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**Gardner Through the Ages: An Investigation of Helen Gardner and the
1926 and 1936 Editions of *Art Through the Ages* and *A Century of
Progress Exhibitions***

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by

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Dedication

This thesis would not have happened without the love and support of my parents. Thank you for always helping and encouraging me to dream big. Ellen White introduced me to the field of art history and started me on this journey. Leah Niederstadt showed me the wonderful world of museum academia and helped me arrive at The University of Texas at Austin. I found a great mentor and editor of my thesis in Paul Bolin and a supportive reader in Christina Bain. John Ahern gave me the strength to finish.

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Abstract

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This thesis examined the life of Helen Gardner and explored changes made to the American art history chapters in the second edition of her text book, *Art Through the Ages*. Arguably the first comprehensive art history text, introduced to American readers in 1926. Ten years later, Helen Gardner released her second edition of *Art Through the Ages* (1936). A comparison between the first and second editions reveals that there are many more differences seen than just the physical characteristics of the two editions. Gardner claims in the Preface of the 1936 edition that she rewrote the chapter on American art history. This thesis investigated those changes. For the chapters titled “Art in the United States: The Nineteenth Century”, I have compared it with the 1926 edition chapter, “America: The United States From Its Colonization to 1900 AD”. By exploring changes made in the

second edition when compared to the first, I have been able to theorize why Gardner revised American art chapters. In the decade between the published first and second editions, many historical events occurred, but two were the most salient. In 1933 and 1934, the Chicago Art Institute presented two exhibitions to the public named *A Century of Progress*. This study provides and supports a historical position that these exhibitions profoundly affected the image and content selection of Helen Gardner's second edition in her American art chapters of her book *Art Through the Ages*.

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Chapter One: Introduction to the Study

INTRODUCTION

Helen Gardner's textbook *Art Through the Ages* continues to be one of the most popular art history textbooks used today. Gardner wrote the first edition in 1926 and a second edition in 1936. The contract with her publisher required that she write a new edition every ten years. Shortly after publishing her second edition of *Art Through the Ages* Gardner was diagnosed with cancer. Gardner completed work on the second edition of this text, but died prior to the publication of the third edition. Thus, these editions are the only two that she exclusively wrote and published during her lifetime. It is for this reason this research focuses on comparing the first two editions of Gardner's textbook and does not examine other editions of this publication. Many regard her first textbook (1926) as the initial survey book on art history suitable for undergraduate students. Her revision in 1936 was highly praised. This study focuses on two aspects of Helen Gardner: (a) the life of the author, and (b) her American art chapters in the first and second editions of her text. I have investigated the life of Helen Gardner, which has lacked a thorough examination by scholars. This examination of her life provided me with insight into choices that she made regarding the content of her book. Second, I have furnished support for why I believe Helen Gardner completely rewrote and added a second chapter on American art to her book. I present and support an argument that this alteration occurred because of her contact with the two *A Century of Progress* exhibitions (1933

and 1934) hosted by The Art Institute of Chicago, the school where Gardner taught and worked.

CENTRAL RESEARCH QUESTION

The following question was the focus of this investigation: How have aspects of Helen Gardner's life influenced the reasons why she wrote this book, *Art Through the Ages*, and what role did the two *A Century of Progress* exhibitions play in directing the major changes made to the second edition (1936) of this text when compared to the 1926 edition of this book?

Problem Statement

I set out to explore this central research question in order to provide insight into the early beginnings of Helen Gardner's *Art Through the Ages*. Specifically, this research addressed three problem areas in art education. First, I want to contribute to the undocumented life of the author, Helen Gardner. This required much primary research and a trip to the archives at the Art Institute of Chicago. Until now, we have had limited published information about this important art historian. Second, I set out to study and explore different events, most of which were related to the arts, of the early twentieth century and provide a lens for looking at history in these early years of the twentieth century. Through this investigation, I set out to provide the field of art education with a richer understanding of the way social issues help to shape history. Third, I examined how art historians are affected by the contemporary times they are living in, and offer an example of how their own history is woven into the fabric of their work. At the present

time, a problem in our field is that historians fail to see the complex and reflective nature of their work, and the role their personal past plays in the writing of history.

MOTIVATIONS FOR RESEARCH

It was in tenth grade that I decided to take Advanced Placement (AP) art history with my favorite teacher, Mrs. White. She explained various art pieces and times with such vigor and passion that it was impossible not to be enthralled with the subject. It was halfway through the semester when I realized art history was going to be a major part of my life. I graduated from high school and continued my academic learning at Wheaton College located in Norton, Massachusetts. During my time there, I experimented with different roles in museum studies through various classes and internships and decided it was museum education that interested me most. These experiences during my years at Wheaton College and the guidance and mentoring by Professor Leah Niederstadt helped me realize that the next step was to pursue a degree in arts education.

The first year of study at The University of Texas at Austin enabled me to explore many aspects of art education and museum education. This was the first time in many years that I did not take art history classes, and it was at this time I realized that art history is my passion and I want to teach people about art in museums. Even before I entered the graduate program in museum education I knew I wanted to write a historical thesis, due to my interest in art history. The final paper I wrote in one of my initial graduate classes focused on Helen Gardner's *Art Through the Ages* and the alterations made to this textbook over time. I decided this was something I was thoroughly interested

in studying. As I began to dig through the many editions of this book, I found that the first two editions were dramatically different from one another, and I kept asking myself why was this so? My passion for art history and my curiosity surrounding the history of one of the most popular art history textbooks has driven me to research and write about this subject. I also believe that it is important to understand not only the history of events, but the way that history helps shape the writer of history. The person who writes about history also exposes their own history through their writings and also in this case, the selections of images inserted in the text. If it was not for a few important people in my life guiding me and showing me new things, I may never have started this journey in studying and practicing art education within a museum context.

In my short time studying art history, I have found that there are many ways to utilize a degree in this field. During my last year of college I was faced with either pursuing a strictly academic life, such as being an art history professor, or deciding to work in an institution related to the arts. I decided that I wanted to become a museum educator, since this professional approach satisfies my passion for art history combined with my inclination for teaching outside a traditional classroom.

The topic of my thesis was chosen not only for personal reasons, but also for professional motivations. As for any field of study, a historical examination of the people, ideas, and materials of that subject are important to investigate. An understanding of the history of art education is no exception. I set out to write about Helen Gardner and her early works, so that art educators can know about the origins of art history textbooks. My

research also suggests that an historian's writings are shaped by their own history as well. This perspective provides opportunity for other historians to be aware of the insertion of their own past into their work, and to determine more clearly the presentation of themselves in the work they perform.

RESEARCH METHODS

Two types of research methodologies were employed in this investigation. They are historical research, more specifically critical historiography, and literary analysis. Historical research is the act of doing research on topics based in history, and typically follows the origins and changes of a certain topic or multiple topics over time using either quantitative and qualitative data, or both together. Those who employ the use of historical research rely heavily on primary source documents in an attempt to find reliable and pertinent sources of historical information. Such examples include court transcripts, meeting documents, birth and death certificates, legal records, maps, census data, and other similar materials. Historical researchers also use secondary sources that typically have a more human voice or story drawn from the sources. Such examples can be: newspapers, diaries, letters, radio broadcast transcripts, et cetera. As previously mentioned, my specific type of historical-based research falls into the category of critical historiography, which can be defined simply as the history of history. Some limitations of historical research are that data may be biased or incomplete, the subject is not able to answer some questions of the research, and that sometimes it is impossible to find particular data you need in order to provide support for a particular position.

The other type of research methodology I used in my research is literary analysis. Typically, one who uses this method deconstructs the text as a whole and critically analyzes the components of the text, asking questions about word choice, voice of the author, and the intent of each sentence. Basically, the researcher deconstructs the meaning of a particular section, paragraph, sentence, or word of the writing under investigation. The researcher typically looks into the historical period and the life of the author when conducting literary analysis. Some limitations of literary analysis are that the researcher uses that text as the primary source, which may cause them to become narrowed in their research, as well as there are probably more questions raised than the text can answer.

LIMITATIONS OF THE STUDY

The only specific event I examined during this investigation is comprised of the two *A Century of Progress* exhibitions conducted in Chicago in 1933 and 1934. I traced paintings found in those exhibitions and the American art chapters located only in the second, and not the first, edition of *Art Through the Ages*. I also examined specific chapters in the 1926 and 1936 editions, which are: the Preface, Introduction, and the American Art chapters with a focus on painting. In the first edition, I analyzed the Preface (pp. iii-vii), and Chapter XXV: America The United States from Its Colonization to c. 1900 A.D. (pp. 377-388). In the second edition I analyzed the Preface (pp. iii- vi), the Introduction (pp. vii- xv), Chapter XXII: Art in the United States. Colonial and Early Republican art (Early XVII century to about 1830) (pp. 525-534), and Chapter XXIX:

Art in the United States: The Nineteenth Century (pp. 670-690). Each edition of this text book contain numerous chapters and a survey of art history over a period of many thousand years, however this study was limited to an examination of these specific sections of the text.

BENEFITS TO THE FIELD OF ART EDUCATION

The history of art education should be important to many, if not, all art educators. I believe it is impossible to move forward in any field or situation until an understanding of the past is secured. This research explored the origins of one of the most popular and longstanding English art history textbooks, *Art Through the Ages*. This book has been a tool used in teaching students about art history, which is an important form of art education. My research sheds light on the art historian and textbook writer Helen Gardner. In my preliminary research, I discovered that little biographical information is known about the woman who made a large impact on the fields of art education and art history. This omission has motivated and directed my investigation. Not only will art educators be interested in the history discussed here, but it is intended that historians and art historians will also find this research useful. By investigating and writing about the origins of teaching art history through textbooks and the effects of history onto the author's writing, art historians will more fully understand the changes of ideas that occur in art history writings and the selection of images used in art history textbooks. A purpose of this research is to help readers understand more about art history than just the facts of history and my interpretations of it. I would like them to know that historical events

which occur during the time of the authors writing greatly affect the way a text is written.

My research into the life and work of Helen Gardner supports a view that one's own personal history can actively work in shaping the history of an entire field.

Chapter Two: Review of Literature

In my investigation of Helen Gardner's life and textbook, I sought to find material that answered my questions about her life experiences and *Art Through the Ages*. I also investigated sources that would help me become a more successful researcher. I hoped that my research would enable me to secure a more full understanding of what type of person this author was and what inspired her to revise her second edition of this text. I combed through many different sources in the library, on-line, and at various institutional archives.

For this section of my thesis I investigated pertinent literature and papers that were useful in my research. I begin with the origins of the professional field of art history, discuss work related to my research methods, move through the institutions Gardner was involved with before the Art Institute of Chicago, and I end this chapter with a look at the history and important events at the Art Institute. My research into the history of the Art Institute enabled me to gain a more complete understanding of the institute where Gardner spent so much of her life. Through this investigation I propose and support a view that the two exhibitions of *A Century of Progress* (1933 and 1934) were the catalyst that drove Gardner to make alterations in the American Art chapter in the second edition of her volume *Art Through the Ages*.

ORIGINS OF ART HISTORY

In order to discuss Gardner's *Art Through the Ages*, it is best to start at the beginning of art history education in the United States. In the 1996 book, *The Early Years of Art*

History in the United States: Notes and Essays on Departments, Teaching, and Scholars, authors Craig Hugh Smyth and Peter M. Lukehart discuss the origins of art history in America. This book provides an overview of major figures who contributed to teaching art history in this country. The authors claim that the first true classes in art history began at Princeton in 1912. This book is focused on the early history of art history instruction, and there is a greater emphasis placed on institutions in the Eastern portion of the country. The chapters in this volume are arranged in chronological order. Since Gardner taught art history, my understanding of the origins of this field in the United States were important for my apprehension of the subject.

Another important historical event for art history occurred in the establishment of the Museum of Modern Art. In a review of the first two exhibitions in 1929 published in *Parnassus*, the author provides quantitative and qualitative data relevant to the exhibitions held at the Art Institute of Chicago. This 1929 review was useful when analyzing various important historical events both within and outside the field of art history. The opening of this museum, which was widely publicized, helped to direct the path which ultimately became the modern art, and, eventually, post-modern art movements. This museum provided examples of modern art for public and academic consumption. The opening of the Museum also offered relevant historical context surrounding the events that occurred during the time Helen Gardner was writing *Art Through the Ages*.

RESEARCH METHODS

Arguably, the most important part of my thesis occurs through gaining previously unknown knowledge and investigating new or little known sources. The interpretation of this research material has provided me the opportunity to write on this topic. I examined various types of research methods to find what was most suitable for this investigation. My research is focused on the past; therefore, I determined that historical approaches fit my needs best. More specifically, I have utilized a historiographical methodology. It was valuable to study other research methods in order to find my own research direction, and I have realized that connections can be identified between various research methodologies. My trip to The Ryerson & Burnham Archives Collection enabled me to better understand Helen Gardner and to gather primary sources about her, her books, and the two *A Century of Progress* exhibitions. Making connections to other research methods is important for any researcher, and may help one to more fully understand their own research material.

I also used literary criticism in my research. Just as a scholar studies other subjects apart from their own area of expertise, researchers quite often do not exclusively rely on one method or technique in gathering their data. I believe research is about exploration, innovation, and imagination. I looked for quotes that I thought were suitable for inspiring young historical researchers and found that Jessamyn West once said: “The past is really almost as much a work of the imagination as the future” (Canterucci, 2005, p. 42). Another quote that I found to be motivating was: “historical research is a cumulative process and every generation builds upon and revises previous work” (Belk,

2006, p. 80). Just as I looked to others for the inspiration to begin my research journey, I needed to find sources that would help me better understand the research methods I was using. By using historiography, I was able to look into the life and the era during which Helen Gardner wrote the first and second editions of *Art Through the Ages*. Danto's book, *Historical Research* was part of a series of research methods volumes intended for social workers. Although I am not housed in that area of the humanities, I found that her information was useful across professions.

The majority of the sources I used in this study were primary in nature. Primary sources are those that have not been rewritten or altered by another person. Some examples of primary sources that I used in my research are birth and death certificates, Helen Gardner's personal papers, and unedited transcripts of interviews with close friends of Gardner years ago. My major research goals were to find primary sources that pertained to information about Helen Gardner, *Art Through the Ages*, and the two *Century of Progress* exhibitions. I used a variety of sources in conducting my research and in understanding and using historical research.

The other major type of research I used was literary criticism. Literary criticism, also known as literary theory, is a form of research that may be by a wide range of researchers. At its core, literary criticism is a methodology for delving deeply in a written text.

This approach has been helpful in bringing me to a greater understanding of what and how I conducted my research into the life and work of Helen Gardner. In the Chapter 3, I have examined historiography and literary criticism in greater depth.

BEGINNINGS

There were two important institutions that Helen Gardner associated herself with apart from the Art Institute of Chicago. These were the University of Chicago and the Brooks Classical School. Gardner first attended the University of Chicago as an undergraduate student from 1897 until she graduated in 1901. I went to the Special Collections Research Center at the University of Chicago to obtain information from the yearbook called *The Cap and Gown* (Figs. 1-5). In the 1901 edition, there are several pages that have photographs and information about Gardner. On page 146, it states that Helen Gardner was a part of the: “Entrance Scholarship, ’97, Spelman House, Treasurer Y.W.C.A., ’00-’01,; Executive Committee, Senior Class.” Little more is known about her time at the University of Chicago; yet, from these yearbook entries it appears that Helen Gardner was a good student and was highly involved with the institution.

One of the most useful articles about Helen Gardner was written by Themina Kader in 2000 titled, “The Bible of Art History: Gardner’s *Art Through the Ages*. This article covers the life of Helen Gardner and provides short analyses of several editions of the textbook. In the paper Kader indicates that Helen Gardner graduated from the University of Chicago in 1901, with honors in Latin and Greek. She also reveals that Gardner began teaching in 1901 at the Brooks Classical School, where she continued until 1910. This

information was also confirmed by another notable scholar, Barbara Jaffee, in a compilation of papers in *Partisan Canons* (2007). In an interview of Harold Allen by C. Tormollan, Allen speaks numerous times of his professor and friend, Helen Gardner. He describes Gardner's physical appearance, demeanor, social status at the Art Institute, and her life history in his answers to multiple questions. Gardner returned to the University of Chicago for her master's degree in 1915, and completed it in 1917; this information is confirmed by Kader (2000). Helen Gardner lived at one address for most of her adult life: 5749 Dorchester Avenue, which is located less than one half mile from the University of Chicago. This address is substantiated through in an obituary and a library call-slip signed by Gardner, which was discovered in the archives at the Art Institute of Chicago. In 1915, Gardner became a graduate fellow at the University of Chicago in the department of Art History. According to Kader, Gardner graduated with a Master's degree in 1917, and by that same year she was pursuing her Ph.D. in Art History at the University of Chicago. As of 1922, however she had not completed her degree (Kader, 2000). According to Art Institute records, Helen Gardner taught at the Institute from 1920 to 1943. Gardner died in 1946.

