Remember
THE Ladies

WOMEN OF THE
HUDSON RIVER SCHOOL
Charlotte Buell Coman (1833–1924)

Frontispiece: Forest Brook, 1895
Oil on canvas, 24 x 20 in.
Private Collection
Remember
THE Ladies

WOMEN OF THE
HUDSON RIVER SCHOOL

May 2—October 31, 2010

ESSAYS BY NANCY SIEGEL AND JENNIFER KRIEGER
Edith Wilkinson Cook (active 1851–1875)

**FIG. 1: Autumn Landscape with Figures, 1871**
Oil on canvas, 7\(\frac{1}{4}\) x 5\(\frac{3}{8}\) in.
Mark Lasalle Fine Art
In May 2010 the Thomas Cole National Historic Site opened the first known exhibition to focus solely on the women artists associated with the Hudson River School, the nineteenth-century landscape painting movement. Considering all the attention that has been given to this art movement in recent decades, it is certainly time that the names of these women become better known. The fact that there were women artists who were inspired by the landscape during the same years as Thomas Cole, Asher Durand, and Frederic Church is a story that needs to be told, and we are so pleased to bring their fascinating lives and work to the public.

Their landscape paintings, and the stories behind them, speak to these women’s perseverance, triumph, heartbreak, and even their sense of humor about it all. One young woman was forbidden to create art, and her drawings were burned by her stepmother. Another was conducting her art career while raising her children as a single mother. Yet another climbed “all the principal peaks of the Catskills, Adirondacks, and White Mountains, as well as those of the Alps, Tyrol, and Black Forest, often tramping twenty-five miles a day, and sketching as well, often in the midst of a blinding snowstorm,” according to an 1889 article.¹ And all this in the sort of clothing we today would not consider practical. We are inspired and humbled.

There are two women in this exhibition who are especially dear to us: Thomas Cole’s sister Sarah and daughter Emily. Sarah and Thomas were very close, offering each other encouragement during hardship and sharing in each other’s joys. In Cole’s biography by Louis Legrand Noble, a passage describes how one of Thomas’s “favorite pastimes” as a child in England “was to go with his youngest sister, Sarah, through the surrounding country, in search of the picturesque, for which he already had a remarkable love. When weariness, or the allurement of some pleasant spot, invited them to stop, they would fill up the time with song and melody—she singing, and he accompanying with his flute.”² Noble’s Romanticism often colored the stories in Cole’s biography; nonetheless, it is both plausible and interesting that Sarah and Thomas would seek out appealing landscape views even as children.

Thomas Cole’s daughter Emily is best known to us through her exquisitely painted botanical studies. Here at his home is an entire set of plates, cups, bowls, and teapots of Havilland Limoges porcelain onto which Emily painted swirling sprays of yellow roses. The pieces show a skilled and confident hand. Also in our collection are Emily’s beautiful watercolor paintings of apple blossoms, peonies, primroses, sunflowers, asters, morning glories, goldenrod, tulips, and the list goes on. Many of these are now on view for the first time.
The exhibition has been co-curated by Nancy Siegel, Associate Professor of Art History at Towson University, Towson, Maryland, and Jennifer Krieger, Managing Partner of Hawthorne Fine Art in Manhattan, who have given so much of their time and expertise in putting this show together. Their knowledge of the time period and their passion for the subject matter have resulted in a dazzling selection of paintings and the richly researched essays that follow. They are also working right now to find additional venues for this exhibition, starting with Hawthorne Fine Art, where the show will open this fall. It is our hope that this exhibition will not only continue to travel but also spark a new interest in this group of artists.

I would like to express my thanks to the lenders who generously agreed to part with their special paintings for the six months of this exhibition, and in some cases beyond. We are also especially grateful to Michael Altman, who immediately saw this exhibition’s potential and signed on as our lead sponsor. To Jennifer Krieger and Hawthorne Fine Art go our thanks for making several significant contributions to the exhibition. Along with providing her scholarship and talent as co-curator, Jennifer has underwritten this catalogue’s design by Rita Lascaro. She and her staff have also dedicated an enormous amount of time and expertise to the research, marketing, and promotion of “Remember the Ladies.” In addition, the exhibition has been made possible by support from the Greene County Legislature through the County Initiative Program administered by the Greene County Council on the Arts. This publication is supported by Furthermore Grants in Publishing as well as by the contributions of Henry and Sharon Martin and of Eric and Katherine Baumgartner. The exhibition was installed with assistance from Patrick Terenchin. I would like to end with a special thanks to the staff of the Thomas Cole Historic Site: Linda Bartula, Ann Cooper, Samantha DeTillio, Joanna Frang, Melissa Gavilanes, and Peter and Tone Noci, whose dedicated work brought everything together for the 2010 season. What a year this is shaping up to be!

ELIZABETH JACKS, Director
Thomas Cole National Historic Site

ENDNOTES
IN A MARCH 1776 LETTER TO HER HUSBAND, JOHN, Abigail Adams wrote: "I desire you would Remember the Ladies . . . if particular [sic] care and attention is not paid to the Laidies [sic] we are determined to foment a Rebellion." Adams's ideas concerning the position of women in the soon-to-be nation and their ability to express themselves freely became increasingly important in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. In particular, women would play an active role in the acquisition of knowledge about the newly established United States, including a desire to explore the landscape. By the early decades of the nineteenth century, women traveled in increasing numbers to experience the American landscape and wrote poetically of their adventures. So too were seminaries, schools, and private instruction established to provide artistic education for young ladies, especially in the art of landscape studies. Many of these women aspired to paint professionally. They produced works of art, positioned high and low on the artistic hierarchy, and were inspired by the landscape just as Cole, Durand, and Church.

