

Inked Impressions

ELLEN DAY HALE
AND THE
PAINTER-ETCHER
MOVEMENT



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January 26 – April 14, 2007

Curated by:

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Back Cover: Ellen Day Hale, Etching plate for *The Willow Whistle*, 1888. Copper, 15 $\frac{5}{8}$ x 8 $\frac{5}{8}$ in. On loan from Eric Denker, class of 1975 (cat. 29).

Figure 1 (opposite page): Ellen Day Hale, *Self Portrait*, 1885. Oil on canvas, 28 $\frac{1}{2}$ x 39 in. Photograph © 2007. Museum of Fine Arts, Boston. Gift of Nancy Hale Bowers, 1986.645.



ELLEN DAY HALE

Self Portrait, 1885

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Members of the Art Historical Methods Seminar
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Inked Impressions

Phillip Earenfight, Seminar Adviser

The necessity of reacting against the positivism of the mirror-like apparatus has made many a painter take up the etcher's needle.¹

Théophile Gautier (1863)

The nineteenth century was an inventive period for printmaking. The volume of prints made and the variety of printmaking techniques and processes employed during the century are numerous. Such productivity and invention emerged in response to the increased demand for printed images. Publishers in major printing centers employed teams of engravers and lithographers to produce illustrations for their journals and books. Likewise, individual photographers quickly capitalized on the popularity of their new-found ways of making images from light and produced countless daguerreotypes, tintypes, and albumen prints for an ever-expanding market. Although their results could be technically impressive, many artists and critics regarded such mass-produced prints and photographs as purely reproductive products of industry and science, and not art. In the passage above, Théophile Gautier's criticism of the "mirror-like apparatus" of such imagery suggests as much. Amid the flood of reproductive imagery, a number of artists, critics, and connoisseurs promoted the slow, manual, and highly personal process of making etchings. The idiosyncratic nature of the etched line, selective toning and wiping of hand-inked plates, and small, limited editions of hand-made prints on carefully chosen paper, vellum, parchment, or silk, found a favorable audience among collectors and artists.

The desire to make and collect beautifully crafted prints was complemented by a renewed interest in the etchings of Rembrandt, Goya, and other Old Masters. Collectors and artists alike celebrated the remarkable range of tone and line that earlier etchers were able to achieve in their works and promoted similar effects in the works of their contemporaries. The growing popularity of making and collecting etchings led to what is known as the Etching Revival.² Although the movement centered in Britain and France, it was soon introduced in America where it found a strong following. Although some of the artists who contributed to the revival were printmakers only, most were also painters and virtually all of them sought to make etchings that evoked the subtle qualities associated with drawing and painting.

Perhaps best known among the painter-etchers was the American-born artist James Abbott McNeill Whistler, who



Figure 2. James Abbott McNeill Whistler, *Drouet Sculpteur*, 1859. Etching and drypoint, paper: 11 $\frac{3}{8}$ x 8 $\frac{1}{2}$ in.; plate: 9 x 6 in. The Trout Gallery, Dickinson College, Carlisle, PA. Carnegie Collection, 1985.9.9 (cat. 54).

settled and worked primarily in London. Whistler was a brilliant draftsman and produced what many believe are some of the finest etchings of the century (fig. 2; cat. 54). His prints brought together a fine balance of carefully etched lines and subtle plate tone. In contrast, his brother-in-law, Seymour Haden, eschewed the use of plate tone and made prints that were based exclusively on the etched line. Haden was not only an important etcher in London, he also published books on printmaking including studies on Rembrandt's etchings.³ French artists were equally involved in the Etching Revival and painters such as Charles-François Daubigny and

Charles-Emile Jacque were particularly important etchers. Furthermore, Maxime Lalane's *A Treatise on Etching* (1866) became a seminal study on etching technique and its translation into English by Sylvester Rosa Koehler (1880) played an instrumental role in promoting the Etching Revival in America.⁴

Etching became popular in America during the last quarter of the nineteenth century, particularly in the principal artistic and printing centers of New York, Boston, and Philadelphia. Groups such as the New York Etching Club, the Philadelphia Society of Etchers, and the Society of American Etchers, among others, were formed to promote the production, collection, and display of etchings. Artists such as William Merritt Chase (cat. 5), Gabrielle DeVaux Clements (cat. 6–9), Henry Farrer (cat. 16), Ellen Day Hale (cat. 18–40), Mary Nimmo Moran (cat. 41, 42), Thomas Moran (cat. 43), Joseph Pennell (cat. 44–46), and James David Smillie (cat. 51) were among the numerous artists who were active in such societies.

As this selection of artists suggests, women played a vital role in the development and practice of etching in America. Their prominence was highlighted in Sylvester Rosa Koehler's landmark exhibition *Women Etchers of America* (1887) at the Museum of Fine Arts in Boston, which featured more than four-hundred etchings by twenty-five women artists. The exhibition was so well received that it was recreated and expanded by an additional hundred prints by eleven other women artists at the Union League Club in New York City. As Phyllis Peet has revealed in her extensive research on American women etchers, this exhibition underscored the large number of professional women artists in the country and the scope of their activity and production.⁵ While it was well known that women had long played an important role in the printmaking industry—as wood engravers, lithographers, and photographers—their numbers and the extent of their professional activity as etchers was not well known.

Ellen Day Hale was among the many artists included in the *Women Etchers of America* exhibition. Having just learned to etch from fellow artist and companion, Gabrielle DeVaux Clements, only three of Hale's etchings appeared in the New York version of the exhibition: *The Porte Guillaume, Chartres* (cat. 19, 20), *Village Street, Mont Saint-Michel*, and *St. Michael's Dragon, Mont Saint-Michel*. In contrast, Clements exhibited twenty prints, while Eliza Greatorex, whom many regard as the "first" woman etcher in America, provided thirty-seven.⁶ Despite her modest showing at this venue early in her career as an etcher, Hale quickly mastered the technique and produced one of her largest and most ambitious prints, *The Willow Whistle* (cat. 25–29), which she exhibited at the Paris Salon. In addition to her work as a painter of portraits,



Figure 3. Ellen Day Hale, *Arch at Taormina, Sicily*, n.d. Etching, paper: 14 x 11 in.; print: 6 7/8 x 5 in. The Trout Gallery, Dickinson College, Carlisle, PA. Gift of Eric Denker, class of 1975, 1998.3.5 (cat. 39).

landscapes, and domestic scenes, etching remained an important dimension of Hale's artistic career (fig. 3).

As the subtitle to this catalogue indicates, *Inked Impressions* focuses on Ellen Day Hale and her place within the larger circle of American painter-etchers. Hale is well suited for such a study because much is known about her life and artistic career. Moreover, since many aspects of her professional training and experiences mirror those of her peers, a study of her life and her work as an etcher defines a professional life that would, in many ways, hold true for other less-documented artists in her circle. While Hale did not achieve the same level of international success as artists such as Mary Cassatt, she is perhaps more representative of the numerous painter-etchers who defined the movement. Through Hale's paintings and prints, we see a gifted artist within the principal artistic movements in late nineteenth-century America.

In selecting prints for this exhibition, the student curators weighed the issue of focusing exclusively on Hale and other women etchers, thus emulating the model set forth in the *Women Etchers of America* exhibition. While such an approach reflects certain gender divisions within nineteenth-century society, Mary Cassatt argued then and others maintain today that exhibiting men's and women's art separately leads to contrasting standards, expectations, and assessments.⁷ Mindful of this on-going debate, the curators of this exhibition chose to integrate the works of Ellen Day Hale within the artistic world in which she painted, etched, exhibited, and sold her works. By examining her works among those of other American painter-etchers, men and women, one gains a clearer picture of her contribution and place within the movement.

The essays in this exhibition catalogue examine aspects of Hale's life and career, beginning with a biographical sketch, a study of her early artistic training in America, and the fundamentals of Hale's etching technique. They are followed by a series of essays that consider her work in France and Italy, as well as her relationship to other women painter-etchers, Gabrielle DeVaux Clements and Annie Blanche Dillaye. The final essay addresses assumptions in late nineteenth-century society that art by women was somehow recognizably feminine. The essays address many important questions and shed light on the remarkable prints made by Hale and her fellow etchers during this pivotal period in the history of American printmaking.

1 Théophile Gautier, preface to Janine Bally-Herzberg, *Dictionnaire de la Société des Aqua-fortistes*, vol. 2 of *L'eau-forte de peintre au dix-neuvième siècle; la Société des Aqua-fortistes* (Paris: L. Laget, 1862–1867).

2 Sylvester Rosa Koehler, *Etching: an outline of its technical processes and its history, with some remarks on collections and collecting* (New York: Cassell & Co., 1885).

3 Seymour Haden, *About Etching*, 2 pts. (London: The Fine Arts Society, 1879); Seymour Haden, *The Etched Work of Rembrandt. A Monograph* (London: Macmillian and Co., 1879).

4 Maxime Lalanne, *A Treatise on Etching*, translated by Sylvester Rosa Koehler (Boston: Estes and Lauriat, 1880).

5 Phyllis Peet, *American Women of the Etching Revival* (Atlanta: High Museum of Art, 1988), 9, 51–64.

6 Mrs. Schulyer van Rensselaer, *Work of the Women Etchers of America* (New York: The Union League Club, 1888), 5, 8, 12–13.

7 Peet, *American Women of the Etching Revival*, 35.

“A Rebellious Tradition”: The Life of Ellen Day Hale

Brittany Bosch

I sat with a book in my lap and watched. The old ladies gave themselves to “process”—the preparing and printing of plates—with a peculiar, gay intensity. In their eccentric garb they hurried about the huge studio, lowering a plate into the nitric acid bath.... Afterwards they all clustered around to examine critically the result achieved.¹

At the age of twelve, Nancy Hale watched her mother, Lilian Westcott Hale, and aunt, Ellen Day Hale, create prints in the comforts of “The Thickets,” a small fisherman cottage in Rockport, Massachusetts. Nancy learned not only the technique of etching, but also observed the life of a woman who was an important member of the late nineteenth-century Painter-Etcher movement. Ellen Day Hale was acknowledged in her day as a gifted painter of portraits and landscapes, as well as an accomplished etcher. Raised in the artistic milieu of nineteenth-century Boston, Hale’s work incorporates aspects of French Impressionism as with a knowledge of the Old Masters, particularly the Dutch genre and landscape painters.²

As a woman artist in turn-of-the-century Boston, Hale possessed similarly progressive characteristics that were embodied by a new generation of women. These women refuted traditional gender roles, as represented by the Victorian ideal woman, by pursuing professional careers. They sought personal independence and self-sufficiency through their work, which contested the former traditional gender norms.³ They questioned the constraints of domesticity and the traditional portrait of women by defining themselves as professional artists and therefore choosing a more modern lifestyle. As Boston society evolved and provided greater opportunities, women’s roles began to shift and blur. Ellen Day Hale is representative of this changing nature of women in contemporary life.

This essay defines the chronology of Ellen Day Hale’s life within the social and cultural context of the time. Was Hale another product of Victorian ideologies or rather a progressive forerunner in art, and essentially a “new woman with an old name?”⁴ As a study of her life, this essay will conclude how, for Hale and many Boston women, these cultural changes produced a double-consciousness of identity. The shifting cultural ideologies perpetuated both traditionally idyllic and progressively modern characteristics in women. Yet for Hale, despite the changing times, her love and commitment to her art remained constant.

In 1855, Ellen Day Hale was born into an elite Brahmin family in Worcester, Massachusetts (fig. 4). Although her



Figure 4. Edward Everett Hale, *Emily Perkins Hale with daughter Ellen Day Hale*, c. 1855. Daguerreotype. The Sophia Smith Collection, Smith College, Northampton, MA.

family was not extraordinarily wealthy, the Hale name was respected among the upper class and held great status and prestige. Hale’s father, Edward Everett Hale, was a third generation Hale and great nephew to the revolutionary patriot, Nathan Hale.⁵ E. E. Hale was a significant writer and orator and in 1842 he became minister of the Congregationalist Church of the Unity where he preached until 1899. His connection to the church seems to have provided the basis for Ellen’s religious devotion.⁶ Ellen aided her father in his church-related duties, expressing desire for a good Christian lifestyle as well as her love and devotion for her father.⁷ As a prolific author, E. E. Hale wrote many books and essays including *The Man Without a Country* (1863) and was involved in social reform through institutions, such as the Lend-A-Hand Society, which advocated the abolition of slavery and promoted religious tolerance and education reform.⁸ In 1903, he was made chaplain of the United States Senate, which he held until his death in 1909.

Similarly, Ellen’s great aunts, Harriet Beecher Stowe and Catherine Beecher, also wrote on nineteenth-century ideals.⁹

As the author of *Uncle Tom's Cabin* (1850), the liberal and progressive Harriet Beecher Stowe worked to abolish slavery. Yet, in contrast to Harriet's activist life, her sister, Catherine Beecher, assumed a more traditional stance and was one of the leading opponents to feminism.¹⁰ She argued that wives and mothers should engage "in the continual humiliation, service, and selfless love" and that "women made her life an imitation of Christ: her grand mission is self-denial."¹¹ The sisters' ideological differences are demonstrated through their contrasting beliefs and could explain Hale's own conflict between traditional ideals of family obligation and her liberal actions as an independent female artist.¹²

As a young child Ellen was raised within an artistic atmosphere. Ellen's mother, Emily Baldwin Perkins (1829–1914), encouraged her interest in art at an early age and her aunt, Susan Hale (1833–1910), who was a celebrated watercolorist and teacher, most likely provided Ellen her first artistic instruction (fig. 5).¹³ Philip Hale (1865–1931), Ellen's younger brother, was an art critic for the *Boston Herald* and an art teacher at the Boston Museum School.¹⁴ In 1902, he married Lilian Clarke Westcott (1881–1963) who had a long and fulfilling artistic career; she too worked together with Ellen during summers in Rockport, Massachusetts.¹⁵ Such encouragement from her family, as well as Boston's progressive



Figure 5. Photographer unknown, *Susan Hale with brother Edward Everett Hale*, c. 1850. Daguerreotype. The Sophia Smith Collection, Smith College, Northampton, MA.

artistic environment, provided Hale the blessing and opportunity to pursue a career as a professional artist.

Ellen's family possessed both traditional and progressive characteristics perpetuating an ideological duality that was also seen in the changing principles of Boston and the Brahmin elite. Hale socialized with the upper class of Boston, who located themselves in the Back Bay and Beacon Hill areas composing the West End, the fashionable quarter of the city.¹⁶ Traditional Brahmin women lived within an all-encompassing domestic sphere that shaped values as well as activities.¹⁷ Women and gender identity were shaped by the ideals of domesticity, forcing them to act in accordance to their defined space. This social setting placed expectations upon Boston women, and Hale was no exception. As a traditional Victorian woman, Ellen lived with a high moral standing, and as Nancy Hale describes, she believed in the "idea of personal power as a positive attitude."¹⁸ As a woman of refined social standing, she was well composed, intellectual, refined, and respected. This idyllic profile was best described in Mrs. Ednah Cheney's "The Women of Boston," a chapter found in the fourth volume of *The Memorial History of Boston* (1881).

The Boston woman inherits from a line of well bred and well educated ancestors, mostly English, and a physical frame delicate and supple, but enduring. More intellectual than passionate, her impulses are under control; and she is reserved and cold in manner.... Her morality is stern and exacting, and she does not understand the temptations, which beset other natures. Her aesthetic nature is serious and refined preferring the classic music to the modern opera. The Boston woman is exemplary in her conduct as a wife and mother.¹⁹

As the only female author featured in this volume, Cheney portrayed the Boston woman through a historically achieved identity stressing the cultivated characteristics defined by the feminized home.²⁰ However, this description and solidification of the traditional Victorian woman is later disrupted when Cheney continues, "But Boston women are still more remarkable for their virtues in single life. Young aspirants in art, however wealthy, seek to sell their pictures, that they may be classed as artists, not as amateurs."²¹ Here Cheney modifies the traditional definition of Boston women by noting the exemplary characteristics of single, working women. This introduction of individualistic traits references the emergence of a new generation of women who empowered themselves through the pursuit and development of professional careers parallel to those of men.²² By characterizing Boston women as both conventional and progressive, Cheney

suggests that women are “transmitters of Boston’s rebellious tradition and its most refined cultural ideal.”²³ The development of female identity was made possible by the changing cultural and social landscape of Boston and the new opportunities it presented to women. In turn-of-the-century Boston, “It was not a question of her social function determining what she might learn, but rather a question of what she might learn determining what she might become.”²⁴

Among the city’s elite, education and learning were imperative to the Bostonians. The catalyst for this occurred in 1872 when a catastrophic fire forced the Bostonians to rebuild the city and essentially “make it better than before.”²⁵ In the wake of this disaster, they attempted to create a cultural city based upon the most advanced educational institutions.²⁶ The Museum of Fine Arts was founded in 1870 and later the School of the Museum of Fine Arts in 1877. Trinity Church, The Boston Public Library, and Harvard Medical School were all established during this time. Hale and other women like her were able to take advantage of these institutions. In 1873, Hale began her formal art education with private lessons from the painter William Rimmer. His lessons were among the first opportunities for women to obtain an organized artistic education.²⁷ Despite cultural advancements, female students were segregated from their male counterparts.²⁸ Rimmer’s classes were offered privately to women, which provided Hale’s first formal artistic education, focusing on the analysis of the anatomy and drawing.²⁹

In 1874, Ellen enrolled in William Morris Hunt’s school for painting, where she joined forty other like-minded women artists (fig. 6). By the time Ellen enrolled in Hunt’s school, much of the responsibility of the classes was left to the artist Helen Mary Knowlton. She was a devoted follower of Hunt and continued his style and methods after he officially left in 1875. Although criticized for their decision to teach females, Hunt and Knowlton approached their training seriously, leading their students to a new sense of style, creating work distinct from older methods.³⁰ They attempted to teach how to see and render the essence of their subjects, rather than follow the mechanics of drawing. Hunt was inspired by the French Barbizon School and did not want literal interpretations from his students, but interpretative sketches. Such an approach had particular appeal to the young Ellen Day Hale and would become an important artistic influence for her later career.³¹

Knowlton’s particular influence on the students was found in the way she created and promoted a sense of community.³² Through correspondences and travels, particularly with Hale, and close relationships among aspiring artists, Knowlton forged a link that bound these women together.³³ Supporting one another professionally and personally,



Figure 6. Photographer unknown, *Ellen Day Hale*, c. 1884. Albumen print, carte-de-visite. The Sophia Smith Collection, Smith College, Northampton, MA.

Knowlton, Ellen Day Hale, and Susan Hale showed works together in 1878 at the Art Club exhibition.³⁴ Also, in 1881, Hale and Knowlton journeyed abroad for a nine-month trip to Europe. These strong female relationships demonstrate the progressive nature of some nineteenth-century women who, instead of relying upon husbands, found support for their artistic endeavors through friendships with other women.

This increased independence allowed women to move more autonomously and concentrate on art as a career, rather than the pressures of domesticity and wifely duties.³⁵ Traditional society frowned upon women who worked, believing it resulted in the neglect of their husbands and families.³⁶ The restraints of marriage encouraged many women to remain unmarried, legitimizing the cohabitation of women. Some women even created independent households, an arrangement which Henry James coined as the “Boston Marriage.”³⁷ Such is the case with Hale who lived much of her life with companion and fellow artist Gabrielle DeVaux Clements. They met in 1883 and traveled abroad where Clements taught Hale how to etch. After their return, they established a home together in 1893.³⁸ Nancy Hale recalls her mother commenting upon her

sister-in-law's choice to never marry, "I don't see why everybody feels they have to get married and have children, just like sheep, I think Aunt Nelly's life has been beautiful."³⁹ Similarly, in a letter to her mother, Ellen writes, "This all sounds as if I were going to be married; but nothing of the sort is going to occur." For Hale, marriage was never a necessity and she found stability from the encouragement of her contemporaries. These relationships among women who rejected Victorian ideals created a tight community of "Mighty Maidens."⁴⁰ However, despite their kinship, women were still forced to work within traditional boundaries of gender ideology constructed by society.

The segregation of art schools promoted the notion of "woman artist" and therefore separated the women from their male counterparts.⁴¹ With encouragement from Hunt, Hale attended the Pennsylvania Academy of Fine Arts in the spring of 1878 and 1879. Despite new opportunities in art education, the isolated Ladies' Life Classes aided in the exclusion of females from men's professional institutions, because work was still segregated by sex.⁴² Many female artists wanted to be regarded as serious painters and therefore worked within the social parameters of the time.⁴³ These women did not want to overthrow this male dominated establishment, but rather join it.

Women artists wished to exhibit and sell works professionally and to avoid being seen as amateurs. Philip Hale once said, "Never give away your work, people don't value what they don't have to pay for."⁴⁴ Ellen took her brother's advice seriously, evident through her letters sent home discussing her art as a method of income and listing prices of her prints to be sold at the Brooklyn Society of Etchers.⁴⁵ In one letter to her mother in 1883, she writes, "I won't take the money from Papa, I'm entirely resolved. If I do borrow any money of anybody, I can repay it by the exercise of my profession."⁴⁶ Clearly Hale was determined to establish herself as a professional artist and wanted to provide for herself, instead of relying on her family for money.

Hale achieved a level of professional success in her first major display at the World's Fair Centennial Exhibition in Philadelphia in 1876. This provided Hale and other female artists the opportunity to present their works in a formal and professional setting. However, similar to the life classes, works by women were divided from those by the men and displayed in a separate building. The implication of a woman's building represents a meeting of traditional values with progressive thought. The building and the inclusion of women within the show was a pivotal achievement because it solidified women's presentation of work within the artistic community, yet it also preserved the separate networks of traditional gender codes.⁴⁷

The pursuit of a professional career led many American

women artists to travel abroad, to sharpen their skills, study with the masters, and to define their place within the art world. As noted, Hale made her first trip to Europe with friend and mentor Helen Knowlton in 1881. Together they traveled through Belgium, Holland, Italy, England, and France, visiting museums and copying paintings.⁴⁸ After traveling together for nine months, Knowlton settled in London, while Hale moved to Paris to begin training with Parisian masters.⁴⁹ The desire for French art and a passion for the masters filled the studios and the Salon with eager American students, including Ellen Day Hale. In 1888 Robert Henri exclaimed, "Who would not be an art student in Paris?"⁵⁰ The great influx of American students prompted the painter May Alcott Nieriker to publish the book *Studying Art Abroad and How To Do It Cheaply*. Among the various artistic centers, Nieriker promoted the artistic opportunities that Paris offered to students, "there is no art world like Paris, no painters like the French, and no incentive to good work equal to that found in a Parisian atelier."⁵¹ Hale took advantage of the Parisian atmosphere and quickly enrolled in a formal program of study. Hale first studied drawing with Emmanuel Frémiet at the Jardin des Plantes. Then she enrolled at the Académie Colarossi for two months. In September of 1882, she traveled to London to study at the Royal Academy of Art and on returning to Paris studied at the Académie Julian for three years.⁵² There she studied with Rodolphe Julian, Tony Robert-Fleury, Jules-Joseph Lefebvre, and Gustave-Rodolphe Boulanger.

Studying in Paris was difficult for many young women because they were not admitted into the most prestigious schools like the Ecole des Beaux-Arts. This left no choice but to enroll in private academies that charged tuition.⁵³ Most independent schools, like the Académie Julian, followed the Parisian practice requiring women to pay more money than men for lessons, an inequality Hale describes in a letter to her mother, "Julian, who likes money, is very glad of his women's classes, which pay him twice as much as the men's."⁵⁴ Despite these hardships, Hale was able to find an international community of aspiring women artists at the Académie Julian who were united by their aim to receive academic training. Hale preferred the instruction at Julian to that of Colarossi saying she found the latter "neither interesting nor inspiring."⁵⁵ The Académie Julian expanded Hale's skills, focusing on technical drawing and anatomy in figure painting.⁵⁶ Hale benefited greatly from these lessons, which became apparent in 1885 when Hale returned for a six-month study in Paris. At this time, two of her works, *Beppo* and *L'hiver, en Amerique*, were included at the Salon. Hale's ability as an etcher also developed during this return trip, producing the first of her etchings, *The Porte Guillaume, Chartres* (cat. 19), the same year.

Hale was inspired by and learned from not only formal lessons but from the art she saw as well. Hale studied works by Titian, Raphael, Correggio, Rembrandt, and Velázquez, as well as fellow nineteenth-century artists including Courbet.⁵⁷ Hale commented on Courbet's abilities as an artist, "in fact he knows a great deal about drawing, [even] if he was a Communist.... Well, he's dead now and I'm sorry for it. I should have liked some advice from him."⁵⁸ Hale improved her techniques studying paintings by other artists and drawing inspiration from them. Her striking *Self Portrait* (fig. 1) recalls motifs found in works by Edouard Manet who had a retrospective exhibition in 1883, that Hale might have attended.⁵⁹ Eventually, Hale's work incorporated aspects of the Impressionist style while still employing the techniques established from her academic training at home.⁶⁰

Studying abroad gave Hale the opportunity to live independently and broaden her understanding of painting and etching. In Europe, Hale was able to concentrate on her art and career because she was not hindered by traditional obligations and domestic duties of wife and mother. She communicated with her family and friends through letters and newspaper articles, yet also lived progressively within a community of female artists who also valued the experiences offered abroad.⁶¹ Hale lived in Europe from 1881 to 1883, then moved to Boston where she would live for the next nine years.

