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Syracuse University

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Baerman, Brooke, "The Artist, the Workhorse: Labor in the Sculpture of Anna Hyatt Huntington" (2015).
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The Artist, the Workhorse: Labor in the Sculpture of Anna Hyatt Huntington

A Capstone Project Submitted in Partial Fulfillment of the
Requirements of the Renée Crown University Honors Program at
Syracuse University

Brooke Baerman
Candidate for a Bachelor of Arts in Art History
and Renée Crown University Honors
May 2015

Honors Capstone Project in Art History

Capstone Project Advisor: _____
Sascha Scott, Professor of Art History

Capstone Project Reader: _____
Romita Ray, Professor of Art History

Honors Director: _____
Stephen Kuusisto, Director

Date: April 22, 2015

Abstract

Anna Hyatt Huntington (1876-1973) was an American sculptor of animals who founded the nation's first sculpture garden, Brookgreen Gardens, in 1932. Hyatt Huntington, whose personal papers are housed at Syracuse University, is an important yet understudied artist. Focusing on Hyatt Huntington's sculptures in Brookgreen Gardens and on the gardens themselves, which also included a zoo, this paper will examine themes of labor in the artist's oeuvre.

Hyatt Huntington placed an emphasis on hard work as she fought to distinguish herself as a sculptor in a male-dominated field. The products of her labor often venerate the work of animals, from bulls to horses to jaguars. Many of these sculptures are situated at Brookgreen Gardens. Founded at the dawn of the Great Depression, the gardens provide an opportunity to study her work in an era in which labor became a central theme for many artists, who, like Hyatt Huntington, saw hard work as a means to a better future. The multifaceted views of labor manifested in Hyatt Huntington's work offer critical insights into her sculptures and American art at the time, as labor transforms her sculptures from realistic depictions of animals into beacons of toil, endeavor, and meaningful production.

Executive Summary

Anna Hyatt Huntington (1876-1973) was an American sculptor of animals who rendered her subjects in stone, bronze, and aluminum with meticulous attention to anatomical detail. During her life, her work received numerous honors and praises, but after her death she was, until recently, largely forgotten. This lapse in memory has been somewhat remedied in recent years as exhibitions and more current scholarship have focused on Hyatt Huntington's sculptures. Scholars to date tend to focus on the realism of Hyatt Huntington's beasts and do not closely analyze their symbolic meanings. This is true of her animals that are paired with humans as well, which art historians tend to describe as subsidiary to the symbolic meaning of the human form instead of as a central component of the works themselves.

This thesis will explore one facet of symbolism in Hyatt Huntington's animal sculptures. Specifically, I will investigate how concepts of labor or work are manifested in her sculptures. Throughout her career, Hyatt Huntington sculpted works that accentuate both the importance of animal labor and the value of labor itself. I will specifically look to those sculptures that reside in Brookgreen Gardens, the sculpture garden in South Carolina that Hyatt Huntington founded in 1932, and that is unexamined with respect to her oeuvre. The gardens consist of a sculpture garden and a zoo, and originally had the purpose of conserving and displaying figurative American sculpture and the native flora and fauna of the Southeast. Founding Brookgreen itself was an act of labor, and placing sculptures in it transformed it into a space venerating the work of artists.

I will demonstrate the role and symbolism of labor in Hyatt Huntington's sculpture by dividing this essay into four chapters, each of which closely analyzes her sculptures with respect to this theme. The first will examine her work in a biographical context, considering

how she herself labored throughout her life and how her work consistently explored this theme. The second chapter places her work within the tradition of American animal sculpture, exploring both Hyatt Huntington's artistic technique and her career as a woman partaking in a profession—monumental sculpture—deemed improper for her gender. The third chapter analyzes Hyatt Huntington's sculptures within Brookgreen itself. Here, I discuss Brookgreen, once home to slave plantations, as a landscape of artistic production. I also consider how Hyatt Huntington's treatment of labor related to those of other artists during the Great Depression, the period in which Brookgreen was created. Finally, I will consider the zoo at Brookgreen. The labor of domestic and zoo animals, whether as farm animals, pets, or displays for entertainment, is apparent in Hyatt Huntington's sculptures. The taming of those animals, and of the American wilderness, is also symbolized in some of her work, and I will analyze how ideas of taming the wild were central to American identity and are helpful in understanding Hyatt Huntington's work.