But who are these artists? They are women such as Susie Barstow, Jane Stuart (daughter of Gilbert Stuart), Sarah Cole (sister to Thomas Cole), Harriet Cany Peale (wife of Rembrandt Peale), Evelina Mount (niece to William Sidney Mount), Julie Hart Beers (sister to William and James Hart), and Eliza Greatorex. Beyond their supporting roles as wife, sister, niece, and daughter, these are talented and accomplished landscape artists who, until recently, have received little scholarly attention. Working alongside their male companions or alone in their studios, they captured on canvas the beauty and awe they experienced out-of-doors. They exhibited their work at the National Academy of Design, the Brooklyn Art Association, the Artist’s Fund Society, and the Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts to name but a few of the prestigious venues in which their work was shown annually. Indeed, some of these women, including Frances (Fanny) Palmer, an important lithographer for the Currier & Ives Company, and Eliza Greatorex, supported themselves and their families through their art. While the designation of amateur artist was available equally to both men and women, that of professional artist was far less so for women.
In an 1858 article, “Die Frauen in die Kunstgeschichte,” Ernst Guhl, a professor of history from Berlin, wrote:

Volumes have been written on the long-disputed point, whether the mental powers of woman be equal to those of man. Women, say the defenders of the present system of things, have opened no new vistas in the realms of thought; with a few brilliant exceptions, they have produced nothing really great in art . . . and an exception does not form the rule. What they have not achieved in the course of eighteen centuries, they are not likely to achieve in the nineteenth . . . we [have] no female Raphael or Michael Angelo.²

Published in the American edition of The Westminster Review, Guhl summarized the state of the condition of women artists as he believed it to exist. He continued:

The profession of the painter would seem, in many respects, peculiarly fitted for women. It demands no sacrifice of maiden modesty, or of matronly reserve. It leads her into no scenes of noisy revelry or unseemly licence. It does not force her to stand up to be stared at, commented on, clapped or hissed by a crowded and often unmannered audience, who forget the woman in the artist.³

Guhl’s assessment is a mid-century barometer for the perceived abilities of women in intellectual and artistic realms. Unavoidably, however, the overlay of domestic expectations must be addressed for these women who, unlike their male colleagues, maintained the private sphere of their household in addition to pursuing a public life in art—no simple feat in the nineteenth century or today. This essay serves to broaden the discussion on American landscape imagery produced by women artists in the nineteenth century.

From reading personal accounts and diaries as early as the 1820s, we know that women traveled to and explored places of natural beauty [FIG. 2]. A growing tourist industry in America by the mid-1820s resulted in the increased production of travel guides highlighting specific sites that women might enjoy viewing as well as offering detailed advice on appropriate clothing to bring on such excursions. As more Americans began to consider the Hudson Valley as a tourist destination, steamboat companies flourished by mid-century, offering passengers efficiency, speed, and panoramic views of the Hudson River.

FIG 2: The Shaded Nook; 19th century
Stereo view. 3¼ x 7 in.
Women traveled to sites of interest in the company of friends, often kept safe from the peering eyes of men through their relegation to Ladies’ Cabins on canal boats and steamboats. Affordable travel allowed greater access not only to view the landscape but to be viewed as well. Willis Gaylord Clark commented in 1835, “. . . did you never particularly relish a jaunt on board a steam-boat, when you found some beautiful women there? Tell me honestly, did they not, though strangers, materially enhance the delightfulness of the journey? . . . It is one of those pleasures that nobody writes about, and everyone feels.”

Undaunted by the prospect of being observed, Rachel Wilmer wrote in her Journal of her tour to the Falls of Niagara the 26th of June 1834, “In viewing the scenery all around I was delighted and think it surpasses all description, it was calculated to raise my thoughts from nature up to nature’s God. I was much indisposed all day but could not lose sight of the beautiful scenery.” Up the Hudson she traveled aboard the steamboat Erie to “Catskill, where the mountain house was seen like a white cloud in the midst of the blue ridge. It afforded a beautiful change in the scene. . . . And then Albany, but 4 miles before we reached this city, the steam boat ran aground which is common in low tide, a smaller one called The Albany took all the passengers up to the city about 8 o’clock.” By train, then stage, then canal boat, then finally another stage, Mrs. Wilmer reached Niagara Falls and:

ascended a road 120 feet high around a winding rocky mountain covered with beautiful evergreens, this on the Canada side. Walked to Table Rock where Sam Patch took his leap then under the spray until quite wet, returned the same way after a most magnificent view and procuring some curiosities to the tavern on this side where after dinner we took the steam boat for Buffalo . . . Arose early and walked down to the shop of Indian curiosities, purchased some bracelets for servants and did a little shopping.

Mrs. James Bogert was thrilled by the vacation she took from New York City to Niagara Falls in 1839. In her diary she noted, “It is a fearful prospect when, from the water’s edge, below, you cast an upward glance, at the tremendous Rock, overhanging the fearful height—the scenery here is very picturesque but borders rather too much on the terrific for my enjoyment, and I felt an anxious timidity, to make my hasty escape to the top of the mountain.—Purchased some specimens of the variety of minerals & departed.” Additionally, Ellen Bond, like Thomas Cole, collected botanical specimens as she traveled with her family from Cincinnati to Niagara Falls, Lake George, across New York State, and Boston. She included specimens in her travel diary juxtaposing botanicals with descriptions of her travels to Niagara and historic sites: “We arrived and came to the museum opposite Niagara then to Table Rock, where the greater part has fallen. The view of the falls from the Canadian side is sublime, much better than the one from the American side.” It is interesting to note how words such as “picturesque” and “sublime” became part of a general parlance and not solely the vocabulary of artists such as Cole, Durand, and Church.

Although horses and carriages certainly helped transport people to sites of interest, one wonders how women were able to attain those outcroppings or hillside vistas given the cumbersome complexities
of their dress [fig. 3]. Unlike fashions for men, women’s fashions inflicted on wearers the extra burden of long (often woolen) skirts, stockings, petticoats, and heels, making their climbs arduous and at times uncomfortable in the heat. Fortunately, travel and tourism for women was facilitated by a vast network of mercantile establishments that offered a wide variety of sundries and clothing to keep the lady traveler in relative comfort. Women could purchase appropriate garments for outdoor excursions at dry goods and department stores such as John Wanamaker in Philadelphia, Burbank & Enright in Pittsfield, and Horton’s of Boston. This growing interest in the American landscape was not limited to the physical experience of travel; women also broadened their knowledge of it through education. As women of a rising middle class developed an appreciation for the American landscape, instruction in the formal expressions of drawing, watercolor, and painting was promoted as part of an expanding educational program for women in the United States.

