



**Evelyn Cameron's brother Percy kept this photograph labeled "Evie in Montana, 1889" in his album. She is holding one of the bear cubs she and Ewen donated to the Zoological Society of London.**

MHS Photograph Archives, Helena, PAc 90-87 A2.10a

# Divas, Divorce, *Hidden Narratives in the* and Disclosure *Diaries of Evelyn Cameron*

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“Rediscovered” in the 1980s following research undertaken by Donna Lucey, Evelyn Jephson Cameron (née Flower, 1868–1928) is now rightfully regarded as a pioneering woman of her time whose legacy is an important archive of photographic images of Montana life and landscape.<sup>1</sup> Evelyn’s other significant legacy is a series of diaries that run from 1893 to 1928 and chronicle the daily events of a life in Montana with her husband, Ewen Somerled Cameron (1854–1915). Their life together sits in contrast to Evelyn’s life in England as a member of a wealthy merchant family and Ewen’s life as land-owning gentry and the proprietor of Barcaldine Castle in Argyllshire, Scotland.

Writing in 1906 in the *New York Sun*, Evelyn recalled her honeymoon with Ewen in Montana in the autumn of 1889, her first encounter with the American West. She entertained her readers with her adventures with Ewen, describing hunting for deer, antelope, and grizzly bears over a winter of extreme weather conditions.<sup>2</sup> The account of this period at the beginning of their life together also included a graphic description of the shooting of a mountain lion by Ewen, who manfully destroyed the animal because, according to Evelyn’s account, both her life and that of their guide were in danger. It was an unconventional honeymoon by nineteenth-century standards, and the highly descriptive story, remembered by Evelyn some seventeen years after the event, was characterized by the romance of adventure, risk taking, and the excitement of the hunt.

In the fast-moving world of the Internet, however, more than one genealogy site now records that Ewen was married prior to his relationship with Evelyn, a fact not acknowledged by either of them in their published writings and never referred to directly in Evelyn’s diaries. Research into British archives, supported by papers held by Evelyn’s family in England, has also revealed that at the time of their hunting trip to Montana in 1889 Ewen was estranged from—but still legally married to—his first wife, Giulia. In this sense, Evelyn’s 1906 newspaper article puts a retrospective gloss on aspects of a private life that were obviously not intended for public consumption.<sup>3</sup> As more digitized information continues to become readily available, it seems an appropriate time to begin to give an account of Evelyn’s life with Ewen that challenges its beginnings as the neat story of a honeymoon in Montana and to frame this new research in its historical and cultural context.

Donna Lucey, author of *Photographing Montana, 1894–1928: The Life and Work of Evelyn Cameron*, has contextualized Evelyn and Ewen’s decision to leave their homeland as precipitated by the lure of eastern Montana as “one of the odd outposts of wandering Britons” that offered opportunities to indulge in their enthusiasm for hunting. Yet Lucey’s comment that “Evelyn’s total acceptance of western life was unusual for a well-bred Briton” needs to be clarified and understood within a set of circumstances that suggest Evelyn’s options were limited following her union with Ewen as a man still married to his first wife.<sup>4</sup>

Detail, Evelyn Cameron, photographer, MHS Photograph Archives, detail, PAC 90-87.020-004



**Evelyn and Ewen Cameron photographed in Montana, circa 1910**

Historians have begun to frame such stories as those of Evelyn and Ewen Cameron within a transnational context, linking them to other, particularly British, imperial, and colonial histories. Such destinations may be framed particularly within anxieties about the decline in fortunes of British landed gentry who went to the American West to look for ways of restoring their wealth. Much of this context rings true for Ewen, particularly in a financial sense, because his own family fortunes in Scotland had left the Camerons in reduced circumstances characterized by fading income.<sup>5</sup> There were no such initial financial considerations for Evelyn herself, who was sustained by her family trust fund, though her diaries record her many financial worries and the ways in which she and Ewen attempted to supplement their income.<sup>6</sup> Knowledge of the American West for those who wanted to pursue a different, more adventurous

lifestyle was available in the metropolitan centers of London and Edinburgh. Yet the West also attracted those who desired to “remake” themselves in encounters with romantic wilderness in a process of escapism or personal and cultural renewal. Framing the Camerons’ move to Montana in this way identifies it as an initial flight from the consequences of Ewen’s failed marriage and the attraction of the restorative powers of nature for jangled nerves and hurt pride.<sup>7</sup>

Evelyn’s diaries are a rich and complex resource. They record Evelyn’s love of manual labor, and her notations capture the minutiae of ranching life in Montana with almost obsessive detail: the daily statistics of butter churned, cows milked, and eggs laid. But the diaries also contribute to understanding the web of family relationships that she left behind when she and Ewen discovered Montana in autumn 1889. Unlike her photographs, however, which were always intended for public consumption, Evelyn wrote her diaries for herself. We are accorded a privileged gaze into a private space, but as readers we are also presented with the difficulty of understanding its many oblique references to people and circumstances buried deep in the past but that often hint at more private, even secret, narratives. Evelyn knew her own history and had no need to

record, for example, the detailed facts of Ewen’s former marriage. Her diaries regularly record in full the content of letters she sent, but because the letters to which she replied have been lost or were at best summarized in her diaries, lack of disclosure becomes an issue as we are left to try to make sense of stories we were never intended to know.

This study concentrates on the circumstances of Evelyn and Ewen’s initial visit to Montana in 1889–1890, which informed a later decision to take up permanent residence in late 1891. Identifying the triggers that encouraged people such as Evelyn and Ewen to decide to forsake their own national boundaries and to live thousands of miles away from their families is a key part of framing that decision within a transnational context. Transnationalism recognizes that lives can elude national boundaries and that major decisions to live and prosper in another country can occur as the



**Evelyn's family did not approve of Ewen for reasons that remain unclear but may be explained by his age, ill health, lack of financial substance, and the recent discovery of his marital circumstances. Evelyn is pictured here (in hat) with her four siblings and her mother at Byne Lodge, Storrington, Sussex, circa 1885. With her are, clockwise, Percy, Severin, Hilda, mother Elizabeth, and Alec, who would accompany Evelyn and Ewen to Montana.**

result of the confusion and messiness of lived experience.<sup>8</sup> Mindful of this framework, this study attempts to unravel the nature of Evelyn's relationship with Ewen as an older, married man and to introduce some shades of gray into an otherwise black-and-white, and rather romanticized, story of their honeymoon in Montana and their life together as ranchers. As such, it invites us to think about Evelyn's 1906 newspaper

article as a kind of personal mythology and argues that underneath its presentation of a young bride on honeymoon there lay a far more complex story. Its backdrop is the emerging modernity of the period, which had its effect on changes in attitudes to marriage and divorce and their effect on familial relations. To understand these tensions more fully, this study first analyzes Ewen's marriage to his wife, Giulia, and



**Furzedown estate in Surrey, England, was Evelyn's family home. Although both Ewen and Evelyn came from moneyed backgrounds, Evelyn's diaries recorded their many financial worries and the ways they attempted to supplement their income in Montana. She had a family trust fund, but Ewen's circumstances had been reduced by the 1880s. Evelyn took this view of Furzedown on a visit to England in August 1901.**

then his relationship with Evelyn in order to highlight the options open to them and the decisions they subsequently made. Evelyn's diaries are crucial to this analysis and reveal her as a spirited character whose decision to go to Montana set her at odds with her family. She had made her choice, however, and she made the best of it by engaging enthusiastically with Montana life, a decision she never came to regret.

