

# Expanded Horizon: Female Artists at the Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts during the Course of the Nineteenth Century

Anna Havemann

During the nineteenth century, the Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts (PAFA) distinguished itself as an institution for arts education at which women artists could gain not only professional experience but also recognition. PAFA supported both male and female students in equal measures; as a result, some of the most important American women artists were affiliated with PAFA, and they systematically participated in every field of its operation, including studying, teaching, collecting, and curating.

In Europe, the situation for women artists was very different. The famous state-run art academies excluded women on a regular basis. Only the privately run and less prestigious art schools and ateliers of artists were open to women. For instance, the famous École des Beaux-Arts in Paris first enrolled female students as late as 1893. In Germany the situation was even more difficult. Women were not admitted to the academies in Berlin, Munich, and Düsseldorf until after the 1910s and 1920s.<sup>1</sup>

Unfortunately, the past achievements of women were often downplayed by later generations of art historians. This is also true for PAFA—only one of its major publications focuses on the progressive attitude of the institution toward women artists.<sup>2</sup> This is especially puzzling since women artists' names appear constantly in the records, making a rewrite of PAFA's history an especially fascinating and inspiring one. Not only were women artists granted access to PAFA's unique opportunities for arts education, but they also seized those chances. They actively participated in its daily operations and collaborated with their male colleagues, often acting in unison with them to force adjustments to PAFA's curriculum. Throughout the nineteenth century, more than 1,400 female students studied at PAFA, 1,888 women exhibited

*Detail, figure 8.*

Alice Barber Stephens, *Women's Life Class*,  
ca. 1879.



FIG. 1 Angelica Kauffman (1741-1807), *Self-Portrait*, ca. 1760. Oil on canvas; 22½ x 17½ inches, lost. Image courtesy of the Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts, Philadelphia, Archives

FIG. 2 Sarah Miriam Peale (1800-1885), *Sarah Miriam Peale (1800-1885)*, ca. 1830. Oil on canvas; 27 x 20 inches. The Maryland Historical Society, Baltimore, Museum Collection, MA8137

in its annual exhibitions, and seventy female artists and students received awards, prizes, and even scholarships.<sup>3</sup> The open-mindedness of PAFA's leaders is at first puzzling, especially when considering similar institutions of the time in Europe; however, an examination of PAFA's structure and history provides some clues to its inclusive nature.<sup>4</sup>

PAFA was founded in 1805 during a period of transition in America, when the country was developing from a colony into a democratic republic and modern nation state. Cultural leaders demanded support of the arts not only from the government and local communities, but also from individuals. At the time, many Philadelphia citizens understood the need for unique American art institutions, as well as a national style that would establish cultural independence from the British Empire.<sup>5</sup> PAFA owes its existence to the support of seventy-one founding fathers, three of whom were artists—most notably Charles Willson Peale (1741-1827).<sup>6</sup> The support of many local upper-class citizens ensured that the academy could open its first building as well as its permanent collection in 1807.

That the majority of PAFA's founders were laymen is of major importance to an analysis of women artists' position at the institution. Since its male directors and stockholders

were not artists, they did not consider women artists to be their competitors—as was the case in the all-male and artist-led European academies—thus, they had little reservation about the admittance of women. And because PAFA was a business that was supposed to generate profits, women artists were treated as any other paying clients.

In 1810, PAFA began planning its first annual exhibition and, astonishingly, the director, Joseph Hopkinson, invited women artists to participate in the show. In his first annual discourse, he stated, "I hope and trust the walls of our Academy will soon be decorated with products of female genius; and that no means will be omitted to incite and encourage them."<sup>7</sup> Hopkinson expressed his hopes to an audience that included male academy members, as well as their wives and guests. By contrast, a similar audience at a European academy would have included only members and students, all of whom would have been men. Six American women artists—including the well-known Peale sisters, Anna Claypoole Peale (1791-1878), Margaretta Angelica Peale (1795-1882), and Sarah Miriam Peale (1800-1885)—exhibited their "products of genius" in the first annual exhibition, which opened on May 6, 1811.<sup>8</sup> All together, twelve works by ten female artists (six Americans and four Europeans) were



FIG. 3 Charles Truscott (active 1880s–ca. 1910), *The Cast Hall of the Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts*, ca. 1890. Albumen print; 6 × 8½ inches. Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts, Philadelphia, Archives