Manuals dedicated to instruction in the art of landscape painting became plentiful by the early nineteenth century. With varying degrees of accomplishment, countless young female students filled their composition books with drawings copied from such guides. Two well-known authors of such instructional publications are Benjamin Coe and John Chapman. Chapman certainly intended women to gain instruction from his books, as he included vignette engravings of women, not men, drawing from nature at the end of each chapter of his 1847 manual *The American Drawing-Book.* Some such publications were written by women artists. Frances Palmer’s 1847 *New York Drawing Book: containing a series of original designs and sketches of American scenery,* for example, contained not written instruction but rather a series of six lithographs of pastoral views of American scenery from which students could copy. Certain instruction manuals in the art of drawing, watercolor, and painting were also written specifically for women. Maria Turner’s *The Young Ladies Assistant in Drawing and Painting* from 1833 is a concise example of a text aimed at a female audience. Turner instructed on process, form, and materials, providing rules not only for drawing on paper and stone, but also for working in mezzotint, watercolors, oil paints, and print transfer. In her lesson on landscape painting, she assumes that her female students have explored American scenery:

*If you have ever taken a trip on the majestic Hudson, you will recollect that the Highlands are reflected nearly in a straight line, from the summit to the base; the reason is, they are perpendicular to the water, or nearly so . . . And so if you have glided over the beautiful Ohio,
you must have seen innumerable trees on the verdant shores of Virginia, Kentucky, and Ohio, and on the enchanting islands on its smooth waters, stretch their plump heads, as it were, over the space that intervenes, to get a peep at their own images, only reflected in part, on the bright mirror below.\textsuperscript{10}

Here is an awareness of the fact that women were travelling to and taking creative inspiration from the American landscape just as their male counterparts were instructed to do. Maria Turner was fully of the opinion that women could, and should, become artists: “Young ladies spend years to acquire their native tongue, in which they are exercised daily; but many are sent to school to learn painting in one quarter. . . . This is a very mistaken idea. Painting, like all other art, is founded on elementary principles; and she who neglects them, or considers the time lost which she spends to acquire them, will fail of success of ever becoming a respectable artist.”\textsuperscript{11}

Bringing instruction to a more widespread audience, amateur and professional artists often supported themselves by offering art education to young men and women. Newspapers, in particular, were the most common means of advertisement for lessons in drawing and painting. John Wesley Jarvis opened a drawing school in 1802, “where Young Ladies and Gentlemen may be taught to draw in Indian ink, Colours, or chalk, on paper, satin, vellum &c. or to paint in oil on canvas. Hours of attendance for Ladies from 11 to 1 . . . Terms 6 dollars per quarter . . . Private lessons 1 dollar.”\textsuperscript{12} In fact, Thomas Cole’s early years in the U.S. were spent in part in Steubenville, Ohio, where his sisters established a seminary—similar to the hundreds of other educational establishments for young ladies developing in the early nineteenth century. In the April 2, 1820 \textit{Western Herald and Steubenville Gazette}, the Cole sisters offered “Reading, Writing, Plain Sewing, and Muslin Needlework” and “Thomas Cole will instruct . . . in Painting and Drawing, three times a week between six and eight o’clock in the evening.”\textsuperscript{13} Thus, as an amateur artist, Cole was part of the arts education industry.

For a woman in the early to mid-nineteenth century, becoming a professional artist was daunting. Schooling provided rudiments of style but hardly the rigorous training required for a professional career. The domestic world held sway over the artistic, and the validity of formal artistic education for women was part of a larger discussion on the appropriateness of educating women beyond a certain level. While countless women and men before the Civil War achieved the status of talented amateur artist, it is important to acknowledge those women who desired to rise above that level in the first decades of the nineteenth century. The records of the Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts are replete with examples of exhibited landscapes by women artists. A small sampling includes: Mrs. Capron’s \textit{Landscape}, 1812, with filigree work; Miss Clarke’s watercolor \textit{View near Petersburg}, 1822; an unidentified \textit{Landscape} in 1812 by Catherine Groombridge, wife of artist William Groombridge; Eliza Leslie’s \textit{Ruins with banditti after Salvatore Rosa}, 1812; “two views from Nature” in 1812 by Mary Agnes La Trobe Bateman alongside her brother Benjamin Latrobe’s architectural drawings (a remarkable occurrence given the ongoing war); Martha Eddowes’s \textit{Landscape on velvet}, 1813; 18 landscapes by Mrs. Samuel Richardson between 1818 and 1822; Helen Lawson’s 1830 \textit{Landscape and Waterfall}; Emma Peale Peabody’s \textit{View on the Wissahiccon
Jane Stuart (1812–1888)

**FIG. 4: Coach Fording a Stream, c. 1825–1830**

Oil on canvas, 27 1/4 x 31 1/4 in.
Wadsworth Atheneum Museum of Art, Hartford, Conn.
Bequest of Daniel Wadsworth
after Russell Smith, 1840; and the odd entry of Sarah Rogers, who exhibited her Landscape, which she had painted by holding the brush in her mouth (1811). Better known artists are Rosalie Kemble Sully, daughter of Thomas Sully, who exhibited her landscape paintings in New York in the 1830s, and Jane Stuart, who assumed the financial responsibilities for her family through commissions such as Coach Fording a Stream (c. 1825–1830) [fig. 4] as well as reproductions of her father’s portraits of George Washington. Sarah Cole, too, stands out as an artist of exceptional talent.