On her return to the states, Hale became active within her community and also employed her new talent as an etcher. During her time in Boston, she produced a number of prints including *Woman of Normandy* (cat. 24), *The Willow Whistle* (cat. 27), followed by *Gloucester Harbour, Threatening Weather* (cat. 22), and *Marblehead* (cat. 23). Hale exhibited works in 1885 at the North, Central, and South American Exhibition in New Orleans, and during the late 1880s she taught art classes at Marlborough Street School.⁶² In 1888, Hale wrote *A History of Art*, a small pamphlet that focused on paintings by Old Masters. In 1892, due to health concerns, she moved to Santa Barbara for a year, where she made etchings of the old Spanish missions. She returned in 1893 to exhibit work in the Chicago Columbian Exposition. Through her travels, writings, and exhibitions, Hale solidified her independent identity as an artist and found her place within the mainstream trends. Working in Boston during this time, Hale's work encompassed a distinct local style, known today as the Boston School.⁶³ Hale's training and genteel Bostonian style placed her within the trends of this movement.

Arthur Dexter, writing on art in *The Memorial History of Boston*, concluded that, "No city has more genuine love of art or more earnest followers of it than Boston."⁶⁴ From 1895 to 1915, the artists working within the Boston School style dom-

inated the city's artistic milieu. The ambition of this style was essentially to create beauty through portraits, still lifes, and landscapes. With qualities of beauty, elegance, refinement, and tradition, they sought to "make it like"—a credo for portraying subjects faithfully in perfection and atmosphere.⁶⁵ Inspired by the genteel character of figures in Vermeer's paintings, the Boston School is described as embodying the feminine ideal to establish a new Boston identity.⁶⁶

In 1905, Hale finished one of her most successful paintings, *Morning News*, which best exemplifies characteristics of the Boston School. The painting portrays an idyllic Victorian woman reading a newspaper by an open window. She displays leisurely characteristics, with a calm, sophisticated air and gentle manner.⁶⁷ In this work, Hale represents a long-established ideology and reinforces the traits of an aristocratic woman.⁶⁸ This continuation of the female ideal demonstrates the deep-rooted tradition of the Boston School as well as the themes desired by the public at this time. Working within this established taste, Hale's work remained within the boundaries of the conventional aesthetic.

Similarly, Hale's *Self Portrait* (fig. 1) follows the Boston School aesthetic, evident by the portrayal of herself as a social figure. Hale places herself within a domestic setting. Instead of emphasizing the tools of her professional trade, she wears the garments of an elite Brahmin lady. Hale is dressed in black with a small white collar, holding a highly fashionable wrap. This self-representation positions Hale as a woman of status and high fashion.⁶⁹

Despite Hale's compliance with the Boston School traditions, her *Self Portrait* is rather bold and contrasts sharply against other contemporary self-portraits such as Mary Cassatt's *Portrait of the Artist* (1878).⁷⁰ Hale is dressed in black against a dark background, accentuating the significance of her face and hand. Indeed, this dramatic focus could perhaps be in reference to the most essential tool of every painter, the hands. Cassatt, however, wears a white dress against a beige background, creating a less striking image. Most importantly, Cassatt appears in a traditional three-quarter stance, giving the effect that she is moving away from the viewer with her head down, looking to the left. In contrast, Hale confronts the viewer with a remarkable sense of confidence. She is not demur or passive, but regards the viewer directly. Another striking feature in Hale's *Self Portrait* is the flat and almost iconic nature of her pose. Hale gives no extra space for the eye to wander, as one finds in Anna Klumpke's portrait of artist *Rosa Bonheur*.⁷¹ Klumpke separates the subject from the viewer by situating the sitter in a well-defined deep space. In contrast, Hale shortens the frame, giving no sense of perspective, and forcefully places herself before the viewer. Hale adheres to social traditions through her representation as an aristocratic

lady, yet her bold style and striking pose suggest a departure from tradition.

Hale's *Self Portrait* presents the duality in her work and life, however, her affirmation and continuation of Boston School motifs place her within the dominant artistic dialogue. Similarly, her Boston Brahmin nature molded most decisions throughout her life. Traditional duties of womanhood were solidified within the consciousness of Brahmin ladies, determining responsibilities and obligations. After spending numerous summers at The Thickets and winters in Charleston, South Carolina with Clements, in 1904 Hale joined her father and ailing mother in Washington, D.C. to act as hostess when her father became chaplain for the Senate. Hale's niece remarks on Hale's responsibilities to her family, "Her middle years were given up to looking after a semi-invalid mother and a famous, sought after, impractical, extrovert father. Aunt Nelly was sorely needed to keep house, be hostess, and fend off the circling harpies off him."⁷² Hale's duties as an unmarried daughter removed her from her home and the Bostonian art circles to provide the obligatory aid to her parents. Despite this move, she immediately joined clubs like the Society of Washington Artists, the Washington Watercolor Club, and the Washington Art Club.⁷³ Hale also exhibited regularly at the Corcoran Gallery of Art and was included in the 1907 Biennial Exhibition of Contemporary American Painters.⁷⁴ Some of her best paintings were produced in Washington, possibly due to the city's new emergence as an artistic hub as well as her motivating friendships with Theodore Roosevelt and Gifford Pinchot.⁷⁵

Hale's inspired work, intense involvement in artistic societies, and newly found insight into politics, as reflected in the poem she wrote to Theodore Roosevelt entitled "For the Progressive Party to Colonel Roosevelt,"⁷⁶ demonstrate how Washington "sprang full-blown from human creativity."⁷⁷ Washington became a new center of artistic interest, transforming it from a neglected town into a budding city, comparable to Boston or New York.⁷⁸ Hale's move to Washington paralleled many new innovations and changes throughout the city. Yet, despite these developments, it has been suggested that after 1905 Hale's work became unoriginal and uninspired due to her increased focus on the required political functions and gatherings.⁷⁹ Hale's responsibilities and obligation to her family became her primary concern and by moving to

Washington, she lost her passion for producing artwork.⁸⁰ Such a view does not accurately portray her activities during and after this rather short period in her very long life. Nancy Hale reflects upon her aunt's continued artistic drive in the later years of her life.

Once my grandparents were dead Aunt Nelly's life, what was left of it, became her own. The first thing she did was to build, with borrowed money, the stone studio—a short walk up from The Thickets. Beside a working place of her own, it provided room for the accumulation she'd inherited.⁸¹

Although Hale acted as the dutiful daughter for many years, she never lost her spark and in 1909, promptly built a studio at The Thickets to continue her profession. Nancy also remembers the nights where Hale and Clements would invite neighbors and members of the French club to read, discuss events, and practice foreign languages.⁸² Hale's actions after the death of her parents do not give evidence to a passionless, sacrificial existence, but rather a quiet life of artistic work. "With all her jauntings about the world, Aunt Nelly's essence—her original, young girl's ardor—remained intact."⁸³ Hale's life also did not stagnate at The Thickets either. Hale continued her journeys abroad, returning to Europe in 1920, 1922, and 1930, and produced some of her most complex etchings including *Italian Scene* (cat. 30), *The Four Corners, Palermo* (cat. 31), *First Night in Venice* (cat. 34), and *The Milk-Cart, Cairo* (cat. 38). Although she painted less often after 1905, Hale's work at The Thickets and in Europe reveals a woman with perseverance, living and producing artwork as she pleased.

Hale's life was not defined exclusively by the requirements of the Victorian women; she pursued an artistic career while understanding the traditional duties of Boston ladies and acted accordingly. By following her own passions and desires and living her life as an independent woman, Hale produced paintings and etchings that are important examples of the late nineteenth-century Painter-Etcher movement. Hale lived during a time of great transition, giving reason for her duality of identity; yet it was her love and enthusiasm for art that was most steadfast in her life.

- 1 Nancy Hale, *The Life in the Studio* (Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1969), 111–112. Nancy Hale's personal memoir is an homage rather than a critical documentary study. Yet, she provides firsthand, personal accounts of Ellen Day Hale, which cannot be found elsewhere.
- 2 Tracy B. Schpero, "American Impressionist Ellen Day Hale" (master's thesis, George Washington University, 1994), x.
- 3 Tracy Schpero, Laura Prieto, and Erica Hirshler define these two differing ideologies as "new woman" and "ideal woman." Although these terms are a modern concept, such an interpretation of women was also understood during the period. Ednah D. Cheney, "The Women of Boston," in *The Memorial History of Boston* (Boston: Ticknor and Company, 1881), 331–332 describes the divergent female character and also establishes the duality of female conciseness by relating the conventional and progressive characteristics of Boston women.
- 4 Trevor J. Fairbrother, *The Bostonians: Painters of an Elegant Age, 1870–1930* (Boston: Northeastern University Press, 1986), 26.
- 5 Schpero, "American Impressionist Ellen Day Hale," 3.
- 6 Schpero, "American Impressionist Ellen Day Hale," 4.
- 7 Schpero, "American Impressionist Ellen Day Hale," 5.
- 8 The Lend-A-Hand Society published a monthly journal that was edited by E. E. Hale and his sister Susan Hale. Using their skills as writers, their specialty was putting together literary publications to benefit aid organizations and spur social action and reform. See the Lend-A-Hand announcement, Sophia Smith Collection, Smith College, Northampton, MA.
- 9 At the age of twelve, Harriet was sent to live with her sister Catherine, who was eleven years her senior. A younger Catherine was engaged to be married to a Yale professor who died in a shipwreck. Using her loss as a guide, she was determined to improve female education and established the Hartford Female Seminary. Here the girls lived and worked together, never agreeing on appropriate subject matters to study. For Harriet, "an orphanage would have been as homelike as the Hartford Female Seminary." This forced arrangement demonstrates the clear and distinct division between the sisters' methods of study and life. See John R. Adams, *Harriet Beecher Stowe* (Boston: Twayne Publishers, 1989), 3–4.
- 10 Schpero, "American Impressionist Ellen Day Hale," 6.
- 11 Barbara Cross, *The Educated Woman in America: Selected Writings of Catherine Beecher, Margaret Fuller and M. Carey Thomas* (New York: Columbia University, Teachers College Press, 1965), 8–9.
- 12 Schpero, "American Impressionist Ellen Day Hale," 6.
- 13 Erica E. Hirshler, *A Studio of Her Own: Women Artists in Boston, 1870–1940* (Boston: Museum of Fine Arts Publications, 2001), 75. Susan Hale's contributions as an art teacher began in the 1850s offering classes to children in the family's home. In 1872, she went abroad to study in Paris and Germany and after returning to Boston she offered watercolor lessons at the Boston Art Club. Susan also wrote for various Boston newspapers becoming a literary celebrity. She collaborated with E. E. Hale and published *Self-Instructive Lessons in Painting with Oil and Water-Colors* in 1885. See Hale Family Papers, Sophia Smith Collection, Smith College, Northampton, MA.
- 14 Fairbrother, *The Bostonians*, 210.
- 15 Hale, *The Life in the Studio*, 102.
- 16 Fairbrother, *The Bostonians*, 11.
- 17 Betty G. Farrell, *Elite Families: Class and Power in Nineteenth-Century Boston* (New York: State University Press, 1993), 17.
- 18 Hale, *The Life in the Studio*, 101.
- 19 Cheney, "The Women of Boston," 331–332.
- 20 Nancy F. Cott, *The Bonds of Womanhood: "Women's Sphere" in New England, 1780–1835* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1977), 5.
- 21 Cheney, "The Women of Boston," 332.
- 22 Laura R. Prieto, *At Home in the Studio: The Professionalization of Women Artists in America* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2001), 108.
- 23 Fairbrother, *The Bostonians*, 25.
- 24 Fairbrother, *The Bostonians*, 25.
- 25 Fairbrother, *The Bostonians*, 10.
- 26 Fairbrother, *The Bostonians*, 13.
- 27 Schpero, "American Impressionist Ellen Day Hale," 26.
- 28 Prieto, *At Home in the Studio*, 108.
- 29 Hirshler, *A Studio of Her Own*, 23.
- 30 Hirshler, *A Studio of Her Own*, 24.
- 31 Schpero, "American Impressionist Ellen Day Hale," 26–27.
- 32 Hirshler, *A Studio of Her Own*, 27.
- 33 Hirshler, *A Studio of Her Own*, 27.
- 34 Hirshler, *A Studio of Her Own*, 28.
- 35 Prieto, *At Home in the Studio*, 114.
- 36 Hirshler, *A Studio of Her Own*, 32.
- 37 Hirshler, *A Studio of Her Own*, 33.
- 38 Schpero, "American Impressionist Ellen Day Hale," 9.
- 39 Hale, *The Life in the Studio*, 106.
- 40 Hale, *The Life in the Studio*, 100.
- 41 Prieto, *At Home in the Studio*, 108.
- 42 Prieto, *At Home in the Studio*, 108.
- 43 Hirshler, *A Studio of Her Own*, 99.
- 44 Hirshler, *A Studio of Her Own*, 100.
- 45 Ellen Day Hale to Papa, 189[?], Hale Family Papers, Sophia Smith Collection, Smith College, Northampton, MA.
- 46 Ellen Day Hale to Mamma, March 1883, Hale Family Papers, Sophia Smith Collection, Smith College, Northampton, MA.
- 47 Prieto, *At Home in the Studio*, 111.
- 48 Schpero, "American Impressionist Ellen Day Hale," 29.
- 49 Hirshler, *A Studio of Her Own*, 75.
- 50 H. Barbara Weinberg, *The Luve of Paris: Nineteenth-Century American Painters and Their French Teachers* (New York: Abbeville Press, 1991), 7.
- 51 May Alcott Nieriker, *Studying Art Abroad and How To Do It Cheaply* (Boston: Roberts Bros., 1879), 49.
- 52 Hirshler, *A Studio of Her Own*, 76.
- 53 Hirshler, *A Studio of Her Own*, 76.
- 54 Ellen Day Hale to Mamma, March 1883, Hale Family Papers, Sophia Smith Collection, Smith College, Northampton, MA.
- 55 Hirshler, *A Studio of Her Own*, 76.
- 56 Weinberg, *The Luve of Paris*, 226.
- 57 Schpero, "American Impressionist Ellen Day Hale," 29.

- 58 Hirshler, *A Studio of Her Own*, 78.
- 59 Schpero, "American Impressionist Ellen Day Hale," 39.
- 60 Hirshler, *A Studio of Her Own*, 80.
- 61 Hirshler, *A Studio of Her Own*, 77.
- 62 Fairbrother, *The Bostonians*, 209.
- 63 Hirshler, *A Studio of Her Own*, 97.
- 64 Fairbrother, *The Bostonians*, 17.
- 65 Hirshler, *A Studio of Her Own*, 102.
- 66 Fairbrother, *The Bostonians*, 13.
- 67 Schpero, "American Impressionist Ellen Day Hale," 48.
- 68 Schpero, "American Impressionist Ellen Day Hale," 49.
- 69 Frances Grimble, ed., *Fashions of a Gilded Age* (San Francisco: Lavolta Press, 2004), 3–4.
- 70 Mary Cassatt, *Portrait of the Artist*, oil on canvas, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, 1975.319.1.
- 71 As contemporaries of Hale, Anna Klumpke and Rosa Bonheur were definitive "sisters of the brush." Klumpke met the painter in 1889 at her chateau in Paris, making a childhood dream come true. It took Klumpke eight years to contact Bonheur again, asking to paint her portrait. After a few weeks, Bonheur declared her love for Klumpke and suggested joining their lives forever. Klumpke accepted and declared "the divine marriage of two souls." See Anna Klumpke, *Rosa Bonheur: The Artist's (Auto)biography* (1908; Ann Arbor: University of Michigan, 1997), 1–4.
- 72 Hale, *The Life in the Studio*, 105.
- 73 Schpero, "American Impressionist Ellen Day Hale," 53.
- 74 Schpero, "American Impressionist Ellen Day Hale," 53.
- 75 Andrew J. Cosentino and Henry H. Glassie, *The Capital Image: Painters in Washington, 1800–1915* (Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1983), 163.
- 76 Alanna Chesbro, *Introduction to Ellen Day Hale: 1855–1940* (New York: Richard York Gallery, 1981), unpaginated.
- 77 Cosentino and Glassie, *The Capital Image*, 129.
- 78 Cosentino and Glassie, *The Capital Image*, 129.
- 79 Schpero, "American Impressionist Ellen Day Hale," 55.
- 80 Schpero, "American Impressionist Ellen Day Hale," 57–58, suggesting that Ellen sacrifices her artwork to focus on her specific hostess duties. It is her "female burden" that prevents Hale from continuing her work.
- 81 Hale, *The Life in the Studio*, 106.
- 82 Hale, *The Life in the Studio*, 110.
- 83 Hale, *The Life in the Studio*, 114.

Berna Onat

Professional art education in the United States entered a new era after the Civil War. Private ateliers and small art schools emerged and implemented European methods and techniques into their curriculum. Several academies were created to provide aspiring artists with necessary skills and training. However, for the most part only men were able to enroll in the art schools and thus fully benefit from these developments. Such restrictions were based on the assumption that art was thought to be a leisure activity for women, not a profession.¹

For women, music and art were considered desirable forms of refinement and education and they were encouraged to learn how to play an instrument and to be skilled in needle work, ceramics, or fabric design. If a woman showed talent in drawing, this was all the better, since drawing was regarded as an advanced art technique.² Although the academies had long been dominated by male artists, during the late nineteenth century an increasing number of women sought professional artistic training and enrolled in the growing number of art schools and academies. One of them was Ellen Day Hale, who was determined to become a successful artist and to support her female colleagues in their artistic goals.

Ellen Day Hale was a member of a refined, upper class Boston family. The Hales were well recognized by the public for their respectable work in society. Her father, Edward Everett Hale, was an orator, writer, and also the editor of the *Boston Daily Advertiser*, which was founded by the Hales. Her aunt, Susan Hale, was a well-known watercolorist, teacher, and writer.³ Hale's younger brother, Philip Leslie Hale, became a celebrated artist and art critic and was regarded as a leader of the Boston school of painting. Born into an accomplished family with an interest in visual arts, Ellen was better positioned than most women to pursue a career as an artist. Through a study of Hale's early teachers, specifically those in the United States, their styles and teaching methods, one gains insight into Hale's artistic development and how her education contributed to her style.

Ellen Day Hale first studied art with her aunt, Susan Hale, who was interested in landscape painting, specifically with watercolors.⁴ In all likelihood, Susan taught Ellen the basics of drawing through private lessons. Perhaps her example led Ellen to study art and helped her to gain professional training in Boston. Susan knew two of the city's leading masters, William Rimmer and William Morris Hunt, and when Ellen was ready to start professional training, she could have helped her niece gain admittance into their ateliers. Although they approached training in the arts differently,

Rimmer and Hunt welcomed women students in their studios and provided Hale with her first professional study in the arts.

William Rimmer was a sculptor and an anatomy lecturer who learned his skills from his father, Thomas Rimmer, who taught drawing and painting and lectured on botany and ornithology. Rimmer's biographer, Truman H. Bartlett, describes the Rimmer household as "a domestic academy of the fine arts; its professor a nobleman, and its pupils his own flesh and blood."⁵ Rimmer focused on building a broad understanding of anatomy. He worked in Studio No. 55, Lowell Institution, and the School of Design for women in New York. He also gave private art lessons for groups and individuals.⁶

Rimmer's general method of teaching was based on drawing and lecturing on anatomy. He would sketch in charcoal a part of a human or animal figure while he lectured about the figures he drew. Rimmer understood the working of muscles and bones and was able to define each part and how they related to one another. He encouraged his students to study male models in order to comprehend the parts of the anatomy. Likewise, Rimmer lectured on the skulls of different humans, comparing the skull of one to another, and how to represent different facial expressions.⁷ Also, he introduced students to the art of ancient Greece and Rome as well as the Italian Renaissance.

However, Rimmer forbade copying masterpieces in galleries, but allowed his students to study them and take notes. He sought to limit outside influences so that students could define their own style and express their own vision. While they were learning the basics of drawing, Rimmer often told his students that he was looking for meaning in drawings rather than perfect copies.

Throughout his art career, Rimmer painted histories, religious subjects, and mythological scenes, with particular focus on the human form. Rimmer was not skilled at working with color, but he would defend himself by saying "color was not an item in sculpture: old statues were discolored, yet in fact did not injure them."⁸ Presumably, Rimmer's style was not appealing to Hale since she, like many of her contemporaries, was ultimately drawn to the colorful palette used by the Impressionists.

Hale might have been frustrated with Rimmer's intense interest in anatomy. Although her sketchbooks include figure drawings, it is clear that she was not as interested in such matters as her master. Nevertheless, in Rimmer's atelier, Hale must have gained a thorough understanding of the human anatomy

and how to portray facial expression. As her later *Self Portrait* (fig. 1) reveals, her early training taught her how to convey emotion through facial expression. Although the painting owes much to other more accomplished artists such as John Singer Sargent, her interest in portraits may well have developed through her initial lessons with Rimmer.

The following year, 1874, Hale attended William Morris Hunt's studio. Hunt was a well-known portrait painter in Boston who studied at Harvard University and subsequently in Düsseldorf, Germany.⁹ He continued his training in the atelier of Thomas Couture in France where he was also introduced to Barbizon style of Jean François Millet. Hunt was deeply influenced by Millet's work and his naturalistic representation of the world.¹⁰ Hunt returned to the United States and settled in Boston where he opened his studio in 1864.

Hunt was not fond of academic training and his teaching methods were often criticized.¹¹ As his students drew from models, Hunt would analyze each drawing and critique each student individually. Hunt insisted that students observe the model before beginning to draw and not to paint their faces because it would help them to focus better on the proportions and the pose of the human form.¹² Hunt emphasized the use of charcoal because it provided an easier and quicker drawing media. Additionally, he believed charcoal helped to teach the nature of light and shadow correctly.¹³ But unlike Rimmer, Hunt encouraged copying works by Titian, Rubens, Velázquez, Leonardo, Michelangelo, and Dürer.¹⁴

After Hunt felt that his students were comfortable in drawing, he encouraged them to use rich, solid colors and then create forms using colors as the tool. Unlike many of his fellow masters, Hunt broke with traditional boundaries and introduced his students to current artistic trends, particularly Impressionism. He wanted his students to observe colors in nature and experiment with them. He expected the students to represent the nature in their personal style and rejected the idea of imitating nature.

In his own work, Hunt focused on landscapes and portraits, working with vivid colors and loose brush strokes. In portrait paintings, he was interested in revealing the mood of an individual by defining the facial characteristic through the careful use of light and shadow.¹⁵ Hunt's overall style was thoroughly adopted by Hale. The subject matter, loose brushwork, tonality, and most importantly, portrayal of expression, all became a part of her style. One of Hale's paintings, *June* (fig. 7), demonstrates the degree to which she maintained aspects of Hunt's style throughout her career. *June* represents a woman sitting on a wooden chair and sewing near a window. In this painting, Hale's handling of paint, use of light and shadow, and emphasis on the emotional mood find parallels in many works by Hunt.



Figure 7. Ellen Day Hale, *June*, 1893. Oil on canvas, 24 x 18 1/8 in. National Museum of Women in the Arts, Washington, DC. Gift of Wallace and Wilhelmina Holladay, 1986.123.

During much of her training in Hunt's studio, Hale worked with his assistant, Helen Knowlton, who became an important figure in Hale's artistic education. After working with Hunt for years, Knowlton assumed many of his teaching responsibilities in the studio and was, in fact, one of Hale's instructors.¹⁶ Knowlton and Hale developed a close friendship, which they maintained over the years. Knowlton assisted Hale and later, they traveled to Europe together where they continued to refine their skills. Hale was so inspired by both Hunt's and Knowlton's example that she considered them as the father and mother of her art.¹⁷

After studying with Hunt, Hale continued her education at the Pennsylvania Academy of Fine Arts from 1876 to 1879. Founded in 1805, the Academy was the first of its type in the United States and followed the curriculum at the Royal Academy of Art in London. The goal of the Pennsylvania Academy of Fine Arts was to implement an academic approach to the arts in the United States.¹⁸ Hale attended the Academy while it was directed by Thomas Eakins, who shaped the overall curriculum. Eakins, like Rimmer, emphasized the study of human anatomy as the basis for figure painting. Eakins was trained at the Pennsylvania Academy of Fine Arts

and studied anatomy at Jefferson Medical School.¹⁹ He also studied in Paris, where he focused on dissecting cadavers at the Ecole des Beaux-Arts.²⁰

In his lessons, Eakins combined technical skill, a respect for a naturalistic style, and a disregard for artifice. He often lectured on figure drawing, antique statues, anatomy, clay modeling, sculpture, portrait painting, sketching, perspective, and life-drawing. The life-drawing class provided advanced students with a focus on the human form and employed nude male models.²¹ The antique class consisted of two sections. In the first section, students studied specific aspects of the body and in the second section, they studied the whole body. Every month, students were required to present their work to the academic committee for evaluation.