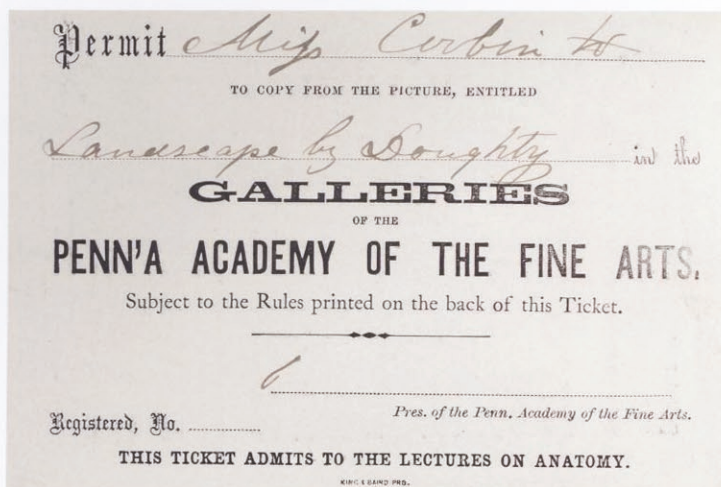
shown, a rather small percentage compared to the overall number of five hundred artworks exhibited.<sup>9</sup> Remarkably, the exhibition included a still-life painting by the well-known Dutch painter Rachel Ruysch (1664–1750) and three paintings by the much-admired Angelica Kauffman (1741–1807). Among them was Kauffman's *Self-Portrait* (fig. 1) from the late 1750s, which had been donated by Elizabeth Powel, the wife of the late Samuel Powel (1738–1793), a former mayor of Philadelphia.<sup>10</sup> The painting was shown twenty-six times in the academy's annual exhibitions between 1811 and 1876; thus, many generations of female students and artists could study the work of one of the most successful female artists, who also served as a role model. Thus, from the beginning, women have played a role as patrons of the arts at PAFA.

By January 1812, PAFA was ready to open its art school, which was supported by the Society of Artists. Surprisingly and fascinatingly, the society already had demanded in its 1810 charter that an art school should be organized for "the youth of both sexes."<sup>11</sup> Women artists would not study at PAFA for another thirty years, but they were not invisible during that time. On February 18, 1824, PAFA elected twenty-four artists as academicians, including the portrait and still-life painter Sarah Miriam Peale (fig. 2) and

the portrait painter Anna Claypoole Peale.<sup>12</sup> To be elected an academician was a great honor; that PAFA chose those women indicates their status as professional artists, and their election helped establish a pattern of professionalism for women artists at PAFA. As academicians, they belonged to a group of famous local and national artists that included Benjamin West, John Singleton Copley, Gilbert Stuart, John Vanderlyn, Thomas Sully, and Charles Willson Peale.<sup>13</sup> In 1831, the painter Jane Cooper Sully was elected among the third group of academicians, along with Eliza Leslie, Patty Carey, H. C. Carey, and Ann Leslie, who became honorary members.

In 1844, the doors of the antique school were opened to women artists, and on January 8 of that year it was resolved that "Ladies (artists) shall have the exclusive use of the Statue Gallery for professional purposes for the space of three months during the hours of 10 to 11 o'clock—Monday, Wednesday and Friday."<sup>14</sup> At the gallery, the female students could choose from approximately forty-two casts of antique sculpture from which to study (fig. 3). Drawing antique casts was at the core of academic programs in Europe and America alike, and followed a very structured course of study. However, women's advancements at PAFA came to a dramatic





halt when most of the academy building and parts of its collections were destroyed or badly damaged by a fire on June 11, 1845. The building was subsequently closed for renovation and classes were suspended. It reopened to students in 1847 and women artists were able to continue their studies in the antique classes without any obstacles.

The position of female art students at PAFA changed dramatically in April 1856, when Ladies' Day at the museum and the segregation of classes at the antique school were abolished. As a result, tight-fitting, inconspicuous fig leaves were attached to the casts in order to preserve the women artists' modesty and conform to the increasing primness of Victorian society.<sup>15</sup> At that time, approximately twenty-five of the one hundred sixty-five students enrolled at PAFA were women. Academy officials took the well-being of their female students very seriously and set up a special dressing room for their use.