### *Ewen and Giulia Cameron*

As Donna Lucey has observed, though the reasons are unclear, Ewen Cameron was a disappointment to the Flower family.<sup>9</sup> Lucey cites his age, ill health, and lack of career and financial substance as possible motives. The evidence of his marriage prior to his involvement with Evelyn, however, must also have contributed to their dislocated relationship in a period when, even as divorce was becoming more prevalent following legal reform in England in 1857, the attendant scandal and publicity was the regular fodder of sensational newspaper reporting.<sup>10</sup> Following a short career in the Second Lanarkshire Militia, Ewen appears to have traveled in Europe in the late 1870s. In January 1881, he married an American citizen, Julia A. Wheelock, in Nice, France, at the office of the British Vice Consul. The daughter of a "truckman," Jonathan B. Wheelock of Boston, Julia had enjoyed a promising career as a pianist and singer as a young musician in her home city.<sup>11</sup> Julia went to Milan to study with singing teacher Francesco Lamperti and trained in the Italian bel canto style of singing, at which Lamperti excelled.<sup>12</sup>

In the burgeoning celebrity culture of the late nineteenth century, the female opera diva was the subject of popular adulation and became the focus of interviews and reminiscences beloved by the "new journalism" of the period. Julia's response was to change her name at an early stage of her career, and in Milan she adopted the professional name of Giulia Valda; once married to Ewen, she styled herself as Madame Giulia Valda Cameron. Pictured on the cover of a popular

magazine with coiffured hair and elegant jewels, Giulia appears every inch the operatic star; she spent the 1880s performing in Paris, Italy, and New York, debuting in London in 1886 with the Royal Italian Opera.<sup>13</sup> She had a rich soprano voice and generally received good critical reviews as a solo performer. As one of several principal sopranos of the late nineteenth century, Giulia played in a supporting role to her close friend, Adelina Patti, the highest paid and most accomplished operatic voice of her era, indicating she could compete at an international level.

Giulia appears to have been an engaging and fun-loving woman. Virginia Arditì, wife of the Italian conductor Luigi Arditì, described her as "a kind-hearted madcap, full of fun and spirit" in her memoir of the Adelina Patti farewell tour of America in 1889–1890.<sup>14</sup> Research into the British and American press also reveals Giulia as a deeply performative character who played the role of the operatic diva both on and off stage to perfection. A great self-publicist, Giulia took every opportunity to advertise her career, which included the cultivation of a wide circle of well-connected people, particularly in London society. Whenever possible, a reference to her marital status as the wife of Mr. Ewen Somerled Cameron of Barcaldine Castle, Argyllshire, Scotland, added, for her, a further romantic and prestigious cachet. Perhaps the best example of her theatrical interactions with the press was the occasion of her arrival on the SS *Umbria* at New York in 1886 following a successful debut in London. Accompanied by her agent and her maid, she appeared with a flourish at the quayside wearing a striking black-and-white striped dress with red bodice, and she managed



**Ewen married his first wife, Julia A. Wheelock, an American opera singer from Boston, in January 1881 in Nice, France. She adopted the professional name of Giulia Valda. As an operatic diva, her status as the wife of Ewen Somerled Cameron of Barcaldine Castle, Argyllshire, Scotland, gave her further romantic cachet and prestige. She seems to have been the antithesis of Ewen, a dour Scotsman devoted to ornithology, hunting, and equestrian sports.**

in the space of a few short paragraphs to give a complete résumé of her career to date to a *New York Times* journalist, affirming that “At Covent Garden I made a great success. I think I may say that without being egotistical. The placid English newspapers were positively enthusiastic.”<sup>15</sup>

Given her theatrical character, the nature of her work, and the size of her ego, Giulia seems the antithesis of Ewen, a dour Scotsman who was devoted to ornithology, hunting, and equestrian sports. Theirs was an unlikely union, but for Giulia it appears to have represented social and professional advancement. Giulia’s connection to Ewen’s Barcaldine estate in Scotland provided a cultural parallel to Adelina Patti’s famously romantic castle of Craig-y-Nos in Wales, a comparison she welcomed since, in her terms, it helped to elevate her professional status in the world of opera, which relied on publicity and self-promotion. Ewen’s reasons for marrying Giulia are less clear. Her capacity to earn money may have been an attraction, though her financial dealings were in the longer term no better than Ewen’s. The more likely reason is Ewen’s love of music and that part of his time in Italy was also an opportunity to indulge his love of opera. Meeting Giulia in Milan in 1878, however, perhaps represented his failure to differentiate between her suitability as a wife and the role she played on stage.

By 1889, the marriage was clearly troubled, as Giulia sought to end it, not by divorcing Ewen but by petitioning the Lords Ordinary of the Scottish Court of Session in Edinburgh for annulment of the marriage on the grounds of her husband’s impotence. It was a bold move by Giulia, especially given her public prominence, but one she must have felt would give her the outcome she wanted. Moreover, it was also an unusual process in Scottish legal history because such cases were rare by this date and can be ascribed to the rise of a cult of sensibility from the eighteenth century that made such cases increasingly unacceptable. Although divorce and annulment both had the same outcome—the end of an untenable marriage—they represented different legal processes. An annulment treated the marriage as a contract in which Ewen had failed to meet his obligations, and it therefore sought to return the relationship to a status where the marriage had never happened, even though a ceremony had clearly taken place. It is important to understand



**Described as a “kind-hearted madcap, full of fun and spirit,” Giulia Valda enjoyed a close friendship with opera singer Adelina Patti (above, circa 1881), who was the most accomplished operatic voice of the era. Valda accompanied Patti on a tour of the United States in 1889–1890.**

that laws in Scotland could be significantly different from those in England and Wales, and this was particularly so for marriage and divorce. Reform of the divorce laws in England and Wales in 1857 transferred matrimonial jurisdiction to a civil court, but whereas the husband could sue for divorce on the grounds of his wife’s adultery, the wife had to prove adultery and one other cause, such as cruelty or bigamy. In Scotland, on the other hand, divorce had been allowed equally by husband and wife on the grounds of adultery or desertion since the mid-sixteenth century.<sup>16</sup>

Given this tricky legal scenario, if Giulia wanted to end the marriage in the divorce courts, whether in England or in Scotland, she needed to at least prove Ewen's adultery, but presumably she did not have the required evidence. For a woman who spent some six months of the year away from her husband pursuing a professional career, it might have been difficult to prove desertion. In petitioning for an annulment, however, she obviously believed she could persuade the court that she had the necessary evidence to prove her husband's impotence. Perhaps the more interesting speculation is why Giulia chose to have the case heard in the Scottish Court of Session and not in the English courts.<sup>17</sup> Ewen's residence at the time of the petition was given as Burgar House, Orkney, a remote island off the northeast coast of Scotland. It is possible that Giulia approached the court in Edinburgh because it was more likely to damage Ewen's reputation in a Scottish setting than in England. As historian John Tosh argues, gender difference was articulated in the nineteenth century as the concept of manliness, rather than masculinity, and attributed to men such qualities as courage, independence, and assertiveness.<sup>18</sup> Because they represented ways in which men judged each other, any accusation that Ewen fell short of such attributes through lack of virility was to cut at the heart of his manliness. At the same time, keeping the proceedings at a distance from her home in London, where she was better known, lessened the chance of damage to her own reputation both as an operatic performer and as a woman.<sup>19</sup>

The papers relating to the court proceedings, which began on May 21, 1889, give an insight into the relationship between Giulia and Ewen but do so only from Giulia's evidence because Ewen did not attend due to ill health. Ewen was thus represented by his solicitor, Mr. Millar of Russell and Dunlop, who "watched the case on behalf of the Defender" but offered no evidence for his client. Giulia's solicitors put forward a vigorous case to demonstrate that their client had been wronged by Ewen, and they referred to their union as a "pretended marriage." Giulia, they declared, "was not aware of the Defender's said impotency and she was induced by the Defender to enter into said marriage in absolute ignorance of any peculiarity in his physical condition." In such circumstances, she was entitled to claim £100 in recompense. On July 18, 1889, Giulia swore the required Oath of

Calumny not to give her evidence in malice or deceit and submitted to an oral examination by the Court of Session.<sup>20</sup>