At first, women were not allowed to enter life-drawing classes because it was not considered appropriate for females to study and draw nude male models. Under Eakins's leadership, women were encouraged to enroll in such courses. Many questioned Eakins's decision and parents of students complained to the Academy. Ultimately, Eakins was dismissed from his directorship for his emphasis on life-drawing in women's class. He defended his decision, explaining that the study of nude bodies was essential to the students' artistic training. Aware of the need to study live models, women artists decided to create a class in which models were partially draped. Later, in 1877, women students established another life class specifically for women students in which only nude female models were used and no men were allowed in the classroom.²²

As a means to improve their understanding of the body and its parts, anatomy lectures were offered to both male and female students. To demonstrate visually the concepts of the lectures, Eakins established a dissecting room for advanced students where they dissected corpses to study the bones, muscles, and their connections to one another. Additional trips were organized to visit bone-boiling establishments and glue factories, to study the anatomy of horses.²³ Eakins believed that understanding animal anatomy would improve his students' understanding of the body in general.²⁴

Apart from her training at the Pennsylvania Academy of Fine Arts, Hale also participated in a network of women artists including Elizabeth Klumpke and Cecilia Beaux. This network of fellow women artists created an atmosphere which encouraged and inspired her. Also, it was beneficial for a woman to find support and help among fellow women artists at a time when there were few opportunities for their professional development and advancement.

Hale ended the initial phase of her professional education in the United States at the Pennsylvania Academy of Fine Arts. During this phase of her training, she shaped her style and improved her artistic skills. However, her development was not fully complete until after she concluded advanced training in Europe. The effects of her study abroad can be seen in her striking *Self Portrait* (fig. 1). In this painting, Hale reveals her skills in modeling the human form, through the well-defined and mature handling of the face and hands. Her face stares at the viewer with a confident attitude as an independent artist who overcame the challenges of male-dominated society.

1 Marcia H. Green, "Women Art Students: An Historical Study of Academic Art Instruction during the Nineteenth Century" (PhD diss., American University, 1990), 61.

2 Erica E. Hirshler, *A Studio of Her Own: Women Artists in Boston, 1870–1940* (Boston: Museum of Fine Arts Publications, 2001), 46.

3 Tracy B. Schpero, "American Impressionist Ellen Day Hale" (master's thesis, George Washington University, 1994), 3–4.

4 Schpero, "American Impressionist Ellen Day Hale," 24.

5 Truman H. Bartlett, *Art Life of William Rimmer, Sculptor, Painter & Physician* (Boston: J. R. Osgood, and Company, 1882), 4.

6 Bartlett, *Art Life of William Rimmer*, 102.

7 Bartlett, *Art Life of William Rimmer*, 50, 61, 119.

8 Bartlett, *Art Life of William Rimmer*, 50.

9 Gladys Engel Lang and Kurt Lang, *Etched in Memory: The Building and Survival of Artistic Reputation* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1990), 144.

10 Martha A. S. Shannon, *Boston Days of William Morris Hunt* (Boston: Marshall Jones Co., 1923), 40.

11 Kirsten Swinth, *Painting Professionals: Women Artists & the Development of Modern American Art, 1870–1930* (Chapel Hill: University of North California, 2001), 22.

12 Hirshler, *A Studio of Her Own*, 24.

13 Shannon, *Boston Days of William Morris Hunt*, 99, 101.

14 Helen W. Knowlton, *W. H. Hunt's Talks on Art* (Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1800), 17.

15 Gamaliel Bradford, *Biography and the Human Heart* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1932), 136.

16 Hirshler, *A Studio of Her Own*, 25.

17 Darcy J. Dapra, "Ellen Day Hale: Homosexuality and the Nineteenth-Century Woman Artist" (master's thesis, University of California, Davis, 2003), 24.

18 Green, "Women Art Students," 51.

19 Fairfield Porter, *Thomas Eakins* (New York: George Braziller, 1959), 12.

20 Porter, *Thomas Eakins*, 13.

21 Green, "Women Art Students," 109, 112.

22 Green, "Women Art Students," 89.

23 Lang, *Etched in Memory*, 133.

24 Green, "Women Art Students," 95–96.

Ellen Day Hale and Etching Technique

Stephanie Shapiro

*The beautiful art of etching is now exciting much attention among the students of art. Its process is simple enough, but it is often confounded with other methods of graphic reproduction, such as line engraving on the one hand, and pen and ink drawing in the other. The etching method consists in covering a polished metal plate with a wax varnish which is impermeable to the attack of acids. The artist makes a drawing with a steel or diamond point, on this varnish, which is darkened so that he may see the light metal line he uncovers. The plate is then placed in a weakened acid bath, preferably nitric, and the uncovered line is eaten into the metal by the acid...*¹

Ellen Day Hale, c. 1890

Ellen Day Hale's description of the etching process follows others such as those by T. Kitchin (1775), Maxime Lalanne (1880), and Christian Klackner (1889).² Each writer describes the process of etching and explains the varying characteristics of papers, inks, tools, and techniques required to master this medium.³ Though writing about the process of etching was by her day centuries old, Ellen Day Hale's approach to the etching process is noteworthy. During the nineteenth century, artists such as Hale played an important role in reviving etching in America and Europe and restoring the significance of this elegant and intimate medium.

Etching was developed in fifteenth-century Europe by printmakers and metalworkers who were trying to perfect a technique similar to but less difficult than engraving. Albrecht Dürer was among the earliest to experiment in etching.⁴ However, it was not until the seventeenth century that artists such as Rembrandt van Rijn explored the wide range of expressive qualities that one can achieve in etching. A century later, Francisco Goya revealed the power of combining etching and aquatint to create subtle tone and crisp contrasting lines. As other printmaking techniques grew in popularity, particularly engraving and lithography, etching attracted less attention. This lapse ended in the mid- to late nineteenth century with the Etching Revival, which proved to be extremely fruitful for print collectors and etchers alike.⁵ Among the artists who contributed to this revival, foremost was James Abbott McNeill Whistler, who set the standard for the new generation of etchers in England and America. It is during this prosperous time for etching that many American painters including Ellen Day Hale turned to this medium.⁶ Although

nineteenth-century etchers refined and expanded upon earlier techniques, they worked in much the same way as in the day of Rembrandt and Goya.

HARD-GROUND ETCHING

The faultless and even character of the printed line, the care with which the sheet has been printed.

The choice of paper, which in any case must always be of the very best quality and The skill with which the plate has been inked, especially when the impression is intended to have certain tonal effects.⁷

Etching requires a variety of tools and materials including different kinds of plate metals, paper, and ink. The initial step of the etching process is plate preparation. Artists choose their plates depending on intended use and desired print quality. The most important aspect when choosing a metal is its reaction to chemicals and its texture. Copper has long been the favorite choice among etchers due to its smooth and even texture. Also, it does not react with most chemicals, it resists corrosion, and when placed in acid it produces a clean bite which results in a clean print. Like her contemporaries, Ellen Day Hale used copper which produced clean, well-defined impressions.

After cutting and beveling the plate edges to remove any sharp edges, the plate is degreased in order to remove oil and dirt from the surface so the applied ground will adhere properly.⁸ Etching ground is made of mostly wax and a combination of oils such as linseed. The ground is applied to the metal plate with a dabber, a cylindrical cotton or fabric tool. It is then dried over a heat source and polished to create a clean, hard surface—or hard-ground. Using a sharp etching needle, usually made of steel, the artist draws the design through the hard-ground to expose the copper below but not so deep as to scratch the plate surface. The plate is then immersed into nitric or ferric acid which bites away—“etches”—the exposed metal. The longer a plate remains in the acid bath the deeper the grooves become and the darker the resulting line in the print. The artist then takes the plate from the acid and removes the hard-ground with a solvent to reveal a shiny copper plate with the artist's design etched into the surface. The plate is polished and is now ready to be inked.

Etching ink is made of powdered pigment and thickened with linseed or walnut oil. The pigments derive from mineral



Figure 8. Ellen Day Hale, Photograph for *The Willow Whistle*, 1888. Albumen print, 7 ¼ x 4 ⅜ in. The Trout Gallery, Dickinson College, Carlisle, PA. Gift of Eric Denker, class of 1975, in honor of Dr. Sharon Hirsh on the occasion of her 25th Anniversary at Dickinson College, 2000.5.1 (cat. 25).



Figure 9. Ellen Day Hale, Drawing for *The Willow Whistle*, 1888. Black and brown ink, charcoal, and graphite on paper, 17 ½ x 11 ¾ in. The Trout Gallery, Dickinson College, Carlisle, PA. Gift of Eric Denker, class of 1975, 2000.5.8 (cat. 26).

or vegetable sources and provide a large assortment of colors and subtle variations. Black is the most common ink color used for etching but it is often mixed with small amounts of other colors to vary its hue.⁹

To ink the plate, the printmaker starts with a card, roller, or dabber that is coated with a daub of ink and applies it directly onto the surface of the etched plate.¹⁰ The plate is then wiped with tarlatan and then with the palm of the hand, pushing the ink into the etched lines.¹¹ Next, the inked plate is placed face up on the bed of an etching press and a sheet of damp paper placed over it.¹² The inked plate with the paper on top of it is then rolled through the etching press transferring the ink from the plate onto the paper, thus creating the finished impression.¹³

Paper type depends greatly on the intended effect for the final impression. First, it is essential that the paper be durable. The paper cannot shred or discolor when dampened, nor rip under pressure. Additionally, the paper must be able to absorb the ink pressed into it cleanly and neatly. Prints can be made

on a diverse mixture of papers of many different colors. Printmaking paper color ranges from cream to white yet some etchers and printers preferred colored paper such as green or blue. In Hale's lifetime, the most suitable and resilient papers were made in Europe and Japan. These papers were made of long-fibered cotton with minimal chemical residue.¹⁴ For example, Lalanne recommended using Japanese paper, which has a yellow hue and sleek texture, if the image being printed required a mystical ambience rather than one of extreme luminosity.¹⁵ Lalanne also suggested that prints be made on paper with a noticeable grain, as smooth or sized paper does not absorb ink well.¹⁶ In addition, deluxe prints could be printed on parchment, vellum, or silk.

Most etching plates can produce fifty to one-hundred fine impressions or more, depending on the nature of the plate, the image, paper type, and amount of pressure used by the press operator. Typically, artists kept their plates and produced impressions from them throughout their life. After their death, their plates were often acquired by collectors who used



Figure 10. Ellen Day Hale, Etching plate for *The Willow Whistle*, 1888. Copper, 15 $\frac{3}{8}$ x 8 $\frac{5}{8}$ in. On loan from Eric Denker, class of 1975 (cat. 29).



Figure 11. Ellen Day Hale, *The Willow Whistle*, 1888. Etching, paper: 24 $\frac{3}{4}$ x 17 $\frac{3}{4}$ in.; plate: 15 $\frac{1}{2}$ x 8 $\frac{1}{2}$ in. The Trout Gallery, Dickinson College, Carlisle, PA. Gift of the Class of 1982, 2000.6 (cat. 27).

them to produce posthumous impressions. Such impressions are widespread, yet some printmakers such as Charles Meryon and James Abbott McNeill Whistler cancelled their plates by carving a large scratch through the entire plate when they completed the print edition.¹⁷ On the other hand, as is evident for several of Ellen Day Hale's prints, the plate survives and posthumous impressions of the plate are known (fig. 10; cat. 29).

The hard-ground etching process is the most common way to produce etchings. It can produce prints with a remarkable range of delicate, fine lines exemplified in many of Hale's works such as *The Willow Whistle* (1888), one of her most accomplished prints. Fortunately, in this example, many of the preparatory materials for this extraordinary print survive and enable us to recreate her working methods. They include the original source photograph (fig. 8; cat. 25), her full scale drawing (fig. 9; cat. 26), the etching plate (fig. 10; cat. 29), and two impressions, one made by Hale prior to the copyright notice that was later engraved into the top margin of the plate

(fig. 11; cat. 27), and a second, posthumous impression. The final prints reveal her subtle use of line and attention to detail. Besides the hard-ground process, Hale used other variations such as soft-ground, aquatint, and color inking.

SOFT-GROUND ETCHING

Ellen Day Hale's *First Night in Venice* shows her experimentation with soft-ground etching. Fortunately, as with *The Willow Whistle*, much of the working material survives for this print and enables us to reconstruct her working process. The surviving material includes a transfer drawing on tissue (fig. 12; cat. 32), a black and white proof (fig. 13; cat. 33), and the finished color print (fig. 14; cat. 34).¹⁸ The project would have started with a smooth copper plate covered with a soft-ground rather than a hard-ground. Unlike the dry and durable hard-ground, the material used for a soft-ground includes a higher amount of grease and is much softer and pliable. Hale then placed the transfer drawing on the prepared

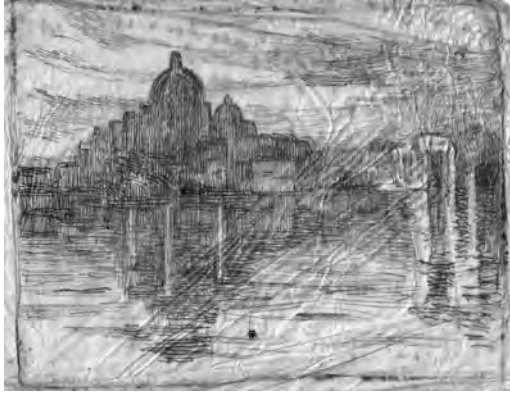


Figure 12. Ellen Day Hale, Transfer drawing for *First Night in Venice*, c. 1922. Graphite on tissue with traces of soft-ground on verso, 7 x 9 1/2 in. The Trout Gallery, Dickinson College, Carlisle, PA. Gift of Eric Denker, class of 1975, 2004.6.7 (cat. 32).

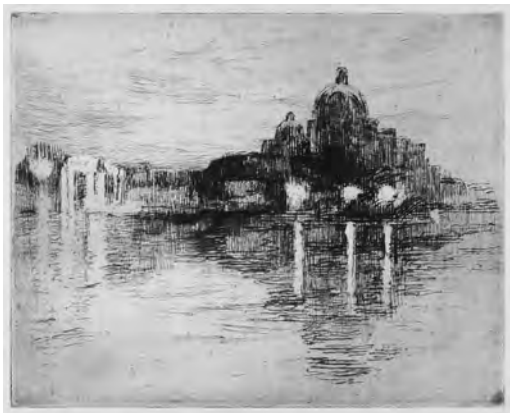


Figure 13. Ellen Day Hale, *First Night in Venice*, c. 1922. Soft-ground etching, aquatint, artist's proof, paper: 8 x 10 in.; plate: 6 x 7 3/8 in. The Trout Gallery, Dickinson College, Carlisle, PA. Gift of Eric Denker, class of 1975, 2004.6.8 (cat. 33).



Figure 14. Ellen Day Hale, *First Night in Venice*, c. 1922. Soft-ground etching, aquatint, *à la poupée* color inking, paper: 7 1/2 x 9 3/4 in.; plate: 6 x 7 3/8 in. The Trout Gallery, Dickinson College, Carlisle, PA. Gift of Eric Denker, class of 1975, 2004.6.9 (cat. 34).

plate.²⁰ Using a stylus or pencil, Hale then traced the lines on tissue pressing hard enough to emboss the surface of the soft-ground and reveal, but not cut or mark, the copper surface below. After this initial transfer, she peeled back the tissue and continued to work the plate free-handed before submerging it into the acid bath. This first step would have produced the thick blurry lines which characterize the image. Although this technique produces soft lines, neither the hard-ground nor the soft-ground techniques can create subtle tonal effects. To do this, she had to turn to another etching technique—aquatint.

AQUATINT

The aquatint technique creates solid areas of tone—like a watercolor wash—and allows lines of the etching to meld together. The application of aquatint is most obvious on the building and its reflection. Yet it is also found in the darker sections of the sky and water where the shadows are more concentrated and dense. To add aquatint to the plate, Hale would have dusted the copper surface with powdered rosin, following the linear design that was already etched into the plate, applying more rosin in the areas that are not to have any tone and less or none where there is to be more. She then placed the plate over a heat source to bind the rosin to the copper surface and then returned it to the acid bath. The acid would bite the areas of the plate not covered with rosin, creating tonal gradients depending on the length of the submersion in the acid bath.²¹ Used together, soft-ground etching and aquatint create the velvety and soft tonal quality of an ink and watercolor wash drawing. Hale's choice to depict Venice using these methods made for a more Impressionistic image. Once Hale achieved the linear and tonal effects in the etching, which are revealed in a black and white proof, she then turned to the rather laborious technique of *à la poupée* color inking.

COLOR INKING

Just as the black and white etching is the finest monochrome process, the color-etching easily takes the lead over its rivals.²²

In 1725, Jacob Christ of Le Blon initially began experimenting with color etchings, however, the process was not fully realized until the late nineteenth century. Adding color to the intaglio process increased its complexity due to the necessary accuracy and precision in applying the colored inks to the plate and maintaining proper registration during the multiple impressions. To create a color etching, Hale inked the plate *à la poupée*. In other words, she applied colored inks to the plate with small rag stumps tied at one end with string, which hap-



Figure 15. Ellen Day Hale, *The Milk-Cart, Cairo*, 1930. Soft-ground etching, aquatint, *à la poupée* color inking, paper: 11 ½ x 13 ⅛ in.; plate: 8 x 10 in. The Trout Gallery, Dickinson College, Carlisle, PA. Gift of Eric Denker, class of 1975, 2002.17.2 (cat. 38).

pen to resemble a doll's head—*poupée*.²³ After inking the plate with one or more colors, an impression would be made on paper. The plate would be cleaned and another color would be applied to the plate and another impression made over the first. After printing the colors, the artist cleaned the plate, inked it in black, and applied the final impression to the print. In order to maintain proper registration among all of the impressions, Hale drilled a pair of holes on either side of the plate for the insertion of pins which poked through the paper and ensured proper placement of the plate on the paper for each impression. In this print, the registration holes appear centered on the left and right margins of the image. The subtle quality of the soft-ground technique, aquatint, and *à la poupée* inking creates an overall sketch-like quality that suggests the light and atmosphere of Venice. Hale's choice to use these techniques for this print seems to have been inspired by the subject matter of the image and was a most appropriate way to convey her experience of the city. The sky is made of a quiet blue with white highlights while the water is a gradation of greens which contrast with the black building and its reflection in the water. The most dramatic aspect of the colored print is the three building lights illuminating and reflecting onto the water with a glowing quality. This is complemented by the reflection of three less noticeable lights to the left of the scene with white reflections on the water.

The etching and inking techniques used in *First Night in Venice* are further explored in another print, *The Milk-Cart*,



Figure 16. Ellen Day Hale, *Milk Delivery, Cairo*, 1930. Oil on board, 6 x 8 ⅝ in. National Museum of Women in the Arts, Washington, DC. Gift of Wallace and Wilhelmina Holladay, 1986.123.

Cairo (fig. 15; cat. 37, 38) yet, unlike the former, a related oil study survives from this project and provides greater insight into Hale's working methods.²⁴ The study in question, *Milk Delivery, Cairo* (fig. 16) is now in the collection of the National Museum of Women in the Arts.²⁵ This oil on board represents a street scene with a wagon and figure and closely resembles the essential features of the print. The study serves to lay out color and form and thus has no degree of detail as in the final print. The colors in the sketch are quite striking—light reds, blues, yellows, pinks, and greens—and are different from those of the color print. Apparent from the increased detail and color, other changes from the oil study to the final prints are evident. For example, in the print Hale shows foliage peeking over the city wall as well as a tree trunk and branch on the right side that was not apparent in the study. In addition, the three poles running vertically through the study are gone and instead the wall shows shadows of the mule's head and cart. Furthermore, it is important to note Hale's addition of figures to the cart draped in either light or dark cloth. The changes, though subtle, allow for a similar yet more developed final print.

Hale's mastery of etching is seen in her prints, particularly in her combination of soft-ground etching, aquatint, and color inking. During the nineteenth-century etching revival, the quality and range of Hale's prints reflect her enthusiasm and pursuit of new ideas.

- 1 Ellen Day Hale, "Article on Etching," Sophia Smith Collection, Smith College, Northampton, MA, Northampton Hale Papers, Box 46, No. 1212.
- 2 Carington Bowles, *The artists assistant in drawing, perspective, etching, engraving, mezzotint scraping, painting on glass...adapted to the capacities of young beginners. Illustrated with suitable examples engraved on four copper plates*, 5th ed., with additions (London: Halfpenny, 1775); Maxime Lalanne, *A Treatise on Etching*, translated by Sylvester Rosa Koehler (Boston: Estes & Lauriat, 1880); Christian Klackner, *Proofs and Prints, Engravings and Etchings; how they are made, their grades, qualities and values, and how to select them* (New York: Klackner, 1889).
- 3 Etching is the oldest intaglio technique using acid. The term intaglio comes from the Italian verb "intagliare" which means "to carve or cut into." This technique can be divided into two categories: acid (etching, aquatint) and non-acid (engraving, mezzotint, drypoint); sometimes both are used on a single plate. John Ross, Clare Romano, and Tim Ross, *The Complete Printmaker Techniques, Traditions, Innovations* (New York: The Free Press, 1990), 75.
- 4 Albrecht Dürer worked primarily with woodcuts and engravings. He made several etchings in iron, which is an extremely hard metal, results in vague and imprecise lines, and rusts easily. Walter L. Strauss, ed., *The Intaglio Prints of Albrecht Dürer; Engravings, Etchings and Dry-Points* (New York: Nobele Offset Printers, Inc., 1977), 228.
- 5 Ferdinando Salamon, *The History of Prints and Printmaking from Dürer to Picasso: A Guide to Collecting* (New York: American Heritage Press, 1972), 274.
- 6 Ross et al., *The Complete Printmaker*, 74.
- 7 Salamon, *The History of Prints and Printmaking*, 131.
- 8 Alcohol or vinegar is used to degrease plates. Ross et al., *The Complete Printmaker*, 81.
- 9 Ross et al., *The Complete Printmaker*, 110; Klackner, *Proofs and Prints*, 14.
- 10 A wide assortment of tools can be used in the intaglio process. Kitchin suggests "...oil rubber, burnisher, scraper, hand-vice, etching-boards, etching-needles, oil-stone, ruler..." Bowles, *The artists assistant in drawing*, 28.
- 11 The plate's surface is not completely devoid of ink; rather, some is left to create plate tone.
- 12 Etchings must be printed on damp paper because the fibers need to be soft in order for the paper to be pressed firmly into the incised lines of the plate. Ross et al., *The Complete Printmaker*, 109.
- 13 Ross et al., *The Complete Printmaker*, 75.
- 14 Ross et al., *The Complete Printmaker*, 109.
- 15 Lalanne, *A Treatise on Etching*, 59.
- 16 Lalanne, *A Treatise on Etching*, 53.
- 17 Salamon, *The History of Prints and Printmaking*, 115.
- 18 The tissue sketch may be based on a preparatory drawing or oil study.
- 19 Soft-ground etching is also known as the "pastel manner" or "crayon manner." A tool such as a rounded stylus or a pencil is used to draw the image into the soft-ground instead of the sharp needle point used in making a hard-ground etching.
- 20 There is some soft-ground residue on the back of the tissue.
- 21 Ross et al., *The Complete Printmaker*, 98.
- 22 Hale's interest and devotion to etching is further revealed in her "Notes on Etchings in Color," translation of René Ligeron, "Original Engravings in Color (1924)," unpublished typescript, Division of Graphic Arts, United States National Museum, Smithsonian Institution Archives, Washington, DC.
- 23 Salamon, *The History of Prints and Printmaking*, 24; Ross et al., *The Complete Printmaker*, 72.
- 24 Other impressions of *The Milk-Cart, Cairo* are located at the Boston Athenaeum, the Hale estate, and the National Museum of Women in the Arts, Washington, DC. The transfer drawing, plate, and oil sketch are also located at the National Museum of Women in the Arts, Washington, DC. A related work is Hale's *Early Morning Vegetables, Charleston, South Carolina* (also called *The Vegetable Cart, Charleston*).
- 25 The back of the oil sketch (1986.123) is inscribed: "Cairo – 1930 – E. D. H."