*A ladies dressing room has been constructed . . . in which two water closets, with reservoirs upon the most approved plan have been placed, together with a wash basin finished with a marble top, gas introduced, Venetian shutters attached to the window frame, and such other improvements made as to render the apartment as complete as anything of the kind in any of the public resorts in the city. . . . Here the female class engaged during the day in drawing from the Antique, enjoy an apartment perfectly private to them.<sup>16</sup>*

During this time, women artists were not allowed to participate in drawing classes that included a live model, either dressed or undressed—a privilege that was offered exclusively to male students. However, from 1856 onward, women were permitted to copy paintings in PAFA's galleries (fig. 4).<sup>17</sup> Beginning in April 1860, female students were offered participation in PAFA's anatomy lectures, which were delivered by the well-known doctor of homeopathy Amos Russell Thomas. For women to participate in an anatomy lecture, especially one in which the dissection of a human body was



FIG. 4 Permit to Copy a Picture (allowing Miss Corbin to copy a landscape by Thomas Doughty), ca. 1860. Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts, Philadelphia, Archives

FIG. 5 Gihon and Rixon, photographers, Pennsylvania Academy modeling class (left to right: Inez Lewis, Miss Welch, Dr. Edmund Smith, Eliza Haldeman, and Mary Cassatt), ca. 1862. Albumen print with hand coloring; 7 $\frac{3}{8}$  × 5 $\frac{3}{8}$  inches oval. Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts, Philadelphia, Archives



observed, was a very radical step. Once again, PAFA took the lead in providing female students with that important course of study.

The first life classes for women artists were not organized by PAFA but by an enthusiastic and very committed group of female students. In January 1860, Eliza Haldeman (1843-1910), Mary Cassatt (1844-1926), and several of their friends decided to meet for one hour four days a week to model for each other (fig. 5). PAFA administrators assisted the artists by letting them use the modeling room. The first life class for women organized by PAFA commenced on February 10, 1868, after female students had petitioned for the use of the life school and a model.<sup>18</sup> From that point on, female students were also permitted to sign up for PAFA's art history lectures.

Female students petitioned not only for causes to their benefit, but they also worked together with their male counterparts to force changes in PAFA's curriculum. For instance, in February 1868 a group of eleven female and eight male students, asked the committee on instructions to establish PAFA's first professorship. As a result, the history and genre painter Christian Schussele (1824-1879) was appointed the first paid instructor at PAFA on May 11, 1868.<sup>19</sup> As the professor of drawing and painting and also the director of the school, Schussele was an outspoken and ardent advocate of women artists.

The directors of PAFA also supported women artists in a more general sense by electing the famous French realist animal painter Rosa Bonheur (1822-1899) as an honorary member in March 1863.<sup>20</sup> The directors hoped that the institution's association with a world-renowned artist like Bonheur would increase its reputation.<sup>21</sup> In 1867, a former female student of the academy, E. A. Christie, was elected an associate member, and two years later, the sculptor Ida Waugh, the animal painter Mary Smith, the landscape painter Fanny Safford, and the still-life painters E. B. Duffy, R. M. Twone, and A. M. Strong also were elected as associate members.<sup>22</sup>

Ironically, just three years after PAFA had finally hired an art professor, it ceased operations. Classes were discontinued and the committee of instructions stopped convening when, at the end of 1869, it became clear that the academy building was too small for the continuously growing collection and the expanding art school. The building and property were sold in May 1870 and all of the casts and paintings were removed and stored. Subsequently, a new property was purchased and the construction of a larger building was planned. The new building, which opened on April 22, 1876, created a sensation. Its interior was essentially utilitarian with humanly proportioned fire-proof galleries, large studios featuring northerly light, separate water closets and dressing rooms for men and women, a library, a lecture hall, a well-stocked print room, and a dissection room. The room for the life classes was the largest in the country at that time. The new building could accommodate more than two hundred students and the permanent collection could be displayed advantageously.<sup>23</sup> The annual exhibition, which was revived immediately in 1876, became the most important cultural event of the year.

