excited public curiosity.

#### ADVICE LITERATURE

For the purposes of this study, advice literature is broadly defined to include books of female role models, magazines aimed at women and girls, and articles offering career advice from specialists and social commentators alike. Within this literature specific references to sculpting are relatively few due to the greater popularity of painting and a frequent tendency to lump drawing, painting, etching and sculpting under the generic label of art. Apart from a couple of comparative illustrations, the materials to be discussed here all name sculpting or modelling as career options.

During the latter decades of the century the publishing industry promoted a new girls' culture via "books and magazines and weekly papers [which] described a new life of . . . independence and training for a profession."<sup>77</sup> Daughters from the lower middle class and upwards were encouraged to imagine pursuing occupations that took them out of the strict confines of the domestic realm, at least until they married. Beginning in the 1860s Joseph Johnson authored several digests of the lives of exemplary women to inspire young girls and even boys to embrace the virtues of loyalty, hard work, and serious study. His volume of Brave Women: Who Have Been Distinguished for Heroic Actions and Noble Virtues presents the stories of those who suffered for their religious or political convictions. Félicie de Fauveau is heralded as "The Heroine of Labour" for using her sculpting skill to support her family when they suffered persecution for their monarchist sympathies in post-revolutionary France. Johnson notes the disparity between her high-born status and the laborious work of sculpting and applauds her determination as a "single woman treading victoriously the narrow and thorny path, which all women tread who seek to achieve independence by their own exertions." Hosmer and Thornycroft are the subjects of lengthy entries in Clever Girls of Our Time and How they Became Famous Women. Johnson delineates how each of them pursued her girlhood ambition to become a sculptor, heedless of the admonitions and difficulties that dogged her progress, and ultimately achieved international recognition. The book concludes with an exhortation to girls to aim for excellence in their chosen endeavours and to avoid frivolous pursuits.<sup>78</sup> All of Johnson's books of role models emphasize the value of industry and self-reliance

as a means of providing for a woman's own needs and those of others.

From the 1890s, *The Girls' Realm Annual* supplied career information to its readers but without the moralistic overtones of the exemplary women volumes. Sarah Tooley's article, "Some Famous Artists as Girls," surveys the professional inroads made by female artists over the last thirty years of the nineteenth century.<sup>79</sup> Her unusual choice of Princess Louise to represent sculptors may have been calculated to confer the aura of royal approval on the least lady-like of the fine arts. Alongside the princess's artistic attainments is placed Thornycroft's reputation as her instructor and sculptor to the Queen. All the artists named are presented as success stories in women's struggle to obtain access to the professions. A notice in *The Girl's Own Annual* of a few years earlier considerably down-played such achievements: "In sculpting . . . the great names are all men. . . . That there have been very few women whose names deserve honourable mention is the most that can be said."<sup>80</sup>

The relationship between women's periodicals and their readers was not uni-directional. In addition to shaping public opinion, magazines responded to readers' requests. *The Lady's Pictorial* provided information about "art classes devoted to the study of modelling" in clay and wax after receiving "frequent inquiries."<sup>81</sup> A subsequent issue included a lengthy article on "The Art of Modelling" by Susan Ruth Canton, the instructor of the classes. As a regular exhibitor at the RA and a recently appointed teacher at the Royal Female School of Art, Canton had been asked "to give [her] opinion as to sculpture, or more correctly speaking modelling, as a profession or employment for women." This she did with consummate skill, anticipating potential objections regarding the

propriety of such work for women. Not once did she make any association between modelling and masculinity. Rather, her introduction painstakingly emphasizes the delicacy and aesthetic refinement that may be cultivated by the sense of touch, intimating that modelling naturally appeals to feminine sensibilities. She raises and deftly dispels the "prejudices which . . . attach to it on account of its 'dirtiness and messiness,' and the roughness it is likely to cause on the hands" indicating that it generates less mess than painting in oils and that clay actually softens the hands.<sup>82</sup> By means of a thorough explanation of the processes involved and detailed information on the materials required and how to obtain them she makes the initial stage of sculpting readily accessible to amateurs. In closing Canton summarizes her own artistic credentials so as to attract students and provide potential career-women with a knowledge of the training required. Whereas she makes clear distinctions between the effort and qualifications necessary to sculpt professionally and those of the amateur, Canton does not dwell on the difficult aspects of a sculpting career. This is in marked contrast to painters Florence Reason and Henrietta Rae Normand who feel bound to disabuse readers of any romantic notions about entering their profession by emphasizing the hard work demanded with no guarantee of success.<sup>83</sup> No doubt Canton minimized the laboriousness of her art out of a concern to identify it as an appropriately genteel occupation for a lady. At the same time she demystified the sculpting profession, presenting its female practitioners as neither heroines nor hoydens but as ordinary people creating an estimable product.

S.C. Hall's comments on the suitability of sculpting as an occupation for

women address some of the same issues from the position of a non-specialist writing forty years before Canton. As the following excerpt indicates, he does not attempt to minimize the difficulties sculpting presents to women nor does he try to dissuade potential candidates.

Sculpting . . . might be presumed to offer but little attraction . . . to those who would naturally seem to have none of the physical capacity for acquiring the art, either as an amusement or as a profession. The . . . tools necessary for its execution, are instruments that appear ill-adapted for feminine use; and even the cold, damp clay from which the polished marble takes its form . . . is a rude material for woman's fingers to be engaged with; hence a double share of honour should be her portion who, disregarding the . . . disagreeables inseparably connected with the practice of the art, succeeds in attaining proficiency therein.<sup>84</sup>

This discussion is embedded in a very favourable presentation of Thornycroft's sculptures of the royal children in which both the sculptor and the Queen are indicated as role models for other women.

It is instructive to note that male sculptors everywhere also struggled with the image of sculpting as a dirty profession and strove to present themselves to the public as immaculate gentlemen, even at work. Photographs of sculptors were carefully, if rather incongruously, composed to this end. The following observation made of French sculptors would apply equally in Britain. "Ainsi ces artistes qui modelaient la terre, travaillaient le plâtre et taillaient le marbre ont revêtu pour l'occasion un costume impeccable, et si par hasard ils on gardé, pour faire plus vrai, la tenue de travail, elle demeure le plus souvent exempte de toute tâche."<sup>85</sup> Their studios were similarly sanitized. With its bookshelves, carpeting, paintings and piano, Hamo Thornycroft's tastefully appointed workroom could



have passed for a gentleman's study. As the writer for the *Magazine of Art* was careful to point out, "There is no dirt, no untidiness, no parade of the utensils of his craft."<sup>86</sup> Although similar anxieties were at work in both male and female attempts to deny the manual nature of sculpting, the women had more at stake. Ellen Jordan's study of women's employment notes that middle-class men particularly objected to occupations that brought women into contact with industrial grime.<sup>87</sup> Therefore, as newcomers to the professional world they had to convince the public of the propriety of their greater financial and personal independence, assuring them that the temporary soiling of their hands did not signify a sully of their reputations.

Based on the small sample of advice literature we have surveyed, it is not possible to identify any clear-cut trends but some observations are in order. The examples that were published between 1854 and 1875 present female sculptors as heroic figures. Johnson's books portrayed them as personifications of perseverance, diligence, and loyalty but he did not recommend that his readers emulate their career choices, only their virtues. Hall also emphasized Thornycroft's triumph over considerable obstacles and only implied that sculpting was a suitable profession for a woman by his enthusiastic comments about her work. By contrast, the articles published in the 1890s are more practical in their treatment of sculptors. They encouraged women to consider sculpting either as a business or avocation and supplied them with the necessary details about training, equipment, and even the likelihood of achieving artistic recognition to help them make a good decision. Although most reporters had dispensed with romanticized representations of the profession, the specialist

writers de-emphasized the more arduous aspects of modelling and sculpting so as to maintain the necessary aura of gentility and femininity.

The figure of the female sculptor gained increasing, though never enormous, currency in various types of literature from the 1850s onwards. Some interesting relationships between literary categories emerge. The peak incidences of references to female sculptors in each grouping are staggered, beginning with the employment debate in the 1860s, followed by fiction in the 1870s and concluding with advice literature in the 1890s, although the latter type also exhibited a strong showing during the sixties and seventies. These figures suggest that there was a knock-on effect, especially with relation to the increased occurrence of sculpting heroines in fiction following two decades of discussion about appropriate employment for middle-class women. Likewise, the surge in advice literature about sculpting as a career may be reflective of the influence of novels upon the interests of young girls growing up during the seventies and eighties.

Similar patterns could probably be traced with reference to careers in medicine, law, journalism and other professions that were being infiltrated by women, partly as a result of the campaigns for women's rights that gathered momentum during the latter half of the Victorian era. However, instead of standing unequivocally for emancipated femininity, the figure of the female sculptor was adopted with almost equal frequency by fiction writers who opposed the views of strong-minded women. As we have seen, Yonge and Hemans employed sculpting heroines to promote more conservative agendas in a fashionable guise. Even those writers who were unhesitatingly supportive of

women's entry into the profession presented readers with diverse characterizations of the sculptors depicting them as rebels, romantic exemplars, exceptional women, serious cultural producers, and dreamers, among others.

Such diversity should not be interpreted as an indication of confusion about the activities of the sculpting women. Rather, precisely because writers with divergent viewpoints chose to appropriate the figure as a vehicle for their own agendas suggests that the female sculptor was perceived as something of an icon of the changing status of women. Several factors raised by the writers themselves make such an association plausible. The relative rarity of professional women sculptors made them noteworthy figures; their engagement in what was traditionally assumed to be a masculine occupation tested public tolerance; and the myth of the artist as a free-spirited, visionary individual lent an element of unpredictability to their public image. Thus, the sculpting woman embodied the novelty, ambiguity and transgressive potential that many of the women's rights initiatives conjured up in the minds of the populace. Remarkably, a careful search for literature containing mentions of women sculptors has failed to discover either a direct proscription of sculpting as a career or an unsympathetic treatment of a female practitioner. While they might have been represented as hoydens or heroines, the sculpting women apparently were never characterized as harridans or whores.

The article by Susan Ruth Canton and the critiques of the Marble Faun penned by Harriet Hosmer and Anne Whitney provide glimpses of the relationship between the female sculptors' personal experience and the public's perceptions of them. The final chapter will bring together these two bodies of

data with the purpose of assessing how well popular assumptions accorded with the sculpting women's self-understanding and what impact they had as a group on a culture that was grappling with women's changing roles.

## ENDNOTES

1. J.W. Kaye, "The Employment of Women," *North British Review* 26 (February 1857), 329-30; "Art Work for Women," *Art Journal* (1872), 65.
2. "Woman's Work," *Once a Week* 2 (1860), 373; Georgiana Hill, *Women in English Life from Medieval to Modern Times*, vol. 2 (London: Richard Bentley and Son, 1896), 167-68; "The Vocations of Women," *Eliza Cook's Journal* (1850), 59; "Art Work for Women," *Art Journal* (1872), 65; "Women at Work: Their Functions in Art," *Magazine of Art* 7 (1884), 98-99.
3. "Women Artists [Die Frauen in die Kunstgeschichte] by Ernst Guhl," *Westminster Review* 70 o.s. (July 1858), 168-69, 173, 184-85.
4. Emily Faithfull, "Women in Art," *Victoria Magazine* 19 (1872), 320, 325, 327, 332.
5. Frances Power Cobbe, "What Shall We Do With Our Old Maids?" *Fraser's Magazine* 66 (November 1862), 603-605 passim.
6. Bessie Rayner Parkes, *Essays on Woman's Work* (London: Alexander Strahan, 1865), 126-27.
7. Cobbe, "Old Maids," 604.
8. Philip Gilbert Hamerton, *A Painter's Camp in the Highlands and Thoughts About Art*, 2 vol. (London: Macmillan, 1862), II:2.
9. David Masson, *British Novelists and Their Styles* (1859; repr. Boston, 1889), 269-70; quoted in Richard D. Altick, *The Presence of the Present: Topics of the Day in the Victorian Novel* (Columbus, Ohio: Ohio University Press, 1991), 51.
10. *Ibid.*, 33-34, 38, 68, 127.
11. Gail Cunningham, "The Victorian Novel," in *Victorian Literature From 1830-1900*, ed. Jane Thomas, Bloomsbury Guides to English Literature, ed. Marion Wynne-Davies (London: Bloomsbury, 1994), 27.
12. Bo Jeffares, *The Artist in Nineteenth-Century English Fiction* (Gerrard's Cross, Buckinghamshire: Colin Smythe, 1979), 14-16 passim, 24, 131, 155-56.
13. Grace Stewart, *A New Mythos: The Novel of the Artist as Heroine 1877-1977* (Montreal: Eden Press, 1981), 9, 14, 44, 107.

14. Wanda Fraiken Neff, *Victorian Working Women: An Historical and Literary Study of Women in the British Industries and Professions, 1832-1850* (London: Cass, 1966), 192; Catharine M. Hoff, *Images of Mid-Victorian Women: The Popular Fiction of Yonge, Craik, and Oliphant* (Ann Arbor, Michigan: UMI, 1981), 204.
15. Nathaniel Hawthorne, *The Marble Faun or The Romance of Monte Beni* (1860); Louisa May Alcott, *An Old-Fashioned Girl* (1870); Ouida, *Ariadne. The Story of a Dream* (1877); Alcott, "Diana and Persis" (1879); Sarah Bernhardt acting in unidentified play circa 1879-80 [see Harry Furniss, *My Bohemian Days* (London: Hurst and Blackett, 1919), 235]; C.M. Yonge, *Magnum Bonum* (1879); Iota [Kathleen M. Caffyn], *Anne Mauleverer* (1899).
16. Heller, *Women Artists*, 24; Catherine J. Hamilton, *Women Writers: Their Works and Ways*, 2d. series (London: Ward, Lock and Bowden, 1893), 1, 16.
17. Felicia Hemans, "Properzia Rossi," *Records of Woman, The Poetical Works of Mrs. F. Hemans* (London; Edinburgh: Gall and Inglis, n.d.), 326; IV.9.
18. *Ibid.*, I.1, 4-5; III.4-13.
19. *Ibid.*, II.1-2, 7; III.7-8; Gen. 2:18; 3:4 NIV (New International Version).
20. Hemans, "Properzia Rossi," III.15.
21. Davidoff, *Family Fortunes*, 161; Clarissa Campbell Orr, "The Corinne Complex," in *Women in the Victorian Art World*, ed. Orr, 91.
22. Michael Stapleton, ed., *The Cambridge Guide to English Literature* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983), s.v. "Hemans, Felicia Dorothea;" Henry F. Chorley, *Memorials of Mrs. Hemans*, 2 vol. (London: Saunders and Otley, 1836), 127.
23. Hamilton, *Women Writers: Their Works and Their Ways*, 16; Sampson, *The Concise Cambridge History of English Literature*, 538; Elizabeth K. Helsinger, Robin Lauterbach Sheets and William Veeder, *The Woman Question: Society and Literature in Britain and America, 1837-1883*, vol. 3, *Literary Issues* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1983), 140????; Cobbe, "Old Maids," 602; Palgrave, "Women and the Fine Arts," 214-215 *passim*.
24. Sampson, *The Concise Cambridge History of English Literature*, 557-58; John Henry Newman, *Callista: A Tale of the Third Century* (London: Longmans,

Green and Co., 1901; new imprint, 1923), 115.

25.Ibid., 306.

26.Ibid., 377.

27.See for example Palgrave, "Women and the Fine Arts," 124.

28.Deut. 5: 8, 9.

29.Ian Ker, *John Henry Newman: A Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1988), 420-21.

30.*Historical Sketches*, ii.98-9; *Discussions and Arguments on Various Subjects*, 279-82; Charles Stephen Dessain and others, eds., *The Letters and Diaries of John Henry Newman*, vol. xxx. (Oxford, 1973-77), 209; quoted in Ker, *John Henry Newman*, 189-90, 210, 734.

31.Newman, *Callista*, vii; *Letters and Diaries*, xxvi.130; quoted in Ibid., 419, 422.

32.Nathaniel Hawthorne, *The Marble Faun*, Edited and with an Introduction and Notes by Susan Manning (Oxford: Oxford University Press; Oxford World's Classics, 2002).

33.Hawthorne, *French and Italian Notebooks*, 158, 159.

34.Hawthorne, *The Marble Faun*, 5.

35.Ibid., 94, 53.

36.Hawthorne, *French and Italian Notebooks*, 77-78.

37.Hawthorne, *The Marble Faun*, 44.

38.Elizabeth Barrett Browning to Mary Russell Mitford, 10 May [1854]; quoted in Sherwood, *Harriet Hosmer*, 97.

39.Ibid., 148-49; Chadwick, *Women, Art and Society*, 203; Hawthorne, *The Marble Faun*, 20, 53.

40.Hawthorne, *The Marble Faun*, 32-33.

41.Hawthorne, *French and Italian Notebooks*, 77-78; Hawthorne, *The Marble*

Faun, 104.

42. Chadwick, *Women, Art and Society*, 204.

43. Sherwood, *Harriet Hosmer*, 148.

44. A.H. Layard to Hosmer, 27 June 1860, in Carr, *Harriet Hosmer, Letters and Memories*, 159.

45. Chadwick, *Women, Art and Society*, 205; Hawthorne, *The Marble Faun*, xvii-xviii.

46. Carr, *Harriet Hosmer, Letters and Memories*, 156; Sherwood, *Harriet Hosmer*, 195; Chadwick, *Women, Art and Society*, 205.

47. Louisa May Alcott, *An Old-Fashioned Girl*, ed. May Lamberton Becker, Rainbow Classics (London: Saturn Press, n.d.); Louisa May Alcott, "Diana and Persis," in *Alternative Alcott*, ed. Elaine Showalter (New Brunswick, New Jersey: Rutgers University Press, 1988); Ann R. Shapiro, *Unlikely Heroines: Nineteenth-Century American Women Writers and the Woman Question* (Westport, Connecticut: Greenwood, 1987), 55.

48. Alcott, *An Old-Fashioned Girl*, 224, 226, 227.

49. *Ibid.*, 227; Leach, "Harriet Hosmer: Feminist in Bronze and Marble," 13; Tufts, *American Women Artists 1830-1930*, 102.

50. Joel Myerson and Daniel Shealy, eds., Madeleine B. Stern, assoc. ed., *The Journals of Louisa May Alcott*, with an Introduction by Madeleine B. Stern (Boston: Little Brown and Co., 1989), 141, 152.

51. Alcott, "Diana and Persis," 386, 398-400,

52. Joel Myerson and Daniel Shealy, eds., Madeleine B. Stern, assoc. ed., *The Selected Letters of Louisa May Alcott*, with an Introduction by Madeleine B. Stern (Boston: Little Brown and Co., 1987), 241-43 *passim*.

53. *Ibid.*, 161, 180.

54. *The Graphic* (1870), 515.