Sentimentalized by Thomas Cole’s biographer, Louis Legrand Noble, Sarah Cole has been described as Thomas’s childhood companion, exploring the English countryside while Thomas played his flute. She would become an accomplished artist in her own right and not merely a copyist of Thomas’s work as some have asserted. Sarah frequently enjoyed the company of her brother, leaving her family responsibilities in New York to make the journey to Catskill as a single woman. Travel to and from the Catskills, while enabled by sloops, steamboats, and stage coaches, was difficult, time-consuming, and at times dangerous. Upon her return to the city after a winter visit, Sarah wrote to Thomas on February 13, 1836: “I arrived last evening after a very tedious and disagreeable journey. Mr. T. Thompson will have told you that we did not leave Hudson until late in the evening, as the stages of the Red Bird line were full, and we had to wait for the old line which proved to be very poor and full of passengers, not the most agreeable . . . I was very sick all night, really & actively sick & this Mrs. Newton although she sat next to me never spoke one word to me, I might have died for what any one would have known or cared.” As Sarah was often in Catskill, she was as enamored with the scenery of the Hudson as Thomas, and she enjoyed experiencing the landscape firsthand. She accompanied her brother and a select group on a hiking expedition to Catskill High Peak in 1838. They went by way of the Clove and camped on the summit of High Peak, and as Thomas noted, the “ladies were delighted with the idea.”

From such excursions, Sarah produced numerous paintings. Three of her original works are owned and displayed by the Thomas Cole National Historic Site: Duffield Church, English Landscape, and Landscape with Church. Examples of copied works include A View of the Catskill Mountain House copied from a picture by Thomas Cole (1848) and Ancient Column Near Syracuse (c. 1848) [fig. 5]; the latter may have been inspired by Thomas’s Column of Ancient Syracuse, displayed at his memorial exhibition in 1848. Sarah exhibited her paintings at the National Academy of Design, the Maryland Historical Society, and the American Art-Union. Based on sales records, Sarah Cole’s patrons were not limited to New York; she sold to Pennsylvania collectors as well. Thomas acknowledged and supported his sister’s artistic talent. In addition to being a skilled painter, Sarah desired to learn the art of etching. In a letter to Asher Durand in December of 1839, Thomas wrote:

_There is also another object of this letter, which is to ask a favour; but it is for what I will not ask you to grant unless it is perfectly convenient & agreeable—My sister has got a notion of trying to Etch a little—has the implements and had not my time been so fully occupied when I was in The City I intended to have given her information on the subject, such as I planned but I was prevented—Now the favour I ask of you is this—that some day when you are near Laight_
St. you will have the kindness to call on her & tell her to prepare her Etching materials & you will call again someday when you have a convenient opportunity & spend an hour with her & give her a little information on the subject. I do not wish to impose this thing upon you. I know how you are occupied & how precious your time is but if it does happen that you can do it without inconvenience I shall esteem it a great favour.  

Although none of Sarah’s engraved work has been located, three of her etchings were listed in the catalogue of the highly publicized 1888 exhibition “Women Etchers of America” at the Union League Club in New York. So significant was Sarah Cole to the painter-etcher movement, that although she died in 1857, hers were the only works to be included by a non-contemporary artist.

On a personal level, Sarah provided her brother and fellow artist Thomas with support and understanding. Their letters often mentioned financial troubles, but Sarah also addressed her brother’s concern that he was losing his artistic ability during the summer of 1836, a pivotal time for Thomas with respect to his *Course of Empire* series and the recent death of his patron, Luman Reed. Her response to his disparaging words, while loving and encouraging, also reflects their mutual love for landscape painting: ”. . . in a little while you will find that the art will return to you, and that you will return to the art with renewed pleasure. The lights and shadows of this life are like the lights and shadows of your own pictures. The one makes the other more beautiful, and although we have had many troubles we have not found this life all shadows, it has been now a light and then a shadow, then a light and now a shadow, I really think that your fears of losing your art are groundless”—compassionate words from sister to brother, artist to artist. Sarah Cole is an excellent example of a nineteenth-century woman artist who traveled to and enjoyed the American landscape, was instructed in the fine arts, produced paintings and etchings, and exhibited and sold her work through professional venues.

Although Sarah Cole was able to sell her work and exhibit her paintings, opportunities for women to support themselves as professional artists remained limited early in the nineteenth century. By mid-century, however, and the years surrounding the Civil War, increasing numbers of women were educated in the mechanical arts and obtained wider access to formal artistic training at schools such as Sarah Peter’s Philadelphia School of Design for Women. As discussed in recent studies by April Masten, Laura Prieto, and Kirsten Swinth, women artists continued to pursue professional opportunities from the 1860s onward.  

Evelina Mount, Eliza Greatorex, Josephine Chamberlin Ellis, and Laura Woodward, for example, demonstrate the varying degrees to which women were enabled to earn their living in the arts. What unites each of these artists is their commitment to the formal properties of the Hudson River School, including a romantic sensibility, picturesque qualities, and well-balanced compositions resulting from direct observation in the American landscape. Evelina Mount, the niece of the famous genre painter William Sidney Mount, was professionally trained, an academician at the National Academy of Design, and found the subject matter for most of her paintings close to her home in Stony Brook, Long Island. With great attention to detail, she painted both the close-up view [FIG. 6] and the long vista [FIG. 7] as equally representative of the beauty present in nature. Eliza Greatorex was widowed early and
Sarah Cole (1805–1857)

FIG. 5: Ancient Column Near Syracuse, c. 1848
Oil on canvas, 11 7/8 x 11 7/8 in.
Neville-Strass Collection
supported her children and herself through her work as an artist. She educated herself and her daughters in Europe and was part of the painter-etcher movement of the latter nineteenth century. Her painting *Joseph Chaudlet House on the Bloomingdale Road*, c. 1868 [FIG. 8] demonstrates her admiration for the beauty of American scenery and places her work firmly within the Hudson River School. An associate member of the National Academy of Design, she often worked *en plein air*, as she had been trained; and her palette and depiction of light suggest intimate observations of the surrounding natural environment.²⁵

Although little is known of Josephine Chamberlain Ellis, she clearly benefitted from some form of visual instruction and traveled to sites of interest in the American landscape. When she painted *Natural Bridge* in 1884 [FIG. 9], she was married to a congressman from Louisiana. Their years living in Washington, D.C., would have afforded her physical proximity to the site Thomas Jefferson admired so dearly.²⁶ Ellis not only captures the massive scale of the geological formation but pays great attention to the minutiae in the foliage while creating an atmosphere bathed in soft light and shadow—truly a romantic view of an iconic American location.