The new facilities also meant that many more day and night classes could be offered to both female and male students. In addition to the original antique and life-drawing classes, costume and portrait drawing classes, as well as lectures on a range of art historical topics, were introduced. Beginning with the 1877-78 term, female students could take classes from 7:30 a.m. to 9:30 p.m. each day. The evening classes allowed students to work other jobs during the day in order to support themselves financially. Women students continued to fight for the improvement of their education; for instance, in the spring of 1879, a group of students succeeded in forcing PAFA to offer a modeling class for women (fig. 6).

In April 1878, Catherine A. Drinker (1841-1922) became PAFA's first part-time female faculty member. She taught a series of lectures on perspective in the life-class room when no other classes were in session. Drinker, who had studied



art at the Maryland Institute, the Art Students League in New York, the private school of Adolf Van Der Wielan, and the Pennsylvania Academy, was a painter of historical and biblical subjects. Orphaned at the age of seventeen, she had taught at numerous art schools in Philadelphia and Baltimore in order to support her grandmother and siblings. An enthusiastic and devoted supporter of women's art education, Drinker fought for women's equal opportunities in the art world, and her work was frequently included in PAFA's annual exhibitions from 1876 until the mid-1880s.

The year 1879 marked another important moment in the history of women artists at PAFA. Thanks to the bequest of artist Mary Smith (1842-1878), a former associate member of PAFA, a \$100 prize could be bestowed on a female resident who exhibited the best picture in the annual exhibition. Smith, who took the lead in supporting women artists' professionalism, was born into a family of painters and was in all likelihood instructed by both of her parents.<sup>24</sup> She began showing her work in PAFA's annual exhibition in 1859, when she was only seventeen years old, and she continued to do so until her untimely death. She also showed her paintings at the National Academy of Design in 1868, and in 1876 her work was chosen by the jury to be included in the *Centennial Exhibition* in Philadelphia. The first Mary Smith Prize was awarded to Susan Macdowell (1851-1938), who was PAFA's secretary at the time.<sup>25</sup>

In 1880, the Temple Gold Medal for the best painting in the annual exhibition was awarded for the first time. Two years later, the Charles Toppan First and Second Prizes for the most promising student works were established. The lists of prizewinners indicate that women artists were awarded prizes soon after those honors were established. For instance, in 1889, Anna Elizabeth Klumpke (1856-1942) was the first female artist to receive the Temple Gold Medal for her painting *A la Cuanderie*. One year later, Cecilia Beaux was honored with the same medal for her painting *Mother and Daughter*. Elizabeth F. Bonsall, Ann May Lodge, Susan Macdowell, Jennie D. Wheeler, Elizabeth H. Thomas, Georgia



FIG. 6 Circle of Eakins, Women's modeling class with cow in Pennsylvania Academy studio, ca. 1882. Albumen copy print;  $3\frac{1}{2} \times 4\frac{1}{2}$  inches. Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts, Philadelphia, Charles Bregler's Thomas Eakins Collection, purchased with the partial support of the Pew Memorial Trust, 1985.68.2.801

Helen York, and Luisa Wood were among the Charles Toppan First and Second prize winners during the first decade after its establishment. Obviously, women artists quite often were at the top of their classes.

PAFA students were also encouraged to continue their studies abroad. Beginning in 1891, the Traveling Scholarship (\$800) allowed select students to study at any of the important artistic centers in Europe for three years. Georgia York was the first female student to win the Traveling Scholarship in 1894, only three years after its establishment. After 1892, PAFA also began awarding class prizes, and beginning with the 1893-94 term began organizing concourse competitions.<sup>26</sup> As should by now be expected, female artists won many of those class competitions. In 1902, the *Philadelphia Sunday Press* ran a full-page article on Philadelphia women in the arts, which stated:

*For several years past young women have carried off everything of importance in the way of prizes in the local art schools. They have shown themselves master hands with the brush and the field of sculpture has also been an*



*area of triumph for them. This year, two out of three of the prizes awarded at the Academy went to women . . . Philadelphia women artists have been so long at the front in prize winning that many believe that men are losing their old time cunning.*<sup>27</sup>

PAFA officials also offered financial assistance and scholarships to its students, and each year approximately eight out of ten applicants for assistance were women.