55. Ouida, *Ariadne. The Story of a Dream*, new ed. (London: Chatto and Windus,



- 1900), 82.
- 56.Ibid., 83, 104, 182, 188.
- 57.Ibid., 154.
- 58.Eileen Bigland, *Ouida: The Passionate Victorian* (London: Jarrolds, 1950), 88, 112; W.P. Frith, *A Victorian Canvas: The Memoirs of W.P. Frith, R.A.*, ed. Neville Wallis (London: Geoffrey Bles, 1957), 223; Ouida, *Ariadne*.
- 59.Ouida, "The Woman Problem: II Love Versus Avarice," *Lippincott's Monthly Magazine* 83 (1909), 713; Ouida, "The New Woman," *North American Review* 450 (May 1894), 613, 618.
- 60."Ouida's Novels," *Westminster Review* 49 n.s. (January and April 1876), 384, 386; Katharine de Mattos, "The Artist in Fiction," *Magazine of Art* 7 (1884), 159.
- 61.John Sutherland, *The Longman Companion to Victorian Fiction* (Harlow: Longman, 1988), s.v. "Iota;" Lyn Pykett, *The "Improper" Feminine: The Women's Sensation Novel and the New Women's Writing* (London: Routledge, 1992), 159; Iota, *Anne Mauleverer* (London: Methuen, 1899), 13, 14, 16.
- 62.Iota, *Anne Mauleverer*, 20, 57.
- 63.Ibid., 63, 85, 111, 131, 297, 312.
- 64.Ibid., 349.
- 65.C.M. Yonge, *Magnum Bonum or Mother Carey's Brood* (London: Macmillan, 1879), 188.
- 66.Ibid., 188.
- 67.Ibid., 188, 216, 735.
- 68.Ibid., 736, 864.
- 69.Beattie, *The New Sculpture*, 195-96; André Michel, "The Salons of 1895," *Athenaeum*, 25 May 1895, 681-82; Charles Avery and Madeleine Marsh, "The Bronze Statuettes of the Art Union of London: The Rise and Decline of Victorian Taste in Sculpture," *Apollo* 121 (May 1985): 328-337.
- 70.Sutherland, *Longman Companion*, 686; Stanley J. Kunitz, ed., *British Authors*

of the Nineteenth Century (New York: H.W. Wilson, 1936), s.v. "Yonge, C.M.;" Virginia Blain, Patricia Clements and Isobel Grundy, eds., *The Feminist Companion to Literature in England: Women Writers from the Middle-Ages to the Present* (London: B.T. Batsford, 1990), s.v. "Yonge, C.M.;" Valerie Sanders, *Eve's Renegades: Victorian Anti-Feminist Woman Novelists* (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1996), 3.

71. J.R.H. Weaver, ed., *Dictionary of National Biography: Twentieth Century, 1922-1930 with Index 1901-1930* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1922-1930; London: Humphrey Milford, 1937), s.v. "Furniss, Harry;" Harry Furniss, *My Bohemian Days* (London: Hurst and Blackett, 1919), 235.

72. "Bolted Again," *Punch*, 1 May 1880, 204.

73. Cherry, *Painting Women*, 76; Casteras, "Necessity of a Name," 209.

74. Hays, *Women of the Day*, s.v. "Bernhardt, Sarah;" Eric Salmon, *Bernhardt and the Theatre of her Time* (Westport, Connecticut: Greenwood Press, 1984), 114, 117. A sample of other works consulted includes: William Emboden, *Sarah Bernhardt*, with an Introduction by Sir John Gielgud (London: Studio Vista, 1974); Sandy Lesberg, ed., *The Memoirs of Sarah Bernhardt* (New York; London: Peebles Press, 1977); Phyllis Hartnoll, ed., *The Concise Oxford Companion to the Theatre* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1972); *Enciclopedia dello spettacolo* (Rome: Casa Editrice le Maschere, 1954-1966).

75. Barbara Sicherman, "Sense and Sensibility: A Case Study of Women's Reading in Late-Victorian America," in *Gendered Domains: Rethinking Public and Private in Women's History*, ed. Dorothy O. Helly and Susan M. Reverby (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1992), 89.

76. Caine, *Victorian Feminists*, 27-32.

77. Sally Mitchell, *The New Girl: Girls' Culture in England 1880-1915* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1995), 4.

78. Joseph Johnson, *Brave Women: Who Have Been Distinguished for Heroic Actions and Noble Virtues* (London; Edinburgh: Gall and Inglis, 1875), 222; Joseph Johnson, *Clever Girls of Our Time and How They Became Famous Women* (London; Edinburgh: Gall and Inglis, 1863).

79. Sarah Tooley, "Some Famous Artists as Girls," *The Girls' Realm Annual* (London: Bousfield and Co., 1900), 3-4.

80. "Man and Woman in Painting and Sculpting," The Girl's Own Annual 16 (October 1894-September 1895), 791.
81. "Art Notes," Lady's Pictorial 28 (1894), 605.
82. Susan Ruth Canton, "The Art of Modelling," Lady's Pictorial 28 (1894), 804.
83. Florence Reason, "Art," in Ladies at Work: Papers on Paid Employments for Ladies, ed. Lady Jeune (London: A.D. Innes and Co., 1893), 44-45; Margaret Bateson, Professional Women Upon Their Professions (London: Horace Cox, 1895), 12.
84. Hall, Gallery of Modern Sculpture, unpaginated.
85. Pingeot, La Sculpture Française, 10.
86. Zimmern, "A Sculptor's Home," 515.
87. Ellen Jordan, The Women's Movement and Women's Employment in Nineteenth-Century Britain (London; New York: Routledge, 1999), 63.

## CHAPTER 7

### IMPACTS

Most of what was written about the Victorian female sculptors (literary and critical representations alike) comprised part of the discourse about women's role(s) in society. As we have seen in the previous chapter, the writers were by no means univocal in their approaches to the issues involved. The sculptors themselves were conscious of making a very public contribution to that discourse by their choice and conduct of an unconventional occupation and were alert to the differing ways in which their efforts were treated by colleagues, critics, social commentators, fiction writers and advice columnists. When the experiences and expectations of the sculptors are compared with the representations of them in the periodical press, areas of clear overlap and appreciable disparity are noted.

In this chapter we will examine both areas, giving special scrutiny to the disparities as probable indicators of writers' difficulties with some aspects of the role adopted by the sculpting women. The writers' concerns will be identified and an assessment will be made of the extent to which they were allayed or borne out in the women's lives. In addition to portraying female sculptors to the public, writers also conveyed their own views on the effect that these women had upon their field. Their impressions will be compared with relevant statistical information, and the factors that contributed to an unprecedented increase in the number of female sculptors will be discussed. Finally, we will consider the impacts that these sculptors had on the further involvement of

women in their profession and on the larger issue of the position of women in society.

#### AREAS OF OVERLAP

Literary and critical depictions accorded with the circumstances of the sculptors' lives on several points. All of the fictional characters are women who, having no male provider, support themselves by sculpting; the overwhelming majority are spinsters, either by circumstance or choice, and one is a widowed mother. What training they have was acquired in foreign countries noted for their art production. The writers' emphasis on their heroines' unmarried status reflects the demographic concerns that sparked the debate on women's employment but it also concurs with the marital status of the professional female sculptors, of whom well over half were unattached. With few exceptions, these women relied heavily upon their professional incomes and those who received studio training obtained it on the Continent.

Publications such as the *Art Journal*, which devoted considerable space to events in the art world, reported on nearly the full array of professional activities in which the women were engaged. Notices of the commissions they received from the Crown, civic bodies or notable individuals, special appointments to instruct Queen Victoria's daughters, receptions at their studios, and honours that had been conferred upon them appeared fairly often and, in contradistinction to condescending exhibition reviews, were generally positive in tone.<sup>1</sup>

Articles printed in reviews or magazines and fictional accounts such as Ouida's *Ariadne* discussed the obstacles and oppositions that confronted female

sculptors. Johnson recounted how Hosmer and Thornycroft overcame early resistance to their career choices by dint of determination.<sup>2</sup> Palgrave, Parkes, Cobbe, Faithfull and Guhl variously presented the case for women to have full access to the education and professional training reserved for men and release from unnecessary domestic demands; Ouida raised the standard objections to women's pursuit of sculpting careers (among which were the depiction of nude bodies, the coarse nature of the work, and the presumed neglect of domestic duties) and challenged their validity through the actions of her heroine.<sup>3</sup>

Parkes, Cobbe and Alcott also addressed the issue of balancing professional and domestic duties maintaining that, with the help of servants or cooperative house-mates, sculptors could devote their utmost attention to their careers without shirking home obligations. The arrangements envisioned by these writers closely paralleled the blend of businesslike conduct and family involvement that characterized the successful female sculptors. Alcott supplied her heroine with convictions that directly related to her work. Rebecca's engagement with the political issues of women's employment and suffrage corresponded with similar initiatives undertaken by Grant, Thornycroft and Durant.

Taken together, the various types of literary and critical portrayals map compatibly onto a considerable portion of the sculptors' experience. However, few works by themselves come anywhere near to adequately covering the range of circumstances that characterized the sculpting women's professional lives. Some writers deliberately chose to deal with just one or two aspects of the profession. Others set out to make more comprehensive accounts but although

these concur in part, they also extend beyond the contours of the artists' experience. It is to this mismatched material that we will turn our attention.

#### AREAS OF DISPARITY

After provision is made for literary creativity, there remain points of substantial disparity between some depictions of sculpting women and their actual practices. Such divergences suggest that the authors' assumptions about women's roles were at odds with those that governed the actions of the female sculptors. The variant attitudes presented by the writers fall into three categories: those that are couched in terms of women's natural capacities, others that appeal to moral or cultural ideals, and yet others that invoke women's rights tenets. In the first category are the opinions expressed by Hawthorne, the critics from the *Daily News*, the *Athenaeum* and the *Art Journal* that women's art is petty, derivative, and sentimental, in short--innately second rate.<sup>4</sup> When the quality of sculpture produced by Thornycroft, Durant, Hosmer or others belied this assertion, its proponents invented a new category--the exceptional woman--thereby maintaining the fiction that men were normally superior artists.

Closely allied to the supposition that women lacked genius was the speculation about whether they had sufficient physical prowess to carve their own works. All of the fiction writers, a critic for the *Athenaeum*, and Hosmer's detractor (Moser) represented the female sculptors as relying either too little or too much on the assistance of workmen. Apart from the task of modelling, very little of the actual mechanics of sculpting is mentioned in the novels, perhaps so as not to detract from the heroine's creativity. By contrast, reviews of

Thornycroft's funeral monument for *Lady Braye* and Hill's statue of *Burns* make deliberate references to the quality of the carvers' work, even giving the name of the man who assisted Thornycroft and Gibson.<sup>5</sup> Moser's accusation that Hosmer did not do her own carving has been discussed fully already. The underlying concern expressed in the majority of these examples is that women would bring unwonted competition to the art market if they were given equal preparation for and opportunities in the profession.

Hemans and Yonge portrayed sculpting as potentially antagonistic to what they believed to be woman's divinely ordained purpose--to be a wife and mother. Whereas Hemans' heroine lamented making the wrong choice, Yonge's character refused to plumb the depths of her creativity, thereby avoiding temptation. One anxiety that prompted such representations was the belief that women would unsex themselves by adopting a masculine career and competing with men. In the event, as Hawthorne hinted, their much idealized moral influence would be compromised. However, with a couple of exceptions (Lander and Durant), the lives of the female sculptors contradicted such concerns. Barrington's eulogy to Thornycroft is at pains to emphasize that the sculptor's womanly and motherly qualities were undiminished by her wholehearted engagement in her profession. Yonge's co-religionist, Mary Grant, perceived her career to be the fulfilment of a calling to glorify God in art, a sentiment no doubt shared by the author with regards to her own art of writing.<sup>6</sup>

The portrayals, by Hall, Ouida and Johnson, of female sculptors as heroic moral exemplars or ethereal beings little engaged with the world of mere mortals support the view that such women were exceptional. Yet, when Durant was



accorded the special privilege of eating at the table of the Master of the Queen's Household, she interpreted it as an advance "for the sake of the 'status' of artists in general" rather than an indication of extraordinary favour toward herself as a female artist.<sup>7</sup> In their diaries and letters the sculpting women presented themselves as hard-working professionals, not heroines.

Some of the authors who were sympathetic to women's rights initiatives provided their characters with qualities or circumstances that might be associated with the New Woman but which did not fit the sculptors' *modus operandi*. Iota presented Anne Mauleverer as a large, somewhat mannish individual given to masculine pursuits (horse judging) outside her sculpting work. Her abortive efforts at reconciling career and motherhood bore no resemblance to Thornycroft's incorporation of her children into the family business or the use that both Durant and Thornycroft made of the help of family, friends and domestic servants. Moreover, for the most part, the female sculptors were described by friends as feminine in appearance and actions, although Hosmer was noted for her tomboyish demeanour.<sup>8</sup> Alcott's images of female artists living and working together in an atmosphere of mutual aid had some resonance with the way of life of sculpting women in Rome but the pointed absence of male sculptors as co-workers or mentors ran counter to the experience of them all.

Although Alcott's and Iota's variant depictions of the sculptors represented a minority view, most of the other authors' disparate portrayals expressed the attitudes of the dominant culture. Perhaps because they faced immense potential opposition the sculptors seldom attempted to address the

writers' concerns in print. Nonetheless, Hosmer and Canton confronted mistaken assumptions about the authenticity and hygiene of their work directly, while Hill and Grant presented their experiences via published interviews.

None of the publications under scrutiny achieved an absolute match with what is known of the sculptors' experience although several were very accurate in what they did represent. Alcott's character Rebecca most closely embodied the women's professional commitment and practice; Cobbe and Parkes and, to a lesser extent Hall and Johnson, gave recognizable depictions of their activities, albeit with some heroic embellishments. It is noteworthy that the authors whose work most nearly approximated the female sculptor's experience were advocates of women's right to employment.

### IMPACTS

From approximately mid-century, writers in the periodical press began to speculate about the number of female sculptors relative to their male counterparts, or to their own numbers in earlier years, and to offer reasons for what they perceived to be the state of the profession. A brief article in *The Builder* (1847) noted that there were consistently fewer sculptors (male gender is implied) than painters because sculpting was a much more demanding art, requiring greater intellectual, aesthetic and compositional sophistication to produce high quality results. At very least it required more intensive training and perseverance. In similar notices about female sculptors published between 1857 and 1887, writers attributed the paucity of women in the profession to natural deficiencies such as a less well-developed faculty for working with form

than with colour and the lack of physical prowess presumed necessary to chisel stone.<sup>9</sup> Reports in the late eighties and early nineties recognized a rise in the numbers of female sculpting students and exhibitors but deemed their works inferior in quality and importance when compared with those of men, either for reasons of innate incapacity or a preference for minor subjects.<sup>10</sup>

For the rest of the 1890s and the first decade of the 1900s, opinion saw-sawed between claims that the company of sculpting women was burgeoning or disappointingly stunted.<sup>11</sup> In her tribute to Thornycroft's career, Florence Fenwick-Miller expressed dismay that even "with one or two such bright examples of success before them, it is rather surprising that more women have not turned their attention to sculpture." Six years later Spielmann's assessment of the state of British sculpture proclaimed that "one of the phenomena of the present day is the number of female artists now practising sculpture."<sup>12</sup> These apparently contradictory evaluations of the situation had a shared point of origin--the RA's (reluctant) provision in 1890 of greater access for women to the life-drawing classes that were foundational to sculpting.<sup>13</sup> This development was credited with swelling the ranks of competent female sculptors but it also raised expectations that many more women would enter the field. Fenwick-Miller, who had supported female students' petitions to the RA Schools for life-classes, apparently wished to see a higher return for her efforts. Spielmann was content that women sculptors had seized the benefit of the "full means of study . . . at last allowed them" and were "making their mark."<sup>14</sup>

As appropriate training became more readily available, writers' assumptions regarding women's fitness to sculpt were modified. Natural

impediments were cited less frequently as the reason for a scarcity of female sculptors or poor quality work by them; instead, inadequate preparation was given as the primary cause. Indeed, young women were urged to commit the time and effort necessary to become thoroughly trained in the least forgiving of the arts--for in sculpture "incompetency is . . . incapable of concealment." The competing interests of marriage were given as another hindrance to engagement in a sculpting career.<sup>15</sup>

While most journalists who wrote during the period from 1880 to 1900 detected a rise in the number of women taking up the art of sculpting, their estimation of the magnitude of that trend fell considerably below the actual figures. Statistical information drawn from the exhibition records of the RA, RSA, and SFA, the enrolment lists of the RA Schools, exhibition reviews from the *Athenaeum*, and census figures indicate a sharp increase in the ranks of female sculptors. The figures from the RA exhibitions are dramatic. During the decades of the fifties, sixties and seventies the number of women who showed works in the sculpture galleries rose gradually from eight to fourteen; in the 1880s the numbers shot up to forty-nine, reaching a peak of sixty-six in the 1890s and subsiding somewhat in the 1900s. The statistical profiles of the SFA, the *Athenaeum* exhibition reviews, and census figures of women employed as fine artists (painters, sculptors, engravers) all show the same spike in the final two decades of the century. Although the numbers are much smaller, the RA Schools enrolments exhibit a related upward trend beginning in the 1870s, when admissions of young women to sculpting training tripled and nearly doubled again in the 1880s.<sup>16</sup> Approximately half of the students who matriculated

during those peak years displayed works at the RA in the following decade, making a definite, though small, contribution to the surge in RA exhibition statistics.

The participation rates of female sculptors in the RSA are significantly, and inexplicably, out of synchronization with the other sources of data examined. Elevated numbers occur in the 1870s and 1900s with a decided slump during the intervening two decades.<sup>17</sup> There is no immediately apparent reason for this disparity.

Several factors contributed to the phenomenal increase in the number of female sculptors. Better access to life-classes meant that those who wished to sculpt had a greater chance of acquiring the requisite skill in modelling the human form and, consequently, an enhanced potential for exhibiting and selling their work. The late Victorian development of what Susan Beattie has termed the "cult . . . of the statuette," along with a new appreciation of "modelling as the sculptor's most direct means of self-expression," had a profound effect on women's uptake of the plastic art, as it "undermined the principal argument against women's involvement in sculpture, their inability to cope with the sheer physical effort it required."<sup>18</sup> Canton's article on modelling is predicated on this very point.

Women's rights initiatives, especially in the area of middle-class employment, were credited with attracting many more women into fine arts careers than ever before. An article published in the *Queen* (1893) drew a direct causal link: "If the nineteenth century leaves the impress of one movement, more distinct than another, assuredly it will be that of the complete emancipation of

women. In no phase of this manifold subject is this more clearly seen than as regards the profession of art."<sup>19</sup> The endorsement of sculpting as an appropriate career for young women by Cobbe and Parkes thirty years earlier had not fallen on deaf ears.

Literary representations of sculpting women also contributed to a growing interest in the profession. The two periods when references to female sculptors were most numerous, the 1860s/1870s and the 1890s, coincide with the formative years and young adulthood of the women who took up the profession in unprecedented numbers. These statistics suggest that the publications inspired a generation of young girls to become sculptors and provided them with advice, encouragement and admonitions as they embarked upon their training and careers.