Claire Angelilli

Oct. 22. This is our fourth day in this great, brilliant, cheerful, showy city. The first two days we devoted to rest, and strolling through the wide streets and wider boulevards, gazing at the countless shops, and enjoying, by contrast, after the dirty narrow streets of most of the continental cities, the broad avenues and splendid gardens of this metropolis of elegance.¹

Mrs. E. A. Forbes

Near the end of the nineteenth century, there were more than one thousand American art students studying in and around Paris. At the same time, professional American artists based their work in Paris studios, while everyday more and more American tourists crossed the Atlantic to experience the spectacle that was France. Among the individuals involved in the tradition of the Grand Tour, France was the most popular destination for American artists such as Ellen Day Hale and Gabrielle DeVaux Clements. Not only did they travel to France to study art, they also indulged in travels through the countryside, sketching the sights, and soaking in the atmosphere. The development and modernization of Paris and its art schools and the innovations in style and medium, combined with the rich artistic history exhibited in the Louvre, propelled France to the forefront of what was the center of the art world, and triggered an influx of interest that flooded the streets of Paris with Americans of every kind.

Americans and the French became fascinated with the developments of contemporary artists, while studying and copying art from centuries past. Phebe D. Natt, an American painter studying in Paris, wrote in 1881, "In Italy he will live among the treasures of bygone ages; here though surrounded by representative work of all time, he is at the center of the most active, earnest effort of the present."² This emphasis on modern, active, and fresh appealed to the American sensibility, encouraging artists to travel to Paris for study and inspiration.

A new infrastructure for advancements in the arts was also developed during this period and included institutions such as the Paris Salon, an exhibition hall for modern art, and also the Ecole des Beaux-Arts, a government subsidized art academy open to male artists of any nationality.³ At the Ecole, each student was given equal opportunities and the French masters upheld the idea that any student could learn how to draw or paint if they put forth the necessary effort in study and practice and maintained a certain level of discipline.⁴ Students enrolled in the Ecole were not permitted to proceed

to the next technical level of drawing or painting until their work met the standards set forth by the instructor of the atelier.⁵ Until the student worked to achieve a certain skill level, their education would remain stationary. This notion of "self-made" artists, without the limitations of class, birth, or natural talent, interested American artists.

The location of Paris was ideal for students of the arts; each student had access to the highest quality materials as well as to the Louvre and its collections of Old Masters. By the middle of the nineteenth century, Parisian schools were known for the unparalleled quality of their arts education.⁶ However, one of the significant disadvantages to such popularity was the necessary reorganization of the schools in order to efficiently accommodate the overwhelming number of interested students. Unfortunately, the most popular schools became more or less factories, producing an increasing number of mediocre students each year.⁷

The incursion of Americans into France and French culture was a relatively new phenomenon during the second half of the nineteenth century.⁸ Political, technological, and cultural changes at the advent of the American Civil War broadened American exposure to French culture abroad. Americans looked to Europe for new ideas and techniques and the Barbizon style of painting, then current in Paris, became popular among French artists and was quickly embraced by American artists and patrons.⁹ The Barbizon style's blend of realism and traditional French classicism could be easily translated to accommodate the aesthetic of nineteenth-century American landscape painting.¹⁰ Characterized by distant coastal scenes and placid landscapes, many of the Barbizon paintings were composed of simple, balanced arrangements of masses, values, and low-key color.¹¹

Of all American cities, Boston painters and patrons responded favorably to the Barbizon style and came to prefer the French style works that proliferated during the period.¹² They admired the "unpretentious rural imagery" of the French landscapes and adapted it to their own works.¹³ Traces of an American national style were scarce as works in the Barbizon style flooded the art markets in the United States.

The emergence of the Barbizon style coincided with a revival of etching in England and France and its widespread development in America.¹⁴ The painterly quality of etchings was an ideal medium for depicting the landscapes in the new style. Charles Blanc, a French art critic who closely followed the etching movement, explained, "...in the history of art, the etching, with its strong water [acid] is associated with the

“picturesque.”¹⁵ Blanc adds:

If only the amateurs, whose time hangs heavily upon them; if the artists, who wish to fix a fleeting impression; if the rich, who are sated with the pleasures of photography, — had an idea of the great charm inherent in etching, your little work would have a marvelous success! Even our elegant ladies and literary women, tired of their do-nothing lives and their nick-nacks, might find a relaxation full of attractions in the art of drawing on the ground and biting-in their passing fancies. Madame de Pompadour, when she had ceased to govern, although she continued to reign, took upon herself a colossal enterprise, — to amuse the king and to divert herself. [...] The pulsation of life, the fullness of the carnations, are expressed in them by delicately trembling lines...¹⁸

The popularity of the artistic developments in Paris resulted in countless American artists rushing to make their artwork more “French.”¹⁶ During the mid-nineteenth century, American artists sought to travel to France, learn French techniques, and work in the French style. There was such emphasis on going to Paris that a French education eventually became compulsory.¹⁷ Newspapers and art publications chronicled the exhibitions at the Salon, detailing the experience of studying in an atelier, and provided travelers advice on where to visit. There was such an abundance of attention paid to everything going on in Paris that it seemed as if no American could survive without at least visiting the city. Some students who traveled to Paris, like William MacGregor Paxton, had no better reason for going other than, “[they] always had the idea, [but they didn’t] know how.”

Although traveling during the same time and studying the same subjects, women artists venturing to France during the nineteenth century experienced Paris differently than most men. While it was understood that men studying art were working towards a professional career in the field, it was assumed that women were practicing art as a form of personal refinement or as a diversion from their social obligations, without needing a profession in order to support themselves.¹⁹ In reality, few women were wealthy enough to afford to practice art for leisure. Nevertheless, the cost of traveling and living abroad was substantial and did require a certain amount of wealth. In a letter to her mother from Paris, Gabrielle DeVaux Clements writes, “...send what you can spare, is thirty dollars too much?”²⁰ In light of the steep cost of study abroad, many of the women in Paris working full-time made a living, even supported families from their earnings as professional artists.²¹

However, the women who managed to sustain successful professional careers did so with much difficulty. Until the mid-nineteenth century, women were not accepted into any of the art schools in Paris, making a professional career as an artist virtually impossible unless there were other artists in the family. Before the French Revolution, women surprisingly had more opportunities to practice art and were enrolled in the Académie Royale de Peinture.²² In 1856, the Académie Julian opened to women, who quickly filled seven studios strictly designated for female students.²³ The studios were overcrowded and little attention was given by the masters to the students, yet women were willing to pay double what men were required to pay in order to receive formal training.²⁴

In addition to difficulty faced in the studios, women art students also faced hardship with life abroad in general. In 1890, Marie Adelaide Belloc wrote an article for *Murray’s Magazine* that provided women with advice about life in Paris and what common pitfalls to avoid. According to Belloc, every woman who studies at the academy has to have a firm grasp of French in order to understand the lessons and they should make sure not to overwork themselves. Belloc warns prospective students:

The time seems so precious, and is really money to [lady art students]. The result is that, what with the strange food and the perpetual application, a large percentage fall ill, and have to go home ignominiously, carrying away only uncertain memories of their winter in Paris.²⁵

In addition, she cautions, “The student can start early in the morning, and unwisely consume the midnight oil... Especially beware of a house to which is attached a studio.”²⁶

In spite of all the “dangers” women faced while studying abroad a significant number of them persevered. Studying in Paris was for these women a necessity. During the mid-nineteenth century there were few careers deemed acceptable and suitable for women, art being one women were able to pursue. Women in the United States, for the most part, were not allowed to draw from male nude subjects because of the suggested impropriety, leaving them only able to study female subjects in domestic settings.²⁷ However, in order to be considered of a professional caliber, study and mastery of the human form was essential, so women traveled to Paris where they had equal access to a full educational experience. At the same time, there was a significant demand for prints. Many women artists, such as Ellen Day Hale and Gabrielle DeVaux Clements, learned to etch and make prints as part of their artistic activities.

Traveling long distances, enduring sexism, and overcoming

the complexity of managing life abroad, women artists gained the opportunity to show their commitment to their art and their determination to succeed.²⁸ Paris provided aspiring women artists with a place where they had the same opportunities as men in terms of obtaining a thorough and reputable education and access to a wide range of art.²⁹ Access to formal training resulted in increasing numbers of American women exhibiting works in the Paris Salon, however, their works were often placed high on the walls, and “[the] characteristic delicacy of color, so often a charm when the work is viewed independent of all false and arbitrary relations, almost blots them out of visible existence in the dazzling maze of color about them.”³⁰ By 1887, works by fourteen American women artists were accepted into the Paris Salon, which validated their efforts by exhibiting their work to an international audience.³¹ In her writing on American art students in Paris, Kathleen Adler notes that when women artists would return to the United States, the press coverage from exhibiting a work in the Salon would give them the credibility and status needed to establish themselves in the American art market.³²

Ellen Day Hale was one of the many women to exhibit at the Salon multiple times during her career. Her first entry to be accepted in the Salon was a painting entitled *Beppo*, which she completed in 1883 after her first few years studying in Paris at the Académie Julian and Colarossi.³³ Unfortunately *Beppo* was not favorably reviewed:

Miss Ellen Hale’s “Beppo” is her usual studio model, in the painting of which there are no difficulties of perspective, shadow, or focusing of effect. It is carefully and conscientiously painted, albeit a trifle muddled and indefinite in the modeling of the face, which has, however, less tendency to smuttiness than this lady’s complexions usually have.³⁴

Hale continued her education and returned to Paris again in 1885, where she spent another six months at the Académie Julian. During this time she finished her much admired *Self Portrait* (fig. 1) which was chosen for the Salon.³⁵ It was favorably reviewed in *Art Amateur*:

Miss Ellen Hale...has made one of the most creditable exhibitions of the season. She displays a man’s strength in the treatment and handling of her subjects—a massiveness and breadth of effect attained through sound training and native wit and courage. Her portrait of herself is refreshingly unconventional and lifelike....³⁶



Figure 17. Gabrielle DeVaux Clements, *Avenue in Versailles*, c. 1920. Etching, aquatint, *à la poupée* color inking, paper: 13 1/8 x 10 1/2 in.; plate: 8 1/2 x 5 1/2 in. The Trout Gallery, Dickinson College, Carlisle, PA. Gift of Eric Denker, class of 1975, in honor of the 20th Anniversary of The Trout Gallery, 2004.5.4 (cat. 8).

Her maturation as an artist was brought about by her formal training in Paris and travels throughout France. After years at the Académie Julian, her drawing technique and style had greatly improved giving her the ability to create more refined and mature works.

Even with the long hours of drawing and painting at the academies in Paris, artists somehow found the time to apply their techniques learned in class and travel throughout France and the rest of Europe. Students and professionals alike ventured through the expanse of villages and countryside, sketching and sometimes painting the surroundings. Most travelers employed the help of one of the many guidebooks published during the time and their destinations always included the

same excursions: Versailles, Chartres, Normandy, and Mont Saint-Michel.³⁷ Among these destinations, Versailles was particularly popular. In her print *Avenue in Versailles* (fig. 17), Gabrielle DeVaux Clements appears to follow her own recommendation regarding such subjects: "...artwork should be



Figure 18. Ellen Day Hale, *Market in Normandy*, c. 1885. Oil sketch on panel, 9 ¼ x 6 ⅛ in. The Trout Gallery, Dickinson College, Carlisle, PA. Gift of Eric Denker, class of 1975, in memory of Ruth Trout, 2004.6.10 (cat. 21).

accurate and beautiful recording the appearance of a city. [The] visual impression [should be] at once accurate."³⁸ Her etching calls to mind other traveler's impressions of the view, including E. A. Forbes who writes:

The combination of wide avenues, broad terraces, fountains filled with groups of statuary, smooth lawns, closely clipped hedges and pyramids of yew, artificial lakes and canals, grottoes, copse and forest, is something passing my powers of description. The tall dark yews are trimmed in various forms, chiefly pyramidal, and the box forms a broad hedge lining the stone parapets with a continuous arbor. At every opening a new fountain presents itself, all adorned with sculptures....³⁹

Forbes also discusses Normandy briefly in her book, which can be seen in Ellen Day Hale's oil sketch *Market in Normandy* (fig. 18; cat. 21). In the background of this small panel, it is possible to see "two grand old edifices towering above it; the cathedral, with a still unfinished spire, and the still more beautiful old church of St. Ouen."⁴⁰

Upon her return from her extensive study and travels in France and elsewhere in Europe, Hale applied what she had learned to her images of her immediate surroundings. In her etching *Marblehead* (fig. 19; cat. 23), from a series that she and Clements made of sites in New England, she incorporates aspects of the Barbizon style onto the American landscape. The intimacy and serenity of the Boston countryside is captured in Hale's print in a manner that is keeping with the French style.

American artists including Hale and Clements traveled to Paris in search of training and professional success in order to find ways in which they could sustain a career with the few choices available to them. Institutions such as the Ecole des Beaux-Arts, the Salon, the academies, as well as the scenic vistas, Paris, and its surroundings played an integral role in the development of American artists during the late nineteenth century.

1 Mrs. E. A. Forbes, *A Woman's First Impressions of Europe: Being wayside sketches made during a short tour in the year 1863* (New York: Derby & Miller Co., 1865), 284.

2 H. Barbara Weinberg, *The Lure of Paris: Nineteenth-Century American Painters and Their French Teachers* (New York: Abbeville Press, 1991), 70.

3 Weinberg, *The Lure of Paris*, 44.

4 Lois Marie Fink, *American Art at the Nineteenth-Century Paris Salons* (New York: Cambridge University Press for the National Museum of American Art, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, DC, 1990), 66.

5 Weinberg, *The Lure of Paris*, 28. Ateliers were private studios for art students run by masters of art, which were most often open to men and women and would cost more than the Ecole des Beaux-Arts.

6 Marie Adelaide Belloc, "Lady Artists in Paris," *Murray's Magazine* 8 (September 1890): 383.

7 Belloc, "Lady Artists in Paris," 383.

8 Weinberg, *The Lure of Paris*, 25.



Figure 19. Ellen Day Hale, *Marblehead*, c. 1890. Etching, paper: 5 ½ x 8 ¾ in.; plate: 2 7/8 x 5 ¾ in. The Trout Gallery, Dickinson College, Carlisle, PA. Gift of Eric Denker, class of 1975, in memory of Ruth Trout, 2004.6.5 (cat. 23).

- 9 Peter Bermingham, *American Art in the Barbizon Mood* (Washington, DC: National Collection of the Fine Arts, 1975), 13.
- 10 Bermingham, *American Art in the Barbizon Mood*, 22; Weinberg, *The Lure of Paris*, 25.
- 11 Rona Schneider, "The American Etching Revival, Its French Sources and Early Years," *The American Art Journal* 14 (Autumn 1982): 50.
- 12 Weinberg, *The Lure of Paris*, 8.
- 13 Erica E. Hirshler, "At Home in Paris," *Americans in Paris 1860–1900* (London: National Gallery Company Limited, 2006), 71.
- 14 Schneider, "American Etching Revival," 41.
- 15 Schneider, "American Etching Revival," 41.
- 16 Fink, *American Art*, 66.
- 17 Weinberg, *The Lure of Paris*, 79.
- 18 Maxime Lalanne, *A Treatise on Etching*, translated by Sylvester Rosa Koehler (Boston: Estes & Lauriat, 1880), xxix. This excerpt was written by French art critic Charles Blanc as a letter to be published after the introduction, addressing the book's author. Lalanne's treatise was used in many American art schools as a tool for teaching etching in the French style.
- 19 Phyllis Peet, *American Women of the Etching Revival* (Atlanta: High Museum of Art, 1988), 12.
- 20 Gabrielle DeVaux Clements Papers, Archives of American Art, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, DC, Roll #4212.
- 21 Belloc, "Lady Artists in Paris," 376; Peet, *American Women of the Etching Revival*, 9.
- 22 Belloc, "Lady Artists in Paris," 371.
- 23 Belloc, "Lady Artists in Paris," 374.
- 24 Jo Ann Wein, "The Parisian Training of American Women Artists," *Woman's Art Journal* 2 (Spring/Summer 1981): 41.
- 25 Belloc, "Lady Artists in Paris," 382.
- 26 Belloc, "Lady Artists in Paris," 383.
- 27 Wein, "Parisian Training of American Women Artists," 42.
- 28 Peet, *American Women of the Etching Revival*, 10.
- 29 Peet, *American Women of the Etching Revival*, 17.
- 30 "Pictures by American Women in the Paris Salon," *The Art Amateur* 9 (August 1883): 45, 46.
- 31 Wein, "Parisian Training of American Women Artists," 43.
- 32 Kathleen Adler, "'We'll always have Paris': Paris as a Training Ground and Proving Ground," *Americans in Paris, 1860-1900* (London: National Gallery Company Limited, 2006), 27.
- 33 "Pictures by American Women in the Paris Salon," 43.
- 34 "Pictures by American Women in the Paris Salon," 46.
- 35 Tracy B. Schpero, "American Impressionist Ellen Day Hale" (master's thesis, George Washington University, 1994), 37.
- 36 Schpero, "American Impressionist Ellen Day Hale," 38.
- 37 Peet, *American Women of the Etching Revival*, 18.
- 38 Gabrielle DeVaux Clements Papers, Archives of American Art, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, DC, Roll #4212.
- 39 Forbes, *A Woman's First Impressions of Europe*, 301.
- 40 Forbes, *A Woman's First Impressions of Europe*, 310.

Kathryn Malinowski

Ellen Day Hale and Gabrielle DeVaux Clements were artists during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries and important members of the Painter-Etcher movement in America.¹ Hale was born to an established Boston family that was supportive of her artistic pursuits.² It is thought that Hale's mother promoted her interest in drawing at a young age. Other artists in her family included her aunt Susan Hale, who toured Europe, and her brother Philip Hale who was a painter; both influenced Ellen.³ Gabrielle Clements was born in Philadelphia and had a similar background to Hale.⁴ Both were trained at the leading academies and art schools in the United States and abroad in France.⁵

Ellen Day Hale met her life-long companion Gabrielle DeVaux Clements in 1883.⁶ At this time, Clements was studying under Thomas Eakins at the Pennsylvania Academy of Fine Arts in Philadelphia.⁷ Hale also periodically studied at the Academy throughout the early 1880s. Although Hale and Clements met in 1883, they did not become close friends until 1885 when they both toured Europe together and studied at the Académie Julian. Not only did they become close friends during this trip to Europe, but it was then that Clements taught Hale to etch.⁸ Over time their lives and careers became closely connected. They both toured Europe several times, together and apart, and in 1893 moved into a house together near Gloucester, Massachusetts which they named "The Thickets."⁹ The house had been a fisherman's cottage and the two women added a studio where they could work.

Hale and Clements lived in a society that held the view that women and men were fundamentally different and had a proper role to fulfill; therefore men and women were divided because of this difference. The majority of women stayed at home and thus were associated with nurturing, the home, and the family rather than with the work place.¹⁰ This condition was reinforced by the rapid industrialization and urbanization which strengthened the notion of the home as an ideal of femininity and the outside work place as the busy domain of men.¹¹ Women were expected to conduct the household; daughters helped with chores and deferred to the male children.¹² Within this context, women did not generally have careers outside of the home. Men were characteristically the sole providers for the family, and furthermore, women belonged to men; first by their father and then by their husband. Women in the upper class especially were not expected to work, but instead were taught how to be good wives and mothers.¹³ Such a context grouped women together and

furthered these ideas, but they also strengthened bonds among women.¹⁴

Women who were employed outside of the household did so out of necessity, widowhood, or because they did not marry. Their careers, however, were often domestic in nature, even if away from home. Acceptable jobs involved textiles, housework, or teaching.¹⁵ The latter was considered a suitable occupation for women because it was equated with nurturing. Likewise, because of its educational nature, teaching and practicing art and music were acceptable occupations for women.¹⁶

But education at the time, like the professional world, was unequal. Society held that education should be geared toward the specific abilities of the two different sexes. Women, therefore, were educated to take care of the family and be good role models. However, during the nineteenth century, women slowly became more accepted in academic environments such as college and art schools, partly because it was believed that the classroom was associated with the home.¹⁷ Academies were beginning to enroll women and some were created specifically for them.¹⁸ Bryn Mawr and the Philadelphia School of Design for Women are a few examples.¹⁹ Yet women were not afforded the same types of opportunities in education as men.

The educational opportunities available for women, however, were a way for women to stay single and independent rather than marry. Marriage was not conducive to a career because family competed with the time it took to develop and exhibit art.²⁰ The incompatibility between marriage and a career allowed for the cohabitation of women which existed in different forms including sharing studios, to sharing homes, and even having relationships.²¹

Life-long relationships between women were common; some were relatives, others were intimate friends. These relationships bonded and strengthened values and allowed women to have contact with equals.²² Intimate, life-long relationships—often called a "Boston Marriage"—provided personal fulfillment and emotional support while allowing each partner to remain less encumbered by family obligations and to pursue professional careers.²³ Although bonds between women were encouraged, this type of intimate relationship was permitted but not openly accepted.²⁴

Hale's family was not pleased with her choice of companion, despite their support of her career. Hale's father and minister, especially, did not like Clements and advised Hale not to move in with her, although she did.²⁵ Neither



Figure 20. Gabrielle DeVaux Clements, *Sailing Ships in Gloucester Harbor*, c. 1890. Etching, paper: 4 1/8 x 4 in.; plate: 3 x 3 in. The Trout Gallery, Dickinson College, Carlisle, PA. Gift of Eric Denker, class of 1975, in memory of Ruth Trout, 2004.6.1 (cat. 6).



Figure 21. Ellen Day Hale, *Gloucester Harbour, Threatening Weather*, c. 1890. Etching, paper: 8 1/2 x 11 7/8 in.; plate: 2 7/8 x 5 7/8 in. The Trout Gallery, Dickinson College, Carlisle, PA. Gift of Eric Denker, class of 1975, in memory of Ruth Trout, 2004.6.3 (cat. 22).

Hale nor Clements married and the exact nature of their relationship is uncertain. The two lived and worked together and influenced each other during the span of their lives. In many ways, their relationship was similar to other womanly bonds of this era which were fostered, in part, by the fact that women were separated more from men than today by societal structures, education, and careers. Due to this separation, women relied upon each other for support, comfort, and camaraderie.

Because of their life and travel together, the two women etched many of the same scenes. Their etchings share some similarities in style in large measure due to the fact that Clements taught Hale to etch.²⁶ Indeed, in the late 1880s

they were commissioned to etch a series of scenes around Gloucester, Massachusetts.²⁷ Two etchings from the Gloucester area, one by Clements, *Sailing Ships in Gloucester Harbor* (fig. 20, cat. 6) and one by Hale, *Gloucester Harbour, Threatening Weather* (fig. 21, cat. 22), demonstrate their working methods and style.

Clements' etching is a small depiction of the harbor in Gloucester, Massachusetts. It depicts the town in the background and the sea in the foreground, extending into three-quarters of the image. Several boats appear on the water and gulls fly above. Most of the elements in this etching extend off the edge of the plate and expand the composition beyond the



Figure 22. Ellen Day Hale, *Marblehead*, c. 1890. Etching, paper: 5 ½ x 8 ¾ in.; plate: 2 ⅞ x 5 ¾ in. The Trout Gallery, Dickinson College, Carlisle, PA. Gift of Eric Denker, class of 1975, in memory of Ruth Trout, 2004.6.5 (cat. 23).

borders of the image. The boats occupy the foreground while the sea extends into the background, occupying most of the space. The port in the background is cramped compared to the two ships that appear in the foreground. The etching is dynamic not only because the subject extends off the page, but also because the etched lines are muffled and fuzzy and suggest movement.

Hale's etching, on the other hand, shows a broader but more contained scope of Gloucester Harbor. The town is in the background and takes up about half of the etching and the sea occupies the rest. Three sailboats cross the composition from left to right. The port, although blurred from the distance, encompasses more of the town. The ships and the buildings remain within the space of the plate and are not cropped at the edges. The image is more self-contained and restricted by the edge of the plate. Moreover the etched lines are crisp, clean, and create a static quality.

Although the etching by Clements is more dynamic, it is less descriptive. Hale's etching, on the other hand, is precise and serene. Another etching from this series by Hale is *Marblehead* (fig. 22, cat. 23). This work is much like the one of Gloucester and represents the city in the background situated upon a hill. A stream separates the land in the foreground which includes a tree and a small building. The view is far removed from the town, and this framing effect creates a static quality, not unlike her print of Gloucester Harbor. Also, the crisp lines tend to have a uniform lightness. Hale once again departs from Clements' use of broader, more varied line and more adventuresome composition.²⁸

In contrast, Clements' view of *Mount Chocorua* (fig. 23, cat. 9) provides an example of a more complex composition. The scene is composed vertically with the mountain and trees

dominating the space and extending off of the plate horizontally, creating movement. The foreground leads the eye to the top of the mountain which is completely in view, creating a point of focus for the viewer. The colors in this etching are soft and muted, which complement the darker etched lines that define the forms. Clements and Hale both experimented with hand-inked *à la poupée* color etching in the early decades of the twentieth century. Interestingly, Clements continued to work in hard-ground (cat. 8) while Hale seemed to prefer the subtle effects of soft-ground etching for her color prints (cat. 34, 38).

