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**Constructing Citizenship by Telling Tales: Anna Curtis Chandler's
Storytelling Practices During the United States' Involvement in World
War I (1917-1918)**

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**Constructing Citizenship by Telling Tales: Anna Curtis Chandler's
Storytelling Practices During the United States' Involvement in World
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by

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Dedication

For Colin, whose words continue to carry me through this world and into the next.

Acknowledgements

When I began my journey at The University of Texas at Austin, I had no idea how involved this adventure would become. Perhaps because my thesis originated around the time I became engaged and neared completion when I was suspended between my two greatest joys—my partner, who is pursuing his PhD at the University of California, Irvine, and my support network in Austin, who enthusiastically approach art education each day—the affectionate association of authorship resonates with me. Like love, this document has required immeasurable time and energy to nurture and cultivate. It has kept me up at night, causing me to repeat semi-crafted sentences as if they were Pablo Neruda’s own poems. And, like love, it was fostered by a close circle of allies.

My thesis would not have been possible without the prompting of Dr. Paul Bolin, whose unwavering kindness and curiosity have empowered me to revisit the past while remembering present concerns. When he first mentioned Anna Curtis Chandler in one of my graduate seminars, he likely did not anticipate that anyone in the classroom would devote their academic tenure to uncovering her pedagogical strategies. However, his ability to teach with inspiration and purpose—guiding others on their paths of self-discovery—have permanently molded my own practice. Dr. Melinda Mayer has also selflessly aided in the formulation of my central research question, offering insights that have refined my work while broadening my understanding of museum education’s history. Likewise, Dr. Christina Bain and Dr. Heidi Powell have propelled my research into new directions, and I am forever grateful for their compassionate conversations. Together, they have shown me how it is possible to thrive in higher education with grace and gusto.

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You have all become part of my family, challenging my personal worldview in the most brilliant of ways. With love, I thank you.

Abstract

Constructing Citizenship by Telling Tales: Anna Curtis Chandler's Storytelling Practices During the United States' Involvement in World War I (1917-1918)

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The University of Texas at Austin, 2016

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This study investigates how an art educator employed as a storyteller at the Metropolitan Museum of Art (Met) in New York City during the United States' active military involvement in World War I engaged with ethics and issues of national identity on the American home front. By 1917, nearly a decade after Story Hours were introduced to the Museum by Assistant Secretary Henry Watson Kent, skilled orator Anna Curtis Chandler had begun to reimagine and expand the Met's storytelling program. Divided into three primary components, the Story Hours welcomed Museum members on Saturdays, the general public on Sundays, and children on select weekdays. Moreover, Chandler broadened her storytelling activities to include written narratives, launching her career as an author with the seminal storybook, *Magic Pictures of the Long Ago: Stories of the People of Many Lands*, in 1918.

An examination is made into the Met's founding, early development, and educational endeavors leading up to and during the United States' active military involvement in World War I. Additionally, an overview of Chandler's background and impetus for creating stories rooted in empathetic engagement is presented. This study implements historical interpretation of archival data from the Metropolitan Museum of Art Archives and Wellesley College Archives, as well as a chapter from Chandler's aforementioned storybook, *Magic Pictures of the Long Ago*, to unpack her educational agenda during this turbulent time period. Using substantiated and purposely grounded historical imagination, I argued that Chandler developed an alternative Americanization program that cemented audiences within the frame of democratic nationalism, supplied an imaginary escape from the War's harsh realities, and invited audience members to (re)construct their identities as citizens.

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Chapter 1: Introduction to the Study

At the turn of the nineteenth century, several art museums in the United States began to experiment with storytelling programs designed to educate visitors about particular artworks through carefully constructed oral narratives. By 1917—nearly a decade after Story Hours were introduced to the Metropolitan Museum of Art (Met) in New York City and the same year the United States joined Allied forces in Europe—skilled orator Anna Curtis Chandler had begun to reimagine and expand the Met’s storytelling program. At a time when American values were being tested on the warfront, Chandler dynamically engaged with ethics and issues of national identity on the home front through her storytelling program, which was divided into three primary components: Saturday Story Hours for Museum members, Sunday Story Hours for the general public, and participatory Children’s Hours for the youngest learners. Moreover, she broadened her storytelling activities to include written narratives, launching her career as an author with the seminal storybook, *Magic Pictures of the Long Ago: Stories of the People of Many Lands*, in 1918.

RESEARCH QUESTIONS

The following questions provided the motivation and direction for this historical investigation:

Central Research Question

What ethical values did Anna Curtis Chandler engage with and seek to communicate throughout her career as a public storyteller at the Metropolitan Museum of Art (Met) during the United States’ active military involvement in World War I (1917-1918)?

Sub-Question

How did these ethical values develop or shift, and what social and political factors influenced these developments?

PROBLEM STATEMENT

Although art museum educators today continue to evaluate, assess, and fortify their institutional positions, little research has been devoted to examining art museum educators' role in political and military conflicts. In the last decade alone, the United States has participated in tumultuous power struggles on multiple fronts, such as the War on Terror, the War on Drugs, and nationwide police brutality. Art museum educators do not work in isolation, and their gallery activities are likely impacted—either overtly or subtly—by the United States' domestic and international endeavors. Intrigued by this nebulous connection between art museum education and national politics, my thesis investigated an art museum educator whose career both offered the advantage of historical hindsight and engaged directly with the United States' involvement in World War I. By studying Anna Curtis Chandler's storytelling activities at the Metropolitan Museum of Art from 1917 to 1918, modern art museum educators may provide increased reflection toward and greater understanding of how their teaching practices and learning objectives are expressly entangled with seemingly distant military and political events.

MOTIVATIONS FOR RESEARCH

Ikat. Batik. Warp. Weft. Poverty. Head hunting. Heritage. Tourism. Partially hidden in my rather bleak office cubicle at Asia Society Texas Center, I stared at these words on my computer monitor, questioning their connotations and wondering how I could make them become more than abstract concepts. I was in the process of compiling a docent training manual, which would provide the primary materials necessary to prepare tours of

the museum's upcoming exhibition on textile production in Island Southeast Asia. As I sat at my desk pondering my role in the objects' presentation, vibrant tapestries were being installed in the gallery above my head, tapestries originally intended for ritual practices, private use, and commercial consumption. The museum's senior staff believed the artworks' materiality would captivate visitors, but I wanted to move beyond aesthetic captivation in order to illuminate the complex narratives these handmade pieces possessed. Who made them? Why were they crafted? How were their histories entangled with international politics, local lifeways, problematic labor laws, colonial relations, and gendered identities? And, perhaps most importantly, how would I share their stories with the public in a meaningful, relevant, and accessible way?

Whatever I wrote for the docent training manual would be taken as institutionalized truth, and I was painfully aware of the implications this power bestowed upon me. From my coursework as an anthropology student at Rice University, I understood that facts were social constructs, relying on uneven power dynamics to achieve collective consensus. I did not want the docents—or the visitors they would be sharing the information with—to believe that my training manual could fully encapsulate the multiplicities of lived experiences that the exhibition contained. There were so many stories to tell, and I wanted to do justice to the ones I felt were most critical to narrate. Selecting which stories to highlight was an arduous task. Imposing my personal preferences on tales that were not my own seemed unfair, even paternalistic. Who was I to say that the women's weavings were a product of their nations' tumultuous histories, ravaged by internal political strife and colonial domination? How could I value the objects' symbolic associations over their production practices? After staring blankly at my monitor for nearly an hour, I realized that I did not have the luxury to ponder the museum educator's responsibility to the artists or

their creations. I was an intern with a deadline, and whether I liked it or not, the manual had to be completed within the week.

With newfound determination—or was it desperation?—I began to carefully select each word I typed, measuring its capacity to articulate what I wanted to say about a group of often overlooked women who had long been forgotten by the rest of the world. I imagined how these women would react if they could read my Word document. Would they agree with my assessment? Or, would they argue that I had reduced their life's work to a mere 10 pages of insufficient analysis? Either way, it was clear to me the docent manual had become as much a representation of myself as it was the exhibition's content. In between paragraphs about Sisilia Sii's warp ikat patterns and Timor's 1974 revolution, my own story emerged. As a young, privileged woman who had been educated at a liberal American university and believed in universal human rights, I could not remove myself from the narrative. I was not a neutral author who could recount a story without emotion. I was an active part of the story, and the story was a dynamic reflection of me.

In many ways, every educational endeavor is a form of storytelling. When I write a didactic panel for an art museum, I am creating my own interpretation of the artwork, seeking to offer readers a point of entry they did not discover on their own. Each time I step before a tour group, I am cognizant of the story I am about to tell as I accompany them through the galleries, inflecting my voice in order to build anticipation and highlight the plot's development. Every action I perform—both in an education department's secluded offices and in the public galleries—develops a story. Stories and their orators, therefore, are truly what animate an art museum. Storytellers breathe life into the often cold, borderline sterile environment that regular museum visitors have come to love and that uninitiated visitors likely find to be jarring. They are the magicians of the galleries,

conjuring visions of faraway lands and people most visitors cannot (or will not) ever meet. They are the gatekeepers, waiting to welcome everyone and anyone who is willing to listen.

Yet, stories are not all encompassing. Unable to capture the full narrative possibilities present in the galleries, stories are burdened with intrinsic limitations. Offering snippets of the past (real or fictitious), stories reflect their storyteller's structural and substantive decisions. We, as storytellers, select what to share and, conversely, what will not be discussed. We hope our words will spark visitors' curiosity, inviting them to investigate artworks on their own and explore the museum's other resources. Yet, our stories do more than that. They reveal our values as educators and art enthusiasts, and often expose our sociopolitical biases. Consequently, being able to understand the silences that fill an art museum's galleries is as important as dissecting the content that is explicitly imparted. What is not said speaks volumes about who we are, what we believe, and what we seek to teach. It is the silences that expose us and our ethical values, baring our very beings to the world for judgement (Trouillot, 1995; Verdery, 2014).

Fascinated by such silences, I hope to use this thesis as a starting point to explore their various articulations, applications, and consequences. At the broadest level, I am interested in examining how art museum educators have participated in the construction of knowledge, particularly as it relates to art history and institutional authority. How have art museum educators created metanarratives in the galleries, and how have these stories responded to changing educational objectives, organizational missions, staff transitions, etc.? What roles have art museum educators maintained in the galleries, and how have their teaching strategies developed over the years? Although these questions are too broad to be answered here, I intend to pursue a doctoral degree in order to more fully examine their possibilities. This thesis, in turn, focused on a small sliver of art museum educators' roles

in knowledge production, specifically the ethical values promoted during storytelling activities.

RESEARCH METHODS

In order to answer my proposed research questions, I employed historical research methods and grounded speculation in conjunction with textual analysis. I based my analysis on two primary sources written by Chandler during the United States' involvement in World War I, enabling me to sieve her storytelling techniques through the thinnest filter possible. Published in October 1917, Chandler's article, "Museum Story Hours," in *The Storytellers' Magazine* provided fundamental background information on the Met's storytelling program and her approach to gallery teaching. I coupled this introductory source with Chandler's seminal storybook, *Magic Pictures of the Long Ago: Stories of the People of Many Lands*, which was published by Henry Holt and Company in 1918.

Additionally, I conducted archival research, gathering supplemental primary sources that expanded my understanding of Chandler's professional life at the Metropolitan Museum of Art. Images of Chandler working as a storyteller and/or gallery teacher at the Met were challenging to secure, but have served as an integral form of visual evidence. In August 2015, I visited the following repositories: Wellesley College Archives, which houses significant biographical information detailing Chandler's education and post-1940 professional life; Hunter College Archives, which once held a box of lantern slides and ephemera related to Chandler's storytelling activities, but is currently missing; and the Metropolitan Museum of Art Archives, which boasts a comprehensive review of Chandler's career at the Met, including handwritten annual reports from the 1910s, her petition for employment, and heated correspondence between herself and the former Secretary of the Metropolitan Museum of Art, Henry Watson Kent. Previous scholars of

Chandler have cited the 92nd Street Y, the New York Public Library, and the Archives of American Art, but I did not identify relevant materials in any of these collections. Archivists at the New York Public Library and the Archives of American Art were unaware of any items concerning Chandler, and the 92nd Street Y held only a small number of documents relating to Chandler's later storytelling performances. A more thorough discussion of the research methodology and my investigative activities is found in Chapter 3.

DEFINITION OF TERMS

Ethical values – The set of established principles governing virtuous behavior. When an individual acts ethically, they are often adhering to a high standard of conduct that is not based on clear-cut right and wrong decisions. Instead, they are prioritizing their personal understanding of competing ethical values in order to choose the “greater of two goods,” more pessimistically known as the “lesser of two evils.” Examples of ethical values include empathy, trustworthiness, respect, responsibility, fairness, caring, and citizenship.

Learning objectives – The knowledge and/or skills that students should possess at the conclusion of a lesson. Knowledge refers to the content that students should know and understand, whereas skills are the abilities that students should exhibit. American educationist John Franklin Bobbitt (1876-1956) introduced learning objectives to curriculum planning in 1918, proposing that the specific activities resulting from an assignment were a curriculum's objectives (Bobbitt, 1918, 1924).

Moral art education – During the early twentieth century, art educators believed students who analyzed visual materials could gain specific virtues and morals. This “spiritual influence” was thought to communicate ideals and artists' personalities to newly enlightened students (Stankiewicz, 1984, p. 87).

Moral education in the care perspective – Developed by Noddings (2002), moral education in the care perspective advocates a four-step process for illuminating potential in others and encouraging them to strive to be the best versions of themselves.

Picture study movement – Lasting from 1895 through the 1920s, American classrooms witnessed an influx of visual materials—largely reproductions of famous paintings—that became known as the picture study movement. Although reproductions were visibly different from their originals, they were viewed as an efficient alternative to taking students on a field to see the source material and examine artworks’ aesthetic qualities firsthand (Efland, 1990; Stankiewicz, 1984).

Progressive Era – A period of social activism and political reform in the United States that flourished from the 1890s through the 1920s. Characteristics of the Progressive Era include purification of the government, modernization efforts, an increased focus on family and education, women’s suffrage, and prohibition.

Storytelling – The act of using words and actions to convey a story’s elements and images while encouraging the listener’s imagination. Storytelling can be interactive and/or participatory, but it is not inherently either. In this thesis, storytelling is employed to refer to both oral and written storytelling.

World War I – Fought between July 28, 1914, and November 11, 1918, World War I was also known as the War to End War, the Great War, and (in the United States) the European War. When Archduke Franz Ferdinand, heir to the Austro-Hungarian Empire, and his wife were publicly assassinated by a Serbian nationalist on June 28, 1914, a rapid chain of events in Europe followed. Alliances were quickly created, situating Germany, Austria-Hungary, and the Ottoman Empire (the so-called Central Powers) against Great Britain, Russia, France, Japan, and Italy (known as the Allied Powers). The United States entered World War I on April 6, 1917, four days after President Woodrow Wilson requested Congress to

declare war against Germany (Wilson, 1917). Once the United States' provided additional troops and supplies, the Allied Powers emerged victorious.

LIMITATIONS OF THE STUDY

Chandler was not the first storyteller to weave imaginative tales in an art museum, yet her contributions to the Met illustrate her significance in art education's history. During her nearly 18-year career as an instructor at the Met, Chandler attracted tens of thousands of visitors to her storytelling activities, established cooperative partnerships with local public schools, and equipped teachers with resources via lectures and articles. Furthermore, she performed for two nationally broadcast radio programs and wrote eight widely popular story books, advancing storytelling as dramatic or drama-based pedagogy in art museums.

The scope of my research, however, is restricted to the time of the United States' active military involvement in World War I (1917-1918). This time period is at the beginning of Chandler's museum education career and, therefore, does not include many of her later accomplishments or publications. Although this may appear obvious, I was unable to directly access Chandler's personal thoughts, professional ambitions, and educational goals without the filter of an interviewer or editor. Even her handwritten notes, now scattered across archival collections, may be inhibited by Chandler's natural instinct to carefully construct her professional reputation. Furthermore, this thesis did not exhaustively examine every possible interpretation of Chandler's storytelling practices from 1917 to 1918. Instead, I sought to propose the most likely consequences of Chandler's oral and written narratives, which are framed, analyzed, and interpreted by my personal understanding of her work.

BENEFITS TO THE FIELD OF ART EDUCATION

This thesis examined the ethical values that Anna Curtis Chandler engaged with and sought to communicate during her career as a public storyteller at the Met during the United States' active military involvement in World War I (1917-1918). Yet, because national and international power struggles are not confined to a particular space, place, or time, modern art museum educators may gain critical insight into their own teaching practices through employing an historical lens. When art museum educators move beyond the present and delve into their (often conflicted) past, the field of art museum education at large may constructively reflect and reappraise its condition. By recognizing parallels between the past and present, art museum educators may develop a deeper understanding of their pedagogical responsibilities, decisions, and powers.

OVERVIEW OF CHAPTERS

This thesis is divided into seven interconnected chapters. In Chapter 1, I provide an introduction to the study, concisely reviewing key components of this historical investigation. In Chapter 2, the literature review, I expand upon the key terms defined in Chapter 1 and present important concepts that are discussed and applied later in this thesis. In Chapter 3, I review my research methodology, examining how historians interact with their source materials and how I, in turn, experienced becoming a historian. In Chapter 4, I establish the locale: the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York City. By exploring the Met's founding, development, and activities during the United States' involvement in World War I, I hoped to create an historical reimagining of what the Museum was like during Chandler's early career. In Chapter 5, I dive into Chandler's life, detailing her upbringing, education, and involvement with the Met. Although it is impossible to know every aspect of who Chandler was, primary sources enabled me to uncover a large portion of her constructed public and/or professional identity. In Chapter 6, I analyze the data, tying

Chandler's storytelling practices to the Met's educational objectives and the United States' active military involvement in World War I. In Chapter 7, I postulate about this thesis' wider implications for the field of art education.

Chapter 2: Review of Literature

The following literature review provides a detailed synopsis of important concepts that are discussed and applied in this thesis. In seeking an answer to my research questions, I employed historical research methodologies and defined data as primary sources associated with Chandler's professional life. Consequently, the sources below are not meant to be viewed as data, but they have instead informed my understanding of Chandler's storytelling career. This literature review is divided into six interrelated sections that establish the basis of my research: (a) the United States' entry into World War I and the home front, which helps to contextualize Anna Curtis Chandler and her work at the Met; (b) moral art education and the picture study movement, which provides insight into the importance of engaging audiences in the process of examining and responding to artworks; (c) traditional storytelling techniques and methods, which establish a foundational understanding of storytelling as a discipline; (d) ethical values and moral education in the care perspective, which connect stories to their educational potential; (e) John Franklin Bobbitt and the development of learning objectives, which situate the Met's educational endeavors within the larger history of education; and (f) silences in history and archives, which underscore the challenges associated with (re)writing history as a research methodology.

THE UNITED STATES' ENTRY INTO WORLD WAR I

When Archduke Franz Ferdinand, heir to the Austro-Hungarian Empire, and his wife were publicly assassinated by a Serbian nationalist on June 28, 1914, a rapid chain of events in Europe ensued. Alliances were quickly formed, situating Germany, Austria-Hungary, and the Ottoman Empire (the so-called Central Powers) against Great Britain, Russia, France, Japan, and Italy (known as the Allied Powers). The United States did not

immediately back either side in the conflict. Instead, President Woodrow Wilson sought to broker peace, repeatedly sending his top aide, Colonel Edward House, to both alliances. Each side was confident in their impending victory, however, and calls for peace were ignored (“World War I history,” 2009). Regarding the American public, Wilson underscored his faith in peaceful resolutions, asking citizens to be “impartial in thought as well as in action” (Wilson, 1914).

Neutrality was not easy for many Americans to accept. In 1915, German U-boats infamously sank the non-military ocean-liner *Lusitania* off the coast of Ireland, killing 128 Americans. Closer to home, more frightening news followed. In 1916, Americans learned that Germany had invited Mexico to join the Central Powers against the United States. Yet, it was not until Germany avowed that it would pursue unrestricted submarine warfare in January 1917 that Wilson decided to break his promise for pacifism (“Woodrow Wilson,” n.d.). On April 2, 1917, Wilson requested Congress to declare war against Germany, arguing “the world must be made safe for democracy” (Wilson, 1917). Four days later, Congress overwhelmingly voted in favor of Wilson’s war declaration (“Woodrow Wilson,” n.d.).

In much the same way Wilson had been torn between pacifism and action, American public opinion on the United States’ entry into World War I was strongly divided. Although several thousand U.S. citizens attempted to enlist in the German army, most German Americans and Scandinavian Americans hoped for neutrality (Strachan, 2003). The Irish Catholic community in the United States was largely opposed to helping Britain, citing the Easter Rebellion of 1916 in Ireland (Leary, 1967). In contrast, pacifism was promoted by many Protestants (Appelbaum, 2009), as well as by most leaders of the women’s movement (Early, 1997). Britain, however, was not lacking in American supporters. Intellectuals, Northerners, and families with personal connections to Britain

argued for the United States' entry into World War I (Peterson, 1939). Thus, proponents for all three options—support for the Central Powers, neutrality, and backing for the Allied Powers—were active throughout the United States.

Despite divided public opinion on the United States' entry into World War I, many government agencies and civilians endorsed the war effort and targeted immigrant communities, believing they were protecting the American home front. Fueled by an arguably dangerous mix of patriotism and xenophobia, the wartime government—supported by many “native” citizens—advocated Americanization programs designed to ensure immigrant loyalty. The Committee on Public Information, the government's main war propaganda agency, created a Division of Work with the Foreign-Born. This newly established organization placed announcements of Liberty bond sales and Red Cross drives in non-English newspapers, and pressured immigrant leaders to promote the war effort in their communities. Furthermore, the Postmaster General required non-English newspapers to submit translations for the government to review and, ultimately, censor. Immigrant repression also occurred less visibly, as the Justice Department contracted private associations to monitor the activities of “suspect foreigners,” particularly Germans (Diner, 1998). Public schools similarly participated in such discriminatory practices, often removing previously taught foreign languages from the curriculum. Not surprisingly, German-Americans and German immigrants suffered the most backlash, frequently left with no possibility of cultural autonomy in the United States (Diner, 1998; Paddock, 2014).

Immigrants were not the only group who had something to gain from demonstrating their value to the American home front. Although few could share the immigrants' degree of ostracization, some came close. University professors were forced to self-censor their ideas in order to retain their positions, and the American Association of University Professors (AAUP) declared that professors could be fired because of their “attitude or

conduct in relation to the war” (Diner, 1998, p. 258). The AAUP did little to support intellectual freedom, making their laissez-faire approach clear by failing to comment on Columbia University’s dismissal of psychologist James McKeen Cattell, one of the association’s founders, who had written to members of Congress protesting the use of American troops in Europe. Conversely, some professors capitalized upon the war as an opportunity to connect their research to war-related causes, such as mental testing, drafting procedures, intelligence test development, and weapon expansion. Psychiatrists, trained medical professionals, and social workers also hopped onto the war effort bandwagon, branding their activities as patriotic opportunities to help the United States’ fight for democracy (Diner, 1998).

Likewise, war patriotism benefited social purity, temperance, and recreation reformers, who were able to persuade the United States’ military to implement conservative policies restricting soldiers’ activities. Alcohol became banned in army camps, brothels and saloons were shuttered, and a Commission on Training Camp Activities was formed to provide “wholesome sports and entertainment” for the newly enlisted (Diner, 1998, p. 261). On the home front, most red-light districts were also closed. Citing a need to conserve grain and fuel, Congress temporarily banned brewing and distilling alcohol in 1917. A temporary prohibition amendment was ratified in 1919, although prohibition in the United States did not begin its 13-year stint until 1920 (Diner, 1998). Interestingly, women’s right to vote was positively impacted by the United States’ participation in World War I. In a speech given in 1918, Wilson asked citizens to rethink traditional female gender roles: “We have made women partners in the war; shall we admit them only to a partnership of suffering and sacrifice and toil and not to a partnership of privilege and right?” (Wilson in “A Vote for Women,” n.d.). The House of Representatives later passed the suffrage

amendment and the Senate enacted the bill in early 1919, just in time for women to vote in the 1920 elections (Diner, 1998).