This essay is built on both primary and archival research, as well as on my first hand investigation of Brookgreen Gardens. I was first inspired by Hyatt Huntington's sculptures on the Syracuse University campus, from *Diana of the Chase* in Carnegie Library to her many bronzes in the Syracuse University Art Galleries' collections. I was fascinated by her work, and turned to the university's archives to learn more. In the Syracuse University Special Collections, which houses Hyatt Huntington's papers, I pored over photographs, newspaper and magazine articles, and documents pertaining to Hyatt Huntington and Brookgreen Gardens. The newspaper articles in particular provided a valuable unfiltered lens to what the gardens might have been like at their inception in 1932. A lengthy oral

interview with Hyatt Huntington, available through The Smithsonian's online archives, allowed me to hear from Hyatt Huntington herself.

My visit to Brookgreen in December of 2014 was invaluable in making tangible the histories I had otherwise only read about, and helped me to think more critically about the viewing experience that the garden fosters. My exploration of Brookgreen's zoo led me to contemplate the juxtaposition of living animals with sculpted ones, while learning about Brookgreen's plantation past, as told at the site, first sparked my curiosity pertaining to labor. As I wandered the grounds, I realized that Brookgreen shifted from a landscape of one type of work to that of another kind of labor. As a plantation, many slaves were forced to work in the area, and as a sculpture garden, it displayed the labor of artists through the result of their work—their sculptures. This led me to think about Hyatt Huntington's sculptures differently, and through the lens of labor I saw more nuanced and meaningful interpretations of her animal sculptures.

My approach to this essay is driven by my curiosity about and Hyatt Huntington's fascinating animal sculptures, and I have spent a good deal of time closely researching, analyzing, and interpreting them. I wanted my interpretations, many of which offer new readings of Hyatt Huntington's work, to be academically accountable and responsible. As a result, I have strived to ground my understanding of her work in various historical contexts, from the artistic to the cultural and economic. As such, I consider questions such as how labor in Hyatt Huntington's works at Brookgreen compares with other contemporary treatments of labor and how her work converses with other artistic trends.

Hyatt Huntington's animal sculptures are astounding in their technical capacity. They demonstrate the artist's skill as a sculptor and an observer of living creatures, and are

anatomically correct, often capturing difficult poses with seeming ease. They are also remarkable for their ability to engage in a cultural dialogue concerning labor and its value, maintaining a Neoclassical style while communicating themes relevant to the America of the Great Depression. Her sculptures venerate the toil and effort of humankind and encourage the hope of a better future because of that work. Most importantly, I argue, Hyatt Huntington's sculptures assert the great value of animals in providing humans with companionship, entertainment, and labor.

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Introduction

The American animal sculptor Anna Hyatt Huntington (1876-1973) depicted images of grand stallions, mischievous dogs, and ferocious lions and jaguars.¹ Her scenes of combat fill the viewer with suspense, while those of tender fawns and mares with foals impart a more sentimental impression and convey a sense of compassion. Hyatt Huntington was a highly successful sculptor at a time when men like Daniel Chester French and James Earle Fraser dominated the discipline. While there were other American women sculptors, such as Edmonia Lewis and Gertrude Vanderbilt Whitney, Hyatt Huntington was the only prominent professional American woman animal sculptor at the time. Her work was highly realistic, and from the 1890s until the end of her career in the 1960s, it was met with much acclaim. Critics noted the detail and rigor in her renderings of animal subjects, through which she demonstrated her “first-hand knowledge of beasts, both savage and domestic.”²

Despite this praise, Hyatt Huntington and her work were largely forgotten until the latter half of the twentieth century. While recent exhibitions have brought more scholarly attention to her work, such scholarship tends to focus on the early part of her career, which she largely spent in New York City, and sees her animals in the same light as early twentieth-century critics: as straightforward depictions of beasts, capturing anatomical details and conveying traits typical of both wild and captive animals.³ When paired with

¹ Because of her legal name change in 1923, throughout this essay I will refer to the artist as Anna Hyatt Huntington, rather than by her maiden name, Anna Vaughn Hyatt.

² *The Art Digest* (1936): 10, Box 13, Anna Hyatt Huntington Papers, Special Collections Research Center, Syracuse University Libraries.