Through the added freedom that their relationship together allowed, the two women furthered their own artistic careers. Clements exhibited many of her paintings and etchings in the United States and Europe. In addition to the prints she made of Massachusetts, she was commissioned to etch a series of views of Baltimore and she painted several murals in different cities. She exhibited works at the Pennsylvania Academy, National Academy of Design, Boston Art Club, the Boston Art Students' Association, and the Women Etchers of America exhibition, among many others. She also showed her work at several international exhibitions, including Philadelphia's 1926 Sesqui-Centennial International Exposition.²⁹

Hale also exhibited her paintings and etchings frequently. Internationally, she showed at the Paris Salon and London's Royal Academy. In the United States, she showed at the Pennsylvania Academy, the Boston Museum of Fine Art, the New York Etchings Club, the Corcoran Gallery, the Columbian Exposition, and many others. Like Clements, she also received commissions to create a series of etchings, including views of California Missions.³⁰

Hale and Clements exhibited their work often and played an important part of the art community. In this way, they helped promote and assist the growing number of women artists. To this end, the two women taught and encouraged other women artists. Clements taught at Bryn Mawr for years, and their studio at The Thickets was open to women of all ages who wanted to pursue a career in art. Clements and Hale created a welcoming environment of peers, quite different than the competitive environments at the academies of the time.³¹ Nancy Hale, Ellen's niece, wrote about the positive atmosphere at The Thickets and the process in which the women would all etch and complete a print together, then view it, and discuss the work.³² During their lessons at The Thickets, Hale and Clements taught different etching techniques, including aquatint, to students who went on to further their careers.³³ Two of their students, Alice Ravenel Huger Smith and Elizabeth O'Neill Verner, went on to establish their own etching clubs.³⁴

Although much of Hale's life can be characterized by a rebellion against the societal restrictions of the nineteenth century, she was a product of the times and as the oldest child in her family she undertook familial duties. After her mother died, she moved to Washington, D.C. in 1904 to become hostess for her father who was appointed Chaplain of the United States Senate. She stayed there until 1909 when her father died.³⁵ Due to this move and the pressure for Hale to assume these responsibilities, she focused less on her career and more on her family.³⁶

It has been claimed that Hale stopped etching by 1895 because she thought that Clements was better than her.³⁷ However, this statement is not supported by surviving evidence. It is documented that Hale and Clements taught others to etch at The Thickets after her father died and during World War I.³⁸ Also, Hale and Clements made etchings during a trip to France and Sicily from 1921–1922 and exhibited at Goodspeed. Etchings from a trip in 1929 to Egypt, Palestine, and Syria were exhibited at the Corcoran Gallery in 1936.³⁹ So, although it is possible that Hale's painting and etching career may have slowed down during her time in Washington, D.C., she continued to etch and exhibit her prints late into her life.

Hale's life and career present an interesting dichotomy between the emergence of progressive women in the art world and the constrictive societal norms of the time.⁴⁰ In spite of social confines, through their careers as artists, teachers, friends, and mentors, Ellen Day Hale and Gabrielle DeVaux Clements contributed greatly to the Painter-Etcher movement and promoted the careers of women artists.



Figure 23. Gabrielle DeVaux Clements, *Mount Chocorua*, c. 1920. Etching, aquatint, *à la poupée* color inking, paper: 11 $\frac{7}{8}$ x 6 $\frac{1}{8}$ in.; plate: 9 $\frac{3}{4}$ x 4 in. The Trout Gallery, Dickinson College, Carlisle, PA. Gift of Eric Denker, class of 1975, in honor of the 20th Anniversary of The Trout Gallery, 2003.5.5 (cat. 9).

- 1 Kirsten Swinth, *Painting Professionals: Women Artists & the Development of Modern American Art, 1870–1930* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2001), 97.
- 2 Tracy B. Schpero, "American Impressionist Ellen Day Hale" (master's thesis, George Washington University, 1994), 3.
- 3 Phyllis Peet, "The Emergence of American Women Printmakers in the Late Nineteenth Century" (PhD diss., University of California, Los Angeles, 1987), 403–404.
- 4 Phyllis Peet, *American Women of the Etching Revival* (Atlanta: High Museum of Art, 1988), 53.
- 5 Peet, *American Women of the Etching Revival*, 53, 58.
- 6 Thomas O'Connor, *The Athens of America: Boston, 1825–1845* (Amherst & Boston: University of Massachusetts Press, 2006), 35–37.
- 7 Peet, *American Women of the Etching Revival*, 53.
- 8 Peet, "American Women Printmakers," 409.
- 9 Darcy J. Dapra, "Ellen Day Hale: Homosociality and the Nineteenth-Century Woman Artist" (master's thesis, University of California, Davis, 2003), 32.
- 10 Nancy F. Cott, *The Bonds of Womanhood: "Woman's Sphere" in New England, 1780–1835* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1977), 61–62.
- 11 Cott, *The Bonds of Womanhood*, 67.
- 12 Ellen M. Plante, *Women at Home in Victorian America: A Social History* (New York: Facts on File, Inc., 1997), 8–9. Eldest daughters were pressured to take care of their parents and the younger children of the household.
- 13 Cott, *The Bonds of Womanhood*, 20–22. "In its strictly economical aspect the traditional marriage contract resembled an indenture between master and servant."
- 14 Cott, *The Bonds of Womanhood*, 98–100.
- 15 Cott, *The Bonds of Womanhood*, 26–28.
- 16 Peet, "American Women Printmakers," 39.
- 17 Cott, *The Bonds of Womanhood*, 117–123.
- 18 Cott, *The Bonds of Womanhood*, 33.
- 19 Peet, *American Women of the Etching Revival*, 53.
- 20 Laura R. Prieto, *At Home in the Studio: The Professionalization of Women Artists in America* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2001), 114. "But even under the best of circumstances—a supportive husband, ample household income, and servants to help with child rearing—marriage and family places an increased burden of social expectation on the woman artist."
- 21 Prieto, *At Home in the Studio*, 117.
- 22 Cott, *The Bonds of Womanhood*, 185–190.
- 23 Schpero, "American Impressionist Ellen Day Hale," 8–9. Dapra, "Homosociality," 8–11. The term "Boston Marriage" defies contemporary relationship classification. Although some of the women involved in these relationships may have been lesbian, it may not necessarily be correct to apply this term to all of the women who were involved in this type of relationship at the time.
- 24 Dapra, "Homosociality," 12–13; in *The Bostonians* Henry James alludes to a "Boston Marriage" with lesbian references. The novel emphasized society's negative views on this type of relationship.
- 25 Nancy Hale, *The Life in the Studio* (Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1969), 108.
- 26 Peet, "American Women Printmakers," 414.
- 27 Peet, "American Women Printmakers," 407.
- 28 *Sailing Ships in Gloucester Harbor, Marblehead, and Gloucester Harbour, Threatening Weather* are dated c. 1890, about the time that the two artists were commissioned by L. Prang & Co. to complete a series of the area. Prang was active in print publishing, chromolithographs, as well as distributing etchings. The business was based in Boston and his prints were in high demand and widely distributed in America. See Michael Clapper, "Art, Industry, and Education on Prang's Chromolithograph Company," *Proceedings of the American Antiquarian Society* 105 (1995): 145–161.
- 29 Peet, *American Women of the Etching Revival*, 53.
- 30 Peet, *American Women of the Etching Revival*, 58.
- 31 Peet, *American Women of the Etching Revival*, 53; Dapra, "Homosociality," 35–36.
- 32 Hale, *Life in the Studio*, 111–112. "All together—my mother, too—they might print a take, one of them with infinite care setting a plate face down upon wet paper on a padded bed, another slowly, slowly turning the spokes of the great wheel as it moved the plate over the bed; another taking notes throughout to record each step of the process, so a final edition could be printed uniformly. Afterward they all clustered around to examine critically the result achieved."
- 33 Peet, *American Women of the Etching Revival*, 53. Some of the students were Margaret Yeaton Hoyt, Lesley Jackson, and Theresa F. Bernstein.
- 34 Peet, *American Women of the Etching Revival*, 59.
- 35 Peet, *American Women of the Etching Revival*, 58–59.
- 36 Schpero, "American Impressionist Ellen Day Hale," 55–56.
- 37 Schpero, "American Impressionist Ellen Day Hale," 55.
- 38 Peet, *American Women of the Etching Revival*, 59.
- 39 Peet, "American Women Printmakers," 416–418.
- 40 Swinth, *Painting Professionals*, 88. "Hale creatively made a life for herself, weaving art making and art selling together with a rich, multigenerational community of female colleagues. Hale, her friend Gabrielle Clements, and her sister-in-law Lilian Hale were the core of this network, and they exemplify steady pursuit of market and professional recognition while negotiating lives as daughters, comrades, wives, and mothers."

Annie Blanche Dillaye:

A Nineteenth-Century Etcher and a Peer to Gabrielle DeVaux Clements and Ellen Day Hale

Jennifer M. Thompson

Annie Blanche Dillaye was a noted member of the American Painter-Etcher movement. Her education, work, exhibitions, and travel parallel those of many female peers, including Ellen Day Hale and Gabrielle DeVaux Clements. Dillaye, like her colleagues, persevered through the limited opportunities and restrictions of nineteenth-century American society to emerge as an award-winning painter-etcher and a contributor to the advancement of professional women artists.

Born in Syracuse, New York on September 4, 1851, Dillaye demonstrated an early prowess for drawing.¹ The daughter of middle-class parents, she was provided with an education at a school for young ladies in Philadelphia. Because a modest cultivation of artistic abilities was desirable for proper young ladies, a private education would have included some art in its curriculum. However, a rudimentary education would have prepared Dillaye for little more than the then popular pursuits of painting porcelain vessels for personal use or painting still life subjects in their parlors.² In order to become a professional artist and self-sufficient woman, Dillaye would have to obtain formal artistic training.

To develop her artistic skills, Dillaye had to enroll in an art academy. Fortunately, Dillaye, who had just completed her initial schooling in Philadelphia, was already living in one of the nation's foremost centers for the fine arts. Finding no need to venture further, Dillaye entered the Pennsylvania Academy of Fine Arts, which she attended from 1877 until 1882. Here she found herself among other women artists including Gabrielle DeVaux Clements and Ellen Day Hale, both of whom studied at the academy with Dillaye under Thomas Eakins. Ellen Day Hale attended classes "occasionally" while she was in the area visiting family between the year that she opened her own portrait studio in 1877, but before going to Europe for the first time in 1881.³ Gabrielle Clements followed a more traditional approach to her schooling at the academy; she attended classes as a full-time student from 1880 to 1883, studying at least part of that time with Thomas Eakins, who also taught Dillaye.⁴ That these three women and several others were able to obtain an education at an established art academy speaks to the growing acceptance of women in art professions in America.⁵

While etching was not taught by Eakins, other artists in Philadelphia offered lessons in this medium. Coincidentally and perhaps because of their joint ties to the academy, both Dillaye and Clements were taught to etch in 1883 by the same Philadelphia artist, Steven Parrish. Years later, Clements

would pass the knowledge of etching she received from him onto her companion, Ellen Day Hale.⁶

While etching had its avid followers and collectors, it was not a principal medium such as painting or sculpture, but experienced a revival during the late nineteenth century. Thus, as a narrow specialty with a limited following, etching provided women with a point of entry to the professional realm of art.⁷ Moreover, in actual practice, etchings were made on a relatively small scale and were considered to embody a certain delicacy that was appropriate to women. Therefore, Dillaye and her peers, apart from their work as painters, would have found a niche in etching. Not only was it more socially acceptable for women to work in a specialized small-scale medium, but also etching was growing in popularity and was a less structured and less exclusionary artistic medium.

Participation by professional women artists in the Painter-Etcher movement was promoted by the establishment of societies and clubs which became markets for women to sell their art. These organizations sprang up nationally and internationally providing forums for exhibitions. Dillaye belonged to a substantial number of these groups. In America, she was a member of The Pennsylvania Academy of Artists, The Philadelphia Society of Etchers, and the Boston Art Club. In England, she was a member of the Royal Society of Painter-Etchers.⁸ Within these clubs and societies, there was considerable overlap in their membership as Philadelphia, Boston, London, and Paris were all thriving centers for the arts. Clements and Hale were also members of the majority of these clubs, especially those located in Philadelphia, New York, and Boston.

Hale did not regularly attend the academy and, therefore, would have had less opportunity or time than Dillaye or Clements to exhibit. In contrast, Clements and Dillaye lived in Philadelphia and, of course, exhibited there. Being young and at the beginning of their careers, they also joined clubs outside of Philadelphia to attract greater exposure to other artists and patrons. In addition to Philadelphia, both Clements and Dillaye exhibited in New York.⁹ In 1884, Dillaye and Clements contributed to an exhibition of The Etching Club there.¹⁰ They returned to New York for another etching exhibition with another organization, but neither focused their attention there, preferring Philadelphia and Boston instead.

Like Philadelphia, Boston was a center for printing which made it a profitable place for etchers to exhibit and work.

Hale started exhibiting at the Boston Art Club where Clements and Dillaye would later show their art. Hale's relative, Susan Hale, exhibited frequently with the club and Ellen Day Hale joined her in an exhibition with the group in 1878.¹¹ Because she was more rooted in New York and Pennsylvania, Dillaye did not exhibit with the Boston Art Club until 1883. This was, of course, the year that both she and Hale's companion, Clements, learned how to etch. Perhaps the mastery of this medium was what prompted Dillaye to exhibit with the club because she, like Clements, showed mainly etchings and drypoints.

Records of the Boston Art Club note that both Dillaye and Clements frequently showed their work with this society. For example, even early on Dillaye exhibited in shows consecutively from 1883 through 1885 and then from 1887 until 1890, and Clements from 1884 and then again 1886. Even though they both traveled to Europe multiple times over the course of their involvement with the club, records show that they also participated in the club's exhibitions for over ten years. For example, Hale accompanied Clements for most of their trip to Europe during which they, with Dillaye, exhibited in the 1885 Paris Salon.¹² The Paris Salon exhibition record from that year provides a glimpse of Dillaye's status at that time.

Dillaye, Miss Blanche
 Born, Philadelphia
 1885 5 Lord-Byron Rd.
 (no master given)
 G- 4705. An etching: In the Marshes

This entry is noteworthy because it indicates that Blanche was not yet associated with a master. In contrast, both Clements and Hale were better established in Paris than Dillaye as the 1885 records indicate:

Hale, Miss Ellen Day
 Born in Massachusetts
 Academy Julian, passage of the
 Pandormas, Mont-matre Gallery, 27
 Student of Misters T Robert-Fleury
 Bouguereau and Giacomotti
 P- 1209. Winter in America

Clements, Miss Gabrielle D.
 Born in Philadelphia (USA)
 1885 Chez M. Drexel, Harjes and Cie.
 31 Haussmann Blvd.
 Student of Misters T. Robert-Fleury,
 Bouguereau and Giacomotti

P- 583
 Student of Bouguereau and
 Robert-Fleury, Giacomotti and
 Parisch
 G- 4664 *Three Etchings
 1. Pré américain
 2. La route d'Annisquam
 3. Bateau de pêche
 (Massachusetts)
 4665. *Two Etchings:
 1.) In the Cloisters of Chester Cathedral
 (England)
 2. The Sardine Boat at
 Concarneau¹³

Hale had studied at the Académie Julian once before, in 1882, on her second trip to Europe.¹⁴ Having a preexisting relationship with the institution would have facilitated her return, and with her contacts and Clements' abilities as an artist, Hale very well could have arranged for her companion to be schooled there. Dillaye sought only private tutelage which she must not have gained by the time of the exhibition, thus leaving her record with the note specifying that she was not then under instruction from any master. While Dillaye did not establish herself at an academy, she was a member of the Union of Women Painter and Sculptor Artists where she would have had access to materials and equipment necessary for producing etchings.¹⁵ This group was established as a response to women being excluded from academic institutions in France, such as the Ecole des Beaux-Arts, and the realization that "[a]cademic training and the opportunity for participating in the Salon exhibitions became for [women like Dillaye]...keys to successful careers."

Unlike Clements and Dillaye, Hale had already been abroad once before, when Dillaye and Clements were at school. Moreover, Dillaye brought students with her to help defray the cost of the journey through Europe.¹⁶ Dillaye was right to prepare for such cost as she would be looking to take lessons from a master in Paris where she would have to pay a much more expensive rate of tuition for a woman's admittance into an academy and only receive half of the training.¹⁷ Dillaye found a master, Eduardo-Leon Garrido, to take her on as a pupil and studied with him from 1885 until 1887.¹⁸

Dillaye's trip to Europe must have been beneficial to her because she, like Clements and Hale, made at least one return voyage shortly after the turn of the century. Between these two trips, Dillaye returned to the circles of American art with full force, which included her work at the World's Columbian Exposition and exhibiting again in New York. In 1888, a little over a year after her return from Europe, Dillaye presented

several works in a show entitled *Woman Etchers of America* at the Union League Club in New York City.¹⁹ Additionally, Clements exhibited a full nineteen works at this show. Ellen Day Hale participated too, albeit she was not as well represented, as she showed three prints.

Here, as would be seen in later exhibitions, Dillaye showed work from her first trip to Europe. One of thirty-three works Dillaye had on display at this venue was a scene from Holland, *In the Fields, Papendrecht* (fig. 24; cat. 10).²⁰ Having visited Holland, England, and France on her first journey abroad, Dillaye came into contact with the art of American painter Henry Bisbing, who was living in Holland. Bisbing's work drew heavily from the modern Dutch style in his use of dramatic perspective, foreshortening, and choice of a bucolic setting.²¹ Such elements are well incorporated into *In the Fields, Papendrecht* when Dillaye uses sails and the line of a foreshortened boat to draw the viewer's eye to the vanishing point.

In 1893, Dillaye worked on another exhibition, the Columbian Exposition, held in Chicago. Here Dillaye served as the "chairman on etchings for the State of Pennsylvania on the Woman's Auxiliary of the Board of Lady Managers."²² Lauded for her work which "possessed the highest merit,"²³ Dillaye could speak with authority about the qualities of etching during her speech on the medium for the Columbian Exposition:

First of all, [etching] is born of line; line is by its nature suggestive and not imitative, it deals with selection and omission, not with elaboration and subtle tones. In all arts reserve is strength; selection presupposes knowledge; and tact in omission is the refinement of understanding.²⁴

After the Columbian Exposition, Dillaye returned to her previous involvement with exhibitions and clubs.

After winning the silver medal at the Cotton States and International Exposition in 1895,²⁵ Dillaye assumed a larger role in clubs as well.²⁶ In 1897, Dillaye, as one of its founders, became the first president of the Plastic Club in Philadelphia.²⁷ Here was yet another venue that was especially aimed at giving women a place to convene and show works.²⁸ Other clubs which directed their efforts to men, but allowed women to show, were more prevalent.²⁹ Hence, as the Plastic Club was formed in an effort to remedy the disparity of opportunities to exhibit art between men and women, Dillaye also took on the role of an activist for women along with the presidency.

When abroad, Dillaye experienced a discrepancy between what was permissible for men and women when making art.

During her first visit to Europe, Dillaye would have encountered the works of the Impressionists firsthand. This was important for Dillaye because the Impressionists worked almost exclusively in landscape, cityscapes, and portraiture, which were considered appropriate for women artists. This view was reinforced by some writers who considered the style especially conducive to women artists.³⁰ Pierre Borel, a French critic, promoted this correlation: "strictly speaking woman only has the right to practice the system of the Impressionists. She alone can limit her efforts and translate her impressions and recompense."³¹ By this, Borel meant that with abilities only women were thought to possess, could Impressionism be properly put to use. Impressionist works were regarded by some as aesthetically pleasing but lacking in complicated subject matter and thus appropriate for women. While Borel puts forth a problematic argument, it nonetheless illustrates the degree to which women were encouraged to incorporate the stylistic components of Impressionism into their art.



Figure 24. Annie Blanche Dillaye, *In the Fields, Papendrecht*, 1931. Drypoint, paper: 19 $\frac{3}{4}$ x 14 $\frac{1}{2}$ in.; plate: 13 $\frac{1}{2}$ x 10 in. The Trout Gallery, Dickinson College, Carlisle, PA. Gift of Mrs. Grace Linn, 1951.1.25 (cat. 10).



Figure 25. Annie Blanche Dillaye, *Serbonne*, n.d. Graphite on paper, 6 ⁷/₈ x 10 ¹/₈ in. The Trout Gallery, Dickinson College, Carlisle, PA. Gift of Mrs. Grace Linn, 1951.1.28 (cat. 15).

Dillaye returned to France in 1905 to 1906, during which time she produced a series of drawings that display her use of the Impressionist concept of “mood,” as suggested by the empathic use of roads to manipulate perspective. In *Serbonne* (fig. 25; cat. 15), there is a relative “starkness, length, breadth...and lack of incident” which suggests the Impressionist conception of a “mood painting,” wherein the subject of the painting did not involve much activity but rather what a static composition can make a viewer feel.³² While Dillaye successfully manipulates the perspective of a road to achieve the presence of a mood, the painterly quality found in Impressionist works are not replicated in her neat, defined pencil marks. Instead, she painstakingly delineates every shadow of the gentle ivy which softens the wall’s sharp recession. Dillaye has clearly chosen not to obey all stylistic elements of Impressionism. Even in these drawings, Dillaye employs the linear quality of etching and not tonal shading.

After journeying abroad to France from about 1905 to 1906, Dillaye returned to the United States when, even in her fifties, she showed little sign of slowing her involvement in art circles. In 1913, Dillaye returned to major exhibitions and won a gold medal at the National Conservation Exposition in Knoxville, Tennessee. Dillaye continued to show her work at important venues including Philadelphia’s 1926 Sesqui-Centennial and the Plastic Club, where she had two solo exhibitions, the latter taking place in 1927.³³ Dillaye worked up until her death on December 20, 1931 and established herself both in America and abroad as an accomplished artist. Dillaye took the steps necessary to be a successful artist—education, travel, and exhibition—all of which helped to make her a significant contributor to the American Painter-Etcher movement and a peer to women artists such as Gabrielle DeVaux Clements and Ellen Day Hale.

- 1 Delia Gaze, *Dictionary of Women Artists: An International Dictionary of Women Artists Born Before 1900* (Chicago: Fitzroy Dearborn Publishers, 1997), 157.
- 2 Gladys Engel Lang and Kurt Lang, *Etched in Memory: The Building and Survival of Artistic Reputation* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1990), 272.
- 3 Laura R. Prieto, *At Home in the Studio: The Professionalization of Women Artists in America* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2001), 27. Dillaye most probably stayed on at the Pennsylvania Academy of Fine Arts for as long as she did, two years more than Clements attended school there, because she began to teach there after her first year.
- 4 Phyllis Peet, *American Women of the Etching Revival* (Atlanta: High Museum of Art, 1988), 52.
- 5 In order to become a professional artistic, self-sufficient, and successful woman, one would have to obtain a formal education in art. Women could even be taught by the same instructors as men. For example, Steven Parrish also taught Joseph Pennell, an etcher and contemporary of Dillaye. "Blanche Dillaye [Obituary]," *New York Times*, December 21, 1931, 21.
- 6 For further information on the partnership and artistic careers of Gabrielle DeVaux Clements and Ellen Day Hale, see Kathryn Malinowski's essay, this volume.
- 7 Lang, *Etched in Memory*, 273.
- 8 Peet, *American Women*, 54.
- 9 Ellen Day Hale would exhibit in New York closer to the turn of the century, years later than Clements and Hale.
- 10 "The Etching Club," *New York Times*, February 29, 1884. Coincidentally, Peter Moran, Henry Parrish, J. D. Smillie, and Mary Nimmo Moran all exhibited at this same show with Dillaye and Clements.
- 11 Ellen Day Hale's family was prominent in Boston's social and artistic circles.
- 12 Lois Marie Fink, *American Art at the Nineteenth-Century Paris Salons* (New York: Cambridge University Press for the National Museum of American Art, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, DC, 1990), 337.
- 13 Fink, *American Art*, 330, 350.
- 14 Fink, *American Art*, 137.
- 15 Peet, *American Women*, 54.
- 16 Peet, *American Women*, 54.
- 17 Fink, *American Art*, 117.
- 18 Peter H. Falk, "Blanche Dillaye," *Who Was Who in American Art: Compiled from the Original Thirty-Four Volumes of American Art Annual—Who's Who in Art, Biographies of American Artists Active From 1898–1947* (Madison, CT: Sound View Press, 1985), 157.
- 19 M[ariana] G[riswold] van Rensselaer, *Catalogue of The Work of the Women Etchers of America, April 12 to 21, 1888* (New York: The Union League Club, 1888). Mary Nimmo Moran, who also exhibited with Dillaye and Clements with The Etching Club, received a special mention on the cover of the United League Club's exhibition catalogue.
- 20 Dillaye's *Worton's Ship* (cat. 13) was also exhibited in this show. The Union League Club's board was comprised totally of men who approached the idea of hosting an exhibition of women's art with tentative curiosity and appreciation. The exhibition catalogue introduction reads: "A peculiar degree of interest attaches to the work of women in the arts...(in such a short) time since they entered the lists as genuine workers, displayed more than the passing enthusiasm and feeble accomplishment..."
- 21 Fink, *American Art*, 231.
- 22 Blanche Dillaye, "Etching," *The Congress of Women: Held in the Woman's Building, World's Columbian Exposition, Chicago, U.S.A., 1893*, edited by Mary Kavanaugh Oldham Eagle (Chicago: Monarch Book Company, 1894), 644.
- 23 "The Plastic Club of Philadelphia," *Harper's Bazaar* 13 (July 1897): 619.
- 24 Dillaye, "Etching," 643–644.
- 25 James L. Collins, *Women Artists in America: Eighteenth Century to the Present* (Chattanooga, TN: Whittenborn Art Books, 1975), 90.
- 26 Collins, *Women Artists*, 90.
- 27 Barbara MacIlvaine, "A History of the Plastic Club," <http://plastic.libertynet.org/history.html>.
- 28 MacIlvaine, "A History of the Plastic Club."
- 29 The club went on to grow in popularity and status enough to add William Merrit Chase as a close friend of the group and Henri Matisse among those who exhibited there.
- 30 Tamar Garb, *Sisters of the Brush: Women's Artistic Culture in Late Nineteenth Century Paris* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1994), 124.
- 31 Garb, *Sisters of the Brush*, 124.
- 32 Fink, *American Art*, 231.
- 33 Peet, *American Women*, 54.

