

# “An Educated Demand:” The Implications of *Art in Every Day Life* for American Industrial Design, 1925–1950

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Footnotes for this article begin on page 64.

According to renowned industrial designer Raymond Loewy, before 1925, American consumers had been satisfied with “engineered as you go” objects that “betrayed this technique by their haphazard, disorderly look.”<sup>1</sup> Loewy stated that, rather than worrying about how a practical object looked, “Will it work? was the question” foremost in people’s minds.<sup>2</sup> However, like Loewy, many advertisers, manufacturers, designers, and other period writers claimed that this state of affairs dramatically changed in the late 1920s and early 1930s, and that consumers—whom they, as historians today do, usually understood to be female—suddenly and voraciously demanded “stylish” or “artistic” products.<sup>3</sup> Women, these writers asserted, began to desire and expect beauty even in the “formerly artless industries,” which were defined by *Fortune* magazine in 1934 to include cars, washing machines, scales and balances, clocks, refrigerators, food packaging, and stoves, among other practical items.<sup>4</sup> In response, manufacturers, who were dependent upon women’s custom, often hired industrial designers (members of a profession that had not really existed as such until about 1929) to restyle their products to appeal to women’s tastes.<sup>5</sup> Well-known and highly successful examples of such redesigns include Loewy’s 1935 Sears Coldspot refrigerator and Henry Dreyfuss’s 1933 Sears Topoperator Washer.<sup>6</sup>

Commentators on the change in consumer tastes uniformly dated this “rise of style consciousness,” as industrial designers Roy Sheldon and Egmont Arens called it, to about 1925.<sup>7</sup> Although they seemed to agree that it was indeed responsible for the rapid and distinctive changes in design that have been outlined by such writers as Jeffrey Meikle, they were unable to decide on its cause.<sup>8</sup> Designer Harold Van Doren, for example, believed that “the constant change and improvement [a phenomenon of the 1920s] in the modern automobile have done more than anything else to make the masses appearance-conscious,” arguing that there had been a “lack of an educated demand for attractive appearance in years past.”<sup>9</sup> Christine Frederick claimed in her 1929 bestseller, *Selling Mrs. Consumer*, that, “in the last five or six years...the lid has been

lifted off the color pot in America,” but credited the “mad avalanche” of color (and of consumer interest in beauty and artistry more generally) not to automobiles, but to the “color-in-the-kitchen” movement.<sup>10</sup> She believed that the color-in-the-kitchen movement had “started the whole movement for ‘color in the home,’” and had, in conjunction with Americans’ increasing familiarity with modern art, ushered in “a creative revival of industrial and decorative arts.”<sup>11</sup> In contrast to Van Doren and Frederick, prominent advertiser Earnest Elmo Calkins did not even attempt to pin down a cause for the rise in consumer demands for beauty; he simply stated that “[t]he hunger for color and design in old familiar standardized articles...has arisen no one knows how.”<sup>12</sup>

Historians have tended to agree with the period observers’ contention that the late 1920s marked a watershed in the history of design, and like many of those earlier writers, often have tried to trace a single cause for ordinary consumers’ sudden interest after 1925 in the aesthetics of everyday objects. Many design historians have argued that the rise in women’s demands for what they understood to be attractive and colorful products resulted from their direct or indirect knowledge of the kinds of design displayed at the *Exposition Internationale des Arts Décoratifs et Industriels Modernes* held in Paris in 1925.<sup>13</sup> Through the medium of reviews, periodicals, books, and subsequent exhibitions, these authors have proposed, American women learned about the Paris exposition and began to demand products based on the kinds of colorful, modernistic design and architecture that had been displayed there (which much later came to be called “art deco” in an abbreviation of the French term *arts décoratifs*).<sup>14</sup>

However, the influence of one Parisian exposition should not be considered the only or even the primary reason for a rise in American women’s “style consciousness.” Although a great number of women would have viewed examples of art deco-inspired design in magazines and advertisements, a much smaller number would have seen exhibitions of deco design at Macy’s or at the Metropolitan Museum of Art and only a tiny percentage of the American populace visited the *Exposition Internationale* in person. Exhibitions, magazines, and advice manuals indubitably were significant venues for the teaching and acquisition of taste, but given their self-selecting audience and what was, no doubt, often the casual nature of women’s perusal of them, such sources probably have received more credit than they deserve for reflecting and shaping the tastes of the average female consumer.

Neil Harris offers perhaps the most balanced and nuanced explanation for the changes in taste and style after 1925, though even it is incomplete. Harris, author of one of the most perceptive and widely read studies of American consumerism in the 1920s, argues that a number of developments within American popular culture—not just the Paris exposition, and not just magazines and

advertisements—had a profound impact on tastes. Harris outlines a number of such factors: the physical reconstruction of American stores (which he believed to be strongly influenced by the 1925 exposition); color advertising and improved photographic printing technology; rationalization on the part of the advertising industry; the film industry; the rise of industrial designers; annual automobile style changes; the large number of brands in any given object category; and the “institutional influences” exerted by museums, fairs, and “great retail establishments.”<sup>15</sup> These developments were all certainly crucial ingredients of consumers’ style consciousness in the late 1920s. However, Harris’s analysis of the causes of “object consciousness”—although it is a valuable and influential one—is nonetheless limited to *informal* means of taste acquisition. That is, he notes influences on taste that were ubiquitous, but that were probably not consciously analyzed by most consumers. Harris does not mention at all the *formal* visual education that many young women received in vocational coursework in high schools and colleges.

Certain kinds of instruction were, however, consciously designed by educators to shape young women’s tastes. Related art, for example, was an offshoot of home economics that was concerned with the aesthetics rather than the efficiency of the household.<sup>16</sup> The term “related art” was intended to contrast with the term “related science,” which was an alternate name in the early part of the century for what laypersons now still often call home economics (although professionals in the field rarely do).<sup>17</sup> The word “related” was chosen to indicate these disciplines’ practical or applied nature, as opposed to the “pure” or creative arts and the “pure” sciences, both of which were increasingly marginalized components of the American curriculum in the teens and twenties.<sup>18</sup> Related art thus was not art instruction as such, but a kind of consumer education in which young women (young men were very rarely enrolled, for reasons that will be discussed below) were required to learn and perform formal analysis, to understand the “principles” of design, to solve “design problems,” and to cultivate a “scientific,” assessing gaze and attitude, ostensibly in order to judge the merits of costume, the decorative arts, and architecture (and to select and arrange such artifacts wisely).