HISTORY OF THE ART INSTITUTE OF CHICAGO

Helen Gardner worked at the Art Institute of Chicago (AIC) throughout her professorial career. I utilized a number of publications to gain a more full understanding of the history of this institution and to understand what the Institute was like during Gardner's time there. One of the most important places to gather sources about the

history of the Art Institute of Chicago is located at their own document repository, named The Ryerson & Burnham Archives Collection. Some publications also provided by the archives gave me great insight regarding the type of mission the AIC was interested in implementing during the time Helen Gardner taught at the AIC.

Contained within the 1992 article titled: “Photographs of the Art Institute of Chicago, 1893-1933,” there are dozens of photographs on each page. Each photograph has its own detailed caption describing a person or certain place at the AIC. This article provided me with a visual sense of what the institution looked like when Helen Gardner was roaming the halls and walkaways of the Art Institute.

In Brown’s 2008 article, “The Book in the City Beautiful: Scholarly Collections at the Art Institute of Chicago,” the author explores the history of the AIC and the Ryerson library by providing data and insight into the beginnings of the AIC, complete with student enrollment numbers and monetary resources the AIC had obtained and saved. This writing’s main focus is on telling about the history of the Ryerson Library, which is where Gardner worked at the slide library. Perhaps what was most useful for my research is the explanation of the shifts of value and intentions that occurred at the AIC over the years, which is told in this volume.

The next writing to examine the history of the AIC was authored by Evelyn Stuart. In her 1916 article, “The Art Institute of Chicago,” she claims that Chicago is the gem of art education that the world does not yet know about. She states that “the Art Institute is the mecca of hopes and dreams” (p. 347). In this article Stuart analyzes the different areas of

study at the AIC. Although this writing is slightly biased since it was written by the AIC about the AIC, it does contain a useful amount of information about the AIC. The research portion of the AIC website also provided insight into the history of the institution. From the website <http://www.artic.edu/research> I found information about the origins of the Ryerson Library, where Helen Gardner first worked. The article, "History of the Libraries," discusses how in 1900, Martin A. Ryerson donated \$50,000 to build a new library. Named after its benefactor, the Ryerson Library first housed over 300 art books that had been purchased when each student paid a two-dollar fee for library acquisition. This tradition has been carried on since 1879.

A recognition of the history of the institution where Gardner worked is important for gaining an understanding of the institution's goals and it also provides insight about certain exhibitions held there. By understanding the AIC, I also gain a more full understanding of Helen Gardner.

GARDNER'S *ART THROUGH THE AGES*

The primary texts utilized in this study were Helen Gardner's *Art Through the Ages*, the first edition (1926) and second edition (1936). My research has revealed a number of reviews of both editions of this book. By observing responses to the text, I have been able to learn both the flaws and strengths of each edition that were noted by Gardner's contemporary peers.

Rothschild wrote a review of the first edition of *Art Through the Ages*. In her writing, Rothschild reviews four art history textbooks of the time, and suggests that

Gardner's is the best of the four. Gardner's was the most favorable of the books, but the review is still not completely kind. Rothschild criticizes the lack of personality in the book, but praises the organization in a few short paragraphs. Overall, this review suggests that Helen Gardner's work was positively received. It is also interesting that it is another female author that praises her work. This article was useful to learn the other art history textbooks that were available and read around the same time as Gardner's work.

McMahon's 1937 review is directed towards the second edition of *Art Through the Ages*. He gives a positive review of the revised edition, but still suggests there is work to be done when it comes to writing about art history. He also provides physical and technical comparisons of the first two editions. This small review offers insight into the thoughts of Gardner's contemporary. In 1932 McMahon also offers a review of the first edition of *Art Through the Ages* that I include in my key events discussion, which is located in the section that follows.

Franciscono's 1977 journal article describes the first edition of Gardner's book in some detail, but offers a negative review of the first edition claiming that it should not be read to learn about art history, but to learn about the way she wrote. Franciscono uses text from the first edition to describe the way art history was written about and how it has changed over the past fifty years. This article also investigates how the second edition was revolutionary and discusses ways it served as a norm for writing about art history, which was still used in 1977. On page 292, Franciscono suggests that Helen Gardner's

writing reflects art historical views that are steeped in formalism, a theoretical perspective that was entering American undergraduate education at that time.

MONUMENTAL EVENTS

In 1932, Gardner published her book for educators titled *Art Through the Ages*. The 1932 review of *Art Through the Ages* (first edition) by McMahon is a concise discussion of Gardner's book, which has enabled me to discover that Gardner had written another book *Understanding the Arts* (1932). This review slightly praises her efforts, while suggesting to readers that Gardner should be more careful with her writing.

Helen Gardner published *Understanding the Arts* in 1932. This textbook differs from *Art Through the Ages*, as it is essentially a guidebook for educators teaching art history and art appreciation. It was published at a time directly between when the two editions of *Art Through the Ages* were published (1926 and 1936).

In a journal article titled "Art Education During the Great Depression," author Arthur Efland (1983) covers statistics and background historical information on the subject of art education during the Great Depression. He provides reasons why the arts were able to survive during this hard time in America, and what lessons were learned during this period. The Great Depression is one obvious event that affected all Americans in the 1920s and 1930s. It is important to research and address this topic for my readers, through an art education lens.

My thesis argues that the exhibitions at the AIC in 1933 and 1934, titled the *Century of Progress Exhibition*, served as inspiration for Helen Gardner. These exhibitions have

been written about extensively and the AIC houses many documents related to them in their archives. The most useful source I have found thus far is an article by Michael Vaughn. This article covers the first *Century of Progress* exhibition in 1933 at the Art Institute of Chicago. It provides statistics about the exhibition, claiming that over 800,000 people visited this event and in one lecture there were more than 3,000 people in attendance. It also provides data on the catalogues, the press, and how the public and critics responded to it. This writing also includes a listing of some of the art works included in the show.

At The Ryerson & Burnham Archives Collection located at the AIC, I was granted permission to peruse and study many different official documents and photographs pertaining to the two exhibitions. The 1934 *Century of Progress Exhibition* displayed a larger amount of loan artifacts. A 1934 bulletin produced by the AIC prior to the exhibition, it describes what the 1934 *Century of Progress* exhibition was to cover. In a detailed article the author shares some of the highlights of painters whose work was to be on display: James Whistler, John Singer Sargent, Albert Ryder, George Bellows, Thomas Eakins, and many others. American art was the main focus for the exhibition, as it was designed to cover art from early beginnings in the colonial period to modern masterpieces of the 1930s.

Another source of information on the 1934 exhibition came from an article “Another Month of the Century of Progress Exhibit,” which was produced by the AIC. This one-page document acts as a promotional statement paper. It was written by staff

from the Art Institute of Chicago and was most likely given to members of the museum, since at the bottom it states: “members are urged to attend and to tell their friends. Don’t miss the Century of Progress Exhibition for 1934” (Art Institute of Chicago, 1934, p. 62).

Information about the exhibition was also found in my exploration of a fascinating website created by the AIC. This site provides exhibition history from the Chicago Art Institute Museum starting from its opening in 1883 until 2009. It lists and titles and dates for every exhibition that has taken place at the Institute. This site gave me extensive sources of important exhibitions that occurred at the AIC during the time Helen Gardner was active at the AIC.

CONCLUSION

Gathering sources in the archives can make one feel, sometimes, like they are on an energized treasure hunt. It is sometimes frustrating and at other times rewarding. My search for materials took me around the World Wide Web as well as to the archives at the University of Chicago and The Art Institute of Chicago. Each source had its own specific use. I employed different sources to aid my research of Helen Gardner and *Art Through the Ages*. There were various snippets of paper and notes found at the archives of the Art Institute of Chicago. It was a difficult choice to decide what would make its way into my thesis and what would be left unused. There are always more sources to look at for inspiration and information. Sources directed toward how to conduct my research and defining different terms of research were invaluable tools. In the chapter that follows, I

further explain the various methodologies of research I used in carrying out the research for this thesis.

Chapter Three: Methodology

CHAPTER INTRODUCTION

It is impossible to imagine writing a thesis without a significant amount of emphasis placed on research. There are a plethora of research methods for the twenty-first century researcher to utilize in his or her field, and they range from experimental research methods to interactive research methods to observational research methods, with many various types of investigative approaches spaced in between. The dozens of research methods may differ in many ways, but they all are the same in one feature: they are selected to best suit the needs of the researcher. It is the responsibility of every scholar to determine what mode of research will be most useful, even if that takes a few failed attempts in the decision making process. My research is focused on the past; therefore, I determined that historical approaches fit my needs most appropriately. More specifically, I have utilized a methodology of historiography. My journey to determine what type of historical research I would utilize took time. I explored different types of historical research, such as comparative historical research, Marxist historical research, and feminist historical research, before I decided on historiography. I also used literary analysis in my research investigation. Just as a scholar studies other subjects apart from their area of expertise, researchers often times do not exclusively rely on one method or technique of data gathering and analysis. I benefitted greatly from combining my various research methods in order to gain a more full understanding of the text and author under investigation.

HISTORICAL RESEARCH: HISTORIOGRAPHY

People are sometimes led to believe that historical research is boring. Friends say they imagine me hunched over in a dusty archive and pulling books from library shelves. As a historical researcher I am forced to put pieces of the past together and fill in the spaces where I have a missing part in order to then bring together my interpretation of the past. Many of my peers look to the present and in doing so attempt to predict the future of the field of art education; however, I prefer to analyze how and who helped us get to this point in history. The study of our past is important because through it we become grounded and have, perhaps, a more clear appraisal of where we are going and why this is so.

Historiography cannot be defined simply as the study of history. There are specific types of historic study that researchers use. As a historiographer, I seek to understand the ways in which past historians wrote and studied as they did because of their own life history and the time the historian lived and worked. I believe that this historiographical approach works best with the material I examined here. I looked at the two editions of the textbooks and asked “Why did Helen Gardner rewrite and add a chapter of American art?” By using a historiographical approach, I was able to look into the life and the era during which Helen Gardner wrote the first (1926) and second (1936) editions of her text *Art Through the Ages*. I examined the complete history of selected chapters of this text, by utilizing a historiographical approach, I looked into the life of Helen Gardner and attempted to determine why some of her selections of images in the American art sections of her second edition were made, by comparing these choices to

those Gardner used in the first edition. I then examined and explained some events in Helen Gardner's life history to see if I could uncover possible reasons why she made the text and image choices that she did.

The study of historiography enables researchers to “expose the stories that are buried—consciously or not—within books, families, political organizations, social classes, and icons of culture. Exploring how history is written gives us access to these known and unknown [stories] of the world” (Danto, 2008, p. 4). Most researchers who use a historiographical approach depend typically on sources that have not been reformed or distorted in any way; they are commonly called “primary sources.” Some examples of primary sources that I used in my research are birth and death certificates, Helen Gardner's personal papers, and unedited interviews with those who knew Helen Gardner personally. The process in which I conducted my historiographical research was a long and varied journey. My major research goals were to find primary sources that pertained to information about the life and work of Helen Gardner, the text *Art Through the Ages*, and the two *Century of Progress* exhibitions held in Chicago in 1933 and 1934.

In order to find fresh primary sources, one must be willing to investigate all possible leads. I followed my trails to the city of Chicago, Illinois. Obtaining detailed information about Helen Gardner was difficult, however, as information regarding this individual is limited. Apart from a few articles, very little has been published about Helen Gardner. My trip to the archives at the Art Institute of Chicago and the University of Chicago's Special Collections Research Center provided me with unpublished

information at the Ryerson & Burnham Archives of the Art Institute of Chicago. Primary sources enable historical researchers to use firsthand information in their interpretation of the past. The majority of research material I found in the archives were documents donated from Helen Gardner's desk. The material given to the Art Institute of Chicago was a hodgepodge of test papers, grading sheets, notes, and quotes by Gardner. These documents were critical for my work, as this provided insight into Helen Gardner as a scholar and teacher. The other useful file I was given at the archives was an unpublished interview with professor and friend of Helen Gardner—Harold Allen. This interview transcript was over eight hundred pages in length and provided information and insight into not only the life of famed photographer and Professor Harold Allen, but it also answered many questions I had about Helen Gardner, such as the features of her personality, if she got along with her colleagues, and what she looked like. In the beginning of my research into the life of Helen Gardner I set out to learn why there was not much written about her life. Why is it there is very little known about this historian who did so much to alter the course of art history education? Upon completing my research trip and reading Gardner's many hand-written papers and scrutinizing transcripts of interviews with people who were closest with her, I was able to answer this question in a satisfactory way. I have concluded that the reason her life is so unknown is that she was extremely dedicated to the subject of art history. Teaching was her passion and she did not do much apart from teaching. She lived with her sisters throughout her entire life and

she assisted faculty and students whenever she had free time. Helen Gardner's full life passion was placed within teaching and learning.

The trip to the archives was undertaken to better understand Helen Gardner and to gather primary sources about her, her books, and the two exhibitions titled *A Century of Progress*. The gathering of sources in such trips is comparable to the gathering of experience through action-based research or other forms of data collection. An individual who researches in the action-based method is usually an educator who investigates their own teaching methods. In this form of research, "teachers and others working in a practitioner-based environment use their expertise and knowledge to conduct systematic inquiry that helps improve conditions and solve problems" (Craig, 2009, p. 3). While this practice—reflective research—may not be conducted for the same purpose as historical research, the approach of making connections to other research methods is important for any researcher as it opens up the possibilities of expanding one's view of the data and the analysis of it.

As with any research method, there are pros and cons to using a historiographical approach. This method can be both qualitative and quantitative, depending on what sources of information are obtained. Examples of quantitative research I have employed are looking at the attendance data on audiences at the two *Century of Progress* exhibitions to suggest that Helen Gardner was in attendance. The majority of the information utilized for historiography are primary sources in both qualitative and quantitative measures. In my research through primary sources, I have encountered some

successes and obstacles. The majority of my research on Helen Gardner was conducted through primary sources in the form of notes from her desk, which are stored at the Art Institute of Chicago. I was able to learn about some of her classroom practices and her personal interests. As I was excited by the information available to me, I also quickly found that her edited papers and manuscripts were owned by her publishing company named Harcourt Brace and Co. This lack of access to these documents made it impossible for me to read and analyze them. It was disappointing to discover that I was only privy to certain information as these materials were not made available for my research. I can only wonder what is contained in the vaults of the publishing company, as this information was not accessible to me; my inquires to the company are yet to be answered. I could only use information I was able to gather and interpret from the archives in Chicago and what I could secure from other published sources. To further my investigation, I also used the research approach of literary criticism.

LITERARY CRITICISM: NEW HISTORICISM

Just as a singer studies the oeuvre of an artist to understand a song, a literary critic examines the full works of the author in order to gain knowledge of the writing in question. Literary criticism, also known as literary theory, is a type of research that can be useful for analysis in almost any field. It can be defined as deeply investigating a work of literature. There are many different forms of literary criticism, such as moral criticism, formalist criticism, and feminist criticism. I found that New Historicism was most suited to help me describe how I analyzed Gardner's text *Art Through the Ages*. New

Historicism and historical criticism are two different approaches. Historical criticism is focused simply on the author's biographical information and social background, as well as an examination of cultural events of the time. New Historicism can be defined by these five tenets as described by H. Veese (1989):

1. That every expressive act is embedded in a network of material practices;
2. That every act of unmasking, critique, and opposition uses the tools it condemns and risks falling prey to the practice it exposes;
3. That literary and non-literary "texts" circulate inseparably;
4. That no discourse, imaginative or archival, gives access to unchanging truths nor expresses inalterable human nature;
5. That a critical method and a language adequate to describe culture under capitalism participate in the economy they describe. (p.xi)

Essentially, the difference between historical criticism and New Historicism is that the newer approach delves deeper into the history of the piece and the person who wrote it. I believe that we must continue to ask questions and probe deeper into the research material in order to investigate it in the most complete way possible. New Historicism has enabled me to search into Gardner's book for answers to questions I have about this author and the changes she made from the first to second edition of her text *Art Through the Ages*. When I read chapters in the books, I not only looked at what Helen Gardner said, but I asked, "Why did she say it in that way and what is she revealing about herself without stating it directly?"