Laura Woodward, like Sarah Cole, never married, which provided her a greater, if not suspect, sense of freedom and mobility. She travelled and sketched throughout the Catskill Mountains in the early to mid-1870s, making *plein-air* studies as far north as Clarendon, Vermont. Her untitled 1874 painting, possibly of Clarendon [FIG. 10] demonstrates her exceptional skill and clear commitment to the aesthetic qualities of the Hudson River School. She moved to Florida in the 1880s, and as Deborah Pollack has recently noted, her work contributed to the establishment of Palm Beach as a resort destination.²⁷ Woodward provided some of the earliest views of the Everglades and the Florida landscape to a growing tourist industry in much the same way that artists such as Cole and Durand provided early romantic views of the Hudson River valley in the 1830s and 40s.

"Remember the Ladies: Women of the Hudson River School" considers the aesthetic value of American landscape paintings by women artists, complemented by their careers and lives. While gender is an organizing factor for this exhibition, the works themselves reflect the American landscape experience as it evolved in the nineteenth century. As these women were painting in the Catskills, around Lake George, or in the mountains of Vermont, they were committed to capturing the beauty, awe, and majesty

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*Evelina Mount (1837–1920)*

**FIG. 6: Daisies**, n.d.

Oil on canvas, 9 ¾ x 6 ¼ in.
The Long Island Museum of American Art, History & Carriages
Gift of Mr. and Mrs. Ward Melville, 76.17.77
Evelina Mount (1837–1920)

Fig. 7: *Untitled (Landscape with Trees)*, n.d.
Oil on panel, 11\(\frac{3}{4}\) x 9 in.
The Long Island Museum of American Art, History & Carriages
Gift of Mr. and Mrs. John N. MacDonough, 2002.25
of the national landscape. Formally, these works demonstrate accomplished artistry and a passion for American scenery. Socially, they reflect the efforts of women who maintained individual lives and careers while assuming the collective struggle for women artists in the nineteenth century. In this exhibition, the works of Susie Barstow, Julie Beers, Sarah Cole, Charlotte Coman, Edith Cook, Josephine Ellis, Eliza Greatorex, Elizabeth Jerome, Mary Blood Mellen, Evelina Mount, Harriet Cany Peale, Mary Josephine Walters, and Laura Woodward are on view—and this is far from a comprehensive list. Thus, when Thomas Cole ventured into the Catskill Mountains from the mid-1820s to the late 1840s he was most certainly not alone. It remains important then to recast nineteenth-century American women landscape artists as no longer the exception, as Ernst Guhl would have us believe, but rather as exceptional.

Nancy Siegel is Associate Professor of Art History at Towson University in Towson, Maryland. She specializes in American landscape studies and culinary history of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries and assists as curatorial advisor to the Thomas Cole National Historic Site. Her recent books include: Within the Landscape: Essays on Nineteenth-Century American Art and Culture (2005); Along the Juniata—Thomas Cole and the Dissemination of American Landscape Imagery (2003); and The Morans: The Artistry of a Nineteenth-Century Family of Painter-Etchers (2001). Her work also appears in The Burlington Magazine, Nineteenth-Century Art Worldwide, and Gastronomica. She is currently completing Political Appetites: Revolution, Taste, and Culinary Activism in the Early Republic and editing a collection of essays titled The Cultured Canvas: A Social History of American Landscape Painting.
Josephine Chamberlin Ellis (1842–1912)

FIG. 9: Natural Bridge. 1884
Oil on canvas. 24 x 18 in.
Neville-Strass Collection
ENDNOTES

This essay is, in part, an excerpt from "To Elevate the Mind, Female Instruction and Women of the Hudson River School," for The Cultured Canvas: A Social History of American Landscape Painting, forthcoming from the University Press of New England.

I would like to acknowledge the following institutions from which I have received research fellowships for this project: Winterthur Museum & Country Estate, the American Antiquarian Society, and The New York State Library. I also wish to thank the private collectors and public institutions who so generously lent their works for this exhibition.

4. Quote from Willis Gaylord Clark in the Knickerbocker (1835) as cited in Patricia Cline Cohen, "Women at Large: Travel in Antebellum America," History Today (December 1994), 47.
5. New York State Library, Rachel Wilmer Diary, 1834. Sam Patch gained notoriety and fame for his jumps from waterfalls including Niagara Falls in 1829.
7. New York State Library, Ellen Bond Diary, 1850.
19. The scene of the Catskill Mountain House is currently in the Albany Institute of History and Art. I appreciate the information on Sarah Cole’s painting of the ruins from Stephanie Strass.
21. Sarah Cole’s etchings were never shown at the exhibition as John Falconer, who owned the plates, failed to provide impressions. See Phyllis Peet, American Women of the Etching Revival (Atlanta: High Museum of Art, 1988), 11.
26. Information about Josephine Chamberlin Ellis is limited. I am grateful to Stephanie Strass for sharing biographical information about Ellis obtained by Roger Novak.
27. Deborah Pollack, Laura Woodward: The Artist Behind the Innovator Who Developed Palm Beach (Palm Beach: Blue Heron Press, 2009); see chapter one in particular, "Life in the Northeast, 1834–1889."
Laura Woodward (1834–1926)

**FIG. 10:** Untitled (Clarendon, Vermont?), 1874
Oil on canvas, 15 3/4 x 23 3/4 in.
Collection of Edward and Deborah Pollack
Julie Hart Beers (1835–1913)

FIG. 11: *Hudson Valley at Croton Point*, 1869
Oil on canvas, 12 x 20 in.
Collection of Nicholas V. Bulzacchelli
Painting Her Way

THE REMARKABLE LIVES OF
FEMALE HUDSON RIVER SCHOOL ARTISTS

Jennifer Krieger

I am well nigh exhausted, but the scene outspread before me is of such exceeding glory and magnitude, and there is an exultation in the thought that I, a woman unused to privation and fatigue, have reached a height found unattainable by stalwart men because of the difficulties to be encountered by the way. I forget for the moment that I am suffering from pain and thirst and weariness.¹

These were the candid and elated words of newspaper correspondent Charlotte Ricker when, in 1882, she reached the summit of New Hampshire’s South Twin Mountain along with the first group of women ever to ascend the peak. During the latter half of the nineteenth century, Ricker was one of a larger group of women who played pioneering roles in the exploration of the American outdoors and lived impressive lives as writers, poets, hikers, and landscape painters, the subject of this exhibition. The achievements of these women—who broke the bonds of imposed gender restrictions to carve out lives of accomplishment, adventure, and independence—appear all the more extraordinary when one considers the historical and social context within which they took place.