“The Goal of my Desires”: Ellen Day Hale and Venice

Alexandra Ruhfel



Figure 26. Ellen Day Hale, *First Night in Venice*, c. 1922. Soft-ground etching, aquatint, *à la poupée* color inking, paper: 7 ½ x 9 ¾ in.; plate: 6 x 7 ⅜ in. The Trout Gallery, Dickinson College, Carlisle, PA. Gift of Eric Denker, class of 1975, 2004.6.9 (cat. 34).

In 1881, Ellen Day Hale made her first trip to Venice. With her companion, artist Gabrielle DeVaux Clements, Hale made a second European sojourn, including a visit to Venice in 1895—the first visit for Clements. In a letter to her family, Hale deemed the city the “goal of my desires.”¹ The city left an impression on her that would inspire one of her finest and most expressive prints, *First Night in Venice* (fig. 26; cat. 34). In this print, Hale adopts an Impressionistic approach to a view of Santa Maria della Salute, an ornamental Baroque church on the Giudecca Canal, and shows the building fading into the atmospheric dusk of the Venetian horizon. The effect of Venice on Hale is also recorded in letters to her family, which reveal an emotional connection with the city that was absent in her letters from any other city on her first European tour. *First Night in Venice* exudes an emotive essence that seems inspired by her first impression of the city and continued return visits.

Venice was a key site on the European tour, especially for artists. However, until the late nineteenth century, art pilgrims

went to Venice with the objective to study Titian, Tintoretto, and Veronese. It was a museum, not a workshop. Erica Hirshler quotes a 1843 letter from Thomas Rossiter to John F. Kensett, commenting on Venice’s status as a location for artistic production: Venice was “not...a place to paint original pictures...[but] a place essentially for copies and sketches.”² With its countless colorful Old Master paintings in churches and museums, American art pilgrims flocked to Venice and filled their itineraries with time to study it.

Hirshler also recognized that during the nineteenth century, Venice underwent a metamorphosis from a city of decay to one of beauty and interest, not physically or structurally, but in the minds of visitors.³ British artists were beginning to see Venice as a subject in itself and found reasons to visit other than just to study Old Masters. J. M. W. Turner, one of the first British painters to see Venice this way, made only a few short trips to Venice, the first in September of 1819 when he produced watercolor studies and oil paintings that focus on the effects of light and color. One admirer of Turner and

Venice was John Ruskin, who made his first trip to Venice in 1835—an experience that would turn into an obsession with the city. In three volumes, Ruskin wrote *Stones of Venice*, a tribute and a loving portrait of the city which documents the beauty of its architecture. In the 1860s, when the second volume of *Stones of Venice* was published in America, many artists such as John Rollin Tilton and Sanford Gifford traveled to Venice to capture its alluring beauty. Apart from its past artistic glory and newly found beauty, Venice was also a major printmaking center and destination for etchers. It was home to more than 450 printers, publishers, and booksellers, making it a prime place for painter-etchers to work.⁴

ELLEN DAY HALE'S FIRST ITALIAN ITINERARY: 1881

Hale's first itinerary in Italy looked very much like that of any other artist-traveler of the time. Hale left for Europe with Mary Helen Knowlton, her teacher from William Morris Hunt's academy. The two began their trip in Turin on September 23, 1881. Hale and Knowlton enjoyed the scenic route by train through Geneva and Lago Maggiore, making stops along the way to take in the vistas of the mountains and lakes, to tour palaces, and to dine. Most of her letters from abroad document the sights she saw and her daily activities. In a letter from Rome on October 16, Hale wrote to her mother: "Forgive me for this catalogue, but I like to go over in my own mind the things I like best, and it helps me to do it to you."⁵ They reached Milan after a few days and Hale sent a postcard to her father on September 27 to tell him that she enjoyed the cathedral and the Ambrosian Library and that she would leave for Venice the following day.⁶

Hale boarded the train in Milan en route to Venice. Upon arrival on September 30, 1881, she wrote to her father: "Here I am at the goal of my desires..." Hale's spirit of excitement upon arrival contrasts with her response to other cities such as Florence, where the first thing she wrote home about was the meat she had for breakfast.⁷ Her first impression of Venice was different than that of any other.

The letters from this trip provide detailed descriptions of all the monuments that she visited, beginning with the church of San Marco which she describes with anticipation and excitement as she rounds the corner of the marble church wall and finds herself unexpectedly in the Piazza di San Marco.

There are great mosaics relieved in gold, and elaborately carved panels which look as if they had been stolen from a mosque, and beautiful purple pillars below. With all its beauty there runs a very strong element of queerness, if I may use such a word, for strangeness doesn't exactly express it. But when you

go in how beautiful it is! The oddness has all gone away, though it's the strangest place I ever was in.⁸

Accompanied by Mrs. Knowlton, Hale visited the sights described in *Baedeker's Northern Italy*: San Marco, the Rialto Bridge, Santa Maria della Salute, the Accademia, the Doges' Palace, and the Scuola di San Rocco.⁹ She notes that although it had rained every day since she arrived, she had "become very fond indeed of the town."¹⁰ In the same letter she writes, "I wish I could take Venice into my bones and make it a part of myself [...] I wish I could carry away its fine essence [...]" Upon leaving Venice she writes:

We are just on the point of leaving Venice and our hearts as well; oh dear, what shall we do anywhere else? Really Papa and I must come here in the spring! I think mamma would like it too. We worked a little while in the Ducal Palace this morning and looked our last on our dear people there, and then we looked in on St. Mark's, and then we ate an unwilling lunch. And here we are in the salon waiting for the gondola.¹¹

Although her stay was brief, she acquired a permit to work in the Ducal Palace for free and notes that she spent mornings and afternoons copying Tintoretto's paintings because she grew "very deeply attached" to his works.¹² Although it is not uncommon for an artist to refrain from writing home about their work while traveling, it is particularly interesting when one does. Of all the cities that Hale traveled to in Italy, only in Venice does she write home so extensively about her work.

HALE'S SECOND ITALIAN ITINERARY: 1895

On March 24, 1895 by way of Algiers and Genoa, Hale arrived at the train station in Florence where Gabrielle DeVaux Clements and Mrs. Clements, Gabrielle's mother, met.¹³ Hale remarked in a letter to her mother that she liked Florence "immensely better than she [did] the first time when conditions were so far less fortunate." She continues to describe how different everything looks this time: "fresh," not "new" but not "dilapidated" and refers to the "kind" climate. She notes that they would leave for Venice on April 23, although without Mrs. Clements because the trip would be too taxing.¹⁴ Although they planned to go to Venice earlier, they stayed in Florence from March 24 until April 24 because Gabrielle fell ill. Nevertheless, the trip to Venice would not be missed because Hale assured Gabrielle that "it [would be] very important...that she should go both to Venice and to Paris, as her Italian winter study would really be incomplete without

the former, and if only in a business point of view, she ought to pass a little time in the latter.”¹⁵ This suggests that they were both working while in Venice and that Hale found it to be an essential experience for a comprehensive Italian study.

On April 24, by way of Bologna, Hale and Clements arrived in Venice: “Here we are! And most happy and contented.” Hale found her “knowledge of the place quite convenient, and enjoyed immensely showing Gabrielle the places and she enjoyed them immensely, too.”¹⁶ Hale took Clements to San Marco and gave her the same dramatic entrance that she had described upon her first visit. “I found all my old affection and admiration for the place come back—it certainly is the most beautiful...to my mind. We could have stayed there for ages.” Just as she was more satisfied with Florence on the second visit, the same applied for aspects of Venice. “I care for many more things, I find, than I did.”¹⁷ After touring the city, working in the Ducal Palace, and attending the International Art Exhibition, Hale and Clements left Venice on April 30 to spend the night in Padua, stop in Florence, and return to Paris.¹⁸

First Night in Venice

In 1895, on her second trip to Venice, Hale stayed in the Hotel Aurora on the Riva degli Schiavoni, Venice’s principal waterway. From this vantage point, she viewed the Palladian architecture which dominates the island of San Giorgio, across the San Marco Basin. In a letter to her mother from her first day in Venice, Hale rejoices about this location of the hotel and the view from her window.

Here we are! And most happy and contented in what I never had here before, a front room, on the Riva degli Schiavoni, with lots of river barges moored outside the island with San Giorgio Maggiore opposite, one or two more domes visible, and Santa Maria della Salute also, if you put your head out of the window.¹⁹

Santa Maria della Salute, the “spacious decorated dome-covered church at the East extremity of the Canal Grande” is located on the opposite side of the canal from which Hale stayed.²⁰ Her living situation was evidently important as Hale often noted the conditions and amount of time she spent in her quarters while traveling. Her description of the view from Hotel Aurora is strikingly similar to her etching *First Night in Venice*.

Hale depicts the church as a simplified form, reducing its details and emphasizing the effects of light, water, and sky. The composition of *First Night in Venice* is a subtle blend and

separation of the water and the air. The architecture inches into the sky as the density and volume of its reflection spills into water. The cityscape is constructed of close vertical lines that suggest the architecture while the lines of its reflection skim buoyantly on the watery surface. The lines on the water are less defined as they take the shape of the ripples that travel horizontally across the sheet. It seems at any moment the reflected image could float away. The wispy lines of the clouds live only in the register of the sky. They direct the viewer’s eye into the center of the page and vanish in the water as they are not reflected.

To create the sketchy, soft effects of the print, Hale departed from her usual method of using hard-ground and instead prepared the etching plate with a soft-ground, and later treated it with aquatint.²¹ Her choice of employing soft-ground and aquatint indicates the desire for thicker, more velvety lines that produce a painterly effect. Such qualities appear in drawings from her sketchbooks, including one from 1881 (fig. 27). The painterly effect of the soft-ground lines is heightened by the subtle hand-applied *à la poupée* color inking of the plate. Hale experiments with rich, deep colors in the sky, water, and vertical streams of light that bleed into the waves. The colors of the sky are reflected in the greenish water; subtle yellows, blues, and pinks blend together in a way that none seem to occupy their own area. On the other hand, one can detect the difference in color in the negative space of the lines. In the sky, where the clouds part and no line has been etched, the last remaining bit of sunlight is suggested in a hint of yellow. While a pale blue washes over the sky, a light green sheets over the water and together they blend subtly at the horizon. Venice has long been known for the particular quality of its light and color. In a letter by Bernard Berenson



Figure 27. Ellen Day Hale, Untitled. Charcoal on paper, sketchbook. Hale Family Papers 1861-1931, Roll 2940, Frame 1390. Archives of American Art, Smithsonian Institute, Washington, DC.

to Isabella Stewart Gardner, he notes that “one soon forgets to think of form here, going almost mad on color, thinking in color, talking color, almost living on color. And for one that enjoys color this certainly is paradise.”²²

Although both the plate and the prints are undated, Hale’s use of color suggests that *First Night in Venice* was made in c. 1922, when she and Gabrielle DeVaux Clements began to experiment with color etching. This period coincides with a trip that she and Clements made to Italy in 1921, which included stops in Rome, Naples, Palermo, Sicily, and evidently, Venice. It would seem that Hale returned to the Hotel Aurora, where she made the sketch for *First Night in Venice*.

INFLUENCES: WHISTLER, HUNT, AND IMPRESSIONISM

In Venice, artists such as J. W. M. Turner and Thomas Moran, as well as the Impressionists, saw an evocative landscape that lent itself to experimentation with color and light as the subject as opposed to characteristics of it. By studying how the effects of color, light, and water defined the image of the city, their representations became more abstract in appearance but no less true. Such an approach contrasted with traditional, detailed representations of Venice, which provided such a clear document of the city that the viewing of it required little imagination (cat. 1).²³ Indeed, Henry James sarcastically noted that, “Venice has been painted and described many thousands of times, and of all the cities in the world it is the easiest to visit without going there.”²⁴ This mentality seemed to miss the powerful effect of the city and inspired an air of experimentation among artists such as Turner and Hale.

First Night in Venice is different than any other Hale etching at this point in her career; this suggests that, to Hale, Venice was different than any other place. To depict Venice, she experimented with the more painterly style of printmaking. This style, it seemed, would better express her sentiments for the place. In this sense, Hale’s print recalls those by another etcher who was particularly interested in the effects of the Venetian atmosphere—James Abbott McNeill Whistler. Whistler’s prints were well known to Hale and she may well have followed his lead in representing Venice. He made similar drawings and prints of the same view of Santa Maria della Salute while living at the Casa Jankowitz, an apartment close to the Hotel Aurora.²⁵ Indeed, on June 27, 1880, Robert Blum wrote home from the apartment building: “Whistler is here...he is busy making an etching from my window.”²⁶ In



Figure 28. James Abbott McNeill Whistler, *Salute—Sundown*, 1880. Pastel on orange paper, 7 $\frac{7}{8}$ x 8 $\frac{1}{4}$ in. © Hunterian Museum and Art Gallery, University of Glasgow.

addition to the etching in question, Whistler also made pastel studies of the view including *Salute—Sundown* (fig. 28), which presents a hazy setting of Santa Maria della Salute at sunset.

In comparing Whistler’s and Hale’s images, one notices a strong similarity.²⁷ In Whistler’s drawing, the rich pastels illustrate how light and color react with water. The sky is made of streaming oranges, browns, yellows, and blues while the water, reflecting the light of the sky, is made of less dramatic tones of the same colors blended together. The distant Santa Maria della Salute blends into the composition between soft, velvety textures of the sky and water, much like the effect of Hale’s combination of line and color in *First Night in Venice*.

Hale’s impression of Venice, as described in her letters and in her print, was different than her response to any other place that she visited. Hale once wrote that “our constant and increasing habit of monochromatic representation allows us to find out easily what a drawing or photograph is meant to show, but a print in color, however humble, calls before us something quite different.”²⁸ The etchings from her travels abroad, however intricate and beautiful, do not possess the “quite different” spirit of *First Night in Venice*. Although it is the “fine essence” of Venice that Hale aimed to suggest in the print, the impression that Hale printed of Venice reflects the impression that Venice imprinted on her.

- 1 Ellen Day Hale to Family, 30 September 1881, Hale Family Papers, Sophia Smith Collection, Smith College, Northampton, MA.
- 2 Erica Hirshler, "Gondola Days: American Painters in Venice," *The Lure of Italy: American Artists and the Italian Experience, 1760–1914* (Boston: Museum of Fine Arts, 1992), 112.
- 3 Hirshler, "Gondola Days," 112.
- 4 Bronwen Wilson, *The World in Venice: Print, the City, and Early Modern Identity* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2005), 3.
- 5 Ellen Day Hale to Everett Phillip Hale, 18 October 1881, Hale Family Papers, Sophia Smith Collection, Smith College, Northampton, MA.
- 6 Ellen Day Hale to Everett Phillip Hale, 27 September 1881, Hale Family Papers, Sophia Smith Collection, Smith College, Northampton, MA.
- 7 Ellen Day Hale to Family, 30 September 1881, Hale Family Papers, Sophia Smith Collection, Smith College, Northampton, MA.
- 8 Ellen Day Hale to Family, 7 October 1881, Hale Family Papers, Sophia Smith Collection, Smith College, Northampton, MA; Ellen Day Hale to Family, 30 September 1881, Hale Family Papers, Sophia Smith Collection, Smith College, Northampton, MA.
- 9 Karl Baedeker, *Baedeker's Northern Italy* (Leipzig: Karl Baedeker, Publisher, 1895), 234–289.
- 10 Ellen Day Hale to Family, 1 October 1881, Hale Family Papers, Sophia Smith Collection, Smith College, Northampton, MA.
- 11 Ellen Day Hale to Family, 6 October 1881, Hale Family Papers, Sophia Smith Collection, Smith College, Northampton, MA.
- 12 Ellen Day Hale to Family, 1 October 1881, Hale Family Papers, Sophia Smith Collection, Smith College, Northampton, MA.
- 13 Ellen Day Hale to Mamma, 24 March 1895, Hale Family Papers, Sophia Smith Collection, Smith College, Northampton, MA.
- 14 Ellen Day Hale to Mamma, 26 March 1895, Hale Family Papers, Sophia Smith Collection, Smith College, Northampton, MA.
- 15 Ellen Day Hale to Mamma, 22 April 1895, Hale Family Papers, Sophia Smith Collection, Smith College, Northampton, MA.
- 16 Ellen Day Hale to Mamma, 25 April 1895, Hale Family Papers, Sophia Smith Collection, Smith College, Northampton, MA.
- 17 Ellen Day Hale to Mamma, 25 April 1895, Hale Family Papers, Sophia Smith Collection, Smith College, Northampton, MA.
- 18 Ellen Day Hale to Everett Philip Hale, 30 April 1895, Hale Family Papers, Sophia Smith Collection, Smith College, Northampton, MA.
- 19 Ellen Day Hale to Mamma, 25 April 1895, Hale Family Papers, Sophia Smith Collection, Smith College, Northampton, MA.
- 20 Baedeker, *Northern Italy*, 286.
- 21 For more information regarding Hale's etching technique, see Stephanie Shapiro's essay, "Ellen Day Hale and Etching Technique," this volume.
- 22 Bernard Berenson to Isabella Stewart Gardner, October 1888, *The Letters of Bernard Berenson and Isabella Stewart Gardner*, edited by Rollin van N. Hadley (Boston: Northeastern University Press, 1987), 56.
- 23 For an example of a precise rendering of Venice, see the print by Clifford Isaac Addams (cat. 1).
- 24 Henry James, *Italian Hours* (London: William Heinemann, 1909), 1.
- 25 Otto Bacher, *With Whistler in Venice* (New York: The Century Co., 1908).
- 26 Margaret F. MacDonald, *Palaces in the Night: Whistler in Venice* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2001), 28.
- 27 Eric Denker, "Whistler and the Search for Printed Tone," in *Fleeting Impressions: prints by James McNeill Whistler* (Montgomery, AL: Montgomery Museum of Fine Arts, 2006), 19.
- 28 Ellen Day Hale, "Notes on Etchings in Color," translation of René Ligeron, "Original Engravings in Color (1924)," unpublished typescript, Division of Graphic Arts, United States National Museum, Smithsonian Institution Archives, Washington, DC.

The Gendered Line and Ellen Day Hale

Samantha Bellinger

It stands to reason...that there must forever be a wide differentiation between the painting that men do and that women do, because in all the civilized world there is such a tremendous variation in the outlook on life of men and women. As long as society decrees this radical sex difference in the attitude of men and women toward the world and of the world to them, there must follow along the same lines exactly a corresponding difference in the art expression of men and women. Composition, technique, color may be taught by the same master in the same studio to a group of boys and girls, but when these boys and girls have grown up and have gone through the essential experiences in life, they will inevitably paint the same subjects differently, the work of women being so classified by the woman's outlook that inevitably there would ensue comparison...Each may be progressive and each great in achievement, but under present social conditions there must be the fundamental difference.¹

Giles Edgerton's (Mary Fanton Roberts) quote provides an interesting perspective on the beliefs of late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century society. While assuming the identity of a man, Roberts describes a sex distinction in art and what has been called the gendered line. Much of late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century society believed that there was something distinctly different about men's and women's work because of the different socialization of men and women. Furthermore, society hinted that late nineteenth-century women had a common feminine point of view, while men had their own individual points of view. The insistence that there was a clear distinction between art made by men and art made by women ignored the fact that both had access to similar training. Professional artists, like Ellen Day Hale, were able to take advantage of such training opportunities, but nonetheless, women's art was perceived as different from that of men.

VIEWS OF WOMEN AND ART AS AN OCCUPATION

In order to understand the world in which Roberts was writing, and women's place in it, one must first grasp how societal beliefs and strict morals shaped the idea of women's proper place. The late nineteenth-century woman was seen as a fragile being, not suited for hard work, whose place was in the home. Women were considered to be physically and men-

tally incapable of serious work, and according to a writer in the *Art Amateur* (1880), "few women are able to endure for any length of time the severe course of study, requiring daily, several hours of intense application."² Such attitudes reinforced the notion of the "fragile nature of women and the deleterious physical and mental effects of hard work and harsh words."³

To be a woman of high standing was to be a woman of good breeding: to be moral, chaste, proper, domestic, and pure. In late nineteenth-century America, the greatest threat to a woman's standing was the loss of purity.⁴ The societal views of women in the late nineteenth century dictated much of what a woman did, what they said, how they acted, and even which careers were acceptable. Fortunately for creative and artistic women, art was considered a suitable career path. Just as women would learn to sing or play a musical instrument, training in drawing and painting was a part of an upper-class woman's education. Thus, it would not have been uncharacteristic for a woman to take an intense interest in art, even professionally.⁵

Using the ideology of separate spheres, women could view art as an expression of their 'natural' artistic affinities and argue that work in art, even professional work in art, was perfectly compatible with the domestic ideal for women.⁶

In addition, women artists went about their professions in relation to the home and family. For example, lady artists claimed studio space as an extension of their own domestic environment, because a woman could work from home and still maintain her domestic responsibilities. Since amateur art was accepted as a desirable feminine pursuit, women were allowed to become professional artists without the danger of risking their womanhood or class status.⁷

The life of a nineteenth-century woman was constrained by prevailing attitudes, but being an artist allowed one to lead a freer and alternative lifestyle while still remaining within women's proper sphere.⁸ However, one must keep in mind that though an artist's lifestyle was considered freer, it posed its own set of hurdles and complications.⁹ As Elizabeth Bartol succinctly put it, "We have more to contend with than men."¹⁰ The definitions of a respectable woman complicated every aspect of a woman artist's career. For example, at the height of her professional activities, Ellen Day Hale put her work aside and upheld her duty as eldest daughter and served

as hostess for her father when her mother could not manage the task. Hale's life demonstrates that assumptions and cultural expectations endangered a woman's ability to be a professional artist. Even activities considered routine for their male counterparts were complicated, such as where to rent studio space.¹¹ Women had to tip-toe around the tangle of obstacles created by gender expectations. For example, women had to live above reproach because any doubt about her respectability could jeopardize her place in society and her life as a professional artist.¹² In addition, a woman's art was complicated by social expectations. Not only did a woman artist have to live a pure, untarnished life but the subject matter of her art was held to the same level of respectability. Many women artists, Ellen Day Hale included, concentrated on acceptable subjects such as landscapes, still lifes, portraits, and genre scenes.¹³ The more rebellious women artists of the time were so bold as to depict the female nude in their work. Yet even they had to conform to society's pressure and desexualize the nude in their work by showing them asleep or claiming that they represented allegorical figures.¹⁴

TRAINING AVAILABLE

Does it pay, for a young lady of a refined, godly household to be urged as the only way of obtaining knowledge of true art, to enter a class where every feeling of maidenly delicacy is violated, where she becomes...familiar with the persons of degraded women and the sight of nude males, that no possible art can restore her lost treasure of chaste and delicate thoughts...The stifling heat of the room adds to the excitement and what might be a cool impassioned study in a room at 35, at 85 or even higher is dreadful.¹⁵

Late nineteenth-century art schools and academies provided little opportunity for women to draw from the nude model. Any exposure to the flesh of an undraped model was unthinkable because it was believed that the nude model would make a woman artist aware of herself sexually. As the writer (above) suggests, a woman drawing from the male nude could be construed to suggest the loss of her virginity.¹⁶ Despite this tendency to exaggerate the potential harm of such exposure, beginning in 1868 the Pennsylvania Academy of Fine Arts offered a Ladies' Life Class and in 1877 even allowed drawing from a partially draped male model.¹⁷ The fundamental conflict between moral values concerning women and the serious training needed for an artist to render the human form affected the curriculum at most art schools.¹⁸ Private classes for ladies only provided women with the

opportunity to draw the female nude without risking their purity; the absence of men guaranteed safety from sexual passion. Yet, the fact that male instructors were present while drawing the nude did not appear to be a factor.¹⁹

Ladies' Life Classes and other such art programs provided women artists with much needed training opportunities, but did not provide the same possibilities available to male artists. Men were accepted in every academy and class, but women always had to inquire if a program was open to them. Even when a program did accept women, they usually had to pay more than men for instruction. The Académie Julian charged 50 francs for men per month but 100 for women, and for a full year it was 300 francs for men and 700 for women. Although Julian considered the two ateliers equal, a student complained about the injustice of the men's school having better models and higher standards of work for much less money.²⁰ The rationale behind charging double for women was that "many of the students are not studying professionally and consequently instruction as a luxury is put at a higher price."²¹ As a result, revenue from women artists made up a large percentage of money spent on art training.²²

For late nineteenth-century artists, studying in Europe was essential. The United States may have provided cheaper training options than Europe, but it did not readily offer the necessary opportunities for women to draw from the nude and lacked the rich artistic tradition. Women who went abroad found artistic communities ready to receive them and could function as respected artists rather than mere amateurs. Especially in France, women had access to many of the same teachers, academies, and ateliers, as men.²³ Since women received the same training as the men, it improved their chances of success. Accomplishment in Europe provided women with a way to assert their independence, show their seriousness and professionalism, and made it easier for them to continue their careers when they returned home to the United States.²⁴

The availability of training for women varied depending on whether they were in Europe or in the United States. The training that was available was equal in quality for both men and women, yet, women's work was still considered less serious than men's.²⁵ The public assumed that women created art for pleasure, not seriously, nor to support themselves. Yet men who produced art as a hobby were regarded seriously and were considered the same level as professional male artists. Even successful, professional lady artists were considered less serious than male amateur artists.²⁶ As Jo Ann Wein has stated, "the lack of art education, reinforced by widespread Victorian attitudes...created an atmosphere in which women's work rarely was considered serious or seriously."²⁷ Nevertheless, reception of women's work, their place in the male-dominated art

market, and their limited options for art training did not stop professional women artists from pursuing careers as artists.