Conclusion

The use of different research methods is an integral part of a scholar's life. For hundreds of years, researchers have used a wide variety of inquiry methods to understand their subject and push their analyses even further. Everyone has opinions, but a

researcher must be able to establish and support their theories. Research is a large and useful part of the scholarly pursuit for knowledge. It is at the core of inquiry. By directing my focus on two research methods, historiography and New Historicism, I have been able to locate more pertinent information and to draw increasingly rich and revealing information from it.

Chapter Four: Early Days

THE LIFE OF HELEN GARDNER

The use of historical and literary analysis in the research of Helen Gardner and her book has enabled me to glimpse inside the life of this remarkable woman. As Gardner (1936) has offered, “A work of art is, on the one hand, a social document, and expression of varying life conditions. It is, on the other hand, an individual visual form” (p. iv). Gardner’s own words support the research theory I have chosen to utilize in the study of her text and life. Her textbook is, on one hand, a book that illustrates the ideas and culture of the time; yet, it also highlights personal motivations and choices made by the author. The purpose of this chapter is to provide information about Helen Gardner’s life and the history of the textbook that I have obtained through my research.

This thesis is focused on both the text and its author, Helen Gardner. Many of those who studied Helen Gardner have learned in the process that obtaining information about her life has proved to be quite elusive. Scholars continue to search for more information pertaining to her personal and professional activities. This chapter illuminates the life of this author, the institution where she worked for more than two decades, and the first edition of *Art Through the Ages* (1926) and its second edition published in 1936. In order to understand these books, it is helpful to recognize aspects of the author’s life. Helen Gardner was the listed primary author for the first four editions of *Art Through the Ages*, but only lived to see the first two editions published. She was

born on “March 17, 1878 in Manchester, New Hampshire, to Martha W. (Cunningham) Gardner of Swanville, Maine, and Charles Frederick Gardner, a native of Hingham, Massachusetts. She had two older sisters, Effie and Louise” (Kader, 2000, p.164). When Helen was thirteen she and her family moved to Chicago, Illinois. This was the place Gardner would forever call home.

School was a very strong learning experience for Gardner in many ways. According to the 1901 *Cap and Gown*, Gardner spent her undergraduate years at the University of Chicago. When she entered the school in 1897, she was awarded the Entrance Scholarship. As a senior, she lived in Spelman House, was Treasurer of the Young Women’s Christian Association (YMCA), and served on the Executive Committee of the Senior Class. She graduated in 1901 with an AB degree with honors in Latin and Greek. In an interview of Harold Allen, conducted by Sarah Tormollan, a former colleague of Gardner, states:

When she first went to college she had studied Latin and Greek upon layers and layers of English. But when she went back after she decided to be an art historian, she studied Italian because she knew she couldn’t get along without it. (1994, p. 80)

After graduation in 1901, Helen Gardner became a teacher at the Brooks Classical School, and eventually the assistant principal there from 1905-1910 (Brzyski, 2007, p. 210; Kader, 2000, p. 165). The Brooks Classical School first opened in 1890 on Adams Street in downtown Chicago (Myers, 1908, p. 81). Helen Gardner continued her involvement with the University of Chicago, when in 1906 she was part of the committee that helped with Alumni Day for the June 9, 1906 convocation. During her lifetime,

Helen Gardner lived on 5749 Dorchester Avenue,¹ which was less than half a mile from the University of Chicago; she seems to have been well connected to this university in ways that are both social and geographic. Gardner had a strong dedication to the educational institutes she was affiliated with throughout her life.

TRAVEL CHANGES EVERYTHING

Harold Allen was a friend and former colleague of Helen Gardner. Allen provided information about Helen Gardner to various publications. He was interviewed by Tormollan in 1994 and spoke about his life. During this interview, he provided many statements about Helen Gardner. He claimed that her travels in the early 1900s had a direct effect on the reason why she decided to write and teach about art history:

Something happened that made her want to not teach anymore (at the Brooks Classical School) but to visit Europe and to collect photographs and to write about art.... She must have got interested in art while she was teaching. That must be what made her stop teaching and do these other things.... I don't know whether it was a person or something in herself or what. She certainly had a talent for it, but it makes a combination of talent to do what she did. I don't think you can overestimate how important what she learned about how to write was to her... I have heard her speak of going to Europe, and I think Egypt was included both times. A couple of times she went with her mother. Her sister Louise was always resentful of the fact that she had to stay home and take care of her house. (Tormollan, 1994, pp. 120, 230, 229)

In 1915, Gardner became a graduate fellow in the department of Art History at the University of Chicago. The Department of Art History was first established at the

¹ Call slip from University Libraries of the Art Institute of Chicago written by Helen Gardner

University of Chicago in 1902. According to researcher Barbara Jaffee, the offerings by the Department of Art History were varied:

Early offerings in art history at Chicago drew on faculty whose primary appointments were with other departments, notably archaeology and the Semitic languages and literature. They also included courses on “modern art” of the Renaissance and after, and American art taught by George B. Zug. (Jaffee, 2007, p. 211)

The subject of art history was being established as a professional area of study during the early twentieth century. In the 1996 book, *The Early Years of Art History in the United States: Notes and Essays on Departments, Teaching, and Scholars*, the authors Craig Hugh Smyth and Peter M. Lukehart discuss the origins of academic art history study in America. This book provides an overview of major figures who contributed to teaching art history. The authors claim that the first actual classes in art history began in Princeton in 1912. Helen Gardner initiated her education in languages, and returned to the University of Chicago to study art and Italian. Themina Kader (2000) has suggested that Gardner returned because she was influenced by the emphasis that was placed on art at the Brooks Classical Institute, and by Gardner’s travels with her mother. I believe that Gardner’s love of art history occurred not only for these reasons, but also because of her time at the Department of Art History and things related to Gardner’s interests in aesthetics.

RETURN TO CHICAGO

Gardner spent two years studying at the University of Chicago during the exciting emergence of the Art History Department there. In her coming back for study, “After

more than a decade of teaching, Gardner returned to the University of Chicago, where she received a Master's Degree in art history in 1917" (Anonymous, 2011, p. 1). Helen Gardner wrote her Master's Degree thesis titled "A Critical Chart of Florentine Painting of the Fifteenth Century" (Kader, 2000, p. 165). According to university records, she continued to be involved with the University and she was also awarded fellowships in 1917 by the Department of History of Art at the University of Chicago to pursue her Ph.D. in Art History. Gardner continued to take art history courses until 1922, but never completed her doctoral degree. As Helen Gardner began her tenure of teaching in 1920, she was developing her own theories and techniques about teaching art history. By 1922, she must have realized that the ideals of teaching about art through chronology and identifying dates and noted artistic masters at the University of Chicago (Tormollan interview, 1994, p. 417) was not the way she believed art history should be taught. Teaching the idea of aesthetics as a universal possibility (Tormollan interview, 1994, p. 415) to her students became the most important outcome for Gardner.

For example, Helen Gardner would instruct her students in the History of Art class to go to the Field Museum and search throughout its galleries to find things that interested them. She wanted her students to locate works there that they found intriguing, and not just identify works that she told them were important. Obviously, in her book and during her class Gardner included the names and dates of artists, along with very popular works of art, but she wanted the study of art history to go beyond the memorization of particular art works:

Helen Gardner said that—the very first day I was in school she said that they wouldn't put much emphasis on dates and names. What she really was interested in was the way we understood what art was about in the various periods. (Tormollan interview, 1994, p. 438)

The image in Helen Gardner's Spring Term History of Art exam provides insight into what Helen Gardner believed was important for her students to know. She exposed them to great art and explained why it was so revered. She then motivated students to make and support their own beliefs and identify why some works of art from the Western world and beyond were viewed as aesthetically pleasing, and others were not.

Helen Gardner became the first hired art history professor at the School of the Art Institute of Chicago. Kader (2000) tells that “in the autumn of 1920 she inaugurated an art history lecture course called ‘Survey of Art’ at the School of the Art Institute of Chicago” (p. 165). Tormollan (1994) writes: “There must have been lectures on art history before Helen Gardner started it, but they were not organized into a regular course” (1994, p. 121) until she began teaching there. In 1926, Helen Gardner published the first edition of *Art Through the Ages*.

The School of the Art Institute of Chicago was established in 1866 and was founded as the Chicago Academy of Design. The thirty-five founding artists of the Academy intended to run a free school with its own art gallery. Six years later, the school assembled its first collection of art objects. In 1882, the name was changed to the Art Institute of Chicago to accommodate a distinct museum and school. That same year the academy elected its first president, Charles L. Hutchinson, a banker who would lead the institution until his death in 1924. The iconic museum and school, located on Michigan

Avenue in Chicago, were built there in 1893 for the World's Columbian Exposition. This World's Fair proved to those around the globe that Chicago was in equal standing culturally, politically, and socially with other major capital cities such as New York and London. In 1900 trustee Martin A. Ryerson donated \$50,000 to build a new library for the institute. Named after its benefactor, the Ryerson Library first housed over 300 art books that were purchased when each student paid a two-dollar fee for library acquisitions; this practice has continued since 1879 (<http://www.artic.edu/research>).

HISTORY OF THE ART INSTITUTE OF CHICAGO

Helen Gardner spent nearly her entire professional life at the School of the Art Institute of Chicago. In 1919, Helen Gardner was appointed head of the Photography and Lantern Slide Department in the Ryerson Library at the Art Institute of Chicago. She taught there from 1920 to 1943. Like her continual strong bond to the University of Chicago, Helen Gardner was passionately dedicated to the Art Institute of Chicago through her position as a faculty member. She was continually willing to help students and other faculty members at the school, as Gardner “was always working on projects, some of which involved other teachers. I think all of the teachers liked her. I never heard of anybody who didn’t” (Tormollan, 1994, p. 88). Gardner was involved in one of the earliest classes of art history Ph.D. candidates at the University of Chicago, and the first hired art historian at the School of the Art Institute of Chicago. This reflected Helen Gardner’s passion for excellence and ground-breaking performance that continued to push the professional boundaries of Gardner’s work throughout her entire career and life.

It is Gardner's unique teaching and writing style that made her and her books popular.

According to Harold Allen, Helen Gardner was esteemed by all she met:

She was a small woman with brown hair.... And she wore pince-nez glasses, but then all intellectuals did then. She had a very good speaking voice, very clear and friendly and enthusiastic. I think the one thing that made her writing so successful for so long is that it was friendly and enthusiastic and clear. I once heard her say that the thing she valued most when she was writing was clarity.... She was very neat, and her speech was also neat and not blurred. She dressed very conventionally.... But she was not formal, and she never tried to awe people or use words that would show that she went through high school. (Tormollan interview, 1994, pp. 79-80)

Helen Gardner was particularly close with two students-cum-faculty-members named Harold Allen (1912-1998) and Kathleen Blackshear (1897–1988). In a long, detailed, and unpublished interview about his life, Harold Allen gives Tormollan an unprecedented look into not only his own activities and experience, but also those of Helen Gardner. Harold Allen was her student after 1936 and claims in the Tormollan interview that he was taught by Gardner using the second edition of *Art Through the Ages*.

Harold Allen was the first teacher of photography as fine art at the School of the Art Institute. He taught there on two separate occasions, from 1948 to 1960 and from 1966 to 1977. Not only was Harold Allen a close friend and student of Helen Gardner, he was editor of the third edition of *Art Through the Ages*, which was published in 1948²

² Helen Gardner had finished all the text for the third edition prior to her death in 1946. Harold Allen became responsible for finishing the images, formatting, and proof reading the book. Kathleen Blackshear also proofread the book prior to publication. (Tormollan, 1994, pp. 561, 567, 573)

(Tormollan, 1994, p. 567). Allen gives many accounts of Helen Gardner in different publications and interviews. In the time that Gardner taught at the Art Institute of Chicago, Gardner connected with an artist, Kathleen Blackshear.

One of Kathleen Blackshear's early teachers was art historian Helen Gardner, who stimulated her interest in Asian and African art subjects. In 1926, Blackshear was hired to teach art history under the direction of Gardner, and the two women thereafter formed a close relationship that lasted until Gardner's death in 1946. Both women took their students to the Oriental Institute and the Field Museum of Natural History, thus affirming the value of African and Asian art at a time when non-Western art was usually studied from an anthropological viewpoint (Curlee, 2010). Blackshear assisted Gardner, illustrating two revised editions of her textbook *Art Through the Ages* (1926) and *Understanding the Arts* (1932). Blackshear also constructed two dioramas for the 1933 *Century of Progress Exposition* in Chicago, and illustrated in the exhibition *Art Has Many Faces* by Katherine Kuh. She briefly maintained a studio in Houston, Texas and spent many summers at her home in Navasota, Texas, and retired there in 1961 (Schultz & Hast, 2001).

Gardner struggled with breast cancer in the latter part of her life, and eventually succumbed to bronchopneumonia on June 4, 1946 (Kader, 2000, p. 166). During her lifetime, Helen Gardner was a “woman who was extremely dedicated to what she had identified as her main interest in life” (Kader, 2000, p. 166), which was the study of art

history. The first two editions of her book *Art Through the Ages* (1926, 1936) were the only two editions that Gardner lived to see published.

THE FIRST EDITION

Only six years after Helen Gardner began teaching at the School of the Art Institute of Chicago, she published her first book *Art Through the Ages*. As author of this text, Helen Gardner effectively propelled herself into the early and noteworthy group of newly formed publishing art historians in America. It is most likely that Helen Gardner began writing this book as early as 1920.

THE ERA IN WHICH SHE LIVED

Helen Gardner taught and wrote during an exciting period of American history—the roaring twenties. During this time, women were granted the right to vote due to the 19th Amendment to the Constitution, World War One had recently ended, and jazz emerged for the mainstream public. These were positive changes for the nation, but there were also some difficult events for the country to navigate through as well—liquor production and sales was deemed illegal and there was a surge of gangster activities in Chicago (such as Al Capone). In the decade of the 1920s, America was overseen by four presidents: Woodrow Wilson (1913-1921), Warren Harding (1921-1923), Calvin Coolidge (1923-1929), and Herbert Hoover (1929-1933). Woodrow Wilson served his second term from 1917-1921. He helped end World War One in 1918, one of the deadliest wars in world history. Calvin Coolidge served in the presidential office for most of the 1920s. He first acted as vice president for Warren Harding and then became

president when Harding died of a heart attack. Coolidge was only a one term president, but was able to change the path of the nation forever. He vetoed a bill designed to assist farmers, which only added to the plight of those working on the land. Arguably content with the progress of the economy during the 1920s, Coolidge favored a philosophy of minimal government involvement. All these successes were abruptly halted with the stock market crash of 1929 and the Great Depression that followed. Helen Gardner wrote and published her first book in 1926, at the pinnacle of American post-war opulence and success.

The School of the Art Institute of Chicago was also in a soaring position in the 1920s. At this time the school actively evolved into a center for great young artists and had an impressive art collection. Charles Hutchinson was president of the Art Institute's Board of Trustees until his death in 1924. He believed the Art Institute was a place not only for collecting great artworks, but "a tool of social reform and improvement" (Art Institute of Chicago Museum Studies, 1993, p. 6). The school was rapidly expanding their collection. One of its most important collections was donated by Frederic Clay Bartlett (1873–1953) and his second wife, Helen Birch Bartlett (1883–1925) (<http://www.artic.edu/research>). In 1920, Frederic Bartlett became a trustee of the Art Institute and began generously donating funds and artwork to this institution. The couple traveled frequently to Europe and acquired paintings by Paul Cézanne, Paul Gauguin, Vincent van Gogh, and Henri de Toulouse-Lautrec—as well as important works by other modern masters, such as Pablo Picasso and Henri Rousseau. One of the many significant

works they donated was Georges Seurat's *Sunday Afternoon on the Island of La Grande Jatte* (Interpretive Resource). The Art Institute was rapidly gaining stunning works of art throughout the 1920s, which enabled Helen Gardner to teach from the Institute's very own resources.

This time of progress within the American nation and the Institute where she taught came together to motivate Helen Gardner to write about art and publish her book. In March 1928, Gertrude Ackerman Rothschild wrote reviews of four popular art history textbooks newly released: *A History of Art* (1923-24) by H. B. Cotterill; *History of Art* (1921-24) by Elie Faure; *History of Art* (1927) by Joseph Pijoan; *Art Through the Ages* (1926) by Helen Gardner. The response to Gardner's book by this female reviewer was mixed, as Rothschild (1928) suggested that "she [Gardner] is painstaking, unusually efficient as an organizer, but she has neither passions nor prejudices" (p. 293). However, Rothschild (1928) concluded that "She [Gardner] has successfully sifted libraries into one volume.... It is no small achievement to organize the artistic deposits from the East, the Greeks, the Romans, the English, the French, the aboriginal Americans, and even the moderns" (p. 293). Gardner's text book successfully juggled teaching to students and to the general public. She also managed her own writing style to suit the needs of her readers.