A confluence of factors made landscape painting a particularly difficult pursuit for even highly-talented nineteenth-century women. The vast majority of formal art academies did not admit women, and a prevailing Victorian prudishness did not permit females to draw or paint from nude models. Female artists were often excluded from prestigious art clubs and were therefore barred from an important means of cultivating patrons. There was also an overarching social prejudice against women painting outdoors. Many of their male colleagues did not deem women physically capable of the rigors of plein-air work. Worthington Whittredge (1820–1910), a highly regarded Hudson River School painter, argued that women ought not to attempt landscape painting, grumbling that women’s dress got “in the way of climbing about rocks and over precipices” and that, in addition, “they do not know how to stick an umbrella spike into the ground.”² Whittredge was correct in at least one respect—perhaps the most visible and
symbolic of encumbrances was the restrictive nature of conventional female dress. Corsets, trains, bustles, hoops, and tight bodices were not conducive to aerobic exertion or freedom of movement.

Fortunately, not all of Whittredge’s colleagues shared his sentiments; in fact, many of the female painters included in this exhibition received both instruction and encouragement from their male contemporaries. In the case of Julie Hart Beers (1835–1913), it was the direction of her two brothers, James (1828–1901) and William Hart (1823–1894), that provided the seeds for her artistic development. James and William were two of the most successful landscape painters of their generation. Julie, born in 1835, was the tenth child of Marion Robertson and James Hart. In 1853, at the age of 18, Julie married George Washington Beers. When her husband passed away just four years later, she and her two daughters moved in with her brother William, who was then living and working out of his studio in Brooklyn. While William provided support for his sister and her daughters, Julie devoted herself to art, hoping to become financially independent through the sale of her paintings. Guided by the instruction of her brothers, Julie enjoyed the added benefit of their exposure to European painting methods. She eventually moved into a studio in New York City and, in what was considered a rather “bohemian” fashion, lived there with her daughters. She supplemented proceeds from the sale of her works with income earned by taking groups of wealthy young women on summer sketching trips in Vermont and the Adirondacks.

While Julie’s brothers played an important role in her artistic education, it would be a mistake to give them all the credit for her accomplishments, for she was naturally endowed with remarkable gifts that equaled and sometimes even exceeded those of William and James. Beers exhibited widely at the National Academy of Design, the Boston Athenaeum, the Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts, and the Brooklyn Art Association, an institution that at the time was more sympathetic than most to the promotion of female painters. As works in this exhibition demonstrate, Julie possessed a strong sense of a scene’s overall composition, which she balanced with an attention to the smaller details found in the natural world. The compositions of *Hudson Valley at Croton Point* [fig. 11] and *Summer Landscape* [fig. 12] both demonstrate a graceful panoramic expansion paired with a deeply piercing linear perspective. The abundance of delicate flora in the foreground draws the viewer’s eye into the scene and testifies to Beers’ full absorption of the meticulous Pre-Raphaelite approach.

A remarkably unique pair of landscape tondi (round paintings), *The Hudson as seen from Henry Villard’s House—Tarrytown—Christmas* [fig. 13] and *Woodland Scene*, 1881 [fig. 14], showcases the versatility Beers embraced. She employed composition boards that mimicked the shape of china plates, painting a brilliant Hudson River panorama on one and an intimate forest interior on the other. The multiple dimensions of the boards’ surfaces do not interrupt the integrity of the composition, but rather enhance the deepening perspective. Here Beers combines the feminine pastime of china plate painting with the typically masculine art of landscape painting, seamlessly uniting art and craft, masculine and feminine.

While Beers took on an ambitious technical experiment in the form of her tondi, Harriet Cany Peale (c. 1800–1869) successfully confronted the challenges presented by a heroic landscape subject and a large-format composition with her breathtakingly luminous *Kaaterskill Clove*, 1858 [fig. 15]. Peale shared a Philadelphia studio with her husband, Rembrandt Peale (1778–1860), the well-known portrait
and historical genre painter (she was his second wife), and exhibited throughout the 1840s, 50s, and 60s at the Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts. Peale was primarily known as a portrait and still life painter, but, with Kaaterskill Clove, shows herself to have been a masterful landscapist with an interest in iconic subject matter. Kaaterskill Falls had special resonance for Hudson River School painters; the falls played an important role in James Fenimore Cooper’s 1823 novel The Pioneers, and Thomas Cole (1801–1848), generally considered the “father” of the Hudson River School, traveled and painted there soon after. Kaaterskill Falls also provided the setting for Kindred Spirits, the iconic painting by Asher B. Durand (1796–1886), which depicts Cole and the poet William Cullen Bryant standing on a precipice and gazing out at the Catskills scenery surrounding them. By the time Peale painted her view of Kaaterskill Clove, it had become symbolic of the entire newly articulated American ethos of nature.

Peale and her colleagues drew attention to the impracticality of feminine dress and forced modifications to be made. According to Catherine Smith and Cynthia Greig, ”Many Victorian women, fearing being labeled masculine, traveled in conventional outfits with slight variations: they attached rings that enabled them to pull their skirts up with strings during difficult climbs, wore trousers instead of petticoats below long skirts, or opted for shorter skirts—that is, just above the ankle.” In 1840, early
Julie Hart Beers (1835–1913)

Fig. 13: The Hudson as seen from Henry Villard’s House—Tarrytown—Christmas, 1881
Oil on composition board, 12 in. diameter
Collection of Jack and Mary Ann Hollihan

Julie Hart Beers (1835–1913)

Fig. 14: Woodland Scene, 1881
Oil on composition board, 12 in. diameter
Collection of Jack and Mary Ann Hollihan
Harriet Cany Peale (1800–1869)

FIG. 15: Kaaterskill Clove, 1858
Oil on canvas, 36 x 25 in.
Private Collection
women’s rights activist Elizabeth Cady Stanton (1815–1902) wore a shortened dress accompanied by tall boots while hiking in Scotland with her husband. During the 1850s, Queen Victoria further pushed the envelope by wearing shorter skirts, chemises, and rugged boots while on her Scottish family vacations. Reacting to this modification of female fashion, the famed French designer Charles Frederick Worth introduced a shorter skirt to be worn by women walking at summer resorts.