However, the single most potent factor of all was the example provided by the first wave of professional female sculptors in the Victorian era. As an aggregate, their careers spanned a period from the 1840s up through the 1890s during which time they were the subjects of a steady stream of publicity, much of it favourable. Most had received royal approbation and the public commissions executed by them all were a constant reminder of their artistic achievements. Various periodicals drew attention to what were seen as their pioneering contributions. The *English Woman's Journal* (later *Englishwomen's Review*) deemed Durant's receipt of the Mansion House commission for the Faithful Shepherdess to be a unique honour for an "English lady" and cited Thornycroft as a pioneer not only amongst "women sculptors [but] one of the pioneers of the art of the nineteenth century." Hill's statue of Livingstone was nominated by the

Scotsman as "the first statue . . . erected by a lady." They were living proof that women not only could sculpt, but that they could do it very well and "in no wise be less loveable as a woman."<sup>20</sup>

In addition to the broader impact they had upon public acceptance of sculpting as a career for women, some of the sculptors took more deliberate steps to ensure that others could follow in their footsteps. Thornycroft signed the petition for women's admission to the RA Schools and ensured that her three daughters were thoroughly prepared to meet the entrance requirements. Her longstanding support of the SFA was likewise calculated to provide aspiring young sculptors with a welcoming venue in which to market their works and meet other artists. Furthermore, she instilled a respect for female artists in her son who decried the prejudices of the "old school Academicians" at the RA General Assembly when the "question of the semi-draped model for women students came up for confirmation," and presumably used his own influence as an Academician for their benefit.<sup>21</sup>

Durant's fund-raising effort on behalf of what was likely the Female School of Art was her most obvious contribution to the training of future generations of female sculptors. Although Hill's attempt to be elected as an associate of the RSA failed, it nevertheless attracted public attention to the arbitrary exclusion of women. Had she succeeded, she would have set a precedent for the acceptance of other women, but by her action alone she brought the institution one step closer to opening its membership to female artists. As a founding member of the Albert Institute, she helped to provide fledgling artists of both genders with an alternative means of developing and

advertising their skills.

The female sculptors' successes were understood to have implications beyond the realm of the art world. Thornycroft was included among those "who really won the cause for women workers;" an obituary notice for Durant stated that she would "be regretted by all who take an interest in women's work;" and the erection of Hill's *Livingstone* was heralded as a landmark in the women's movement.<sup>22</sup>

As an analysis of the literature and criticism representing the female sculptors has shown, the women's adoption of a controversial role did not go unchallenged. Those writers who were concerned that the sculpting women would bring unwelcome competition to the art market or cause a disruption of the gendered social order depicted them in a manner calculated to minimize the threat--as second-rate artists or as advocates for the domestic ideal. Likewise, those who promoted alternative roles for women presented a somewhat romanticized picture of the sculptors. Distorted portrayals notwithstanding, statistics indicate that the example of emancipated womanhood set by the female sculptors was sufficiently appealing to induce many others to enter the profession.

While few in number, by virtue of their arrestingly unconventional occupation, undeniable success, and implied endorsement by the Queen the first wave of sculpting women had a disproportionate impact upon the redefinition of women's roles that took place during the final third of the nineteenth century. Together with those who pursued similarly unfeminine careers in such fields as medicine and science, they betokened the remarkable extent to which



opportunities for middle-class daughters had expanded in roughly forty years.

## ENDNOTES

1. "Minor Topics of the Month," *Art Journal* (1861), 127; (1863), 18, 210; "Art Notes," *Lady's Pictorial*, 22 (1891), 899.
2. Johnson, *Clever Girls*, 152, 235.
3. Palgrave, "Women and the Fine Arts," 218, 220; Parkes, *Essays on Woman's Work*, 131, 134; Cobbe, "What Shall We do with Our Old Maids?," 605; Faithfull, "Women in Art," 332; "Women Artists by Ernst Guhl," 163, 185; Ouida, *Ariadne*, 104, 188.
4. Hawthorne, *The Marble Faun*, 49; Excerpt from the *Daily News*; quoted in "Passing Events: Social, Industrial and Artistic," *Englishwoman's Journal*, 1 May 1863, 216; "SFA," *Athenaeum*, 11 February 1860, 211; "Progress of American Sculpture in Europe," *Art Journal* (1871), 7.
5. "Gossip," *Athenaeum*, 3 June 1865, 755; "Statues of Robert Burns," *Art Journal* (1897), 241.
6. Barrington, "Mrs. Mary Thornycroft," 263; C.C. Grafton to Mary Grant, 6 May 1867, 30 September 1869, Copeland, "Diary Transcription," 94.
7. Susan Durant to George Durant, 30 December 1865, RA Vic Add X2/47.
8. Iota, *Anne Mauleverer*, 58; Tufts, *American Women Artists 1830-1930*, 100.
9. "Position of Artists," *The Builder* (1847), 589; "The Beatrice Cenci: from the Statue by Harriet Hosmer," *Art Journal* (1857), 124; James Parton and others, *Eminent Women of the Age: Being Narratives of the Lives and Deeds of the Most Prominent Women of the Present Generation* (Hartford: S.M. Betts, 1898), 566; quoted in Heller, *Women Artists*, 84; J. Jackson Jarves, "Progress of American Sculpture in Europe," *Art Journal* (1871), 7.
10. J. Pendrell Broadhurst, "Our English Schools of Art: The Royal Academy," *Atalanta* 1 (1887-1888), 217; "Art Notes," *Lady's Pictorial* 22 (1891), 68.
11. "Art Notes," *Lady's Pictorial* 27 (1894), 912; Fenwick-Miller, "The Ladies' Column," 214; M.H. Spielmann, *British Sculpture and Sculptors of To-Day* (London: Cassell and Co., 1901), 12, 159; "The World of Art: Famous Women Workers," *Queen* 116 (July-December 1904), 323.

12. Fenwick-Miller, "The Ladies' Column," 214; Spielmann, *British Sculpture and Sculptors of To-Day*, 12.
13. "Life Studies for Ladies," *Queen*, 22 August 1896, 353; "The Royal Academy Schools," *The Art Student* [pamphlet, n.d.].
14. Cherry, *Painting Women*, 57; Spielmann, *British Sculpture and Sculptors of To-Day*, 159.
15. "The World of Art," 323; Spielmann, *British Sculpture and Sculptors of To-Day*, 12.
16. Graves, *The Royal Academy of Arts Contributors*; Laperrière, *The Society of Women Artists Exhibitors*; *Athenaeum*, 1848-1900; Jordan, *The Women's Movement and Women's Employment in Nineteenth-Century Britain*, 78-79; Yeldham, *Women Artists in Nineteenth-century France and England*, appendix V.
17. Laperrière, *The Royal Scottish Academy Exhibitors*.
18. Beattie, *The New Sculpture*, 195-96; Michel, "The Salons of 1895," 681-82; Avery, "The Bronze Statuettes of the Art Union of London," 328-337.
19. W. Roberts, "Women in the History of Art," *Queen*, 8 April 1893, 541.
20. "Passing Events," *English Woman's Journal*, 1 May 1861, 215; "Art Amongst women in the Victorian Era," *Englishwomen's Review*, 15 October 1897, 213-14; "Unveiling of the Livingstone Statue," *Scotsman*, 16 August 1876, 5; Barrington, "Mrs. Mary Thornycroft," 263.
21. *Hamo's Journal*, 27 March 1890, J(a)5.32.
22. Emily Faithfull, "Woman," *Lady's Pictorial* 29 (1895), 322; "Events of the Quarter," *Englishwoman's Review* 14 (1873), 157; "The Women's Movement in the British Empire," *Englishwoman's Yearbook*, 348.

## EPILOGUE

The most recent supplement to the *Dictionary of National Biography* bears the intriguing title *Missing Persons*; it comprises biographical entries on noteworthy individuals who were overlooked by earlier compilers.<sup>1</sup> Used in this way, "missing persons" aptly describes the status of the British female sculptors of the nineteenth century. These were not unknown entities who lived in deserved obscurity. During their lives they achieved an enviable degree of name recognition in a populous field, but they were passed over for reasons of gender and fashion by subsequent generations of historians.

Like the people recorded in *Missing Persons*, each of the sculpting women was easily differentiated from the others by her life-experiences, convictions, and personality. The women's families of origin, although all comfortable and stable, were distinctive with regards to location on the social ladder and expectations for their daughters. As members of the Scottish gentry with titled connections, the Grants valued art from their positions as collectors and dilettantes, not as an occupation for their eldest girl. By contrast, the newly-wealthy Durant family owed its social station to success in commerce and were apparently unperturbed at Susan's enterprising desire to sculpt. Devoted as the Paton family were to a broad spectrum of arts from the production of high quality designs for the linen industry to landscape painting and book illustration, it is surprising that they made no effort to cultivate Amelia's evident skill. Mary Thornycroft was similarly discouraged from taking up sculpting by her parents, perhaps to spare her the difficulties her father had experienced in establishing himself as a

sculptor.

Few details are recorded of the ways in which the aspiring sculptors managed to win the support of their families for their career ambitions. Undoubtedly, each would have tailored her approach to appeal to the particular values and concerns held by her parents. Thus, at least three of the four women had to develop personal styles of dealing with opposition before they began serious preparation for their chosen profession. Unwittingly their families had helped to equip them for the challenges ahead, for these early negotiating tactics were to become more sophisticated with each subsequent obstacle they encountered.

Although Thornycroft followed the traditional pattern of artist daughters who learned their craft from their fathers, the motivation to take up sculpture as a profession is less obvious for Hill, Grant, and especially Durant. Familial interest in drawing and painting, either as a source of income or avocational pleasure, no doubt inculcated an appreciation for art in Hill and Grant; yet neither of them chose to follow their relatives' lead and become painters. Exposure to objects of antiquity such as the carved stone sarcophagi that littered the Paton garden, the Parthenon marbles imported by Grant's grandfather, and the sculptural treasures seen during the Durants' Italian sojourn evidently influenced the young women's taste for the plastic art. However, it is a measure of their independent characters that they distinguished themselves from other artistic family members by specializing in sculpture. Furthermore, Hill, Durant and Grant, along with most of their American and European counterparts, represent a notable departure from previous generations when female sculptors

were almost exclusively the daughters of sculpting fathers, as was the case with Thornycroft. W. Roberts attributes this shift in the uptake of fine art careers, regardless of family involvement, to the influence of the women's rights movement, maintaining that in earlier times "it may be questioned whether [women] would have ever put brush to palette if their fathers had not been painters. The development of the talent was due quite as much to surrounding circumstances [i.e. happenstance] as to anything else."<sup>2</sup>

In addition to having divergent family backgrounds, the sculpting women were readily distinguished from one another by the convictions they held. As to religious engagement, they varied widely with Durant and Hill coming from dissenting traditions which perhaps furnished the initial impetus to their career ambitions but fell into abeyance thereafter. Thornycroft was a church-goer but this appears to have been more a matter of habit than of spiritual discipline. Grant's fervent piety, which was shaped by the Oxford Movement, pervaded all areas of her life. Seen through the eyes of faith her work became a sacred vocation and her spinsterhood bore a satisfying resemblance to the voluntary celibacy of the Anglican sisterhoods.

None save Durant expressed particular political allegiances, although it appears that Grant supported the women's suffrage movement. As an enthusiastic proponent of Radical politics, Durant travelled in Liberal social circles where she cultivated influential friends among whom were A.H. Layard, George Grote, Henry Cole, and, in a private capacity, the Crown Princess of Prussia. Each of them proved an invaluable ally for the furtherance of her career. Her own political objectives, of better access to education and professional work

for women and suffrage, reflected a desire to make some of the benefits that she enjoyed available to many more.

Although Hill made no overt claims to political involvement, her nationalist sympathies are evident in the subjects she chose to sculpt. Her family's antiquarian interests, which were of a similar nature to those pursued by Sir Walter Scott, had an important influence on Amelia and her brothers who joined with Steell and others in celebrating their Scottish culture. Thornycroft's convictions are much less easily defined than those of the other British sculptors. Her support of diverse protests and projects does not comprise a coherent pattern except in the broad sense that she lent her assistance to those whom she felt to be unjustly treated.

Thus, apart from a shared love of sculpting and a deep determination to succeed, the female sculptors bore little similarity to one another in experience or in personality. Durant's even-tempered and optimistic nature contrasted sharply with Grant's emotional reserve and impetuosity. Hill's fascination with the exotic both in the realm of nature and the world of the occult was completely at odds with Thornycroft's easy-going practicality. These distinctives not only shaped the way they conducted their social lives and their businesses, they are reflected to some extent in the sculpting styles the women effected and the subject-matter they chose.

A constellation of events that occurred during the first half of the nineteenth century likely encouraged the young British women to imagine becoming professional artists and helped to soften the resistance to their ambitions posed by family and the wider society. The coronation of a young

Queen, the energetic promotion of the fine arts by government, and the concern to provide appropriate employment for a predicted surplus of spinsters had transformative effects on the middle-class public's willingness to countenance new roles for women, particularly in art. In her *Essays on Woman's Work* (1865) Bessie Rayner Parkes underscored the importance of the surplus-women issue as a catalyst to social change. "Except for the material need which exerted a constant pressure over a large and educated class, the women's movement could never have become in England a subject of popular comment, and to a certain extent of popular sympathy."<sup>3</sup> Thomas Purnell's earlier article, "Woman and Art. The Female School of Design" (1861), argued that the employment crisis could be alleviated by training women to be artists. "Art is the profession in which, more than all others, women may be expected to excel and even successfully compete with the stronger sex. . . . [by reason of] their quick perception of the laws of harmony and contrast of colour, their fineness of hand, their powers of arrangement, and their natural good taste."<sup>4</sup> It is clear that he is speaking of drawing and painting here, but the positive association he makes between women and art easily could be turned to advantage by those who sought to pursue sculpting careers.

Stirring rhetoric and extraordinary circumstances notwithstanding, the path to professional success was strewn with obstacles erected by a jealous art establishment, a society anxious to contain, or at least regulate, changes to the gendered order, and the everyday domestic demands faced by women with family responsibilities. Yet, in spite of the undeniable difficulties they faced it would be inaccurate to describe these women as marginalized. In most aspects



of the sculpting business they participated in company with their male counterparts. Because they were debarred from the RA Schools, the majority of the women resorted to ateliers of sympathetic master sculptors where they encountered male students who were disappointed with the quality of instruction offered by the Academy. The outcome for the women and the men alike was superior training in the field, the encouragement of a mentor, and valuable contacts with professional colleagues. While some of the women supported alternative exhibiting societies such as the SFA and the Albert Institute, their works were accepted regularly by the première exhibitions where judging was based on merit. Hill's exclusion from the Brewster memorial competition on account of her gender appears to have been an isolated incident as each of the women obtained several important royal and/or public commissions apparently without encountering prejudice.

Unlike their painting sisters, the professional female sculptors did not feel compelled to price their works below the rates charged by their male peers. Although they were not able to avail themselves of the same opportunities for publicizing their work that were open to the men, the female sculptors made use of their extensive social and professional contacts and recent developments in photography to achieve satisfactory results. Just as water that is dammed up finds alternative channels, so the women devised effective means of conducting careers in a social environment that sought to harness their creative energies to suit other ends. One barrier to full involvement in the Victorian art world that they were unable to circumvent was the refusal of the Royal Academies to accept female members.

Other potentially marginalizing circumstances were capably deflected by the women. None of them permitted domestic demands to take precedence over her career, nor did any of the four allow her reputation to be tainted by questionable public behaviour, although Durant barely avoided the latter.

As this information demonstrates, and the quote by Roberts implies, such women were not pawns to fortune; they became sculptors due to a complex interaction between opportunity and personal resolve. Despite the constraints placed upon them, they exercised considerable agency by exploiting existing conventions to suit their purposes. Sometimes their efforts had mixed results. For instance, borrowing the cultural credibility of accomplishment art to legitimate their professional activities was, perhaps, the most immediately effective strategy available to them, but it also bore the unwonted potential to devalue their work. Certainly the sculpting women were called upon to counter the charge of amateurism with some regularity. Other tactics they employed also backfired. Though sculpting the Queen's children conveyed royal approval, it allowed critics to categorize Thornycroft's work as an extension of her domestic duties as well.

Nevertheless, most of the means they used to negotiate the boundaries and expectations of Victorian society and the demands of a career in art were successful. A painting by Florence Claxton entitled "Woman's Work, a Medley" (1861) illustrates this point with reference to female artists in general. In it the legal, religious, and institutional obstacles encountered by women seeking work in the professions are depicted. "An artist (Miss Rosa Bonheur) has attained the top of the [obstructive] wall (upon which the rank weeds of Misrepresentation

and prickly thorns of Ridicule flourish), others are following."<sup>5</sup> Claxton's image attests to the inroads made by women in the field of art; none of the other professions represented yield to the female aspirants' efforts to gain entry.

The reception given the female sculptors by the Queen, critics, and writers was varied and often contradictory, and had the effect of complicating the public's perception of them. All but Hill, who was less readily accessible, received repeated endorsements from the Crown by way of commissions, appointments to instruct the royal daughters, gifts, and/or offers of pensions. Their treatment by critics was considerably more ambivalent and depended as much upon the underlying social agendas of each reviewer as upon their aesthetic judgements. The supercilious praise meted out by some reviewers for the *Athenaeum* was greatly offset by the almost embarrassing effusiveness of certain *Art Journal* critics, while those at *The Times* tended to be more temperate. In addition, the women had admirers and detractors among their colleagues whose views sometimes made their way into print. Hosmer's experience was the most striking incidence of this; Gibson's and Foley's approval of Thornycroft and Grant was also recorded by journalists.

Literary portrayals of sculpting women were at least as varied as the critical appraisals of them. These may be classified roughly into three camps: those for whom female sculptors represented deep anxieties about the future of public morality and the gendered order; those who romanticized such women to the extent of rendering their achievements unattainable by mere mortals; and others who presented them as practical exemplars of what women could do to counter the threat of genteel poverty.

Having been exposed to such a diverse array of opinions, the public was left to decide whether female sculptors were second-rate artists, potential subversives, art-world celebrities, heroic figures, or the women of the future. The fragmented picture that resulted was not resolved into anything approaching a coherent image during the Victorian era.

By contrast, the sculpting women themselves had an unambiguous focus to their careers. Central to their success was the determination to position themselves as businesswomen. They used the status accorded a professional sculptor as a platform from which to engage the shifting culture around them, seizing opportunities, deflecting criticisms, anticipating trends, and mounting political initiatives against the gender bias that pervaded the institutions governing the fine arts. In so doing, they helped to re-shape the social framework for themselves and for others.

How might these women be characterized from the vantage-point of the twenty-first century? Although Hosmer was identified by a contemporary as the image of "the new womanhood of our time," the British sculptors could not readily be described as such.<sup>6</sup> Independent as they were, all of them continued to reside with husbands and/or blood-relations, never making a deliberate break with customary domestic obligations in the manner that novelists such as Alcott or Iota envisaged for the New Woman. They would be better understood as blazing the trail for the emergence of the emancipated women of the 1890s. Certainly this was the case with Thornycroft whose daughter Helen moved away from the family home to pursue a career in art, living in shared accommodation with a close female friend.<sup>7</sup>

The first wave of Victorian women sculptors are more aptly described as mavericks. Like the original Samuel A. Maverick, a nineteenth-century Texas cattle rancher who chose not to follow the established practice of branding livestock, Hill, Grant, Thornycroft and Durant were women of independent character who opted not to conform to the customary roles for women of their station.<sup>8</sup> These were not renegades who rejected the claims of family or class. Rather, they were respectable women who pursued an unconventional occupation with a judicious blend of propriety and ingenuity, refusing to be labelled as leisured ladies so as to make their own marks on time.