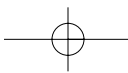
Such formal instruction is important in the formation of tastes because, as art historian Michael Baxandall explains, “The skills we are most aware of,” and that we most enjoy using, “are not the ones we have absorbed like everyone else from infancy, but those we have learned formally, with conscious effort: those which we have been taught.” Formally learned skills, such as the exercise of “good taste,” as it was taught in related art courses, have “rules and categories, a terminology, and stated standards, which are the medium through which they are teachable” and learnable. “These two things—the confidence in a relatively advanced and valued skill, and the availability of verbal resources associated with them

[sic],” Baxandall argues, make learned skills “particularly susceptible to transfer.”<sup>19</sup> Young women who were enrolled in courses that included related art training, no matter their level of internal motivation, would have been required to internalize the principles of “good taste” and the vocabulary of formal analysis, at least to an extent that would allow them to pass the class. They learned a set of skills and a way of looking and thinking that thus was readily transferable to the judgment of the “formerly artless industries” (and to other arenas as well), and that probably had an impact on their tastes equal to or greater than that of more passively absorbed popular culture influences such as those that Harris has outlined. The kind of looking and analyzing that young women performed as part of their studies was a far more active, engaged, and invested type than was the primarily un verbalized and untheorized looking that they had previously been accustomed to level at popular visual culture.

Young women who received related art schooling, I believe, thus constituted a skilled, critical audience that had decided visual proclivities to which the newly professionalized industrial designers had to cater to in order to sell more products. Since women’s tastes determined, to a great degree, the ways in which products would look,<sup>20</sup> by examining the ways in which good taste was taught in schools through the medium of related art textbooks such as Harriet and Vetta Goldstein’s *Art in Every Day Life* (1925),<sup>21</sup> we can arrive at a greater understanding of why “an educated demand” for design arose when it did and in the way it did.<sup>22</sup> Further, through analyzing texts such as the Goldsteins’, we also can gain a better sense of the degree and kind of importance that U.S. educators and citizens believed design education—and design itself—to have.

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Harriet and Vetta Goldstein, sisters and professors of art in the Division of Home Economics at the University of Minnesota from 1910 and 1914, respectively, to 1949, were trained in a fine arts and art education tradition.<sup>23</sup> Harriet had attended the school of the Art Institute of Chicago, and she and her sister received diplomas from the New York School of Fine and Applied Art in 1916 and 1917.<sup>24</sup> The school was, at that time, under the direction of the renowned interior decorator Frank Alvah Parsons, after whom the institution was later renamed. Parsons, recently arrived from Teachers College at Columbia University, had, in turn, been trained there under the auspices of Arthur Wesley Dow, author of the influential 1908 book *Theory and Practice of Teaching Art*.<sup>25</sup> Parsons shaped the school’s curriculum to forward the philosophy and echo the organization to which he had been exposed at Teachers College, and it was in such a milieu that the Goldsteins were educated. According to Beverly Gordon, author of an important study of the



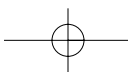
Goldsteins, “The curriculum and philosophy expressed at both [Teachers College and Parsons] was clearly echoed in the Goldsteins’ later work.”<sup>26</sup>

Dow, for example, believed that artists were not necessarily the best-qualified persons to teach art to others. This belief underlay his 1908 book, which stressed “appreciation,” rather than the development of artistic skill, as the proper aim of art education. The epigraph to the first chapter of his book, in fact, stated that “[t]he true purpose of art teaching is the education of the whole people for appreciation.”<sup>27</sup> The method by which Dow hoped to achieve this goal was a quasi-scientific one based on the study of the “principles” of art and design. His approach, according to Gordon, “was adopted almost universally in art teacher training programs, although the training in fine arts departments (i.e., for practicing artists) still stressed life drawing rather than principles or rules.”<sup>28</sup>

The divide between appreciation and practice that characterized Dow’s work, which was a book intended for art educators rather than their pupils, was one that was preserved and further codified thirteen years later in the Goldsteins’ 1925 book *Art in Every Day Life*, the first related art textbook.<sup>29</sup> Its content, however, was not only an extension of the teachings of Dow and Parsons, but also the distillation of more than a decade of debate in the American Home Economics Association (AHEA) and the *Journal of Home Economics*, to which Harriet Goldstein was a frequent contributor.<sup>30</sup> In the book, the Goldsteins made it clear that their teachings were directed not at creators of art, but at those people who wanted or had to be able to purchase and arrange consumer goods tastefully. The purpose of the book, the authors avowed,

is to show the principles of art as they are seen in familiar works of art, and as they are related to every day problems, such as house design and decoration, store decoration, costume design, advertising, and city planning. In each of these fields, one works with sizes, shapes, colors, and textures, which must be selected and arranged in accordance with principles of beauty. These principles are fully explained, and they are applied in so many various fields that even the person without native ability can learn to apply them to any problem (p. vii).

The focus of the book thus was less on the creation of new designs than on the wise selection of preexisting ones—that is, on appreciation and judgment. The Goldsteins acknowledged that many people would not even consider their everyday activities to be art: “One may say that he is not really concerned with art, because he never intends to make a hat, a dress, or a table.” However, they noted that although “[t]his may be true...he [sic] is likely to select such things and perhaps help someone else select them, and after they are purchased they have to be related to other things. Solving these



problems of purchasing and arranging requires the same knowledge of the principles of art as goes into the creation of objects. The original idea, and the actual process of making are all that the purchaser does not have to supply” (pp. 4–5). In other words, the Goldsteins suggested that art appreciation and consumption were, by no means, pursuits inferior to art creation, although this was a point that most persons of the era likely would have disputed.

However, even if the Goldsteins did not forthrightly acknowledge the widely held cultural bias that celebrated creation over appreciation and selection, their book nonetheless served the purpose of gendering the acts of making and purchasing (which, in effect, meant acknowledging and accepting that bias). The Goldsteins stated in chapter one, for example, that “[t]he woman who selects beautiful furnishings for her home or the clerk who chooses the right hat and dress for a customer has done a piece of work that calls for much the same kind of knowledge as the man who designs and paints a picture.” (p. 4) The clerk in this example is of indeterminate sex, but the consumer is clearly defined as female and the artist as male. Given the authors’ otherwise quite consistent use of masculine pronouns throughout the book, their gendering of artistic roles in this example seems indicative of their assumptions about men’s and women’s roles more generally. Further, the second half of the book, the section in which the principles learned in the first half were applied to specific problems, was dedicated almost entirely to what would have been considered feminine pursuits—seventy pages to dress design; 163 to interior design (which dealt only with the home, not the workplace or the shop window); and a mere seven pages to city planning. So, despite the Goldsteins’ claims that their book could be used as “a text-book for students of art, of home economics, and of salesmanship, and...[as] a helpful reference book for salesmen, store decorators, advertisers, and homemakers” (p. viii)—some of whom would presumably be male—it is clear that they not only assumed their audience to be female, but that they also believed that those young women were more likely to need skills as consumers than as creators.