Helen Gardner's life was a balancing act of scholar and educator. As she rose in the ranks of academics as an undergraduate and graduate student, Gardner was determined to learn what she thought would best serve her needs as a scholar. As she

settled into her role of educator at the Brooks' school, she left there, probably not because she wanted to but because she knew that she needed to do so in order to become a more robust scholar of the world. In this way she could then teach this world of art in a more full and rich manner. As Harold Allen suggests in his interview, Gardner's painstaking attention to detail was both her greatest strength and weakness—just as Rothschild unknowingly suggests in her equivocal review. Barbra Jaffee (2005), a modern, well-known researcher of Helen Gardner, states in her paper, *Before the New Bauhaus*, her opinion of what the first edition entailed:

Though later formalists would seek to isolate and divide the products of visual culture into decorative or expressive, popular or avant-garde, and to provide access to them only through cryptic directives and appeals to higher authority, Gardner strove to integrate all the arts in her discussion (including those to which she referred quaintly as "minor"), and to provide clear methods for their appreciation and understanding. The first two editions of *Art Through the Ages* were admirable though hardly unconventional attempts to survey the world history of art in a single volume for the interested general reader. (p. 56)

In the preface to her 1926 edition of *Art Through the Ages* Helen Gardner suggests that this book will prove useful for students of the Institute and of the world:

The material as here presented has been developed from the History of Art course given in the School of Art of the Art Institute of Chicago; and while the book has been written primarily for an introductory course in educational institutions, it is hoped that it will prove useful also for the general reader and traveler. (p. iii)

In other such written reviews, the opinions of the book are similar. Helen Gardner's ability to condense into readable form many thousands of years of art historical information is laudable. It is her past that helped shape the way this first edition of the textbook was written. There were several texts available at the time for her to use, but she

was not able to find one that suited her needs. In 1920, Gardner began teaching her survey of art history course titled “Art Through the Ages”: “By 1926, the year Gardner's book appeared, art history was described in the School's catalogue in unabashedly compensatory terms, as an intensive study of certain phases of art so presented as to be of particular value to students as their training becomes more specialized” (Jaffee, 2005, p. 55).

Bound in navy blue, with glistening gold lettering, and a what appears to be flying crane adorning the cover page, Helen Gardner’s first edition of *Art Through the Ages* was published in New York by Harcourt, Brace, and Company. Art history students at the School of the Art Institute of Chicago must have walked in that first day of class in the Fall of 1926 clutching this small, 506 page book (5.5” x 8 x 2”) not perceiving in any way the forthcoming legacy of Helen Gardner that continues today. This is one of the most popular art history textbooks ever sold and there are many differences that set her textbook apart from others, such as image quality and content selections.

While studies of ancient Greece, Impressionism of the twentieth century, or the “great masters” from Italy and France were commendable art history subjects to write about, Helen Gardner pushed the limits in her textbook of what subjects of art history should be important to teach to students of art and art history. Opening to the first page on the left, the viewer sees a full page, colored image of a life size bust of “Queen

Nofretete”³. By using the Egyptian bust image, Helen Gardner is giving nod to the fact that her travels to Egypt may have been the reason for her increased interest in art history. This image is perhaps a thank-you to the art and people that initiated her lifetime of engagement with art history. This bust of Nofretete is the only image in the book that is reproduced in color. In 1926, as one would open the book, Helen Gardner wanted to make sure the reader would quickly realize that this journey into the collection at the Art Institute and art history would be different from other travels into art history. A summarization of the Preface to the book shows how Helen Gardner wished to explain her organization of the book and material included in it:

The organization of the material is somewhat different from what usually found in works on this subject. Hence one purpose of the book is to serve as a method of study and of teaching. This organization is based first on the chronological order.... Each era is studied as a unit of culture.... A brief summary then presents the aesthetic significance of the period as a whole.... Individualism and specialization are modern. Until recent times the differentiation so frequently heard of “major” and “minor” did not exist.... In a general survey of the arts of all ages, the accomplishment of the last two decades hardly find a place. Any attempt to evaluate it is bound to be tentative, as the great difference of opinion has already proved, especially in view of the fact that these decades have been an age of restlessness and transition in all aspects of life. Hence this survey has been brought only to about the beginning of the twentieth century. A final chapter, however, has been added, suggesting some of the conditions that underlie the general art movements of the period, together with a bibliography of current literature, in order that each may judge and evaluate for himself. (Gardner, 1926, p.v)

Helen Gardner suggests that one must give equal weight to both “major” and “minor” arts. This position is still controversial today. Many colleges, including my alma

³ Modern eyes would spot the misspelling of Nefertiti, but who is to say what spelling is correct?

mater Wheaton College in Norton, Massachusetts, only offer “major” types of art classes such as painting, sculpture, and printmaking. They do not allow students to study “minor” arts such as jewelry making, felting, or glass blowing. The “major” arts can be defined today as the modern notion of fine arts and the “minor” arts could be classified as craft arts. Gardner, throughout her book, reaffirms her position on the importance of these two types of art. In the first chapter, Prehistoric Period in Europe: From Earliest Times to c. 2000 B.C., the initial image is of a flint fist-hatchet from the British Museum. True to her word, Helen Gardner controversially suggests art started in the Paleolithic Era with stone tools made by man. It is fitting that the first four art objects illustrated in her book are stone tools and weapons, since they must have appeared to be some of the earliest created objects. The first illustration is of a stone hatchet, completely devoid of any ornament. The next illustration is again of some stone tools. Finally, the third object is an intricately carved dart thrower. Her subchapter on painting has the greatest depth and critique of the work. While the caves of Lascaux were not yet discovered, cave paintings from France and Spain provide enough fodder for discussion. Helen Gardner acknowledges the artistic achievements of this era by stating: “A constant characteristic that we have noticed in this art of the Reindeer Age is the keen observation of animal life and the ability to represent it in its most significant aspect with the greatest economy of line” (Gardner, 1926, p. 6). It appears that Helen Gardner is granting the artists of that era the respect of their talent in the first part of this chapter. In the book, the chapters are listed in the following order:

- I. Prehistoric Period in Europe

- II. Egyptian Period (1):
Early Egypt and the
Old Kingdom
- III. Egyptian Period (2):
The Middle Kingdom
and Empire
- IV. Babylonian, Assyrian,
Chaldean, and Persian
Periods
- V. Minoan or Aegean
Period
- VI. Greek Period (1):
Early Greek and
Archaic Period
- VII. Greek Period (2): The
Fifth Century
- VIII. Greek Period (3): The
Fourth Century and
Hellenistic Age
- IX. Roman Period
- X. Early Christian and
Byzantine Period
- XI. Mohammedan Period
- XII. Persian Period
- XIII. Romanesque Period
- XIV. Gothic Period
- XV. The Renaissance in
Italy (Historical
Period)
- XVI. The Renaissance in
Italy (Painting in
Florence)
- XVII. The Renaissance in
Italy (Painting in
Central and Northern
Italy)
- XVIII. The Renaissance in
Italy (Sculpture)
- XIX. Spain from the Gothic
Age to the Nineteenth
Century
- XX. Flanders from the
Gothic Age to the
Seventeenth Century
- XXI. Holland in the
Seventeenth Century
- XXII. Germany from the
Gothic Age to the
Nineteenth Century
- XXIII. England from the
Gothic Age to c. 1900
A.D.
- XXIV. France from the
Gothic Age to 1900
A.D.
- XXV. America. The United
States from its
Colonization to c.
1900 A.D.
- XXVI. Aboriginal American
Art from Earliest
Times to the
Seventeenth Century
A.D.
- XXVII. India
- XXVIII. China
- XXIX. Japan
- XXX. Contemporary Art in
Europe and America
- Appendix
- Glossary of Technical
Terms
- Index

Discussion in the second chapter of the book focuses on one of Gardner's strengths: Egyptian Art. For forty pages, Gardner writes and describes various art objects and artifacts from Egypt. Apart from her three chapters dedicated to Greek art, it is her longest subject. It appears that Gardner's travels to both Greece and Europe in 1910-1915 had a profound effect on the rest of her teaching career, as these topics enter prominently into her textbook.

Two other chapters are worth mentioning at this point: Chapter XXV: America, and Chapter XXX: Contemporary Art in Europe and America. These chapters are important to my study here, as I believe these two chapters give the greatest insight regarding the changes evident in not only American art depicted and discussed between the two editions, but of the art historian herself. The chapter on American art covers the development of non-native Americans from the time of colonization to the 1900s. It addresses the changes that have occurred in architecture, painting, and sculpture traditions. The images for the subchapter on architecture visually covers buildings in America such as the United States Capitol, the Boston Public Library, the Fine Arts Building from the World's Columbian Exhibition, and the Marshall Field Wholesale House, as well as colonial buildings. The only artist Helen Gardner mentions in the sculpture subchapter is Augustus Saint-Gaudens. Gardner claims that America has not produced many great sculptors and believes "profound poetic emotion expressed in terms of monumental sculpture has rarely been attained in America" (Gardner, 1926, p. 385). What is most interesting within this chapter is her discussion of American painters: "We

shall look at the works of four American painters—George Inness, John La Farge, James Whistler, and John Sargent—as typical examples of the best work that has been produced” (Gardner, 1926, p. 381). In the image section of the chapter she includes three paintings for students to observe. There are two paintings by Inness and one by Whistler. What connects these three works is not only their American nature, but the fact these paintings are all owned by the Art Institute of Chicago. As previously stated, Helen Gardner wanted this book to be, first and foremost, a guide for her art history students at the Art Institute. Why would she include images in the book that could be seen in the building next door? Her motivation for the book was to put students first, but she must have known that this was to be a widely read book, thus she provided images for the thousands of others who would not be able to visit the Art Institute of Chicago. Gardner dutifully examines several paintings by the four painters previously mentioned. However, she does not provide any other art works or artists of the time period covered in this chapter. She states: “In the early colonial days, hard life under primitive conditions, together with a puritanical prejudice toward art, militated against creative work in painting, sculpture, music, and the drama” (Gardner, 1926, p. 381). Gardner is suggesting that there were no great works of colonial art initiated due to the bare-bones lifestyle of the Puritans and those who followed soon after. The 1936 edition of *Art Through the Ages* displays a radical shift in her thinking. The popular 1933 and 1934 exhibitions at the Art Institute both named *The Century of Progress* come to bear here. This American art chapter of *Art Through the Ages* provides a glimpse into what Helen Gardner deemed important to study in American art. The chapter she includes on modern

art provides an insight into the contemporary art that was considered to be intriguing for art historians in the late 1930s.

Chapter XXX: Contemporary Art in Europe and America explores the new art emerging from the two continents. The author suggests that movements in current history (1930s), such as politics, ease of communication, lack of cultural growth, success in business, and loss of religion, “are making life more complex than ever before. The break from authority and tradition has emphasized the importance... of the individual to follow his own impulses, rather than the importance of the community” (Gardner, 1926, p. 467). In this chapter, Helen Gardner expresses her worries for the future of art. She suggests that the minor arts have since disappeared, claiming:

Machinery has taken away the opportunity for self-expression, and because taste has been dulled by our being compelled to accept the uniform and standardized products of a commercial world that looks to frankly profit first. Thus, the minor arts have been practically eliminated. (Gardner, 1926, p. 467)

While the minor arts have, in Gardner’s opinion, faded away to history, other arts such as painting, sculpture, and architecture have continued to thrive. The plate images for the chapter include works by Ivan Meštrović, Pablo Picasso, Paul Gauguin, Arthur Davies, and Paul Manship, and cover these previously mentioned genres of art. Wise of her own personal influence, Gardner cautions the reader in the first part of the chapter that “any evaluation of the art of the last two decades must be only tentative... [we can only] consider to what extent contemporary art is an expression of contemporary life” (Gardner, 1926, p. 466). She was aware that her own beliefs affected the way she selected and wrote about art.

The life of Helen Gardner was filled with academics, teaching, travel, and art. She spent her early years of life studying foreign language and joined her sister as a teacher at the Brooks Classical School. She was successful as a teacher, but it was her travels with her mother to Egypt, Greece, and beyond that guided her path in life. Starting as a professor in art history at the School at the Art Institute of Chicago in 1920, it would be the place where she ended her career in 1945. Gardner's illnesses stopped her from teaching about a subject she loved so dearly; she resigned her position at the Art Institute with much regret (Figs. 6-7). Gardner's textbook continues to be one of the most widely used English art history textbooks. In 1926, she published the first edition of *Art Through the Ages* for her own students at the Art Institute and for readers around the world. Ten years later, she would produce a second edition of this book that was greatly changed. Together, "the first two editions of her book sold 260,000 copies, a testimony to the popularity of her book" (Kader, 2000, p. 171). Helen Gardner died in 1946 due to complications of bronchopneumonia. This woman dedicated her life to the study of art history and she shared her passion of the subject with the world through two vastly different editions of this book.

In 1936 Helen Gardner's second edition of *Art Through the Ages* was published. At a first glance it is clear that changes have been made. This edition, published ten years after the first, was the only other edition that Helen Gardner saw through to completion. Arguably, these two editions are most true to her beliefs and expectations, since changes to the first edition were made by Gardner and it was not completed by others, like what occurred in the third edition. At first inspection, there were several visual changes in the

second edition such as book size, font, and the first use of glossy paper. There were also many alterations made to the content, as the chapter on American art, presented in the second edition, was completely rewritten by Gardner. My intent in this research was to investigate these changes in Gardner's text, and explore reasons why they were made. In the next chapter of the thesis that follows, I have noted the changes that Helen Gardner introduced into the chapters on American art and, most importantly, propose reasons why these alterations occurred.

Fig. 1 1901 *Cap and Gown*

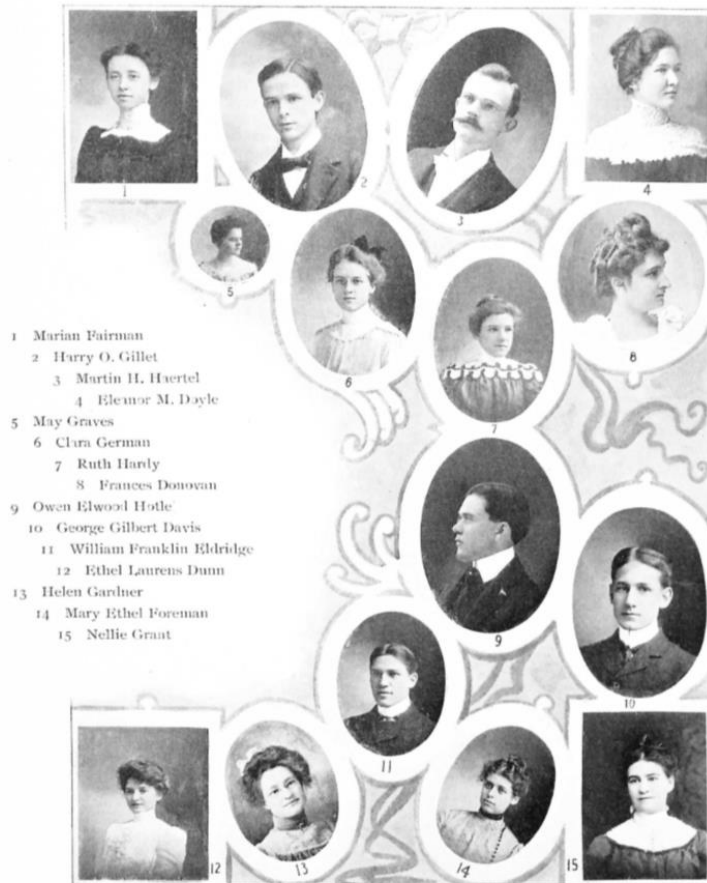


Fig. 2 1901 *Cap and Gown*

- JOSEPH CHALMERS EWING, Δ. T. Δ.**
Entrance Scholarship; Foot Ball Team, '98; Base Ball Team, '99-'00; Junior College Council, '99; Secretary Junior College Council, '99; Senior College Councillor, '00; Cap and Gown Board, '00; Athletic Representative Senior College, '00; Chairman Athletic Committee Junior Day, '99; Senior Promenade Committee, '00; The Morgan Park Club.
- MARIAN FAIRMAN.**
- MARY ETHEL FREEMAN.**
Esoteric Club.
- HELEN GARDNER, Φ. B. K.**
Entrance Scholarship, '97; Spelman House; Treasurer Y. W. C. A., '00-'01; Executive Committee, Senior Class.
- CLARA GERMAN.**
- HARRY O. GILLET.**
Entrance Scholarship; Honorable Mention, Junior College.
- WILLIAM L. GOBLE.**
Honorable Mention, Junior College; Senior College Scholarship in Chemistry, '00-'01.
- CHARLES GOETTSCH.**
- ELLIOTT ROBERT GOLDSMITH.**
- JULIAN FRANK GOODENOW.**
Track Team, '98-'99-'00; Lincoln House; Scholarship in Public Speaking; Senior College Council, '01.
- NELLIE GRANT.**
- MAY L. GRAVES.**
Spelman House.
- FRANCIS GREVIER GUITTARD.**
- MARTIN HAERTEL.**
- JULIUS THEODORE HALLER.**
- RUTH HARDY.**
- WALTER WILSON HART, Φ. B. K.**
Lincoln House; Honorable Mention, Junior College.
- ELBERT ALPHEUS HARVEY.**
- CARRIE HERNDON.**
- ALMA M. HOLDEN.**
- ELSIE PRISCILLA HONN.**
- JAMES FLEMING HOSIC.**
Secretary Y. M. C. A., '94; Secretary Oratorical Association, '93-'94; Delegate Northern Oratorical Association, '94; Member Orchestra, '93-'94; Member Band, '00-'01; Honorable mention, '00.