## ENDNOTES

1. C.S. Nicholls, *Dictionary of National Biography: Missing Persons* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1993).
2. Roberts, "Women in the History of Art," 541.
3. Parkes, *Essays on Woman's Work*; quoted in Joan Perkin, *Victorian Women* (London: John Murray, 1993), 168.
4. Thomas Purnell, "Woman and Art. The Female School of Design," *Art Journal* (1861), 108.
5. Yeldham, *Women and Art in Nineteenth-Century France and England*, 168.
6. Leach, "Feminist in Bronze and Marble," 13.
7. McCracken, "Sculptor Mary Thornycroft," 7.
8. *The New Lexicon Webster's Encyclopaedic Dictionary*, Canadian edition (New York: Lexicon Publications, 1988), s.v. "maverick."

## ILLUSTRATIONS

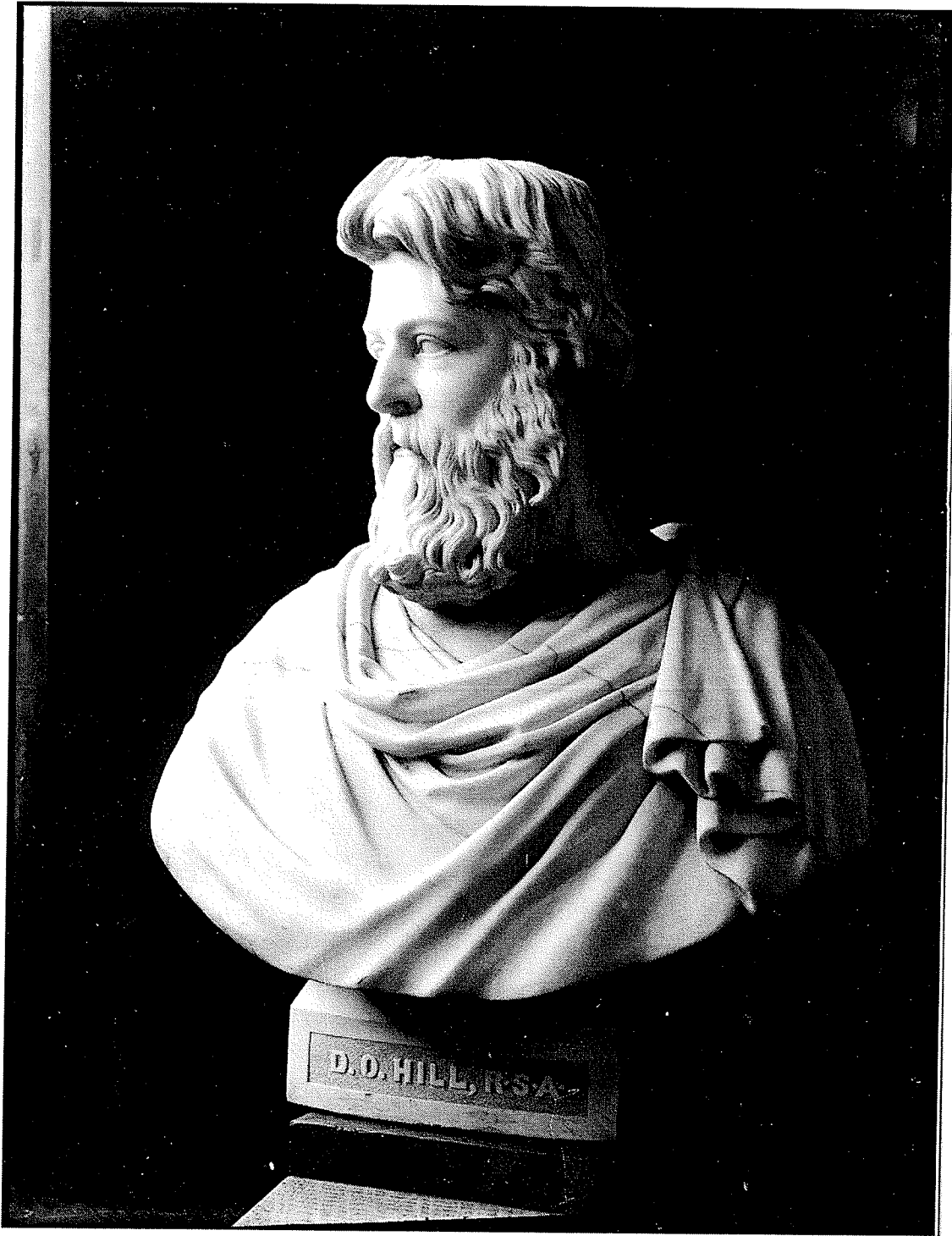
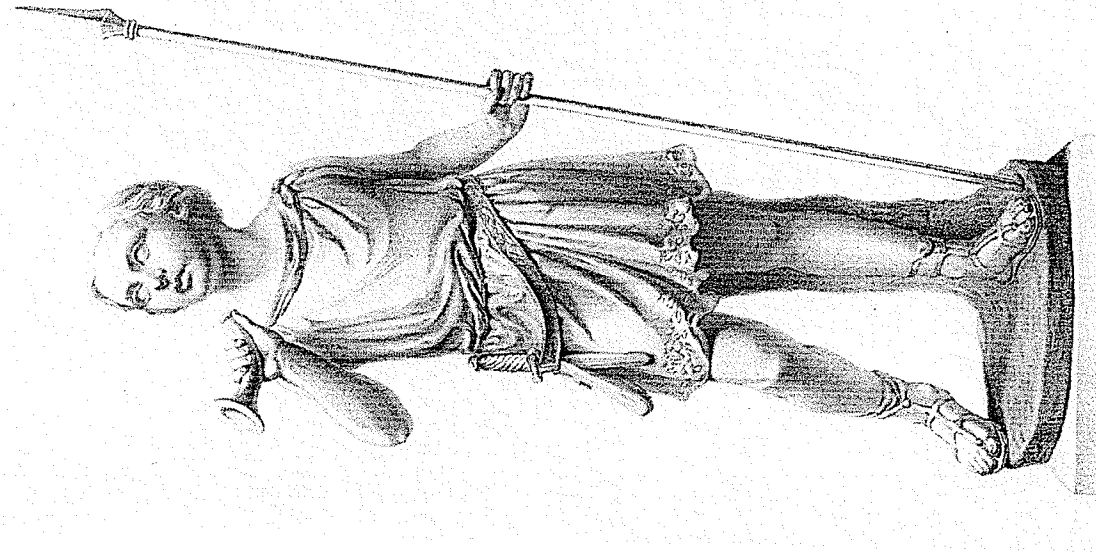
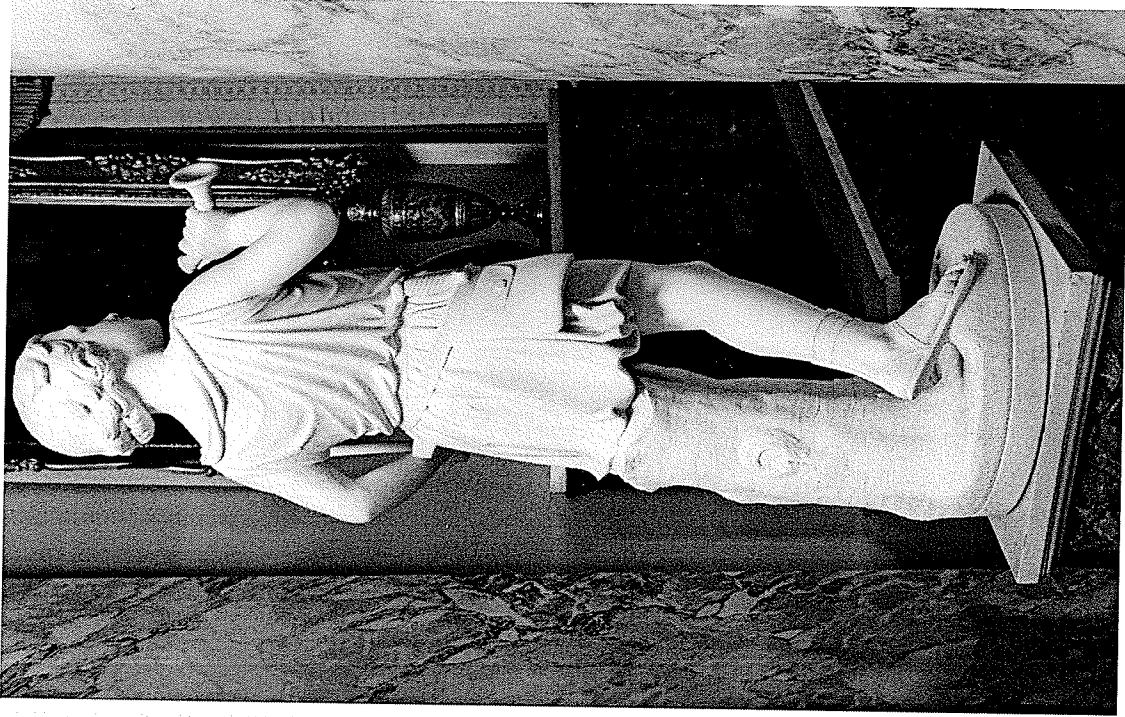


Illustration 1

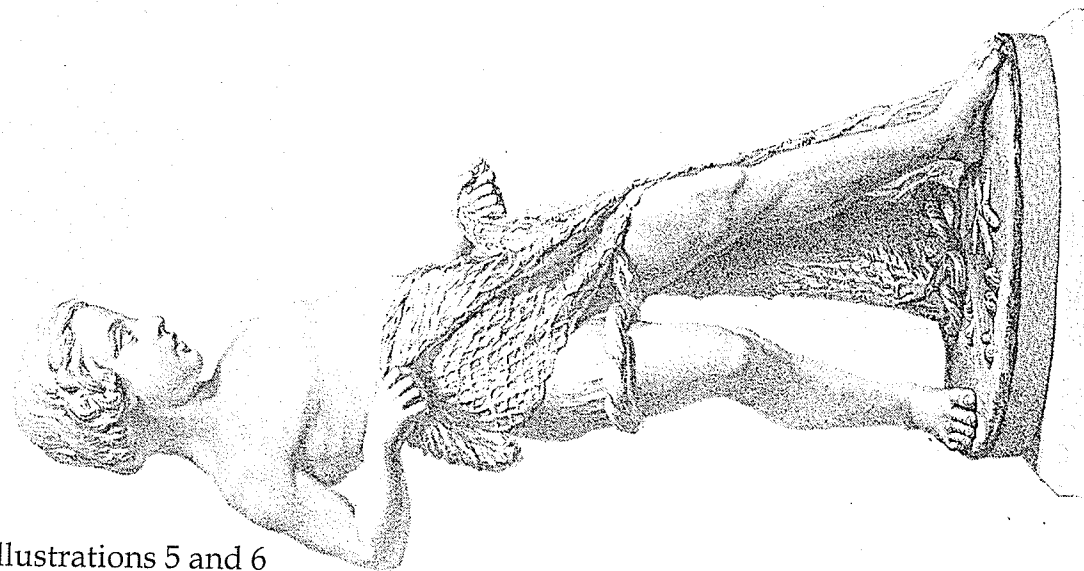




Illustration 2



Illustrations 3 and 4



Illustrations 5 and 6



Illustration 7



Illustration 8



Illustration 9

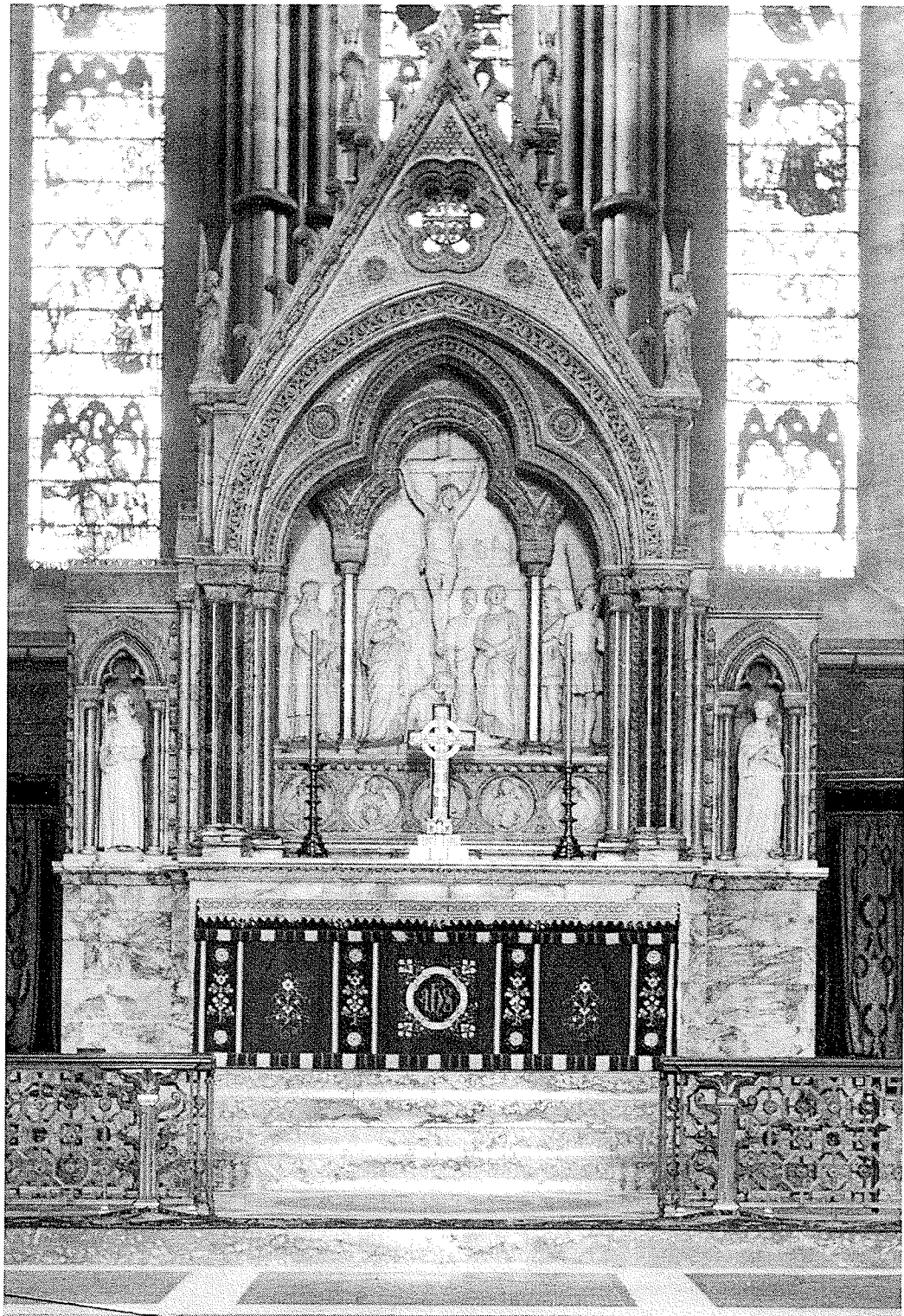


Illustration 10



Illustration 11



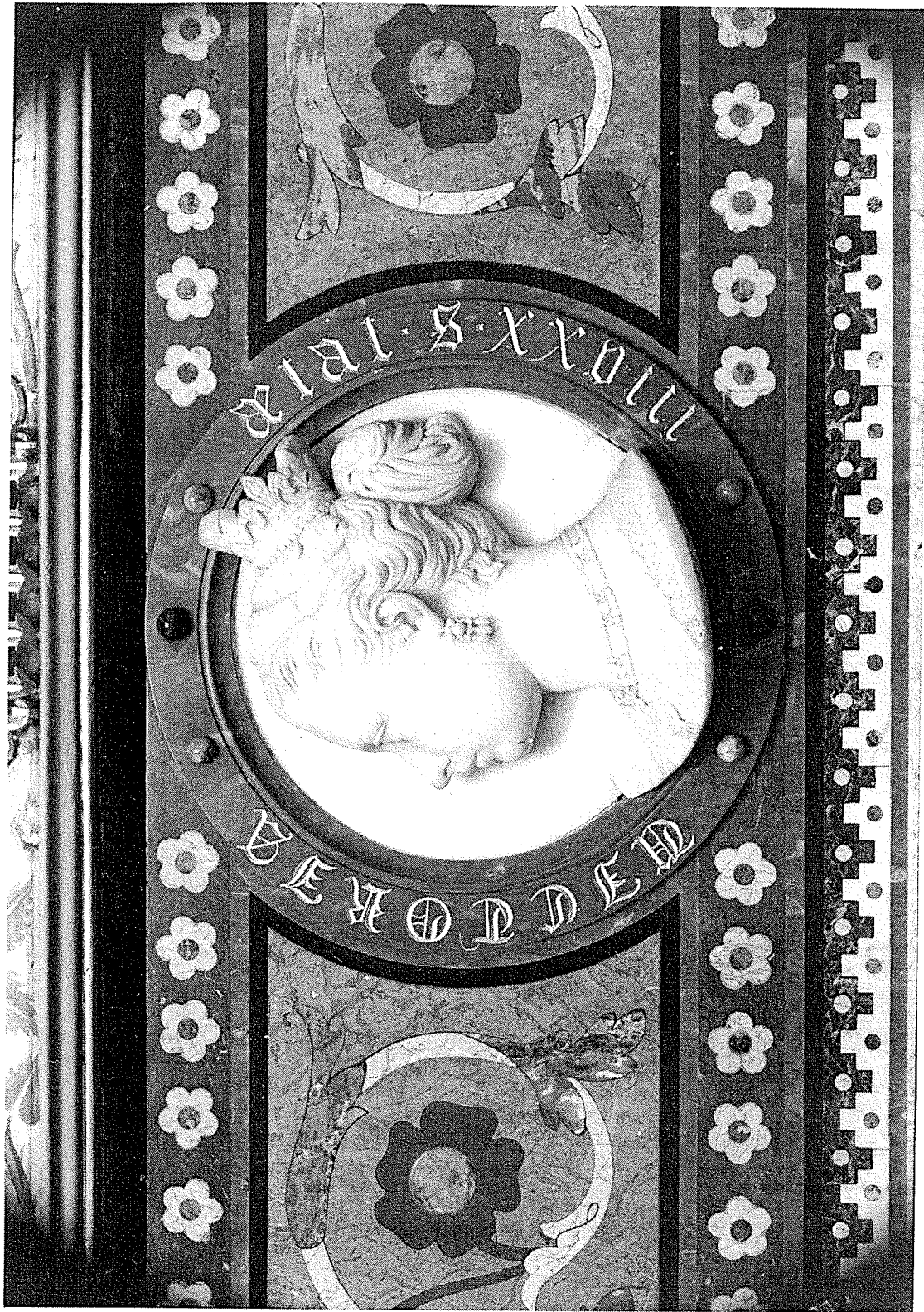


Illustration 12



Illustration 13

## SELECT BIBLIOGRAPHY

### PRIMARY SOURCES

#### 1. Archives Consulted

- British Library. Rare Books and Manuscripts Department. London. Susan Durant, correspondence.
- The Cathedral Church of St. Paul Archive. Fond du Lac, Wisconsin. Mary Grant, correspondence.
- Conway Library Photographic Archive. Courtauld Institute of Art. London. Sculptures by Susan Durant, Mary Grant, Amelia Paton Hill, Mary Thornycroft.
- Edinburgh Central Public Library. Edinburgh Room. St. Mary's Episcopal Cathedral, newspaper cuttings.
- Fawcett Library. Guildhall University. London. Susan Durant, correspondence.
- Girton College Archives. Cambridge. Bessie Rayner Parkes, correspondence and papers 1848 to 1865; Barbara Leigh Smith Bodichon, correspondence and papers 1863 to 1866.
- Guildhall Archives. Corporation of the City of London. Commission contract between the Corporation of the City of London and Susan Durant, 11 July 1861; Guildhall Common Council Committee Papers: General Purposes Committee Minutes, 16 & 19 January 1860 and 21 & 22 March 1861.
- Henry Moore Institute. Leeds. Thornycroft Archive, 1847-1892.
- Lichfield Record Office. Staffordshire. Mary Grant, sculptures.
- National Gallery of Scotland. Edinburgh. Senior Curator, British Art. Mary Grant, research notes.
- National Library of Scotland. Rare Books and Manuscripts. Edinburgh. D.O. Hill, correspondence; Amelia Paton Hill, correspondence; Joseph Noel Paton, journals and correspondence.
- National Portrait Gallery. London. Susan Durant, donor letter in acquisition file.