ELLEN DAY HALE'S TRAINING

The late nineteenth-century painter-etcher, Ellen Day Hale, serves as an example of the training that was available to American women artists both in the United States and in Europe. In 1873, Hale enrolled in an anatomy class taught by the sculptor William Rimmer.²⁸ From 1874 to 1877, she obtained painting lessons from William Morris Hunt and Helen Knowlton.²⁹ William Morris Hunt was unusual among male artists teaching lady students. Not only did he preach unorthodox teachings of feeling and expression, he also took no notice of prevailing attitudes towards women and treated his lady students as professionals, offering them candid criticism without discouragement.³⁰ Hale spent the springs of 1878 and 1879 attending the Pennsylvania Academy of Fine Arts Ladies' Life Class, in which nude models were used.³¹

In 1881, Hale went to Europe for nine months with her friend and mentor, Helen Knowlton; their journey took them to Belgium, Holland, Italy, England, and France. While in France, Hale studied drawing with Emmanuel Fremiet at the Jardin des Plantes, and they both copied paintings in the Louvre.³² In November of 1881, Knowlton went to London while Hale stayed in Paris, where she studied under Louis Joseph-Raphael Collin and Gustave Claude-Etienne Courtois at the Académie Colarossi.³³ The masters at the Académie Colarossi were distinctive because even for the women's classes, they visited the studios for critiques three times a week, equal to the men's classes.³⁴ Despite this advantage, Hale found the "general work of the class neither interesting nor inspiring."³⁵ In January of 1882, she enrolled in the women's class at Carolus-Duran's atelier and began private lessons with Carolus-Duran and Jean-Jacques Henner.³⁶ In her letters, Hale remarks that Duran offered "a very good method of painting to modify one's self" and "you get ideas there which I have found of great value."³⁷ Yet, she complains that they only were allowed to work from the head, never the nude model,³⁸ and notes that she regretted how long she stayed at the atelier.³⁹

In November of 1882, Hale enrolled at the Académie Julian for her first session there. A contemporary writer described the school well: "In the Ateliers Julian there is complete liberty; the student chooses her own masters, comes when she likes and goes when she pleases. A fresh model is provided everyday."⁴⁰ Since women were allowed to register with the same teachers as the male artists and all students could register under multiple masters,⁴¹ Hale studied under Tony Robert-Fleury, Jules-Joseph Ledebre, Gustave-Rodolphe Boulanger, and Julian, himself.⁴² She complained that it was

"a great disadvantage that we girls have the professor but once a week, while the men have rather better professors twice a week," but still believed that the Académie Julian offered women excellent training and recommended it to many artist friends at home.⁴³

In 1885, Hale returned to Paris for six months. In August of that year, she learned to etch from her friend and travel companion, Gabrielle DeVaux Clements.⁴⁴ During her stay, Hale returned to the Académie Julian for a second round of training with Fleury, Adolphe William Bouguereau, and Felix-Henri Giacometti.⁴⁵ In essence, Hale received the same kind of training as her male counterparts, and following the manner of the typical master-student relationship, she would have adopted those skills and methods from her masters according to her needs and preferences, just as her fellow male students.

THE GENDERED LINE

But grant, as a rule, a compulsory sex difference in art. Look for it; admire it; classify all art by it; all this is just, but it is equally just to go a step farther and rank both the expressions as of equal interest; demanding equal technical excellence, equal standards of perfection in composition, color values and sympathetic understanding of life, and the same courage in facing the attitude of a usually unsympathetic, unappreciative public.⁴⁶

In the late nineteenth century, it was assumed that the reason for differences in art was based solely on gender. To modern viewers, it may seem peculiar that late nineteenth-century audiences saw a distinction between art made by men and women—a gendered line—which the critics of the time attributed to men and women's separate life experiences and dissimilar ways of seeing the world. The assumption of a gendered line, among other things, triggered the unequal views and treatment of men's and women's art. Not only did it provide a reason to continue to bar women from the best academies, it also allowed critics and the public to maintain the belief that women were never serious about their work. As a matter of course, critics, judges, and admissions panels pointed to a woman's art and declared it inferior to a man's on the basis of the artist's gender.⁴⁷ With this in mind, it becomes clear why it was so unlikely for a woman to be elected to the Art Society or The Royal Academy and why women's art was shown alongside the "lower" domestic arts.⁴⁸

The reception and criticism of women's art was unfair, a sentiment shared even by some artists and critics of the time. In 1900, Anna Lee Merritt regrets that it was nearly impossible for women to get fair but critical assessment of their work:



Figure 29. Mary Nimmo Moran, *Twilight (East Hampton)*, 1880. Etching, paper: 5 $\frac{7}{8}$ x 9 in.; plate: 3 x 5 $\frac{1}{4}$ in. The Trout Gallery, Dickinson College, Carlisle, PA. Gift of Charles Coleman Sellers, 1988.7.17 (cat. 42).

“the misfortune is we flatter them [women] by involuntarily adopting a different standard of criticism in regard to their work.”⁴⁹ This certainly held true for all-women shows because they allowed critics to lower their standards and ignore whether or not the artist had any understanding of drawing, perspective, composition, or technique. The critics would go about the women’s show with pre-conceived assumptions and rarely approached the work frankly or honestly. Roberts put it well:

The minute you label a show ‘women’s’ you have let loose the flood gates of masculine sentimentality, and an honest point of view you cannot obtain...the gentler sex should receive no blow at his hands...Women resent a sex distinction in art. Most prefer discriminating criticism to the attitude of masculine protection.⁵⁰

Due to this reoccurring problem of “male sentimentality” there were many instances of women artists who refused to have their work shown in all-women shows. The opposition to all-women exhibitions was based on the fact that women artists knew it would lower the standards on which they were judged and jeopardize their place in the art world.⁵¹ Conversely, mixed-gender exhibits promoted equal standards of criticism and allowed for comparison between men’s and women’s art.

Comparisons to men’s art was, however, not without its complications. In late nineteenth-century society, comparing a lady artist’s work favorably to that of a man, was considered one of the highest compliments. However, the opposite was not true. The unequal comparisons between their work had to



Figure 30. Thomas Moran, *Morning*, 1881. Etching, paper: 8 $\frac{1}{2}$ x 11 $\frac{3}{4}$ in.; plate: 4 $\frac{1}{2}$ x 7 $\frac{1}{4}$ in. The Trout Gallery, Dickinson College, Carlisle, PA. Gift of Eric Denker, class of 1975, 1986.33.2 (cat. 43).

do with the belief that all women artists were amateurs and therefore inferior. The only time when critics said the viewer did not need to know the gender of the artist was when discussing a talented woman artist’s work.⁵² It was assumed that a woman’s gender intruded into her art, yet when a particularly good lady artist was discussed she was exempt from this by saying that her works show no traces of feminine authorship. Simply put, if a woman artist became talented and successful, she sacrificed her identity as a woman. For instance, in an article of the *Art Amateur*, Ellen Day Hale is said to display a “man’s strength.”⁵³ In addition, Mary Nimmo Moran was favorably compared to her husband: “Mary Nimmo, wife and pupil of Thomas, who surpassed her husband in all of the points which are usually counted masculine.”⁵⁴

This form of flattery took an interesting twist when it was applied without the late nineteenth-century critics’ full knowledge. For example, during her lifetime, Mary Nimmo Moran’s work was sometimes mistaken as a man’s because she would sign her work “M. N. Moran,” and therefore there was no way for an unsuspecting judge or critic to know if the artist was a man or woman. Because of this misconception, when her husband sent her prints to the New York Etching Club and the Royal Society of Etchers, she was eagerly elected as a member and had correspondence addressed to “Mr. M. N. Moran.”⁵⁵ In this case, late nineteenth-century critics, like viewers today, were unable to characterize or identify a gendered line (fig. 29, cat. 42; fig. 30, cat. 43).

SUBJECT MATTER

If she [any woman artist] wants to paint strong and well like a man, she must go through the same

training... There is no sex here; the students, men and women, are simply painters. In the atelier, excessive modesty in a woman painter is a sign of mediocrity; only the woman who forgets the conventionalities of society in the pursuit of art stands a chance for distinction.⁵⁶

Instead of telling women how to escape the prejudice of the gendered line, Albert Rhodes instructs on how to defeat it. He suggests that there are some practices in art that do not have a gender implication. For instance, the process of etching is the same no matter the artist. There is nothing inherently sex-based about the technical process of etching.⁵⁷ The etching process has specific steps, but what the artist chooses to depict and how he or she wishes to render that subject allows for much more variety. This is where, according to nineteenth-century beliefs, the separate views of men and women artists enter into the art. However, a review of nineteenth-century prints reveals that men and women artists represented the same subjects. The vast majority of subjects in etchings for

both men and women were landscapes, architecture, city scenes, genre scenes, and portraits. Subject matter among etchers did not vary by gender; both men and women turned to the same subjects similarly.

Despite the insistence of nineteenth-century Americans that there was a distinct gendered line visible in art, both European and American academies embraced traditional training, which had a tendency to homogenize all of the artists' styles and techniques. Nineteenth-century society also recognized that subject matter was dictated by societal influences. So, if male artists were all pushed towards similar techniques, styles, and subject matter; and women artists went through comparable training and lived in the same society; then why was it whole-heartedly believed that male and female artists produced distinct types of art? Such assumptions were based on how society regarded men and women, not the art itself. Even to the modern eye, one is hard-pressed to identify any pattern in late nineteenth-century prints that one may claim is gender specific.

1 Giles Edgerton (Mary Fanton Roberts), "Is there a sex distinction in art? The attitude of the critics towards women's exhibits," *The Craftsman* 14 (June 1908): 240.

2 "Lady Artists in New York," *Art Amateur* 111 (1880): 27, quoted in Jo Ann Wein, "The Parisian Training of American Women Artists," *Woman's Art Journal* 2 (Spring/Summer 1981): 42.

3 Erica Hirshler, *A Studio of Her Own: Women Artists in Boston, 1870–1940* (Boston: Museum of Fine Arts Publications, 2001), 24.

4 Laura Prieto, *At Home in the Studio: The Professionalization of Women Artists in America* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2001), 70.

5 Phyllis Peet, "The Emergence of American Women Printmakers in the Late Nineteenth Century" (PhD diss., University of California, Los Angeles, 1987), 26.

6 Prieto, *At Home in the Studio*, 23.

7 Prieto, *At Home in the Studio*, 25.

8 Marcia H. Green, "Women Art Students in America: An Historical Study of Academic Art Instruction during the Nineteenth Century" (PhD diss., American University, 1990), 62.

9 Wein, "The Parisian Training of American Women Artists," 41.

10 Martha J. Hoppin, "Women Artists in Boston, 1870–1900: The Pupils of William Morris Hunt," *American Art Journal* 13, no. 1 (1981): 46.

11 Prieto, *At Home in the Studio*, 20.

12 Prieto, *At Home in the Studio*, 21.

13 This choice of subject matter was one factor that made etching a relatively easy art form for women to pursue.

14 Prieto, *At Home in the Studio*, 93.

15 R. S. letter to James Claghorn, 1882, quoted in Hirshler, *A Studio of Her Own*, 11. "R. S." was a concerned society member writing to the president of the Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts, Philadelphia on April 1, 1882.

16 Judith Bernstein, Madeleine Burnside-Lukan, Jeanette Ingberman, and Ann-Sargent Wooster, *19th Century American Women Artists* (New York: Whitney Museum of American Art, 1976), 3.

17 Bernstein, et al., *19th Century American Women Artists*, 3.

18 Hirshler, *A Studio of Her Own*, 11.

19 Prieto, *At Home in the Studio*, 92.

20 Wein, "The Parisian Training of American Women Artists," 42.

21 Boston Art Students Association, "The Art Student in Paris (1887)": 28, quoted in Wein, "The Parisian Training of American Women Artists," 42.

22 Prieto, *At Home in the Studio*, 26. Because American Schools were private rather than state-run, they could not afford to bar women. Revenue from women artists made up a large percentage of money spent on art training.

23 Catherine Fehrer, "Women at the Académie Julian in Paris," *Burlington Magazine* 136, no. 1100 (1994): 752–757.

24 Peet, "The Emergence of American Women Printmakers," 321; Bernstein, et al., *19th Century American Women Artists*, 4.

25 Peet, "The Emergence of American Women Printmakers," 295–296.

26 Peet, "The Emergence of American Women Printmakers," 296.

27 Wein, "The Parisian Training of American Women Artists," 44.

28 Gladys Engel Lang and Kurt Lang, *Etched in Memory: The Building and Survival of Artistic Reputation* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1990), 144.

29 Hoppin, "Women Artists in Boston," 18. These painting classes were open to both men and women, but only the elite women of Boston enrolled in them. Unlike Rimmer's class, there were no drawing drills or concentration on perfect technique. Hunt did not have his students progress in stages from drawing to painting; he emphasized expression and capturing the spirit of the subject rather than an exact copy of what they saw.

- 30 Hoppin, "Women Artists in Boston," 19; and Tracy B. Schpero, "American Impressionist Ellen Day Hale" (master's thesis, George Washington University, 1994), 26. Hunt believed in the capabilities of women and treated them without condescension. One of his students remarked on his equality of teaching, "Here they were taught as any students in school; they were criticized as roughly, made to work as strenuously, praised as frankly, as men." Hale's work throughout her career was affected by Hunt's teachings, and she claimed Hunt as her artistic father and the most significant artistic influence in her life. Hunt's influence reached every aspect of her artistic career; he encouraged Hale to become a professional and even persuaded her to go to Europe in 1881.
- 31 Hoppin, "Women Artists in Boston," 37; and Schpero, "American Impressionist Ellen Day Hale," 27. The use of nude figures in a Ladies' Life Drawing Class was rare in late nineteenth-century America.
- 32 Schpero, "American Impressionist Ellen Day Hale," 30.
- 33 Schpero, "American Impressionist Ellen Day Hale," 30.
- 34 Marie Adelaide Belloc, "Lady Artists in Paris," *Murray's Magazine* 8 (September 1890): 378.
- 35 Ellen Day Hale to Family, 7 November 1881, Hale Family Papers, Archives of American Art, Smithsonian Institute, Washington, DC.
- 36 Schpero, "American Impressionist Ellen Day Hale," 30; Lang, *Etched in Memory*, 143; and Belloc, "Lady Artists in Paris," 376. It took Hale a long time to get up the courage to ask Carolus-Duran for admission to his atelier. Duran was known for his tendency to work directly on a student's canvas to teach them a particular technique.
- 37 Ellen Day Hale quoted in Kirsten Swinth, *Painting Professionals: Women Artists and the Development of Modern American Art, 1870–1930* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2001), 44.
- 38 Hoppin, "Women Artists in Boston," 40.
- 39 Ellen Day Hale to Alice Curtis, 14 May 1887, Hale Family Papers, Archives of American Art, Smithsonian Institute, Washington, DC.
- 40 Belloc, "Lady Artists in Paris," 374.
- 41 Catherine Fehrer, "Paris 1868–1939: History of the Julian Academy" (New York: Shepherd Gallery, 1989), 752–754.
- 42 Schpero, "American Impressionist Ellen Day Hale," 33. Each professor had his own distinct style of teaching. For example, Fleury hardly ever gave harsh criticism, while the students were afraid of Ledebre, who criticized very little but never praised. Under these various masters, Hale obtained the drawing skills and discipline she wanted.
- 43 Hoppin, "Women Artists in Boston," 41.
- 44 Peet, "The Emergence of American Women Printmakers," 409–414. The enthusiasm she communicates in her letter about her first try at etching suggests that she was inspired by Clements' love of etching, and the beauty of Chartres. Her first etching was *The Porte Guillaume, Chartres* (cat. 19).
- 45 Schpero, "American Impressionist Ellen Day Hale," 33; Belloc, "Lady Artists in Paris," 376. Fleury's style of teaching did not change over her few years of absence. Bouguereau admired the qualities in artwork that were opposite from the ones characterizing his work, so his students changed their style to fit what he liked. Yet, he was still very popular with his students because he would drop in during the week, more frequently than other professors, to see how his lady students were getting along.
- 46 Edgerton (Roberts), "Is there a sex distinction in art?" 241.
- 47 Edgerton (Roberts), "Is there a sex distinction in art?" 239.
- 48 Anna Lea Merritt, "A letter to Artists: especially women artists," *Lippincott's Monthly Magazine* 65 (March 1900): 469.
- 49 Merritt, "A letter to Artists," 467.
- 50 Edgerton (Roberts), "Is there a sex distinction in art?" 242.
- 51 Merritt, "A letter to Artists," 467.
- 52 Prieto, *At Home in the Studio*, 110.
- 53 Peet, "The Emergence of American Women Printmakers," 403–420.
- 54 Elizabeth Luther Cary (1932) quoted in Phyllis Peet, *American Women of the Etching Revival* (Atlanta: High Museum of Art, 1998), 34.
- 55 Nancy Siegel, *The Morans: The Artistry of a Nineteenth-Century Family of Painter-Etchers* (Huntingdon, PA: Juniata College Press, 2001), 40.
- 56 Albert Rhodes, *Galaxy*, quoted in Wein, "The Parisian Training of American Women Artists," 42.
- 57 Not only was there no physical barrier preventing women from etching, late nineteenth-century society believed women were more suited for etching because of women's willingness to attend to detail. This may be one of the reasons why there was relative ease for women to thrive in this medium.

EXHIBITION CATALOGUE

1

Clifford Isaac Addams (1876–1942), American
Untitled (Venice), 1913

Etching

Paper: 11 $\frac{3}{4}$ x 19 $\frac{5}{8}$ in. (29.7 x 50.0 cm)

Plate: 6 x 15 in. (15.1 x 38.0 cm)

Inscription on plate, l.l.: 19 (symbol)13

Inscription in graphite, l.r.: Clifford Adams

Gift of Mrs. Grace Linn

1951.1.1



2

John Taylor Arms (1887–1953), American
Gothic Spirit, 1922

Etching on hand-made paper

Paper: 17 $\frac{3}{4}$ x 11 $\frac{1}{4}$ in. (44.9 x 28.4 cm)

Plate: 11 $\frac{5}{8}$ x 7 $\frac{1}{8}$ in. (30.0 x 18.0 cm)

Inscription in graphite, l.r.: John Taylor Arms

Inscription in graphite on verso, l.l.: Gothic Spirit: John Taylor Arms

Gift of Doctors Meyer P. and Vivian O. Potamkin

1989.1.16



3

Otto Henry Bacher (1856–1909), American
Lido, 1880

Etching, drypoint

Paper: 11 $\frac{1}{2}$ x 17 $\frac{3}{8}$ in. (29.2 x 43.9 cm)

Plate: 7 $\frac{1}{8}$ x 11 in. (18.2 x 28.0 cm)

Inscription on plate, u.l.: otto h Bacher; l.l.: Lido Oct. 20 80

Carnegie Collection

1987.11.3



4

Alfred Laurens Brennan (1853–1921), American
A Divination in Tea Leaves, 1879, from *American Etchings* (Boston, 1886)
Etching
Paper: 12 $\frac{3}{8}$ x 9 $\frac{3}{8}$ in. (31.4 x 23.9 cm)
Plate: 8 $\frac{3}{8}$ x 5 $\frac{7}{8}$ in. (21.2 x 14.7 cm)
Inscription on plate, l.l.: Brennan 79
Gift of Mrs. Grace Linn
1994.7.17



5

William Merritt Chase (1840–1916), American
The Court Jester, 1878, from *American Etchings* (Boston, 1886)
Etching
Paper: 12 $\frac{3}{8}$ x 9 $\frac{3}{8}$ in. (31.5 x 23.9 cm)
Plate: 6 $\frac{5}{8}$ x 4 $\frac{3}{8}$ in. (16.9 x 11.2 cm)
Inscription on plate, l.l.: W.M. Chase
Gift of Mrs. Grace Linn
1994.7.7



6

Gabrielle DeVaux Clements (1858–1948), American
Sailing Ships in Gloucester Harbor, c. 1890
Etching
Paper: 4 $\frac{1}{8}$ x 4 in. (10.4 x 10.1 cm)
Plate: 3 x 3 in. (7.6 x 7.6 cm)
Inscription in graphite, l.r.: Gabrielle DeV. Clements
Gift of Eric Denker, class of 1975, in memory of Ruth Trout
2004.6.1



7

Gabrielle DeVaux Clements (1858–1948), American
Up the Steps, Mont Saint-Michel, 1885
Etching
Paper: 8 $\frac{7}{8}$ x 3 $\frac{1}{4}$ in. (21.8 x 8.3 cm)
Plate: 8 $\frac{1}{2}$ x 3 $\frac{1}{8}$ in. (21.3 x 8.0 cm)
Inscription on plate, l.l.: G.D. Clements '85
Inscription in graphite, l.r.: Gabrielle D V. Clements
Gift of Eric Denker, class of 1975, in memory of Ruth Trout
2004.6.2



8

Gabrielle DeVaux Clements (1858–1948), American
Avenue in Versailles, c. 1920
Etching, aquatint, *à la poupée* color inking
Paper: 13 $\frac{1}{8}$ x 10 $\frac{1}{2}$ in. (33.3 x 26.5 cm)
Plate: 8 $\frac{1}{2}$ x 5 $\frac{1}{2}$ in. (21.5 x 14.0 cm)
Inscription on plate, l.r.: D. Clements
Inscription in graphite, l.l.: No. 2; l.r.: Gabrielle D.V. Clements
Registration pinholes c.l. and c.r. of image
Gift of Eric Denker, class of 1975, in honor of the 20th
Anniversary of The Trout Gallery
2004.5.4



9

Gabrielle DeVaux Clements (1858–1948), American
Mount Chocorua, c. 1920
Etching, aquatint, *à la poupée* color inking
Paper: 11 $\frac{7}{8}$ x 6 $\frac{1}{8}$ in. (30.3 x 15.5 cm)
Plate: 9 $\frac{3}{4}$ x 4 in. (25.0 x 10.2 cm)
Inscription in graphite, l.r.: Gabrielle De V. Clements; l.l.: sc. et
Imp./Chocorua, N.H.
Registration pinholes c.l. and c.r. of image
Gift of Eric Denker, class of 1975, in honor of the 20th
Anniversary of The Trout Gallery
2003.5.5



10

Annie Blanche Dillaye (1851–1931), American
In the Fields, Rapendrecht, 1931

Drypoint

Paper: 19 $\frac{3}{4}$ x 14 $\frac{1}{2}$ in. (50.3 x 37.0 cm)

Plate: 13 $\frac{1}{2}$ x 10 in. (34.5 x 25.3 cm)

Inscription on plate, l.l.: Blanche Dillaye

Inscription in graphite, l.l.: In the Fields, Rapendrecht;

l.r.: Blanche Dillaye

Gift of Mrs. Grace Linn

1951.1.25



11

Annie Blanche Dillaye (1851–1931), American
An Acadian Cottage, Nova Scotia, 1931

Drypoint

Paper: 15 $\frac{5}{8}$ x 22 $\frac{3}{8}$ in. (39.7 x 56.9 cm)

Plate: 8 $\frac{1}{8}$ x 12 $\frac{3}{8}$ in. (20.7 x 31.4 cm)

Inscription on plate, l.l.: B. Dillaye

Inscription in graphite, l.l.: An Arcadian cottage, Nova Scotia/Dry

Point; l.r.: Blanche Dillaye

Exhibition label, l.r.: 127

Gift of Mrs. Grace Linn

1951.1.20



12

Annie Blanche Dillaye (1851–1931), American
A Sketch of Rooftops, 1931

Graphite on paper

9 $\frac{1}{2}$ x 7 in. (24.0 x 17.6 cm)

Inscription on paper, l.l.: boxed shell monogram

Gift of Mrs. Grace Linn

1951.1.22



13

Annie Blanche Dillaye (1851–1931), American
Worton's Ship, n.d.