Fig. 3 1901 *Cap and Gown*

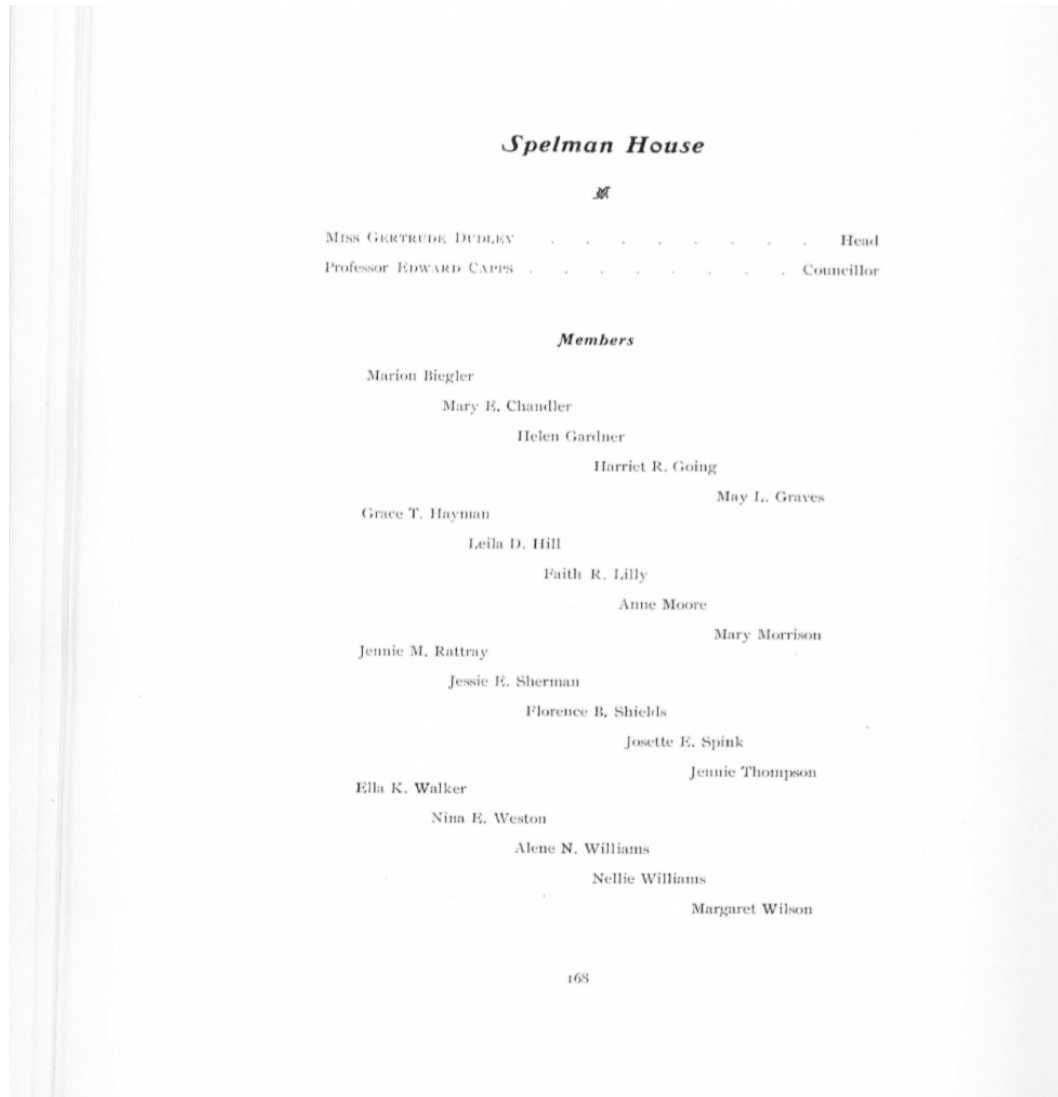


Fig. 4 1901 *Cap and Gown*

Image of Gardner's house from Senior Year. Gardner pictured second from left top.



SPELMAN HOUSE

Fig. 5 1901 *Cap and Gown*

The Young Men's Christian Association



C. WALTER BRITTON President
 ROY WILSON MERRIFIELD Vice-President
 ROY B. NELSON Recording Secretary
 ARTHUR EUGENE BESTOR Corresponding Secretary
 FRANK FREDERICK JOHN TISCHE Treasurer

Committees

CHARLES GIBBONS FLANAGAN Religious Meetings
 WILLIAM K. MATTHEWS Missionary
 ROY WILSON MERRIFIELD Membership
 ARTHUR EUGENE BESTOR Intercollegiate
 HERMAN EGBERT BULKLEY Reception
 FRANK FREDERICK JOHN TISCHE Finance

Advisory Committee

FACULTY

Professor John Merle Coulter Professor Charles Reid Barnes
 Professor Amos Alonzo Stagg

ALUMNI

Harry Delmont Abells Walter A. Payne
 Stacey Carroll Mosser

ASSOCIATION OFFICERS

C. Walter Britton Frank J. Tische Charles A. Marsh
 E. Burritt Smith Judge Freeman

The Young Women's Christian Association



MARY ETHEL FREEMAN President
 GRACE MANNING Vice-President
 CECILE BOWMAN Secretary
 HELEN GARDNER Treasurer
 FLORENCE PARKER General Secretary

Committees

Grace Manning Membership
 Adaline Hostetter Reception
 Mary Rockwell Prayer Meeting
 Grace Baird Union Prayer Meeting
 Helen Gardner Finance
 Helena Hunt Publication
 Catherine Cleveland Missionary
 Anne L. Patrick Philanthropic

Fig. 6 1944 Letter from Helen Gardner

Harbert, Michigan
July 19, 1944

Dear Mr. Ropp,

I have been thinking over the suggestion in your letter of July 14 and have decided that I am willing to try it. The plan sounds feasible and enables me to continue ties with the Institute which I really am loathe to sever.

With best wishes, I am

Sincerely yours



Helen Gardner

Mr. Hubert Ropp
Dean of the School
The Art Institute
Chicago

Fig. 7 1944 Resignation Letter from Helen Gardner to Hubert Ropp

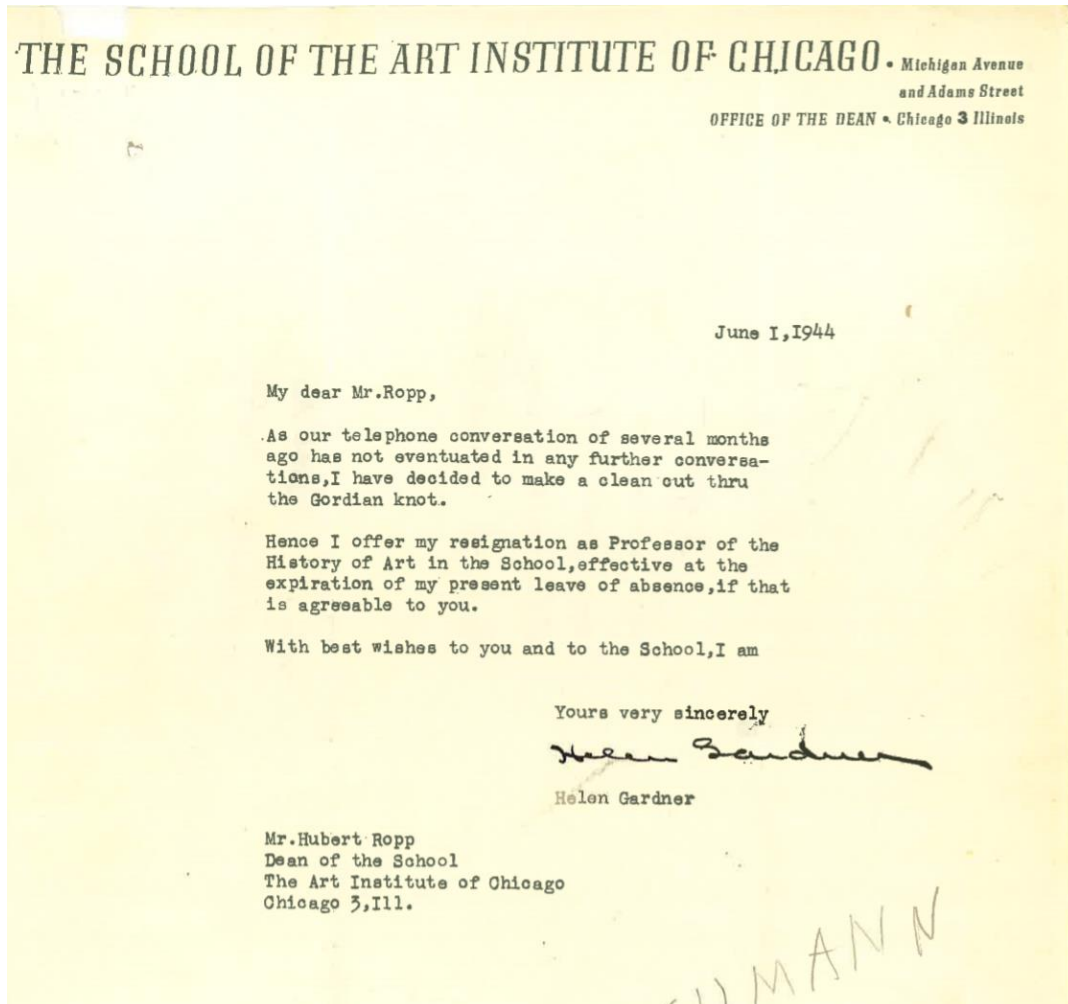


Fig. 8 Test from Gardner's Art Through the Ages Class (1924-1936?)

ART 1A - 1B

General instructions:

Budget your time, devoting ten minutes to each question. Be brief, concise, specific. Answer questions 1-4 inclusive; chose between 5 and 6, answering five questions in all.

1. Identification of slides.
2. Discuss one of the following, including ground plan, structural principle, total impression, means used by the builder to give this impression:
 - Chartres or Reims Cathedral
 - An American skyscraper type of building
 - The Colosseum
3. Summarize or outline the important points in the study of a piece of sculpture in the round. On the basis of these points discuss one of the following:
 - One of the Parthenon figures
 - Nike of Samothrace
 - Donatello's St. George
 - Michelangelo's Bound Slave
 - Seated Buddha
 - Mestrovic's Mother.
4. Select one painting that we have studied this term which appeals to you strongly and discuss as follows:
 - a. its esthetic appeal
 - b. an analysis
 - c. why did it appeal to you. Be very specific.
5. Show in what respects conditions of life in Rome determined the Baths of Caracalla. Be very specific.
6. Describe fresco, tempera, and oil technique, explaining process, general effect, and possibilities of each.

Chapter Five: New Edition, Big Changes

Art Through the Ages is arguably the first comprehensive art history text, and one that was introduced to American readers in 1926. Ten years later, Helen Gardner released her second edition of this volume, which proved to be just as popular. At first glance, one is easily able to see the physical shifts the second edition went through. Whilst readers can quickly note the physical changes, it takes some scrutiny to observe the modifications made to the content of the book. I have investigated changes made to the second edition chapters: American art history chapters titled “Art in the United States: Colonial and Early Republican Art (Early XVII Century to about 1830)” and her other American art chapter “Art in the United States: The Nineteenth Century,” and compared them with the 1926 edition chapter “American. The United States From Its Colonization to 1900 AD.” In both editions of the books the last chapter is focused on contemporary American art. A comparative analysis of these book chapters occurs here.

By investigating reasons for changes made in the second edition and comparing it to the first, I theorize why Helen Gardner undertook such a great revision of the chapters about early American art. Specifically, tracing the history of two paintings included in the second edition’s colonial art chapter and nineteenth century American art chapter (which was included in the 1934 *A Century of Progress* exhibition and then in the 1936 edition of *Art Through the Ages*) reveals the impact the exhibition had on Gardner’s inexplicable new interest in colonial and early American art. I chose to write about the changes made in the chapters on American art because this was a section Helen Gardner specifically addressed in her Preface to the second edition, as a part of this book that was re-written.

In the decade between the published first and second editions, many historical events occurred. Most importantly, the two exhibitions titled *A Century of Progress* at the Chicago Art Institute in 1933 and 1934 have, I believe, profoundly affected the image and content selection of Helen Gardner's second edition.

A LOOK AT GARDNER'S TWO EDITIONS OF *ART THROUGH THE AGES*—1926 AND 1936

In 1936 Helen Gardner's second edition of *Art Through the Ages* was published. At first glance, it is clear that changes had been made from the first edition. This second edition, published ten years after the first, was the only other edition of the text that Helen Gardner saw through the complete publishing process. Arguably, these two editions are the most aligned with Gardner's views on art, since changes were made by Gardner and it was not completed by someone else, like the third edition onward. First observations of the physical nature of the second edition are easy to spot and there were several visual changes in the second edition such as size, font, and use of glossy paper. There were also many changes made to the content of the text. Importantly, the chapter on American art history was completely rewritten.

The Preface to the second edition lays out the changes made in multiple chapters: Sumerian, Egyptian, Persian, Aboriginal American, and Primitive art. Chapters on the Etruscans, Russian medieval art, and the Baroque art had been added to the second edition (Gardner, 1936, p. iii). On the first page, in the third paragraph Helen Gardner (1936) states brief but significant words: "The chapter on art in the United States has been re-written and enlarged." Many new images were introduced and new content was added. The changes in American art can be compared between the first and second

editions, and the image selection appears to reflect works of art that appeared in the 1933 and 1934 *A Century of Progress* exhibitions. While there were changes within the physical nature, image, and content selection of the books, the actual writing remained relatively unchanged. Gardner (1936) states:

The organization of material, essentially the same as in the original edition, is based upon years of experience in teaching the history of art in the School of the Art Institute of Chicago. It is a chronological organization in which each era is studied as a unit of culture and analyzed for the more important geographic, social, economic, political, and religious conditions.... This organization of material is based upon the theory that a work of art is, on the one hand, a social document, an expression of varying life conditions. It is, on the other hand, an individual visual form. (pp. iii-iv)

THE BIG EVENT

In the beginning stages of my research, I continually asked myself, “Why did this change in the American art history chapters occur?” Through research of this era it became apparent that there was an important event that may very likely have led Gardner to make these changes and additions to the second edition of this text: Chicago’s *A Century of Progress International Exposition in 1933* (also known as the Chicago World’s Fair). This expo celebrated the centennial of the city of Chicago. In 1833, Chicago was merely a tiny settlement in the backwoods of Illinois; by 1933 it was a bustling city. The exposition celebrated the technological innovations in the city of Chicago. Cheryl Ganz (2008) describes reasons why organizers hoped this fair would be successful:

Not unlike Roosevelt’s New Deal programs, a fair would, the planners predicted, counter the Depression’s insidious economic and psychological impact by giving Chicago and its labor force a financial shot in the arm. Like Roosevelt’s later Work Projects Administration, it would create much needed jobs and stir hope that conditions would soon improve. (p. 1)

The expectations of success were fulfilled in the Chicago exhibition. In all, over thirty-nine million people paid to visit the fair during the period of May 27, 1933 to November 12, 1933 (Ganz, 2008, p. 4). The world's fair was so popular that organizers opened for another season from May 26, 1934 to October 31, 1934. One of the exhibitions was hosted by Helen Gardner's institution. Deemed as the official *A Century of Progress Exhibition of the Fine Arts*, The Art Institute of Chicago presented *A Century of Progress Exhibition* in 1933 and 1934 (Figs. 9-12). The first exhibition opened June 1 and closed November 1, 1933, and the second opened June 1 and closed November 1, 1934. The exhibition contained a majority of artistic loans across American and the world in paintings, sculpture, and prints. In total, thirty-one art museum and two hundred private collectors contributed to the first exhibition. According to the 1933 *A Century of Progress* brochure:

The Art Institute of Chicago has assembled the greatest and most important collection of masterpieces yet to be shown in America.... The value of this Exhibition approximates seventy-five million dollars, almost twice the value of the entire Chicago World's Fair of 1893.... In all there will be approximately eight hundred paintings, some of which will be exhibited the first time in America. There will also be over three hundred water colors, one hundred and thirty-five pieces of sculpture and three hundred etchings and engravings. (p.1)

The exhibition's hours were nine a.m. to five-thirty p.m. on Monday to Saturday, and nine a.m. to nine p.m on Sunday. The price of admission to the exhibition was free, except for the Painting and Sculpture Exhibition on the second floor, which cost twenty five cents to enter. Multiple catalogues and reproductions were made available for purchase. The museum also offered gallery tours, and guides for an extra fee. Admission

charges, hours of operation, and extra fees remained the same for the exhibition the following year. The forward to the catalogue for the 1933 exhibition states:

The theme of the 1933 Exposition, "A Century of Progress," has been broadly interpreted to mean, not only art of the last century, but a hundred years' progress in American collecting. In 1833 very few great works were on this side of the Atlantic; today the United States possesses treasures of amazing quality, inspiring not only to our artists but to the rapidly growing public who are coming to feel the need of art in their daily lives. ... One of the chief aims of the present showing is to exhibit works which are rarely if ever seen by the public, emphasizing in this way the resources of the nation. (p.1)

The focus of the first exhibition was centered on American collecting. This drew in highly recognized art works not only from American artists but from artists abroad as well. The 1933 exhibition had crowds as never before. According to the Art Institute of Chicago, the exhibition "established world records for attendance at a like exhibition. The greatest attendance in one day was on October 21, 1933, with 44,442 visitors. Total attendance for the fair was 1,538,103" (Art Institute of Chicago, 1933, p.1). The first exhibition drew over a million visitors. Although records do not state explicitly that Helen Gardner attended the exhibitions, it seems likely that as one of the top authorities in art history in the country and with the exhibition occurring at her institution, Helen Gardner would assuredly have been one of those in attendance to both the 1933 and 1934 exhibitions.