Public Record Office. London. The Court Service, Principal Registry, Mary Grant, will; Family Records Division, Somerset House, Susan Durant, will; General Register Office, St. Catherine's House, Henry Paul Harvey, marriage certificate; The Family Records Centre, census returns for England and Wales.

The Royal Archives. Windsor Castle. Susan Durant, correspondence 1856-1872; Mary Thornycroft, papers. Privy Purse Papers relating to Mary Thornycroft, 1853-1876; Susan Durant, 1866-1872; Mary Grant, 1877.

Royal Commission on the Ancient and Historical Monuments of Scotland. National Monuments Record of Scotland Library. Edinburgh. Edinburgh Notes: New Town North; Princes Street.

Royal Scottish Academy. Edinburgh. Letter Books, correspondence of D.O. Hill and Mrs. D.O. Hill; Mrs. D.O. Hill, notice in Newspaper Cuttings Scrapbook from 1889-1894.

St. Mary's Episcopal Cathedral. Edinburgh. Mary Grant, reredos sculpture.

Schlöss Sanssouci Skulpturensammlung. Potsdam, Germany. Friedenskirche monument to Prince Sigismund.

Scottish Record Office. Edinburgh. Buccleuch Muniments, John Steell regarding Amelia Paton Hill. Records of Testamentary Deeds for Mrs. Amelia Robertson Paton or Hill, Mr. David Octavius Hill.

Stowe-Day Foundation. Hartford, Connecticut. Susan Durant, correspondence relative to her sculpture of Harriet Beecher Stowe.

Strathclyde Regional Archives. Mitchell Library. Glasgow. Isabella Gore-Booth, correspondence.

Suffolk Record Office, Ipswich Branch. Susan Durant, correspondence.

Victoria and Albert Museum, National Art Library. London. Mary Thornycroft, correspondence; Henry Cole, diaries.

## **2. Autobiographical and Biographical Materials**

Balfour, Lady Frances. *Ne Obliviscaris Dinna Forget*. London, 1930.

- Blackwell, Elizabeth. Pioneer Work in Opening the Medical Profession to Women; Autobiographical Sketches. London: Longmans, Green and Co., 1895.
- Bowring, Sir John. Autobiographical Recollections of Sir John Bowring. With a brief memoir by Lewin B. Bowring. London: S. King and Co., 1877.
- Bruce, William N., ed. Sir Austen Henry Layard G.C.B., D.C.L., Autobiography and Letters from his Childhood until his Appointment as H. M. Ambassador at Madrid. London: John Murray, 1903.
- Carr, Cornelia, ed. Harriet Hosmer, Letters and Memories. London: John Lane the Bodley Head, 1913.
- Chapple, J. A. V. and Arthur Pollard, eds. The Letters of Mrs. Gaskell. Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1967.
- Chapple, J. A. V. assisted by John Geoffrey Sharps. Elizabeth Gaskell: a Portrait in Letters. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1980.
- Chorley, Henry F. Memorials of Mrs. Hemans. 2 vols. London: Saunders and Otley, 1836.
- Clement, Clara Erskine. Charlotte Cushman. London: David Bogue, 1882.
- Cobbe, Frances Power. Life of Frances Power Cobbe as told by Herself. London: Swan, Sonnenschein and Co., 1904.
- Copeland, Joan, "A Mark on Time: A Study of the Diary and Letter Book of Mary Grant, Sculptor, 1830-1908." Archbishops' Diploma for Readers thesis, Lambeth Palace, 1995.
- Crosse, C.A.H. Red Letter Days of My Life, 2 vols. London: Richard Bentley and Son, 1892.
- Eastlake, Lady Elizabeth, ed. The Life of John Gibson. London: Longmans, Green, and Co., 1870.
- Eastlake, Lady Marion. Mrs. Grote A Sketch. London: 1880.
- Fawcett, Millicent Garrett. What I Remember. London: T. Fisher Unwin Ltd., 1924.

- Fields, Annie, ed. Life and Letters of Harriet Beecher Stowe. Boston: Houghton, Mifflin and Co., 1897.
- Frith, W.P. A Victorian Canvas: The Memoirs of W.P. Frith, R.A. Edited by Nevile Wallis. London: Geoffrey Bles, 1957.
- Fulford, Roger, ed. Your Dear Letter: Private Correspondence of Queen Victoria and the Crown Princess of Prussia 1865-1871. London: Evans Brothers, 1971.
- Fuller, Hester Thackeray and Violet Hammersley, eds. Thackeray's Daughter: Some Recollections of Anne Thackeray Ritchie. Dublin: Euphorion, 1951.
- Furniss, Harry. My Bohemian Days. London: Hurst and Blackett Ltd., 1919.
- Grote, Harriet. Collected Papers in Prose and Verse 1842-62. London: John Murray, 1862.
- \_\_\_\_\_. The Personal Life of George Grote. London: John Murray, 1873.
- \_\_\_\_\_. The Philosophical Radicals of 1832. New York: B. Franklin, 1970.
- Haight, Gordon S. The George Eliot Letters, 9 Vols. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1954-78.
- Hall, Samuel Carter. Retrospect of a Long Life from 1815-1883, 2 Vols. London: Richard Bentley and Son, 1883.
- Hawthorne, Nathaniel. The French and Italian Notebooks. In The Centenary Edition of the Works of Nathaniel Hawthorne, ed. Thomas Woodson. Ohio State University Press, 1980.
- \_\_\_\_\_. Letters of Nathaniel Hawthorne to William D. Ticknor 1851-1864. New York: The Carteret Book Club, 1910; reprint NCR Microcard Editions, 1972.
- Hopkins, J. Castell. Queen Victoria--Her Life and Reign. Toronto: Bradley-Garretson Co., 1896.
- Howitt, Margaret, ed. Mary Howitt, an Autobiography, 2 Vols. Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1889.

- Hudson, Derek. Munby, Man of Two Worlds: the Life and Diaries of Arthur J. Munby 1828-1910. London: John Murray, 1972.
- Jameson, Anna. Letters and Friendships (1812-1860). Edited by Beatrice Erskine. London: Unwin, 1915.
- Jopling, Louise. Twenty Years of My Life, 1867 to 1887. London: John Lane the Bodley Head; New York: Dodd, Mead and Co., 1925.
- Knollys, Henry. Life of General Sir Hope Grant: with Selections from His Correspondence. 2 vols., Edinburgh; London: William Blackwood and Sons, 1894.
- Lesberg, Sandy, ed. The Memoirs of Sarah Bernhardt. New York; London: Peebles Press, 1977.
- Lewin, Thomas Herbert, ed. The Lewin Letters, 2 vols. London: Archibald Constable and Co., 1909.
- Loewe, Dr. L., ed. Diaries of Sir Moses and Lady Montefiore. London: Griffith, Farran, Okeden, and Welsh, 1890.
- Longford, Elizabeth, ed. Darling Loosy: Letters to Princess Louise 1856-1939. London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1991.
- Martineau, Harriet. Harriet Martineau's Autobiography. Boston: J. R. Osgood and Co., 1877.
- Mill, John Stuart. Autobiography. Edited by Max Lerner, Essential Works of John Stuart Mill. New York: Bantam, 1971.
- Myerson, Joel and Daniel Shealy, eds., Madeleine B. Stern, assoc. ed. The Journals of Louisa May Alcott. With an Introduction by Madeleine B. Stern. Boston: Little Brown, 1989.
- \_\_\_\_\_, eds. The Selected Letters of Louisa May Alcott. With an Introduction by Madeleine B. Stern. Boston: Little Brown, 1987.
- Ritchie, Hester Thackeray, ed. Anne Isabella Thackeray, Letters. London: John Murray, 1924.
- Russell, Bertrand and Patricia Russell, eds. The Amberley Papers, 2 vols.

- London: George Allen and Unwin, 1937.
- Shaen, Margaret Josephine, ed. Memorials of Two Sisters, Susanna and Catherine Winkworth. London: Longmans, Green and Co., 1908.
- Simpson, M.C.M., ed. Letters and Recollections of Julius and Mary Mohl. London: Kegan Paul, Trench and Co., 1887.
- Stanton, Theodore, ed. Reminiscences of Rosa Bonheur. New York: Appleton and Co., 1910; reprinted New York: Hacker Art Books, 1976.
- Stebbins, Emma, ed. Charlotte Cushman: Her Letters and Memories of Her Life. Boston: Houghton, Osgood and Co., 1878.
- Stillinger, J., ed. John Stuart Mill, Autobiography and Other Writings. Boston: Riverside Editions, 1969.
- Stowe, Charles Edward, ed. Life of Harriet Beecher Stowe, Compiled from Her Letters and Journals. London: Sampson Low, Marston, Searle and Rivington, 1889.
- Stowe, Harriet Beecher. Sunny Memories of Foreign Lands, 2 vols. London: Sampson Low, Son and Co., 1854.
- Thornycroft, Elfrida. Bronze and Steel: The Life of Thomas Thornycroft Sculptor and Engineer. Shipston-on-Stour: The 'King's Stone' Press, 1932.
- Vicinus, Martha and Bea Nergaard, eds. Ever Yours, Florence Nightingale: Selected Letters. London: Virago, 1989.
- Windsor, Dean of and Hector Bolitho, eds. Letters of Lady Augusta Stanley: A Young Lady at Court 1849-1863. London: Gerald Howe, 1927.

### 3. Books, Monographs and Anthologies

- Alcott, Louisa May. An Old-Fashioned Girl. Rainbow Classics, ed. May Lamberton Becker. London: Saturn Press, n.d.
- Bateson, Margaret. Professional Women Upon Their Professions. London: Horace Cox, 1895.
- Bauer, Carol and Lawrence Ritt. Free and Ennobled: Source Readings in the



- Development of Victorian Feminism. Oxford: Pergamon, 1979.
- Blackburn, Helen. Women's Suffrage: A Record of the Women's Suffrage Movement in the British Isles with Biographical Sketches of Miss Becker. London : Williams and Norgate, 1902.
- Brown, John. Marjorie Flemming: a Sketch, Being the Paper Entitled "Pet Marjorie: A Story of Child Life Fifty Years Ago." Edinburgh: Edmonston and Douglas, 1863.
- Butler, Josephine E., ed. Woman's Work and Woman's Culture. London: Macmillan, 1869.
- Catalogue of the Art Treasures of the United Kingdom Collected at Manchester in 1857. London: Bradbury and Evans printers; Manchester Art Treasures Exhibition, 1857.
- Craik, Dinah Mulock. A Woman's Thoughts About Women. London: Hurst and Blackett, 1858.
- Davison, Jane and Margaret Davison. The Triqueti Marbles in the Albert Memorial Chapel, Windsor: a Series of Photographs Executed by the Misses Davison. London: Chapman and Hall, 1876.
- Dixon, Ella Hepworth. The Story of a Modern Woman. London: Heinemann, 1894.
- Ellis, Mrs. Family Monitor and Domestic Guide. New York, 1844.
- Eliot, George. The Mill on the Floss. London: Blackwood, 1860; reprint, Oxford: Clio Press, large print ed., 1990.
- Furniss, Harry. Harry Furniss's Royal Academy: An Artistic Joke. London: The Gallery, 1887.
- \_\_\_\_\_. Some Victorian Women, Good, Bad, and Indifferent. London: John Lane The Bodley Head, 1923.
- Gaskell, Elizabeth. Ruth. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, World's Classics edition, 1906.
- Golby, J.M. Culture and Society in Britain 1850-1890: A Source Book of Contemporary Writings. Oxford: Oxford University Press in association

with The Open University, 1986.

Grant, Mary. The Franchise: An Educational Test, A Remedy for the Degeneracy of the House of Commons. London: William Ridgway, 1878.

Grey, Maria G. and Emily Shirreff. Thoughts on Self-Culture, Addressed to Women. Vol. 2, London: Edward Moxon, 1850.

Hall, S.C. A Book of Memories of Great Men and Women of the Age, From Personal Acquaintance, 3d. ed. London: J.S.Virtue, n.d.

\_\_\_\_\_, ed. The Gallery of Modern Sculpture. London: G. Virtue, 1854.

\_\_\_\_\_. Retrospect of a Long Life from 1815 to 1883. 2 vols. London: Richard Bentley and Son, 1883.

Hamerton, Philip Gilbert. A Painter's Camp in the Highlands and Thoughts About Art. 2 vols. London: Macmillan, 1862.

Hamilton, Catherine J. Women Writers: Their Works and Ways. 2d. series. London: Ward, Lock and Bowden, 1893.

Haweis, Mrs. Beautiful Houses. London 1882.

Hawthorne, Nathaniel. The Marble Faun. Edited with an Introduction and Notes by Susan Manning. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002.

Hemans, Felicia. "Properzia Rossi." In The Poetical Works of Mrs. F. Hemans. London; Edinburgh: Gall and Inglis, n.d.

Hill, Georgiana. Women in English Life from Medieval to Modern Times. Vol. 2. London: Richard Bentley and Son, 1896.

Hollis, Patricia, ed. Women In Public 1850-1900: Documents of the Victorian Women's Movement. London: George Allen and Unwin, 1979.

The Illustrated Exhibitor: A Tribute to the World's Industrial Jubilee, 1851. London: Cassell, 1851.

Iota (Kathleen Mannington Caffyn). Anne Mauleverer. London: Methuen, 1899.

James, Henry. Parisian Sketches: Letters to the New York Tribune 1875-1876. Edited and Introduced by Leon Edel and Ilse Dusoier Lind. London:

Rupert Hart-Davis, 1958.

Jameson, Anna. Characteristics of Women: Moral, Poetical, and Historical. 2d. ed., London: Saunders and Otley, 1858.

\_\_\_\_\_. A Handbook to the Courts of Modern Sculpture. London: Bradbury and Evans, 1854.

Janson, H. W., compiler. Catalogues of the Paris Salon 1673-1881, 60 vols. New York: Garland (facsimile edition), 1977.

Johnson, Joseph. Brave Women: Who Have Been Distinguished for Heroic Actions and Noble Virtues. London; Edinburgh: Gall and Inglis, 1875.

\_\_\_\_\_. Clever Girls of Our Time and How They Became Famous Women. London; Edinburgh: Gall and Inglis, 1863.

Lacey, Candida Ann, ed. Barbara Leigh Smith Bodichon and the Langham Place Group. New York: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1987.

Mill, John Stuart. The Subjection of Women. Reprinted in John Stuart Mill and Harriet Taylor Mill, Essays on Sex Equality, ed. Alice S. Rossi. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1970.

Murray, Janet Horowitz, ed. Strong-Minded Women and Other Lost Voices from Nineteenth-Century England. New York: Pantheon, 1982.

Newman, John Henry. Callista: A Tale of the Third Century. London: Longmans, Green and Co., 1901; new imprint, 1923.

Nunn, Pamela Gerrish, ed. Canvassing: Recollections by Six Victorian Women Artists. London: Camden Press, 1986.

Ouida (Louise de la Ramée). Ariadne. The Story of a Dream. New ed., London: Chatto and Windus, 1900.

Palgrave, F.T. International Exhibition 1862 Official Catalogue of the Fine Art Department. London: Truscott, Son and Simmons, 1862.

Parkes, Bessie Rayner. Essays on Woman's Work. London: Alexander Strahan, 1865.

Patmore, Coventry. The Angel in the House, 1854-56, in Erna Olafson

- Hellerstein, Leslie Parker Hume, and Karen M. Offen, eds. Victorian Women: a Documentary Account of Women's Lives in Nineteenth Century England, France and the United States. Brighton: Harvester, 1981.
- Pratt, Edwin. Pioneer Women in Victoria's Reign. London: George Newnes, 1897.
- Ruskin, John. The Complete Works of John Ruskin. Edited by E.T.Cook and Alexander Wedderburn. Fors Clavigera. London, George Allen, 1903-1912.
- Sandby, William. The History of the Royal Academy from its Foundation in 1768 to the Present Day. 2 vols. London: Longman, Green, Longman, Roberts and Green, 1862.
- Science and Art Department of the Committee of Council on Education. Reports of the Examiners on the National Competitions Held at South Kensington From the Year 1870 to the Year 1879. London: Eyre and Spottiswoode, HMSO, 1879.
- Showalter, Elaine, ed. Alternative Alcott. New Brunswick, New Jersey: Rutgers University Press, 1988.
- Spielmann, M.H. British Sculpture and Sculptors of To-Day. London: Cassell and Co., 1901.
- Stephens, F.G. Artists at Home. London: Sampson, Low, Marston, Searle, and Rivington, 1884.
- Whistler, J.A.M. The Gentle Art of Making Enemies. London: Heinemann, 1899.
- Yonge, C.M. Magnum Bonum or Mother Carey's Brood. London: Macmillan, 1879.

#### 4. Articles

- "An Appeal Against Female Suffrage." Nineteenth Century 148 (June 1889): 781-88.
- "Art Notes." Lady's Pictorial 21 (1891): 899; 28 (1894): 605.

- Broadhurst, J. Pendrell. "Our English Schools of Art: The Royal Academy." *Atalanta* 1 (1887-1888): 214-18.
- Canton, Susan Ruth. "The Art of Modelling." *Lady's Pictorial* 28 (1894): 804.
- Cobbe, Frances Power. "What Shall We Do With Our Old Maids?" *Fraser's Magazine* 66 (November 1862): 594-610.
- "Description of the Cathedral." *St. Mary's Monthly Paper: St. Mary's Cathedral Church, Edinburgh* (December 1879): 13-16.
- Deutsch, Emmanuel. "Talmud." *Quarterly Review* 123/246 (October 1867): 417-464.
- "The Effects of Civilisation upon Women, by A Woman." *The National Review* 9 (March-August 1887): 26-38.
- "Exhibitions: SFA." *The Rose, the Shamrock and the Thistle: A Journal for the Fair Daughters of Great Britain and Ireland* 1 (May-October 1862): 65.
- Faithfull, Emily. "Woman." *Lady's Pictorial* 29 (1895): 322.
- \_\_\_\_\_. "Women in Art." *Victoria Magazine* 19 (1872): 320-332.
- Fawcett, Millicent Garrett. "The Education of Women of the Middle and Upper Classes." *Macmillan's Magazine* 17 (April 1868): 511-17.
- Gifford, William. "The Patons of Dunfermline." *Dunfermline Press* 25 July-1 August 1903.
- "The Girl of the Period Art Student." *The Girl of the Period Miscellany* 5 (July 1869): 163.
- "Gossip." *The Art Student* 2 (June 1865): 404.
- Greenwell, Dora. "Our Single Women." *North British Review* 36 (February 1862): 62-66.
- Greg, William Rathbone. "Why Are Women Redundant?" *National Review* (April 1862). In *Strong-Minded Women and Other Lost Voices from Nineteenth-Century England*, ed. Janet Horowitz Murray, 50-54. New York: Pantheon, 1982.