Giulia's testimony recorded a marriage that seems to have gone wrong from the start. She and Ewen had become engaged within three months of their first meeting in Milan in 1878, and Ewen's problems seem to have been brought on by a fall while riding in a steeplechase in Italy in the same year. Subsequent sickness and vomiting was severe, a condition that was still affecting him at the time of the marriage. Giulia described an unfulfilled sexual life as she recorded that their marriage night was spent in separate rooms at the hotel where they lived in Nice and that the arrangement continued for some three months. Moving then to Lake Como and sharing a bedroom resulted in further disappointment as Ewen, in the quaint words of the court papers, "failed to make connection with her" or, indeed, to show any sign of physical desire for her. The first years of the marriage were characterized by Ewen's continuing ill health. In 1882, he suffered an attack of typhus that was serious enough for Giulia to send for his mother and brother to visit him in Nice. Later, in spring 1884, Ewen again fell from a horse while hunting in England and broke several ribs, which brought on a renewed attack of sickness and vomiting.<sup>21</sup>

Giulia painted a picture to the Court of Session of a devoted wife during this time who juggled the demands of a professional career with caring for her husband. Finally, she told the court, she had decided by 1886 to end the marriage and to concentrate on her singing career, having been told by her husband that "he thought he was entirely incompetent and would always be so." Ewen stood no chance as medical evidence was given by three doctors whose testimony also reflected the fact that medicine—which ran between the polarities of Victorian therapies and quackery—accomplished relatively few advances in respect of male sexual problems in the course of the nineteenth century.<sup>22</sup> Given this context, it would have been difficult for Ewen to challenge the representation of himself as impotent, even while, in not attending and not offering a defense, he clearly hoped to end the marriage. With an articulate and focused legal team and the testimony of the elite of the Edinburgh medical profession acting for Giulia, Ewen emerged from the proceedings as a man of hopeless

CERTIFIED COPY of an Entry in a REGISTER OF MARRIAGES within the District of

121 the British Consulate at *V Consuls District of Nice*

BRITISH CONSUL'S DISTRICT OF *Nice*

18 *81*. Marriage solemnized at *the British Vice Consulate - Nice - France*


No.	When Married.	Name and Surname.	Age.	Condition.	Rank or Profession.	Residence at the time of Marriage.	Father's Name and Surname.	Rank or Profession of Father.
	1881	<i>Ewen Somerled Cameron.</i>	26	<i>Bachelor</i>	<i>Gentleman</i>	<i>Hotel Victoria Boulevard du Midi Nice</i>	<i>Allen Cameron</i>	<i>Clerk in Noty Orders</i>
93	15 Jan'y.	<i>Julia Wheelock.</i>	27	<i>Spinster (American Subject)</i>	<i>Singer</i>	<i>Hotel Victoria Boulevard du Midi Nice</i>	<i>James Wheelock</i>	<i>Merchant</i>

Married in the *British V Consulate* according to the Rites and Ceremonies of *1243 Met Cap 62 by Licence*  
by me, *J. Harris British V Consul*

This Marriage was solemnized between us, *Ewen Somerled Cameron* and *Julia a Wheelock*  
in the Presence of us, *(Emily) Lady Cecil Gordon* and *E. Demerzier*

CERTIFIED to be a true Copy of an Entry in the Certified Copy of a Register of Marriages in the Consulate above mentioned.  
Given at the GENERAL REGISTER OFFICE, SOMERSET HOUSE, LONDON, under the Seal of the said Office, the *30th* day of *July* 18 *87*.

By the Act 12 & 13 Vict., cap 68, sec. 18, it is enacted, "That this Act shall be taken to be part of the Act for Registering Births, Deaths, and Marriages in England, as fully and effectually as if incorporated therewith; and that every Consul shall be deemed a Registrar under the said Act; and that all the provisions and penalties of the said Act relating to any Registrar or Registrar of Marriages or Certified Copies thereof, shall be taken to extend to every such Consul, and the Registers of Marriages under this Act, and to the Certified Copies thereof, so far as the same are applicable thereto."  
By the Act 6 & 7 William IV., cap. 86, sec. 35, it is enacted, "That the Registrar General shall cause to be made a Seal of the said Registrar Office, and the Registrar General shall cause to be sealed or stamped therewith all Certified Copies of Entries given in the said Office; and all Certified Copies of Entries, purporting to be sealed or stamped with the Seal of the said Registrar Office, shall be received as evidence of the Birth, Death, or Marriage to which the same relates, without any further or other proof of such Entry; and no Certified Copy purporting to be given in the said Office shall be of any force or effect which is not sealed or stamped as aforesaid."  
By sect. 37 of the same Act, it is enacted, that "for every gross or wilful breach of the Indexes shall be paid the sum of twenty shillings, and for every particular error the sum of one shilling, and for every Certified Copy the sum of two shillings and sixpence;" exclusive of Inland Revenue Stamp (33 and 34 Vict., c. 97) of one penny.  
By the Act 24 & 25 Vict., cap. 95, sec. 36, it is enacted that whosoever shall "unlawfully destroy, deface, or injure, or cause or permit to be destroyed, defaced, or injured, any Register of Births, Baptisms, Marriages, Deaths or Burials, or any Certified Copy of any such Register, or any part thereof, or shall forge or fraudulently alter in any such Register any Entry relating to any Birth, Baptism, Marriage, Death, or Burial, or any Certified Copy of such Register, or of any part thereof, or shall forge or counterfeit the Seal of or belonging to any Registrar Office, or shall utter, after, dispose of, or put off any such Register, Entry, Certified Copy, Certificate, or Seal, knowing the same to be false, forged or altered," shall be liable to be kept in Penal Servitude for Life, or for any term not less than Five Years [27 & 28 Vict. c. 47], or to be imprisoned for any term not exceeding Three Years, with or without hard labour, and with or without solitary confinement.



**Giulia Valda and Ewen Cameron became engaged within three months of their first meeting in Milan in 1878, and their marriage seems to have gone wrong from the start. Ewen suffered from ill health, while Giulia was away on "professional duties" for some six months of the year, periods of time when Ewen did not accompany her. In 1889, Giulia petitioned for the annulment of the marriage in the Scottish Court of Session on the grounds of Ewen's impotence. This copy of their marriage certificate was issued in 1887 as part of an earlier attempt to end the marriage.**

impotence and questionable manliness. For her part, Giulia submitted to a medical examination to ensure that she had remained "virgo intacta," and with some anomalies explained away by medical treatment experienced as a young woman, her status was confirmed. Giulia was granted her annulment on October 17, 1889, and £100 in expenses.

With Ewen electing to have no voice in the proceedings, Giulia had taken center stage as if it were the last act of one of her operatic performances. With a practiced and professional sense of timing, she seemed to know when to limit her answers to "yes" and "no" and when to offer a fuller testimony. What she also brought was her deep commitment to her singing career; there was no expression of regret about her lack of children, for example, and by her own admission she told the court that she was away on "professional duties" for some six months of the year, periods of time when Ewen did not accompany her. In truth, she was so devoted to her singing career that she may have had no desire for a family, and as someone who thrived on metropolitan culture, it is difficult to imagine her in Orkney involving herself in Ewen's passion for ornithology. The glamorous world of opera, and its opportunities to operate within the

orbit of such charismatic figures as Adelina Patti, represented a world in which Ewen had no part to play.

There are also other difficulties with her evidence.<sup>23</sup> Despite different conduct and manners of the nineteenth century between men and women who were engaged to be married, it is hard to believe that between having accepted Ewen's proposal in 1878 and being married in January 1881 that she had no idea of his lack of physical desire. Furthermore, when asked the direct question as to whether she suspected that her husband might have committed adultery, Giulia replied in the negative. In doing so, she chose to overlook the fact that in 1887 she had taken action in the English courts in London for a judicial separation from Ewen, alleging adultery with Cornelia Roosevelt in October 1885 at Barcaldine, Ewen's family estate in Scotland.<sup>24</sup> The court papers give no information on Cornelia Roosevelt other than her name, making her identity purely speculative. The date of the alleged adultery coincides with the marriage of Ewen's brother, Allan Gordon Cameron, to Jessie Campbell in October 1885. Ewen and Giulia hosted a ball for Allan and his bride at Barcaldine for some two hundred guests, complete with a magnificent display of fireworks, and it is possible that

Cornelia Roosevelt was a wedding guest known to Ewen and Giulia.<sup>25</sup> The case was heard on January 14, 1888, but was struck out by the court since neither party put in an appearance; whatever Giulia had in mind for the end of her marriage had not succeeded.