MORAL ART EDUCATION AND THE PICTURE STUDY MOVEMENT

Issues of morality extended beyond the social and political spheres during the United States' involvement in World War I, and can be seen in educational movements. While direct reactions to the war tended to respond to “nativist hysteria” by restricting foreign influences in the classroom (Diner, 1998, p. 253), more generalized practices approached moral art education within the framework of the Progressive Era. In this context, foreign meant any of the countries constituting the Central Powers.

During the second half of the nineteenth century, a technological innovation dramatically transformed the way students could study art. Printmakers had discovered how to efficiently and economically publish colorful reproductions of popular artworks through the halftone printing process, paving the way for a visual revolution in classrooms across the country (Harris, 1979; Marzio, 1979). Lasting from 1895 through the 1920s, this influx of visual materials into classrooms became known as the picture study movement. Picture study was predicated on the idea that students could come to appreciate beauty and the aesthetic qualities of art by examining reproductions of masterworks (Efland, 1990; Stankiewicz, 1984). Although reproductions were visibly different from their originals, many art educators expected students to view the reproductions as if they were identical to the original works. In short, the introduction of art reproductions into classrooms was perceived by many to be a productive alternative to taking students on field trips to see the source material firsthand (Freeman, 2009; Stankiewicz, 1984).

Teachers who welcomed the picture study movement into their classrooms often followed a formulaic approach to incorporating visual materials into their lessons. Most

employed black-and-white and sepia reproductions of paintings created by canonized artists. Large reproductions were commonly exhibited in school hallways and classrooms, whereas smaller prints might be distributed to students during a lesson for them to individually inspect. Many contemporary books and articles advised educators to adopt one of the following methods for teaching art via picture study: (a) telling a story about how the artwork was made and who created it, (b) asking the children questions about the visual narrative and its subject matter, and (c) writing stories based on the images, among others (Clark, Hicks, & Perry, 1890, 1891a, 1891b; Clark, Hicks, & Prang, 1893; Froehlich & Snow, 1904, 1905; Heckman, 1925; Hicks & Locke, 1892, 1893; The Prang Company, 1908, 1914). Recommendations were also divided according to age. Primary school students were supposed to identify moral lessons, grammar school students were advised to learn about artistic composition, and older students were instructed to copy the prints in order to develop their artistic ability and refine their understanding of the elements and principles of design (Stankiewicz, 1984).

Yet, printed reproductions of famous artworks were used for more than teaching visual analysis. Art educators during this era believed picture studies could imbue students with specific virtues and morals. Combining formalist and aesthetic theories, picture study enthusiasts argued that works of art—even their cheap reproductions—communicated and transmitted the artist’s merits to the viewer. This “spiritual influence” was seen as a fundamental benefit of studying pictures, revealing a rather nostalgic longing for supposedly simpler times (Stankiewicz, 1984, p. 87). Moreover, it was believed that reproductions could familiarize students with the “highest ideals of art” and artists’ personalities (p. 90). Such principles were prized during this time of social reform, when picture study was meant to enlighten immigrant children about moral and religious instruction (Stankiewicz, 1984). As Hurll wrote in 1914, “the perfect picture *satisfies* the

senses, *stimulates* the critical faculties, and *inspires* the spiritual imagination” (p. 15, emphasis added). When looked at through this lens, the picture study movement becomes viewed as emblematic of a larger social development: Americanization programs and patriotic alignment with accepted, established pillars of social refinement.

TRADITIONAL STORYTELLING TECHNIQUES AND METHODS

Storytellers do not neatly fit into a single mold. There are no hard and fast rules dictating who is an accomplished presenter and who is not. Much like teachers seeking to incorporate picture study into their classrooms, though, there is a general consensus on what constitutes the act of storytelling and recommendations for its continued improvement.

According to Bauer’s 1993 publication, *New Handbook for Storytellers*, storytellers often develop their craft in response to listeners’ needs and preferences, and the most effective storytellers are able to perform narratives for diverse audiences by adhering to several standards. First, great storytellers understand how to pace their oration. They are careful not to rush the story, nor to let it drag. Instead, they have a powerful command over their speech and are able to measure their inflection and tone so as to maximize the plot’s twists and turns. Moreover, skilled storytellers know how to position themselves within a story, strategically selecting their attire in order to match both the narrative and the venue. They also thoughtfully animate the story using gestures. Movements should appear natural and be a fluid extension of the plot (Bauer, 1993). Although this may appear obvious, many storytelling guidebooks emphasize that storytellers should be comfortable dramatizing materials in front of an audience using a clear speaking voice and appropriate diction. This requires adequate preparation, both in terms of learning a story and its associated

vocabulary (Bailey, 1983; Baker & Greene, 1987; Bauer, 1993; Bauer & Freeman, 2015; Burrell, 1975; De Wit, 1979; Lyman, 1910; Spaulding, 2011).

Not all stories are created equal. There are criteria, however, that may aid in the creation and selection of appropriate stories for object-based lessons. In order for a story to be suited for oration, it must have a purpose and a clear plot. Baker and Greene define tellable stories in their 1987 publication, *Storytelling: Art and Technique*, as narratives that exhibit a single, well-defined theme and have an engrossing storyline that is easy for listeners to follow. Furthermore, tellable stories incorporate vivid imagery, believable characters, and dramatic appeal (Baker & Greene, 1987). In *Children's Faces Looking Up: Program Building for the Storyteller*, De Wit (1979) argues that stories with complicated plots and subplots, long passages of philosophical theory or soliloquies, exceptionally complex characters or descriptions, and extensive dialogue are generally not advisable for oration. According to De Wit, it is critical to determine whether or not a story is tellable. If visitors cannot understand the narrative, the story serves no purpose and no longer furthers the museum's mission. Therefore, storytellers should either prudently select established tellable tales or develop stories about artworks in an institution's collection on their own (De Wit, 1979).

In any given day, we hear a countless number of stories. Yet, very few of these stories stay with us. What makes a story memorable or, in other words, sticky? In their seminal text, *Made to Stick: Why Some Ideas Survive and Others Die*, Heath and Heath (2007) argue that sticky stories are “understandable, memorable, and effective in changing thought or behavior” (n.p.). Additionally, they are simple, unexpected, concrete, credible, and emotional. These five adjectives may be viewed as a succinct rubric for creating stories that visitors will not only enjoy, but also remember. Thus, storytellers should craft narratives that catch listeners off guard, compelling them to follow the clearly-defined plot

as it carries them through a variety of situations, descriptions, and characters. Effective stories are easy to listen to, meaning that they are not overly designed, complicated, or predictable. No one wants to hear a story that they think they have already heard, so it is imperative for storytellers to reinvent narratives that connect listeners with artworks in a refreshing—even surprising—way. This can be achieved by reimagining existing stories, adding new angles that elevate the original storyline, or by writing new stories from scratch (Heath & Heath, 2007).

According to the National Storytelling Network (n.d.), successful storytelling programs ignite active imagination and redirect visitors' attention to a museum's artworks through close looking. However, the National Storytelling Network advises that storytellers should not just highlight relevant and physically present objects, but they should also involve their audiences in imaginative journeys that illuminate the museum's collection while transporting listeners to different worlds. Ideally, every component of a story should reinforce the museum's collection, calling attention to specific objects that are most closely related to the narrative. Stories should, therefore, be viewed as a vivid, multi-sensory tool for guiding visitors through the galleries, inviting listeners to combine stories with objects by coupling visuals with sounds. The National Storytelling Network cautions that stories should always have a deeper purpose than filling a programming timeslot. They should empower audiences to explore the museum (either alone or in a group) and discover the additional stories that they can personally create by looking at the objects (National Storytelling Network, n.d.).

Yet, stories have not solely been told in museums for the exclusive purpose of connecting visitors with objects. As one storytelling handbook from the early twentieth century demonstrates, storytelling supported Americanization programs designed to integrate immigrants into the United States' social sphere (Forbes, 1923). Stories with

patriotic undertones were performed in evening schools, which were considered to be a “practical” location for Americanization (p. 52). At evening schools, storytelling was viewed as an effective tool for teaching English, state and national history, and American customs, ideals, and opportunities. Outside of evening schools, storytelling could be approached more broadly and tackle less history-based concerns.

First, storytelling could reassure foreign-born women—who, according to Forbes, were the most emotionally affected by immigration—that America was not so different from their homelands. Second, stories told in public venues could create a common ground for adults and children to learn about American history, customs, cooking, etc. In these contexts, storytelling could serve as an equalizer, essentially enabling immigrants to acquire knowledge that American-born citizens already possessed. Third, storytelling could inspire listeners to improve their own communities based on some historical character’s dedication, resourcefulness, and ingenuity (Forbes, 1923). This attitude directly aligns with the Progressive Era’s cries for social improvement via social reform, positing storytelling as a vehicle for such developments. Lastly, Forbes includes a diagram (see Figure 1) that visualizes in the shape of a lighthouse storytelling’s impact on listeners. The base of the lighthouse signifies the “raw material supplied by the story,” which leads to listeners’ imaginations constructing meaning from the story (p. 65). This, in turn, becomes the “ideal evolved by the hearer” before radiating into the acts and qualities motivated by the ideal: “helpfulness, patriotism, bravery, honesty, ambition for college, choice of work, social service, and citizenship” (p. 65). Such terms are meant to encapsulate the American experience, and are all complex ethical values that listeners were thought to gain during any given storytelling performance.

ETHICAL VALUES AND MORAL EDUCATION

By their very nature, stories teach values. They often challenge a “good” character to overcome adversity, whether that be difficult life circumstances, a “bad” character, or something else. Dialogues and soliloquies invite listeners to tease out what each character is experiencing, enabling audiences to step into their shoes—even momentarily—and share the stage. Thus, narrative development becomes more than simple plot movement: it functions as the foundation for morality lessons and ethical values. In short, storytelling can be interpreted as a dramatizing pedagogy steeped in cognitive developmental theories of moral education (Winston, 1998).

According to Noddings (2002), there are four fundamental components of moral education in the care perspective. The first component is modeling, or showing in our behavior what it means to care about something or someone. Modeling requires an almost self-conscious attitude because the “carer” must be cautious not to ignore the “cared-for” while trying to concentrate on the appropriate presentation of virtue (p. 16). Open-ended dialogue between the “carer” and the “cared-for” is the second component of the care model (p. 16). In dialogue, both parties must speak freely about a particular, sometimes shifting, topic that can lead to more important or sensitive issues. Although a participant may not be suffering or be especially in need of attention, dialogue is critical in moral education because it implies the question, “What are you going through?” (p. 17). This question immerses both participants in an internalized moral discussion, encouraging inward reflection and deeper self-understanding. The third component of moral education in the care perspective is practice. For Noddings, caring for and about others is not an inherent skill. Instead, it must be nurtured over time. While she admits that no one can be forced to learn caring, she proposes that children should practice caring in schools by working together in small groups or participating in voluntary community service

opportunities. The fourth and final component is confirmation, meaning that the “carer” brings out the best in others and “draw[s] the cared-for’s attention to his or her better self” (p. 20).

Within the context of Noddings’ (2002) moral education in the care perspective, the process of illuminating potential in others and encouraging them to strive to be the best versions of themselves readily translates to the development of ethical values. Ethical values may be viewed as a general term encompassing a range of principles and beliefs, ranging from empathy to citizenship to civic and personal responsibility (Howe, 2013; Maibom, 2014; Seymour, 2004). Each of these ethical values relate to Noddings’ (2005) conceptualization of place-based education.

In place-based education, individuals attach meaning to their environment through four intersecting elements: (a) political and psychological attitudes, (b) interactions with environment, (c) local and global citizenship, and (d) personal affinity. According to Noddings (2005), political and psychological attitudes are developed in relation to contemporary events. Educators should be aware of students’ relationships with their “homeplaces,” understanding that violence may have motivated immigration or migration (p. 59). By analyzing students’ interactions with the environment, educators can gain deeper insights into how students view themselves in relation to their surroundings. Do they promote human activity at the cost of environmental destruction, or do they contemplate who will be impacted by their actions? Likewise, she advises educators to pay attention to how students connect with their local and global identities. Stories can serve as a powerful teaching tool here, empowering students to articulate how they view their position in the world. Lastly, Noddings argues that citizenship—among other ethical values—requires “an understanding and sympathy for people’s attachment to place,” downplaying nationalism in favor of personal affinity (p. 65). Locales are not defined in

terms of geographic correctness, but rather by individuals' love for them. Consequently, educators should strive for balanced stories in their teaching, incorporating and respecting an array of beliefs and backgrounds (Noddings, 2005).

JOHN FRANKLIN BOBBITT AND LEARNING OBJECTIVES

Teaching, particularly “good” teaching, is not standardized. Educators may agree on common criteria, such as Noddings’ (2002, 2005) moral education in the care perspective or place-based education, but many would argue against certain points in any given curriculum development theory. This is not to suggest that curriculum makers have hesitated to continuously propose new theories, however. Indeed, curriculum development theories gain traction precisely because they attempt to create inclusive approaches to education, seeking to provide solutions to teachers’ common struggles, and better prepare students for graduation (Lagemann, 2000). John Franklin Bobbitt was one such curriculum maker, contributing his own ideas about American curriculum design in the early twentieth century. Although not specific to art education, Bobbitt approached curriculum design as a “scientific” endeavor, complete with clearly articulated learning objectives (Lagemann, 2000, p. 107).

After earning a Ph.D. from Clark University in 1909 at the age of 33, Bobbitt was invited to lecture about the history of education at the University of Chicago. Unfortunately for Bobbitt, that position no longer existed by the time he made the journey from Worcester, Massachusetts. Charles H. Judd had recently been appointed chair of the department and did not value education’s history as did the previous chair, John Dewey. Instead of history, Judd emphasized psychology as the framework for educational science. Thus, Bobbitt became Judd’s assistant, leading the department chair’s classes when he was

spearheading school surveys, attending professional meetings, or giving speeches (Lagemann, 2000).

Although Bobbitt was not yet a professor, he devoted himself to developing and reformulating the principles of curriculum development. Titled *The Curriculum* (1918), Bobbitt's first book was intended "to present some of the theory needed for the curriculum labors of this new age" (p. v). Functioning as an introductory textbook for teachers, *The Curriculum* provided educators with his basic theory of curriculum design within the context of the Progressive Era. According to Bobbitt, American society had become increasingly complex as specialization and democracy were amplified by the Industrial Revolution and World War I. Newly created occupations such as office workers, telephone operators, and machine operatives required practical training that was rarely taught in schools (Diner, 1998). Responding to this real-world urgency, Bobbitt (1918) established curriculum as a "*series of things which children and youth must do and experience* by way of developing abilities to do the things well that make up the affairs of adult life" (p. 42, emphasis in original).

Influenced by the engineer Frederick Winslow Taylor, who had attempted to streamline American manufactories with efficient labor usage practices, Bobbitt reimagined schools as centers for skill-based, vocationally-driven learning (Bobbitt, 1918; Diner, 1998). Taylor believed each worker reached their maximum output only when they were assigned narrowly defined tasks, which they were to complete using predefined procedures. In short, workers lost their individual autonomy in the workplace. Their movements had become regulated for the sake of productivity (Diner, 1998). Bobbitt viewed schools as the ideal location for teaching the regulated techniques that workers had come to be expected to know during the Progressive Era. Schools, therefore, should teach occupational objectives that would prepare students for their future careers. Such an

education, Bobbitt argued, would enable students to think collectively and act together for the common good, a recurring theme of the Progressive Era. Moreover, his proposed learning objectives would efficiently equip students with specialized skills for their vocational track (Bobbitt, 1918).

SILENCES IN HISTORY AND ARCHIVES

Unlike learning objectives, (re)writing history is not a finite, linear process. Researchers must embark on a circuitous journey that requires difficult decisions. Apart from the challenges associated with narrowing the central research question to a manageable query, historians must evaluate their role in knowledge production. Which narratives are they showcasing, and why? Conversely, which (hi)stories are they omitting?

In his formative text, *Silencing the Past: Power and the Production of History*, Trouillot (1995) examines how historians actively construct history. Unlike reality, which is created by various events and processes, history refers to the human narration of reality as perceived by the historian. Filtered through the lens of an individual, many histories become silenced, overlooked, or relegated to the background. Trouillot identifies four forms of silences that emerge during the process of writing history. First, silencing can occur when sources are created because not everything can possibly be remembered or recorded. In short, the very act of making history omits specific aspects of reality. Secondly, archives engage in silencing when choices regarding what is preserved and what is not are made. Although these decisions can be conscious efforts to construct a particular representation of the past, archival silencing is as much a byproduct of historical preservation as it is an active choice. Thirdly, historians participate in silencing when they select which narratives to include in their publications. Whenever they include something, they are intrinsically not including something else. Thus, silences continuously animate

historical writing, providing insight into authors' value systems. Lastly, not every historical narrative that is created becomes part of the corpus, the prevailing historical narratives accepted by various groups as the authoritative past. Typically, only dominant narratives are incorporated into the overarching (hi)story, causing alternative narratives to be silenced (Trouillot, 1995).

Anthropologist Verdery (2014) expands upon the concept of silences in her book, *Secrets and Truths: Ethnography in the Archive of Romania's Secret Police*. Arguing that silences can also be imagined as absences, she proposes several possibilities for silences' creation:

A willful suppression, or a simple lack of anything to say, or a lack of conviction that one is *entitled* to have anything to say, or the presence of a doxa or hegemonic ideology that makes some things unthinkable/unsayable. (p. 79, emphasis in original)

Silences and absences on their own, however, do not reveal how they were created. Consequently, historians must be aware of silences and absences while conducting historical investigations, formulating reasonable explanations for why certain materials are not included in their narrative and postulating about their topic's socially constructed metanarrative. The intent is not to maliciously attack specific writers, institutions, or schools of thought, but to remain cognizant of the gaps in knowledge that naturally enliven historical research and the archival process. I experienced such silences firsthand at the Archives and Special Collections at Hunter College Libraries, where I had expected to find vital images of Chandler dressed in her performance apparel. Unfortunately, the images in question were lost—silenced by time and collection management. Examining the past and drawing conclusions based on available evidence necessitates reactive research methodologies, empowering historians to assiduously respond to site-specific and temporal data.

CONCLUSION

Collectively, these six interconnected sections establish the foundation of my research, linking overarching concepts to specific world events and situating Chandler in her sociopolitical environment. Chandler was a product of her time and her early career at the Met cannot be divorced from its larger context. The United States' formal entry into World War I dramatically influenced Americans' daily activities and political debates, stirring both pro-war and pacifist sentiments. At the same time, technological advancements in printmaking enabled teachers to introduce students to artworks in the classroom, a practice they hoped would impart moral values and Americanize foreign-born students. Examining pictures was often done in conjunction with storytelling, which inherently promoted particular ethical values and supported moral education. Another development in education at the turn of the nineteenth century swept the country: John Franklin Bobbitt published two books concerning learning objectives, highlighting national concern for economic and social efficiency. Unfortunately, (re)writing history does not share learning objectives' linearity. Historians must consciously evaluate their role in knowledge production, a topic that I explore more fully in Chapter 3.

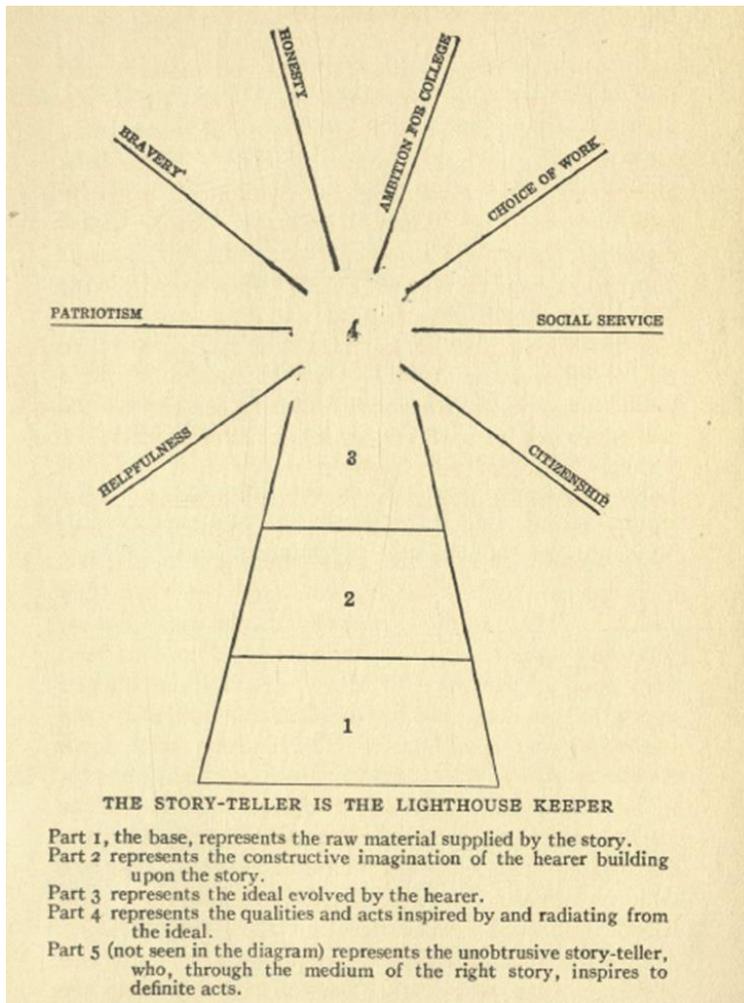


Figure 1: An illustration conceived by storyteller Mildred P. Forbes depicting the act of storytelling and its radiating values (Forbes, 1923, p. 65).

Chapter 3: Historical Research Methodology

Historical sense and poetic sense should not, in the end, be contradictory, for if poetry is the little myth we make, history is the big myth we live, and in our living, constantly remake.

-Robert Penn Warren, *Brother to Dragons: A Tale in Verse and Voices*, 1979

Writing history is never an easy task. More often than not, it necessitates a lengthy period of gathering primary sources and consolidating them into a well-developed argument that faithfully represents the past—or, at least, captures one aspect of a specific moment. Rewriting history, however, presents an even slipperier slope. Instead of freely charting your own path without trail markers to guide you, rewriting history requires a constant assessment of both primary and secondary sources, some of which may already be accepted into the historical canon and perceived as “fact.” When you attempt to rewrite history, you are seeking to provide revisions to history’s metanarrative, offering alternative modes of understanding. Ultimately, you are challenging the status quo. In this chapter, I review my historical research methodology in order to illustrate the difficulties and joys of rewriting history. I begin by examining the process of historical (re)writing, paying close attention to the development of socially constructed narratives. Next, I reflect upon my own experience researching Anna Curtis Chandler in various archives across the Northeast. I conclude with a brief analysis of historians’ role in knowledge production, fusing my insights as a novice historian with historical (re)writing theories.

PHILOSOPHY AND PROCESS OF HISTORICAL (RE)WRITING

Historians and storytellers share a fundamental similarity: they both construct narratives that are grounded in reality, but grow with imagination and thoughtfully grounded speculation. In this sense, historians and storytellers weave tales that expand readers’ and listeners’ understanding of the world, posing new avenues for exploration. I

do not mean to suggest historians write fiction. Instead, I aim to highlight the variable process historians often follow when conducting historical research.

In his book, *Beyond the Great Story: History as Text and Discourse*, Berkhofer (1995) addresses historians' active roles in the construction of narratives. Arguing that multiple histories can (and do) exist, Berkhofer positions historians as producers who consciously select what evidence to present, analyze, and interpret. Yet, evidence is not detached from historians' personal biases and experiences because facts are social "constructions and interpretations of the past" (p. 53). In other words, concepts that appear to be objective and removed from human interventions—such as dates, descriptions, and quotes—are intimately entangled with historians' meaning-making processes. Data does not exist in isolation, and historians breathe life into the so-called "facts," imbuing them with meaning that then redistributes interpretive power to readers. Consequently, there is no master narrative inherently dominating any particular subject, time period, or topic. Rather, historians construct plausible (hi)stories to the best of their abilities, knowing that their creations are at the mercy of competing layers of understanding, context, and relevancy (Berkhofer, 1995).