In the 1934 exhibition, the focus had shifted to "presenting masters on American art" (*Bulletin of the Art Institute of Chicago*, 1933, p. 37). Colonial American art was finally being accepted as a quality form of artistic expression. By 1934, American art had begun the transition from what many considered to be lowly primitive creations, to reflect

masterful pieces of art. I believe it was the contact Helen Gardner had with the works on display at these two exhibition that motivated Gardner to alter her chapters on American art history in the second volume of her textbook *Art Through the Ages*. The catalogue produced for both the 1933 and 1934 exhibitions were sold to the public for fifty cents apiece. Not only did these catalogues provide visitors with information about art on exhibit, but it also acted as a shopping list as various prints from the catalogue were sold in the gift shop. There were many different works of art on display, including those that were considered art historical importance and others less known.

Through this exhibition it was made clear to the American public that American colonial artists were important. The first show in 1933 offered visitors access to 1,227 pieces of art (eighteen works were located in the American Painting [eighteenth and nineteenth century] exhibition and sixty were situated in the American Painting [nineteenth century]) exhibition. By 1934, visitors were able to see 852 artistic pieces (eighteen works were located in the American Painting [eighteenth and nineteenth century] exhibition, twenty-six were located in the American Painting [nineteenth century] gallery, there were seventy-four works in the Paintings by Whistler Gallery, and twenty-nine in a Bellows, Glackens, and Luks Gallery). These artists previously mentioned were finally receiving attention from the general public and critics alike. Helen Gardner was not impervious to this new acclaim for American colonial art.

Fig. 9

1933 Brochure for *A Century of Progress*

THE ART INSTITUTE OF CHICAGO

OFFICIAL ART EXHIBITION

WORLD'S MASTERPIECES of Painting on Second Floor. First floor contains Print Galleries, Contemporary Sculpture, Egyptian Department, Classical Antiquities, Children's Museum, Blackstone Hall with Art Institute School Exhibition, Ryerson Library, Burnham Library of Architecture, Fullerton Lecture Hall, Gussaulus Collection of Wedgwood, Rosenwald Glassware, Period Rooms, Oriental Art Department, Japanese Prints, Decorative Art Department, Shaw Architectural Gallery, Persian Room, Cafeteria, Tea room, soda fountain on Ground floor.



MAN WITH WINE GLASS—VELASQUEZ



ASSUMPTION OF THE VIRGIN—EL GRECO



VENUS AND THE LUTE PLAYER—TITIAN



CARD PLAYERS—CEZANNE



FIGURE—LEHMBRUCK



ARISTOTLE—REMBRANDT



TOILET OF A BRIDE—COURBET

CENTURY OF PROGRESS ART EXHIBITION

OF THE WORLD'S FAIR



THE SMOKERS—BROUWER



THE CANOEIST'S BREAKFAST—RENOIR



GIRL COMBING HAIR—CASSATT



SCHMELING—BELLINI

PRICE OF ADMISSION
 Free Admission to Building seven days in the week. Admission to Painting and Sculpture Exhibition on Second Floor. 25c
 All other exhibitions free.

Hours of Opening
 Week Days . . . 9 A.M. to 5:30 P.M.
 Sundays 9 A.M. to 9 P.M.

Catalogues and Reproductions
 Paintings and Sculpture. . . \$1.00
 Paintings and Sculpture, cloth . . . 1.50
 Mailing extra, on either.17
 Print Catalogue50
 Mailing extra10
 Post cards and color reproductions, First and second floors.

Fig. 10

1933 Brochure for *A Century of Progress*

THE ART INSTITUTE OF CHICAGO OFFICIAL CENTURY OF PROGRESS EXHIBITION OF THE FINE ARTS

GALLERY TOURS AND GUIDES

A general tour through the exhibition of paintings and sculpture every week day at 9:30 A. M. and on Sundays at 1:00 P. M.

A lecture in the galleries on a selected section of the exhibition every week day at 11:00 A. M.

The fee for all gallery tours is twenty-five cents per person.

Private guide service by appointment. One dollar per hour for two persons or less, additional persons fifty cents each.

Private groups may be formed upon request, for more detailed study of the collections. Miss Helen Parker, Head of the Department of Museum Instruction, assisted by Miss Helen Barsaloux, is in charge of all gallery tours.

GALLERY TOURS FOR CHILDREN

Gallery tours for children will be conducted by Miss Helen Frances Mackenzie, Curator of the Children's Museum.

A gallery tour through the exhibition of paintings and sculpture every week day at 11:00 o'clock to point out things of special interest to children up to fifteen years of age. The fee is ten cents per person. Tours start from the Children's Museum.

THE ART SCHOOL

The School of the Art Institute begins its Fall Term on September 18, 1933. In addition to Day School classes covering all phases of professional art practice, there will be Evening and Saturday classes for adults and Saturday classes for children. The School will be glad to furnish complete information about its classes on request.

An exhibition of the work of students of the School, especially prepared for *A Century of Progress* exhibition, will be found in Blackstone Hall.

The Goodman Theatre School of the Drama will open September 18. Full information about all Departments of the School is available in the School Office, or by mail by addressing the Associate Dean, Art Institute, Chicago, Illinois.

THE ART INSTITUTE OF CHICAGO OFFICIAL CENTURY OF PROGRESS EXHIBITION OF THE FINE ARTS

FULLERTON HALL LECTURES

Daily lectures at 12:15 Noon, 2:00 P. M. and 3:45 P. M. from June 1, to November 1, 1933. The subjects are as follows:

DUDLEY CRAFTS WATSON, *Extension Lecturer*
Twenty Masterpieces in the Exhibition, and Why
Twenty Modern Paintings Most Difficult to Understand
Modern Art in the Exhibition: Paris to Chicago
The Master Landscapes in the Exhibition
The Master Portraits in the Exhibition
The Quest for Beauty, the Italian Masterpieces
American Masterpieces in the Exhibition
Spanish Masters, El Greco to Picasso
The Dutch Masters
Sculpture in the Exhibition
The Art of Matisse—Rembrandt—Titian—Whistler—Picasso—Degas—Renoir

CHARLES FABENS KELLEY, *Curator of Oriental Art*
Master Prints in the Exhibition

DANIEL CATTON RICH, *Associate Curator of Painting and Sculpture*
Cézanne: Rebel and Classic
What Is Modern Art?
Painters of the Medieval World

HELEN PARKER, *Museum Instruction Department*
French Insurgent Painters in the Exhibition
A General Survey of the Exhibition

HELEN FRANCES MACKENZIE, *Children's Museum*
What to See on a First Trip to the Exhibition

GEORGE F. BUEHR, *Extension Department*
The Most Popular Pictures in the Exhibition, from Vermeer to Bellows
The Most Stirring Pictures in the Exhibition, El Greco, Van Gogh, Gauguin
Forty Great Compositions in Color, from Titian to Matisse

How to Know What You Like in the Exhibition, from Whistler's "Mother" to "Nude Descending the Stairs"

A Sketch Class for Beginners every Friday morning from 10:00 to 12:00. Mr. Watson and Mr. Buehr, Instructors. (In Fullerton Hall.)

A Gallery Tour of the Japanese Prints in the Exhibition will be given every Thursday at three o'clock by Helen Gunsaulus in Gallery H5. 25c admission

THE ART INSTITUTE OF CHICAGO OFFICIAL CENTURY OF PROGRESS EXHIBITION OF THE FINE ARTS



MOTHER—J. A. McNEILL WHISTLER

IN the classic Italian Renaissance Building in Grant Park, on Michigan Avenue, at the foot of Adams Street, will be held the only Art Exhibition of *A Century of Progress* Exposition.

The Art Institute of Chicago has assembled the greatest and most important collection of masterpieces yet to be shown in America. Thirty-one art museums and two hundred private collectors have contributed their most valued treasures.

Within this folder a few of the works of art are reproduced. In all there will be approximately eight hundred paintings, some of which will be exhibited for the first time in America. There will also be over three hundred water colors, one hundred and thirty-five pieces of sculpture and three hundred etchings and engravings.

The value of this Exhibition approximates seventy-five million dollars, almost twice the value of the entire Chicago World's Fair of 1893.

The paintings and sculpture are of the great masters from the 13th century down to the present time, arranged in sequence, so that the visitor may enter the Gallery of the Primitives and pass from room to room, down to the work of the present day.

Fig. 11

1934 Brochure for *A Century of Progress*

THE THOUSAND MASTERPIECES OF PAINTINGS AND SCULPTURE FROM THE WORLD'S GREATEST COLLECTIONS

ADMISSION TO PAINTING GALLERIES 25 CTS.

ADMISSION TO FIRST AND GROUND FLOORS FREE

ART INSTITUTE IS LOCATED AT MICHIGAN BOULEVARD AND ADAMS STREET

HOURS OF OPENING • WEEK DAYS 9:00 A. M. UNTIL 5:30 P. M. • SUNDAYS 9:00 A. M. UNTIL 9:00 P. M.

Artworks featured include: *Boy with Boy* (Caravaggio), *Le Moineau* (Michelangelo), *Mrs. Taché* (Gainsborough), *Man's Portrait* (Antonello), *Antony & Mother* (Casati), *Midday Delancey* (Courbet), *Woman with Mandolin* (Corot), *Figure* (Borghese), *The Aghew Clinic* (Eakin), *Madonna and Child with St. John and an Angel* (Botticelli), *Dempsey and Fibero* (Billows), *Women Ironing* (Desak), *Portrait* (Giovanni), *The Entombment* (Delagrè), *Prince Medici* (Busterna), *Old Washington* (Trumbull), *Joseph and Potiphar's Wife* (Rembrandt), *The White Girl* (Whistler), *The Lap Dog* (Nabok), *Woman's Work* (Bryce), *Hotel Garden at Arles* (Gauguin), *Figure* (Lagetti), *Le Cafe de Noy* (Van Gogh), *Garbille* (Renoir), and *Figure of Torva* (Boni).

Fig. 12

1934 Brochure for *A Century of Progress*

THE ART INSTITUTE OF CHICAGO
OFFICIAL CENTURY OF PROGRESS EXHIBITION
OF THE FINE ARTS

Admission to Building Free. Painting Exhibition 2d floor 25c
Week Days, 9 a.m. to 5:30 p.m.; Sundays, 9 a.m. to 9 p.m.

FULLERTON HALL LECTURES

EVERY DAY—12:30 Noon and 2:30 P. M.
from June 1 to November 1, 1934

"MASTERPIECES OF THE EXHIBITION"
Lectures in Fullerton Hall—Illustrated by Lantern Slides
in Full Color of the Masterpieces in the 1934
Century of Progress Exhibition

Each day one lecture will touch upon masterpieces of the past
other upon modern masterpieces. During the course of
the day, all the outstanding features of the great exhibition
will be discussed. Specific titles for each day's lectures will be
listed in printed weekly bulletins available at the Art Insti-
tute in the Century of Progress published programs.

DR. CRAFTS WATSON—Extension Lecturer, will lec-
ture on Wednesdays, Thursdays, Fridays, and Saturdays.
DR. J. BUEHR—Assistant Lecturer, Extension Department
lectures on Sundays and Mondays.

DR. H. PARKER—Head of Museum Instruction Department
lectures at stated times on Tuesdays.
DR. L. CATTON RICH—Associate Curator of Painting will
lecture at stated times on Tuesdays.

Regularly visiting lecturers will speak at stated times on
Wednesdays.

"One Can Learn to Draw"—Two Sketch Classes
on Monday and Friday Mornings—10:00 A. M. to 12:00 Noon
will be held. Mr. Watson and Mr. Buehr will
demonstrate drawing, and a distinguished visiting artist
will sketch for fifteen minutes each session. The charge of
five cents includes sketching materials supplied at the
desk.

ORIENTAL DEPARTMENT

On Wednesday mornings at 10:30 Mr. Kelley, curator, or
Mr. Unsaulus, assistant curator, will give a lecture in one of
the Oriental galleries. Tickets may be obtained in gal-
lery for twenty-five cents immediately before the lecture.

INTERNATIONAL PRINT EXHIBITION

Every morning at 10:30 a promenade lecture will be given in
the galleries by John Everett Leach, special lecturer in the
Department. Tickets at twenty-five cents per person may
be obtained at the sales desk in the Print galleries.

THE ART SCHOOL

The Art School of the Art Institute of Chicago has been
in existence for over fifty years and is favorably known all over
the world. It teaches all branches of Fine and Industrial Art
in a thoroughly professional way, and offers classes in the eve-
ning on Saturday for those who cannot come at other
times. There are children's classes on Saturday and also during
the week summer session. Fully illustrated catalogs explain-
ing the courses in detail will be sent upon request. Address
the Dean, School of the Art Institute, Chicago, Illinois.
Exhibit of the work of students of the School will be in
Blackstone Hall.

THE ART INSTITUTE OF CHICAGO
OFFICIAL CENTURY OF PROGRESS EXHIBITION
OF THE FINE ARTS

Admission to Building Free. Painting Exhibition 2d floor 25c
Hours: Week Days, 9 a.m. to 5:30 p.m.; Sundays, 9 a.m. to 9 p.m.

CATALOGUES

Painting and Sculpture, 200 pp., 96 pp. illustrations...\$1.00
Painting and Sculpture, Cloth..... 1.50
Mailing 17c extra
Prints—Etchings, Engravings, etc., 32 pp., 14 illustrations .25
Prints—Etchings, Engravings, etc., cloth..... .75
Mailing 5c extra

REPRODUCTIONS, POST CARDS

in Color and Black and White—First and Second Floors
CAFETERIA—RESTAURANT
Fountain Service, Tea Room—Ground Floor
FINE ARTS LIBRARIES
Open for Reference, Week Days Only 9:00 A.M. to 5:00 P.M.

GALLERY TOURS AND GUIDES

● A general tour through the exhibition of paintings and sculp-
ture every week day at 9:30 A. M. and on Sundays at 1:00
P. M.

A lecture in the galleries on a selected section of the exhibition
every week day at 11:00 A. M.

The fee for all gallery tours is twenty-five cents per person.
Private guide service by appointment. One dollar per hour
for two persons or less, additional persons fifty cents each.

Private groups may be formed upon request, for more de-
tailed study of the collections. Miss Helen Parker, Head of the
Department of Museum Instruction, assisted by Miss Helen
Baraklow, is in charge of these gallery tours.