The end of the marriage was probably a considerable relief to Ewen. The early years of the relationship with Giulia were certainly beset by illness and accident that could well have affected his virility. Because he had no voice at the proceedings, however, it is difficult to understand the underlying cause, but as a quiet man who disliked confrontation, Ewen was probably intimidated by Giulia. She was a big character, a confident and powerful woman with a successful career of her own, and their marriage contained from the start the hallmarks of significant incompatibility. Upon returning to England in 1900 for some twelve months, Evelyn's diary recorded Ewen's reaction when he thought he had caught sight of Giulia in London: "Ewen & I on way to Common . . . came upon a lady in a bath chair, the living image of Julia. I don't know now whether it was her or not. E[wen] says it

wasn't, although he turned very red." In 1898, Evelyn had also mentioned in her diary that she had received a letter from a Wall Street lawyer asking for Ewen's address and that "E[wen] suspects Julia's hand is in it." Years after their marriage had ended, Ewen was still suspicious and fearful of his former wife, and an oblique reference in Evelyn's diary provides a clue to his thinking. Evelyn recorded in her Montana diary that "Ewen couldn't sleep, so related incidents of his Milan life. . . . Ewen read 'A Fatal Marriage' out of Gil Blas. It took quite 1½ hr." Ewen's choice of reading appears to reflect his feeling that his marriage to the wrong person was a fatal mistake. Represented only by his solicitor at the Court of Session in 1889 and offering no resistance, he simply let go of his marriage to Giulia.<sup>26</sup>

### *Ewen and Evelyn Cameron*

Recent research shows that by the early 1880s Ewen had become a friend of the Flower family, which included Evelyn's elder brothers, Severin, Percy, and



Evelyn Cameron, photographer, MHS Photograph Archives, Helena, Pac 90-87.0001-016

Research shows that Ewen became a friend of the Flower family in the early 1880s through their shared enthusiasm for hunting and shooting. This hunting scene in Scotland includes James Inglis, pictured on the right. He was a former gamekeeper on the Dunrobin Castle estate in Sutherland, Scotland. By 1901, when Evelyn took this photograph, he and his wife had a farm and supplied the Camerons with milk and butter during their six-month stay in Dornoch, Scotland. Many of Evelyn's images reflect the Camerons' lifelong interest in country life and hunting both in Britain and in Montana.

**Dressed for hunting, Evelyn and her brother Alec pose with their dog, Flint, circa 1882. The diary of Percy Flower, Evelyn's brother, records duck shooting with Ewen and Alec in January 1884 on Eynhallow, an uninhabited island off the main island of Orkney that Ewen had purchased specifically for the purpose of ornithology.**

Alec Jephson Flower, and her sister, Hilda Jephson Flower.<sup>27</sup> By 1884, he had purchased the uninhabited island of Eynhallow in Scotland specifically for the purposes of ornithology and lived at Burgar House on the main island of Orkney in sight of Eynhallow; it was also a prime location for shooting, a sport enjoyed by the Flower family.<sup>28</sup> The diary of Evelyn's brother Percy records duck shooting on Eynhallow with Ewen and Alec in January 1884.<sup>29</sup> Percy was an engaging fellow who was devoted to hunting and shooting, and his busy diaries are filled with references to a wide social circle involved in field sports and horse breeding. Any information requiring discretion was often abbreviated and written in Latin. On January 19, 1884, while in Scotland with Ewen, Percy recorded, "C. obtinuit epistolam from Evie [Cameron received a letter from Evie]," which suggests she would rather have been in Orkney with her brothers shooting duck than at home in London. The communication might also suggest that Evelyn, some six months short of her sixteenth birthday, was experiencing some sort of attraction to Ewen. Other evidence shows that Evelyn was a regular visitor to Orkney during the later 1880s. Ewen had provided information for a book on the invertebrate fauna of the islands, and there are several references to "Miss Flower" who was staying at Smoogro on Orkney and the birds she had shot there in 1887 and 1888: "One [Sparrow-hawk] killed in 1887 at Smoogro, . . . by Miss Flower, who has shot several, is . . . now in the possession of Mr Cameron of Burgar."<sup>30</sup> A photograph in one of Evelyn's personal albums has been identified as Smoogro House and was likely to have been where Evelyn stayed while visiting the area.<sup>31</sup>

Percy's diaries, and indeed Evelyn's, show that brother and sister were close, and if Evelyn wanted to share her secrets with anyone, it would have been with Percy, making his role both confidant and chaperone on their visits to Orkney during the later 1880s.<sup>32</sup> All of the evidence points to a growing relationship between Evelyn and Ewen during this period, masked by the



Flower Family Papers

wider connections with the Flower family. Giulia may have been aware of the burgeoning relationship. As she confirmed in her evidence to the Court of Session, she regarded her marriage as finished by 1886 but returned to Orkney in 1888 to collect some of her things; this was the last time that she had any communication with her husband.<sup>33</sup> Years later, in 1900, relaxing in the sitting room of the Old Waverley Hotel in Edinburgh, Evelyn met the daughter of the United Presbyterian minister of Kirkwall, Orkney, and noted simply in her diary: "She knows all about Ewen's past & everyone in Orkney."<sup>34</sup>

This laconic phrase, typical of many of Evelyn's more intriguing diary entries, suggests that Orkney was the site of the unraveling of Ewen and Giulia's marriage and that Evelyn may well have been involved in it. If Giulia felt that she may have had grounds for divorce by implicating Evelyn, she obviously thought better of it; the Flower family was well connected in the London social and cultural circles in which Giulia also moved. Evelyn's half-brother was Cyril Flower, later Lord Battersea, a Member of Parliament and of William Gladstone's Liberal government in 1886 who lived in some splendor at Surrey House, Marble

In details provided for a book on the invertebrate fauna of the islands, Ewen referred to “Miss Flower,” who was staying at Smoogro on Orkney, and the birds she had shot there in 1887 and 1888. This image of Smoogro House (circa 1887) is from Evelyn’s album and is likely to be where she stayed.



MHS Photograph Archives, Helena, PAc 90-87 A2.5a

Arch, with his wife, Constance Rothschild. Pursuing an “out of town” annulment of her marriage to Ewen in Edinburgh was thus a better option for Giulia than divorce.