Moving beyond "the history" to "a history," Munslow (1997) discusses the commonality between (re)constructionist and deconstructionist historians in his book, *Deconstructing History*. Munslow argues that historians who present written interpretative narratives often assume their work aligns with "what actually happened because of the research carefully undertaken in the sources" (p. 36). Within this paradigm, historians tend to view their interpretations as truthful, if referential, explanations. Such evidence-based methodology creates multiple accounts that can each claim validity on the basis of "accurate, independent and truthful reconstruction of the past" (p. 55). However, it is not enough to simply legitimize several proposed (hi)stories. Historians must be aware of the

complex speculations animating their interpretive narratives and seek transparency in their writing. Although Munslow downplays historians' responsibility to readers, who may or may not understand their active role in the meaning-making process, it is critical to recognize historians as generators of "facts," not "truths."

Positioning historians as writers tasked with both representation and interpretation, Gaddis (2002) reflects upon their expanded horizons in his book, *The Landscape of History: How Historians Map the Past*. According to Gaddis, historians' fundamental challenge as researchers is that they cannot access what has already happened: they "cannot relive, retrieve, or rerun it as [they] might some laboratory experiment or computer simulation" (p. 3). Much like Berkhofer (1995) and Munslow (1997), Gaddis addresses the complexities of historical data. Unlike scientists testing their hypotheses, historians cannot adjust their variables in real time. Instead, they must sift through the information available to them, speculating about its significance. Yet, it may be unwarranted to label this as a limitation. For Gaddis, historians' inability to ever fully know a topic invites grounded conjecture fueled by "intelligence, curiosity, and some dread" (p. 16).

Although contemplating the unknown (and unknowable) can be daunting, Bolin (2013) provides five helpful guidelines for conducting historical research in the chapter, "From Acquaintance to Argument: Five Phases of Historical Investigation within Art Education." First, researchers should become familiar with historical literature so that they may have a thorough understanding of historians' past arguments and methodologies. After this initial phase of exploration, Bolin recommends researchers "take topical information or emerging questions and turn them into a central guiding research question that will steer and direct his or her investigation of the past" (p. 145). Once a central motivational question has been established, researchers can select appropriate research methodology to complement their query. Next, researchers are directed to engage in historical investigation

to answer their proposed questions. When researchers feel as though they have gathered a sufficient amount of evidence to address their central question, Bolin advises that their “presentation of history should be prompted through stating and supporting a well-reasoned argument” (p. 154). Bolin is careful to emphasize, however, that every historical argument is created, not self-evident. Consequently, historians—like storytellers—are meaning-makers, authors of narratives they have thoughtfully compiled and articulated.

BECOMING AN HISTORIAN

When I first set out to research Anna Curtis Chandler’s activities at the Met, I employed secondary sources as my starting point. I scoured each footnote, endnote, and citation included in publications concerning Chandler. While this task may appear unnerving, it was a fairly efficient process. There have only been a handful of publications dedicated to Chandler’s career (e.g., Solli, 2007; Zucker, 1998, 2001), which proved to be both a blessing and a curse. Equipped with just enough material to believe I had gained a basic understanding of Chandler’s professional life, I naively thought my contribution to art education’s history could decisively move beyond “setting the stage.” Yet, the lack of writing devoted to analyzing Chandler’s significance in art education’s history also revealed that there was no academic argumentation surrounding her educational endeavors. In other words, the secondary sources I used to locate repositories functioned on a one-dimensional plane. They created “the story,” an uncontested articulation of Chandler’s life and work. Bolstered by this consciousness, I decided my project would have to operate on two levels. First, it would revisit Chandler’s accepted historical narrative in order to determine how much previous researchers had uncovered, interpreted, and published. Second, my project would incorporate and synthesize primary sources in an original manner. I did not want to simply reproduce an argument that had already been shared; I

wanted to construct something new, capable of challenging dominant conceptions of Chandler's role in art education.

By exploring where researchers had already looked for primary sources, I identified six archival collections located in the Northeast: (a) the Archives of American Art, (b) the New York Public Library, (c) the 92nd Street Y in New York City, (d) Wellesley College Archives, (e) Archives and Special Collections at Hunter College Libraries, and (f) the Metropolitan Museum of Art Archives. Regrettably, neither Solli (2007) nor Zucker (1998, 2001) explicitly indicated which repositories were the most beneficial to their work. Thus, in July 2015, I began cold calling each institution, explaining my central research question, and asking if any employees knew of materials connected to my project. For the purposes of this chapter, I do not name any individuals who assisted—or pointedly did not, for that matter—me in my quest to identify archival information about Anna Curtis Chandler. I believe it would be unfair to isolate specific employees who fielded my inquiries amidst their many other assignments, as I know I would not want a single day of my career to become memorialized in ink. This is not to suggest that black-hearted archivists and collection specialists lurk in institutions, eagerly waiting to inhibit incoming researchers. Instead, I aim to illustrate the unseen mechanisms animating archival processes. Researchers are not always able to access a collection, whether that be because a collection's contents have been permanently lost, temporarily misplaced, barred from investigators who are not legitimized by a professorial title, or outsourced to an external company. These unexpected, unforeseen circumstances command researchers to react to their stepwise data collecting processes, and perhaps reformulate their central research question in light of available sources.

THE ARCHIVES OF AMERICAN ART AND THE NEW YORK PUBLIC LIBRARY

Cited by Zucker (2001) as holding key sources related to Chandler's professional life, the Archives of American Art and the New York Public Library proved to be elusive entities. Both institutions are equipped with an online website that encourages users to independently search its collections for publications, interview transcripts, images, and objects. This results-driven process was both frustrating and exhilarating. Each time I entered a new keyword and pressed "Search," I was met with results that could establish the basis for entirely different research questions. Yet, no primary sources associated with Chandler or the Met during the early twentieth century appeared. I was left confused, convinced that my lack of useful results was due to my inability to search effectively. After speaking with a collection specialist from each institution, however, I learned that neither the Archives of American Art nor the New York Public Library possessed any holdings related to Chandler. Or, at least, no finding aids referenced her. I was invited to peruse the Archives of American Art and the New York Public Library in their entirety, but this was an overwhelming feat. With no place to start—not even Zucker (2001) had indicated where exactly information about Chandler could be found in these institutions—I would then be expected to toil over countless documents, unsure of what I was even looking for. Was there a pamphlet advertising one of Chandler's Story Hours? Or, perhaps a newspaper clipping related to the Museum's storytelling program? I did not know, and likely never will. This is a task that I have left for some future researcher, or for me to pursue at a later time.

THE 92ND STREET Y IN NEW YORK CITY

Unlike the Archives of American Art and the New York Public Library, when I searched the 92nd Street Y's electronically accessible catalog for items relating to Chandler, I received results. This freedom to search finding aids and even access select documents

online enabled me to feel certain I had exhausted the institution's holdings. Unfortunately, the 92nd Street Y shared a major commonality with the Archives of American Art and the New York Public Library. All three of these institutions did not have materials directly connected to my central research question. The 92nd Street Y housed documents concerning Chandler's late career, after she had left the Met and began freelancing as a storyteller in New York City. While intriguing, this insight had very little to do with Chandler's early activities at the Met. Why would I care that she continued to tell stories about art after she had disassociated with the Museum? This information offered a more complete picture of her life, but was not directly related to my established research direction. In historical research, chronology is crucial, as it helps in establishing life context and activity. I was interested in cause and effect, otherwise known as the sequencing of events. Jumping to the end of Chandler's career did not illuminate my main research area and, therefore, was not pertinent for my study.

WELLESLEY COLLEGE ARCHIVES

When I first contacted a librarian at Wellesley College Archives in July 2015, I was uncertain how my inquiry would be received. Although the institution's website proclaimed that the archives were open to all—no affiliation with Wellesley College was required—I feared that my request was too broad or, worse, too personal. Wellesley was not just any institution, after all. It was Chandler's alma mater. I had asked if any files and/or images concerning Chandler were available in the archives, explaining that I had searched the online finding aids without success. Much to my relief, I received an email less than a week later with four glorious attachments: (a) an undated yearbook photo of Chandler from her time at Wellesley; (b) an undated photo of Chandler with a caption indicating that it had been included in a promotion for her 1937 book, *Treasure Trails in*

Art; (c) a compilation of newspaper clippings relating to Chandler's career as a published storyteller, and her 1942 biographical record for the Wellesley College Alumnae Association; and (d) a handwritten list detailing all of Chandler's publications, including articles, chapters, and unabridged books. This information was provided without hesitation, making me feel valued as a researcher examining one of Wellesley College's past students. There was no air of secrecy and I was not asked to provide credentials. The materials were simply given to me, accompanied by an encouraging note thanking me for reviving interest in one of Wellesley College's own women.

ARCHIVES AND SPECIAL COLLECTIONS AT HUNTER COLLEGE LIBRARIES

Inspired by my success in obtaining primary sources from Wellesley College Archives, I turned my attention to the Archives and Special Collections at Hunter College Libraries. Cited by Zucker (1998, 2001) as holding images of Chandler working as a storyteller at the Met, I was eager to see the lantern slides firsthand. How well had these images been reproduced in Zucker's publications? Would seeing them in person reveal any new insights? Eager to answer these questions, I reached out to one of the presiding archivists at Hunter College Libraries. After providing citations for each of the images I wished to view, I was notified that none of the lantern slides owned by Hunter College Libraries had been cataloged. Locating the two images I was most interested in seeing, I was told, would take quite some time.

When I heard back from the archivist several weeks later, it was not good news. The lantern slides illustrating Chandler performing at the Met were missing. The archivist did not know where the images were located, but s/he thought it was likely they were in a box enticingly labeled "Chandler." After a series of email exchanges—with me trying to hide my exasperation about the missing archival materials and the archivist calmly

responding to my increasingly confused inquiries—I learned that Hunter College Libraries had received the box of Chandler materials from the Metropolitan Museum of Art. Although it was unclear why the Met had given (or sold) the items to Hunter College Libraries, it was apparent that the small collection of Chandler ephemera was unlikely to be located anytime soon. The archivist suggested I contact the Met to ask if they held any duplicates of the materials that were transferred to Hunter College Libraries, which I did without success. Aware of my disappointment, the archivist kindly provided me with the closest materials to Chandler s/he could find: two lantern slides of Manikin dolls dressed in period clothing similar to the outfits Chandler donned in the missing images. I valued the gesture, and have concluded that it is impossible to miss something that you never knew. Again, as of now I have left the task of tracking down the lost box of Chandler materials to a future researcher, who may hopefully have better fortune in locating the mysterious treasure trove.

THE METROPOLITAN MUSEUM OF ART ARCHIVES

Gaining entry into the Metropolitan Museum of Art Archives was no easy feat. Access is restricted to Museum staff and “qualified” researchers at the graduate level and above, who are exploring specific, approved topics (“Access policy and procedures,” 2008). Even though I was intimidated, I knew the Met was central to my thesis and housed fundamental primary sources that had been cited by both Solli (2007) and Zucker (1998, 2001). If I sought to write about Chandler, then I needed to examine the Museum’s documents for myself in order to verify that they had been represented in their entirety. Visiting the Archives was more than a research imperative, however. Not only did I need to scrutinize the primary sources, I wanted to experience them, to become closer to Chandler by handling her old administrative documents, professional correspondences, and

notes for storytelling performances. What was her handwriting like? What was she writing about most often? How did she communicate with others? Did she scribble notes to herself and to her colleagues whenever it struck her fancy, or did she meticulously organize her messages? In short, I hoped that by physically touching Chandler's writings, I would be able to better access her internal monologue and personal worldview.

Feeling slightly overawed, I submitted the required research application to the Met, uncertain if my curriculum vitae and research prospectus successfully captured my goals for visiting the Archives. Luckily, my worries were largely unfounded. After a few short days, one of the senior archivists contacted me via email to discuss my research agenda. S/he inquired about my experience with the topic, asking me if I knew that a graduate student (Solli, 2007) from The University of Texas at Austin had already visited the Archives several years earlier. I explained my familiarity with Solli's work, but reiterated my interest in perusing the primary sources for myself. The Archives employee cheerfully agreed, informing me that I could visit the Reading Room in late August 2015. Unfortunately, the list of images I had requested to view in my research application were not held in the Archives. S/he described how the Met had outsourced all image requests to a third-party company, and I would have to apply to purchase an image directly from this company without being able to examine it first. Although confused, I followed the archivist's instructions, submitting another lengthy application for the lantern slides. Frustratingly, I never received the images and was not provided an explanation for their absence. An employee from the external imaging company coolly explained that image orders took at minimum eight weeks to fulfill, if the images could be found at all.

Discouraged by the Met's bureaucratic approach to research requests, I nevertheless looked forward to my visit there in August. No researcher had ever referenced specific sources concerning Chandler in the Archives, so the apprehension and excitement of finally

being able to uncover materials for myself was invigorating. The archival materials could be absolutely wonderful, or they may be positively mundane. It was, essentially, a shot in the dark.

When an archivist escorted me into the Met's Reading Room on a quiet Monday morning, a single grey box was placed in the center of the surprisingly small table I was to share with another researcher. With very little direction—I was advised to photocopy as much as I wanted, whenever I wanted—the archivist left me to my own work strategy. The grey box was deceptively slim. Inside, I was greeted by nearly a dozen neatly labeled folders, each dedicated to a year Chandler worked at the Met. To my astonishment, the thickest folders were inscribed “1916,” “1917,” and “1918,” the three years most directly related to my central research question. For the next four hours, I leafed through each of the folders in the box, leisurely scanning the many documents inside. Even from this cursory overview, I felt as if I had learned more about Chandler that morning than I had ever done before. She was spunky, full of lively, borderline impudent remarks. I could feel her essence revealed in these writings, and I knew my trip to the Archives had been well worth it. Previous scholars may have examined these documents before, but we did not see the same thing. What I learned about Anna Curtis Chandler here—and from other archives—is revealed in the writing that follows.

CONCLUSION

In this chapter, I surveyed the process of historical (re)writing and reflected upon my personal experience conducting archival research. Throughout my interactions with various archives across the Northeast, I was continuously reminded that I was at the mercy of intermediary employees. Given the nature of archival research, I primarily depended upon collection specialists and archivists to locate materials on my behalf. Ultimately, I

was required to trust their findings, as I had little choice to do anything other than believe them when they said they had exhaustively searched their collections for materials relating to Chandler. When I was granted the opportunity to explore primary sources, I was faced with another potentially challenging dilemma. I was looking at images and texts, both of which encouraged me to project my individual biases and experiences onto the materials. Was Chandler truly that assertive in her interactions with other Met employees? I will never know. Yet, the primary sources invited such conjecture, which is one of the great adventures in conducting historical research. I have become part of the process for constructing historical narratives, and this thesis serves as my own form of knowledge production. In Chapter 4, I depart from personal narrative and theoretical frameworks in order to contextualize Chandler's career at the Metropolitan Museum of Art, an institution whose history and educational development is as multifaceted as Chandler proved to be during my archival quest.

Chapter 4: (Re)Imagining the Metropolitan Museum of Art's Educational Endeavors and Pedagogic History

By 1915, several art museums in the United States were experimenting with storytelling programs designed to educate visitors about particular artworks through carefully constructed oral narratives (Vaughan, 1915). The Metropolitan Museum of Art (Met) in New York City joined this storytelling movement at the turn of the nineteenth century, transitioning from a sporadic schedule of public programs to a robust regimen of professionalized educational endeavors. Led by newly appointed Assistant Secretary Henry Watson Kent, the Met's rapidly evolving educational activities seem to have revitalized the institution's original mission, attracting a wide range of visitors to the Museum. In this chapter, I examine how the Met's educational programs expanded, progressed, and matured over a 50 year period, from the institution's founding through the United States' participation in World War I. By exploring the Met's establishment, early development, and educational endeavors leading up to and during the United States' active military involvement in World War I, I seek to create an historical reimagining of the forces propelling the Museum's pedagogic trajectory. Before delving into the Met's founding, however, I first briefly review my experience as a researcher in the Metropolitan Museum of Art Archives and reflect on the challenges I encountered while studying this institution. For a full explanation of my research methodology, see Chapter 3.

ARCHIVAL RESEARCH AT THE METROPOLITAN MUSEUM OF ART

Although I was able to dive into the Archives' holdings on Anna Curtis Chandler, I was not granted access to review any materials related to the Museum's earliest years. The Archives' restriction was far from personal, however. As Gross (2009) explains in *Rogues' Gallery: The Secret History of the Moguls and the Money that made the*

Metropolitan Museum, the Met has carefully guarded its history from external researchers' inquisitive eyes. Before his book became available, only two types of writings on the Museum existed: (a) those with personal and/or political agendas, such as Hoving's (1993) preening memoir, *Making the Mummies Dance: Inside the Metropolitan Museum of Art*, and Silverman's (1986) condemnation of upper-class Americans' preoccupation with artistic commodification and merchandizing, described in *Selling Culture: Bloomingdale's, Diana Vreeland, and the New Aristocracy of Taste in Reagan's America*; and (b) those that were commissioned, sanctioned, and authorized by the Met itself, such as Lerman's (1969) coffee-table book, *The Museum*.

It seems nearly impossible for the individual scholar to assemble a representation of the Museum's history that is uncolored by the Met's own efforts to shape that history. Scholars must be prepared to battle the Museum's editing team, who, to put it kindly, ensures that no unflattering—or, more likely, controversial—image of the institution is published. Fortunately, Gross (2009) pieced together the Museum's founding, development, and early activities by working with Met employees who consented to interviews before senior staff members were able to intervene. He also compared the material provided by key informants with the Museum's commissioned publications in order to determine the most likely sequencing of events. In the following section, I combine Gross's presentation of the Met's past with the Museum's endorsed publications in order to (re)write a history of the institution, underscoring how the Met's founders first articulated its essential educational objectives. I show that while education was merely a rhetorical concern during the Museum's earliest years, it became a primary focus during Henry Watson Kent's term at the institution, reaching peak relevance during the United States' active military involvement in World War I.

VISUALIZING A METROPOLITAN ART MUSEUM

Even though the date of the Met's conception differs according to who is telling the story, it seems reasonable to state that the Museum was first envisioned some time during the late 1860s. In 1866, a group of Americans celebrating the Fourth of July at the Pré Catalan in Paris, France, toasted to the creation of a "national institution and gallery of art" ("Main building," 2015). According to indefatigable Abolitionist and social reformer John Jay, who wrote of the event 24 years later, he led the pledge, arguing "the American gentlemen then in Europe were the men to inaugurate the plan" (Jay in Lerman, 1969, p. 12). Without losing a moment's time, Jay propelled the future Museum's development immediately upon his return to the United States. There, he urged New York City's Union League Club (ULC) to support:

The foundation of a permanent national gallery of art and museum of historical relics, in which works of high character in painting and sculpture and valuable historical memorials might be collected, properly displayed, and safely preserved for the benefit of the people at large. (Jay in Lerman, 1969, p. 12)

Clearly, Jay's diction is value-laden, underscoring his perception of what constitutes fine art and how it should be presented. For the purposes of this chapter, though, I shall restrict my analysis to examining why Jay identified the ULC as a promising sponsor, not what the future Met would acquire in terms of fine art. The changing definition of fine art is beyond the range of this chapter, as the actions animating the Museum's self-organization, funding, and public presentation more acutely demonstrate the institution's emerging educational endeavors. While changing definitions of art are an ever-present concern for all museums, the pressing matter for Jay and other backers was to create an elite institution that mirrored their sense of the city's burgeoning status.

Composed of roughly 500 members, New York City's Union League Club (see Figure 2) was touted to be the city's third oldest community association, dedicated to

improving its surroundings. Founded in 1863 by a cohort of “concerned citizens,” the ULC has been credited with providing “distinguished service” to Republican interests, specifically President Abraham Lincoln’s efforts during the Civil War (“About the ULC,” n.d.; Einreinhofer, 1997). In short, the ULC was a distinguished and, perhaps most importantly, exclusive organization that sought to protect what they viewed as the United States’ founding fathers’ guiding mission. Consequently, when Jay was elected president of the ULC, it was only reasonable for him to reach out to his well-connected, socially-conscious colleagues for backing. Indeed, Jay passed the idea for an American art museum to the ULC’s Art Committee, which was chaired by publisher George P. Putnam and included sculptor J. Q. A. Ward, portrait painter George A. Baker, landscape painter Worthington Whittredge, and art dealer Samuel P. Avery (Lerman, 1969).

On the stormy evening of November 23, 1869, the Union League Club presented the possibility of an art institution for New York City in a public meeting for the first time. Overseen by poet and journalist William Cullen Bryant, the meeting unfolded through a series of apparently convincing arguments. Lamenting the United States’ lack of art museums, Bryant proclaimed:

Our city is the third greatest city of the civilized world, our republic has already taken its place among the great powers of the earth; it is great in extent, great in population, great in the activity and enterprise of its people. It is the richest nation in the world. (Bryant in Einreinhofer, 1997, p. 33)

Wealthy and great, except for the nation’s shortage of establishments dedicated solely to appreciating fine art. According to Bryant, this deficiency caused private collectors to store the nation’s treasures, sequestered beyond the public’s reach. Moreover, American artists had to travel to Europe in order receive proper training and exhibit their work.

For Bryant, though, establishing an American art museum would do more than merely aid artists' studies. At this meeting, Bryant and his supporting speakers argued that an art museum constructed in New York City would benefit the general population's education. Princeton's George Fisk Comfort reasoned that the proposed museum would offer educational opportunities for school children and gallery lectures for adult audiences, thereby catering to the general public's alleged need for edification. Richard M. Hunt, one of the most notable architects of the time, recounted the Society of Architects' recent construction of the Architectural Library of the City of New York, which had been modelled as "a museum like the Kensington Museum in London" and he hoped would soon boast "a Loan Collection of Works of Art" (Hunt in Lerman, 1969, p. 14). Although not explicitly stated, the meeting's speakers implied that the museum would also benefit the city's affluent residents, who would be able to demonstrate their wealth by participating in elite museum activities and its development, both physical and curatorial (Einreinhofer, 1997; Gross, 2009). Those in the audience, then, were likely motivated to support the proposed museum for a combination of altruistic and self-serving purposes. Yes, an art museum in New York City would probably elevate and expand the public's educational prospects. However, an art museum would similarly reinforce its founders' social standing. They were the ones who fostered its conception, asserting a sense of collective and personal ownership over its fate. Consequently, the future Met was something to be controlled and, at the same time, control others.

One man in attendance at this meeting asked the question many in the audience were likely thinking. Reverend Dr. Henry W. Bellows of All Souls' Church portentously pondered:

Who is to say when we, through the redundant wealth with which our property threatens to possess us, shall be able to outbid the world in any market for those

great, recondite works of Art which are so necessary to the cultivation of every people? Who can say how soon we may find ourselves the largest and the safest offerers for the custody and protection of the highest of all works in the world? (Bellows in Lerman, 1969, pp. 14-15)

Evidently, time was of the essence. Although no one could immediately answer Bellows's query, two months after this initial meeting, in January 1870, the Museum's first Board of Trustees and ever-growing committee was elected (see Figure 3). Writers sanctioned by the Met have described this cohort as numbering at 116, but non-Museum authors have estimated only 27 men were recognized as committee members (Einreinhofer, 1997; Howe, 1913; Lerman, 1969).

Thankfully, the numbers matter very little in the picture here. What is clear is that there was a sizable group of men who constituted the Museum's inaugural committee and Board of Trustees, both of which worked tirelessly to realize their vision for a metropolitan art museum. Featuring a promising mix of money and art expertise, these men included painters Frederick Church, Eastman Johnson, and John F. Kensett, as well as Princeton's George Fisk Comfort and publisher George P. Putnam. All of the Museum's pioneering men were nationally recognized: they were lawyers, merchants, architects, industrialists, and entrepreneurs (Einreinhofer, 1997; Gross, 2009; Howe, 1913; Lerman, 1969). To put it plainly, they were known for their professional successes.