The celebrated American realist artist Thomas Eakins (1844–1916) joined PAFA's faculty in 1876. A professor of painting and drawing and director of PAFA's schools (after 1882), Eakins was an ardent supporter of life classes for women, and he was acutely aware of the professional needs of women artists, as he was married to one of his former students, Susan Macdowell. Eakins introduced novel teaching methods that raised educational standards and the level of professionalism at PAFA. Under his leadership, an additional evening modeling class was established for women in December 1883,<sup>28</sup> and, in 1885, an extra morning painting class for women was organized and an additional model was employed to accommodate an increase in enrollment.

<sup>29</sup> During the first six years of Eakins's tenure, the number of registered female students increased from thirty-seven to an impressive one hundred forty-nine. The number of female artists who showed their work in the annual exhibition also grew considerably. Unfortunately, Eakins's career at PAFA was cut short after he removed the loincloth from a male model in a women's life class. He was subsequently asked to resign as director.<sup>30</sup> Many of Eakins's male and female students stepped forward in his defense and did not share the directors' opinion regarding Eakins's "dangerous" teaching methods. Fifty-five students signed a petition asking for his reinstatement as head instructor of the schools.

After Eakins's forced resignation, many of the advanced female and male students resigned from PAFA in protest. In 1895, the professorship for portraiture was reinstated and the well-known painter Cecilia Beaux (1855–1942) was



FIG. 7 Cecilia Beaux (1855–1942), *New England Woman* (Mrs. Jedediah H. Richards, née Julia Leavitt, 1840–1915), 1895. Oil on canvas; 43 × 24¼ inches. Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts, Philadelphia, Joseph E. Temple Fund, 1896.1

invited to join PAFA's faculty. Beaux, who worked at PAFA as a professor for more than twenty years, was the first renowned female professor at a co-educational art school (fig. 7).<sup>31</sup>

Before she became a faculty member, Beaux had already left her mark at PAFA when, in November 1885, she and artist Emily Sartain (1841–1927) were elected jury members for the fifty-fourth annual exhibition.<sup>32</sup> It is probably no coincidence that the number of female exhibitors in the exhibition reached a record high that year.<sup>33</sup> Beaux also served as jurist in 1898, along with Sarah W. Whitman (1842–1904),





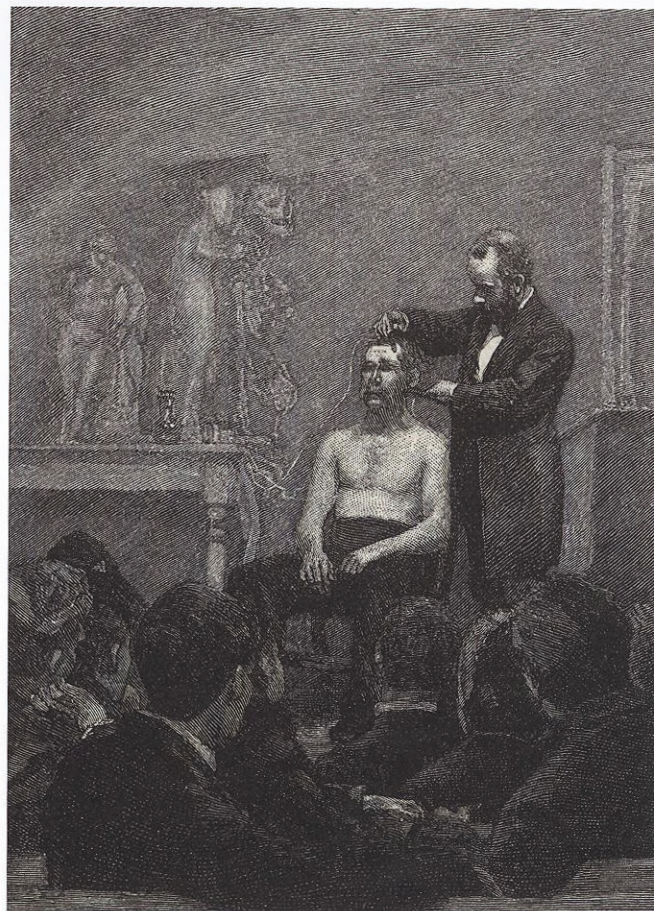
FIG. 8 Alice Barber Stephens (1858–1932), *Women's Life Class*, ca. 1879 (illustration for William C. Brownell, "The Art Schools of Philadelphia," *Scribner's Monthly*, September 18, 1879, pp. 737–50). Oil on cardboard (grisaille); 12 × 14 inches. Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts, Philadelphia, Gift of the artist, 1879.2

FIG. 9 Susan Macdowell (1851–1938) *Differentiating Muscles of the Face by Electricity*, 1879 (illustration for William C. Brownell, "The Art Schools of Philadelphia," *Scribner's Monthly*, September 18, 1879, p. 749). Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts, Philadelphia, Archives

and once again, female participation reached a record high.<sup>34</sup> The inclusion of women on those juries was another important step toward the equal participation of women in the art world.