Etching mounted on matboard

Board: 16 x 20 $\frac{3}{4}$ in. (41.7 x 52.7 cm)

Paper: 15 $\frac{1}{4}$ x 20 $\frac{5}{8}$ in. (38.7 x 52.5 cm)

Plate: 7 $\frac{3}{4}$ x 12 $\frac{1}{2}$ in. (19.5 x 31.7 cm)

Inscription on plate, l.l.: B. Dillaye

Inscription in graphite, l.l.: Worton's Ship; l.r.: Blanche Dillaye

Exhibition label, l.r.: 128

Inscription in graphite on verso, l.l.: Worton's Ship

Gift of Mrs. Grace Linn

1951.1.29



14

Annie Blanche Dillaye (1851–1931), American
Queen Anne's Lace, Wall, and Husetop, n.d.

Graphite on paper

7 x 10 $\frac{1}{8}$ in. (17.7 x 25.9 cm)

Inscription in graphite, l.r.: Blanche Dillaye

Gift of Mrs. Grace Linn

1951.1.26



15

Annie Blanche Dillaye (1851–1931), American
Serbonne, n.d.

Graphite on paper

6 $\frac{7}{8}$ x 10 $\frac{1}{8}$ in. (17.5 x 25.7 cm)

Inscription in graphite, l.r.: B. Dillaye/Sep 1st; l.l.: Serbonne

Gift of Mrs. Grace Linn

1951.1.28



16

Henry Farrer (1843–1903), American
The Washerwoman, 1877, from *American Etchings* (Boston, 1886)
Etching
Paper: 12 ¼ x 9 ½ in. (31.2 x 24.1 cm)
Plate: 5 ⅛ x 3 ⅝ in. (13.2 x 9.2 cm)
Inscription on plate, l.l.: H. Farrer 1877
Gift of Mrs. Grace Linn
1994.7.15



17

Stephen Ferris (1835–1915), American
The Devil's Way, Algiers, 1879, from *American Etchings* (Boston, 1886)
Etching
Paper: 12 ⅜ x 9 ⅜ in. (31.5 x 23.9 cm)
Plate: 8 ⅜ x 5 ¾ in. (21.4 x 14.7 cm)
Inscription on plate, l.r.: 1879 Ferris aquaforte
Gift of Mrs. Grace Linn
1994.7.10



18

Ellen Day Hale (1855–1940), American
HAPPY NEW YEAR, MDCCCXCVII, 1897
Etching
Paper: 9 x 6 ¼ in. (22.7 x 15.8 cm)
Plate: 6 ¾ x 4 ½ in. (17.0 x 11.4 cm)
Inscription on plate, on bicycle tires: HAPPY/NEW YEAR; on
ground line: MDCCCXCVIII; l.l.: E D Hale
Gift of Eric Denker, class of 1975, in honor of the 20th
Anniversary of The Trout Gallery
2003.5.7



19

Ellen Day Hale (1855–1940), American
The Porte Guillaume, Chartres, 1885

Etching

Paper: 9 $\frac{3}{8}$ x 7 $\frac{1}{2}$ in. (23.8 x 19.2 cm)

Plate: 5 $\frac{1}{2}$ x 3 $\frac{7}{8}$ in. (13.9 x 10.0 cm)

Inscription in graphite, l.r.: Ellen Day Hale

Inscription in graphite on verso, u.l.: The Porte Guillaume,

Chartres, 1885, price \$15.00, by Ellen Day Hale

Gift of Eric Denker, class of 1975, in honor of the 20th

Anniversary of The Trout Gallery

2003.5.8



20

Ellen Day Hale (1855–1940), American
The Porte Guillaume, Chartres, 1885

Etching

Paper: 9 $\frac{1}{2}$ x 6 $\frac{1}{8}$ in. (24.0 x 16.0 cm)

Plate: 5 $\frac{1}{2}$ x 3 $\frac{7}{8}$ in. (13.9 x 10.0 cm)

Gift of Eric Denker, class of 1975, in memory of Ruth Trout

2004.6.4



21

Ellen Day Hale (1855–1940), American
Market in Normandy, c. 1885

Oil sketch on panel

9 $\frac{1}{4}$ x 6 $\frac{1}{8}$ in. (23.5 x 15.5 cm)

Gift of Eric Denker, class of 1975, in memory of Ruth Trout

2004.6.10



22

Ellen Day Hale (1855–1940), American
Gloucester Harbour, Threatening Weather, c. 1890
Etching
Paper: 8 ½ x 11 7/8 in. (21.5 x 30.3 cm)
Plate: 2 7/8 x 5 7/8 in. (7.3 x 14.8 cm)
Inscription on plate, l.l.: E D Hale; l.r.: Gloucester
Harbour/Threatening Weather
Gift of Eric Denker, class of 1975, in memory of Ruth Trout
2004.6.3



23

Ellen Day Hale (1855–1940), American
Marblehead, c. 1890
Etching
Paper: 5 ½ x 8 3/8 in. (13.8 x 21.5 cm)
Plate: 2 7/8 x 5 3/4 in. (7.2 x 14.6 cm)
Inscription on plate, l.l.: Marblehead E D Hale
Gift of Eric Denker, class of 1975, in memory of Ruth Trout
2004.6.5



24

Ellen Day Hale (1855–1940), American
Woman of Normandy (Girl in Cap), c. 1888
Etching
Paper: 12 x 9 in. (31.5 x 23.0 cm)
Plate: 5 7/8 x 4 3/8 in. (14.7 x 11.2 cm)
Inscription on plate, l.r.: E D Hale
Inscription in graphite, l.r.: Ellen Day Hale
Inscription in graphite on verso, u.r.: Girl in Cap, By Ellen Day
Hale Lane...ester. Mass. Price \$15.00
Gift of Eric Denker, class of 1975
1998.3.4



25

Ellen Day Hale (1855–1940), American
Photograph for *The Willow Whistle*, 1888
Albumen print
7 ¼ x 4 ⅜ in. (18.3 x 11.2 cm)
Gift of Eric Denker, class of 1975, in honor of Dr. Sharon Hirsh
on the occasion of her 25th Anniversary at Dickinson College
2000.5.1



26

Ellen Day Hale (1855–1940), American
Drawing for *The Willow Whistle*, 1888
Black and brown ink, charcoal, and graphite on paper
Paper: 17 ½ x 11 ¾ in. (43.5 x 30.0 cm)
Gift of Eric Denker, class of 1975
2000.5.8



27

Ellen Day Hale (1855–1940), American
The Willow Whistle, 1888
Etching
Paper: 24 ¾ x 17 ¾ in. (63.0 x 45.0 cm)
Plate: 15 ½ x 8 ½ in. (39.5 x 21.5 cm)
Inscription on plate, u.r.: E.D. Hale '88
Inscription in graphite, l.r.: Ellen Day Hale
Gift of the Class of 1982
2000.6



28

Ellen Day Hale (1855–1940), American
The Willow Whistle, 1888
Etching (posthumous impression)
Paper: 21 ¼ x 13 ⅛ in. (53.4 x 33.3 cm)
Plate: 15 ½ x 8 ½ in. (39.5 x 21.5 cm)
Inscription on plate, u.l.: Copyrighted by E. D. Hale, Boston,
Mass. 1889; u.r.: E.D. Hale '88
Gift of Eric Denker, class of 1975
1990.5.2



29

Ellen Day Hale (1855–1940), American
Etching plate for *The Willow Whistle*, 1888
Copper
Plate: 15 ⅞ x 8 ⅞ in. (39.7 x 21.8 cm)
Inscription on plate, u.l.: Copyrighted by E. D. Hale, Boston,
Mass. 1889; u.r.: E.D. Hale '88
Inscription on plate verso: [engraved] Plan of a Survey for the
Purposed Boston and Providence Rail-Way By James Hayward
Jan. 1828
On loan from Eric Denker, class of 1975



30

Ellen Day Hale (1855–1940), American
Italian Scene, 1920
Etching
Paper: 14 x 11 in. (35.5 x 28.0 cm)
Plate: 6 ⅞ x 5 in. (17.5 x 12.5 cm)
Inscription on plate, l.r.: E.D. Hale
Inscription in graphite, l.r.: Ellen Day Hale
Gift of Eric Denker, class of 1975, in honor of the 20th
Anniversary of The Trout Gallery
2003.5.9



31

Ellen Day Hale (1855–1940), American
The Four Corners (Quattro Conti), Palermo, 1922

Etching

Paper: 14 x 10 ½ in. (35.5 x 26.5 cm)

Plate: 8 ½ x 6 ½ in. (21.5 x 16.4 cm)

Inscription on plate, l.r.: E.D. Hale

Inscription in graphite, l.l.: Ellen Day Hale

Inscription in graphite on verso, u.l.: Piazza Vigliena, Palermo,
by Ellen Day Hale

Gift of Eric Denker, class of 1975

1997.2.9



32

Ellen Day Hale (1855–1940), American

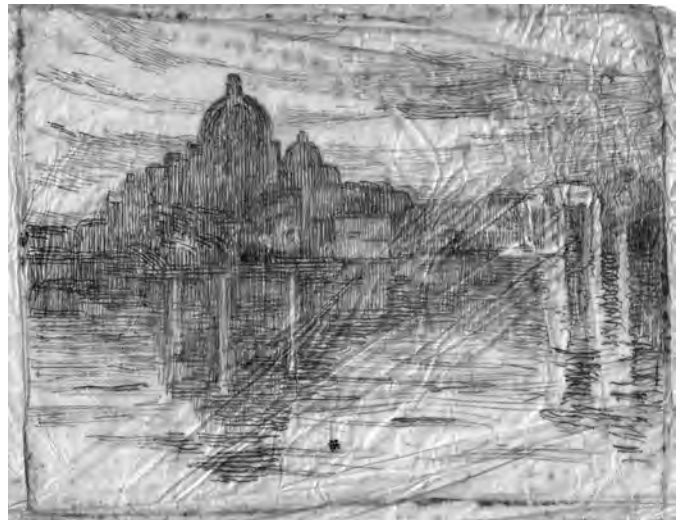
Transfer drawing for *First Night in Venice*, c. 1922

Graphite on tissue with traces of soft-ground on verso

Paper: 7 x 9 ½ in. (17.8 x 24.1 cm)

Gift of Eric Denker, class of 1975

2004.6.7



33

Ellen Day Hale (1855–1940), American

First Night in Venice, c. 1922

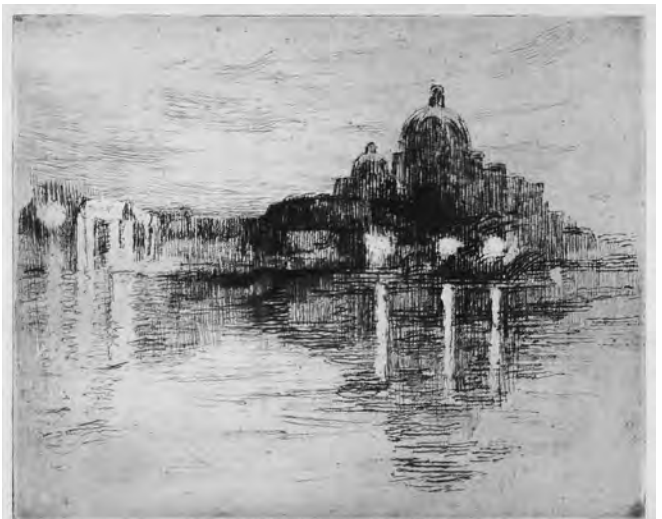
Soft-ground etching, artist's proof

Paper: 8 x 10 in. (20.3 x 25.3 cm)

Plate: 6 x 7 ¾ in. (15.1 x 18.8 cm)

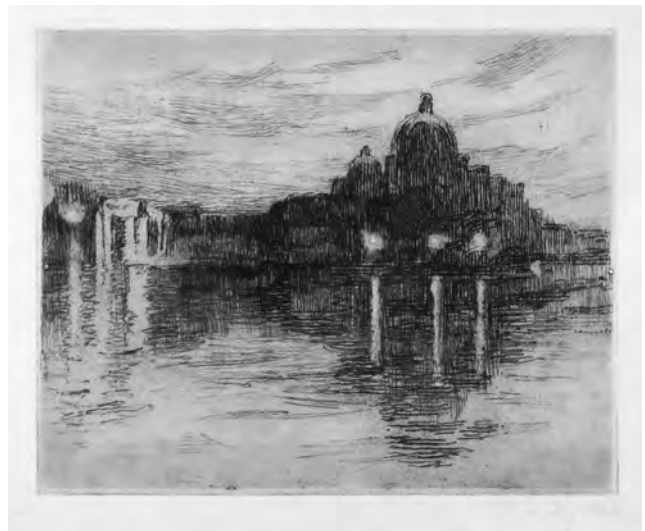
Gift of Eric Denker, class of 1975

2004.6.8



34

Ellen Day Hale (1855–1940), American
First Night in Venice, c. 1922
Soft-ground etching, aquatint, *à la poupée* color inking
Paper: 7 ½ x 9 ¾ in. (19.2 x 25.0 cm)
Plate: 6 x 7 ¾ in. (15.1 x 18.8 cm)
Inscription in graphite, l.l.: 2.; l.r.: Ellen Day Hale
Inscription in graphite on verso, u.l.: Artist–Ellen Day Hale/
116 Wess Graver's Lane/ Chestnut Hill/Phila. Pa. Title–First
Night in Venice/Medium—soft-ground in aquatint Price \$25.00
Registration holes c.l. and c.r. of image
Gift of Eric Denker, class of 1975
2004.6.9



35

Ellen Day Hale (1855–1940), American
Laundry, 1923
Etching
Paper: 7 ⅝ x 4 ⅛ in. (19.2 x 10.5 cm)
Plate: 3 x 2 in. (7.5 x 5.0 cm)
Inscription on plate, l.l.: 23
Inscription in graphite, l.l.: Ellen Day Hale
Gift of Eric Denker, class of 1975
2004.6.6



36

Ellen Day Hale (1855–1940), American
Etching plate for *Laundry*, 1923
Copper
Plate: 3 x 2 in. (7.6 x 5.0 cm)
Inscription on plate, l.r.: 23
Gift of Eric Denker, class of 1975,
in honor of Jack and Rhea Denker
2006.3.1



37

Ellen Day Hale (1855–1940), American
The Milk-Cart, Cairo, 1930
Soft-ground etching
Paper: 11 $\frac{5}{8}$ x 14 $\frac{3}{4}$ in. (29.5 x 37.7 cm)
Plate: 8 x 10 in. (20.5 x 25.2 cm)
Inscription on plate, l.l.: E. D. Hale 1930
Inscription in graphite, l.r.: Ellen Day Hale
Gift of Eric Denker, class of 1975, in honor of the 20th
Anniversary of The Trout Gallery
2003.5.6



38

Ellen Day Hale (1855–1940), American
The Milk-Cart, Cairo, 1930
Soft-ground etching, aquatint, *à la poupée* color inking
Paper: 11 $\frac{1}{2}$ x 13 $\frac{1}{8}$ in. (29.3 x 33.5 cm)
Plate: 8 x 10 in. (20.5 x 25.2 cm)
Inscription on plate, l.l.: E. D. Hale 1930
Inscription in graphite, l.r.: Ellen Day Hale; l.l.: Title, The
Milk-Cart, Cairo, Price. \$40.–Edition, 25
Inscription in graphite on verso, u.r.: Name of Artist, Ellen Day
Hale, Address 2800 Ontario Road, Washington D.C.
Registration holes c.l. and c.r. of image
Gift of Eric Denker, class of 1975, in honor of Nancy Hale
2002.17.2



39

Ellen Day Hale (1855–1940), American
Arch at Taormina, Sicily, n.d.
Etching
Paper: 14 x 11 in. (35.4 x 27.9 cm)
Plate: 6 $\frac{7}{8}$ x 5 in. (17.6 x 12.6 cm)
Inscription on plate, l.r.: E. D. Hale
Inscription in graphite, l.r.: arch at Taormina, Sicily
Inscription in graphite on verso, u.l.: Arch at Taormina,
Sicily \$ 15.00
Gift of Eric Denker, class of 1975
1998.3.5



40

Ellen Day Hale's etching needle

Wood, steel

Length: 8 in. (20.5 cm)

Gift of Eric Denker, class of 1975,
in honor of Jack and Rhea Denker
2006.3.2



41

Mary Nimmo Moran (1842–1899), Scottish/American
Solitude, 1880, from *American Etchings* (Boston, 1886)

Etching

Paper: 9 1/2 x 12 1/4 in. (24.2 x 31.2 cm)

Plate: 5 1/2 x 7 1/2 in. (14.0 x 19.2 cm)

Inscription on plate, l.r.: M.N.M. 1880

Gift of Mrs. Grace Linn

1994.7.1



42

Mary Nimmo Moran (1842–1899), Scottish/American
Twilight (East Hampton), 1880

Etching

Paper: 5 7/8 x 9 in. (15.0 x 22.8 cm)

Plate: 3 x 5 1/4 in. (7.7 x 13.5 cm)

Inscription on plate, l.r.: M. N. Moran

Gift of Charles Coleman Sellers

1988.7.17



43

Thomas Moran (1837–1926), British/American
Morning, 1881, for *American Art Review* (1881)

Etching

Paper: 8 ½ x 11 ¾ in. (21.7 x 30.0 cm)

Plate: 4 ½ x 7 ¼ in. (11.0 x 18.0 cm)

Inscription on plate, l.l.: TM monogram

Gift of Eric Denker, class of 1975

1986.33.2



44

Joseph Pennell (1857–1926), American
Ponte Vecchio. Florence, 1882

Etching

Paper: 17 ¾ x 14 in. (44.2 x 35.6 cm)

Plate: 9 ¾ x 7 ⅝ in. (25.0 x 19.4 cm)

Inscription on plate, u.l.: Jo Pennell 1883; l.r.: The Ponte
Vecchio 2 1883

Inscription in graphite, l.r.: Pennell Portfolio W54 1855 100-

Gift of Eric Denker, class of 1975

2004.5.9



45

Joseph Pennell (1857–1926), American
Under Chestnut Street Bridge, 1884

Etching on silk

Silk: 16 ⅞ x 14 ¼ in. (42.8 x 36.1 cm)

Plate: 14 ⅜ x 11 ¾ in. (30.3 x 25.5 cm)

Inscription on plate, l.r.: Jo Pennell; [884]

Inscription in graphite, l.r.: Joseph Pennell

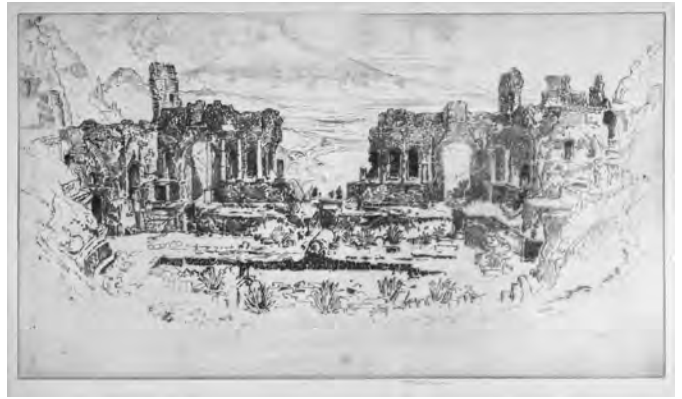
Gift of Eric Denker, class of 1975

2004.5.10



46

Joseph Pennell (1857–1926), American
Untitled, Mount Aetna, Sicily, n.d.
Etching
Paper: 13 x 19 $\frac{7}{8}$ in. (33.1 x 50.5 cm)
Plate: 10 $\frac{1}{4}$ x 18 $\frac{1}{4}$ in. (26.1 x 46.2 cm)
Inscription in graphite, l.l.: Jo Pennell imp
Gift of Mrs. Grace Linn
1951.1.75



47

Philip Ayer Sawyer (1887–1949), American
Working proof for *Martha's Vineyard* (with images of sailboats in
margin), 1907
Etching with pen and ink additions
Paper: 6 $\frac{3}{8}$ x 9 in. (15.9 x 22.8 cm); irregular bottom edge
Plate: 6 $\frac{3}{8}$ in. (15.9 cm); plate extends beyond length of paper,
later cut to 4 in. (10.1 cm)
Inscription in ink and reversed, l.c.: Vineyard Haven, August 1907
Inscription in ink on verso, u.r.: Vineyard Haven Aug. 1907
Etching of Philip Sawyer Dad...one of his best. I think several
are better. (M.S. 1949)
Gift of Miss Mildred Sawyer
1949.2.3



48

Philip Ayer Sawyer (1887–1949), American
Martha's Vineyard, 1907
Etching
Paper: 4 $\frac{1}{4}$ x 6 $\frac{5}{8}$ in. (10.7 x 16.8 cm)
Plate: 4 x 6 $\frac{3}{8}$ in. (10.1 x 16.2 cm)
Gift of Miss Mildred Sawyer
1951.2.13



49

Philip Ayer Sawyer (1887–1949), American
Etching plate for *Martha's Vineyard*, 1907
Copper
Plate: 4 x 6 ½ in. (10.1 x 16.5 cm)
Inscription stamped on verso: Sharp & Sons New York
Gift of Miss Mildred Sawyer
1951.2.12



50

Philip Ayer Sawyer (1887–1949), American
Untitled (four sketches for etching), 1949
Graphite, ink on paper (folded into quarters)
Paper: 9 7/8 x 13 ½ in. (25.1 x 34.2 cm)
Inscription in graphite: one etching print of...'08 (w.s. '49)
Inscription in graphite on verso:
u.l.: One etching print...of upper right...say 1949...was possibly...
Brittany or near...
u.r.: Lower view was in...county in Brittany...the village near where
the...home was where...july and part of august...one etching...
say on it... July 08; One etching...I think with any one of them
says on it...July 08
l.r.: one etching of an avenue of Trees. County road, not quite as
nice as...Cape Cod one. ...says on it...France. 29 June 1908...
July 1908
Gift of Miss Mildred Sawyer
1951.2.4



51

James David Smillie (1833–1909), American
Up the Hill, 1879, from *American Etchings* (Boston, 1886)
Etching
Paper: 12 ½ x 9 ½ in. (31.7 x 24.0 cm)
Plate: 8 ½ x 5 ¼ in. (21.7 x 13.0 cm)
Inscription on plate, l.l.: Smillie; l.r.: No 10. 1879
Gift of Mrs. Grace Linn
1994.7.14



52

George Spiel (c. 1861–1951), American
The Falls in Alum Rock Park, 1889
Etching on chine collé
Paper: 18 $\frac{3}{4}$ x 12 $\frac{7}{8}$ in. (47.5 x 32.7 cm)
Plate: 11 $\frac{7}{8}$ x 8 in. (30.2 x 20.3 cm)
Inscription on plate, l.l.: Geo Spiel, 89
Inscription in graphite, l.r.: Falls in Alum Rock Park
Gift of Eric Denker, class of 1975
1996.5.8



53

George Spiel (1861–1951), American
The Falls in Alum Rock Park, 1889
Etching on silk
Silk: 14 $\frac{3}{8}$ x 10 $\frac{3}{4}$ in. (36.5 x 27.3 cm)
Plate: 11 $\frac{7}{8}$ x 8 in. (30.2 x 20.3 cm)
Inscription in ink, l.l.: Georg Spiel 89
Gift of Eric Denker, class of 1975, in honor of Dr. Peter Lukehart
1996.5.8



54

James Abbott McNeill Whistler (1834–1903), American
Drouet Sculpteur, 1859
Etching and drypoint
Paper: 11 $\frac{3}{8}$ x 8 $\frac{1}{2}$ in. (28.8 x 21.7 cm)
Plate: 9 x 6 in. (22.6 x 15.2 cm)
Inscription on plate, l.c.: Drouet Sculpteur; l.r.: Whistler 1859;
u.r.: ...[traces of indiscernible characters]
Gift of the Carnegie Collection
1985.9.9



Sylvester Rosa Koehler and others, *American Etchings. A Collection of Twenty Original Etchings by Moran, Parris, Ferris, Smillie, and others with descriptive text and biographical matter* (Boston: Estes and Lauriat, 1886), edition: 104 (Holland)/350, 17 ½ x 12 ½.
Gift of Mrs. Grace Linn
1994.7





THE TROUT GALLERY

Dickinson College
Carlisle, Pennsylvania