Often meeting at the Century Club (see Figure 4) or in Samuel P. Avery's private chambers, these men intently discussed all aspects of the impending Museum. As demonstrated by their constant correspondences with prominent men of art and knowledge across the country and abroad, they welcomed all forms of advice from these recognized leaders. They looked to the Leipzig Museum in Germany, which was just 11 years old; Berlin's National Museum, which was still being built; Nuremberg's Museum, which was integrating art, industry, and German history into its collections; London's South

Kensington Museum, which they admired for its grandeur; and, lastly, Paris's Cluny Museum, which teemed with art from the Middle Ages. What preoccupied their conversations even more than the Museum's design and possessions, though, was determining who were "the fittest men to have charge of the enterprise" (Bellows in Lerman, 1969, p. 15). According to the Museum's founders, the institution's leaders should be energetic, passionate, affluent, and relatively young (Gross, 2009; Howe, 1913; Lerman, 1969).

None other than prominent businessman and railroad magnate John Taylor Johnston was to be the Museum's founding president. In many ways, Johnston was the ideal candidate for the job. He was middle-aged, strong-willed, intently enthusiastic, and, crucially, a wealthy patron of the arts. His marble mansion on Fifth Avenue and Clinton Place brimmed with aristocratic associations, which was highlighted by his private art gallery positioned above his backyard's stable. Once a week, Johnston opened his gallery to the public, which was invited to view one of the nation's most acclaimed collections of American paintings. Among the most noted works in his collection were Frederick Church's *Niagara* (1857) and Winslow Homer's *Prisoners from the Front* (1866), illustrating Johnston's affinity for American artists. Although Johnston was sojourning on the Nile when the idea of an American art institution was first presented by the ULC's Art Committee, he immediately accepted the offer of presidency and became integral in the Museum's development. In fact, Johnston was to be the Met's president for 18 years and honorary president for an additional four (Einreinhofer, 1997; Lerman, 1969).

Ironically, Johnston, the Trustees, and the committee members were in charge of nothing. The Museum held no properties, no real estate, no art, no funds, and no legal status. What they did have, though, proved to be invaluable and stemmed from Jay's galvanizing speech at the Fourth of July celebration in Paris. The Museum had a name: the

Metropolitan Museum of Art. The word “Metropolitan” seemed to connote the substantial, centripetal nature of New York City and, when combined with “Museum” and “Art,” captured the elegant splendor worthy of the United States’ first encyclopedic art museum built for the masses (Lerman, 1969).

Fortunately for the Museum’s forefathers, their vision would begin to materialize with the aid of New York’s state legislature (see Figure 5). On April 13, 1870, the organizers were granted an act of incorporation under their auspicious name of the Metropolitan Museum of Art, which was to achieve the following:

To be located in the City of New York, for the purpose of establishing and maintaining in said city a museum and library of art, of encouraging and developing the study of the fine arts, and the application of arts to manufacture and practical life, of advancing the general knowledge of kindred subjects, and, to that end, of furnishing popular instruction and recreation. (Lerman, 1969, p. 16)

Intriguingly, the Met’s leaders did not appear overly concerned with the educational, uplifting purposes of the Museum that were cited by New York’s state legislature. In its earliest years, the Museum was closed on Sundays, even though that was the primary day the working class was able to pursue leisure activities. Nevertheless, it is important to note that the Museum’s guiding policy paralleled this noble intention:

The Metropolitan Museum of Art should be based on the idea of a more or less complete collection of objects illustrative of the History of Art from the earliest beginnings to the present time. It will be seen that whilst it gives a distinct purpose to our efforts, it includes all the aims, whether industrial, educational, or recreative, which can give value to such an institution....The same may be said of the formation of a Library of Art, consisting of all works of value on all its branches and history. (Report by the Policy Committee in Lerman, 1969, pp. 16-17)

On May 24, 1870, the Museum’s constitution was adopted at the First Annual Meeting. Composed of 13 articles, the constitution has guided the Met’s activities throughout the years and remains in use today. Essentially, the constitution dictates that

the governing body of the museum is its Board of Trustees. The Trustees own the Museum's collections and funds in a trust that is used to attain the institution's fundamental objectives, as outlined by the founding members (Lerman, 1969). Money, art, and esteemed leadership, therefore, have been at the forefront of the Met's activities from the very beginning.

FINANCING AND UNVEILING THE MUSEUM

In order to secure both the funds and the objects required for the Museum, the Trustees devoted their energies to fundraising. Estimating that the Met would necessitate \$250,000 to erect, each board member solicited their close friends, political ties, and professional acquaintances for financial support. Over one hundred individuals responded, including one woman, Miss Catharine Lorillard Wolfe. Museum president Johnston donated \$10,000, department store mogul Alexander T. Stewart contributed \$5,000, and painting collector William T. Blodgett provided another \$5,000. The smallest gift was \$100, which was not an inconsequential sum at the time. In all, the Museum raised \$106,000, less than half of their fundraising goal. Undeterred, the Trustees issued a notice to the public in 1871, stating:

The Officers of The Metropolitan Museum of Art recommend the Institution under their care to the people of New York, with the hope that it has and will retain their sympathy. It was founded by the common action of many citizens, who were brought together by no other attraction than their knowledge of the need of such an Institution. It has passed through the period of first preparation, and now asks for the active help of all who care for the fine arts. (Lerman, 1969, p. 17)

How were members of the general public to support the Museum? According to the above appeal, by purchasing "works of art of all kinds and at low rates" and providing the funds needed to "send skillful buyers to Europe" (Lerman, 1969, p. 17).

This plea proved inconclusive, as it is unclear if the Met's primary collection was built with public contributions or exclusively by the moneyed founders. What is apparent, though, is that at least some of the Museum's earliest possessions were provocatively purchased by two of the institution's forefathers. During the previous summer, when the Franco-Prussian War ravaged Europe, Blodgett acquired 174 paintings, most of which were Flemish or Dutch in origin. As happens frequently during times of international conflict, the war between France and Germany had pushed these artworks into the London market. While it is uncertain if these pieces were illegally obtained or offered willingly by their former owners, the end result remains the same. Blodgett, with Johnston's assistance, paid \$116,180.27 for the contested 174 artworks. Rather than fretting over the ethical implications of the purchase, however, Johnston applauded Blodgett's decision to turn over all the objects to the Museum:

It was very magnanimous in Blodgett not to keep some of those fine things when he had it in his power...I fear I couldn't have done it. I would have had at least to have taken out that Van Dyck, or perished. (Johnston in Lerman, 1969, p. 18)

Although some of the Met's Trustees were unimpressed by Blodgett's and Johnston's actions, declaring that the objects were less than genuine, by May 3, 1871, over \$250,000 worth of pledges were in the Trustees' ownership and Blodgett and Johnston were reimbursed for their monumental purchase (Hibbard, 1980; Howe, 1913; Lerman, 1969). Thus, the Museum had its inaugural collection, which was fittingly surrounded by controversy fueled by the arguably overzealous buying power of two founders.

Unsurprisingly, the Met does not openly reveal the origins of its earliest collection. This information is buried in its approved histories, written in arcane, flowery language by internal researchers. On the Museum's website, the institution describes its first acquisition as a Roman sarcophagus, donated by J. Abdo Debbas, a wealthy Turk who was American

Vice-Consul in Tarsus, in November 1870 (Lerman, 1969; “Main building,” 2015). This is not to suggest that the Met’s employees and supervisors are intentionally concealing the Museum’s roots. Rather, they are simply constructing their own version of history by highlighting certain instances at the expense of others, sharpening specific details that conform to their narratives while blurring the outliers into the background. And, as any historian is well aware, this is hardly a unique phenomenon. It is even less exceptional in the museum sphere, where any purchases that may garner attention from U.S. Immigration and Customs Enforcement (ICE) are clouded. Speculation concerning the Met’s controversial early acquisitions are already covered in other sources, and will not, therefore, be further discussed here (Gross, 2009; Tomkins, 1989).

Another lesser-known yet equally deliberated detail regarding the Met’s development is its structural metamorphosis. Roughly two years after being incorporated, the Museum opened its doors to the public in the Dodworth Building (see Figure 6) at 681 Fifth Avenue (Tomkins, 1989). Although petite when compared to the Met’s later articulations, this inaugural space proved to be successful enough to warrant relocation and expansion in later years. When opened on February 20, 1872, visitors reacted tepidly to the Museum’s largely European collection, the bulk of which was provided by Blodgett’s and Johnston’s divisive purchase. Lawyer George Templeton Strong remarked that the Met’s collection was larger than he had anticipated, but was not particularly impressive: “In very few of these pictures did my unskilled eye detect anything to admire” (Strong in Tomkins, 1989, p. 42). Likewise, author Henry James commented that “the charming little academy in the Fifth Avenue...[is] not to be termed a brilliant collection...for it contains no first-rate example of a first-rate genius” (James in Tomkins, 1989, pp. 42-43). New York artists also expressed discontent, citing the Museum’s preference for European artworks over American pieces (Tomkins, 1989).

Such criticisms were likely warranted, given the Museum's founders had proposed a uniquely American institution showcasing American artists' talents. Yet, the Museum's Trustees were not entirely to blame. To be frank, they accepted what they could get, according to the pedigree that they could afford. For more than 25 years after the Museum was founded, funds for acquisitions remained limited. The original \$250,000 fundraising goal was exhausted almost immediately by the Blodgett and Johnston purchase, as well as other pricey acquisitions. A severe financial panic fueled by uncontrolled speculation, competitive industrial development, and the overexpansion of credit throughout the country further compounded the Met's Trustees' difficulties. There simply was not enough money to dedicate to an art institution. In the long economic depression that followed the 1873 panic, nearly 50,000 commercial enterprises went bankrupt. Even the Museum's president, Johnston, was not immune. His corporation, Central of New Jersey, lapsed into receivership, forcing Johnston to sell most of his private art collection at auction. Obviously, the Met was unable to afford Johnston's collection, causing much of it to be snatched up by the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston (Tomkins, 1989).

Possibly in an attempt to reassure themselves and the public that the Museum was thriving, the Met's Trustees approved an expansion at the end of 1873. Moving into a larger space and expanding their activities, the Museum became relocated at the Douglas Mansion (see Figure 7) on West Fourteenth Street. Although largely symbolic, this development did, in fact, address logistical challenges that the Dodworth Building had presented. For \$60,000, Johnston had recently purchased the Cesnola Collection, a vast group of antiquities excavated in Cyprus by General Luigi Palma di Cesnola, the American Consul there. Boasting over 6,000 ancient objects, the collection physically required more room than the Dodworth Building could provide. Rent at the new, fashionable location was also more affordable than before, costing \$8,000 annually. However, the move produced larger

overall expenses, prompting the Museum's Trustees to look for new sources of income (Hibbard, 1980; Lerman, 1969; Tomkins, 1989).

After much discussion, New York City's government agreed to appropriate \$15,000 per year to the Museum in order to pay for rent and other operating expenses. While this helped, it was not enough. Consequently, the Met's senior staff began tinkering with admission prices. Initially, the Museum charged visitors 50 cents; it was lowered to 25 cents three months later, with Monday announced as a free day. Night openings were employed in 1874, theoretically enabling those who worked during the day to visit the space. Yet, this proved to be a spectacular failure: the average evening attendance was a mere 32 patrons. When some committee men suggested the Museum open on Sunday, the Trustees reaffirmed their original stance. They would not, under any circumstances, open the Museum on the "Lord's day 'as a place of amusement'" (Tomkins, 1989, p. 45). Such a statement of piety cannot be taken at face value, as it likely masked an effort to disconnect the Museum from laboring communities, who sought such "amusement" on days off from work. Consequently, the Museum's Trustees typically paid the institution's deficits with their own money (Einreinhofer, 1997; Tomkins, 1989).

The Museum's location at the Douglas Mansion was not permanent, though. On March, 30, 1880, the Met welcomed visitors at its current position on Fifth Avenue and 82nd Street ("Main building," 2015). Spurred by two unlikely supporters—the American Museum of Natural History (AMNH) and William Marcy Tweed—the Met's site in Central Park was determined nearly a decade before its opening. In 1869, the President of the Central Park Commission, Henry G. Stebbins, persuaded the New York State Legislature to authorize the Commission "to erect, establish, conduct, and maintain in the Central Park... a museum of natural history and a gallery of art, and buildings therefor, and to provide the necessary instruments, furniture, and equipments" (Stebbins in Hibbard,

1980, p. 8). Promising financial assistance, this act encouraged the AMNH and the Met to work together, especially given the Museum's fiscal strain. This partnership was cemented by Tweed, who was presented with a petition seeking an annual allocation of \$500,000 from city tax revenues for the museums' yearly operating costs. Signed by New York City's elite, Tweed anticipated collecting millions in graft from the museums' construction. Fortunately for the Met's founders, its Trustees acted just in time: after securing the museums' financial stability, Tweed was indicted for political corruption in 1871. This event had little impact on the Met, however, and the Museum's groundbreaking ceremony was held in 1874 (Hibbard, 1980).

Designed by Calvert Vaux and Jacob Wrey Mould, the Museum's Trustees were displeased with the structure's barn-like appearance (see Figure 8). Executed in a style known as Ruskinian Gothic, the Museum stood on its own in what was then a semirural suburb. Open fields flanked the Met to the north and west, and only a handful of scattered residences could be seen on Fifth Avenue. Newspaper editor and art critic James Jackson Jarves sympathized with the Museum's Trustees, but conceded in 1882 that the structure was "a forcible example of architectural ugliness, out of harmony and keeping with its avowed purpose" and "fit only for a winter-garden or a railway depot" (Jarves in Tomkins, 1989, p. 60). The Trustees defended the building, explaining that its initial construction was meant to be part of a much broader architectural plan (see Figure 9). Yet, later additions (see Figure 10) have rendered the original structure unrecognizable (Lerman, 1969; Tomkins, 1989).

EDUCATIONAL ENDEAVORS, 1872-1918

Arguments regarding the Museum's outward appearance and symbolic presence in New Yorkers' minds and daily lives aside, it matters very little how the building looked

when it is taken into account what the institution's employees were doing inside the structure. How did they present the Met's collection to the public, and how did they engage visitors in personal and collective meaning-making? In other words, what educational activities did the Met's employees promote? In this section, I trace the Museum's educational endeavors from its conception through World War I, concluding with an examination of the Met's 1918 Educational Credo in order to demonstrate how the institution's activities during the Great War differed from their earlier endeavors.

Educational activities at the Met appear to have varied little during its inaugural decade, when the Museum was finding its footing and settling into its permanent location. Although education received ample attention in the institution's annual reports, it consisted primarily of admitting art students for free on certain days and sponsoring occasional public lectures to "large and appreciative audiences," according to Trustees (Tomkins, 1989, p. 46). True to Bryant's initial proposition at the Union League Club meeting in 1869, the Museum enabled American visitors to study European artworks without leaving the country. Art students frequented the Dodworth Building from nine to noon on Wednesday, Thursday, and Friday mornings, copying the European examples provided by Blodgett's and Johnston's purchase. No professional education staff oversaw these activities, though. Only Putnam—functioning as an unpaid volunteer—and an assistant, who earned \$12 per week, interacted with patrons in the galleries. Yet, this is not particularly surprising. According to Francis Henry Taylor, Director of the Metropolitan Museum of Art from 1940 to 1955, there was no such thing as museum educators in the 1870s:

There was no museum profession. A handful of gentlemen—amateurs in the arts with a sense of history and a flair for criticism—shared the safe-keeping of our incipient public collections with a few imaginative archeologists whose rigidity, acquired mostly in German universities, had been softened by walking trips through classic lands. (Taylor in Lerman, 1969, pp. 19-20)

These early museum employees, then, were the result of pedigree and a global education. They were the keepers of the Met's collection, not necessarily facilitators for visitors seeking to experience objects based on their own interests. In other words, the Museum's "educators" were merely gesturing to education as we now know it, and were instead committed to upholding the institution's objects as pristine examples of fine art and international importance.

Princeton's George Fisk Comfort's vision of adult education via gallery lectures was also realized at the Dodworth Building, where talks were regularly presented to the Museum's Trustees and their friends, as well as to the public (Lerman, 1969; Tomkins, 1989). Reinforcing the Met's rhetorical position as an educational capital is a revealing statement embedded in its 1876 annual report: "The Museum today is not surpassed as an educational power among the people by any university, college, or seminary of learning in the metropolis" (*Annual Report*, 1876). Although this claim can hardly be verified today, it was likely an exaggeration motivated by optimistic justification. The Museum was preparing to relocate to its current location at Central Park, on the outskirts of New York City's social sphere, and its Trustees may have been attempting to reassure themselves and the public of their success. Moreover, the Philadelphia Centennial Exhibition of 1876 was in full swing when the declaration was written, suggesting that the Museum's Trustees may have sought to reaffirm their institution's centrality and significance (Tomkins, 1989). Either way, the Met's Trustees were clearly striving to communicate the Museum's alleged educational supremacy in its 1876 annual report, even if there were no museum educators yet on staff. While the *why* behind this explanation is difficult to pinpoint, it probably stemmed from the Trustees' desire to situate the Museum within the heart of the United States' art scene, espousing Jay's original declaration that the Met would boast "works of

high character...collected, properly displayed, and safely preserved for the benefit of the people at large” (Jay in Lerman, 1969, p. 12).

For approximately the next three decades, the Met’s educational activities roughly followed this loose combination of free admission days and sporadic public lectures. Trustees attempted to establish an art school in 1880 (see Figure 11), a failed experiment which lasted until 1894, when it was determined that the Met’s efforts should be directed toward the main building. To put it bluntly, the nineteenth century was not the Museum’s finest hour. The institution struggled financially, attempting to secure more prestigious acquisitions and failing to meet its founding educational mission. Fortunately, educational innovation arrived in 1905, when librarian Henry Watson Kent was recruited as Assistant Secretary by Robert de Forest, the Secretary to the Board of Trustees. De Forest had met Kent nearly ten years earlier, in 1894, when the Museum hired him to install the cast collection in the new north wing. Impressed by Kent’s attention to detail and precise, meticulous manner, De Forest encouraged him to streamline the Museum’s educational activities (Tomkins, 1989).

Over the next several years, Kent initiated a sweeping modernization of the Museum’s administration and expanded educational endeavors. He implemented Melvil Dewey’s advancements in library science, establishing a card catalog system for registering accessions and the Met’s library. In November 1905, the Museum’s first *Bulletin* was published under Kent’s editorial supervision. Designed as “a ready means of communication between the officers and staff of the Metropolitan museum and its members,” the *Bulletin* served as the chief liaison connecting senior staff members with general readers (Kent in Tomkins, 1989, p. 117). It was, essentially, the face of the Museum, providing readers with incomparable insights into the Met’s regular programs, special events, and educational accomplishments. Kent also hired a photographer, who

produced departmental catalogues, publicity materials, images for the *Bulletin*, and lantern slides for lectures. These lantern slides proved instrumental in his educational vision, as he became dedicated to increasing visual accessibility to the Museum's collections. Objects would no longer be limited to their glass display cases or relegated to the institution's walls. With the advent of lantern slides, artworks could be reproduced for the masses via the *Bulletin*, Story Hours, and general publications. In short, the Museum was becoming a shared space, opening itself up to the public for broader consumption.

After studying the Met's 1870 charter, Kent concluded that the institution had achieved almost none of its original goals. The promised exhibitions of industrial arts had never occurred, and neither did the far-reaching efforts to educate the public at large. Thus, in his first year at the Met, Kent created a regular schedule of lectures at the Museum on Saturdays and Sundays, "the former scholarly and the latter popular" (Kent in Tomkins, 1989, p. 118). In order to further reach the masses, Kent adopted a resolution in 1905 enabling any New York public school teacher to bring their students to the Museum for free at any time, so long as it was arranged with the Met in advance. This development was strengthened in 1907, when Kent set aside a classroom specifically for such visits. Educational activities continued to expand under Kent's direction during this period in several significant ways: (a) he increased the number of free and paid lectures; (b) he hired museum instructors, who were employed on a salaried basis, to facilitate new gallery talks, known as Story Hours (see Figure 12); (c) he developed a program that lent lantern slides to local schools; and (d) he introduced special courses in art appreciation for public schools teachers. These advancements were routinely chronicled in the *Bulletin*, and the September issue eventually became the annual celebration of the institution's educational activities (Tomkins, 1989).

The Met quickly reformulated its educational agenda once the United States became involved in World War I, however. Before the Great War, the Museum's educational endeavors were primarily restricted to imitative exercises and sporadic lectures, both of which required visitors to assume the role of teacher for themselves. Once the affects of World War I permeated New York City, though, Kent's efforts to lead professional educators within the Museum became even more apparent.

There is evidence of the Museum doing its part to support the war throughout Kent's recently implemented galleried talks, and gallery tours' thematic content shifted in emphasis from general art historical anecdotes to pointed democratic ideals (Chandler, 1917b, 1918a). The Met even went so far as to publish a heartfelt letter from a soldier's mother whose son had attended a special Sunday gallery talk for military personnel in the *Bulletin*. In this August issue, the letter is reprinted as follows:

I received a letter from my soldier son...in N. Y. telling me how nice you were to him and his friends. He had been at Camp Donophon, Okla., all winter, and had seen nothing but hard drilling and all kinds of hardships of army life, and to receive such kindness and be so nicely entertained was such a treat to them. I want to thank you *very* much for your kindness to the boys. It has saddened our home more than I can tell you for us to send that big fine son of ours to war, but that is not all—I have two more sons just as tall and fine as he is that are called. You see I am telling you how fine they are—well, they are my sons. Again I want to thank you for your kindness to my son. (“Notes,” 1918, p. 187, emphasis in original)

Although it is difficult to fully unpack the sentiments of this letter, it is clear that the mother felt compelled to thank the Museum for its educational outreach efforts that brought her son into a Sunday Story Hour. Consequently, the Met was actively adapting its activities to the nation's new war-filled climate, generating programs that positioned national ideals within the Museum space in order to accommodate visitors' preoccupations.

In the spring of 1918—roughly one year after President Woodrow Wilson had declared war on Germany—the Met’s Education Department collaboratively produced a monumental document: the Museum’s Educational Credo (Howe, 1918). Seven members of the Education Department, including storyteller Anna Curtis Chandler, drafted the creed’s contents, which lists nine core values of the Met’s Education Department (see Appendix). The first three values listed deal with the role of beauty in museums and moral development, which was commonly cited as a primary purpose for studying art (Efland, 1990; Howe, 1918). The fourth value concerns the “breadth and comprehensiveness of the Museum collections,” underscoring the Met’s interest in connecting visitors with prestigious objects from distant places and times (Howe, 1918). Marking a clean break from the founders’ vision for a uniquely American art museum filled with American pieces, this declaration suggests that the Museum’s educators in the early twentieth century favored exoticism and foreignness over national identity, which is seemingly at odds with the Museum’s newfound participation in home front efforts.

Overlooking this contradiction, the 1918 Educational Credo goes on to proclaim that the Education Department shall nurture cooperative partnerships with local public schools in order to increase its educational impact. The sixth value introduces a new teaching methodology for the Met: the Museum educator as translator of “the message of the artist into terms intelligible to the visitor” (Howe, 1918, p. 193). Clearly, visitors are no longer expected to dissect the Museum’s objects for themselves. A professional educator is now supposed to assume that role, either because visitors were perceived as unable to successfully scrutinize artworks for themselves or because the Met sought increased control over their content. Moving from interpreter to inspirer, the creed’s seventh and eighth values address the Museum’s goal to cultivate “good taste” and provide “salespeople, designers, and manufacturers...every facility for the study of the collections

of decorative arts, for copying or adapting objects therein or gaining inspiration for new designs” (Howe, 1918, p. 193). Mirroring the general trend of museums at this time to open up their collections for the commercialistic aims of mass market manufacturers and retailers, the Met underscored its increased commitment to accessibility for profit-minded visitors (Leach, 1993).

Notably, the ninth and final point promoted museum education at the Met as “performing a wartime service, the worth of which will be realized more fully when peace comes and brings with it a readjustment of values” (Howe, 1918, p. 193). It is obvious, then, that the war had pervaded the Met’s activities—or, more precisely, the educators’ teaching objectives. War had become an inescapable presence, tangible in daily educational endeavors, such as the Story Hours and gallery tours. Yet, this manifestation of war within the Museum was also articulated at the institutional level, serving as the definitive value in the Met’s 1918 Educational Credo. The War was evidently on everyone’s minds, punctuating the Museum’s educational endeavors and functioning as an unexpected unifying force. As civilians rallied on the home front, so did educators within the Met. It appears the War was, ultimately, the glue holding the Museum’s energies together.