When the action for annulment of his marriage commenced in May 1889, Ewen was also beset by financial difficulties. The Barcaldine estates had been sold in 1886, allowing Ewen’s brother, Allan, to build Letterwalton House for himself and his bride near Barcaldine Castle.<sup>35</sup> In 1888, Ewen had entered into a business arrangement with Evelyn’s eldest brother, Severin, and Lord Athlumney, an Irish peer. Lord Athlumney was bankrupt by 1890, and at his insolvency hearing in London, he attributed his problems to bills of exchange, transferable financial arrangements that can bind one party to pay a third party who was not involved in their creation. Claiming that Ewen had acted as Severin’s solicitor, Lord Athlumney’s evidence appeared to put the blame for his financial losses squarely on Ewen, who had “gone to America” in September 1889 and had not been heard of since.<sup>36</sup> Athlumney’s testimony to the court effectively inferred that Ewen had appropriated his money and absconded, while Severin, at worst, appeared to be incompetent. Evelyn mentions the episode in her diary, recalling it when Severin died in 1916, but she explained it in very different terms:

“Severin behaved infamously to Ewen when he was out in America & unable to defend himself, accusing Ewen of appropriating £2000, borrowed from Saugus Netti, when Severin & Lord Athlumney benefitted solely by the transaction. I have not corresponded with him since living in America.”<sup>37</sup>

Though colored by her loyalty, Evelyn’s assessment of the episode is shrewd since Severin’s own financial dealings were ill-placed, and when he died, Evelyn refused to join her siblings in paying his personal debts. Although finance and business may not have been Ewen’s strongest suit, his absence from England in 1889–1890 compromised him and eventually led to legal action for recovery of the debt.<sup>38</sup>

The year 1889 was an important one for the Flower family, as the diary of Percy Jephson Flower records. Severin had married in February of that year, and his sister Hilda married in June. The subsequent change in the family circumstances also saw Percy hunting for a new home for himself and his mother throughout 1889. What his diary does not record, however, is any mention at all of the marriage of Evelyn to Ewen. Both Evelyn and Percy were away from home during the course of the year, and Percy’s diary records their letters to each other and several meetings in the period of June to July. Percy’s diary entry for August 19 suddenly records the receipt of a letter from Evelyn

informing him that she was going to America “with Cameron,” with the addition of an omission mark changing the name to “Mrs Cameron.” A fuller transcription reads: “Rained a good deal in afternoon, and warm. Letter from Henry Coventry asking to dine Tuesday and from Evelyn saying she was going to America with (λ Mrs) Cameron.”<sup>39</sup> The details of the arrangements that Evelyn and Ewen had made to reach America at this point in 1889, however, remain unclear, but as the entry in Percy’s diary shows, Evelyn does not appear to have disclosed her intention to go to America with Ewen. It seems likely that, given Ewen’s pressing financial problems and the embarrassment of Giulia’s petition for annulment of their marriage, he and Evelyn decided to take the pressure out of their lives and to head for Montana. Besides, Evelyn reached the age of twenty-one on August 26 and was entitled to money from her trust fund.

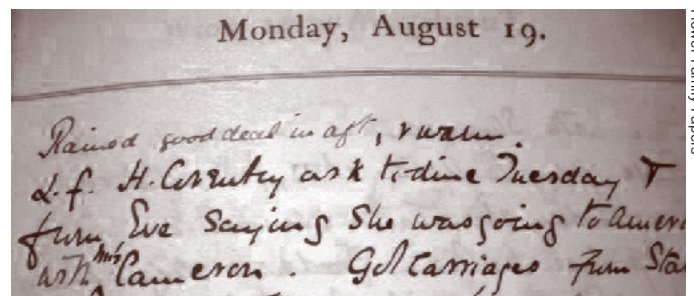
As research into passenger listings shows, there was some truth in Percy’s diary entry; the manifest of the SS *Teutonic*, which reached New York on September 12, 1889, appears to show Evelyn traveling with “Madame Valda” together with a valet and a maid. Their names are bracketed together as occupying the same cabin suite, and there are fourteen pieces of luggage. There is no reason to believe that Evelyn was in touch with Giulia during this period, and no reason for them to be traveling together. This becomes even more puzzling when one questions why two women required the services of a valet. Without other evidence, the passenger listing suggests more than one possible answer. It might offer proof of collusion between Giulia, Ewen, and Evelyn, suggesting that the annulment was the easiest and agreed way out of an unhappy marriage and that for some reason Giulia chaperoned Evelyn to America. Given Ewen’s fear and suspicion of his former wife and Evelyn’s loyalty to Ewen, this appears the least likely scenario.<sup>40</sup>

Other evidence suggests that Giulia was in London and not aboard the SS *Teutonic*. On September 29, the *New York World* published a lengthy article entitled “Mme Valda Reminiscences,” in which Giulia treated readers to highlights of her career and details of her forthcoming tour of America. The article, which carried the by-line “Special Correspondence of The World,” was annotated as “London, September 18th.” Such devices were meant to signify actuality and immediacy in journalism of this period

and were usually accompanied by text written in the first person, as Giulia’s article was, to suggest she had written it herself and dispatched it on the date quoted. She had put herself in the role of “special” correspondent, though the article could have been written at an earlier date and included interventions by an editor or a journalist.<sup>41</sup>

Though the first date of her operatic tour with Adelina Patti was not until December 9 in Chicago, Giulia’s attention was clearly on her preparations. As she observed in the newspaper article, she was thrilled to be part of Adelina Patti’s forthcoming tour of America, noting that “I am just now on the point of paying her a visit to Craig-y-Nos, her splendid castle in Wales.” What is also revealing in Giulia’s reminiscences is that having given her evidence to the Scottish Court of Session in July and while awaiting the decision of the Lords Ordinary on her petition for an annulment, Giulia began her article by describing at length how she and Ewen had witnessed the burning of the Opera House in Nice in 1881. Eager to promote the idea that it was “business as usual,” Giulia still maintained in the newspaper that she was enjoying a normal married life: “Whenever I am not singing, I spend my time up in Argyllshire, near Oban which is the home of my husband, Mr Cameron.”<sup>42</sup>

In the photograph taken in Montana on what she described as her honeymoon, Evelyn appears relaxed and smiling as she holds one of the bears she and Ewen later donated to the Zoological Society of London. Research has shown, however, that there is no record of a marriage conforming to the requirements for civil registration in England and Wales or, indeed, in Scotland. Moreover, if Evelyn and Ewen had married prior to the formal decree of the annulment of his marriage to Giulia in October 1889, it



Evelyn’s brother Percy recorded her departure for America “with Cameron” in his diary on August 19, 1889. With Percy’s insertion of “Mrs” and the omission of any mention of Ewen, details of the travel arrangements remain unclear.

Flower Family Papers



Evelyn Cameron, photographer, MHS Photograph Archives, Helena, PAc 90-87 A2.30b

No marriage record for Evelyn and Ewen has been found in England, Wales, Scotland, or the United States. Had they married before Ewen's annulment was granted on October 17, 1889, the marriage would have been illegal. Perhaps they settled on an "irregular marriage" that did not require formal legal documentation. Regardless, they spent a happy honeymoon hunting in Montana. Above, Ewen poses with an antelope taken in the hunt. Below, Ewen, left, and Evelyn, second from right, pose in hunting camp. The others are not identified.



MHS Photograph Archives, Helena, PAc 90-87 A2.47c

would have been an illegal act.<sup>43</sup> There is, of course, the possibility that they married in America before returning to England in 1890, but such evidence has not so far surfaced. In their published writings, however, they referred to each other with ease as husband and wife. If Evelyn wrote of her first visit to Montana as her honeymoon, it was also because she recognized its significance as the beginning of a life together. It may also point to the possibility that she and Ewen had undertaken some form of “irregular marriage” that did not require formal legal documentation. In Scottish culture, the principle of the irregular marriage had long been in existence and recognized that if a couple of marriageable age freely wished to get married and freely accepted each other, then they were married. It was the principle of consent that made a marriage and in which neither clergy nor civil officials were involved.<sup>44</sup>

After the annulment of his marriage to Giulia, there was no known legal impediment to their union, but Ewen may not have had the heart for it and a less formal arrangement may have suited them both. Indeed, although marriage continued to operate as the goal for the majority of men and women during the nineteenth century, it was also a period of vigorous marital nonconformity. Cohabitation in many forms existed across class, place, and gender in nineteenth-century English society and was lived out in flexible ways.<sup>45</sup> Bound by regard for her family and her sense of their values and social standing, however, it was easier for Evelyn to maintain that she and Ewen had married, whether any “ceremony” conformed to the requirements for civil registration or not.