In their gendering of consumption, and in their insistence that young women needed instruction in it, the Goldsteins coincided with the then-current educational philosophy of vocationalism or social efficiency (the two were closely related), in which young members of society were trained to perform the jobs that they were most likely to take up as adults.<sup>31</sup> The Goldsteins apparently felt that good taste in consumption was so important a life-skill for young women, that all of them should be required to take it. One of Harriet’s goals as a chair of the Related Art Section of AHEA, according to Gordon, was to legitimize the discipline of related art and to institute it as “an essential curriculum component for all students enrolled in home economics teacher training

programs, and by extension, for all [female?] students enrolled in public schools.”<sup>32</sup> Vocationalists, like proponents of social efficiency, construed education as “above all a process of getting ready for adulthood,” which entailed “specialization of function” in order to train “the next generation directly in the efficient performance of the activities that define[d] their social role.”<sup>33</sup> It was, thus, a conservative and highly gendered type of education that tended to perpetuate the status quo; boys received manual and industrial training to prepare them for the workplace, and women received education in home economics and occasionally in merchandising and advertising, as they did in *Art in Every Day Life*, to prepare them for lives as homemakers (for it was assumed that any woman, even if she worked, nonetheless would be responsible for a home).<sup>34</sup> There were other kinds of vocational training open to both men and women such as stenography, typing, and shorthand, but these, despite huge demand for courses on the part of students, were not supported by the 1917 Smith-Hughes Act, which mandated and provided funds for vocational teacher training in universities for the purpose of providing vocational education teachers for high schools.<sup>35</sup> It is tempting to suggest that the reason business training was not funded by legislators was precisely because it was not gendered, and thus did not preserve the conservative ideal of the woman in the home.<sup>36</sup>

As a result of the interest in vocationalism in the 1920s, the high school and college audience for *Art in Every Day Life*, or at least for related art generally, was a rather large one. High school principals’ interest in increasing the number of vocational offerings, combined with the funding provided by the Smith-Hughes Act, meant that the percentage of high schools offering home economics (and thus often some related art training as well) jumped from fifty-three percent in 1915–17 to ninety-five percent in 1930–31, and that the number of female vocational teachers (read “home economics teachers”) more than tripled between 1918 and 1930.<sup>37</sup> Despite these astonishing figures, the percentage of high school students enrolled in home economics courses rose from 12.9 percent in 1915 to just 16.5 percent in 1928. Nonetheless, this means—assuming a fairly equal sex ratio in the schools—that roughly a third of female high school students received at least some home economics training, and in certain schools, much more than that. In the town of Stanford, Illinois (population 600), for example, a three-year sequence of home economics was required for all young women, in which the third year focused on the home, and no doubt included instruction in related art.<sup>38</sup> In larger and more specialized institutions such as the Milwaukee Vocational School, young women were taught as part of their home economics coursework “how to shop wisely...judge the quality of goods, acquire ‘good’ taste in color and design, and select suitable goods in personal dress and in the furnishing and decorating of the home”—exactly those skills that

fell within the purview of related art education.<sup>39</sup> Although related art was probably most often combined with the home economics curriculum in high schools, rather than taught as a separate subject as in many university courses of study, a significant portion of the female population would have been exposed to at least basic principles of “good taste” in home and dress, particularly after *Art in Every Day Life* made its appearance, and teachers trained in universities would have been exposed to its scope and methods, which made the systematic teaching of good taste seem important and feasible.

Oddly enough, though home economics—and thus related art—was funded by the Smith-Hughes Act, it was not particularly vocational in nature, at least not in the sense that instruction in it led obviously and directly to a paying job. Instruction in it therefore had to be justified by means other than increased employability for students.<sup>40</sup> Senator Carroll Page (R-Vermont), a member of a 1914 congressional commission charged with reporting on the future of vocational education, argued for the inclusion of home economics in the Smith-Hughes Bill on the grounds that “Without this knowledge, thousands of homes will be wrecked, thousands of lives ruined, and hundreds of thousands made unhappy for no other reason than that the homekeepers of our country have no adequate training in that most important of all duties, the making of a well-regulated, intelligently-conducted household.” He continued by stating that “we must give to our girls a training different from that with which we now provide them if crime, disease, divorce, and race suicide are not to continue to increase.”<sup>41</sup> Clearly, this kind of justification primarily was social; home economics, the Senator implied, was essential to the smooth functioning of society, and if it were vocational, it was simply because “homekeeping” was considered the proper job of womankind.

The Goldsteins, although they did not resort to the alarmist rhetoric of Senator Page, also justified related art’s usefulness as primarily social rather than vocational. First, they argued that instruction in taste was important “For the sake of economy as well as beauty,” stating that those who chose well would “be satisfied to live with [their] things until they are actually worn out” (pp. 1, 5). Second, they argued that “When beauty is expressed in our surroundings, it becomes a part of our life and our personality”—that is, that the “quality of things” (which they said was “as difficult to define as personality in an individual,” making the link between the two quite explicit) shaped one’s personality or character (pp. 1, 321). “It would take an unusually strong character to remain true to high ideals of truth and sincerity if dishonesty were the keynote of the home surroundings,” they stated, for “mere things have a tremendous influence in forming character” (p. 321). In fact, the Goldsteins seemed to imply that taste and character were almost synonymous, an assertion that is supported by their statement in



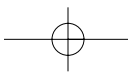
The captions provided below are in quotation marks because they are taken verbatim from the list of illustrations in the front of the Goldsteins' book, and it should be clear that these are their words, not the authors. All images are from Harriet and Vetta Goldstein, *Art in Every Day Life* (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1925).

the caption to their figure 2 (fig. 1), that the room illustrating poor taste "would have a bad influence upon the people who might live in it, for it would tend to dull their sense of beauty" (p. 3, caption to fig. 2). Third, the Goldsteins further justified the teaching of good taste on the grounds that costume and interior design not only shaped, but also expressed, one's personality. "When a person chooses something to put into his house," the Goldsteins claimed, he is doing two things: first, he is gratifying some need or desire and, second, through the qualities which that particular object possesses, he is stating to everyone who can interpret the meaning of such things what sort of person he is. Through his clothes, his house, his pictures, books, furniture, and other accessories, a person proclaims himself; his sincerity or insincerity, his egotism or his modesty. The person who makes an effort to understand what different patterns and colors denote makes a deliberate effort to express his best personal qualities through his choices (p. 321).

In other words, the Goldsteins suggested that one inevitably would be judged by one's possessions, and that it was thus wise to make choices that would reflect favorably upon oneself. By presenting

Figure 1  
"A living room which shows poor taste"  
(from Goldstein, fig. 2, p. 3).