Such innovations for increased mobility in female dress could not have been timelier. By the mid-nineteenth century, several women had chosen hiking as their predominant activity. Susie M. Barstow (1836–1923) and Edith Wilkinson Cook (d. 1902), close friends, were two of them. Julie Boardman has described Barstow as the “the original woman ‘peak-bagger’ in the White Mountains and the Adirondacks.” An article called “Fair Mountaineers,” published in an 1889 issue of The White Mountain Echo, stated that she had “climbed . . . all the principal peaks of the Catskills, Adirondacks, and White Mountains, as well as those of the Alps, Tyrol, and Black Forest, often tramping twenty-five miles a day, and sketching as well, often in the midst of a blinding snow-storm.” It is believed that she climbed one hundred and ten different mountain peaks over her lifetime.

Barstow’s physical feats paralleled her artistic achievements. Based primarily in Brooklyn, Barstow, the daughter of a New York tea merchant, studied at the Rutgers Female Institute in New York. For many years she also served as secretary and teacher at the Brooklyn Institute of Arts and Sciences. She exhibited over seventy-five paintings at the Brooklyn Art Association as well as at the National Academy of Design and at the Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts. In Landscape, 1865 [FIG. 16], Barstow painted a forest filled with white birches as though it were the lofty apse of a cathedral. She took cues from the spiritual character with which her predecessor, Asher B. Durand, endowed his landscape subjects. The scene is subtly lit by a clerestory of small breaks in the network of treetops, and the woodland floor is covered in rich moss and traversed by a reflective stony stream. It is a painting that radiates a sense of solitude and of the silent relationship between man and nature.

Barstow and Cook together took yearly summer excursions to New Hampshire’s White Mountains, and together they crossed its Carter–Moriah Range. Both were leading members of the Appalachian Mountain Club. Cook had been born into a wealthy family in Hoboken, New Jersey. Her brother Eugene pioneered many of the Club’s activities and, even before its founding, led his sisters (including Edith and the elder Lucia), as well as Lucia’s husband, John Pychowska, and her daughter, Marian, on trips through uncharted backcountry. The Cooks all shared an interest in botany, and each sibling cultivated his or her own individual talents; Edith’s was landscape painting. Fortunate in her family’s friendships with Hudson River School painters, Cook knew both Sanford Gifford (1823–1880) and Jervis McEntee (1828–1891) and could work alongside them. Autumn Landscape [FIG. 1], which descended through Gifford’s family, may have been a gift from Cook to Sanford. A gem-like picture, it shows three elegantly dressed women looking over a fence while walking along a woodland path. The gentle roseate palette suggests the influence of McEntee’s overcast Catskill scenes while the consummate detail packed into its limited parameters hints at the style of Gifford’s delicately rendered sketches. Yet the scene is very much Cook’s own, most likely observed while she was on one of her many exhilarating outdoor jaunts.
Susie M. Barstow (1836–1923)

**FIG. 16: Landscape.** 1865
Oil on canvas, 30 x 22 in.
Collection of Elizabeth and Alfred Scott
One rarely associates the concept of Manifest Destiny with women, but they did have a hand in expanding into new frontiers and documenting exotic lands through their art. Elizabeth Gilbert Jerome (1824–1910) painted several large-scale views of South America highlighting its bountiful beauty. Jerome was born in New Haven, Connecticut, but was primarily active in Hartford. According to Harry Willard French’s *Art and Artists in Connecticut* (1879), Jerome’s family forbade her to pursue art; indeed, a stepmother apparently destroyed all of her drawings when she was fifteen. When Jerome was twenty-seven, she was finally able to begin seriously studying painting, becoming a pupil of Julius T. Busch in Hartford. She also studied with Emanuel Leutze in New York City and enrolled in classes at the National Academy of Design. As a portrait, figure, and landscape painter, she exhibited at the National Academy (1866–75) and at the Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts (1869). It has been suggested—especially because of the similarities between her South American landscapes and his—that she may have been directly influenced by Frederic Church, who had a home quite near hers in Hartford, but whether or not she actually knew him personally is unknown. The resemblance, however, is uncanny—painted on a thoroughly dramatic scale, *Tropical Landscape* [fig. 17] is infused with the barometric subtlety of Church’s evanescent panoramas and an equal affinity for lush botanical flourishes.

It is known without a doubt that Mary Josephine Walters (1837–1883) was in fact a student of Asher B. Durand. A biography of Durand, written by his son John, describes Walters as Durand’s favorite woman student. Her *Forest Interior* [fig. 18] employs the nave-like structure and woven delicacy of Durand’s arched woodland scenes. The degree of detail seen in the interwoven branches seems to defy the painting’s small scale. A painting on a much larger scale, *Hudson River Scene* [fig. 19], testifies to Walters’ assimilation of her instructor’s atmospheric nuance and clearly composed perspective.

Mary Blood Mellen (1819–1886) distinguished herself as one of the few of her female colleagues to specialize in maritime subjects. She was long known as a student of Fitz Henry Lane (1804–1865), but recent research points to evidence that she was more of an apprentice to and even a collaborator with Lane. A tondo painting titled *Coast of Maine*, c. 1850s (Cape Ann Museum), signed by both painters proves that Lane and Mellen collaborated in at least one instance. The piece also opens up questions about other instances in which they may have collaborated and begs for exploration of what the true nature of their working relationship may have been. *Field Beach*, c. 1850s [back cover], reflects the influence of Lane in the elliptical grace of the composition, the upright poise of the gliding vessels, and the smooth interwoven union of water and land. The strong yellow of the evanescent horizon points to one of the noted coloristic differences between Lane and Mellen, namely her greater use of this pigment in capturing sunsets.