Less easy to locate in Evelyn’s relationship with Ewen is Giulia’s accusation of impotence. As Donna Lucey has observed, the demanding life of ranching, which also included photography, ornithology, writing, and catering for boarders, presented few opportunities for a private life.<sup>46</sup> Any assessment of their relationship, however, must be contextualized in the

framework of the nineteenth-century companionate marriage as one based on the ideal of loving and equal partnerships. Such unions, however, could still assume a wife’s deference to her husband’s needs and as such might represent conflicting expectations in British matrimony of this period.<sup>47</sup>

Evelyn’s diaries record deep companionship and shared interests with Ewen, but the question of unequal physical desire is more difficult to judge. In the main, Evelyn did not record such matters in her diaries, but a close reading of them does reveal references to an intimate life. Returning to England in late 1900 for some twelve months, for example, Evelyn and Ewen argued about their financial situ-



MHS Photograph Archives, Helena, Pac 90-87 A2.9a

**Evelyn and Ewen returned from Montana in 1890 and remained until September 1891. In the April 15, 1891, Scottish census, the couple were recorded as Mr. and Mrs. Ewen Cameron and living at Binny House, Linlithgow, Scotland. Evelyn is pictured outside Binny House on horseback; her formal riding outfit and sidesaddle contrast with the casual, unfettered riding she could experience in Montana.**

ation on several occasions, which caused emotional distance between them, but she noted in her diary: “E. hot bath. We made up our 2 month coolness.” On another occasion in Scotland, Evelyn noted coyly in her diary in French that Ewen “me baisier [Ewen was kissing me]” when they were interrupted by someone who was spying on them. Perhaps more significantly, Evelyn recorded that she and Ewen talked at length about the possibility of having a child one day. Lack of detail in the diary entries and Ewen’s increasing dependence on Evelyn to nurse him through periods of ill health obscure further explanation.<sup>48</sup>

When Evelyn went to New York in September 1889, it was as Miss Evelyn Flower. By the time of the census for Scotland on April 5, 1891, she and Ewen were recorded as Mr. and Mrs. Ewen Cameron and were living at Binny House, Linlithgow, near Edinburgh.<sup>49</sup> None of Evelyn's diaries are extant for the period prior to 1893, and thus we do not have a record that might indicate the reaction of her family on her return. It is evident from later diaries that letters Evelyn received from her family were only for her attention and did not include Ewen, suggesting that though they blamed him they had no wish to alienate Evelyn. On the couple's return to England for several months from 1900 to 1901, Evelyn visited and spent time with her family, capturing her visit with her camera. Even though they had not been in England for some ten years, Ewen did not accompany her on her visits to her mother and to her siblings at this time, indicating that the relationship with the Flower family was still strained. Her diaries do not record any member of Evelyn's family visiting her.

When Evelyn and Ewen had left for Montana once again in September 1891, they were accompanied by Alec, who lived with them until they returned to England in 1900. Taking on a difficult elder brother was perhaps a way of placating her family, and the business plan to breed and export polo ponies based in Montana was a way of demonstrating to them that she and

Ewen could have a future together.<sup>50</sup> The relationship with Alec, however, could be tempestuous and uncertain, largely due to his propensity for gossiping about Evelyn and Ewen's relationship. When Alec's wife died in 1921, for example, Evelyn told her cousin, Ralph Flower, that she would give her brother a home in Montana, but he "must leave the subject of my past life out of his gossip with neighbours, as when he was out here before, he was not so considerate."<sup>51</sup> It was a theme that informed several entries in her diaries during the 1890s, which describe moments of tension and friction between Evelyn, Ewen, and Alec; the freedom to live their own lives that Evelyn and Ewen sought in Montana had come at a price.

**This study** has sought to reveal hidden narratives in Evelyn Cameron's diaries and to unravel the circumstances of her first visit to Montana in 1889. Although this narrative can only ever be eclipsed by the greater significance of her photographic archive and life as a woman rancher, it nonetheless provides valuable insights into Evelyn's life in England and her relationship with Ewen. It has brought together three fascinating protagonists as they tried to maneuver the personal, social, and cultural difficulties of ending a marriage even as late nineteenth-century modernity had provided the legal mechanisms to do so. Viewed

**When the Camerons left again for Montana in September 1891, Evelyn's brother Alec accompanied them. Their relationship was tempestuous due to his propensity for gossiping to the neighbors about Evelyn and Ewen. Alec poses here with the Camerons' cabbage harvest in October 1898.**



Evelyn Cameron, photographer, MHS Photograph Archives, Helena, Pac 90-87no #



Throughout their lives, Ewen and Evelyn shared a love of the outdoors, continuing to ride and hunt in the badlands of Montana. Evelyn poses here with a dead coyote—the object of the hunt—and the Camerons' hunting dogs and horses.

through the perspective of transnational histories as lives lived in another place, all three emerged from its initial confusion to lead fulfilling and productive existences.<sup>52</sup>

For Evelyn and Ewen, choosing to go to the American West in late 1889 located Montana as the place where the collision course in which they were caught reached its conclusion. In her 1906 newspaper article, Evelyn described it in terms of its adventure, its opportunities for hunting, and its specific appeal to “couples on a holiday.” Her enthusiastic newspaper account of their visit, however, also references its deeper personal significance for a couple who shared a love of the outdoor life: “It is wonderful what comradeship is developed between them. All sorts of

cobwebs get blown away in the long days together on the windswept prairies or in the gulches and trails of the Bad Lands.”<sup>53</sup>

Her words suggest that Evelyn and Ewen’s visit to Montana in 1889 cemented their relationship. It is clear from this that Montana operated as a place of respite for Evelyn and Ewen in which nature was a key factor in a restorative process that gave them the freedom to pursue a personal life together. The photographs of Evelyn in Montana in 1889 and in 1890 at Binny House, Scotland, locate that freedom clearly through the metaphor of female dress and demeanor as Montana offered a relief from the strictures of life in English society. Evelyn still rode sidesaddle in Montana in 1889, but her hair is unkempt and her complexion



**Ewen found an outlet in Montana for his talents as a hunter and a rancher. His ornithological studies and writings were enriched by the landscape he discovered around him and constituted a lifelong interest and occupation that Evelyn shared with her camera. Here, he holds a goshawk that he had winged in fall 1906.**

unfashionably suntanned. Returning to Scotland in 1890 required a return to the formal riding habit amid the extended social circle of fox hunting. Ewen found an outlet in Montana for his talents as a hunter and a rancher. His ornithological studies and writings were enriched by the landscape he discovered around him and constituted a lifelong interest and occupation that Evelyn shared with her camera. Montana was thus the ground on which Evelyn and Ewen's relationship was played out as one of the many complex personal narratives of those who traveled the transatlantic path to the American West in the nineteenth century. It came at a cost to close family relationships, and as much as she enjoyed Montana life and landscape, some of the early diary entries are characterized by loneliness and a small sense of self-banishment. But in autumn 1889, marital conflict, family estrangement, and financial uncertainty were a world away from the pleasures of

hunting and companionship amid the stunning scenery of Montana.

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## Divas, Divorce, and Disclosure

1. Donna Lucey, *Photographing Montana, 1894–1928: The Life and Work of Evelyn Cameron* (New York, 1990). The authors acknowledge the foundational research and writing undertaken by Donna Lucy in bringing Evelyn Cameron's life and photography to a wider audience.

2. "A Woman's Big Game Hunting," *New York Sun*, Nov. 4, 1906, 6.

3. According to Evelyn's diary, the article was written by "Miss Whiting," who visited her in Montana in July 1906. While Evelyn agreed to the article being published in a New York newspaper, she wrote to Miss Whiting, from a letter drafted by Ewen, asking her not "to put anything about me in Miles City papers as she suggests." Evelyn J. Cameron Diary, Nov. 5, 1906, Cameron Papers, MHS.

4. Donna Lucey, *Photographing Montana, 1894–1928: The Life and Work of Evelyn Cameron* (repr., Missoula, MT, 2001), xv. Evidence of Ewen's former marriage had not come to light when Lucey first published her book in 1990.