- How, Harry. "Hamo Thornycroft." Strand Magazine 6 (1893).
- Kaye, J.W. "The Employment of Women." North British Review 26 (February 1857): 291-338.
- "Lady Augusta Stanley." Atalanta 2 (October 1888-September 1889): 322-27, 384-87.
- Lee, A.L. "The Impasse of Women." Westminster Review 141 (1894): 566-68.
- "Little Women." The Graphic. 26 November 1867, 515.
- "Lord Derby's Translation of the Iliad." Edinburgh Review 121/247 (January 1865): 141-45.
- "Man and Woman in Painting and Sculpting." The Girl's Own Annual 16 (October 1894-September 1895): 791.
- Martineau, Harriet. "Female Industry." Edinburgh Review 109 (April 1859): 293-336.
- "Mary Thornycroft." Englishwoman's Review. 15 April 1895, 119-20.
- "Mary Thornycroft." Lady's Pictorial 29 (1895): 232.
- "Mary Thornycroft." Queen. 9 February 1895, 247.
- "Mary Thornycroft." The Times. 2 February 1895, 10.
- "Mary Grant." Art Journal. (February 1908): 156.
- "Mary Grant." Englishwoman's Review. 15 April 1908, 136-37.
- "Mary Grant." The Times. 2 February 1908, 6.
- Mattos, Katharine de. "The Artist in Fiction." Magazine of Art 7 (1884): 157-159.
- Maurice, F. D. "Female School of Art: Mrs. Jameson." Macmillan's Magazine 2 (July 1860): 227-235.
- Michel, André. "The Salons of 1895." Athenaeum. (25 May 1895): 681-82.
- Mill, Harriet Taylor. "Enfranchisement of Women." Westminster Review 55

- (July 1851): 289-311.
- "Mrs. D.O. Hill." Englishwoman's Review. 5 October 1904, 280-82.
- Ouida. "The New Woman." North American Review 450 (May 1894): 610-619.
- \_\_\_\_\_. "The Sins of Society." Fortnightly Review 58 o.s. (1892): 780-797.
- \_\_\_\_\_. "The Woman Problem: II Love Versus Avarice." Lippincott's Monthly Magazine 83 (1909): 712-717.
- "Ouida's Novels." Westminster Review 49 n.s. (January and April 1876): 360-386.
- Palgrave, F.T. "Women and the Fine Arts." Macmillan's Magazine 12 (June 1865): 118-127; (July 1865): 209-221.
- Pattison, Emilia F.S. "Art." Westminster Review 91 o.s. (April 1869): 585-98.
- "Position of Artists." The Builder (1847): 589.
- R.D. "Miss Mary Grant." The Ladies' Field (15 July 1899): 248-49.
- Reason, Florence. "Art." In Ladies at Work: Papers on Paid Employments for Ladies, ed. Lady Jeune. London: A.D. Innes and Co., 1893.
- "The Reredos." St. Mary's Monthly Paper: St. Mary's Cathedral Church, Edinburgh (August 1880): 5-6.
- "The Royal Academy." Athenaeum, 30 April 1859.
- Sharp, William. "The Royal Academy and the Salon." National Review 9 (March-August 1887): 513-524.
- Sharp, Mrs. William. "D.O.Hill, RSA." Camera Work 28 (October 1909): 17-19.
- Shaw-Sparrow, W. "Paintings and Sculptures as Histrionic Studies." Art Journal (1895).
- Sibyl. "Art as a Career for Girls: an Interview with Miss Jessie Macgregor." The Girl's Realm Annual for 1904. London: Bousfield and Co., 1904.
- Stephens, F.G. "The Late Mrs. Mary Thornycroft." Magazine of Art (1895): 305-307.

- Thackeray, William Makepeace. "May Gambols; or, Titmarsh in the Picture-Galleries." *Eraser's Magazine* 29, no. 174 (June 1844): 700-716.
- Tooley, Sarah. "An Interview with Mrs. D.O.Hill." *The Young Woman* 35 (August 1895): 361-67.
- \_\_\_\_\_. "Notable Victorians: Some Recollections of Edinburgh's Foremost Women, Mrs. D.O.Hill." *Weekly Scotsman*, 13 February 1932, 6.
- \_\_\_\_\_. "Some Famous Artists as Girls." *The Girls' Realm Annual*. London: Bousfield and Co., 1900.
- Triqueti, Baron Henri de, [Susan Durant]. "Tuscan Sculptors." *Fine Arts Quarterly Review* 1 n.s. (July-October 1866): 271-284.
- "The Vocations of Women." *Eliza Cook's Journal* (1850): 59.
- "Women's Suffrage: A Reply." *Fortnightly Review* 46 (July -December 1889): 123-139.
- "Women Artists [Die Frauen in die Kunstgeschichte] by Ernst Guhl." *Westminster Review* 70 o.s. (July 1858): 163-185.
- "Women at Work: Their Functions in Art." *Magazine of Art* 7 (1884): 98-99.
- "The Women's Movement in the British Empire: Landmarks of a Century." *Englishwoman's Yearbook* (1901): 345-51.
- "Women's Suffrage: A Reply." *Fortnightly Review* 46 (July-December 1889): 123-139.
- "Woman's Work." *Once a Week* 2 (1860): 372-74.
- "Work of Women." *Once a Week* 1 (1859): 517-519.
- "The World of Art: Famous Women Workers." *Queen: The Lady's Newspaper* 116 (July-December 1904): 323.
- Zimmern, Helen. "A Sculptor's Home." *Magazine of Art* 6 (1883): 512-18.

## 5. Parliamentary Papers



House of Commons:

1866 (697) Appendix p. 305. Public Petition 8501 (7 July 1866), "For Extension of the Elective Franchise to all Householders without Distinctions of Sex," Report from the Select Committee on Public Petitions.

1867 (2322, 2323) Appendix pp. 255, 319, 320. Public Petitions 3048, 3049 (3 April 1867), "For Extension of the Elective Franchise to Women," Report from the Select Committee on Public Petitions.

1868-9 (210) vii. Report from the Select Committee on the Married Women's Property Bill.

## 6. Periodical Literature

Art Journal, The (1847-1908)

Athenaeum (1841-1908)

Builder (1842-1900)

Edinburgh Evening Courant (1860-1900)

English Woman's Journal (1858-1864)

Englishwoman's Yearbook (1881)

Englishwoman's Review (1866-1869)

Glasgow Herald (1860-1900)

Illustrated London News, The (1842-1875)

Punch (1854-1892)

Queen (1865-1908)

Scotsman (1860-1900)

Spectator (1848-1894)

Times, The, London (1847-1908)

Victoria Magazine (1865-1871)

## SECONDARY SOURCES

### 1. Books and Monographs

Allen, Elizabeth. A Woman's Place in the Novels of Henry James. London: Macmillan, 1984.

Altick, Richard D. The Presence of the Present: Topics of the Day in the Victorian Novel. Columbus, Ohio: Ohio University Press, 1991.

Atterbury, Paul, ed. The Parian Phenomenon: a Survey of Victorian Parian Porcelain Statuary and Busts. Shepton Beauchamp, Somerset: Richard Dennis, 1989.

Auerbach, Nina. Communities of Women: an Idea in Fiction. Cambridge, Massachusetts; London: Harvard University Press, 1978.

\_\_\_\_\_. Woman and the Demon: The Life of a Victorian Myth. Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1982.

Bailey, Peter. Leisure and Class in Victorian England: Rational Recreation and the Contest for Control, 1830-1885. London; New York: Methuen, 1987.

Banks, Olive. Becoming a Feminist: the Social Origins of "First Wave" Feminism. Brighton: Wheatsheaf Books, 1986.

\_\_\_\_\_. Faces of Feminism: A Study of Feminism as a Social Movement. Oxford: Martin Robertson, 1981.

Beattie, Susan. The New Sculpture. New Haven; London: Yale University Press, 1983.

Becker, Howard S. Art Worlds. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1982.

Beddoe, Deirdre. Discovering Women's History: A Practical Manual. London: Pandora Press, 1983.

Bell, Quentin. The Schools of Design. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1963.

- \_\_\_\_\_. Victorian Artists. Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1967.
- Berger, John. Ways of Seeing. London: BBC; Penguin, 1972.
- Betterton, Rosemary. An Intimate Distance: Women, Artists and the Body. London; New York: Routledge, 1996.
- Bowlby, Rachel. Just Looking: Consumer Culture in Dreiser, Gissing, and Zola. London; New York: Methuen, 1985.
- Boydston, Jeanne, Mary Kelly and Anne Margolis. The Limits of Sisterhood: the Beecher Sisters on Women's Rights and Woman's Sphere. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1988.
- Branca, Patricia. Silent Sisterhood: Middle-Class Women in the Victorian Home. London: Croom Helm, 1975.
- Bridenthal, Renate and Claudia Koonz, eds. Becoming Visible: Women in European History. Boston: Houghton, Mifflin and Company, 1977.
- Briggs, Asa. Victorian People: A Reassessment of Persons and Themes 1851-67. London: Odhams, 1954; reprint, Harmondsworth: Penguin, Pelican Books, 1975.
- \_\_\_\_\_. Victorian Things. London: Batsford; University of Chicago Press, 1989.
- Burkhauser, Jude, ed. 'Glasgow Girls': Women in Art and Design 1880-1920. Edinburgh: Canongate, 1990.
- Burman, Sandra, ed. Fit Work for Women. London: Croom Helm, 1979.
- Burton, Hester. Barbara Bodichon 1827-1891. London: John Murray, 1949.
- Caine, Barbara. Victorian Feminists. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1992.
- Casteras, Susan P. and Linda H. Peterson. A Struggle for Fame: Victorian Women Artists and Authors. New Haven: Yale Centre for British Art, 1994.
- Casteras, Susan P. The Substance or the Shadow: Images of Victorian

- Womanhood*. New Haven: Yale Centre for British Art, 1982.
- Chadwick, Whitney. *Women, Art, and Society*. London: Thames and Hudson, 1990.
- Cherry, Deborah. *Painting Women: Victorian Women Artists*. London; New York: Routledge, 1993.
- Cogan, Frances B. *All-American Girl: the Ideal of Real Womanhood in Mid-Nineteenth-Century America*. Athens, Georgia: University of Georgia Press, 1989.
- Cott, Nancy. *The Grounding of Modern Feminism*. New Haven; London: Yale University Press, 1987.
- Crow, Duncan. *The Victorian Woman*. London: George Allen and Unwin, 1971.
- Cunningham, Gail. *The New Woman and the Victorian Novel*. London: Macmillan, 1978.
- Curtis, Penelope, ed. *The Sculpture Business: Documents from the Archive*. Leeds: Henry Moore Institute, 1997.
- Dakers, Caroline. *The Holland Park Circle: Artists and Victorian Society*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1999.
- Darby, Elizabeth and Nicola Smith. *The Cult of the Prince Consort*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1983.
- Davidoff, Leonore. *The Best Circles: Women and Society in Victorian England*. Totawa, New Jersey: Rowman and Littlefield, 1973.
- Davidoff, Leonore and Catherine Hall. *Family Fortunes: Men and Women of the English Middle Class, 1780-1850*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1987.
- Davis, Tracy C. *Actresses as Working Women: Their Social Identity in Victorian Culture*. London; New York: Routledge, 1991.
- Degler, Carl N. *At Odds: Women and the Family in America from the Revolution to the Present*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1981.
- Errington, Lindsay. *Master Class: Robert Scott Lauder and His Pupils*.

- Edinburgh: National Galleries of Scotland, 1983.
- Fine Art Society. Gibson to Gilbert: British Sculpture 1840-1914. London: Fine Art Society, 1992.
- Ford, Boris, ed. The Cambridge Cultural History. Vol. 6, The Romantic Age in Britain. Vol. 7, Victorian Britain. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992.
- Forster, Margaret. Significant Sisters: The Grassroots of Active Feminism 1839-1939. London: Penguin, 1984.
- Fulford, Roger. Votes for Women: the Story of a Struggle. London: Faber and Faber Ltd., 1956.
- Garb, Tamar. Sisters of the Brush: Women's Artistic Culture in Late Nineteenth-Century Paris. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1994.
- Gerdts, William H. American Neo-Classic Sculpture: The Marble Resurrection. New York: Viking, 1973.
- Gleadle, Kathryn. The Early Feminists: Radical Unitarians and the Emergence of the Women's Rights Movement, 1831-1851. New York: St. Martins Press, 1995.
- Gleichen, Lord Edward. London Open Air Statuary. London: Longmans, Green and Co., 1928.
- Goodwillie, Edward. The World's Memorials of Robert Burns. Detroit: Waverley Publishing, c.1911.
- Gordon, Eleanor and Esther Breitenbach, eds. Out of Bounds: Women in Scottish Society 1800-1945. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1992.
- \_\_\_\_\_. The World is Ill-Divided: Women's Work in Scotland in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1990.
- Greer, Germaine. The Obstacle Race. New York: Farrar, Straus, Giroux, 1979.
- Hamilton, Susan, ed. Criminals, Idiots, Women and Minors: Victorian Writing on Women by Women. Peterborough, Ontario: Broadview Press, 1995.

- Harvie, Christopher, Graham Martin and Aaron Scharf, eds. Industrialisation and Culture 1830-1914. London: The Open University, 1970.
- Helland, Janice. Professional Women Painters in Nineteenth Century Scotland: Commitment, Friendship, Pleasure. Aldershot, Hants: Ashgate, 2000.
- \_\_\_\_\_. The Studios of Frances and Margaret Macdonald. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1996.
- Hellerstein, Erna Olaf, Leslie Parker Hume and Karen M. Offen, eds. Victorian Women: A Documentary Account of Women's Lives in Nineteenth-Century England, France, and the United States. London: Harvester, 1981.
- Helly, Dorothy O. and Susan M. Reverby, eds. Gendered Domains: Rethinking Public and Private in Women's History. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1992.
- Helsing, Elizabeth K., Robin Lauterbach Sheets and William Veeder. The Woman Question: Society and Literature in Britain and America, 1837-1883, vol. 2. "Social Issues," New York; London: Garland, 1983.
- Hilton, Timothy. The Pre-Raphaelites. London: Thames and Hudson, 1970; reprint 1989.
- History of the Glasgow Society of Lady Artists. Glasgow: Robert Maclehose and Co. The University Press, 1950.
- Hoff, Catharine M. Images of Mid-Victorian Women: The Popular Fiction of Yonge, Craik, and Oliphant. Ann Arbor, Michigan: UMI, 1981.
- Holcombe, Lee. Victorian Ladies at Work: Middle-Class Working Women in England and Wales 1850-1914. Newton Abbot: David and Charles, 1973.
- Holmes, N.M. McQueen and Lyn M. Stubbs. The Scott Monument: A Historical and Architectural Guide. City of Edinburgh Museums and Art Galleries, 1979.
- Hurtado, Shannon Hunter. "The Company She Kept: Susan D. Durant, a Nineteenth-Century Sculptor and Her Feminist Connections." M.A. thesis, University of Manitoba, 1994.
- Hutchison, Sidney C. The History of the Royal Academy 1768-1968. London: Chapman and Hall, 1968.

- Jalland, Pat. Women, Marriage, and Politics 1860-1914. Oxford: Clarendon, 1986.
- Janson, H.W. Nineteenth-Century Sculpture. London: Thames and Hudson, 1985.
- Jeffares, Bo. The Artist in Nineteenth-Century English Fiction. Gerrard's Cross: Colin Smythe Ltd., 1979.
- Jenkyns, Richard. The Victorians and Ancient Greece. Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1980.
- Jones, Suzanne W., ed. Writing the Woman Artist: Essays on Poetics, Politics, and Portraiture. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1991.
- Jordan, Ellen. The Women's Movement and Women's Employment in Nineteenth-Century Britain. London; New York: Routledge, 1999.
- Joyce, Patrick. Visions of the People: Industrial England and the Question of Class 1848-1914. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990.
- Kamm, Josephine. Rapiers and Battleaxes: The Women's Movement and Its Aftermath. London: George Allen and Unwin, 1966.
- Kasson, Joy. Marble Queens and Captives: Women in Nineteenth-century American Sculpture. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1990.
- King, Lyndel Saunders. The Industrialisation of Taste: Victorian England and the Art Union of London. Ann Arbor, Michigan: UMI Research Press, 1985.
- Knill, Lady. The Mansion House. London: Stanley Paul and Co., 1937.
- Lang, Gladys Engel and Kurt Lang. Etched in Memory: The Building and Survival of Artistic Reputation. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1990.
- Lerner, Gerda. The Majority Finds its Past. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1979.
- Levine, Philippa. Feminist Lives in Victorian England: Private Roles and Public Commitment. Oxford: Blackwell, 1990.

- \_\_\_\_\_. Victorian Feminists. Tallahassee: Florida State University Press, 1987.
- Licht, Fred. Sculpture: Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries. London: Michael Joseph, 1967.
- Lodge, David, ed. Modern Criticism and Theory: a Reader. London; New York: Longman, 1988.
- Macdonald, Murdo. Scottish Art. London: Thames and Hudson, 2000.
- Macdonald, Stuart. The History and Philosophy of Art Education. London: University of London Press, 1970.
- McFadden, Margaret H. Golden Cables of Sympathy: The Transatlantic Sources of Nineteenth-Century Feminism. Lexington: University of Kentucky Press, 1999.
- McLaren, Angus. Birth Control in Nineteenth-Century England. London: Croom Helm, 1978.
- Macleod, Dianne Sachko. Art and the Victorian Middle Class: Money and the Making of Cultural Identity. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996.
- Marchand, Leslie A. The Athenaeum: A Mirror of Victorian Culture. New York: Octagon, 1971.
- Marchand, Leslie A. The Athenaeum: A Mirror of Victorian Culture. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1941.
- Marsh, Jan. The Pre-Raphaelite Sisterhood. New York: St. Martin's Press, 1985.
- Marsh, Jan and Pamela Gerrish Nunn. Women Artists and the Pre-Raphaelite Movement. London: Virago, 1989.
- Mason, Michael. The Making of Victorian Sexuality. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1994.
- Meakin, Annette B. Woman in Transition. London: Methuen, 1907.
- Milner, John. The Studios of Paris: the Capital of Art in the Late Nineteenth Century. New Haven; London: Yale University Press, 1988.