CONCLUSION

Museums can be elusive entities, distanced from modern researchers by both time and archival accessibility. Competing histories often develop, pitting accredited, institutionalized narratives against external scholars’ accounts. Alas, any attempt to explore the Met’s past is no different. Like many academics before me, I was greeted with organizational opacity when I endeavored to uncover the Museum’s record for myself. Thus, I was compelled to employ secondary sources in order to piece together an alternative picture of what the Met was like during its inaugural years, from its original conception in

France to its succession of buildings in New York City. Fortunately, this limitation was lessened during my examination of the Museum's educational activities during World War I, as I had been granted partial access to the Metropolitan Museum of Art Archives for research related to Anna Curtis Chandler. By surveying the Met's founding, early development, and educational activities leading up to and during the United States' active military involvement in World War I, I have attempted to create a condensed historical reimagining of what the Museum was like during this nearly 50 year time period, situating the Met within a framework of prestige, funding troubles, and organizational efforts. Consequently, I have fostered yet another narrative regarding the Museum's past, (re)imagining history in order to unpack how the Met came to support World War I through sanctioned, nationalistic programs. By increasing accessibility, seeking new sources of inspiration, and explicitly promoting nine core educational values, the Museum's pedagogic activities during the Great War contrast sharply with its preceding endeavors, which were primarily predicated on visitors navigating the Met's collections on their own. Henry Watson Kent was a key player in this educational progression, challenging the Museum's senior staff to reevaluate their founding goals in order to better serve the public during this tumultuous time period. Chandler's role in these developments is explored in Chapter 5, beginning with her educational pedigree at Wellesley College.



Figure 2: Drawing by Franklin Wittmack depicting the Union League Club's headquarters on Madison Square Park. Reproduced in *The Museum* by Lerman (1969).

Century Club, 109 East Fifteenth Street, }

JANUARY 11TH, 1870. }

SIR :

I beg to enclose to you a copy of the Constitution of the *Museum of Art Association* of the City of New York, adopted by the Provisional Committee on the 4th inst.

I am instructed to notify you that, in accordance with the provision contained in Article II, the *first annual meeting* will be held, for the purpose of electing officers for the ensuing year, and transacting such other business as may come before them, at the *Century Club*, as above, on Monday, 17th inst., at 8 o'clock P. M.

By order of the Chairman.

THEODORE WESTON,

Sec'y Provisional Committee.

To Mr. *C. C. Atwater*

Figure 3: Invitation to the Museum's first annual meeting, in which the election for officers would take place. Reproduced in *The Museum* by Lerman (1969).



Figure 4: Undated photograph of the Century Club, where members of the Museum's Provisional Committee occasionally met. Reproduced in *The Museum* by Lerman (1969).

To the Honorable, the Legislature of the State of New York: 873

The Trustees of the METROPOLITAN MUSEUM OF ART respectfully represent,

That they have been duly incorporated by the Legislature of the State of New York, by Act passed April 13, 1870, for the purpose of establishing and maintaining, in the City of New York, a Museum and Library of Art; of encouraging and developing the study of the Fine Arts, and the application of arts to manufactures and practical life; of advancing the general knowledge of kindred subjects, and to that end of furnishing popular instruction and recreation.

That they have raised, by subscription, for the purposes of said Museum, about two hundred and fifty thousand dollars—a large part of which has been paid for the purchase of works of art, which are now in their possession:

That in April, 1871, the Legislature passed an act which has not been altered or repealed, by which the sum of \$500,000 was authorized to be raised by the Department of Parks to erect a building for the Metropolitan Museum of Art within the Central Park, or some other of the public lands belonging to the City:

That the Department of Parks has not yet commenced the erection of said building, and your Memorialists believe that several years must elapse before said building will be ready to receive their collections:

That your Memorialists have in the meantime hired two large buildings for the reception and exhibition of the works of Art belonging to the Museum, and those which have been loaned to your Memorialists:

That for the rent of said buildings, and for the necessary expenses of preserving and exhibiting these collections there will be required annually at least the sum of Thirty Thousand Dollars:

That, these exhibitions will be virtually free to the people, subject to such restrictions only as the custody and preservation of the collections, and the rights of the subscribers to the fund shall impose; and that the said Museum will be as important and beneficial an agent in the instruction of the people as any of the schools or colleges of the city, and will also afford the most refining and, at the same time, innocent recreation for the public that can be provided:

Your Memorialists further respectfully represent, that the subscribers to the Museum fund having expended a large sum of money in the purchase of these objects for the public benefit, and having obtained the same at a great sacrifice, it is only just and proper that the expense of preserving and exhibiting these collections shall be borne by the people of the city, and should be supplied by the tax levy.

Your Memorialists, therefore, respectfully request that there shall be added to the sum to be raised by tax, for the year 1873, for the City and County of New York, the sum of thirty thousand dollars, to be paid to the Treasurer of the Metropolitan Museum of Art for the time being, for the purposes above mentioned.

And your Memorialists will ever pray.

JAMES WASH JOHNSON, <i>Pres.</i>	THEODORE WESTON, <i>Sec. Secy.</i>
SAMUEL L. M. BROWN,	RUSSELL STURGIS, <i>Cov. Secy.</i>
HOWARD PETER,	LUCIUS TUCKERMAN,
HENRY G. MARCAND,	ROBERT HARRIS, JR.,
JOSIAS H. CHUTE,	WM. C. PIERCE,
Wm. J. HUPIN,	R. M. HUNT,
SAM'L E. AVERY,	D. HASTINGTON,
	HUTCHISON STUYVESANT.

On Motion the meeting was adjourned

*Herbert Meekin
Rec Secy.*

Figure 5: An appeal to the New York legislature for financial aid in 1873 written by the Museum's Trustees. Reproduced in *The Museum* by Lerman (1969).



Figure 6: Undated photograph of the Dodworth Building, the Museum's first location at 681 Fifth Avenue. Reproduced in *Merchants and Masterpieces* by Tomkins (1989).



Figure 7: Undated photograph of the Douglas Mansion on Fourteenth Street, the Museum's second temporary location. Reproduced in *The Museum* by Lerman (1969).

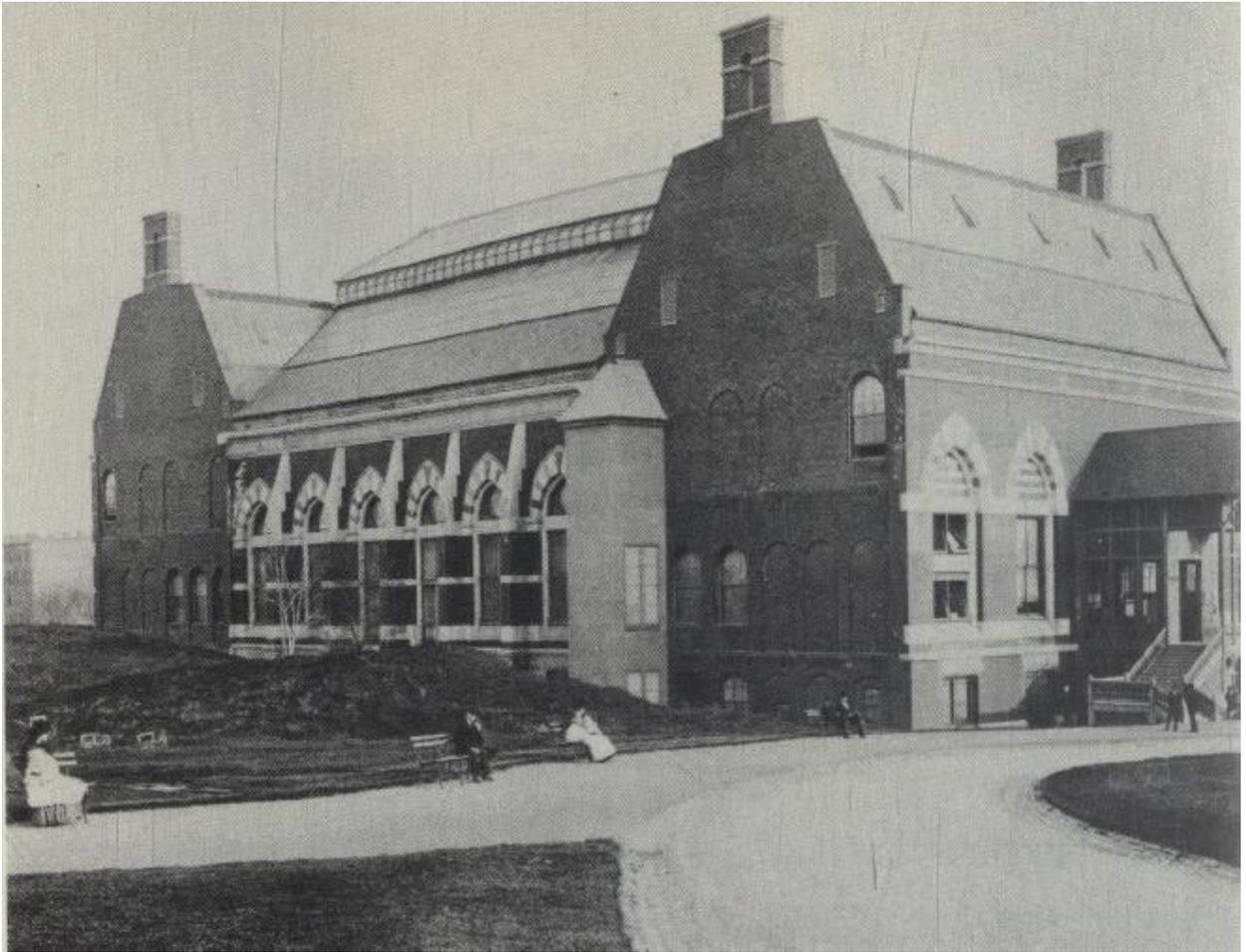


Figure 8: Undated photograph of the Museum's first building in Central Park. Reproduced in *Merchants and Masterpieces* by Tomkins (1989).

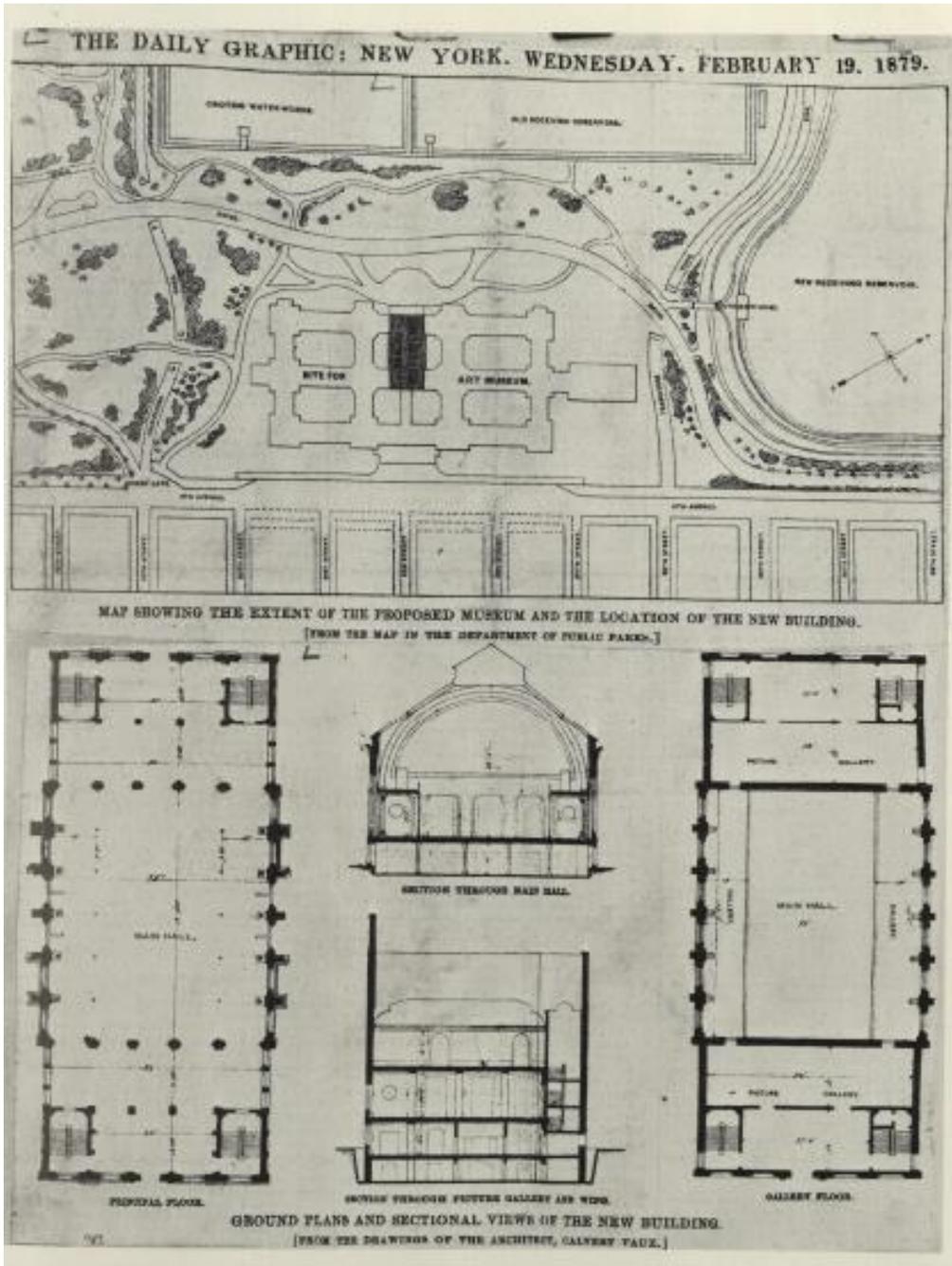


Figure 9: Architectural plan for the Museum, published in *The Daily Graphic* in 1879. Reproduced in *The Museum* by Lerman (1969).



Figure 10: Undated photograph of the Museum's first addition in 1888. Reproduced in *Merchants and Masterpieces* by Tomkins (1989).



Figure 11: Cover of a brochure for the Industrial Arts classes established in 1880 at the Museum. Reproduced in *The Museum* by Lerman (1969).



Figure 12: Photograph of Chandler's lecture hall Story Hour, Palm Sunday, April 1920. Reproduced in *Competition for Audience: Museum Storytellers and "The Movies" (1910-1920)* by Zucker (1998).

Chapter 5: Examining Anna Curtis Chandler's Storytelling Techniques and Objectives

Anna Curtis Chandler is often remembered as one of the preeminent storytellers working in art museum education during the early twentieth century, conjuring imaginative tales for audiences of all ages at the Metropolitan Museum of Art (Met) in New York City. During her nearly 18-year career as an educator at the Met, Chandler has been credited with drawing tens of thousands of visitors to the Museum; establishing cooperative partnerships with local public schools; offering teachers resources via lectures and publications; advancing storytelling as a dramatizing pedagogy unique to art museums; performing for two nationally broadcast radio programs; and authoring eight widely popular story books (Solli, 2007; Zucker, 1998, 2001). Moreover, Chandler was committed to progressing storytelling as a profession, writing several articles detailing how young women could best prepare for the field and how inexperienced storytellers could refine their craft (Chandler, 1924, 1934a, 1934b, 1935-1936).

Yet, how did Chandler become emblematic of exemplary storytelling? Where did her own life narrative begin, and what forces propelled her professional storyline forward? In this chapter, I examine how Chandler's personal and professional life developed over three decades, from her early childhood through her inaugural years at the Met. First, I review Chandler's upbringing and formal education in order to postulate how she conceptualized storytelling as a learned skill. Next, I explore Chandler's original occupation at the Museum and her petitions for transfer from the Photography Department to the Education Department, paying particular attention to how she articulated her perceived abilities. I conclude with an analysis of Chandler's activities in the Met's Education Department during the United States' active military involvement in World War I, establishing a biographical portrait that reveals her to be a determined, politically-

engaged educator whose actions were situated within the nation's contemporaneous Americanization efforts.

FROM STORYTIME TO STUDENT

Born in 1890 in Brunswick, Maine, Anna Curtis Chandler grew up listening to tales woven by her mother and father before bedtime each night (Chandler, 1920b; *Wellesley College Alumnae Association 1942 biographical record*, 1941). In the epilogue of her second storybook, *More Magic Pictures of the Long Ago*, Chandler describes her parents' narratives as "'made-up' stories in which little people worked and danced and frolicked, and became real companions" (Chandler, 1920b, p. 173). These nightly rituals "made a deep impression on her," presenting new realms of possibility and serving as the impetus for her future career as a storyteller at the Met (Pennell, 1938, n.p.).

Unfortunately, Chandler does not provide further elaboration on her childhood or explicitly offer alternative explanations for why she gravitated toward storytelling as a profession. However, her academic records indicate that her inclination for storytelling aligned with a carefully curated course selection. After graduating with her Bachelor of Arts degree in art, Latin, and English Composition from Wellesley College in Wellesley, Massachusetts, in 1909 (see Figure 13), Chandler remained at the school for an additional year of graduate coursework (*Wellesley College Alumnae Association 1942 biographical record*, 1941). Under the direction of Professor Alice V. V. Brown in Wellesley College's Art Department, Chandler enrolled in art and education classes. However, in 1910, Chandler abruptly left Wellesley College without completing her Master of Arts degree and relocated to New York City (Chandler, A. C., 1890-1969, Chandler to H. W. Kent, June 23, 1914).

Chandler's interest in art education persisted, though, and she dedicated her spare time to cultivating her storytelling techniques. Shortly after moving to New York City, she completed "a course in story-telling" taught by Dr. Richard T. Wyche, President of the National League of Story Telling,¹ at the Normal College.² She also later enrolled in a "life class" led by Professor Alon Bement at Teachers College, Columbia University (Chandler, A. C., 1890-1969, Chandler to H. W. Kent, June 23, 1914). Moreover, Chandler gained practical performance experience on "many Sunday afternoons...by telling stories at the Hospital for Crippled Children, and the East Side Settlement House" (Chandler, A. C., 1890-1969, Chandler to H. W. Kent, June 23, 1914). By participating in formal education classes as well as actively volunteering at nearby organizations, Chandler demonstrated her belief that storytelling as a profession could be *learned*—nurtured and perfected in theory and in practice.

EARLY YEARS AT THE MUSEUM

In addition to taking classes upon her relocation to New York City in 1910, Chandler also began working in the Met's Photography Department, which was housed in the Museum's Library. There, she specialized in "photographs of Painting, Sculpture, Architecture, and Minor Arts" (Chandler, A. C., 1890-1969, Chandler to H. W. Kent, June 23, 1914). In an interview with the *Portland Telegram-Press Herald* in 1938, however, Chandler disclosed that her first position at the Met was far from fulfilling. Tasked with writing labels, handling patron requests, and verifying item descriptions, Chandler rarely interacted with visitors in the way she envisioned when she was hired (Pennell, 1938). Consequently, after four years behind a desk in the Met's Library, Chandler sent a letter to

¹ Founded in 1903 by Dr. Richard T. Wyche, the National League of Storytelling is now known as the National Storytellers League ("About the National Storytellers League," n.d.).

² The Normal College was renamed in 1914 to Hunter College of the City of New York in honor of Thomas Hunter, the College's founding President ("History," 2016).

the Education Department's overseer, Assistant Secretary Henry Watson Kent, requesting to be considered for an unannounced job opening (Chandler, A. C., 1890-1969, Chandler to H. W. Kent, June 23, 1914).

In this two-page handwritten letter scrawled in black ink on stationary from the Museum's Library, Chandler presents herself as a proactive learner and academically qualified candidate for an educational position. Noting that a current educator, Miss Fenton, is "leaving," Chandler states "I [Chandler] should like to apply for some of the work....I do not know what arrangements have been made for Summer classes, but perhaps there will be a chance for me to take them" (Chandler, A. C., 1890-1969, Chandler to H. W. Kent, June 23, 1914). She goes on to underscore her familiarity with the Met's collection, detailing her participation in adult education classes provided by St. Michael's Protestant Episcopal Church (see Figure 14), which toured the Museum's "Egyptian rooms, a portion of the Decorative Arts wing, and through some of the Painting galleries" (Chandler, A. C., 1890-1969, Chandler to H. W. Kent, June 23, 1914). Moreover, Chandler claims the experience motivated her to organize monthly Museum visits for Church members, scheduled to begin that autumn. Chandler further details her involvement with local organizations by recounting her coursework completed at the Normal College and Teachers College, both of which she argues complement her undergraduate degree from Wellesley College (Chandler, A. C., 1890-1969, Chandler to H. W. Kent, June 23, 1914).

Interestingly, Chandler does not indicate what type of projects she would like to undertake in the Museum's Education Department until her closing paragraph. Although Miss Fenton's exact position remains unknown, Chandler describes her commitment to "telling stories at the Hospital for Crippled Children, and the East Side Settlement House" (Chandler, A. C., 1890-1969, Chandler to H. W. Kent, June 23, 1914). As discussed in Chapter 4, Kent introduced Story Hours to the Met's roster of educational activities

sometime around 1907, when he was revitalizing the Museum's Education Department. Thus, when Chandler arrived at the Met in 1910, she likely witnessed Story Hours performed by educators—possibly even Miss Fenton—operating under Kent's direction. When viewed in this light, it becomes clear that Chandler's letter to Kent was not motivated by a general desire to transfer departments. Instead, she presented her qualifications in order of specificity, culminating in her ultimate goal: the Story Hours. Her academic background and existing knowledge of the Met's collections were intended to demonstrate her mastery of any prerequisites, whereas her storytelling experience reveals her interest in working with the Story Hours.

One week later, Chandler received unwelcome news. Typed on a single sheet of paper, Kent described the “little chance of vacancy or an opportunity for you [Chandler] to work along this line” (Kent, H. W., 1866-1948, Kent to A. C. Chandler, June 30, 1914). Miss Fenton was indeed leaving the Met, but Kent aimed to fill the position with “one who has had some experience in teaching, and who will be able to take full charge of this branch of the Museum's work” (Kent, H. W., 1866-1948, Kent to A. C. Chandler, June 30, 1914). If any suitable opportunity for Chandler to join the Education Department arose, however, Kent promised to inform her (Kent, H. W., 1866-1948, Kent to A. C. Chandler, June 30, 1914).

The letter did not deter Chandler in her objective. On July 1, 1914—only one day after Chandler received Kent's notice—she penned another handwritten letter to the Assistant Secretary, rebutting his assessment that she lacked teaching experience. According to Chandler, she had a compelling background in instruction:

During my graduate year at Wellesley I [Chandler] worked in Art as a major, and Education as a minor subject. In the latter course, given by Professor Anna J. McKeag, part of the work was teaching certain days during the week in the Wellesley Hills High School under the supervision of Mr. Brown, Principal of

that school. This course with its practice teaching, was voted by the Boston School Committee to count as one years experience in teaching. I think I spoke, in my other letter, of the experience I have had here in New York in Story-telling at the East Side Settlement House and the Hospital for Crippled Children.

(Chandler, A. C., 1890-1969, Chandler to H. W. Kent, July 1, 1914)

It is difficult to gauge if Chandler's note was intentionally impudent, or simply explanatory. Either way, there is no further correspondence between Chandler or Kent preserved in the Met's Archives for the remainder of 1914. What's more, communication between the two Museum employees does not resurface until April 1917, roughly two weeks after President Woodrow Wilson declared war on Germany.