³ For recent scholarship on Hyatt Huntington, see Anne Higonnet, “Anna Hyatt Huntington, Meet New York City,” Columbia University, accessed April 20, 2015, <http://www.columbia.edu/cu/wallach/exhibitions/Anna-Hyatt-Huntington/essays/>. For previous

humans in equestrian sculptures or fountain compositions, her animals are typically described as accessories or secondary companions, rather than as vital subjects in themselves.⁴

This essay examines Hyatt Huntington's sculptures with greater depth by considering both the contexts from which her work arose and the themes of labor in her work. Her works are housed in many institutions and public places around the world, from The Metropolitan Museum of Art and Riverside Drive in New York City to the Avenida del Cid in Seville, Spain. I will focus on those residing in Brookgreen Gardens, the sculpture garden Hyatt Huntington founded in 1932, which is often acknowledged but never treated thoroughly with regard to her sculpture.⁵ Hyatt Huntington's sculptures at Brookgreen act as beacons for my exploration of labor in her work, as points at which to begin, to thoroughly analyze, and to which to return to after examining other aspects of her life and work. I will argue that throughout her career, Hyatt Huntington created statues emphasizing the importance of animal work that can be extended to the value of labor itself, both by humans and as a moral value. I will first consider themes of labor throughout Hyatt Huntingtons career and then examine the same themes in the context of the history of animal sculpture. This will lay the foundation to discuss Brookgreen's connections to labor in the 1930s, both of sculptures during the Great Depressions and the labor in their

academic scholarship (of which there is little), see Myrna Eden Garvey, *Energy and Individuality in the Art of Anna Huntington, Sculptor, and Amy Beach, Composer* (Metuchen: Scarecrow Press, 1987). Myrna Eden Garvey, "The Significance of the Equestrian Monument 'Joan of Arc' in the Artistic Development of Anna Hyatt Huntington," *The Courier* 12.4 (1975): 3-12. Myrna Eden Garvey, "The Sculpture of Anna Hyatt Huntington in the Syracuse University Art Collection," *The Courier* 12.4 (1975): 13-28.

⁴ Higonet, "Anna Hyatt Huntington, Meet New York City."

⁵ Syracuse University also houses several of Hyatt Huntington's bronzes that are also placed in Brookgreen Gardens, including *Diana of the Chase*.

art. Finally, I will discuss how the zoo on Brookgreen's grounds compels viewers to revisit animals as laboring creatures and, in turn, to consider sculptors as manual laborers.

When discussing labor, I will use the term as it was defined in Hyatt Huntington's time. My research suggests Hyatt Huntington represented animals primarily as laborers rather than mere instruments of labor. To find a contemporary notion of work, I turn to Karl Marx. Marx conceived of labor as "formative" activity, or as an act in which humans mold the objective world, giving form to it and, in doing so, objectifying themselves in the world.⁶ He inherited this notion of labor from Georg Wilhelm Friedrich Hegel, who saw labor as a uniquely human endeavor. Through work, Hegel thought, we give the object we shape a human form, "duplicating" ourselves in the process. He saw this process as an act mediating between humanity and the natural world.⁷ "The training of animals is, of course, a more direct way of giving them form," Hegel said.⁸ Hyatt Huntington's labor was indeed formative; she worked as a sculptor, literally molding a substance into what she envisioned. Nevertheless, she seems to break from Marx and Hegel when considering the labor of animals. In her sculptures, I argue, she treats animals as independent workers who configure the world and help society progress. I am interested in the ways different types of labor were yoked to different modes of production for the sculptor. From the artist working to paint or sculpt, to manual laborers and the domesticated animals settling land and harvesting food, to zoo or circus animals performing for the public and providing entertainment, I seek to show how these different strands of work are found in Hyatt Huntington's sculptures at Brookgreen Gardens.

⁶ Sean Sayers, "The Concept of Labor: Marx and His Critics," *Science and Society* 71 (2007): 432.

⁷ Ibid., 434.

⁸ Hegel quoted by Sayers, "The Concept of Labor: Marx and His Critics," 435.

When Hyatt Huntington founded Brookgreen Gardens with her husband, Archer Milton Huntington, they created the nation's first public sculpture garden. Located on the grounds of former rice plantations in the lowlands of South Carolina, Brookgreen Gardens was originally intended to display only Hyatt Huntington's work, but the endeavor quickly expanded to include figurative American sculpture created by a wide range of nineteenth- and twentieth- century American artists. Notably, the purpose of the gardens was more ambitious than to amass a representative collection of American figurative sculpture. The gardens were meant to preserve, display, and educate the public about American sculpture and, interestingly, about the native flora and fauna of the Southeast.⁹ Because of the latter part of Brookgreen's mission, the sculptures were displayed among vibrant local plants, and a zoo was erected on the grounds that displayed local animals including bears, alligators, and deer.