I would like to end this cursory overview of the history of women artists at PAFA with a short discussion of the painting *Women's Life Class* (1879) by Alice Barber Stephens (1858–1932) (fig. 8). The work immortalizes the progressive atmosphere at PAFA and gives visual form to women's claim for equal and professional art education. Thomas Eakins was a strong supporter of Stephens's art, and he helped her secure the commission for *Women's Life Class*, which was used to illustrate an article on Philadelphia art schools for *Scribner's Monthly* in September 1879. Susan Macdowell created the image *Differentiating the Muscles of the Face by Electricity* for the same issue (fig. 9).<sup>35</sup>

Stephens was one of the most important illustrators of her generation. She won numerous prizes, and her work was published in all of the important magazines of the time as well as more than fifty books.<sup>36</sup> She was also a pioneering





teacher who organized the first life class at the Philadelphia School of Design for Women in 1889. Stephens continued Eakins's liberal approach to teaching and argued for an all-inclusive education for women. In 1899, she was invited to join the faculty at PAFA, but she declined that offer.

Stephens was a student at PAFA when she painted *Women's Life Class*, and she was one of the forty-seven women registered in the life school. Several of those exceptionally successful and independent female students are depicted in her monochrome painting, including Susan Macdowell and Mary K. Trotter, who demonstrated for the women's dissecting table.<sup>37</sup> Interestingly, not all of the fourteen women shown in the work are involved in the act of painting or are dressed appropriately for the occasion. Stephens clearly wanted to draw a distinction between the amateurs and the "real," or serious, art students. Despite those differences, the women are united in the act of seeing. One of the major topics of this painting is the question of the freedom of the gaze—an important topic in art history and a vitally important question for women artists at that time. Stephens makes a strong visual claim for women's right to look, observe, and study whatever they consider important.

The painting also depicts a women's life class with a nude female model, a type of study that at the time would have been offered exclusively to men at the famous state-sponsored art academies throughout Europe. The representation of a modern-day nude in the socially undefined sphere of the classroom was radical for the time; however, Stephens diminishes the sexually charged nature of traditional depictions of the artist's studio by representing fourteen properly dressed female artists who face the back rather than the front of the model. Nevertheless, the artist does not deny us the visual pleasure of observing the beautiful body of a young woman. On the contrary, she emphasizes the struggle of the female artists to capture the model's anatomy and sensuality and expresses her opposition to the prudish morality of late-nineteenth-century American society.

Stephens's work calls to mind Eakins's famous painting *The Gross Clinic*, which also depicts a classroom setting and highlights the act of seeing, the power of the gaze. Perhaps in style and sentiment, Stephens's work is a tribute to her teacher; however, Stephens has translated Eakins's crusade for more liberal arts education, especially for women, into a unique visual form and a strong artistic statement.

As the century closed, women artists at PAFA could look back at ninety years as exhibitors in the annual exhibitions, fifty-six years as students, forty-four years as copyists in the galleries, thirty-two years as members of life classes, twenty-one years as prize winners, and six years as traveling scholarship recipients. As academicians, honorary and associate members, benefactors and patrons, instructors, full-time professors, petitioners and activists, jury members and role models, friends and companions, women have played a long and enduring role in the history of PAFA. It is fascinating that women artists at PAFA did not live in a segregated sphere, acting in isolation or from a space called "secondary culture," as many feminist historians have argued in the past.<sup>38</sup> It cannot be stressed often enough that women were involved in the daily discussions and major upheavals that shook PAFA at a time when the major art academies in Europe were closed to them. Despite women's exclusion from the European academies, the histories of those institutions need to be rewritten as well. By the middle of the nineteenth century, German, French, and English women artists refused to accept a marginal role in the art world. They organized their own artists' unions and funded their own exhibition venues. They regularly mounted massive protests and staged vigorous campaigns for equal status with their male counterparts at the academies, directly and indirectly shaping the histories of those institutions and leaving their mark on the art world.