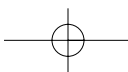




good taste as a skill that fostered good economy, shaped the family character, and expressed personality, the Goldsteins probably did succeed in convincing many students and administrators alike that related art was worth studying, even if it did not help young women get a job in the same way that business training, for example, did.

The Goldsteins, then, both helped to articulate the uses of instruction in taste and to make the goal of widespread instruction in it more feasible through the creation of their book. As the first related art textbook, co-written by the acknowledged leader of the field, *Art in Every Day Life*'s authority and influence were unparalleled. It was not only the text that future related art teachers were likely to have used in their own university studies, but also was the model for (if not the very text used in) their teaching of good taste to both high school and college students.<sup>42</sup> *Art in Every Day Life*, reprinted numerous times every year, existed in four different editions (the last of which was revised in 1955, and was printed annually until at least 1966) and sold more than 249,000 copies.<sup>43</sup> Within the ten years after its 1925 publication date, several more textbooks in the field were written, most of which emulated the structure and methods of *Art in Every Day Life*.<sup>44</sup> Its impact on subsequent authors, and on the field as a whole, was enormous.

The claims the Goldsteins made for their book also were large, although its audience and scope were, in reality, quite limited. Not only did the Goldsteins state that their book would be of use to a surprisingly wide audience (as discussed above), but they also claimed that their methods were applicable to "any art problem" (p. 221). Since they defined good taste as "the application of the principles of design to the problems in life where appearance as well as utility is a consideration" (p. 1), they could, in theory, have discussed just about any kind of object. However, the examples they illustrated were limited to a rather narrower scope: decorative arts (furnishings, bibelots, flower arrangements, etc.), fine arts, house facades, textiles and costume, room arrangement, shop windows, and advertising layouts. This choice of examples perhaps was their nod to vocationalism, for, as has been noted, most young women's future employment was assumed to be homemaking (or, occasionally, marketing, window dressing, or advertising, as the last two examples make clear). This choice of examples not only marked the Goldsteins' attempt to be vocational in focus, however, but perhaps also was their way of avoiding encroaching on the territory staked out by home economists. The Goldsteins avoided any discussion whatsoever of the kitchen and the bathroom (those two rooms most dear to home economists' interests), did not discuss the appearance of machines or appliances (which one could call evidence that, as of 1925, such items were not considered by most people to be objects in which "appearance as well as utility is a consideration") (p. 1), and did not so much as illustrate a floor plan, perhaps for fear that



their own discipline—based on aesthetics and meant to develop good taste—would be confused with the floor plan-obsessed discipline of home economics, which was modeled more directly on science, and which was intended in contrast to cultivate efficiency and hygiene.<sup>45</sup> The extent of the Goldsteins' avoidance of the practical problems of function and efficiency was such that they barely even mentioned the uses to which furniture was put; they justified their placement of chairs and tables in one illustrated living room (fig. 2) solely on aesthetic grounds, with no mention at all of such practical concerns as creating usable conversation spaces (though conveniently enough, the chairs they placed at angles in the corners of the room “for the sake of variety” also served the purpose of making a usable conversational grouping with the sofa on the opposite wall) (pp. 31–32).

Even if they drew most of their examples from costume, certain rooms of the home, and window displays, what the Goldsteins taught in *Art in Every Day Life* was not limited in application to those arenas. What they taught was a way of thinking about design and “design problems” that, at least in theory, allowed any young woman to acquire good taste through diligent study, and to consciously apply it to any design problem until the “wished-for time is reached when the right thing is done unconsciously.” (p. 3) For the Goldsteins, learning how to be tasteful did not entail, as it did in many home decorating advice manuals before and after, the

Figure 2  
“Rearrangement of the room in Fig. 22” (from Goldstein, fig. 23, p. 31).



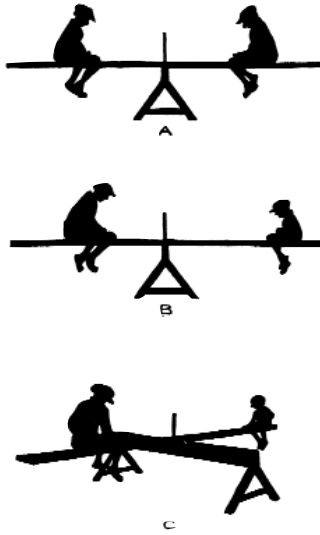


Figure 3  
 "The see-saw used to illustrate balance"  
 (from Goldstein, fig. 70, p. 84).

study of period styles of furniture or the memorization of seemingly arbitrary "do's" and "don'ts"; rather, it meant acquiring skill at formal analysis and use of specialized vocabulary and concepts, which were considered "objective," even "scientific."

In order to hone the eyes of their students, the Goldsteins illustrated their book copiously enough that students could see differences in design quality for themselves, rather than merely reading about them. There were so many illustrations—more than 285—that the authors could suggest that "it is possible quickly to review the facts contained in the book by studying the illustrations," which were "fully described in the legends." (p. vii) Their teaching method throughout the book depended on using these carefully chosen illustrations (many of which were photographs taken by Vetta) to show both good and bad taste in clothing, linens, furnishings, picture frames, and the like. The detailed captions and the body of the text both explained why, in each case, the tasteful objects were tasteful and the others were not. And, as Baxandall has noted, when text is paired with an image, there is a "sharpening to-and-fro," a "reciprocal reference between the word and the object."<sup>46</sup> Pedagogically, the Goldsteins' method certainly was an advance over that which characterized most previous books on good taste in dress and furnishings, for most only included illustrations of "good" objects and ensembles.

In addition to illustrating their points copiously so that they would be easily grasped by students, the Goldsteins also organized their book in such a way that simple ideas and tasks gradually progressed to more complex ones. They broke design down into clearly articulated components and, as Baxandall points out, it is through such a system of "rules and categories, a terminology and stated standards" that a body of knowledge becomes teachable.<sup>47</sup> The very first categories the Goldsteins defined (after dealing in chapter one with "The Importance of Good Taste") were those of structural and decorative design. The Goldsteins, taking an Arts-and-Crafts-like stance, came out strongly in favor of structural design, and explained that, in order to be tasteful, decorative design should be kept to a minimum, and that when it was present, it must relate to the structure of the object it adorned and be conventionalized rather than naturalistic. In chapters three through seven, they defined what they considered to be the five fundamental principles of design: harmony, proportion, balance, rhythm, and emphasis. The Goldsteins demonstrated the principle of balance, for example, by illustrating such everyday things as children on a see-saw (fig. 3); house facades (figs. 4, 5); advertisements (fig. 6); shop windows (figs. 7, 8); furnishings (fig. 9); and costume (figs. 10, 11)—all real-life design problems to which students presumably could relate. In these early chapters, the Goldsteins not only taught specialized vocabulary and concepts, but also argued that students who made use of these seemingly objective and absolute principles would

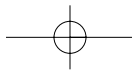


Figure 4  
"A house which is balanced bisymmetrically"  
(from Goldstein, fig. 79, p. 92)



Figure 5  
"A house which shows occult balance"  
(from Goldstein, fig. 80, p. 93).  
(from Goldstein, fig. 87, p. 100).