GALLERY TOURS FOR CHILDREN

● At eleven o'clock every Saturday during September and October,
Miss Mackenzie, Curator of the Children's Museum, will con-
duct a Gallery Tour for Children through the special exhibition
of paintings and sculpture.

The object of the tour is to point out things of interest to
children from eight to fifteen years of age.

The price of the tour is 10 cents for children and 25 cents
for adults accompanying them.

Tickets for the exhibition must be purchased at the desk in
the main lobby. Tickets for the tour must be purchased in the
Children's Museum.

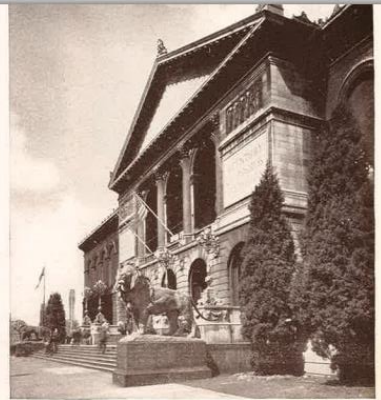
Tours Start from the Children's Museum promptly at Eleven
o'Clock

DECORATIVE ARTS DEPARTMENT

● Fifty galleries devoted to the Decorative Arts located on main
floor east, containing Period Rooms, Tapestries, Rugs, Laces,
Brocades, Embroideries, Furniture, Metal Work, Pottery, Porce-
lain, Glass.

Special Exhibitions—Old Swedish Costumes, Textiles, Wall
Paintings, and Furniture, Architectural Details from Historic
Houses in England and America.

Admission to Galleries free.



ADAMS STREET AND MICHIGAN BOULEVARD

NEW WORLD'S FAIR
ART EXHIBITION
FOR 1934
THE ART INSTITUTE
OF CHICAGO
OFFICIAL ART EXHIBITION OF A
CENTURY OF PROGRESS



Fig. 13

Photograph from 1933 *A Century of Progress*

Courtesy Art Institute Chicago



Last minute crowd at A Century of Progress Exhibition of Art at The Art Institute of Chicago, taken as the galleries closed at 11 P.M., Nov 1st. to complete the 5 months and 10 days exhibition which established world records for attendance at a like exhibition. Greatest attendance in one day was on Oct. 31, 1933 with 44,442. Total attendance: 1,538,103.

Fig. 14

Photograph from 1933 *A Century of Progress*

Courtesy Art Institute Chicago



*Interior of The Art Institute
during A Century of Progress
Ex'n. 1933.*

6-1 to 11-1, 1933

CHANGES IN EDITIONS

The first edition (1926) of Gardner's *Art Through the Ages* includes only two chapters that focus on American art: Chapter XXV. American. The United States from its Colonization to c. 1900 A.D. examines art of the United States from its birth (defined by Gardner as the seventeenth century) until nineteen hundred. The other American chapter in her book includes discussion of works from the nineteenth century. In this chapter Helen Gardner opens Chapter XXX with the subsection titled Historical Background, where she states:

The short three hundred years since the Pilgrims landed in America have been devoted chiefly to the development of the country, at first along the seaboard under primitive conditions that left little energy for anything except necessities. But even when those necessities were provided, colonial culture, because of the iconoclastic nature of its religion, particularly in the North, was generally drab and forbade the theater and frowned upon art... Intellectually and artistically, the United States has kept close to European traditions and movements. This was natural. The majority of American students have gone to Europe for their training. The United States is still too young and too heterogeneous in its population to have blended and fused its varying traditions into what might be called a truly American tradition. (Gardner, 1926, p. 377)

Gardner makes many claims about why there is an unsuccessful history of art in early American culture. Gardner, suggests that social and economic hardships in early American life contributed greatly to why art in this country was not of high quality and vitality. The origins of European civilization in America was battered with hardship, both physically and spiritually. There was "little energy" left for the colonists to devote to other things of life, due to the harsh conditions these early colonists faced. The pilgrims in New England had a particularly difficult time farming. In a book titled *American Colonies*, the author Taylor reminds readers that: "a northern and hilly land of dense

forests, sharp slopes, stony soils, and a short growing season, New England demanded hard labor to make a farm and offered little prospect of getting rich” (Taylor, 2002, p. 159). Being a settler in early America was arduous. Gardner argues that not only was there little time for frivolous activities, but the religious nature of early Americans also shunned the production of art: “The Puritans looked at much visual art with suspicion because of its association with idolatry” (Roark, 2003, p. 53). It is clear Gardner believed it was nearly impossible for great works of art to be created under the tedious physical and religious conditions encountered by the early American colonists. In the Painting subsection of her chapter titled “The United States from its Colonization,” Helen Gardner resounds her opinions on American art. She states: “In the early colonial days, hard life under primitive conditions, together with a puritanical prejudice toward art, militated against creative work in painting” (Gardner, 1926, p. 381). She completely ignored discussions of any and all sorts of colonial art. She focuses on the work of George Inness, John La Farge, James Whistler, and John Singer Sargent “as typical examples of the best work that has been produced” (Gardner, 1926, p. 381). The first edition did not paint American art in the best light, but it appears that Helen Gardner dramatically altered her perspective in the second edition.

The 1936 edition of *Art Through the Ages* changed dramatically. At first glance, the book is slightly larger in format and thinner in scale than its earlier counterpart. However, physical differences were not the only changes that occurred in the new edition. Some of the greatest alterations were seen in the content of the book. In particular, the American art chapters were completely re-written. I believe the primary

reason for these changes was due to the two *A Century of Progress* exhibitions that occurred in Chicago in the years between when the first two editions of *Art Through the Ages* were published. In the introduction to “Art in the United States—Colonial and Early Republican Art (Early XVII Century to about 1830),” Gardner (1936) changed her viewpoint on life and creativity in early colonial America in the second edition:

The century and a half succeeding the arrival of the colonists in the New World was spent in transplanting a deep-rooted culture to conditions at first quite primitive, and adapting it to the needs of an evolving culture with many different basic factors. Along with the developing institutions of self-government arose locally differentiated economic and social bases.... In this pioneering stage the infrequency of contact with original sources forced the colonists into an idiom of their own.... A justifiable pride in a century of remarkable success in colonization manifested itself in a desire for buildings, furnishings, and a pattern of living commensurate with this success. (1936, p. 529)

In the second edition, Gardner acknowledged the tough conditions of living in colonial America, but she quickly moved on to commend those who came to America in the years after the first pilgrims arrived. She is enthusiastic about the progress of art in America over the first two hundred and fifty years of European colonization. Gardner (1936) dedicates four pages to the development of painting in the colonies, stating:

In Puritan New England strong religious prejudice against art... confined the practice of this craft [painting] to such activities as coach—and sign-painting. To surmount this prejudice, however, became none too difficult for the wealthy colonists, who wanted portraits not only to decorate their walls but also to hand on to posterity. (p. 530)

The art medium of painting is one that Helen Gardner identified as a significant form of art. For wealthy colonists, Gardner argues, portrait painting was a way that individuals could visually define their success. Through the years in the history of American art, painting continues to be an important medium. In the two chapters on

American art in the 1936 edition, Gardner writes about quite a number of American painters. Through a careful examination of her selections of artists and works it becomes increasingly clear that Helen Gardner was heavily influenced by the 1933 and 1934 exhibitions of *A Century of Progress*. The following four cases are introduced to support this position.

CASE ONE: INCLUDED ARTISTS

The *A Century of Progress* art exhibitions drew in record breaking crowds. One can imagine the art historian Helen Gardner walking from her classroom and up the stairs into the galleries at the Art Institute of Chicago, to take a look at the exhibition that more than a million people visited in 1933. In the 1933 and 1934 exhibitions of *A Century of Progress* the work of many colonial and early American artists were displayed that Gardner mentions in her second edition of *Art Through the Ages*. It is my belief that by her direct contact with the early American Art in this extremely popular exhibition, Helen Gardner was inspired to include works by the artists she saw there. In the 1926 edition of *Art Through the Ages*, Helen Gardner includes a discussion of only four American painters: George Inness, John La Farge, James Whistler, and John Singer Sargent. Four of five illustrations of artwork by these mentioned American painters in Gardner's text were held in the collection of the Art Institute of Chicago. For information and the best material for her 1926 book, Helen Gardner relied on the collections of the institute where she worked. Seventeen painters mentioned in the two Art in the United States chapters of the 1936 edition of *Art Through the Ages* were not mentioned in the first edition of this book. These artists are: John Smibert, John Singleton Copley, Benjamin West, Gilbert

Stuart, Thomas Sully, Samuel F.B. Morse, Homer D. Martin, Alexander Wyant, John Trumbull, John Vanderlyn, Washington Allston, Thomas Eakins, George Fuller, Winslow Homer, John Twatchman, George Bellow, as well as an inclusion of the unknown artist who painted *Mrs. Freake and Baby Mary*. In the two American art chapters of the 1936 edition of the book, Gardner included sixteen illustrations. Only four of these artworks were owned by the Art Institute, and of these four, three were included in the previous edition. Clearly, things had been changed in the decade between the publishing of these two editions. Helen Gardner mentioned many more artists and included an abundance of illustrations of American art in the second edition. But what triggered this change? Why were there thirteen more American artists included in the second edition who were not in the first edition? The largest motivator for this change is likely found in the exhibition that occurred in her very own institution—the 1933 *A Century of Progress* exhibition.

Of the American artists mentioned by Helen Gardner in the 1936 edition of her book, numerous paintings by then were displayed at the 1933 *A Century of Progress* exhibition. Four of these paintings were by John Singleton Copley, one by Benjamin West, four by Gilbert Stuart, one by Thomas Sully, one by Samuel F.B. Morse, three by Thomas Eakins (including a sketch for the *Pathetic Song*), twenty three by Winslow Homer, and eleven by George Bellows (The Art Institute of Chicago, 1933). By the second round of *A Century of Progress* (1934), some changes had been made to the selections of work displayed by American artists mentioned by Gardner in the exhibition: two by John Singleton Copley (including *Lady Wentworth*), one by Benjamin West, three

by Gilbert Stuart, three by Thomas Sully, two by Samuel F.B. Morse (including the *Marquis de Lafayette*), one by John Trumbull, seven by Thomas Eakins (including the completed *Pathetic Song*), twenty eight by Winslow Homer, and twelve by George Bellows. Some of these same works were not only discussed in Helen Gardner's 1936 edition, but they were also illustrated in this second edition of her book. Like many art history texts, *Art Through the Ages* was limited in the amount of illustrations allotted for the book. Helen Gardner often selected only one image per artist, which she considered to be the most important image to include in her book. The impact this exhibition had on *Art Through the Ages* appears to be the primary event that affected the selection of works by American painters in Gardner's text. Three of the sixteen illustrations of American paintings that Gardner included in the second edition of her text were also hung at the *A Century of Progress* exhibitions: Copley's *Lady Wentworth*, Morse's *Marquis de Lafayette*, and Eakins' *Pathetic Song*.

CASE TWO: LADY WENTWORTH

The story of Copley's *Lady Wentworth* (Fig. 15) is an intriguing tale about a work of art rarely seen by the public. The painting, owned by the New York Public Library (NYPL), was purchased in 1872 (Catalogue of Paintings, 1911, p. 5) and sold by the NYPL at Sotheby's in 2005 to an anonymous buyer for \$3,376,000 USD (Sotheby's, 2005). Gardner titles the work *Lady Wentworth*, although, it is most likely the work was first titled *Mrs. Theodore Atkinson, Jr. (Frances Deering Wentworth)*. In 1904, the work was regarded as *Lady Wentworth*. In the 1911 exhibition at the Metropolitan Museum of Art the work is presented as *Mrs. Theodore Atkinson, Jr. (Frances Deering Wentworth)*.

Today, the Crystal Bridges Museum, who owns the work, titles the piece *Mrs. Theodore Atkinson, Jr. (Frances Deering Wentworth)*. The oil on canvas painting depicts nineteen year old Mrs. Theodore Atkinson, Jr. (Frances Deering Wentworth). She is clothed in a tightly fitted blue-grey satin dress. Copley includes a flying squirrel in the scene. The squirrel clutches a nut as the woman deftly holds on to a gold leash. The artist plays with different textures of fabrics, jewels, wooden surfaces, and fur to demonstrate his artistic ability. In *Art Through the Ages*, Gardner contributes a full page of information on John Copley and her critique of *Lady Wentworth*. Although Gardner claims Copley's entrance into the American art world as the climax of American painters in the era, she is quick to criticize his work of *Lady Wentworth*: "He shows some grasp of the figure, whose stiffness is an evidence partly of propriety and partly of a lack of ease on the part of a painter untrained professionally" (Gardner, 1936, p. 531). Gardner saw some aspects of Copley's work weak due to the fact that he had no technical training prior to his move to England, but what is important is that she gave Copley the respect that he (and other colonial artists) deserved in an art history textbook. It is important to remember that the first edition of Gardner's textbook only included artists born in the 1830s and not any art that occurred before the mid-nineteenth century.

In 1904, *Lady Wentworth* and its maker are mentioned in 1904 *Masters in Art*, Volume 5, and it also made Boston Public Library's Annual List of New and Important Books Added to the Public Library. In 1911, the *Americana* magazine again spoke to the quality of the painting: *Lady Wentworth* (Greene, 1911). From 1915-1925 the painting was discussed in five publications, whilst from 1926-1937 it was written about in eight

(Sotheby's, 2005). Prior to the 1934 exhibition in Chicago, the painting was only shown at the 1911 Exhibition of Colonial Portraits at The Metropolitan Museum of Art. After the exhibition of the painting in 1934, it was exhibited five times until 2005 (Sotheby's, 2005, p.1). Gardner may have read about this painting, but it seems that she likely did not physically see it until 1934 at the *Century of Progress* exhibition. *The Bulletin of the Art Institute* of Chicago claims that the 1934 exhibition "stresses first the development of American painting... ever since the war [World War I] there has been in the United States a keener interest in native expression, a growing knowledge of our earlier artists, and a developing appreciation of their talents" (1934, p. 38). It was in the 1934 exhibition at the Art Institute of Chicago where this painting was displayed. The inspiration of more full and rich representation of early American art at the very institute where Gardner taught served as a catalyst for her to include textual information about and images of early American works in her textbook *Art Through the Ages*, published soon after the exhibitions of 1933 and 1934.

CASE THREE: *MARQUIS DE LAFAYETTE*

Helen Gardner introduced readers to later American art. One of the illustrations within this chapter is Samuel Morse's *The Marquis de Lafayette* (oil painting completed in 1825) (Fig. 16). The painting has had many owners during its lifetime. According to the Sotheby's 2005 catalog *American Paintings, Drawings & Sculpture Including Property from the New York Public Library, Astor, Lenox and Tilden Foundations*, after completion of the work, Morse gifted this painting to Philip Hone in 1825 and the family possessed it until 1852. William H. Osborn then owned it from 1852-1876. The New

York Public Library (NYPL) held possession of the work from 1876 to 2005. When the painting was owned by the NYPL, it “hung for years in the Edna Barnes Salomon Room, room 316. The room is open to the public and it is where the Library's collection of paintings hang for viewing” (New York Public Libraries, personal communication, January 30, 2015). It is possible that Gardner could have traveled to New York to view the work before including it in the second edition of her book, but I have not found any evidence of such travel. The Crystal Bridges Museum bought the work at a Sotheby’s auction for \$1,360,000 USD. The painting was exhibited twice in its history before being shown at the 1934 *A Century of Progress* exhibition. This occurred once at The Metropolitan Museum of Art during the show *Samuel F.B. Morse, American Painter, a Study Occasioned by an Exhibition of his Paintings* in 1932, and at Harvard University’s Fogg Art Museum in December 1932. While it is possible that Helen Gardner encountered the work at one of these locations in 1932, it is most likely Garner first witnessed the painting in the 1934 exhibition at the Art Institute. It is interesting that in cases two and three, the works were previously owned by the New York Public library, but I believe it is a mere coincidence. The fourth and final case on Thomas Eakin’s painting, *The Pathetic Song*, had an unrivaled evolution at the 1933 and 1934 *A Century of Progress* exhibition.