## NOTES

- 1 In London, female students were admitted to the antique class at the privately run Royal Academy in 1861; however, a life class for women that used draped models was only established in 1892.
- 2 The exception is Christine Jones Huber, *The Pennsylvania Academy and Its Women 1850–1920* (Philadelphia: Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts, 1974).
- 3 Student registers begin only in 1858, whereas female students' participation started in 1844. Therefore, that number is not 100 percent accurate. Between 1858 and 1895, no fewer than 1,393 female students were registered at PAFA, and 353 female students spent three or more years at PAFA. Student Record Card Index (1858–1926), reels 4316, 4317, and 4318, PAFA Archives, Archives of American Art, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C. (hereafter, AAA). The information about awards, prizes, and scholarships is from Awards, Prizes, Scholarships through 1934, reel 4318, frames 821–99, PAFA Archives, AAA. For women's participation in the annual exhibitions, see Peter Hastings Falk, ed., *Annual Exhibitions, 1807–1968*, 3 vols. (Madison, CT: Sound View Press, 1989).
- 4 Other influencing factors included the city of Philadelphia, the American society at large, the ever-growing women's movement in America, industrialization, the expansion of the middle class, and the position of American female artists in the art world. See Anna Havemann, "Swinging the Doors Wide Open—Women Artists Securing Their Place at the Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts in the Course of the Nineteenth Century" (PhD diss., University of Potsdam, 2009).
- 5 For more on early American nationalism, see Lillian B. Miller, *Patrons and Patriotism: The Encouragement of the Fine Arts in the United States 1790–1860* (Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press, 1966); and Digby E. Balzell, *Philadelphia Gentlemen: The Making of a National Upper Class*, rev. ed. (New Brunswick and London: Transaction Publishers, 1989).
- 6 Two other local artists—the painter Rembrandt Peale (1778–1860) and the sculptor and wood engraver William Rush (1756–1833)—were also among PAFA's founders.
- 7 Joseph Hopkinson, "Annual Discourse," November 13, 1810, reel P 50, frames 542–58, p. 34, PAFA Archives, AAA.
- 8 In 1811, PAFA, in collaboration with the Society of Artists (which was founded in 1810), established the first successful annual exhibition scheme in the United States. By contrast, the National Academy of Design (founded in 1825) began organizing annual exhibitions in May 1826, and the Boston Athenaeum (founded in 1807) opened its first annual exhibition in 1827.
- 9 Until the 1860s, approximately three to nine women artists participated in the annual exhibitions. In 1888, works by ninety women were included, and in 1895, one hundred twenty-five women participated. Falk, *Annual Exhibitions*.
- 10 For information about Kauffman's *Self-Portrait*, see the file on de-accessioned objects, PAFA Archive.
- 11 Charter and By-Laws of the Columbian Society of Artists, May 1810, p. 5. Consequently, that mandate constitutes the first expression of equal treatment of male and female students at the beginning of the nineteenth century.
- 12 The first group of forty academicians was elected on March 13, 1812.
- 13 The Peales' names are not recorded in the minutes of the various committees at PAFA. It is therefore unlikely that women were invited to serve on those committees.
- 14 Minutes of the board of directors meeting, January 8, 1844, reel P 44, frame 211, PAFA Archives, AAA.
- 15 Minutes of the board of directors meeting, April 13, 1856, reel P 44, frame 303, PAFA Archives, AAA.
- 16 Report of committee of the academy, board of directors meetings, April 11, 1859, reel P 44, frame 193, PAFA Archives, AAA.
- 17 For example, in 1863 Mary Cassatt and her friend Eliza Haldeman copied in the PAFA galleries the well-known portrait of Frances Anne Kemble by Thomas Sully, and, in 1864, they copied the heads in Wittkamp's *Deliverance of Leyden*.
- 18 Minutes of the board of directors meeting, February 10, 1868, reel P 44, frame 536, PAFA Archives, AAA. At the National Academy of Design, a life class for women was established in 1871, but segregated life classes were only discontinued in the 1930s.
- 19 Minutes of the board of directors meeting, May 11, 1868, reel P 44, frame 540, PAFA Archives, AAA.