- Minihan, Janet. The Nationalization of Culture: The Development of State Subsidies to the Arts in Great Britain. London: Hamilton, 1977.
- Mitchell, Sally. The New Girl: Girls' Culture in England 1880-1915. New York: Columbia University Press, 1995.
- Mumm, Susan. Stolen Daughters, Virgin Mothers: Anglican Sisterhoods in Victorian Britain. Leicester: Leicester University Press, 1999.
- Munich, Adrienne Auslander. Andromeda's Chains: Gender and Interpretation in Victorian Literature and Art. New York: Columbia University Press, 1989.
- Nead, Lynda. Myths of Sexuality: Representations of Women in Victorian Britain. Oxford: Blackwell, 1988.
- \_\_\_\_\_. Victorian Babylon: People, Streets, And Images in Nineteenth-Century London. New Haven; London: Yale University Press, 2000.
- Neff, Wanda Fraiken. Victorian Working Women: An Historical and Literary Study of Women in the British Industries and Professions, 1832-1850. London: Cass, 1966.
- Nestor, Pauline. Female Friendships and Communities: Charlotte Bronte, George Eliot, Elizabeth Gaskell. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1985.
- Nichols, Nina da Vinci. Ariadne's Lives. Madison: Fairleigh Dickinson University Press; London: Associate University Presses, 1995.
- Nicoll, Allardyce. A History of English Drama 1660-1900. Vol. 4, Late Nineteenth-Century Drama 1850-1900. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1959.
- Nochlin, Linda. Women, Art, and Power and Other Essays. New York: Harper and Row, 1988.
- Nunn, Pamela Gerrish. Problem Pictures: Women and Men in Victorian Painting. Aldershot: Scolar Press, 1995.
- \_\_\_\_\_. Victorian Women Artists. London: Women's Press, 1987.
- Ormond, Richard. Early Victorian Portraits. London: Her Majesty's Stationery Office, 1973.

- Orr, Clarissa Campbell, ed. Women in the Victorian Art World. Manchester; New York: Manchester University Press, 1995.
- Papworth, L. Wyatt and Dorothy Zimmerman. The Occupations of Women According to the Census of England and Wales, 1911. London: Women's Industrial Council, 1914.
- Parker, Rozsika and Griselda Pollock. Old Mistresses: Women, Art and Ideology. New York: Pantheon, 1981.
- Parker, Rozsika. The Subversive Stitch: Embroidery and the Making of the Feminine. New York: Routledge, 1989.
- Parks, Sydney. The History of the Mansion House. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1922.
- Pearsall, Ronald. The Worm in the Bud: The World of Victorian Sexuality. London: Pimlico, 1993.
- Pearson, Fiona. "The Collection of Portrait Busts at New College, Edinburgh." M.A. diss., University of Edinburgh, 1976.
- \_\_\_\_\_, ed. Virtue and Vision: Sculpture and Scotland 1540-1990. Edinburgh: National Galleries of Scotland, 1991.
- Perkin, Joan. Victorian Women. London: John Murray, 1993.
- \_\_\_\_\_. Women and Marriage in Nineteenth-Century England. London: Routledge, 1989.
- Petersen, Karen and J.J. Wilson. Women Artists: Recognition and Reappraisal from the Early Middle Ages to the Twentieth Century. New York: New York University Press, 1976.
- Peterson, M. Jeanne. Family, Love, and Work in the Lives of Victorian Gentlewomen. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1989.
- Pingeot, Anne, commissariat général. La Sculpture Française au XIXe siècle. Paris: la Réunion des musées nationaux, 1986.
- Pointon, Marcia R. Naked Authority. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990.

- \_\_\_\_\_. Strategies for Showing: Women, Possessions, and Representation in English Visual Culture 1665-1800. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997.
- Pollock, Griselda. Vision and Difference: Femininity, Feminism, and Histories of Art. London; New York: Routledge, 1988.
- Poovey, Mary. Uneven Developments: The Ideological Work of Gender in Mid-Victorian England. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1988.
- Pykett, Lyn. The "Improper" Feminine: The Women's Sensation Novel and the New Women's Writing. London: Routledge, 1992.
- Rappaport, Erika. Shopping for Pleasure: Women in the Making of London's West End. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2000.
- Raven, Arlene, Cassandra L. Langer and Joanna Frueh. Feminist Art Criticism: an Anthology. Ann Arbor, Michigan: UMI Research Press, 1988.
- Read, Benedict and Philip Ward-Jackson, eds. Late Eighteenth and Nineteenth Century Sculpture in the British Isles. Courtauld Institute Illustrated Archive, ed. Peter Lasko, archive 4, pt. 3. London: Harvey Miller in association with the Courtauld Institute of Art, University of London, 1977.
- Read, Benedict and Joanna Barnes, eds. Pre-Raphaelite Sculpture: Nature and Imagination in British Sculpture 1848-1914. London: Henry Moore Foundation in assoc. with Lund Humphries, 1991.
- Read, Benedict. Victorian Sculpture. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1982.
- Reiss, Erna. Rights and Duties of Englishwomen; a Study in Law and Public Opinion. Manchester: Sherratt and Hughes, 1934.
- Rendall, Jane, ed. Equal or Different: Women's Politics 1800-1914. Oxford; New York: Blackwell, 1987.
- \_\_\_\_\_. The Origins of Modern Feminism: Women in Britain, France and the United States 1780-1860. New York: Schocken, 1984.
- Rheims, Maurice. Nineteenth-Century Sculpture. Translated by Robert E. Wolf. New York: Abrams, 1977.

- \_\_\_\_\_. The Origins of Modern Feminism: Women in Britain, France and the United States, 1780-1860. London: Macmillan, 1985.
- Roberts, Jane. Royal Artists from Mary Queen of Scots to the Present Day. London: Grafton, 1987.
- Rossi, Alice S. The Feminist Papers: From Adams to de Beauvoir. New York; London: Columbia University Press, 1973.
- Rossiter, Margaret W. Women Scientists in America: Struggles and Strategies to 1940. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1982.
- Roston, Murray. Victorian Contexts. London: Macmillan, 1996.
- Rover, Constance. Love, Morals and the Feminists. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1970.
- Rowbotham, Judith. Good Girls Make Good Wives: Guidance for Girls in Victorian Fiction. Oxford: Blackwell, 1989.
- Rowbotham, Sheila. Women in Movement: Feminism and Social Action. New York: Routledge, 1992.
- Sanders, Margaret. Intimate Letters of England's Queens. London: Museum Press, 1957.
- Sanders, Valerie. Eve's Renegades: Victorian Anti-Feminist Woman Novelists. Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1996.
- Seiberling, Grace with Carolyn Bloore in association with the International Museum of Photography at George Eastman House. Amateurs, Photography, and the Mid-Victorian Imagination. Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1986.
- Shanley, Mary Lyndon. Feminism, Marriage, and the Law in Victorian England 1850-1895. London: Tauris, 1989.
- Shapiro, Ann R. Unlikely Heroines: Nineteenth-Century American Women Writers and the Woman Question. Westport, Connecticut: Greenwood, 1987.
- Sherman, Claire Richter with Adele M. Holcomb, eds. Women as Interpreters of the Visual Arts, 1820-1979. London; Westport: Greenwood Press, 1981.

- Showalter, Elaine, ed. Maude, by Christina Rossetti, On Sisterhoods and A Woman's Thoughts About Women, by Dinah Mulock Craik. London: Pickering and Chatto, 1993.
- Smith, Alison. The Victorian Nude: Sexuality, Morality and Art. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1996.
- Stanley, Liz. The Auto/biographical I: the Theory and Practice of Feminist Auto/biography. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1992.
- Steegman, John. Consort of Taste 1830-1870. London: Sidgwick and Jackson, 1950.
- Stevenson, Sara. David Octavius Hill and Robert Adamson: Catalogue of their Calotypes Taken Between 1843 and 1847 in the Collection of the Scottish National Portrait Gallery. Edinburgh: National Galleries of Scotland, 1981.
- Stewart, Grace. A New Mythos: The Novel of the Artist as Heroine 1877-1977. Montreal: Eden Press, 1981.
- Thomas, Jane, ed. Victorian Literature From 1830 to 1900. Bloomsbury Guides to English Literature, ed. Marion Wynne-Davies. London: Bloomsbury, 1994.
- Thompson, F.M.L., ed. The Cambridge Social History of Britain 1750-1950. Vol. 2, 3. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990.
- Thompson, Nicola Diane. Reviewing Sex: Gender and the Reception of Victorian Novels. Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1996.
- Toovey, Rupert and Co. Order of Sales: 10 October 2001. Partridge Green, West Sussex: Rupert Toovey and Co., 2001.
- Tuchman, Gaye with Nina E. Fortin. Edging Women Out: Victorian Novelists. London: Routledge, 1989.
- Turner, Frank M. The Greek Heritage in Victorian Britain. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1981.
- Vann, J. Don and Rosemary T. VanArsdel, eds. Victorian Periodicals and Victorian Society. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1994.

- Vicinus, Martha. A Widening Sphere: Changing Roles of Victorian Women. Bloomington, Indiana: Indiana University Press, 1977.
- \_\_\_\_\_. Independent Women: Work and Community for Single Women 1850-1920. London: Virago Press, 1985.
- \_\_\_\_\_. Suffer and Be Still: Women in the Victorian Age. Bloomington, Indiana: Indiana University Press, 1972.
- Walkowitz, Judith. City of Dreadful Delight: Narratives of Sexual Danger in Late-Victorian London. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1992.
- Warner, Marina. Monuments and Maidens: The Allegory of the Female Form. New York: Athenaeum, 1985.
- Wasserman, Jeanne L., ed. Metamorphoses in Nineteenth-Century Sculpture. Cambridge, Massachusetts: Fogg Art Museum and Harvard University Press, 1975.
- Weedon, Chris. Feminist Practice and Poststructuralist Theory. Oxford: Blackwell, 1987.
- Whinney, Margaret. Sculpture in Britain, 1530-1830. Revised edition, by John Physick. London; New York: Penguin, 1988.
- Wilson, Elizabeth. The Sphinx in the City: Urban Life, the Control of Disorder, and Women. London: Virago, 1991.
- Wolff, Janet. Feminine Sentences: Essays on Women and Culture. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1990.
- \_\_\_\_\_. The Social Production of Art. New York: St. Martin's Press, 1981.
- Wolff, Janet and John Seed, eds. The Culture of Capital: Art, Power and the Nineteenth-Century Middle Class. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1988.
- Woloch, Nancy. Women and the American Experience. 2d ed. Vol. 1. New York: McGraw-Hill, 1994.
- Woodward, Robin Lee. "Nineteenth-Century Scottish Sculpture." Ph.D. diss., University of Edinburgh, 1979.

Yeldham, Charlotte. Women Artists in Nineteenth-century France and England, 2 vols. New York: Garland, 1984.

## 2. Biographical Materials

Anderson, Louisa Garrett. Elizabeth Garrett Anderson 1836-1917. London: Faber and Faber, 1939.

Baker, Rachel Miniberg. The First Woman Doctor: the Story of Elizabeth Blackwell. London: George G. Harrap and Co. Ltd., 1946.

Bell, C. R. The Annals of Thomas Banks. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1938.

Bell, E. Moberly. Storming the Citadel: The Rise of the Woman Doctor. 1953.

Bennett, Daphne. Emily Davies and the Liberation of Women 1830-1921. London: André Deutsch, 1990.

Bigland, Eileen. Ouida: The Passionate Victorian. London: Jarrolds, 1950.

Bonython, Elizabeth. King Cole: A Picture Portrait of Sir Henry Cole, K C B. 1808-1882. London: Victoria and Albert Museum, 1982.

Burton, Hester. Barbara Bodichon 1827-1891. London: John Murray, 1949.

Carnegie, Andrew. Autobiography of Andrew Carnegie. With a Foreword by Cecilia Tichi. Boston: Northeastern University Press, 1986.

Chadwick, Ellis H. Mrs. Gaskell, Haunts, Homes and Stories. London: Sir Isaac Pitman and Sons Ltd., 1913.

Checkland, Sydney. The Elgins, 1766-1917: A Tale of Aristocrats, Proconsuls and their Wives. Aberdeen: Aberdeen University Press, 1988.

Clarke, Martin Lowther. George Grote: a Biography. London: Athlone Press, 1962.

Duff, David. The Life Story of Her Royal Highness Princess Louise Duchess of Argyll. Bath: Cedric Chivers Ltd., 1971.

- Emboden, William. Sarah Bernhardt. With an Introduction by Sir John Gielgud. London: Studio Vista, 1974.
- Fancourt, Mary St. John. They Dared to be Doctors. London: Longmans, Green and Co. Ltd., 1965.
- Fortune, Jan and Jean Burton. Elisabet Ney. London: George G. Harrap and Co. Ltd., 1943.
- Haight, Gordon S., ed. The George Eliot Letters. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1954-1978.
- Hays, Elinor Rice. Those Extraordinary Blackwells. New York: Harcourt, Brace and World, 1967.
- Herstein, Sheila. A Mid-Victorian Feminist, Barbara Leigh Smith Bodichon. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1985.
- Iremonger, Lucille. And His Charming Lady. London: Secker and Warburg, 1961.
- Johnston, Judith. Anna Jameson: Victorian, Feminist, Woman of Letters. Aldershot: Scolar, 1997.
- Ker, Ian. John Henry Newman: A Biography. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1988.
- Leach, Joseph. Bright Particular Star: the Life and Times of Charlotte Cushman. New Haven; London: Yale University Press, 1970.
- Lochhead, Marion. Elizabeth Rigby, Lady Eastlake. London: John Murray, 1961.
- Manton, Jo. Elizabeth Garrett Anderson. London: Adams and Charles Black, 1958.
- Manning, Elfrida. Marble and Bronze: The Art and Life of Hamo Thornycroft. London: Trefoil in association with the Henry Moore Centre for the Study of Sculpture and Leeds City Art Gallery, 1982.
- Matthews, T. The Biography of John Gibson, R. A., Sculptor, Rome. London: William Heinemann, 1911.



- Mitchell, Sally. Dinah Mulock Craik. Boston: G.K.Hall and Co., 1983.
- Noel Paton, M.H. and J.P. Campbell, Noel Paton 1821-1901, ed. Francina Irwin. Edinburgh: Ramsay Head Press, 1990.
- Packe, Michael St. John. The Life of John Stuart Mill. London: Secker and Warburg, 1954.
- Pakula, Hannah. An Uncommon Woman: The Empress Frederick. London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1996.
- Robertson, David. Sir Charles Eastlake and the Victorian Art World. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1978.
- Robson, John M. and Jack Sillinger, eds. John Stuart Mill, Autobiography and Literary Essays. Toronto: University of Toronto Press; Kegan Paul, 1981.
- Ross, Ishbel. Child of Destiny: the Life Story of the First Woman Doctor. London: Victor Gollancz Ltd., 1950.
- Rubenstein, David. A Different World for Women: the Life of Millicent Garrett Fawcett. New York; London: Harvester Wheatsheaf, 1991.
- St. Andrews Festival Society. The Patons--An Artistic Family, comp. Patricia de Montfort. St. Andrews: Crawford Arts Centre, 1993.
- Salmon, Eric. Bernhardt and the Theatre of her Time. Westport, Connecticut: Greenwood Press, 1984.
- Schwarz, Heinrich. David Octavius Hill, Master of Photography, trans. Helene E. Fraenkel. London: George G.Harrap, 1932.
- Sherwood, Dolly. Harriet Hosmer, American Sculptor, 1830-1908. Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 1991.
- Smith, Marion Elmina. Une Anglaise intellectuelle en France sous la Restauration: Miss Mary Clarke. Paris: Librairie Ancienne Honoré Champion, 1927.
- Stephen, Barbara. Emily Davies and Girton College. London: Constable and Co. Ltd., 1927.
- Strachey, Ray. Millicent Garrett Fawcett. London: John Murray, 1931.

Thomas, Clara. Love and Work Enough; the Life of Anna Jameson. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1967.

Thornycroft, Elfrida. Bronze and Steel: the Life of Thomas Thornycroft, Sculptor and Engineer. Long Compton, Shipston-on-Stour: King's Stone Press, 1932.

Todd, Margaret. The Life of Sophia Jex-Blake. London: Macmillan and Co., 1918.

Tollemache, Lionel A. and Beatrice L. Tollemache. Safe Studies. London: C. F. Hodgson and Son, 1884.

Wake, Jehanne. Princess Louise, Queen Victoria's Unconventional Daughter. London: Collins, 1988.

Waterfield, Gordon. Layard of Nineveh. London: John Murray, 1963.

Wilson, D. C. Lone Woman: the Story of Elizabeth Blackwell, the First Woman Doctor. London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1970.

### 3. Articles

Alcoff, Linda. "Cultural Feminism Versus Post-Structuralism: The Identity Crisis in Feminist Theory." Signs: Journal of Women in Culture and Society 13 (Spring 1988): 405-436.

Anderson, Michael. "The Social Position of Spinsters in Mid-Victorian Britain." Journal of Family History (Winter 1984): 377-93.

Aslin, Elizabeth. "The Rise and Progress of the Art Union of London." Apollo 85 (1967): 12-16.

Avery, Charles and Madeline Marsh. "The Bronze Statuettes of the Art Union of London: The Rise and Decline of Victorian Taste in Sculpture." Apollo 121 (1985): 328-337.

"The Burlington Fine Arts Club." Burlington Magazine 94 (April 1952): 97-99.

Caine, Barbara. "Feminist Biography and Feminist History." Women's History Review 3 (1994): 247-261.

- Casteras, Susan P. "The Necessity of a Name." In Gender and Discourse in Victorian Literature and Art. Edited by Anthony H. Harrison and Beverley Taylor. De Kalb, Illinois: Northern Illinois University Press, 1992.
- Chadwick, Whitney. "Women Artists and the Politics of Representation." In Feminist Art Criticism: an Anthology, ed. Arlene Raven, Cassandra L. Langer and Joanna Frueh. Ann Arbor: UMI Research Press, 1988.
- Comini, Alessandra. "Who Ever Heard of a Woman Sculptor?" In American Women Artists 1830-1930, ed. Eleanor Tufts, 17-25. Washington, D.C.: The National Museum of Women in the Arts, 1987.
- Cott, Nancy. "Feminist Theory and Feminist Movements: The Past Before Us." In What is Feminism?, ed. Juliet Mitchell and Ann Oakely. New York: Pantheon, 1986.
- Crabbe, John. "An Artist Divided: the Forgotten Talent of Barbara Bodichon." Apollo 113 (May 1981): 311-313.
- Dawson, Ruth P. "And this Shield is Called--Self-Reliance: Emerging Feminist Consciousness in the Late Eighteenth Century." In German Women in the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries: A Social and Literary History, ed. Ruth-Ellen B. Joeres and Mary Jo Maynes. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1986.
- Delmar, Rosalind. "What is Feminism?" In What is Feminism?, ed. Juliet Mitchell and Ann Oakley. New York: Pantheon, 1986.
- Ditner, David C. "Nineteenth-Century Portrait Sculpture." Apollo n.s. 127 (May 1988): 334-338.
- Fowle, Frances. "The Changing Functions of the Royal Institution." Journal of the Scottish Society for Art History 4 (1999): 26-33.
- Gorsky, Susan R. "Old Maids and New Women: Alternatives to Marriage in Englishwomen's Novels 1847-1915." Journal of Popular Culture 7 (1973): 68-85.
- Harrison, J.F.C. "The Victorian Gospel of Success." Victorian Studies 1 (December 1957): 155-164.