CASE FOUR: *PATHETIC SONG*

The case of Thomas Eakins’ *Pathetic Song* (Fig. 17) in the 1933 and 1934 *A Century of Progress* exhibitions is truly unique. Of the American art exhibited there, it is the only one mentioned by Helen Gardner which is first introduced in sketch form in

1933 and the finished piece in the 1934 show. She would have been able to see the progression of the work over these two years and, in her book, Gardner hints at this process: “[Eakins] produced and finished work after making a large number of preliminary drawings” (Gardner, 1936, p. 682). Helen Gardner includes the image of the completed painting in her second chapter on American art (1936). The piece was completed in 1881. In 1885, Thomas Eakins sold the painting to Edward Coates, who was the chairman of the committee on instruction at the Pennsylvania Academy. The chairman was originally supposed to purchase *The Swimming Hole* which was also painted by Eakins, but he refused to purchase the piece due to the depiction of nude men. Eakins then offered *The Pathetic Song* for purchase instead. In a journal article by Berger (1997), he suggests why Coates rejected Eakin’s *Swimming Hole* painting:

Swimming [Hole] was one of Eakins's rare commissions, ordered by Edward Coates, chairman of the committee on instruction at the Pennsylvania Academy, by the summer of 1884. Like many of the artist's infrequent commissions, *Swimming* was ultimately rejected by its patron, who in this case claimed that it was unrepresentative of Eakins's oeuvre. (p. 34)

The painting seems to be still in the ownership of the Pennsylvania Academy in 1916. According to a Museum of Modern Art press release on December 12, 1932, the painting was featured in the Exhibition of American Painting which covered three floors and opened November 2, 1932 and closed January 29, 1933. The piece was noted in the press release as possessed by its current owner—The Coracan Art Gallery—which purchased the painting on October 20, 1919. According to the current owner, the piece had been displayed nine times before it was shown at *A Century of Progress*; however, it was only shown twice in the United States during the early 20th century: once in 1932 at

the Museum of Modern Art and once in 1917 at the Pennsylvania Academy of Fine Arts⁴. It is obvious that Helen Gardner saw the progression of the work in the two years the sketch, and then original work, were on display at the Art Institute.

Helen Gardner's attendance at the 1933 and 1934 *A Century of Progress* shaped how she viewed and wrote about American Art. She was influenced by the American Art she encountered there. Each of these four case studies provides a compelling reason regarding the influence the American Art exhibitions shown at the *A Century of Progress* had on Helen Gardner and the content she included in the second edition of her text *Art Through the Ages*.

TOWARDS THE FUTURE

Two successive exhibitions of the same name forever changed the history of Helen Gardner's second edition of *Art Through the Ages*. Gardner set new norms in 1926 as she introduced the textbook to readers, and then in 1936 she pushed the barrier by rewriting and adding new chapters in the second edition of this text. One of the most important changes she made was the inclusion of text and images about colonial art in America. Her first edition did not mention colonial artists, whilst in the second she introduced readers to a number of early American painters. By considering four different case studies, it appears through them that Helen Gardner was heavily influenced by the 1933 and 1934 *A Century of Progress* exhibitions. This thesis has concentrated on the American art chapters in the 1926 and 1936 editions of *Art Through the Ages*. There are a

⁴ It was also shown in 1906 in London, England, and the other six times it was displayed were prior to 1885.

plethora of ways to further this study by examining how different types of art were selected by Gardner in the second, and not the first, edition. As I have traced the life history of Helen Gardner and the first two editions and I have focused on American art. The final chapter of this thesis draws together information about the art and life of this important art history and provides the reader with the opportunities to identify further studies with Helen Gardner and her text.

Fig. 15

Mrs. Theodore Atkinson, Jr. (Francis Deering Wentworth), 1765, John Singleton Copley, Crystal Bridges Museum



Fig. 16

The Marquid de Lafayette, 1825, Samuel Morse, Crystal Bridges Museum



Fig. 17

Pathetic Song, 1881, Thomas Eakins, Corcoran Gallery of Art



Chapter Six: Not an Ending, but a Beginning

DEFINING THE STUDY

This study of Helen Gardner and the first two editions (1926 and 1936) of her text *Art Through the Ages* has shed much light on the life of the author and reasons why certain content of her book was shaped as it is. Helen Gardner died in 1946 at the age of 68, and lived to see only two editions of this text book published. More specifically, I have traced the life and death of this author to give insight regarding reasons why ten years after the first edition of *Art Through the Ages* was published (1926) she rewrote and added an extra chapter on American art history in her second edition. There was a driving central research question that motivated me to seek answers to questions about why she made these changes to this text. Specifically, I set out to learn how aspects of Helen Gardner's life influenced reasons why she wrote this book, and what role the two *A Century of Progress* exhibitions played in shaping the major changes made to the second edition (1936) of Gardner's text *Art Through the Ages*, when compared to the 1926 edition of this text.

THE BEGINNING

“This new edition of *Art Through the Ages* differs from the original edition published in 1926 in several different ways.... The chapter on art in the United States has been re-written” (Gardner, 1936, p. iii). This journey into researching the life and work of Helen Gardner began almost two years ago. I entered The University of Texas at Austin as a curious museum educator with a passion for art history. When I began researching topics during my first semester of graduate school, I could not imagine the impact it

would have on my development as a researcher. In that class, I examined the theoretical and subject selections found within the first edition of *Art Through the Ages* and compared these with the eleventh edition of Gardner's *Art Through the Ages* (2000). In the next semester, I found myself drawn to Helen Gardner during the search for my thesis topic. I connected my passion for American art history with my curiosity to know more about the undocumented life of an important historical figure. Early on, as I scanned the many different editions of *Art Through the Ages*, I did not know what I was going to write. There were boundless options and ways to navigate her textbooks. Then, I scanned to the first page of the second edition and read, "The chapter on art in the United States has been re-written..." (Gardner, 1936, p. iii), and I was hooked. These eleven words changed my life forever.

It quickly became clear that in order to answer the question of "why did Helen Gardner rewrite the chapter on American art?" I had to answer "who is Helen Gardner and what did she do in her life, especially in that period between the two editions (1926 and 1936), to affect the way she wrote about art?"

TOOLS FOR THE JOB

I comfortably found my role in research defined as a historiographer. There are specific types of historic study that researchers use. As a historiographer, I sought to understand the ways in which past historians wrote and studied in a particular way because of their own life history. Many have found that defining parts of oneself to be a restrictive revelation, but I found it to be empowering. By embracing myself as a historiographer, I was able to know how I would be able to achieve my research goals. I

looked at the two editions of the textbooks and asked, “Why did Helen Gardner rewrite and add a chapter on American art?” By using a historiographical approach, I was able to look into the life and the era during which Helen Gardner wrote the first and second editions of her text *Art Through the Ages*. By defining my role I was able to know the ways in which I would conduct research. I viewed the defining factors of my type of research to not be a limitation, but to guide for me. I examined a comprehensive history of the American art chapters of this text by utilizing a historiographical approach, and I looked into the life of Helen Gardner and attempted to determine why some of her selections of images in the American art sections of her second edition were made, by comparing these choices to those Gardner used in the book’s first edition. I then examined and explained some events in Helen Gardner’s life history to see if I could uncover possible reasons why she made the text and image choices that she did. I also used literary criticism, specifically New Historicism to investigate the syntax of Helen Gardner’s text to gain a more full understanding of the words used in this text. This study supports my belief that we must always seek answers to our questions and investigate deeper into the research material in order to investigate questions and resources in the most complete way possible. New Historicism has enabled me to search into Gardner’s book for answers to questions I have about this author, and investigate the changes she made from the first to the second edition of her text *Art Through the Ages*.

ALL ROADS LEAD TO THE ART INSTITUTE OF CHICAGO

During the summer months of my research, I began to uncover little snippets of Helen Gardner’s life. She was born March 17, 1878 in Manchester, New Hampshire and

as a teen she moved with her family to Chicago, Illinois. After a short career as a teacher, from 1910 to 1915, Helen Gardner traveled with her mother to many places in Europe and Africa, including Greece and Egypt (Kader, 2000, p.165). This trip across the world affected the rest of Gardner's life. Egyptian art was one of her most intense interests, both personally and professionally. After traveling, she returned to the University of Chicago to obtain her Master's Degree in art history in 1917. She was hired as the Art Institute of Chicago's first art historian in 1920 and worked there until she retired due to illness in 1944. She lived, obtained her undergraduate and master's degree, and worked in Chicago until her death. I established details about her early childhood, adulthood, career, and death, but I still wanted to better understand her personality. I was beginning to uncover aspects of her professional life at the Art Institute of Chicago, and contacted the archivists there to see if more information about her personal and professional life was available. As I located new information about the life of Helen Gardner, I began to uncover important art historical events during the ten years between the first two editions of *Art Through the Ages*. The most important event I found consisted of the two *A Century of Progress* exhibitions hosted by the institution where Gardner worked. Continued research led me to believe these exhibitions may well have motivated Gardner to make changes to the second edition of her book. Spurred on by the potential to find further information about the author and these exhibitions, I visited the Ryerson & Burnham Archives at the Art Institute of Chicago on the famed Michigan Avenue. I found those large lions outside the institution as my good luck signs; I knew I was going to be able to find information about the author and her text books. It was exciting to

imagine Helen Gardner many decades ago walking past these sculptures and up the stairs just as I was doing in 2015. During my time in Chicago, I also had a chance to visit the University of Chicago's Special Collections Research Center to find images of Gardner from her 1901 undergraduate year book: *Cap and Gown*. One of the most important documents I was given by the staff there was an unpublished 1994 interview conducted by Sarah Tormollan with a former faculty member and friend of Helen Gardner, Harold Allen. This man, Harold Allen, provided information about Helen Gardner to various publications; he was interviewed by Tormollan in 1994 and spoke about his life. During this interview, Allen provided many statements about Helen Gardner such as her travels in Europe and Africa, her teaching principles, and her personality traits. It gave me an unprecedented look into what type of person Gardner was and it was someone who was passionate and lived and breathed art history. In my trip to the Ryerson & Burnham Archives, I was also provided with photographs and other materials about the two *A Century of Progress* exhibitions that became the foundation for my historical argument, regarding what prompted Helen Gardner to rewrite the second edition of her textbook.

MAIN CASES

My investigation into the reasons why Helen Gardner rewrote and added an extra chapter on American art to *Art Through the Ages* is based in comparing the illustrations found in the American art chapters of the two editions and comparing those image selections to the art exhibited in the *A Century of Progress* exhibitions. In my research, I established four cases for my argument: (a) mentioned artists, (b) *Lady Wentworth*, (c) *Marquis de Lafayette*, and (d) *Pathetic Song*.

Case one, in the 1933 and 1934 exhibition of *A Century of Progress* there were many colonial and early American artists displayed that Gardner mentions in her second edition of *Art Through the Ages*. It is my belief that by her direct contact with the early American Art of this extremely popular exhibition, she was inspired to include works by the artists she saw. In the 1926 edition, Helen Gardner includes discussion of only four American painters: George Inness, John La Farge, James Whistler, and John Singer Sargent. Of the five illustrations of artwork by these mentioned American painters in Gardner's text, four of them were held in the collection of the Art Institute of Chicago. Information included in Gardner's 1926 book, was drawn from the holdings of the institute where she worked. Seventeen painters mentioned in the two Art in the United States chapters in the 1936 edition were not previously mentioned in the first edition. These artists are: John Smibert, John Singleton Copley, Benjamin West, Gilbert Stuart, Thomas Sully, Samuel F.B. Morse, Homer D. Martin, Alexander Wyant, John Trumbull, John Vanderlyn, Washington Allston, Thomas Eakins, George Fuller, Winslow Homer, John Twatchman, and George Bellows, as well as an inclusion of the unknown artist who painted *Mrs. Freake and Baby Mary*. In the two American art chapters of the 1936 edition of the book, Gardner included sixteen illustrations. Only four of these artworks were owned by the Art Institute, and of those four, three were included in the previous edition. Clearly, things were not as they had been in the decade between the publishing of these two editions.

Case two of my argument examined Copley's *Lady Wentworth*. From 1915-1925 this painting was discussed in five publications, and from 1926-1937 it was written about

in eight (Sotheby's, 2005). Other than the Chicago show in 1934, up until this time the painting was displayed only at the 1911 Exhibition of Colonial Portraits at The Metropolitan Museum of Art. Gardner may have read about this painting prior to 1934, but it is most likely that she first saw it in the 1934 *Century of Progress* exhibition. *The Bulletin of the Art Institute of Chicago*, claims that the 1934 exhibition “stresses first the development of American painting... ever since the war there has been in the United States a keener interest in native expression, a growing knowledge of our earlier artists, and a developing appreciation of their talents” (1934, p. 38). It was in the 1934 exhibition at the Art Institute of Chicago where this painting was displayed, and likely where Helen Gardner first encountered it.

Case three examined the exhibition provenance of Morse's *The Marquis de Lafayette*. The painting was exhibited twice before being shown at the 1934 *A Century of Progress* exhibition. This occurred once at The Metropolitan Museum of Art during the show *Samuel F.B. Morse, American Painter, a Study Occasioned by an Exhibition of his Paintings* in 1932. There is a chance that Gardner saw this piece at the Metropolitan in 1932, but it is most likely Gardner first encountered the painting in the 1934 exhibition at the Art Institute and the decision made to include it in her 1936 edition of *Art Through the Ages*.

My fourth case was dedicated to Thomas Eakin's painting *The Pathetic Song*, which had a unique evolution at the 1933 and 1934 *A Century of Progress* exhibition. Of the American art exhibited, it is the only piece mentioned by Helen Gardner that is first introduced in sketch form in 1933 and as a finished piece in the 1934 show. She would

have been able to see the progression of the work over these years and, in her book, hints at this process: “[Eakins] produced and finished work after making a large number of preliminary drawings” (Gardner, 1936, p. 682). Helen Gardner includes the image of the completed painting in her second chapter on American art (1936).

These four cases were the pillars in my arguments regarding why the two *A Century of Progress* exhibitions had such a profound impact on Helen Gardner’s second edition of *Art Through the Ages*. Without her contact with these two exhibitions, I firmly believe that such significant changes would not have been made in the second edition of Gardner’s text. These examples are useful in showing that art historical writers are influenced by the world around them, which helps us to see the malleable nature of art history information and images included in their work. This recognition is important in understanding the interpretive character of historical and art historical writing.

FUTURE RESEARCH

To quote a great historian and my advisor, Dr. Paul Bolin, “Research is like a funnel. You must continue to narrow it down until you find the pure form of what you want to investigate” (Personal Communication, April 10, 2014). Early on, it was difficult for me to focus my studies as I saw there are many more avenues to explore in Gardner’s text *Art Through the Ages*. Considering Gardner’s text and following the study I have begun here, the next logical aspect of her book to investigate could be Gardner’s chapter on Modern art. This is another part of her book where she focuses on the art of America. When I began this study, I was interested in looking at the way she talked about the lack of hope for the future of American art. I thought it may have been a reflection of the

times in which she was living. A close analysis of her wording used when discussing modern American art in the first edition of her book and comparing it with the content of the second edition may also reveal changes. These alterations could be analyzed in light of events of the Great Depression and may reveal if her optimism for American art and the nation had changed. Similar investigations into her other chapters of the text would also be valuable to study. Did other exhibitions or encounters with art influence her writings?

According to Bart Ryckbosch, Glasser and Rosenthal Archivist at the Art Institute of Chicago: when Helen Gardner died, her publisher Harcourt, Brace & Company paid her family and bought all of her personal papers and drafts of *Art Through the Ages*. If these documents could be found and studied, a wealth of new information about Helen Gardner would be revealed. This would be a monumental find for art history and for the field of art education. Continued study along these lines would provide opportunity to use the research methods of historiography and literary criticism to investigate further the viewpoints of Helen Gardner and examine the impact *A Century of Progress* exhibition had on her text.

Another possibility for research would be to conduct further research into the *A Century of Progress* exhibitions and the impact these events had on American art collecting and scholarly writings.

This exhibition had tremendous impact on Helen Gardner, and it may be useful to see its impact on other art historians and artists as well. Researchers of my field could also use this thesis as a source of inspiration to investigate the many other important

female art historians that have been overlooked, such as Marilyn Stokstad. There are numerous art history text books that emerged around the same time. One could analyze the similarities and differences present within these textbooks. It is my hope that this thesis and suggestions for future research inspire the next historian to look deeper into the lives and works of female art historians.

CONCLUSION

This study has effectively demonstrated the importance the *A Century of Progress* exhibitions in 1933 and 1934 at the Art Institute of Chicago had on the selection of image and content included in the American art chapters in the 1936 edition of Gardner's *Art Through the Ages*. Today, this text book continues to shape and educate students learning art history throughout the world. As I have talked with students at my institution, it is striking to see how Helen Gardner's text continues to inspire the next generation of learners. My research has uncovered biographical information on who this important and yet relatively unknown genius who started it all in terms of introducing an art history text to her students in 1926. This study has strived to show that one's own personal history can change the world of art history forever.

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