- 20 Minutes of the board of directors meeting, March 9, 1863, reel P 44, PAFA Archives, AAA.
- 21 Bonheur was one of twenty-three European and twenty-one American artists who were elected as honorary members at the time. During the same election period, forty-eight presidents and directors of various art academies and artists' societies in sixteen European countries received the same honor.
- 22 Minutes of the board of directors meeting, May 13, 1867, reel P 44, frame 530, PAFA Archives, AAA. Minutes of the board of directors meeting, June 14, 1869, reel P 44, frame 559, PAFA Archives, AAA.
- 23 For more on the new building, see Michael J. Lewis, "The Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts as Building and Idea," in *Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts, 1805-2005: Two Hundred Years of Excellence* (Philadelphia: The Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts, 2005), 63-73.
- 24 Her father, Russel Smith, was an accomplished landscape painter and PAFA member, and her mother, Mary Priscilla Wilson Smith, was a portrait, landscape, and flower painter who exhibited in PAFA's annual exhibitions of 1838, 1840, 1860, and 1869.
- 25 Other prizewinners include Emily Sartain, Cecilia Beaux, Alice Barber Stephens, Elizabeth F. Bonsall, Lucy D. Holme, Mary K. Trotter, and Catherine A. Drinker.
- 26 The European public and private art academies had already used school competitions for many years as a means of producing better quality student work.
- 27 *Philadelphia Sunday Press*, 1902, in scrapbook, newspaper clippings (1877-1926), reel P 53, PAFA Archives, AAA.
- 28 Minutes of the committee of instructions meeting, December 12, 1883, reel P 47, frame 735, PAFA Archives, AAA.
- 29 Minutes of the board of directors meeting, April 13, 1885, reel P 44, frames 114-16, PAFA Archives, AAA.
- 30 For a detailed discussion of Eakins's forced resignation, see Kathleen A. Foster and Cheryl Leibold, *Thomas Eakins Rediscovered: Charles Bergler's Thomas Eakins Collection at the Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1998).
- 31 In 1912, Beaux's former student, Violet Oakley (1874-1961), became PAFA's second female professor, and she taught alongside her mentor until 1917. Emily Sartain had been invited to give a series of lectures in 1881, and Alice Barber Stephens was asked to teach a class in illustration in 1899; however, they both declined the offers. During the 1890s, the eminent Egyptologist Mrs. Cornelius Stevenson delivered two public lectures at PAFA, one on antique portraiture and another on Greco-Egyptian paintings.
- 32 Minutes of the board of directors meeting, January 11, 1886, reel P 44, frame 133, PAFA Archives, AAA.
- 33 Work by ninety-two female artists was selected, which means that more than one third of the exhibiting artists were women, among them many students and graduates of PAFA.
- 34 Of the 407 artists selected, 139 were women.
- 35 William C. Brownell, "The Art Schools of Philadelphia," in *Scribner's Monthly* 18, no. 5 (September 1879): 737-51.
- 36 For more on Stephens, see Ann Barton Brown, *Alice Barber Stephens: A Pioneer Woman Illustrator* (Chadds Ford, PA: Brandywine River Museum, 1984); and Helen Goodman, "Alice Barber Stephens, Illustrator," *Art Magazine*, January 1984, 126-30.
- 37 Florence Éste, Eliza Siter, Phoebe Natt, and Margaret Lesley Bush-Brown are also represented. "Current Exhibitions," *Philadelphia Inquirer*, April 21, 1929.
- 38 For a more inclusive history of PAFA, see Havemann, "Swinging the Doors Wide Open." For more on women artists' fight for recognition in the art world, see Tamar Garb, *Sisters of the Brush: Women's Artistic Culture in Late Nineteenth-Century Paris* (Paris, London, and New Haven: Yale University Press, 1994); and Clarissa Campbell Orr, ed., *Women in the Victorian Art World* (Manchester and New York: Manchester University Press, 1985); *Profession ohne Tradition. 125 Jahre Verein der Berliner Künstlerinnen* (Berlin: Berlinische Galerie Museum für Moderne Kunst, Fotografie und Architektur, Berlin, 1992); and Anna Havemann, "A Call to Arms: Women Artists' Struggle for Professional Recognition in the Nineteenth Century Art World," in *Women Impressionists* (Ostfildern: Hatje Cantz Verlag, 2008), 280-89.