An artist who received numerous accolades during her lifetime was Charlotte Buell Coman (1833–1924). Amazingly, she was almost forty years old and nearly deaf when she began painting professionally. Coman studied with James R. Brevoort in New York City and then abroad for almost ten years (with Emile Vernier and Harry Thompson in Paris as well as in Holland). Very influenced by Corot and Daubigny, she began exhibiting Barbizon-style landscapes while abroad. One of these, *A French Village*, was exhibited in 1876 at the Philadelphia Centennial Exhibition and was highly praised. Coman returned to the United States in the early 1880s and established a studio in New York City. Her work became more Tonalist in
Elizabeth Jerome (1824–1910)

**Fig. 17: Tropical Landscape, 1871**

Oil on canvas, 30 x 48 in.

*Collection of Jack and Mary Ann Hollihan*

style as her friendships with George Inness and Alexander Wyant began to inform her technique. Coman painted in the Adirondacks during the summer, where she most likely executed *Forest Brook, 1895* [FRONTISPIECE]. It is a rare early landscape that remains true, in its primeval tone, to the wild spirit that inspired it. Coman regularly sold oil paintings for hundreds of dollars, but despite her success, she always signed her paintings with the gender-neutral "C. B. Coman." 24

The artists featured in this exhibition managed to make their way through vast, unexplored stretches of the American landscape and to shimmy up trees (for better views) in spite of their long skirts. Marian Pychowska, niece of Edith Wilkinson Cook, wrote about this in a letter to a female friend: "You wonder how my aunt and I climb trees . . . The getting up is very easy as the skirts come naturally after. A graceful descent is more difficult, as the same skirts are apt to remain above, but my uncle and Mr. Peek considerately left us, so that grace did not have to be considered." 25 Marian’s comment evinces a sense of humor and, more importantly, a can-do attitude. Artists like Cook were intent on honoring the beauty of the natural world they had experienced so directly. Rather than complain about all that society had placed in their way, women artists pushed forward to accomplish their goals. As a result of their determination, our own cultural topography has been immeasurably enriched and forever enhanced.
Mary Josephine Walters (1837–1883)

FIG. 18: *Forest Interior*, n.d.
Oil on canvas, 8 x 6 in.
Collection of Nicholas V. Bulzacchelli
Jennifer Krieger is the Founder and Managing Partner of Hawthorne Fine Art, a Manhattan art gallery specializing in nineteenth and early twentieth century American paintings with a focus on the Hudson River School. At Hawthorne, she has mounted several exhibitions, including Brought to Light: Gustave Wolff (1863–1935), Brilliant American Impressionist Rediscovered; A Perfect Solitude: The Art of Walter Launt Palmer (1874–1932); Life in the Open Air; American Artists Explore the White Mountains (1840–1910); A Handful of Harts: The Cabinet Landscapes of William Hart (1823–1894); and most recently, The Light Lies Softly: The Impressionist Art of Clark Greenwood Voorhees (1871–1933). She has written scholarly articles that have appeared in such publications as Antiques & Fine Art, Antiques and the Arts Weekly, and American Art Review. She received her B.A. with honors in Art History, French Literature, and Economics from Vassar College.

ENDNOTES

4. Information contained within biographical notes compiled by Marianne Brush (Mrs. Walton Brush), the great-great-granddaughter of the artist, 2008.
11. Susie Barstow has sometimes been erroneously referred to as "Sarah" Barstow; her name was in fact Susie. This is confirmed by her obituary, "Obituary Notes," New York Times, June 13, 1923. Compiled by Dr. Scott Routenberg, email correspondence, September 29, 2009.
13. This article is excerpted in Boardman, When Women and Mountains Meet, 66.
14. Ibid.
16. See Boardman, When Women and Mountains Meet, 55–66.
21. Please see John Wilmerding and Stephanie Buck, Fitz Henry Lane & Mary Blood Mellen: Old Mysteries and New Discoveries (New York: Spanierman Gallery, in cooperation with the Cape Ann Museum, Gloucester, Mass., 2007) for an extended discussion of the topic as well as the first chronology of Mary Blood Mellen, compiled by Gloucester archivist Stephanie Buck.
22. As a source for this discussion, please see Report for Scholars’ Conference, associated with the exhibition "Fitz Henry Lane and Mary Blood Mellen: Old Mysteries and New Discoveries" (organized by the Cape Ann Museum, Gloucester, Massachusetts, in partnership with Spanierman Gallery, and curated by Professor John Wilmerding), November 15, 2007. Spanierman Gallery, New York.
23. Ibid., 6.
25. Letter from Marian Pychowska to Isabella Stone, excerpted in Boardman, When Women and Mountains Meet, 63.
Mary Josephine Walters (1837–1883)

**FIG. 19: Hudson River Scene, n.d.**
Oil on canvas, 17 x 28 in.
Neville-Strass Collection
This catalogue is published to accompany

*Remember the Ladies: Women of the Hudson River School*

May 2—October 31, 2010

On view at the Thomas Cole National Historic Site
218 Spring Street, PO Box 426, Catskill, New York 12414

All of the artworks in the exhibition are illustrated in this publication. Additional works on view at the Thomas Cole National Historic Site during the run of the exhibition include:

Sarah Cole (1805–1857), *Landscape with Church*, c. 1846,
Oil on panel, $5\frac{1}{4} \times 7\frac{3}{4}$ in., Collection of Thomas Cole National Historic Site

Sarah Cole (1805–1857), *English Landscape*, 1846,
Oil on panel, $5\frac{1}{4} \times 7\frac{3}{4}$ in., Collection of Thomas Cole National Historic Site

Emily Cole (1843–1913), a selection of fourteen botanical studies, 1860–1891,
Watercolor, gouache and pencil on paper, various dimensions,
Collection of Thomas Cole National Historic Site

Emily Cole (1843–1913) and Haviland & Co., Limoges, France,
a selection of painted porcelain pieces, 1910, various dimensions,
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*Front cover:* Harriet Cany Peale (1800–1869), *Kaaterskill Clove* (detail), 1858,
Oil on canvas, 36 x 25 in., Private Collection

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Mary Blood Mellen (1819–1886)

*Field Beach*, c. 1850s
Oil on canvas on board, 24 3/4 x 33 5/16 in.
Cape Ann Museum