It is ambiguous which specific tasks Chandler completed at the Met between 1914 and 1917, yet it is apparent that she continued working in the Library and remained interested in transferring to the Education Department. On April 17, 1917, Chandler composed another handwritten letter on Library stationery to Kent, asking to join his staff "this coming year for at least part time" (Chandler, A. C., 1890-1969, Chandler to H. W. Kent, April 17, 1917). Unlike her initial attempt to move from Library to Education, in this letter Chandler plainly states her professional objectives: "Besides the Saturday and Sunday story-hours, I should like very much to help with classes" (Chandler, A. C., 1890-1969, Chandler to H. W. Kent, April 17, 1917). Rather than outlining her qualifications, however, Chandler describes her involvement with the School Art League, highlighting her value to another organization in order to suggest that her skills are in demand. Intriguingly, Chandler does not readily offer her services to Kent. Instead, she details how she intends to work as a docent for the School Art League "from one until five, for five days of the week, for nine months of the year, September 15th – June 15th" (Chandler, A. C., 1890-1969, Chandler to H. W. Kent, April 17, 1917). Any position he provided her at the Museum, therefore, would have to be restricted to weekday mornings and weekends.

In other words, Chandler was truly only applying to be a storyteller during the Saturday and Sunday Story Hours, and would not be assisting with any additional assignments.

Just three days later, Kent informed Chandler of the news she had been waiting almost three years to hear: she would be the Met's newest storyteller. In a typed letter consisting of a single sentence, Kent reiterated that Chandler would be joining the Museum's Education Department part time:

Confirming what I have said to you this morning, I am authorized to arrange with you for a series of stories to be given on Saturday mornings, a series to be given on Sunday afternoons—having especially in mind the children of the public schools—and a group of stories or talks to children in the galleries as occasion may demand, it being understood that such engagements will be made contingent upon the exigencies of your work with the School Art League, and the number of Saturday and Sunday conferences and additional employment by the Museum to be determined proportionately to the amount which I am authorized to offer you. (Kent, H. W., 1866-1948, Kent to A. C. Chandler, April 20, 1917)

Not surprisingly, Chandler eagerly accepted Kent's offer, officially agreeing to his terms in a handwritten letter dated April 23, 1917. Always one to look ahead, Chandler employed this correspondence as an opportunity to begin planning for future Story Hours, "so that I [Chandler] may be getting together material" (Chandler, A. C., 1890-1969, Chandler to H. W. Kent, April 23, 1917).

One week later, though, Chandler's professional life shifted once again. In a typed one-page letter addressed to Dr. James P. Haney, the School Art League's Chairman of the Board of Managers, Chandler resigned from her prospective position as one of the organization's docents. As Chandler alleges in the letter, the School Art League position was modified from part time to "full time, five days a week, for the nine months of the school year" (Chandler, A. C., 1890-1969, Chandler to J. P. Haney, April 30, 1917). Citing her commitment to the Museum's weekend Story Hours and the "occasional taking of classes or giving stories in the mornings," Chandler explains that she cannot work for both

institutions given the positions' respective time commitments (Chandler, A. C., 1890-1969, Chandler to J. P. Haney, April 30, 1917). In short, Chandler opted to pursue a career in the Met's Education Department—even though it was only part time—rather than teach for the School Art League full time.

Chandler was well aware of her part-time status within the Museum's Education Department, and quickly began seeking opportunities for promotion. In yet another handwritten letter addressed to Kent, Chandler requested to be considered for a full-time position:

I understand that Mr. Gordon may be away from the Museum indefinitely. If, therefore, a change is to be made in your educational staff, I should like to again make application, feeling that with the training and experience I have had, I am fitted for docent work. (Chandler, A. C., 1890-1969, Chandler to H. W. Kent, August 11, 1917)

By putting herself forward for an appointment that was not yet available, Chandler undoubtedly sought to jump to the top of Kent's application stack. It is ambiguous if this letter proved beneficial, though, as Kent's response is not preserved in the Museum's Archives. Nevertheless, it is evident that Chandler remained within the Met's Education Department for approximately the next 18 years, contributing heavily to the Story Hours and fashioning herself to be the program's lead educator.

CHANDLER'S INVOLVEMENT IN STORYTELLING ACTIVITIES

After working as a storyteller in the Met's Education Department for roughly three months,³ Chandler prepared her first of many annual reports, describing her contributions to the Story Hour programs and providing unsolicited suggestions for improvement. Before delving into Chandler's report, however, it is first necessary to examine how she

³ As explained in Chandler's typed report, the document only takes into account her activities in the Museum's Education Department from October 4 – December 16, 1917 (Chandler, 1917b).

participated in the Museum's weekly Story Hours. Although the Met's storytelling activities were divided into three distinct programs—Saturday Story Hours for Museum members, Sunday Story Hours for the general public, and weekday Children's Hours⁴ for the youngest learners—the two well-attended weekend events were nearly identical to one another in structure.

Organizing the Saturday and Sunday Story Hours

Prior to beginning her presentations, Chandler would try to speak with as many attending visitors as possible. She attempted to gauge which stories they had heard before, which narratives they preferred, and whether or not they were interested in perusing the Met's galleries afterward. Then, she introduced the story, providing listeners with a tantalizing taste of the tale to come. At this time, Chandler would welcome children's comments, encouraging them to share their own thoughts about the story's content. Yet, once she began to tell the story, there were no interruptions (Chandler, 1917a). Chandler would enliven the story using dramatic action, and often dressed in period clothing (Zucker, 2001). She also adjusted her voice throughout the Story Hour in order to play multiple roles. According to Chandler in an interview several years later, the process proved to be a pleasant challenge:

As I talked, I took the parts of my various characters....Sometimes it is a bit difficult to be a pattern out of a Persian rug, or to step stiff and angular from the exterior of an Egyptian vase, but I manage somehow. (Chandler in Willyoung, 1921, p. 4)

During the Story Hour, Chandler's colleagues—Mrs. Henry L. De Forest, Mrs. Eva Johnston Coe, and Miss Alice H. Nichols—would enhance the narrative by playing contemporary music on the piano and singing period-appropriate songs (Runchey, 1930).

⁴ The Children's Hours took place twice during the week: on Wednesdays for the general public and on Thursdays for Museum members (Chandler, 1918b).

The main performance, therefore, incorporated a variety of art forms: storytelling, theater, and music.

After she finished telling the story, Chandler would further illustrate the narrative by projecting corresponding lantern slides, the majority of which displayed artworks from the Met's permanent collection (see Figure 15). She limited the number of images she employed, restricting her presentation to no more than 18 pictures, as she believed any number beyond that would simply tire the audience. While showing the images, Chandler made a point to engage the children, asking them to share their reactions. She would then conclude the Story Hour by inviting visitors to explore the galleries and locate the objects she had discussed. On Saturdays, the audience was typically small enough to divide into groups, which could be guided through the Museum by staff members (see Figures 16 and 17). On Sundays, however, this approach was impractical due to the immense number of visitors the Story Hour had attracted. In these situations, the crowd was merely directed where to go and left to venture into the galleries alone (Chandler, 1917a).

Even when the Story Hours were at capacity, though, they did not lack order. Chandler ensured that her program ran smoothly with minimal employee oversight by enlisting the help of volunteer monitors, whom she dubbed her "feudal order" (Chandler in Willyoung, 1921, p. 4). Ranging in age from four to sixteen, the boys and girls volunteering for Chandler were divided into three divisions: pages, who wore blue bands around their arms; squires, who donned purple; and knights, who were awarded gold. The medieval-inspired volunteers oversaw the Story Hours' publicity, organization, and hospitality. Each child also had to pledge their allegiance to the Met, vowing "to learn about the objects of art in the Museum, to see beauty everywhere, to be courteous, honest, punctual and steadfast" (Chandler in Willyoung, 1921, p. 4). Perhaps the surest demonstration of the feudal order's commitment to the Story Hours was its annual

performances (see Figure 18), in which the volunteers presented a story to a live audience. For example, on June 10, 1919, the group dramatized the story, “A Chinese Rip Van Winkle,” and on May 20, 1920, they performed the story, “Through the Doorway of the Past into the Land of Nowadays,” in honor of the American Federation of the Arts (“A final children’s hour,” 1920; “An entertainment by the monitors,” 1919).

Although the feudal order’s contributions may appear marginal, they illustrate how the volunteers viewed the Museum as an extension of themselves. Chandler successfully established the Met as space for creative exploration, and the children were comfortable enough to occupy her stage and present their own interpretation of artworks in the Museum. Consequently, Chandler enabled her Story Hours to become more than passive listening experiences. By equipping the young volunteers with the tools necessary for effective storytelling, Chandler empowered them to participate in the narrative process, creating a new avenue for imaginative productions and implementing dramatic pedagogy.

However, it is crucial to note that of all the ways in which Chandler could have organized her volunteers, she opted for a military-based system. Even when the country was steeped in propaganda surrounding World War I, Chandler did not provide a sanctuary removed from such harsh realities. Instead, she welcomed war into the Museum, enveloping her faithful followers in military associations. The battlefield may have been across the Atlantic Ocean, but the Met had become a wartime locale of its own.

Composing the Children’s Hours

As an addendum to weekend Story Hours, Chandler also executed weekly Children’s Hours (see Figures 19 and 20), a course held two afternoons each week in one the Met’s classrooms. Unlike Story Hours, Children’s Hours were intimate and highly interactive, designed to reinforce themes that had been discussed at the preceding Story

Hour by playing games in small groups. Sometimes Chandler led the children in reenactments of the story, and other times they played the “Museum Game,” an activity in which the children described or posed as objects in the galleries that related to the Story Hour (Chandler, 1920a, p. 88). Chandler also encouraged the children to illustrate her stories using art supplies, recreating artworks with clay and crayons. The children would then lead the group to the object they had copied, which she argued increased their familiarity with the Museum’s galleries and strengthened their observation skills (Chandler, 1920a).

Gaining Credibility through an Imagined Community of Dress and Decorum

When Chandler stepped onto the Met’s stage and performed her tales for hundreds of visitors, she captivated audiences both visually and audibly. Yet, her presence transcended mere fascination and allure because she consciously constructed her professional identity in order to maximize her credibility with Museum visitors. She was an expert in her craft, or, at least, she succeeded in giving off the impression of expertise to Museum audiences. Either way, Chandler was an irrefutably successful storyteller at the Met, securing repeat visitors and strengthening the institution’s bonds with local public schools. Her accomplishments were far from accidental, however, as she deliberately fashioned herself as a respected storyteller, complete with appropriate dress and decorum.

Although the scope of this research spans 1917-1918—the years in which the United States was actively involved in World War I—correspondence between Henry Watson Kent and the Museum’s in-house prop maker, Florence W. Ivins, from 1919 acutely demonstrates Chandler’s dedication to appearing artistically authentic. Dated June 25, 1919, a typed letter stamped with Kent’s signature thanks Mrs. Ivins for providing a bill of sale for Chandler’s new dress, which is to be repeatedly worn for each of her

upcoming Story Hours (Kent, H. W., 1866-1948, Kent to F. W. Ivins, June 25, 1919). The bill of sale reveals Ivins' creation of "one grey satin silk gowne," totaling \$26.69 (Ivins, 1919, n.p.). Accompanying the bill are three hand drawn illustrations of the dress (see Figures 21, 22, and 23), which includes two pieces: a "grey dress of very slimy silk – grey stockings slippers made of the same material – colla[illegible] a cuff of pleated Cawn.... belt of silver ribbon tied in a small bow, with pointed ends" and an "oriental coat of bright linen stamped with flowers or figures....bordered with mauve and silver – lined with cerise silk" (Ivins, 1919, n.p.). The items could be worn together or separately, creating a range of looks to complement almost any tale Chandler might perform.

Chandler was accustomed to dressing in exotic clothing, donning a variety of costumes ever since she began performing for the Museum. Her outfits were intended to enhance her stories, visually propelling the narrative forward. For example, when she recounted a tale involving a 15th-century French painting, she would dress in 15th-century French garb (see Figure 24). Likewise, when her story called for 16th-century French apparel, she would dramatically oblige (see Figure 25).

Operating on multiple levels, Chandler's costumes signified her participation in "imaginary connections" for the purposes of their "inclusionary and exclusionary functions... remind[ing] us [viewers] not to take nationalism for granted but to consider just how fabricated imagined communities have been" (Hoganson, 2007, p. 58). Thus, Chandler theatrically performed difference during her Story Hours in order to demonstrate how disparities are often superficially visual: she remained herself, despite whatever outfit she was wearing. By placing herself in the position of the anthropological "other," though, Chandler urged audience members to view her as someone who was both an outsider and the same as them. Was she a fellow citizen, or was she someone else, simply because she was wearing clothes associated with a distant locale? Chandler toyed with these questions

during her performances, engaging visitors in a form of mental play that encouraged them to work through their personal conceptions of the “other” and define their own identities.

Chandler used her costumes to illustrate the fluidity of time, place, nationality, and citizenship. While her stories often invoked a distinct sense of “here” and “there,” it was in costumes that Chandler collapsed this distance, attempting to bring fantastic, foreign modes of dress and vision into direct contact with Museum visitors. Representing fantasy-fueled historical narratives, Chandler’s costumes conflated imagination with reality, pushing viewers into a fictional, yet plausible world. Although it is impossible to say with complete certainty that Chandler’s clothes were historically inaccurate given the tenuous nature of fashion history (Hennessy, 2012), Chandler likely based her performance apparel on source material available in the Museum’s artworks and her own inventiveness. Like her stories, they were at once true and untrue. Consequently, Chandler’s outfits functioned as invitations for imaginary leaps into the unknown, as well as connotative connections with imagined communities representing difference in time and place.

Chandler’s performances relied on more than just her costumes, though. Indeed, Chandler carefully constructed her storytelling persona based on her training from Wellesley College, the Normal College, and Teachers College. She valued clarity and charisma, in addition to a compelling presence that bid listeners to follow her every word and movement. Described as an enchantress in a 1921 interview, Chandler’s position as a storyteller is fancifully recounted:

A shy little person, it is her task to summon the picture folk from their frames to delight the heart of childhood. . . . If you were to run across her in one of the upper corridors, you would never suspect her of being other than a very sweet-faced lady, unless perhaps, you chanced to look deep into her eyes and so discovered the stories lurking there. . . . If you have the courage to storm into her stronghold, it is only a matter of time before you fall victim to her wiles, for she will tell you the

most impossible tales in such a fascinatingly plausible way that there will be nothing for you to do but believe her. (Willyoung, p. 3)

Although Chandler rarely disclosed her personal views on effective storytelling during her early career at the Met, later publications reveal her to be a pragmatic educator, determined to continuously improve her profession. Thus, for the purposes of including Chandler's perceived strengths as a storyteller at the Museum, I briefly conclude this section with an examination of her opinion on effective storytelling.⁵

For Chandler, productive storytellers immersed themselves within the narrative, adopting the mystical and ethereal qualities that she believed were essential to good stories. Yet, storytellers were not actors. They did not conceal their personal identity and assume a new character. Rather, Chandler argued that effective storytellers were always themselves, simply adopting different parts of a story in order to add authority to the narrative (Chandler, 1934a). Chandler understood that audience members would not remember a story if it was not entertaining, so she routinely mixed fact with fiction, embellishing her stories with plausible anecdotes. Chandler openly acknowledged such enhancements, arguing that they animated artists' lives by making their environments more vivid and their artworks more accessible. She never absolutely abandoned the realm of possibility, however. Instead, she claimed to remain true to the facts by carefully elaborating on their potential (Chandler, 1929).

Fortuitously, Chandler candidly divulged her storytelling preferences in *Careers for Women* (Chandler, 1934a), an edited publication that surveys a variety of employment options for young women who had graduated from college. Chandler authored an entire chapter on the storytelling profession, encouraging interested individuals to determine

⁵ In order to apply Chandler's later articulation of her views on effective storytelling to her work at the Met during the United States' active military involvement in World War I, I am presuming that she followed a less developed form of these views during her early years at the Museum.

whether or not they have a natural predisposition for the field. She warns readers that storytellers' three fundamental features—spontaneity, innovation, and confidence—cannot solely be studied, only refined if they already exist. Chandler provided additional practical advice, suggesting that storytellers train their voice so that its “power and quality” remained consistent throughout performances (p. 399). Likewise, she urged those interested in storytelling to enroll in public speaking courses and practice breathing exercises. For Chandler, accomplished storytellers demonstrated excellent vocabulary, fluid and natural gestures, and control over their voice. Consequently, she valued public speaking classes more than elocution lessons. According to Chandler, great storytellers are able to flex their voice, adapting it for different characters without hesitation. Moreover, she argued that individuals interested in pursuing storytelling as a profession should have a warm personality and a sincere interest in people, especially children (Chandler, 1934a, 1934b, 1935-1936).

When amateur storytellers felt ready to begin presenting stories in art museums, Chandler recommended that they test their understanding of a narrative's content. The plot should build to a definitive conclusion, and the storyteller should humanize the tale by dramatizing the subject matter as much as possible (Chandler, 1934a). Skilled storytellers should be so deeply familiar with the plot that they never have to pause and search for words. They should also have a strong command over art historical terminology—such as line, form, shape, depth, color, composition, texture, perspective, balance, etc.—and be comfortable incorporating this language into their performance (Chandler, 1935-1936). Furthermore, the story should flow naturally from the storyteller, and should never be recited. Chandler argued that this ability arises from extensive practice in front of live audiences, including both children and adults. Lastly, she urged storytellers to never underestimate listeners' imaginative capacities (Chandler, 1934a). For Chandler (1934b),

“art is the story-teller of the ages, and the story-teller is the interpreter of beauty through the ages” (p. 161). Master storytellers, therefore, translate artworks into words, communicating their unique narratives through the power of oration and directed observation.

Examining Chandler’s 1917 Annual Report

Returning to Chandler’s 1917 report, it is clear she sought to use the document as an opportunity to demonstrate her importance within the Met’s Education Department to her immediate supervisor, Henry Watson Kent. Chandler begins by quantifying her success leading the weekend Story Hours, stating “over 3,000 have attended the Saturday stories and over 5,000 the Sunday stories” (Chandler, 1917b, p.1). Moreover, she describes how patrons of the Saturday Story Hours value the program, “show[ing] the keenest interest not only in the story itself and the screen pictures, but in the illustrative objects, in the galleries” (Chandler, 1917b, p. 1). Chandler appears particularly invested in maintaining—or possibly even expanding—her use of the Museum’s galleries after each Story Hour, explaining how she “feel[s] that the children have looked forward to these little trips more than to anything else connected with the stories; they enjoy finding the objects which they have become familiar with, and appreciate their shape, color, and story interest” (Chandler, 1917b, pp. 1-2). Indeed, Chandler dedicates an entire page of her report to recounting those objects she has highlighted during her tenure:

They have seen the Japanese prints which Mr. Bosch-Reitz was kind enough to have framed and taken to the Lecture Hall, the netsukes, inros, and screens illustrating the story of Fire-Shine and Fire-Fade; the objects illustrating the stories of the Egyptian Kings and Queens; the armor, tracing its development from chain to plate; the little “Costume Ladies”, the Model of Penshurst Castle, and the woven pictures illustrating the story of Bayard, the Knight “without fear and without reproach”; the helmet of Joan of Arc, the tapestry of the mounted warrior knighted by Charles VII, the model of Notre Dame (to give them an idea of Rheims Cathedral) which they compared with pictures of the latter cathedral,

and Bastien Le Page's painting of the Vision of Joan; the Persian miniatures and tiles, and the rugs with their designs for the Persian story; and the Rembrandts and other paintings by the Dutch and Flemish artists for the Christmas story, which is one woven about Rembrandt as a boy. The Greek stories were left, with one or two exceptions, until the opening of the new wing, when the children could go into the Greek and Roman rooms and see the objects themselves. Earlier, Miss Richter arranged a case of terracottas and vases for them. (Chandler, 1917b, pp. 2-3)

Chandler also uses her report to broach the topic of public schools, subtly proposing that the Museum become a partner with local teachers in order to develop a curriculum that complements both the Story Hours' and school districts' needs. Noting that "the principals and teachers in the schools are urging their pupils to come," Chandler laments that the Museum does not have "a larger hall in which to accommodate them" (Chandler, 1917b, p. 3). Intriguingly, Chandler does not provide a solution for this seemingly fortunate challenge. Rather, she leaves the problem open-ended, as if inviting Kent to grant her a larger space for her Story Hours or designate a new day for exclusively serving school children.

Near the end of her report, Chandler explicitly describes her relationship with local school teachers and principals. During the past year, Chandler claims to have "visited ten elementary schools, talked with the Principals of each, with 25 teachers, and with the District Superintendent of the schools between 110th and 85th Streets, and Fifth Avenue and the East River" (Chandler, 1917b, p. 4). While her purpose for these visits is not immediately clear, Chandler continues to write that she has initiated connections with public school teachers who are now interested in bringing their students to the Museum:

I [Chandler] have given 9 auditorium talks or stories in the schools, most of them illustrated with slides, to pupils aggregating over 4,000, it being understood that the goal of every talk is the bringing of the teachers and pupils to the Museum to see the objects themselves, which they are very glad to do. (Chandler, 1917b, p. 4)

According to Chandler, these visits directly benefit school teachers and their students by supplementing their English, History, and Drawing courses:

They have seen either the objects illustrating the story I have given in their schools, or those they have heard in the Museum or Sunday afternoons, or objects illustrating what they are reading and studying in school. Many write compositions on what they have seen and illustrate them with sketches of the objects, and the members of one class are making costumes of different periods for some dolls. These trips to the galleries to see the objects make real to the boys and girls what they are studying in school, and the stories they read and hear, and in addition they teach them to see and to appreciate the beauty of the objects and their workmanship. (Chandler, 1917b, p. 5)

The implications of Chandler's involvement with New York City's public schools and how such a relationship impacted her position as a storyteller at the Met are too complex to adequately dissect here, however it is apparent that the collaboration proved mutually beneficial. School teachers were able to supplement their curriculum with Chandler's lectures and performances, and Chandler was able to include the public school pupils in her annual reports, thereby significantly increasing her count of visitors served (Chandler, 1917b, pp. 5-6).

Judging by Chandler's 1917 report, it seems as though she productively and efficiently merged her personal interests with the Museum's Education Department's existing Story Hours. Naturally, Chandler did not include any unflattering events in her report, causing the document to narrowly focus on only the positive developments with which she was involved. Nevertheless, the report provides unparalleled insight into her first few months as a storyteller at the Met, concretely outlining her key contributions and vision for the program. Yet, Chandler was not exclusively employed by the Museum. Demonstrated in the following section, Chandler dedicated her spare time to authoring her first children's book.

Penning New Prose

While working as a storyteller at the Met, Chandler authored her first storybook, *Magic Pictures of the Long Ago: Stories of the People of Many Lands*. Published by Henry Holt and Company in 1918, the work features ten short stories arranged geographically. For example, the first narrative highlights “A Story of Egypt,” the second presents “A Story of Greece,” the third illustrates “A Story of Rome,” and so on. Reproductions of objects held in the Museum’s permanent collection accompany each story, but no tale is dedicated to a single artwork (Chandler, 1918a). Thus, the images function in the same manner as the lantern slides during Chandler’s formal Story Hours, offering visual support without overshadowing her words. In Chapter 6, I will closely examine *what* Chandler communicated in her first storybook, paying particular attention to *how* her narratives correspond with the United States’ involvement in World War I. For now, though, I restrict my analysis of Chandler’s publication to its reception at the Met.

On November 6, 1918, Kent responded to an inquiry from Mr. Maxwell Aley, a salesman from Henry Holt and Company. Neatly typed on a single sheet of paper, Kent replied:

With reference to the taking on of the sale of the book recently published by you of Miss Chandler’s stories, I beg to say that we will be glad to carry them here under the same terms that you give to any bookseller. (Kent, H. W., 1866-1948, Kent to M. Aley, November 6, 1918)

Further correspondence between the two men reveal that the Museum was to carry 50 copies of Chandler’s *Magic Pictures of the Long Ago*, purchased from the publisher at a discount of 1/3 from the list price of \$1.30 (Aley, M., Aley to H. W. Kent, November 8, 1918; Aley, M., Aley to H. W. Kent, November 20, 1918; Kent, H. W., 1866-1948, Kent to M. Aley, November 19, 1918).