Figure 6  
"Two advertisements showing the appropriate use of formal and informal balance"  
(from Goldstein, fig. 82, p. 95).



Figure 7  
"A window display showing several objects in occult balance"  
(from Goldstein, fig. 86, p. 99).

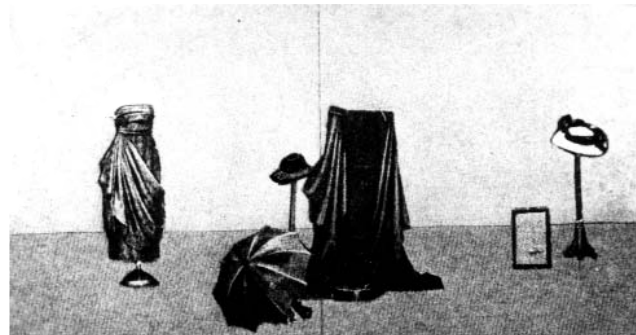


Figure 8  
"A window display which is unbalanced"  
(from Goldstein, fig. 86, p. 99).

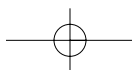
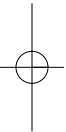
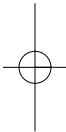
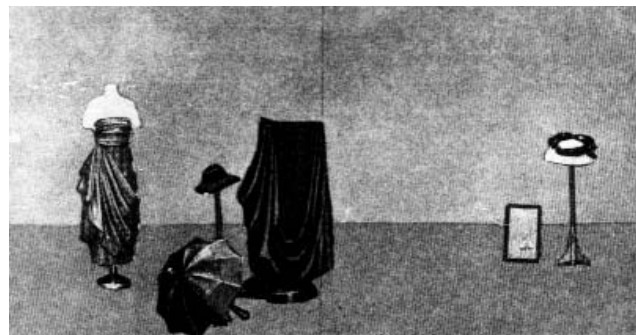




Figure 9  
 "A decorative arrangement showing  
 bisymmetric balance"  
 (from Goldstein, fig. 92, p. 105).



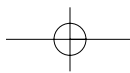
Figure 10  
 "A dress which is formally balanced"  
 (from Goldstein, fig. 99, p. 112).



Figure 11  
 "A dress which is informally balanced"  
 (from Goldstein, fig. 100, p. 113).

naturally select simple and conservative styles in furnishings and dress, and prefer low contrasts and restrained patterns to bold and gaudy patterns and colors. Students also were given carefully justified explanations for why the golden rectangle was the perfect proportion; why either formal or informal balance was acceptable, and when each should be used; why a clear center of emphasis should be present in any design or arrangement; and why Greek and Japanese art, design, and architecture were the pinnacles of good taste, different in nature and appearance through they were. After the discussion of the five fundamental principles and these "corollaries" to them came two chapters on color, which took the reader to the midpoint of the book, and which were astonishingly technical in nature, teaching students up-to-date scientific nomenclature in both the Prang and Munsell systems.<sup>48</sup> All of the information from the first half of the book—whether about structural and decorative design, the five principles, their corollaries, or color theory—indeed was of the sort that could be applied not only to the analysis of furniture and clothing, but also to venues that the Goldsteins did not explicitly address, such as the "artless industries."

The sections on problem-solving and design creation, which constituted the second half (almost exactly) of the book, also would have been easy to apply to other venues. This is in part because the Goldsteins' problem-solving technique itself had been borrowed from another discipline—as the Goldsteins noted, it was "based upon the generally accepted steps in solving a problem," namely, the scientific method (p. 221). Students were told that, in order to solve an "art problem"—in fact, even to define something as an art problem—they first had to decide whether the object would repay

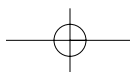


the time or money invested in procuring it; whether the object should be made or purchased; how much money should be spent on it; and what materials would be durable and easy to maintain; etc. Once these parameters were set and the nature of the problem was established as a related art one, it could be solved by:

- 1 Recognizing the problem, which is the setting up of a definite aim or purpose to be accomplished.
- 2 Making a plan for carrying out the problem, which involves collecting all the information related to it.
- 3 Carrying out the plan.
- 4 Testing the results and making a final judgment of the success or failure of the plan before accepting it or discarding it to make another (p. 222).

The second half of the book thus showed students how to apply, with the help of the scientific method, the principles they had learned in the first half of the book to real art problems they would encounter in their lives; their first example of “Solving an Art Problem” was the homely one of choosing a suitable rug for a dining room.

In the second half of the book, the Goldsteins not only solved art problems, but also discussed the “meaning” of design, a topic they had almost completely avoided in the first half. By this term, the Goldsteins seemed to mean the way in which “every picture, every piece of furniture, or drapery pattern speaks its note of sentiment or sentimentality, social ambition or friendly domesticity, vulgarity or fineness”—in other words, they seemed to imply that the meaning of objects lay in what they could reveal about their owners (p. 322). The goal of each student of interior design, the Goldsteins made clear, should be to have “the furniture express the kind of person that its owner would like to be.” (p. 323) In solving interior design problems, then, the woman of good taste would not only be concerned with the form of objects, but also would pay attention to their “meanings.” One of these was the “gender” of furnishings. According to the Goldsteins, women’s rooms should be “feminine” in quality (expressed through “a little lighter type of furnishing,” a “smaller, finer pattern in the drapery material...a little more grace in the lines of the furniture and other objects”; “a delicacy in the details,” fine textures, and lighter colors such as pale blue or light pink) (pp. 323–5). Similarly, men’s rooms were supposed to be “masculine” (expressed through “no appearance of ‘daintiness,’” a “forceful bit of dark and light or color,” “sturdiness,” “a more severe line,” and “a little larger-scale”) (pp. 324–328), and guest rooms “impersonal” in quality, which meant that they should be gender-neutral so visitors of either sex could be comfortable in them (pp. 323–4). Other kinds of “meaning” to which the Goldsteins urged their readers to attend were “domestic” and “social” qualities. The Goldsteins defined the former as informal and unpreten-



tious in spirit (expressed, for example, through informal balance and through neo-Tudor and neo-Jacobean styles in architecture and design), and the latter as formal and grand (expressed through formal balance and through classicizing and Italian Renaissance styles in architecture and design). The Goldsteins also implied that colonial furniture and architecture were both formally and morally good, and (oddly enough, given their interest in structural design) that mission furniture and bungalows were bad, though neither of these latter preferences was expressed as a design theory as such, but rather inserted surreptitiously into the illustrations.