5. Ewen's grandfather, Donald Charles Cameron, had made his money in the sugar plantations in the West Indies at the beginning of the nineteenth century and had used his fortune to purchase the estates of Foxhall in Linlithgow and Barcaldine in Argyllshire. See John Cameron, *The Clan Cameron: A Brief Sketch of Its History and Traditions, with Short Notices of Eminent Clansmen* (Kirkintilloch, UK, 1894), 53. The family money was managed through a trust, but within two generations, it had dwindled in value. See *Cameron's Trustee v. Cameron, The Scots Revised Reports, Court of Session, Second Series, Volume XII, Containing Dunlop XXIII, 1860–1861* (Edinburgh, 1905), 109–15.

6. Evelyn was the daughter of Philip William Flower (1809–1872) and his second wife, Elizabeth Lee Jephson (1829–1909). As the archives of P. W. Flower and Sons demonstrate, the family wealth was derived from trade and commerce, particularly with Australia, South Africa, and India ("P. W. Flower and Sons," CLC/B/173, London Metropolitan Archives. The Flower family lived in gentrified comfort at Furzedown, an estate in Surrey, England, set in parkland and with its own working farm, until shortly after Philip Flower's death in 1872. See Graham Gower, *Historic Furzedown* (Streatham, UK, 1990) for a concise general history of Furzedown. After 1872, Evelyn's mother moved to 91 Queen's Gate, Kensington, London, a seventeen-room house with stabling near Hyde Park that formed the nucleus of the Flower family life until Elizabeth moved in the

early 1890s to Oxfordshire to live with her son, Percy Jephson Flower. The property at 91 Queen's Gate was retained by the Flower family and leased out; hence the 1901 census shows the property as occupied by Lord Robert Montagu.

7. Monica Rico, *Nature's Noblemen: Transatlantic Masculinities and the Nineteenth-Century American West* (New Haven, CT, 2013). Rico's analysis is an interesting example of this imperative in the context of several men who went to the American West as opportunities for masculine escapism.

8. Desley Deacon, Penny Russell, and Angela Woollacott, eds., *Transnational Lives: Biographies of Global Modernity, 1700–Present* (Basingstoke, England, 2010), 2–3.

9. Lucey, *Photographing Montana*, 10.

10. Reports from the divorce courts in Britain were reported semidiscreeetly in the pages of the *London Times* but could be front-page news in the sensational "new journalism" of, for example, the *London Pall Mall Gazette*. See Deborah Cohen, *Family Secrets: Living with Shame from the Victorians to the Present Day* (London, 2013), 45.

11. See U.S. Census 1870, roll M593-649, p. 532A, image 565, Boston Ward 16, Suffolk, MA, Film 552148, Family History Library, Salt Lake City, UT ([www.ancestry.com](http://www.ancestry.com)). Julia always referred to her father as Jonathan B. Wheelock of Boston; why his name is recorded on the certificate as "James" is not known.

12. James Stark, *Bel Canto: A History of Vocal Pedagogy* (Toronto, 2003), 43.

13. *Illustrated Sporting and Dramatic News*, July 24, 1886.

14. Luigi Arditì, *My Reminiscences* (New York, 1896), 239. The comment was made in relation to the highly successful Abbey and Grau Tour of the United States, 1889–1890, which included performances by Adelina Patti, Francesco Tamagno, and Nordica and Emma Albani.

15. "Angelo's Prima Donna, Mme Valda's Talk of Her Artistic Career and Her Plans," *N7T*, July 26, 1886.

16. Leah Leneman, *Alienated Affections: The Scottish Experience of Divorce and Separation, 1684–1830* (Edinburgh, 1998), 252–56; Leah Leneman, "'A Natural Foundation in Equity': Marriage and Divorce in Eighteenth and Nineteenth-Century Scotland," *Scottish Economic and Social History* 20 (2000): 207.

17. Scottish judges did not always welcome divorce petitioners from south of the border and often insisted on a significant Scottish connection to preside over a divorce petition. It is presumed that the same could apply to the process of annulment. See Roderick Phillips, *Putting Asunder: A History of Divorce in*

*Western Society* (Cambridge, England, 1988), 239–40.

18. John Tosh, *Manliness and Masculinities in Nineteenth Century Britain: Essays on Gender, Family and Empire* (Harlow, England, 2005), 2–8. See also Angus McLaren, *Impotence, A Cultural History* (Chicago, 2007). As McLaren demonstrates, modern-day debates about manliness and impotence are framed within cultures of openness and medical advances.

19. Research into nineteenth-century newspapers in England and Scotland has not so far revealed that the case was reported in the press, but such sensational family narratives were easily the subject of "talk" around any metropolitan center, be it London or Edinburgh. One of the few references to her marital status only emerged in 1892 when Giulia attended her own bankruptcy hearing in London and was described as the divorced wife of Mr. E. S. Cameron. See "Madame Valda in the Bankruptcy Court," *Reynolds Newspaper*, May 8, 1892, 5.

20. "Consistorial Decree of Declarator of Nullity of Marriage," *Julia Wheelock v Ewen Somerled Cameron*, 1889, CS46/1889/12/17, National Records of Scotland, Edinburgh.

21. These symptoms occurred at other times when Ewen was involved in accidents falling from his horse. Evelyn wrote to his brother, Allan Gordon Cameron, on Mar. 19, 1915, not long before Ewen's death, advising him that he had been diagnosed with pressure on the brain as the result of tumor or abscess "probably caused by concussion in 1889 & 1897. In 1889 he was unconscious for 24 hours when a mare in Illinois threw him." Cameron Diary, Mar. 19, 1915.

22. McLaren, *Impotence*, 148.

23. Several references suggest Giulia was born in 1855, a date she herself used. Her age on the marriage certificate is given as twenty-seven whereas she was over thirty. Her application for a U.S. passport in 1918, however, clearly states her date of birth as Oct. 9, 1850 (Passport Applications, Jan. 2, 1906–Mar. 31, 1925, Microfilm M1490, General Records of the Department of State, RG 59, NA, [www.ancestry.com](http://www.ancestry.com)). She was thus some four years older than Ewen.

24. *Cameron v. Cameron*, 1887, Divorce Court File, J77/385/1690, National Archives of the UK, Kew, Richmond, Surrey, England.

25. "Barcaldine," *Oban (Scotland) Times*, Oct. 24, 1885, 6.

26. Cameron Diary, Aug. 30, 1900 [Evelyn referred to her as Julia], Oct. 4, 1898, Mar. 10, 1893.

27. Ewen may have met the Flower family in Nice as early as 1881. Two



Evelyn Cameron, photographer, MHS Photograph Archives, Helena, Pac 90-87 vintage

**Members of the Flower family pose at Percy's home in Swalcliffe, Oxfordshire, England, in this 1900–1901 photograph. From left, seated, are Percy, mother Elizabeth, Evelyn, and Severin. The man reclining in front is Percy's lifelong friend R. O. (Regie) Ridley.**

photographs taken at the Nice Regatta in Mar. 1881 are in the album belonging to Evelyn's mother, Elizabeth Lee Flower. Ewen's marriage to Giulia took place in Nice in Jan. 1881 because she was professionally engaged at the Opera House at the time. In a newspaper article, Giulia recalled that she and Ewen witnessed the burning of the Nice Opera House on Mar. 23, 1881, which claimed many lives and which took place at the same time as the Regatta. The Regatta was stopped because of the serious loss of life. Evelyn mentions that she had visited Nice with her family in her diary. Album, Flower Family Papers, private collection; "Mme. Valda Reminiscences," *New York World*, Sept. 29, 1889, 21; "Destruction by Fire of the Nice Opera House," *London Pall Mall Gazette*, Mar. 24, 1881, 8; Cameron Diary, "Letters Written," Feb. 1902.

28. John Mooney, *Eynhallow: The Holy Island of the Orkneys* (Kirkwall, UK, 1949), 24, 109.

29. Percy Jephson Flower Diary, 1884, Flower Family Papers. Percy kept a diary all his life, but only those for 1884 and 1889 have survived.