- Havice, C. "In a Class by Herself." *Woman's Art Journal* 2 (1981): 35-40.
- Holcombe, Adele M. "Anna Jameson: The First Professional Art Historian." *Art History* 6 (June 1983): 171-187.
- \_\_\_\_\_. "Anna Jameson on Women Artists." *Woman's Art Journal* (Fall 1987-Winter 1988): 15-24.
- Howarth, Janet. "Mrs. Henry Fawcett (1847-1929): The Widow as a Problem in Feminist Biography." In *Votes for Women*, ed. Jane Purvis and Sandra Stanley Holton, 84-108. London: Routledge, 2000.
- Hunt-Lewis, Hilary. "Appendix II." In *The Life Story of H.R.H. Princess Louise Duchess of Argyll*, David Duff. Bath: Cedric Chivers, 1971.
- Hurtado, Shannon Hunter. "The Promotion of the Visual Arts in Britain, 1835-1860." *Canadian Journal of History* 28 (April 1993): 60-80.
- Johnson, Wendell Stacy. "'The Bride of Literature': Ruskin, the Eastlakes and Mid-Victorian Theories of Art." *The Victorian Newsletter* 26 (February 1964): 23-28.
- Kerber, Linda K. "Separate Spheres, Female Worlds, Woman's Place: The Rhetoric of Women's History." *Journal of American History* 75 (June 1988-March 1989): 9-39.
- King, Anthony. "George Godwin and the Art Union of London, 1837-1911." *Victorian Studies* 8 (1965): 101-130.
- Leach, Joseph. "Harriet Hosmer: Feminist in Bronze and Marble." *The Feminist Art Journal* 5 (summer 1976): 9-13 and 44-45.
- McCracken, Penny. "Sculptor Mary Thornycroft and Her Artist Children." *Woman's Art Journal* (Fall 1996/Winter 1997): 3-8.
- McCrone, Kathleen E. "The Assertion of Women's Rights in Mid-Victorian England." *Canadian Historical Association Historical Papers* (1972): 39-53.
- McGregor, O.R. "The Social Position of Women in England, 1850-1914: A Bibliography." *The British Journal of Sociology* 6 (1955): 48-60.
- Macleod, Dianne Sachko. "Art Collecting and Victorian Middle-Class Taste." *Art History* 10 (September 1987): 328-350.

- Matthews, Jacquie. "Barbara Bodichon: Integrity in Diversity." In Feminist Theorists: Three Centuries of Key Women Thinkers, ed. Dale Spender. New York: Pantheon, 1983.
- Maurice, F. D. "Female School of Art; Mrs. Jameson." MacMillan's Magazine 2 (July 1860): 227-235.
- Morrison-Low, A.D. "Dr. John Adamson and Thomas Rodger: Amateur and Professional Photography in Nineteenth-Century St. Andrews." In Photography 1900: The Edinburgh Symposium, ed. Julie Lawson, Ray McKenzie, and A.D. Morrison-Low. Edinburgh: National Museums of Scotland, 1992), 19-37.
- Nochlin, Linda. "Why Have There Been No Great Women Artists?" In Art and Sexual Politics, ed. Thomas Hess and Elizabeth Baker. New York; London, 1971.
- Nunn, Pamela. "The Case History of a Woman Artists: Henrietta Ward." Art History 3 (September 1978): 293-308.
- Nunn, Pamela Gerrish. "Training and Professionalism: Britain and Ireland, Nineteenth Century." In Dictionary of Women Artists, ed. Delia Gaze, 80-84. London; Chicago: Fitzroy Dearborn, 1997.
- Offen, Karen. "Defining Feminism: A Comparative Historical Approach." Signs 14 (1988): 119-157.
- Ouida. "The Woman Problem: II Love Versus Avarice." Lippincott's Monthly Magazine 83 (1909): 712-717.
- Ouida. "The New Woman." North American Review 450 (May 1894): 610-619.
- Peterson, Thalia Gouma and Patricia Matthews. "The Feminist Critique of Art History." Art Bulletin 69 (1987): 326-357.
- Ribner, Jonathan P. "Henri de Triqueti, Auguste Préault, and the Glorification of Law under the July Monarchy." Art Bulletin 70 (September 1988): 486-501.
- Rifkin, Adrian. "Success Disavowed: The Schools of Design in Mid-Nineteenth-Century Britain. (An Allegory)." Journal of Design History 1 (1988): 89-102.

Schiff, Gert. "The Sculpture of the Style Troubador." *Arts Magazine* 58 (June 1984): 102-110.

Seed, John. "Commerce and the Liberal Arts: The Political Economy of Art in Manchester, 1775-1860." In *The Culture of Capital: Art, Power and the Nineteenth-Century Middle Class*, ed. Janet Wolff and John Seed. Manchester: University of Manchester Press, 1988.

Showalter, Elaine. "Feminist Criticism in the Wilderness." In *Modern Criticism and Theory*, ed. David Lodge. London: Longman, 1988.

\_\_\_\_\_. "The Rise of Gender." In *Speaking of Gender*, ed. Elaine Showalter. New York: Routledge, 1989.

Sicherman, Barbara. "Sense and Sensibility: A Case Study of Women's Reading in Late-Victorian America." In *Gendered Domains: Rethinking Public and Private in Women's History*, ed. Dorothy O. Helly and Susan M. Reverby. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1992.

Smailes, Helen. "Mary Grant." In *Dictionary of Women Artists*, ed. Delia Gaze. London; Chicago: Fitzroy Dearborn, 1997.

Smith-Rosenberg, Carroll. "The Female World of Love and Ritual: Relations Between Women in Nineteenth-Century America." In *The "Signs" Reader: Women, Gender and Scholarship*, ed. Elizabeth Abel and Emily K. Abel. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1983.

Stanley, Liz. "Biography as Microscope or Kaleidoscope?" *Women's Studies International Forum* 10 (1987): 19-31.

Vickery, Amanda. "Golden Age to Separate Spheres? A Review of the Categories and Chronology of English Women's History." *History Journal* 36 (1993): 383-414.

Wagner, Anne M. "Learning to Sculpt in the Nineteenth Century: An Introduction." In *The Romantics to Rodin*, ed. Peter Fusco and H.W.Janson. Los Angeles: Los Angeles County Museum of Art in association with George Braziller, 1980.

Ward-Jackson, Philip. "Carlo Marochetti et les photographes." *Revue de l'Art* 104 (1994): 43-48.

\_\_\_\_\_. "The French Background of Royal Monuments at Windsor and

Frogmore." *Church Monuments* 8 (1993): 63-83.

Webb, R.K. "The Unitarian Background." In *Truth, Liberty, Religion: Essays Celebrating 200 Year of Manchester College*, ed. Barbara Smith. Oxford: Oxford University Press and Manchester College, 1986.

#### REFERENCE WORKS

- Bachmann, Donna G., and Sherry Piland. *Women Artists: An Historical, Contemporary and Feminist Bibliography*. Metuchen, N.J.; London: Scarecrow Press, 1978.
- Bank, David and Anthony Esposito. *British Biographical Archive*. London: K.G. Saur, 1990.
- Banks, Olive. *The Biographical Dictionary of British Feminists*. New York: New York University Press, 1985.
- Baylen, Joseph O. and Norbert J. Grossman, eds. *The Biographical Dictionary of Modern British Radicals*. Vol. 2, 1830-1870. Brighton: Harvester Press, 1984.
- Bell, Peter. *Index to Biographies of Women in Boase's Modern English Biography*. Edinburgh: P. Bell, 1986.
- Benézit, Emmanuel, ed. *Dictionnaire critique et documentaire des peintres, sculpteurs, dessinateurs et graveurs de tous les temps et de tous les pays*. New ed. Paris: Grund, 1999.
- Billcliffe, Roger, comp. *The Royal Glasgow Institute of the Fine Arts 1861-1989: A Dictionary of Exhibitors at the Annual Exhibitions*. Glasgow: Woodend Press, 1992.
- Blain, Virginia, Patricia Clements and Isobel Grundy, eds. *The Feminist Companion to Literature in England: Women Writers from the Middle-Ages to the Present*. London: B.T. Batsford, 1990.
- Boase, Frederick. *Modern English Biography*, vol. V and supplement vol II. Truro: Netherton and Worth, 1912.
- Boase, T.S.R. *English Art 1800-1870*. Oxford: Clarendon, 1959.

- Burke's Genealogical and Heraldic History of the Landed Gentry. L. G. Pine and F. S. A. Scot, eds., 17th edition. London: Burke's Peerage Ltd., 1952.
- Burke's Genealogical and Heraldic History of the Peerage, Baronetage and Knightage. Peter Townsend, ed., 105th edition. London: Burke's Peerage Ltd., 1970.
- Chilvers, Ian, Harold Osborne, and Dennis Farr, eds. The Oxford Dictionary of Art. Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 1988.
- Clement, Clara Erskine (Waters) and Laurence Hutton. Artists of the Nineteenth Century and their Works. 2 vols. Boston: Houghton Osgood; London: Trübner, 1879; reprint, New York: Arno Press, 1969.
- Clement, Clara Erskine. Women in the Fine Arts from the Seventh Century B. C. to the Twentieth Century A. D. Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1904; reprint, New York: Hacker, 1974.
- The Concise Dictionary of National Biography. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1992.
- Courtauld Institute of Art. Checklist of British Artists in the Witt Library 1200-1990. London: Courtauld Institute of Art, 1991.
- Crawford, Anne, Tony Hayter, Ann Hughes, Frank Prochaska, Pauline Stafford and Elizabeth Vallance, eds. Biographical Dictionary of British Women. London: Europa Publications, 1983.
- Debrett's Peerage and Baronetage. Charles Kidd and David Williamson, eds. London: Debrett's Peerage Ltd. and Macmillan London Ltd., 1990.
- Dunford, Penny, ed. Biographical Dictionary of Women Artists in Europe and America Since 1850. New York; Toronto: Harvester Wheatsheaf, 1990.
- Ellet, E.F. Women Artists in All Ages and Countries. London: Richard Bentley, 1859.
- Enciclopedia dello spettacolo. Rome: Casa Editrice le Maschere, 1954-1966.
- Encyclopaedia Britannica. 11th ed. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1910-1911.
- Fenwick, Gillian. Women and the Dictionary of National Biography: A Guide to



D.N.B. Volumes 1885-1985 and Missing Persons. Aldershot: Scolar Press, 1994.

Fine, Elsa Honig. Women and Art: A History of Women Painters and Sculptors from the Renaissance to the Twentieth Century. Montclair, N.J.: Allanheld and Schram, 1978.

The Fine Art Society. Gibson to Gilbert: British Sculpture 1840-1914. London: Fine Art Society, 1992.

Foster, Joseph, ed. Oxford Men 1880-1892. Oxford: J Parker Co., 1893.

Garrity, John A. and Mark C. Carnes, eds. American National Biography. New York; Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999.

Gaze, Delia, ed. Dictionary of Women Artists. London; Chicago: Fitzroy Dearborn, 1997.

Gifford, John, ed. Dumfries and Galloway. The Buildings of Scotland Series. Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1996.

Gifford, John, Colin McWilliam, David Walker, and Christopher Wilson, eds. Edinburgh. The Buildings of Scotland Series. Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1984.

Gifford, John, ed. Eife. The Buildings of Scotland Series. Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1988.

Golemba, Beverley E. Lesser Known Women: A Biographical Dictionary. Boulder: Rienner Publishers, 1992.

La Grande Encyclopédie: Inventaire Raisoné des Sciences, des Lettres et des Arts. M. Berthélot, Societé des savants et de gens de lettres. Paris: H. Lamirault et Cie, éditeurs, tome 15ième, 1886.

Grant, Maurice. A Dictionary of British Sculptors from the Thirteenth Century to the Twentieth Century. London: Rockliff, 1953.

Graves, Algernon. The British Institution 1806-1867: A Complete Dictionary of Contributors and their Work. London: George Bell and Sons and Algernon Graves, 1908.

\_\_\_\_\_. Dictionary of Artists Who Have Exhibited Works in the Principle

- London Exhibitions from 1760-1893. Bath:1901; reprint 1970.
- \_\_\_\_\_. The Royal Academy of Arts: a Complete Dictionary of Contributors and Their Work from its Foundations in 1769 to 1904. London: Kingsmead, 1905; reprint 1970.
- Green, Bernard. The Timetables of History. New York: Simon and Schuster, 1975.
- Groce, George C. and David H. Wallace, eds. The New York Historical Society's Dictionary of Artists in America 1564-1860. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1957.
- Gunnis, Rupert. Dictionary of British Sculptors 1660-1851. London: the Abbey Library, 1964.
- Harris, Ann Sutherland and Linda Nochlin. Women Artists: 1550-1950. Los Angeles County Museum of Art; New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1976.
- Hartnoll, Phyllis, ed. The Concise Oxford Companion to the Theatre. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1972.
- Hays, Frances. Women of the Day: A Biographical Dictionary of Notable Contemporaries. London: Chatto and Windus, 1885.
- Hays, Mary. Female Biography; or Memoirs of Illustrious and Celebrated Women of all Ages and Countries. Vol. 6. London: Richard Phillips, 1803.
- Heller, Nancy G. Women Artists: an Illustrated History. London: Virago, 1987.
- How, Frederick Douglas. Noble Women of Our Time. London: Isbister and Co., 1901.
- The "Journal" Guide to Dunfermline. Dunfermline, n.d.
- Kelly, E. R., ed. The Postal Office Directory of Devonshire and Cornwall. London: Kelly and Co., 1873.
- Kunitz, Stanley J. and Howard Haycraft, eds. American Authors 1600-1900: A Biographical Dictionary of American Literature. New York: H.W. Wilson, 1938.
- Kunitz, Stanley J., ed. British Authors of the Nineteenth Century. New York:

- H.W. Wilson, 1936.
- Lami, Stanislas. Dictionnaire des sculpteurs de l'Ecole française au dix-neuvième siècle. Nendeln, Liechtenstein: Kraus reprint, 1970.
- Laperrière, Charles Baile de, ed. The Royal Scottish Academy Exhibitors 1826-1990. Compiled by Meta Viles and Joanna Soden. Calne, Wiltshire: Hilmarton Press, 1991.
- \_\_\_\_\_. The Society of Women Artists Exhibitors 1858-1996. Compiled by Joanna Soden. Calne, Wiltshire: Hilmarton Manor Press, 1996.
- Lee, Sidney, ed. Dictionary of National Biography. London: Smith, Elder and Co., 1909.
- Lobies, Jean-Pierre, ed. Index Bio-Bibliographicus Notorum Hominum. Osnabrück: Biblio Verlag, 1978.
- London Business Directory. London: Spottiswoode and Co., 1874, 1875, 1886, 1887.
- McEwan, Peter J.M., ed. Dictionary of Scottish Art and Architecture. Woodbridge, Suffolk: Antique Collector's Club, 1994.
- Mackay, James. The Dictionary of Western Sculptors in Bronze. Woodbridge, Suffolk: Antique Collectors' Club, 1977.
- McWilliam, Colin, ed. Lothian Except Edinburgh. The Buildings of Scotland Series. Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1978.
- Mainiero, Linda, ed. A Critical Reference Guide from Colonial Times to the Present. Vol. 4, American Women Writers. New York: Frederick Ungar, 1979.
- Men of the Time, 1856. In British Biographical Archive, entry 149-50, microfiche.
- Mitchell, Sally, ed. Victorian Britain: an Encyclopedia. New York; London: Garland, 1988.
- The New Edinburgh, Leith and County Business Directory. Edinburgh: Ballantyne and Co., 1867-1870.
- The New Lexicon Webster's Encyclopaedic Dictionary. Canadian edition. New

- York: Lexicon Publications, 1988.
- Nicholls, C.S. Dictionary of National Biography: Missing Persons. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1993.
- Ormond, Richard and Malcolm Rogers, eds. Dictionary of British Portraiture. Vol. 1, The Early Victorians. Vol. 3, The Victorians. London: Batsford; National Portrait Gallery, 1973-81.
- Paxton, John. Calendar of Creative Man. New York: Facts on File, 1980.
- Pettys, Chris. Dictionary of Women Artists: An International Dictionary of Women Artists Born before 1900. Boston: G.K. Hall, 1985.
- Pettman, Mary, ed. National Portrait Gallery Complete Illustrated Catalogue 1856-1979. Compiled by K.K.Yung. London: National Portrait Gallery, 1981.
- Pevsner, Nikolaus. Buildings of England. Vol. 1, London. 3d ed. Revised by Bridget Cherry. Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1972.
- Pevsner, Nikolaus and Priscilla Metcalf. The Cathedrals of England. Harmondsworth: Viking, 1985.
- Post Office London Directory. London: Frederick Kelly, 1860, 1861, 1864, 1871, 1872.
- Pyke, E.J. A Biographical Dictionary of Wax Modellers. Oxford: Clarendon, 1973.
- Reid, Daniel G., Robert D. Linder, Bruce L. Shelley and Harry S. Stout, eds. Dictionary of Christianity in America. Downers Grove, Illinois: InterVarsity Press, 1990.
- Royle, Trevor. The Mainstream Companion to Scottish Literature. Edinburgh: Mainstream, 1993.
- Rubenstein, Charlotte Streifer. American Women Artists from Early Indian Times to the Present. Boston: G.K. Hall and Co., 1982.
- Sampson, George. The Concise Cambridge History of English Literature. 3d ed. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1982.

- Smailes, Helen. The Concise Catalogue of the Scottish National Portrait Gallery. Edinburgh: Galleries of Scotland, 1990.
- Stapleton, Michael, ed. The Cambridge Guide to English Literature. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983.
- Stephen, Leslie and Sydney Lee, eds. Dictionary of National Biography. London: Smith, Elder and Co., 1890.
- \_\_\_\_\_. Dictionary of National Biography. Second Supplement. London: Smith and Elder, 1912.
- Sutherland, John. The Longman Companion to Victorian Fiction. Harlow: Longman, 1988.
- Theime, Ulrich and Felix Becker. Allgemeines Lexikon der bildenden Künstler von der Antike bis zur Gegenwart. Leipzig: E. A. Seemann, 1907-47.
- Thomas, Jane, ed. Victorian Literature From 1830-1900. Bloomsbury Guides to English Literature, ed. Marion Wynne-Davies. London: Bloomsbury, 1994.
- Tufts, Eleanor. American Women Artists 1830-1930. Washington, D.C.: The National Museum of Women in the Arts, 1987.
- \_\_\_\_\_. Our Hidden Heritage: Five Centuries of Women Artists. New York: Paddington Press, 1974.
- Uglow, Jennifer, ed. The Continuum Dictionary of Women's Biography. New York: Continuum Publishing Co., 1982; reprinted 1989.
- Walford, E. The County Families of the United Kingdom, 6th ed. London: Robert Hardwicke, 1871.
- Weaver, J.R.H., ed. Dictionary of National Biography: Twentieth Century, 1922-1930 with Index 1901-1930. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1922-1930; London: Humphrey Milford, 1937.
- Zimmerman, J.E. Dictionary of Classical Mythology. New York: Harper and Rowe, 1964; new ed. New York: Bantam, 1977.