Similarly, the Goldsteins also promoted the idea that design choices in costume revealed personality, and further suggested that costume could be used to counteract “defects” in one’s figure or personality: “A woman any of whose proportions vary from the normal will select dresses with lines designed to direct the eye away from the unusual feature, and she may still further conceal her defect by building out some other part of her dress.” (pp. 75–76) However, physical “defects” were not the only problems that dress could supposedly correct; although the Goldsteins recommended that “the quiet person will need to select clothing that is not conspicuous,” they believed that “she should wear some accent in color, or light or dark, in order to supply some of the sparkle which her personality lacks.” (p. 252) In other words, “she must have in mind constantly that her dress [and, by extension, all her possessions] should be an expression of her [desired?] personality, and that all the lines, colors, and textures should be chosen to that end.” (p. 251) That objects could be used both correctively and expressively perhaps was the most important lesson the Goldsteins taught, both in terms of its impact on industrial design and its implications for students’ understanding of their world.

One might argue that the skills that the Goldsteins developed in students were foremost those of performing formal analysis and articulating and ordering their thoughts about design for purposes of both description and assessment. The Goldsteins indeed did teach students to compare two objects and to make value judgments about the quality of the design in each, a valuable sort of training for consumers who were faced, as Neil Harris has noted, with a great number of brand choices (meaning that they had to narrow down their purchase not only by price and quality, which often were similar from brand to brand but also by design characteristics, which were often used to distinguish one label from another). However, I would argue that even more significant is the fact that the Goldsteins taught their students that design had social importance, which even the captions to their first two illustrations immediately made clear (figs. 12, 1). Not only did they state in the first chapter of the book that design shaped character in the home, but also that it revealed “personality”; they believed that it was a signifier for character, since “the possessions of each person...reflect



Figure 12  
 "A living room which emphasizes  
 the importance of good taste"  
 (from Goldstein, fig. 1, p. 2).



his personality because he [can] not help surrounding himself with things which [reflect] him." (p. 331) In the belief system the Goldsteins promoted, a person who knew how to analyze design thus also had the skills to assess people.

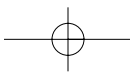
For those who held such a worldview, it was imperative, then, to be certain that one's own personality, as revealed through design, was not an unflattering one. Design, the Goldsteins made clear, could be used to highlight good points and hide "defects," whether those be a stout figure or a tendency to either introversion or brashness. The Goldsteins thus ultimately taught that personality was malleable and subject to self-control, but that it was goods and products that made change possible, or at least that expressed change in a way that others could see. So even if the Goldsteins' rhetoric often was one of conservatism and economy in the deployment of goods, what they nonetheless encouraged was construction of the personality through design and the judging of others through that same means. If students were, at base, taught that good taste and good character (or at least good personality) were the same thing, that was surely an incentive to consumerism. It also was a philosophy that endowed products with almost magical powers. The Goldsteins encouraged, intentionally or not, a fetishistic understanding of products, whereby any ill was believed to be correctable if only the right product or object could be invoked.

With educators defining this kind of role for design—considering it a means both to judge others and to define the self—it is clear that it would be in any young woman's best interest to be certain that all of her possessions, not just the "artful" ones, made a positive statement about her and her family. Thus these young women's skills in formal analysis—taught in such a way as to be easily transferable and pridefully employed—were ripe to be turned

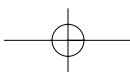
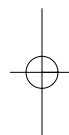
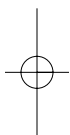
on design of all sorts, even the “formerly artless” kinds. The lessons of related art instruction—both formal and social—were, I believe, in large part responsible for consumer demand for designs such as Loewy’s and Dreyfuss’s. These are objects—to a much greater degree than their predecessors—in which the use of color, structural and decorative design, proportion, and balance, etc. conforms to the standards of good taste laid out in related art courses. Their appearance was of the sort that many young women not only would have been trained to appreciate on formal terms, but also, as a result of the “meaning” they were led to believe objects had, to greatly desire.

Related art is, of course, not the only, and probably not even the most important, factor in the rise of consumers’ “object consciousness” in the late 1920s and 1930s, but the effect of *Art in Every Day Life* and of women’s vocational training more generally should not be ignored as a potentially significant factor in this sudden change. However, the broader significance of related art training lies not in design itself, but in social relations. That the kinds of lessons discussed above were taught within the context not of advice manuals, or advertisements, or films—though they certainly were present there as well—but in government-sanctioned, so-called vocational courses for women in high schools and colleges, implied that society as a whole, or at least those in power, wished to promote the ideas that women were properly consumers (in the home) not creators (in the workplace); that one’s possessions were signifiers of one’s character; that good taste or good form in objects or persons was equivalent to good “character”; and that one had to consume in order to define, refine, and communicate one’s identity to others. The related art writers’ instruction can be considered less an attempt to broaden students’ horizons or to instigate positive social change than it was a forthright form of social control, co-opted from the theory of scientific management, which was designed to perpetuate efficiently the contemporaneous form of the polity by reinforcing gender roles and furthering the “incorporation of America” by encouraging consumerism.<sup>49</sup>

Thus related art educators such as the Goldsteins, although at times they touted the opportunities for personal growth and life enrichment that their teachings afforded women, were nonetheless participants in a pervasive, essentially conservative educational reform movement that unfortunately is one that still plays a prominent role in educational theory today. The related art theorists did not even pretend to fit students for a dynamic, option-filled future; instead, they taught them to accept and ennoble their fated lot, even if that meant finding beauty “in straw, in eggs, in cabbages.”<sup>50</sup> Although they did, to some degree, define related art as a path to personal fulfillment and enjoyment (the Goldsteins claimed in the third edition of their textbook that “we study art mainly for the happiness it will bring into our lives,” p. 3) the pleasure that the

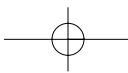


study of art could bring to an individual for its own sake was never the emphasis of *Art in Every Day Life* as it was, for example, of John Dewey's writings.<sup>51</sup> Instead, the Goldsteins and other related art educators were aligned with education "efficiency" proponents such as Joseph Mayer Rice and Arthur Wesley Dow in positing that "[a] training [such as art appreciation] that calls for a very direct exercise of the critical powers, developing judgment and skill, is a training that will increase the individual's efficiency [not pleasure!] whatever his calling may be."<sup>52</sup> Related art, which taught young women to appreciate, select, and tastefully arrange well-designed objects—and gave them compelling reasons for doing so—thus was a government-sanctioned form of vocational training that fitted young women specifically and efficiently for perpetuating the existing power structure, while simultaneously ensuring their feeling of importance—and actual relative powerlessness—within it.