30. Thomas E. Buckley and J. A. Harvie-Brown, *A Vertebrate Fauna of the Orkney Islands* (Edinburgh, 1891), 151. Percy is also mentioned in the same volume as being present in 1887 (p. 180).

31. Pac 90-87, A2, p. 5, Evelyn J. Cameron album, MHS.

32. The album belonging to Elizabeth Lee Flower, Evelyn's mother, contains a small pencil drawing of the Iron House at Eynhallow, Orkney, a type of shooting lodge. The drawing is dated 1886 and annotated in her handwriting, indicating that Evelyn's mother could also have

visited Orkney with her children (Flower Family Papers).

33. Giulia is recorded as having sailed from Glasgow back to New York on the SS *Aurania* arriving there on Aug. 20, 1888 ([www.ancestry.com](http://www.ancestry.com)). She is listed as "Madame Valda Cameron" and traveled with her maid, Louisa Plenty.

34. Cameron Diary, Dec. 11, 1900.

35. "Land Estate for Sale," *London Standard*, May 5, 1886, 8. Ewen's brother, Allan, would have had an interest in the estates as part of the Cameron family trust arrangements.

36. "Bankruptcy Court," *London Morning Post*, Mar. 31, 1890, 6. The Bankruptcy Court papers no longer exist.

37. Cameron Diary, "Letters Written," July 1916. Evelyn's attitude toward her brother Severin was complex. While she did not write to him because she felt he had betrayed Ewen, she showed much sympathy with news of his health problems prior to his death in 1916.

38. "Decree for payment," *Robert Morris v Ewen Somerled Cameron*, June 1891, CS46/1891/7/36, National Records of Scotland, Edinburgh, which relates to his involvement with Lord Athlumney.

39. Percy Jephson Flower Diary, Aug. 19, 1889.

40. Although passenger listings are an effective resource for historical research, missing records and legibility of handwritten documents can be a problem. Errors in the recording of age also occur. For example, Madame Valda was thirty-nine at the time of this listing and not forty-four. The New York press recorded the names of notable passengers who arrived by sea, but Giulia's name is not included in the newspaper report for the

relevant journey that would place her as traveling with Evelyn ("Passengers on the Teutonic," *NYT*, Sept. 13, 1889). Ewen's name could not be traced on any passenger listing for New York in this period, but he clearly reached America at this point. There is a record of a "Mr Cameron" on board the SS *Polynesian* that arrived in Quebec on Sept. 28, but there are no descriptive details ([www.ancestry.com](http://www.ancestry.com)). This may tie in with his declaration of intention to apply for naturalization registered at Dawson County, Aug. 26, 1907. Ewen maintained in this document that he arrived in New York on Oct. 14, 1889 (Montana State Genealogical Society, [www.ancestry.com](http://www.ancestry.com)). Similarly, Giulia Valda had no known need to be in New York in Sept. 1889 since the first date of the Adelina Patti tour was scheduled for Chicago on Dec. 9 (see J. F. Cone, *Adelina Patti: Queen of Hearts* (Aldershot, 1994), 372); Patti herself arrived on Dec. 5 on the SS *Teutonic* ([www.ancestry.com](http://www.ancestry.com)). The cast of the Patti tour arrived by the beginning of December, although the details of the travel arrangements given in the newspaper are not all correct ("Song Birds for America," *NYT*, Nov. 19, 1889). Giulia's travel arrangements are included, but she has not been traced on any passenger listings for this period in late 1889. One newspaper report does place Giulia in New York prior to the Patti tour in December as visiting a school with the British actress Madge Kendall ("Mrs. Kendal at School," *NYT*, Nov. 3, 1889). Without other evidence, however, the fact of Evelyn's journey to America with Giulia remains problematic but must include the possibility that her fellow traveler was someone other than Giulia.

Evelyn noted in her newspaper article of 1906 that they took along an Englishman to cook for them, and this person may have been the valet, John Hicks, on the passenger listing.

41. "Mme. Valda Reminiscences," *New York World*, Sept. 29, 1889, 21.

42. *Ibid.*

43. "Consistorial Decree of Declarator of Nullity of Marriage," CS46/1889/12/17, 1889, National Records of Scotland, Edinburgh, which annulled the marriage of Ewen and Giulia, clearly gives the date of the decree as Oct. 1889. Other papers in this bundle, however, are dated Dec. 1889 as being "re-transmitted." Giulia referred to the proceedings as a divorce rather than an annulment and which she herself dated as Dec. 1889 when she gave evidence at her bankruptcy hearing in London in 1892 ("Madame Valda in the Bankruptcy Court," *Reynolds Newspaper*, May 8, 1892, 5).

44. T. C. Smout, "Scottish Marriage, Regular and Irregular, 1500–1940," in *Marriage and Society: Studies in the Social History of Marriage*, ed. R. B. Outhwaite (London, 1981), 206. Such irregular unions were not necessarily recognized in law and may account for the fact that Evelyn had to apply for American naturalization in her own right in 1918. Ewen had applied for naturalization in 1915 shortly before his death, and as his spouse, Evelyn could have been included in this process.

45. Ginger Frost, *Living in Sin: Cohabiting as Husband and Wife in Nineteenth-Century England* (Manchester, England, 2011). Frost demonstrates that cohabitation was the exception rather than the rule in this period of English history, but it constitutes nonetheless a significant social and cultural trend.

46. Lucey, *Photographing Montana*, 68.

47. See Jennifer M. Lloyd, "Conflicting Expectations in Nineteenth-Century British Matrimony: The Failed Companionate Marriage of Effie Gray and John Ruskin," *Journal of Women's History* 11 (Summer 1999): 87. Lloyd's discussion of the annulment of the marriage of Ruskin and his wife in 1854 is particularly relevant since it succeeded on the grounds of Ruskin's failure to consummate the marriage.

48. Cameron Diary, Jan. 14, July 6, 1901, Jan. 15, 1900.

49. See James H. Rutherford, *The History of the Linlithgow and Stirlingshire Hunt, 1775–1910* (Edinburgh, 1911), 367. Ewen is listed as a member of the hunt for the season commencing 1890, and his address is given as Binny, Linlithgowshire.

50. Ewen, Evelyn, and Alec sailed on the SS *Aller*, which arrived in New York

on Sept. 22, 1891 ([www.ancestry.com](http://www.ancestry.com)). All three returned to England in 1900 for an extended stay. Evelyn and Ewen had ostensibly left America but decided by 1901 that their future lay in Montana. Alec did not accompany them when they returned once again in 1901.

51. Cameron Diary, "Letters Written," Feb. 5, 1921.

52. Giulia Valda remained an American citizen all her life but found fulfillment in living and working in Europe. Having achieved the annulment of her marriage to Ewen, Giulia moved from London to New York to teach, subsequently founding the Lamperti-Valda School of Singing in Paris in 1898 with Madame Lamperti, the widow of her former singing teacher. A gifted and enterprising woman, she had to leave Paris to spend the duration of the First World War in New York but returned with determination in 1919 to continue her work at the singing school that she had founded with Madame Lamperti. She died in Paris in Dec. 1925, never having remarried. Though little known today she had devoted her life to the practice and teaching of singing. "The Lamperti-Valda School of Music," *New York Dramatic Mirror*, Mar. 5, 1898, 23. Several of her pupils wrote of Giulia's expertise as a singing teacher. See, for example, Evelyn Hagara, *Vocal Secrets of the Ancients* (Los Angeles, 1940), 16–17. Hagara spoke reverentially of Giulia's knowledge of ancient texts on singing, which she imparted to her pupil when they met in Paris after the First World War.

53. "A Woman's Big Game Hunting," 6. The bear was shot on Apr. 4, 1890, demonstrating that Evelyn and Ewen were in Montana for at least eight months. See "*Ursus Horribilis Horribilis*," *North American Fauna* (Washington, DC, 1918), 41, 17.