Although Museum employees', including Kent's, involvement in Chandler's first publication with Henry Holt and Company remains obscure, Kent clearly supported her entrepreneurial venture enough to permit the Museum's shop to sell it. This could, of course, have been motivated by his desire to promote the Story Hours' performers as professional imaginaries, or perhaps to increase publicity for the program throughout the institution. Either way, Kent's tacit encouragement was not lost upon Chandler, who thanked her Museum associates in her storybook's preface:

I wish to acknowledge my indebtedness to Mr. Henry W. Kent, Secretary of the Metropolitan Museum, one of the first to realize the educational value of storytelling in Museums, to whose suggestion and help I owe my start in the telling of stories; to Miss Winifred E. Howe, who writes the stories for the Children's Bulletin of the Museum, for her constant interest and help; to Miss Marion E. Fenton for her editorial work and her encouragement; to Miss Louise Avery of the Museum for her suggestions in selecting the title of this collection of stories, and to the many other friends who have given me aid. (Chandler, 1918a, pp. vii-viii)

Examining Chandler's 1918 Annual Report

Chandler's gratitude for her Museum colleagues also extends into her second annual report addressed to Kent, dated December 14, 1918. Handwritten in black cursive on seven sheets of paper, the report details Chandler's continued involvement with local public schools and her vision for magnifying the Story Hours. Chandler begins the report by tallying her total number of performances at the Met: "There have been 22 Sunday story-hours for the general public and 18 Saturday story-hours for the children of Members with accompanying grown people" (Chandler, 1918b, p. 1). However, in the next sentence, Chandler divulges that the Saturday Story Hours received lower attendance rates than the Sunday Story Hours, even though she believes both events were equally fruitful:

The Member's story-hours do not meet the response in numbers which the Sunday story-hours do, yet the interest of those who attend is equally great and is

kept up through the series, for the same people come from week to week, showing keen appreciation of the stories, illustrative pictures, and the trips into the galleries where they see the real objects of art which bear upon the story. (Chandler, 1918b, p. 1)

Chandler further supports her cause by citing positive feedback provided by children's parents, whom she claimed "often come with their children and always go into the galleries, saying that they have learned to enjoy the Museum as much as their children, and that with them they are growing to appreciate it more and more" (Chandler, 1918b, p. 1).

Despite the fact that Chandler was likely overselling her activities in order to demonstrate her worth to the Museum's Education Department, she clearly pushed the Story Hours into new directions—either with or without Kent's approval. Having performed for over 27,000 visitors in 1918, Chandler envisioned the Story Hours as becoming the Met's primary outreach program and postulates about the possibilities that could be afforded by constructing "an auditorium with the seating capacity for 1000 or 1200" (Chandler, 1918b, p. 2). Confident she would be able to fill the new auditorium, Chandler explains her mission for welcoming unprecedented numbers of public school students into the Museum:

Often classrooms, teachers, sometimes a Principal or Art Supervisor [attend a Story Hour], and they all express their keen appreciation of the good the story-hours are doing, for they not only keep the boys and girls from the streets and get them into the habit of coming to the Museum each Sunday afternoon, but they help them see beauty in the workmanship, form, and color of each of the objects in the galleries, and having seen it there, they look for it outside and try to put it in their homes. The story, which I try to make as vivid and beautiful as possible, not only makes them happy but teaches them, without their realizing it in any irksome way, about different countries, great kings, queens, knights, painters, and sculptors, the life of a nation shown forth in its legends, and the arts of all these peoples, all of which creates ideals in the children and stimulates their ambitions. (Chandler, 1918b, p. 2)

By teaching difference and seeking to promote empathy in an enjoyable—rather than "irksome" manner—Chandler engaged with ethical ideals within the Museum in order to

situate audience members within a secure, yet challenging framework (Chandler, 1918b, p. 2).

During Chandler's Story Hours at the Met, visitors likely felt protected by her tales, which took them to faraway lands and troubled times without threatening personal injury or distress. In other words, Chandler safely guided visitors into other locales using her words, costumes, dramatic movements, and accompanying images, all of which demonstrated that the Story Hours were primarily performative, not intimidatingly real. Yet, the stories were authentic enough to garner the audience's trust, enabling them to suspend their disbelief and follow Chandler wherever she led. As Chandler explained in the foreword of her fifth storybook, *Story-Lives of Master Artists*, she based all her stories on Mark Twain's idea that "it may have happened, it may not have happened, but it could have happened" (Chandler, 1929, p. xiii). Consequently, facts became mysterious myths that could be bent to Chandler's will, serving her educational aims by constructing enticing narratives capable of capturing listeners' and readers' imaginations, compassions, and, ultimately, consciences.

As indicated in the conclusion of her 1918 report, Chandler looked toward the future as often as she delved into the past for source material. While discussing the advantages of providing stories with ethical impetuses, Chandler argued that children were most likely to be impacted by such narratives:

In all the phases of my work, therefore, the correlative work with the Elementary Schools, the excellent response to and the far-reaching results from the Story-hours and Childrens' Hours which cannot fail to influence the boys and girls not only now but later, when they become *citizens* and perhaps members of the Museum, I wish to report a splendid progress and a development and enlargement of the work which is extremely encouraging. (Chandler, 1918b, p. 6, emphasis added)

By concerning herself with children's prospective citizenship statuses, Chandler alludes to what could be construed as her essential, underlying motivation for weaving tales in the Museum and on the page: Americanization. During the United States' involvement in World War I, storytellers often implemented oral narratives as a way to support Americanization programs designed to integrate immigrants into the United States social sphere, making them less foreign and more "American" (Forbes, 1923, p. 52). Although it can be frustratingly difficult to retroactively define what it meant to be American during the Great War nearly a century later, it is undeniable that some characteristics were deemed more American than others. For example, it was expected that American citizens would express patriotism, be familiar with state and national history, be able to perform American customs and ideals, and speak English. Thus, Americanization programs often occurred in public venues using storytelling as the primary mode of teaching, which was considered to be an equalizing medium (Forbes, 1923). Chandler lived and worked within this paradigm, and likely viewed her position at the Met as an appropriate place to advocate for Americanization efforts. For Chandler, stories were human universals that cut across national difference, yet spoke to particular value systems. As a result, her stories evoked this same mix of universality and particularity in Americanness, elaborating an American national character that is paradoxically revealed in chosen protagonists from foreign nations. I continue to explore the significance of Chandler's role within the Americanization movement in Chapter 6, but for now it is only necessary to recognize that Chandler incorporated her political views within her work for the Museum. She was in a position of power and, more importantly, trust—two considerable characteristics that enabled her to propagate her personal beliefs as an educator.

CONCLUSION

Raised in New England, Anna Curtis Chandler grew up listening to stories woven by her mother and father. Although this detail may appear inconsequential, it likely influenced her academic trajectory, prompting her to earn a Bachelor of Arts degree in art, Latin, and English Composition at Wellesley College in 1909 at the age of 19. At the very least, her childhood anecdote of being predisposed for storytelling as profession provides a tidy explanation for her subsequent career—something she carefully constructed and regularly reformulated. After petitioning for transfer from the Met’s Photography Department to the Museum’s Education Department for approximately three years, Chandler was promoted to part time storyteller in 1917. Once there, Chandler quickly immersed herself within the Museum’s Story Hours, tailoring the program to suit her personal interests while concurrently forming long-lasting relationships with local public schools. Working at the Museum throughout the United States’ active military involvement in World War I, Chandler’s role within the Story Hours—in addition to her position as an author—was predicated on building trust with audience members, inviting them to temporarily escape reality and contemplate their involvement in the nation’s widespread Americanization efforts. As proposed in this chapter, Chandler was invested in the Americanization movement, situating the Story Hours as a public venue for democratization. Yet, because no audiovisual records of her performances remain, it is nearly impossible to fully understand how she articulated her views as an art museum educator, a storyteller, and, ultimately, an American. Consequently, in Chapter 6, I employ a chapter from her first storybook, *Magic Pictures of the Long Ago*, as the main form of evidence used to unpack her personal worldview during this tumultuous time period, connecting her role as an author to her position as a public art museum educator.



Figure 13: Yearbook photo of Anna Curtis Chandler at Wellesley College, ca. 1909. Image courtesy of the Wellesley College Archives.



Figure 14: Gelatin dry plate negative showing Amsterdam Avenue on the corner of West 99th Street facing St. Michael's Protestant Episcopal Church, ca. 1915 ("Amsterdam Avenue," n.d.).



Figure 15: Photograph of Chandler's lecture hall Story Hour, Palm Sunday, April 1920. Reproduced in *Animation Journal* by Zucker (1998).



Figure 16: Undated photograph of children selecting which paintings they like best in a gallery at the Metropolitan Museum of Art. Reproduced in *The American Magazine of Art* by Chandler (1924).



Figure 17: Undated photograph of children studying exhibits they had learned about during the Story Hour in the Metropolitan Museum of Art. Reproduced in *The American Magazine of Art* by Chandler (1924).



Figure 18: Undated photograph of young volunteers performing a play at the Metropolitan Museum of Art. Reproduced in *Gas Logic* by Willyoung (1921).



Figure 19: Photograph of Chandler presenting a poster for a Children's Hour on Wednesday, June 11, 1919. Reproduced in *Animation Journal* by Zucker (1998).

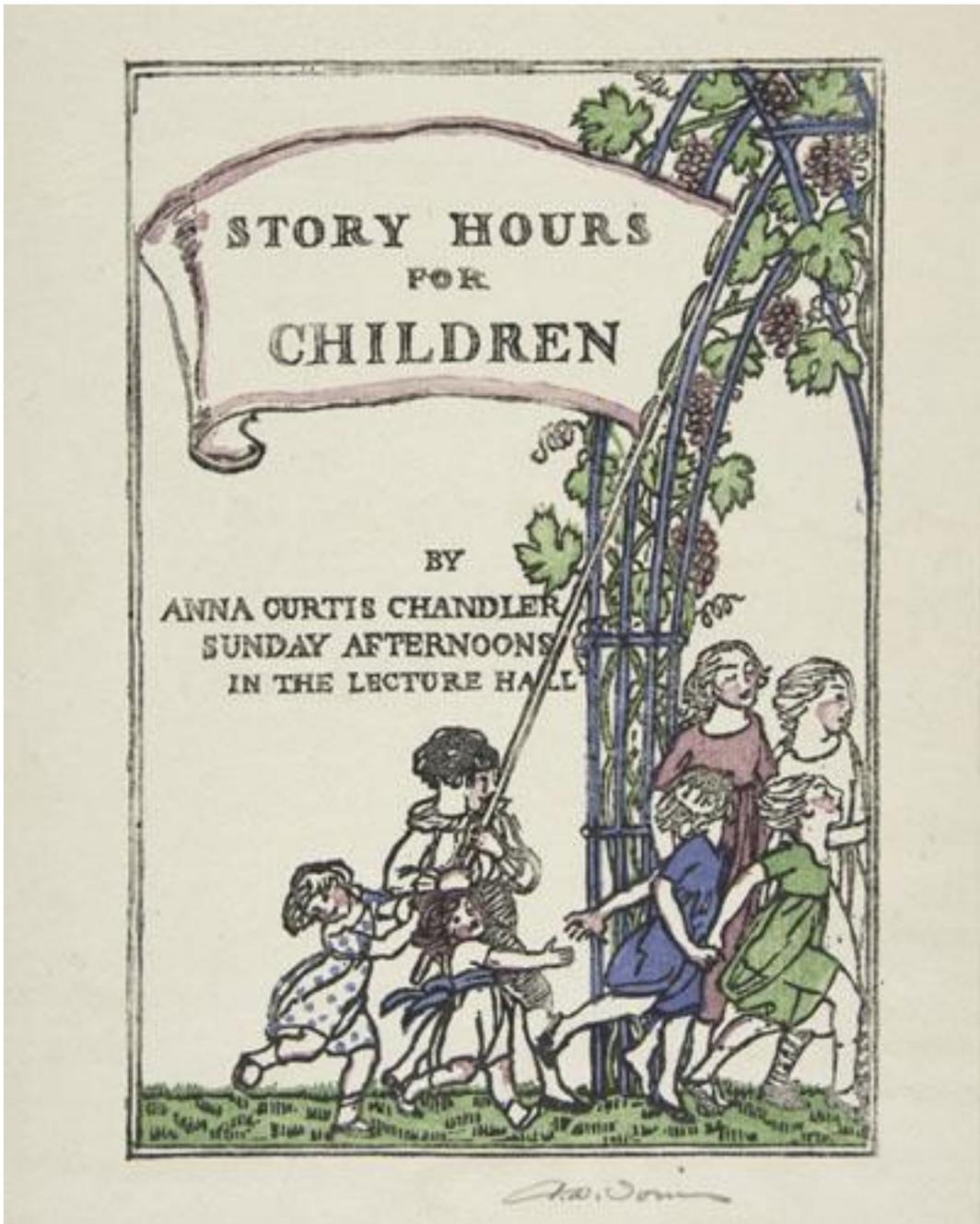


Figure 20: Undated woodcut print produced by Florence Wyman Ivins advertising Chandler's Sunday Story Hours. Reproduced in "Today in Met history: July 15" by Bowling (2011).



Figure 21: Detail of the grey silk gown designed for Chandler by Florence W. Ivins in the 1919 bill of sale. Photograph taken by the author at the Metropolitan Museum of Art Archives.

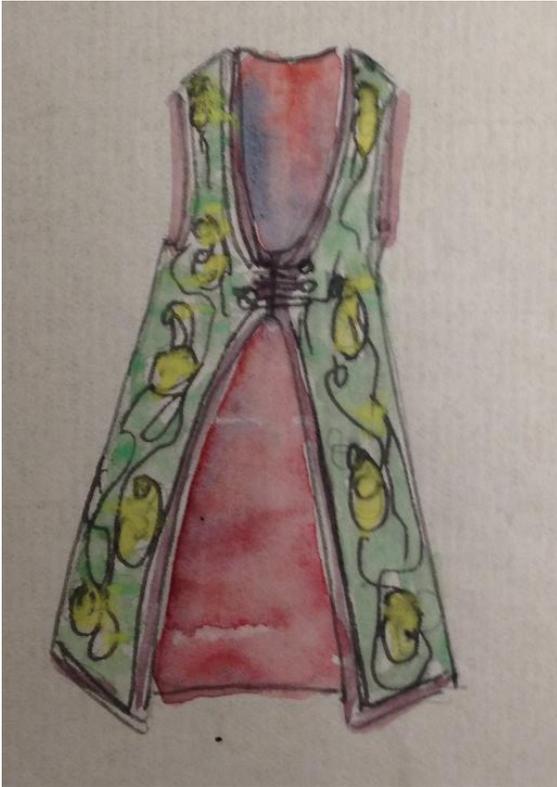


Figure 22: Detail of the oriental coat designed for Chandler by Florence W. Ivins in the 1919 bill of sale. Photograph taken by the author at the Metropolitan Museum of Art Archives.



Figure 23: Detail depicting the complete ensemble designed for Chandler to wear during her storytelling performances by Florence W. Ivins in the 1919 bill of sale. Photograph taken by the author at the Metropolitan Museum of Art Archives.



Figure 24: Undated lantern slide of Anna Curtis Chandler in 15th-century French costume. Image courtesy of Hunter College Archives.



Figure 25: Lantern slide of Anna Curtis Chandler in 16th-century French costume, ca. 1920s. Image courtesy of Hunter College Archives.

Chapter 6: (Re)Defining Citizenship through Storytelling

As an art educator working at the Metropolitan Museum of Art (Met) in New York City during the United States' active military involvement in World War I, Anna Curtis Chandler consciously dedicated her career to the Museum's Story Hours. Throughout her storytelling performances, Chandler connected audience members with objects from the Met's permanent collection, utilizing dramatic, imaginative narratives as her primary pedagogical tool. By combining entertainment and education, Chandler enticingly enveloped visitors within her very own Americanization program, seeking to produce future "*citizens* and perhaps members of the Museum" (Chandler, 1918b, p. 6, emphasis added). In this chapter, I argue that Chandler implemented the same teaching philosophy in her seminal storybook, *Magic Pictures of the Long Ago: Stories of the People of Many Lands* (1918a), inviting readers to reflect upon their national identities while internally completing her prose. First, I review Chandler's role in producing the Met's 1918 Educational Credo, paying particular attention to the document's final aim in order to link her Story Hour presentations with her activities as an author. Next, I analyze the second chapter of Chandler's aforementioned storybook, *Magic Pictures of the Long Ago*, employing it as the main form of evidence used to unpack her educational agenda during this turbulent time period. I conclude with an examination of Chandler's efforts to nurture and promote ethical ideals via her educational endeavors, situating her attempts within the United States' contemporaneous fictive travel movement.

TEACHING THE SUBJECTIVE THROUGH LEARNING OBJECTIVES

In 1918, American educationist John Franklin Bobbitt published his first book, titled *The Curriculum*. Approaching curriculum design as a "scientific" enterprise, complete with clearly articulated learning objectives, Bobbitt sought to provide an

introductory textbook that could be readily adopted by teachers across the country (Lagemann, 2000, p. 107). According to Bobbitt, the United States' involvement in World War I and the nation's rapid industrialization had caused American society to become increasingly specialized, with many occupations now requiring specific skills. Newly formulated professions—such as telephone operators, office workers, and machine operatives—necessitated practical training that could rarely be found in schools (Diner, 1998). Thus, in response to this real-world urgency, Bobbitt (1918) established curriculum as a “*series of things which children and youth must do and experience* by way of developing abilities to do the things well that make up the affairs of adult life” (p. 42, emphasis in original). By situating schools as a form of social efficiency, Bobbitt argued that students would be empowered to think collectively while working together for the common good, a frequent theme of the Progressive Era. In sum, Bobbitt's proposed learning objectives theoretically equipped students with specialized skills suited for their vocational track (Bobbitt, 1918).⁶

Bobbitt's radical reconceptualization of how schools could best prepare students for their futures as both employees and socially-conscious civilians likely permeated the Met's Education Department, especially given its staff's concurrent publication of the Museum's Educational Credo (Howe, 1918). Published in the spring of 1918, the Educational Credo was drafted by seven members of the Education Department, including Chandler. Listing nine core values, the document functioned as a public precept highlighting the department's dedication to improving educational opportunities for local New York City residents. In Chapter 4, I analyzed each of the Educational Credo's nine principles, but for this chapter, I review only the ninth and final point. Promoting museum

⁶ For more information regarding Bobbitt's role in curriculum development during the early twentieth century, see Chapter 2.

education at the Met as “performing a *wartime service*, the worth of which will be realized more fully when peace comes and brings with it a readjustment of values,” the document’s closing tenet candidly coupled World War I with the Museum (Howe, 1918, p. 193, emphasis added). Saturating all areas of the Museum’s Education Department, the War became a seemingly unavoidable presence, palpable even in Chandler’s Story Hours and gallery tours, which she sometimes explicitly geared toward military personnel (“Notes,” 1918).

Although it is infeasible to dissect the Museum’s Educational Credo by author, neatly tying individual educators with precise points, it is possible to presume that Chandler’s perspective as an art educator was reflected in the document. As one of seven writers, she likely maintained a rare collaborative role, adding to the text without concretely revealing her identity. While frustrating for historians a century later, this maneuver was well-planned, as it removed any personal responsibility regarding a single part of the document from the body of educators working at the Met during this time. If the creed proved unsuccessful, no individual would have to face recourse for their proclamations. Yet, if the educators were able to execute their vision for an expanded educational agenda, they could communally share any praise that may be directed to their department. Consequently, Chandler’s underlying goals as both an educator and an author may be traced back to the declarations put forth in the Museum’s 1918 Educational Credo. Like Bobbitt, Chandler was preoccupied with working for the common good and promoting collective action. Yet, Chandler went beyond Bobbitt’s curriculum, translating his theories under the idiom of an American nation. In short, she aimed not for a unified society of skilled industrial workers, but for an amalgamated America of loyal citizens.

TRUST IN THE TALE: “A STORY OF GREECE” AND PUBLIC OPINION

As I demonstrated in Chapter 5, Chandler garnered audience members’ trust during her storytelling performances at the Met by configuring herself as a credible narrator, reinforced by appropriate diction, decorum, and dress. This valuable skill extended into her work as an author, as she also gained readers’ confidence by recounting stories situated within plausible, relatable contexts. In short, listeners believed in Chandler as an author and, ultimately, as an educator. They trusted that her stories would take them to faraway lands, full of mystery and allure. They trusted that she would lead them there, accompany them on the journey, and safely return them to the present. With this trust, Chandler became representative of all that was good and great and noble in her stories. Of course, her tales were predicated on Mark Twain’s idea that “it may have happened, it may not have happened, but it could have happened” (Chandler, 1929, p. xiii). Nevertheless, such uncertainty strengthened her stories’ supremacy, beckoning readers to fall under her spell.

Trust was—and is—power. With it, Chandler enraptured a generation of Museum visitors and storybook readers, enabling her narratives to resonate with young and old alike. Joining the dependable ranks of President Woodrow Wilson, national newspapers, and other media outlets, Chandler provided citizens with an account of other nations in order to situate the United States within World War I’s wider context. Naturally, Chandler approached this task under the safe veil of fantasy, but she still actively joined a conversation about national character that posited America’s allies as worthy nations. This point cannot be overstated, as trust and power during times of war can be the most valuable currency available.

Given Chandler’s keen self-awareness regarding her carefully constructed professional persona, she almost certainly capitalized upon her privileged position as an author in order to further her personal worldview during the United States’ involvement in

World War I. Published by Henry Holt and Company in 1918, Chandler's first storybook, *Magic Pictures of the Long Ago*, is comprised of ten short stories defined by national boundaries, such as "A Story of Egypt," "A Story of Greece," "A Story of France," and so on. Tellingly, there are no stories about any of the countries aligned with the Central Powers.⁷ Rather, Chandler selected narratives concerning either the Allied Powers⁸ or militaristically-neutral nations: two tales are set in England, two take place in France, two are situated in Italy, and one unfolds in the United States (Chandler, 1918a).

In her storybook's second chapter, titled "Little People from Tanagra; A Story of Greece," Chandler establishes characters who must structure their lives within a politically democratic society, relying on their determination, perseverance, and, perhaps most of all, loyalty to advance socially. The story is told from the point of view of Penelope, a young, upper-class girl, who introduces readers to her younger brother, Lysanias. When the boy turns seven, their parents send him away to a boarding school, but Penelope stays at home to learn the skills necessary for her to become a respected wife, such as weaving and cooking. Penelope misses her brother, and when he returns home for a brief visit, she is enraptured by his academic accounts. He tells her that he is learning about Achilles' bravery before the Battle of Troy, and of Ulysses' beautiful wife—also named Penelope—who faithfully waits for him to return from war. Time passes quickly, and suddenly Lysanias is 18 years old. His family is preparing to witness his public presentation in the theatre of Dionysius. Penelope—who has fulfilled her feminine duty and is betrothed to the son of a family friend—describes the event, noting their mother's tears and their father's pride. The story concludes with Lysanias reciting the following oath:

⁷ As discussed in Chapter 2, the Central Powers included Germany, Austria-Hungary, and the Ottoman Empire.

⁸ As discussed in Chapter 2, the Allied Powers included Great Britain, Russia, France, Japan, Italy, and the United States of America.

I swear never to disgrace my arms, never to forsake my comrade in the rank; I swear to fight for the holy temples and the common welfare, alone or with others. I swear to leave my country not in a worse, but in a better state than I found it; to obey the magistrates and the laws, and defend them against attack; I swear to hold in honor the religion of my country. (Chandler, 1918a, pp. 26-27)

In this story, there is no dramatic military action. No battles, apart from those included in Lysanias' history classes, are discussed. No soldiers are called to arms. Yet, the threat of war is present throughout the narrative. Like the United States before Wilson's 1917 declaration of war, Chandler describes Greece as a land suspended between binaries. Penelope, along with her immediate family and fellow civilians, hopes for peace, but prepares for war. She plans for her future marriage, even though the present is unclear.