- 1 Raymond Loewy, *Never Leave Well Enough Alone* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1951), 11.
- 2 Loewy, 11.
- 3 See, for example, Jeffrey Meikle, *Twentieth Century Limited: Industrial Design in America, 1925–1939* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1979), 14–15 and 106–108. Christine Frederick stated in 1929 that “students of the subject” estimated that women dominated eighty percent of household expenditures, and she herself believed that the figure was closer to ninety percent. Frederick, *Selling Mrs. Consumer* (New York: The Business Bourse, 1929), 12–13. Designer Norman Bel Geddes wrote that the “influence of the feminine point of view on sales” was “tremendous,” and that, “with regard to most purchases, the influence of women is paramount.” Geddes, *Horizons* (Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1932), 77. For other examples of period commentators’ assumptions that consumers were female, see Carma R. Gorman, “An Acquired Taste: Women’s Visual Education and Industrial Design in the United States, 1925–1940” (Ph.D. dissertation, University of California, Berkeley, 1998): 175–180.
- 4 “Both Fish and Fowl,” *Fortune* (February 9, 1934): 98.
- 5 Meikle notes that “The term ‘industrial design’ first appeared in 1919, but its meaning bore little resemblance to the profession that began evolving ten years later,” Meikle, *Twentieth Century Limited*, 19.
- 6 These examples are taken from Meikle, who discusses the ways in which “success” was measured after such products were redesigned. Meikle states that “According to *Forbes*, Sears sold 20,000 Toperators in six months and precipitated a ‘stampede’ for new designs among other manufacturers,” *Ibid.*, 102. According to Arthur J. Pulos, sales of Loewy’s 1934 Coldspot were double those of its predecessor, and subsequent models’ sales climbed to 65,000 units and later to 275,000 units. Pulos, “Nothing Succeeds Like Success: Raymond Loewy: The Thirties and Forties” in *Raymond Loewy: Pioneer of American Industrial Design*, edited by Angela Schönberger (Berlin: International Design Center and Prestel Verlag Munich, 1990), 80–81.
- 7 Roy Sheldon and Egmont Arens, *Consumer Engineering: A New Technique for Prosperity* (New York: Harper and Brothers Publishers, 1932), 77.
- 8 Meikle, in fact, states that “Businessmen rarely agreed on how to introduce beauty into their products, but most recognized the factors that made the public demand it,” Meikle, *Twentieth Century Limited*, 14. I would dispute this contention, given that nearly every writer states different “causes” for the demand for beauty, as should be clear in the text above.
- 9 Harold Van Doren, *Industrial Design: A Practical Guide* (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., 1940), 43.
- 10 The color-in-the-kitchen movement was the change in the 1920s from ubiquitous white, gray, and buff color schemes on walls, appliances, built-ins, and cookware to bright, “cheerful” color finishes. See Frederick, *Selling Mrs. Consumer*, 355. Also see Meikle, *Twentieth Century Limited*, 14–15, for a discussion of the influx of color in design in the 1920s. The contention that Frederick’s book was a best-seller comes from Sarah Stage and Virginia B. Vincenti, “Who Speaks for the Consumer?” in *Rethinking Home Economics: Women and the History of a Profession*, edited by Sarah Stage and Virginia B. Vincenti (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1997), 234.
- 11 Frederick was “proud to say that I had something to do with the ‘color-in-the-kitchen’ development,” which she believed had been initiated in large part by her introduction of colorful French cookware to American department stores. Frederick, *Selling Mrs. Consumer*, 355–357.
- 12 Earnest Elmo Calkins, in his introduction to Sheldon and Arens, *Consumer Engineering*, 6.
- 13 These scholars include Jane N. Law, who states that “The sophisticated styling of many of the products displayed at the 1925 *International Exposition of Decorative Arts and Modern Industry* in Paris had impressed American visitors. Before long, American advertising agencies began to urge their clients, the manufacturers of consumer goods, to make their wares more appealing to the buying public by giving them a more enticing appearance.” Jane N. Law, “Designing the Dream” in *Streamlining America: A Henry Ford Museum Exhibit*, Fannia Weingartner, ed. (Dearborn, MI: Henry Ford Museum and Greenfield Village, 1986), 18–36. Similarly, Dianne H. Pilgrim, one of the curators for the 1986–87 Brooklyn Museum exhibition *The Machine Age in America, 1918–1941*, claims that “The catalyst for change in awareness and interest (in modernistic art and design on the part of ordinary Americans) was the *Exposition Internationale des Arts Décoratifs et Industriels Modernes*.” Dianne H. Pilgrim, “Design for the Machine” in Richard Guy Wilson, Dianne H. Pilgrim, and Dickran Tashjian, eds., *The Machine Age in America, 1918–1941* (New York: The Brooklyn Museum in association with Harry N. Abrams, Inc., 1986), 277. Karen Davies states that “The 1925 Paris *Exposition Internationale des Art Décoratifs et Industriels Modernes* stimulated a new interest in modern design in this country.” Karen Davies, *At Home in Manhattan: Modern Decorative Arts, 1925 to the Depression* (New Haven: Yale University Art Gallery, 1983), 16. Donald J. Bush writes of the year 1927 that “The interest in modern styles and motifs [was] induced by the Paris Exposition of two years earlier . . .” Donald J. Bush, *The Streamlined Decade* (New York: George Braziller, 1975), 16.

- 14 The term "art deco" was first used by the *New York Times* on November 2, 1966. *Oxford English Dictionary*, 2nd ed., s. v. "art deco."
- 15 Neil Harris, "Museums, Merchandising, and Popular Taste: The Struggle for Influence" and "The Drama of Consumer Desire," both in *Cultural Excursions: Marketing Appetites and Cultural Tastes in Modern America* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1990), 66–68 and 184–188.
- 16 The Related Art Section of the American Home Economics Association (AHEA) was established in 1922; Harriet Goldstein (a figure to whom we will return) was its first chair. Beverly Gordon, "Related Art: Aesthetic Education By and For Women" (paper presented at the College of Human Ecology, Cornell University, Ithaca, NY, February 1994): 8.
- 17 On the difficulty of choosing a satisfactory name for the relatively new professionalized field of home economics, see Emma Seifrit Weigley, "It Might Have Been Euthenics: The Lake Placid Conferences and the Home Economics Movement," *American Quarterly* 26 (March 1974): 79–96, cited in Stage and Vincenti, "Who Speaks for the Consumer?" 5. Other commonly used terms for related art were "household art" and "domestic art." See Gordon, "Related Art": 3.
- 18 Herbert Kliebard, *Schooled to Work: Vocationalism and the American Curriculum, 1876–1946* (New York: Teachers College Press, Columbia University, 1999), 122–125 and 160–162.
- 19 Michael Baxandall, *Painting and Experience in Fifteenth-Century Italy: A Primer in the Social History of Pictorial Style* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1972), 37–38.
- 20 See Gorman, "An Acquired Taste": 175–187.
- 21 The title *Art in Every Day Life* was changed to *Art in Everyday Life* in the 3rd edition (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1940).
- 22 The quotation is from Van Doren, *Industrial Design*, 43.
- 23 Esther Dendel, *Beauty and the Human Spirit: The Legacy of Harriet and Vetta Goldstein* (St. Paul, MN: The Goldstein Gallery, 1993), 8.
- 24 Dendel, 63.
- 25 Gordon, "Related Art": 11 and Arthur Wesley Dow, *Theory and Practice of Teaching Art*, 2nd ed. (New York: Teachers College, Columbia University, 1912; 1st ed., 1908).
- 26 Gordon, "Related Art": 11.
- 27 Dow, *Theory and Practice of Teaching Art*, 1.
- 28 Gordon, "Related Art": 11.
- 29 All subsequent references to this book, unless otherwise indicated, will be to Harriet and Vetta Goldstein, *Art in Every Day Life* (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1925).
- 30 Gordon, "Related Art": 7–8.
- 31 Herbert Kliebard, *The Struggle for the American Curriculum, 1893–1946* (New York: Routledge, 1991), 120–1.
- 32 Gordon, "Related Art": 8.
- 33 Kliebard, *Schooled to Work*, 120–1.
- 34 Kliebard, *Schooled to Work*, 120.
- 35 See Kliebard, *Schooled to Work*, 132–142, and Rima D. Apple, "Liberal Arts or Vocational Training? Home Economics Education for Girls" in *Rethinking Home Economics*, 79–95.
- 36 See Apple, "Liberal Arts or Vocational Training?": 84–85.
- 37 High school principals, when asked what changes they would like to make to their curricula, "gave the highest priority to adding more vocational, commercial, and home economics courses," according to Kliebard, *Schooled to Work*, 160. For enrollment and employment figures, see U.S. Department of Interior, Office of Education, *Program of Studies Bulletin*, No. 17 (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1933), cited in Kliebard, *Schooled to Work*, 135; and National Advisory Committee on Education, *Federal Relations to Education, Part 2: Basic Facts* (Washington, DC: National Capital Press, 1931), 222, cited in Kliebard, *Schooled to Work*, 150.
- 38 John C. Chiddix, "School Surveys in the Smaller Communities Illustrated by a Survey of the Stanford (IL) Schools," *Normal School Quarterly* 23 (July/October 1925): 9–10, cited in Kliebard, *Schooled to Work*, 159.
- 39 Kliebard, *Schooled to Work*, 109.
- 40 For information about careers outside of the home that home economists sometimes entered, see the articles in the section titled "They Cannot All Be Teachers: Forging Careers in Home Economics" in Apple, *Rethinking Home Economics*, 123–184.
- 41 Senator Carroll Page, quoted in Apple, *Rethinking Home Economics*, 84.
- 42 Gordon believes that the book "was used by those who had learned with it in college when they went out to teach in high schools." Gordon, electronic correspondence with author, February 18, 1998. However, Delores Ford of the Goldstein Gallery at the University of Minnesota (a decorative arts collection formed by the Goldstein sisters' donated teaching materials) states that *Art in Every Day Life* "may have been used in high school[s] but as far as we know it was originally intended as [a] college text." Electronic correspondence with author, January 27, 1998. It is difficult to ascertain to what extent it was used as a high school text.
- 43 The sales figures are from Gordon, "Related Art": 18. I have not been able to verify these figures with the publisher.
- 44 Perhaps the best example of the influence of *Art in Every Day Life* can be seen in Mabel B. Trilling and Florence Williams, *Art in Home and Clothing* (Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott, 1928); the authors include *Art in Every Day Life* in the bibliography for most chapters, and the book is structured very similarly to its predecessor.



- 45 The Goldsteins' aversion to floor plans and to discussions of the uses of objects was not one imitated by later writers such as Trilling and Williams, but perhaps this is because the latter were less instrumental in defining a scope for related art than the Goldsteins were. The Goldsteins fostered a way of looking very different from that of the home economists; they encouraged a two-dimensional, surface-oriented way of thinking about the world; rather than a three-dimensional, functional one—as if they viewed the world as a series of static “snapshots” like the ones in their book, rather than as a dynamic and interactive realm in which spatial relations were key.
- 46 Michael Baxandall, *Patterns of Intention: On the Historical Explanation of Pictures* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1985), 10–11.
- 47 Baxandall, *Painting and Experience*, 37.
- 48 Both the Prang and Munsell systems identified colors through notations indicating hue, value, and chroma or intensity. The Prang system was devised by the chromolithographer Louis Prang (1824–1909), and was the simpler of the two (and the more familiar today): it was diagrammed as a color “wheel” in which blue and orange, red and green, and purple and yellow were defined as complementaries. The Munsell system was developed by Albert Henry Munsell (1858–1918), and was conceptualized not as a two-dimensional “wheel,” but rather as an irregular, three-dimensional globe-like structure showing a color’s “distance” from neutral gray, which was the origin or nexus of the three axes of hue, value, and chroma. Munsell’s objection to the Prang system was that equal amounts of the three primary colors did not produce a neutral gray; his more “scientific” system (constructed with the aid of modern instruments that measured light refraction) was designed to correct that flaw.
- 49 The phrase is from Alan Trachtenberg, *The Incorporation of America: Culture and Society in the Gilded Age* (New York: Hill and Wang, 1982).
- 50 Dendel, *Beauty and the Human Spirit*, 33.
- 51 Dendel, who taught with the Goldsteins at the University of Minnesota, provides an alternative view of the Goldsteins in her book as far more concerned with their students’ personal development than with their “efficiency.” Whatever their emphasis in their own classrooms, however, the textbooks they wrote seem dictatorial and patronizing rather than nurturing. The goals that the Goldsteins wrote for their personal use, which Dendel reprints—to teach students “to get pleasure from their surroundings, to appreciate the beauty that is all around them, and to have tolerance toward new ideas and other people’s points of view”—are not, I would argue, ones that the Goldsteins achieved in their text, no matter how inspiring they may have been in person. Dendel, *Beauty and the Human Spirit*, 14.
- 52 On Rice, see Kliebard, *The Struggle for the American Curriculum*, 20–24 and 89–122. The quotation is from Dow, *Theory and Practice of Teaching Art*, 1.