Chandler ended the narrative abruptly, on the edge of action. Readers are not meant to know which way Greece fell, to war or to peace. Such a finale was far from final for contemporary readers, however, who likely inserted their own opinions on the United States' potential for war into the text. Consequently, I argue Chandler designed "Little People from Tanagra; A Story of Greece" to metaphorically represent the United States. Often celebrated as the origin of democracy, Greece becomes synonymous with the United States. This metaphorical linkage would be especially apparent to adult readers, given President Woodrow Wilson's proclamation that "the world must be made safe for democracy," a statement binding the United States in common struggle alongside all democratic nations (Wilson, 1917). For readers, Penelope reflected all the sisters, daughters, mothers, and wives who must wait on the home front, bound to established gender roles. Her brother characterizes American soldiers, many of whom were groomed from a young age to step into their roles as steadfast champions for democracy. Together, their parents share many of the same feelings as American parents who watched their children devote their lives to war: sadness and pride, colored by nationalism.

Most importantly, the uncertainty that Chandler developed in the short story mirrors American public opinion regarding the United States' entry into World War I. As discussed in Chapter 2, many Americans were torn between pacifism and aggression. While several thousand U.S. citizens attempted to enlist in the German army, most German Americans and Scandinavian Americans sought neutrality (Strachan, 2003). Likewise, most Catholics (Leary, 1967), Protestants (Appelbaum, 2009), and leaders of the women's movement (Early, 1997) promoted pacifism. In contrast, Northerners, intellectuals, and families with personal connections to Britain tended to support the United States' entry into World War I (Peterson, 1939). A Protestant herself, Chandler may have been inclined to endorse nonviolence (*Wellesley College Alumnae Association 1942 biographical record*, 1941). Yet, she did not overtly pick a side within her professional projects. She did not openly support either military intervention in Europe or complete isolation. Rather, she astutely demonstrated the spectrum of values that the American public was voicing, encouraging readers to discover their own perspectives and internally complete her prose. Nevertheless, her emphasis on democratic values and choice of democratic nations as focal points for her tales suggests her desire to stand with other democracies, in peace and in war.

Whether or not the public believed the United States should go to war was not Chandler's central concern. Of course, that does not mean she did not slip her own complex values into the Met's storytelling activities or into her publications. Her militaristic organization of the Museum's Story Hours and her storybook's prominent exclusion of the Central Powers clearly suggest otherwise, although this is complicated by the fact that she regularly attended St. Michael's Protestant Episcopal Church and self-identified as a Protestant (Chandler, A. C., 1890-1969, Chandler to H. W. Kent, June 23, 1914; *Wellesley College Alumnae Association 1942 biographical record*, 1941). She did, however, use her position as a storyteller to challenge members of the American public to evaluate their

stance, to identify as American citizens, to support democratic worldviews, and, ultimately, to finish the story. Moreover, by tasking readers with completing the narrative, Chandler empowered them to empathetically engage with her characters, fashioning their fates only after having imaginatively lived their daily experiences.

FICTIVE TRAVEL AS A MEANS TO (RE)DEFINE CITIZENSHIP

At the basis of all Chandler's educational activities is the recurring theme of fictive travel. With her tall tales of adventures abroad, half-true histories, and fanciful flights to places old and new, near and far, Chandler transported audiences to illusory locales in order to propose alternative ways of understanding the world. This form of fictive travel worked to both reinforce audience members' national identities—which were typically American—and to suggest that not all boundaries were clearly defined. What made one person an American, and another a foreigner? Why did this differentiation even matter? Given the United States' history as a nation of immigrants, these enduring questions have challenged generations of civilians. However, American national identity became especially critical during the time in which Chandler was writing, as many residents maintained ties to countries in either the Central Powers or the Allied Powers during World War I. Although Chandler never directly answered either of these questions, she guided audiences on paths of personal discovery so they could ponder such queries, implementing fictive travel as her principal instrument to do so.

Chandler was by no means the only American woman involved in fictive travel. In the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, tens of thousands of U.S. women participated in travel clubs, regularly meeting to listen to travelogues, share travel briefings, and imaginatively explore the world without ever leaving the comfort of their neighborhood (see Figure 26). By visualizing themselves as tourists trekking across the

globe, club members⁹ “challenged the assumption that women’s place was in the home,” gaining entry to sites often restricted to wealthy men and their families (Hoganson, 2007, p. 154). Thus, armchair travel club members were generally working-class women and homemakers, unable to physically travel because of their daily obligations (Hoganson, 2007). Chandler herself was eventually involved in a “Travel Club,” which she noted on her 1942 biographical record for Wellesley College (*Wellesley College Alumnae Association 1942 biographical record*, 1941, p. 2). While not exactly a woman lacking economic means or social clout—she was a Wellesley graduate, after all—Chandler’s participation in fictive travel clubs enabled her to experience the world through a different lens, viewing faraway locations as a fellow voyeur rather than a participant.

The United States’ fictive travel movement undoubtedly influenced Chandler’s teaching strategies, providing inspiration for her performances and offering a basic formula from which she could expand and deviate. Like fictive travel club meetings, Chandler’s storytelling performances operated as pseudo-passive listening experiences, with audience members imagining themselves on journeys to distant locales while a lead orator narrated the environment with accompanying images. Yet, fictive travel also offers a glimpse into Chandler’s activities that is not clearly captured by the Museum’s storytelling programs, contextualizing her efforts within the larger sociopolitical environment of international relations. Through travel clubs’ exploration of the exotic and the extraneous, the unknown gradually became familiar. In other words, the imaginary travel movement propelled “global consciousness” (Hoganson, 2007, p. 155). Chandler was able to capitalize upon this phenomenon in her educational endeavors, making the world at large appear—even superficially—more approachable, relatable, and somewhat knowable. Consequently,

⁹ Participants in travel clubs were largely female, although men occasionally participated, most often as invited speakers (Hoganson, 2007).

Chandler situated her American audiences within their local milieu while concurrently catapulting them into the strange surroundings of (a)historical environments, substituting travel clubs' fascination of the present with her commitment to the past.

More broadly, Chandler's employment of fictive travel in her educational undertakings enabled her to supply audiences with an escape from World War I's harsh realities, providing comfort in imaginative journeys. At the same time, such trips reinforced audiences' awareness of their localities, pushing their citizenship statuses and national identities to center stage. By presenting narratives defined by distance—both literally and figuratively—Chandler called attention to individuals' participation in an “imagined political community” defined by national boundaries and distinct from other nations (Anderson, 2006, p. 6). If readers were American citizens, they may have found her tales to be interesting solely because of their sheer otherness—capturing their creativities as well as their consciences. Thus, the United States as a coherent place emerges through contrast with a culturally distinct Europe. This process is parallel to Westernization as described by historian Edward Said, who argues that the West emerged through the construction of the Orient (Said, 1978). In this way, Chandler contributed to Americanization efforts by bringing a non-American, European Other to the forefront of readers' awareness. Readers who were not U.S. citizens, on the other hand, may have viewed her stories as pointed reminders that they were not yet a part of this particular national community, which may have spurred them to actively consider, or even pursue, citizenship further. Either way, Chandler's storytelling activities may be classified as an Americanization program, seeking to prepare readers and listeners for their roles as democratic citizens in the United States both throughout and after World War I's disorder had subsided.

CONCLUSION

While performing stories at the Met and writing her first storybook, *Magic Pictures of the Long Ago* (1918a), Chandler situated her work within Bobbitt's recently articulated learning objectives. By modifying her teaching techniques and reflexively considering how she could most effectively impact audiences, Chandler aligned her efforts with the Museum's 1918 Educational Credo, which she herself helped draft with six other educators working at the Met. In order to fulfill the document's ninth and final principle, Chandler formulated her storytelling activities as an Americanization program that also functioned as a wartime service, helping to form citizens capable of empathizing with others regardless of locale. In short, Chandler skillfully designed narratives animated by believable characters with whom audiences could connect. Such relationships strengthened her stories' meaning-making capacities while remaining carefully situated within the United States' contemporaneous military trajectory.



Figure 26: Photograph labeled “Climbing the Great Pyramid, Egypt,” from John L. Stoddard’s publication, *A Trip Around the World* (1894). Reproduced in *Consumer’s Imperium: The Global Production of American Domesticity, 1865-1920* by Hoganson (2007).

Chapter 7: Conclusion

This study examined how an art educator working as a storyteller at the Metropolitan Museum of Art (Met) during the United States' active military involvement in World War I is perceived to have engaged with ethics and issues of national identity on the American home front. By exploring Anna Curtis Chandler's educational endeavors throughout this tumultuous time period—both as a public art museum educator and as an author—I posited her activities as an alternative Americanization program that challenged visitors and readers to assess their sociopolitical identities in relation to the country's contemporaneous military trajectory. Through my work, I have (re)written a portion of art education's history, providing a different explanation for storytelling's popularity in American art museums during the early twentieth century. In this concluding chapter, I restate my guiding research questions, review my research methodology, present a summary of my findings, suggest avenues for future research, and reflect upon the importance of historical research in art education.

RESEARCH QUESTIONS

The following questions provided the impetus and framework for this historical investigation:

Central Research Question

What ethical values did Anna Curtis Chandler engage with and seek to communicate throughout her career as a public storyteller at the Metropolitan Museum of Art (Met) during the United States' active military involvement in World War I (1917-1918)?

Sub-Question

How did these ethical values develop or shift, and what social and political factors influenced these developments?

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

In order to answer my above stated research questions, I employed historical research methods and grounded speculation in addition to textual analysis. I restricted nearly all primary sources to the years 1917 and 1918, limiting my data to the period of the United States' active military involvement in World War I. Although I included additional archival sources outside of this timeframe, I did so in order to better situate Chandler within her professional environment. Thus, such materials do not form the basis of my argument and may be considered supplemental.

Initially, my research was directed by Chandler's 1917 article, "Museum Story Hours," published in *The Storytellers' Magazine*. This document featured fundamental background information on the Met's storytelling program and revealed Chandler's approach to gallery teaching, particularly as it related to the Museum's Story Hours. I coupled this introductory source with Chandler's first storybook, *Magic Pictures of the Long Ago: Stories of the People of Many Lands*, published by Henry Holt and Company in 1918. This latter text served as my principle form of data, as it enabled me to experience Chandler's prose firsthand and analyze how she crafted her narratives.

With the goal of developing a wider context for understanding Chandler's teaching practices, I conducted archival research, gathering supplemental primary sources that broadened my knowledge of Chandler's professional life at the Met. In August 2015, I visited the following repositories: Wellesley College Archives, which retains significant biographical information detailing Chandler's undergraduate education and post-1940 professional life; Hunter College Archives, which once held a box of lantern slides and

ephemera related to Chandler's storytelling activities, but is currently missing; and the Metropolitan Museum of Art Archives, which houses a comprehensive review of Chandler's career at the Met, including her original petitions for employment, handwritten annual reports, and heated correspondence between herself and the former Secretary of the Museum, Henry Watson Kent. Previous scholars of Chandler (Solli, 2007; Zucker, 1998, 2001) have cited the 92nd Street Y, the New York Public Library, the Archives of American Art, and associations holding information about Chandler, but I was unable identify relevant materials in any of these collections. Archivists at the New York Public Library and the Archives of American Art were unaware of any items concerning Chandler, and the 92nd Street Y held only a small number of documents relating to Chandler's later storytelling performances.

As with any research venture, my data analysis and accompanying conclusions are uniquely positioned within my own research paradigm. While exploring primary sources, I was encouraged to project my individual perspectives and experiences onto the materials, filling in the gaps with my substantiated and purposely grounded historical imagination (Gaddis, 2002). Consequently, I have become a significant part of my thesis's constructed historical narrative, producing knowledge in response to what I perceived to be valuable during the research process. A more thorough discussion of my research methodology is found in Chapter 3.

SUMMARY OF FINDINGS

While performing stories at the Met and authoring her first formative storybook, *Magic Pictures of the Long Ago* (1918a), Chandler established her educational endeavors within contemporaneous curriculum development theories in order to align her activities with Bobbitt's recently articulated learning objectives, the Museum's 1918 Educational

Credo, and pedagogical themes of the Progressive Era at large. Likely inspired by the United States' fictive travel movement, Chandler transported readers and listeners alike to distant locales in order to propose alternative ways of viewing the world, promote empathetic engagement, and call attention to the United States' actions in World War I. In short, she developed an Americanization program that concurrently cemented audiences within the frame of democratic nationalism and supplied an imaginary escape from the War's harsh realities.

Reevaluating Chandler's Early Career

On a more fundamental level, I have highlighted Chandler's untold history, examining how she came to work in the Met's Education Department, what factors inhibited her promotion, and why she viewed storytelling as a crucial component of public education. Unlike other biographies of Chandler's legacy, I have not positioned her as an unprecedented success, or as an especially innovative educator. Indeed, I argued that her educational efforts were derivative, prompted by external forces and trends. Hired by Kent several years after she first requested to be transferred from the Museum's Photography Department to his Education Department, Chandler expanded the preexisting Story Hours in order to address her immediate goals: implementing storytelling as a pedagogical tool as often as possible, and increasing attendance rates for her programs. Such statements are not intended to discredit Chandler's accomplishments, but rather to situate them within her larger context.

Contextualizing the Metropolitan Museum of Art

Moreover, I dedicated a significant portion of this thesis to contextualizing the Met's history in relation to Chandler's endeavors. By studying the Museum's founding, early development, and educational activities leading up to and during the United States'

active military involvement in World War I, I have sought to construct an abbreviated historical reimagining of what the institution was like during its first 50 years. Launched within a framework of prestige, funding troubles, and competing organizational visions, the Museum was not a constant educational pillar. Instead, I have attempted to demonstrate how the Met came to support the United States' political aims during World War I through sanctioned, nationalistic programs. Intent on increasing accessibility, pursuing new sources of inspiration, and explicitly endorsing nine core educational values (Howe, 1918), the Met's pedagogic activities during the Great War contrast dramatically with its earlier endeavors, which were largely centered on visitors navigating the Museum's collections on their own. Kent instigated many of these programmatic advances, and enabled his team of educators, including Chandler, to execute his ambitions.

SUGGESTIONS FOR FUTURE RESEARCH

This study was focused on a brief period of Chandler's career, exploring only her actions as an educator immediately preceding and during the United States' involvement in World War I. By selecting such a narrow timeframe, I naturally could not include a plethora of other compelling research avenues that arose during the archival process. For example, how did Chandler sustain her storytelling programs at the Met after the conclusion of World War I? What factors supported her programs' growth, and why did she structure her career around this augmentation? A search of answers to such questions may provide insights into art museum education's sometimes circular approach to curriculum and program design, particularly as it relates to the rise and fall of museum storytelling. Perhaps even more intriguing, however, is Chandler's dismissal from the Museum's Education Department in 1934. What prompted this premature resignation, and what were the ramifications for both herself and the institution? How did Chandler recover

from this loss, and what actions did the Met take to rearticulate her former position? Investigating such questions might offer fresh understandings of how art museum educators' careers adapt to institutional pressures and missions, simultaneously pushing and pulling in response to broader concerns.

In regards to her work as an author, how did her subsequent storybooks differ from *Magic Pictures of the Long Ago* (1918a)? Do her later publications concern the United States' militaristic agenda, or was her preoccupation with World War I an anomaly in her career? Although not part of this investigation, it may be useful to carry out a more longitudinal look at all her books, noting changes in them over time. Additionally, it may be fruitful to consider Chandler's involvement with the United States' fictive travel movement, specifically unpacking how she balanced her privileged status as an experienced tourist with her apparent interest in armchair exploration. Likewise, future researchers may seek to uncover Chandler's relationships with other art museum storytellers. As discussed in Chapter 5, Chandler was by no means operating independently, even though she tends to dominate art education's historical inquiry into storytelling because she has already been "discovered." On a more practical note, it would be advantageous to periodically survey what types of materials concerning Chandler's career are available. For example, I was unable to recover lantern slides depicting Chandler dressed in period clothing at Hunter College for my work here, but this situation may likely change as collections adjust to researchers' emerging needs and archival techniques.

Moreover, it would be compelling to examine how art museums operate and participate in various nationalistic war efforts. When I began brainstorming potential research topics for this thesis, I imagined juxtaposing Chandler's activities with present day efforts, such as the National September 11 Memorial & Museum in New York City.

This comparison quickly became too involved to adequately discuss in a Master's thesis, but it is a promising research avenue capable of connecting past and present.

On a broader level, this research skimmed the surface of storytelling as a productive pedagogical practice, merely alluding to how it might function in museums and classrooms today. How can stories operate as reflections of present concerns? What do they reveal about their tellers, in addition to their listeners?

Although these questions stem from my own curiosities, I encourage those interested in prominent museums such as the Met and/or noted educators who have gained a second life in posthumous publications to research spaces and individuals who created art educational opportunities driven by a specific, clearly stated agenda. By probing the Museum's 1918 Educational Credo and dissecting Chandler's many writings, I became invested in unpacking how explicit educational paradigms operate on often overlooked levels. Sometimes referred to as the hidden curriculum, I took it upon myself to investigate this component of the Met's educational history through Chandler's perspective. Such an approach may be readily adopted to other areas of historical research, as it invites detectives to follow their hunches while creating a compelling narrative that introduces alternative ways of understanding past movements and motivations.

THE IMPORTANCE OF HISTORICAL RESEARCH IN ART EDUCATION

In a field continuously in search of innovation, creating "new" instructional strategies and focusing on what art educators should do next, it can become tempting to push historical self-reflection aside. Yet, if art educators are unable—or, more concerning, unwilling—to critically examine their discipline's past, it becomes all too easy to compress art education into a one-dimensional plane, devoid of its inherent intricacies. Like any other field, art education has been socially constructed over time by its leading figures,

subsequent students, and persistent assumptions. In other words, art education is what we make it. Faced with frequent challenges and threats to legitimacy, art educators must routinely articulate why the field matters to education today. Without a deep understanding of how and why art education has been employed in the past, it is impossible to formulate a convincing argument for its continued implementation.

Additionally, historical research in art education encourages disruption. It asks us to complicate the master narrative, refitting “the (hi)story” to include multiple (hi)stories. This disorder is productive, provocative, and, most importantly, essential to art education’s growth. By challenging art education’s status quo, researchers may uncover captivating, complex alternatives, shedding light on topics that had previously gone unquestioned. As this unfolds, a myriad of characters gain well-deserved attention, with their voices, actions, and teaching philosophies moving to center stage. With this richer narrative of art education’s history emerging, art educators may engage with present concerns and ideas more thoroughly and thoughtfully.

Historical research also provides the benefit of historical hindsight, presenting contemporary art educators glimpses into past educational endeavors. Although nothing ever completely repeats itself—disconnects due to temporal and geographic differences, as well as individuals’ actions, will always threaten commonalities—the past can offer the present generative outlines from which to work. For example, by studying Chandler’s actions during World War I, present day art educators may link their activities to hers. How did she operate during this time of international distress? What role(s) might art educators take during current times of conflict? How might museums’ foster nationalism, and do museums’ retain propriety in this arena? How well do stories serve as vehicles for the imagination, and can this teaching strategy be applied today? If so, what adaptations need to occur, if any? Such questions may be answered on a case-by-case basis by art educators

today, developing lessons and “big takeaways” from Chandler’s efforts. In short, historical research in art education may assist present educators in forging thoughtful and well-grounded direction for the future of our field.

CONCLUSION

This thesis explored the ethical values that Chandler engaged with and sought to communicate during her career as a storyteller at the Met during the United States’ active military involvement in World War I, particularly in her work as an author. Published in 1918, Chandler’s first storybook, *Magic Pictures of the Long Ago*, confronted issues of national identity, functioning as a written extension of her attempts to promote empathetic engagement with audience members. Situated as an alternative Americanization program, Chandler’s endeavors remain relevant despite temporal constraints, speaking to modern art museum educators’ difficulties in addressing national and international power struggles. My research has uncovered biographical information relating to Chandler’s early education, as well as titillating insights into her professional endeavors. By exploring parallels between the past and present, art museum educators may develop a greater understanding of their pedagogical responsibilities, decisions, and powers for the benefit of the present as well as for the future.

Appendix

The Museum's Educational Credo

Last spring, at a meeting of those members of the staff of the Metropolitan Museum to whom the educational work of the Museum has been especially delegated, each person present read a brief paper containing what might be termed an educational credo for the Metropolitan Museum of Art, the purpose being to clarify their own thinking and compare their own aims. The seven manuscripts, which were independently prepared, though varying considerably in wording, were remarkably unanimous in thought and fully in accord with the spirit of this article, which we have written for the benefit of the *Bulletin* readers, as an expression of the basic principles that, in the opinion of this group, underly the educational work now carried on in this Museum.

We purposely limit our discussion to this Museum, inasmuch as the Metropolitan Museum through its history, location, and collections has a unique position and individual problems. Two things, at least, in its history are determining factors in the direction its development must take: first, the charter of the Museum, drawn up in 1870, which not only gives full warrant for the emphasis placed in recent years upon the educational side of museum activity but even definitely dictates such a policy in its wording "for the purpose of... encouraging and developing the study of fine arts, and the application of arts to manufacture and practical life, of advancing the general knowledge of kindred subjects, and to that end, of furnishing popular instruction"; and second, the amendment to the act of incorporation passed by the State Legislature in 1908 that forever classes the Museum among the educational institutions of the country. Its location, also, in the largest city in America with thousands of people of foreign birth within easy walking distance of its galleries presents to it the opportunity of striving to be

“the melting pot of the artistic ideals of many peoples” and so a great “Americanizing force in the artistic development” of the country. Other art museums face a similar situation on a smaller scale; none has so vast an undertaking. Furthermore, the generosity of the friends of this Museum has placed within its walls collections more valuable and comprehensive than those intrusted to any other museum of art in America. The Metropolitan Museum is not only in name but in fact a metropolitan museum, national in scope, and must recognize its functions as such. Its educational ideals can be no less wide than those of the country itself, and no less inclusive of all classes of people than the ideals of democracy.

We may, then, formulate our creed as follows:

1. We believe that every human being is born with a potential love of beauty, and whether this capacity lies dormant or springs into activity depends largely upon his education, using this term to include not merely his acquirements in the schoolroom but all the influences at home and elsewhere that shape his character. Assuredly this latent power to find rest and happiness in those things that appeal to the eye is capable of development.
2. We believe that whether the cultivation of this faculty adds to the earning capacity of its possessor or not, it does unquestionably increase his happiness, and this in turn reacts upon his health of mind and body. Thus eyes that know how to see beauty and a mind that can appreciate its spirit are genuine assets to the individual, of greater value now than ever before, and through the individual to the community, the state, and the nation.
3. We believe that the Metropolitan Museum has an important role to play in the education of this innate love of beauty in all who come to its galleries or within the range of its influence.

4. We believe that it is possible through the breadth and comprehensiveness of the Museum collections to find in them some object or group of objects that may serve as a link between the present experience and interests of any visitor and the appreciation of such artistic qualities as form, color, surface, and imaginative content, and that the initial task of the museum instructor is to find this link.
5. We believe that through cooperation with the schools and correlation with the studies in the curriculum a generation of young Americans may grow up who will continue to come to the Museum as to a friend, feeling welcome and at home, and obtaining from their visits inspiration and help for their daily life, and who will know how to see beauty everywhere because they have learned its language here.
6. We believe that while museum teaching may have two legitimate functions, information and interpretation—in other words, that in which the objects are important in relation to some other subject, and that in which they are important for themselves—the endeavors in this museum constantly is so to translate the message of the artist into terms intelligible to the visitor—be he child or adult—that in proportion to his ability he shall catch a glimpse of the artist's purpose.
7. We believe that the Museum may perform a two-fold service in the community; cultivating good taste in home decoration, dress, etc., on the one hand; and giving to salespeople, designers, and manufacturers, on the other hand, every facility for the study of the collections of decorative arts, for copying or adapting objects therein or gaining inspiration for new designs, thus helping to meet the demand that the Museum itself helped to create.

8. We believe that through its catalogues and Bulletins, through lectures given in schools and elsewhere, through groups of paintings lent to libraries, through its photographs for sale, and through its lending collections—photographs, post cards, textiles, prints, casts, and lantern slides—the Museum is extending its work of education and reaching many places where otherwise there would be little opportunity for cultivating a love of beauty.
9. We believe, finally, that in all these varied forms of educational work the Museum is performing a wartime service, the worth of which will be realized more fully when peace comes and brings with it a readjustment of values.

W. E. H.

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