Also built on the grounds was the Huntington's winter home, Atalaya, which is Spanish for "watchtower" and was inspired by Spanish Moorish design. There, Hyatt Huntington had both an indoor and outdoor studio, as well as stables, dog kennels, and bear pens (to house bears while she modeled them). Although today Atalaya is separated from Brookgreen Gardens by a highway, the house was originally connected to the gardens by a straight path lined with oak trees, thus integrating Hyatt Huntington's private sphere, in which she worked modeling her sculptures, with her public one, in which she displayed them.

⁹ John Vavasour Noel, *The News and Courier, Charleston, SC, Sunday Morning*, January 17, 1932, Box 14, File 12, Anna Hyatt Huntington Papers, Special Collections Research Center, Syracuse University Libraries.

Throughout her career, Hyatt Huntington valued labor as a difficult yet necessary pursuit, a position she brought to her sculptural production and her creation of Brookgreen Gardens. To be a laborer, for Hyatt Huntington, was to endeavor, struggle, and even suffer as one works toward a goal of creation or completion. Throughout this essay, I will consider the contextual and aesthetic meaning of labor with respect to Hyatt Huntington's sculptures and Brookgreen Gardens.

Each of the paper's four chapters will focus on different sculptures and aspects of labor in Hyatt Huntington's work. The first chapter will analyze two sculptures of work horses, *Winter Noon* and *In Memory of the Workhorse*, in terms of their subject matter, which esteems labor, and how they demonstrate Hyatt Huntington's hard work and resolve as a woman sculptor in a time when artistic production was dominated by men. Chapter two considers Hyatt Huntington's *Jaguar* and *Jaguar Reaching*, a pair of life-sized jaguars, as a way to examine the labor in Hyatt Huntington's own artistic practices and their relationship to the artistic traditions and contemporary trends from which the sculptor drew. In the third chapter, I discuss *Diana of the Chase* in conjunction with the formation and structure of Brookgreen Gardens. In this chapter, themes of labor will be considered by addressing the services that the gardens provided to the public, as well as by exploring the treatment of work during the Great Depression. This discussion serves to demonstrate that the gardens operated as a space of and venerating labor. In the final chapter, I examine Hyatt Huntington's monumental sculpture *Youth Taming the Wild* in relation to the zoo at Brookgreen, the labor of zoo animals, and the work ethic involved in the domestication of both land and animals. Her work, through embracing and honoring the manual labor of both humans and animals, engaged in a conversation about the value of work during a time

when issues surrounding work and labor loomed large in public discourses. Through acknowledging this prominent theme in Hyatt Huntington's work, I hope to show that her sculptural menagerie is more than a collection of animals in various mediums. It is a representation of her personal value of labor and the collective American cultural value of labor during the Great Depression, acting as an icon of hope for the future and honor for the past.

Chapter 1

Anna Hyatt Huntington: The Sculptor, the Workhorse

Winter Noon (figure 1) is a small bronze (8.25x12.5x8.5 inches) depicting two work horses huddling together against a cold winter wind. Their blankets are half-blown off. They push forward together against the raging storm and shiver in the bitter icy chill. The muscular horses lean quietly into each other; one bows its head slightly, the other pins its ears back in struggle against the harsh conditions. Anna Hyatt Huntington sculpted *Winter Noon* early in her career while living in New York City. She sculpted *In Memory of the Workhorse* (figure 2) much later in 1964, less than a decade before her death. Instead of two workhorses, the monumental bronze presents a strong draft horse trudging up an incline alongside a man. The man's cape billows back, as do the horse's mane, tail, and fetlocks, from a strong gust of wind that makes their journey all the more difficult. *Winter Noon* highlights the emphasis Hyatt Huntington placed on labor early in her career, while *In Memory of the Workhorse*, a veritable monument to labor that venerates both animal and human labor, indicates that she carried the theme through the end of her career. These two sculptures are emblematic of the vital relationship Hyatt Huntington saw between humankind and animals, which labored both independently and together, a perspective that is found in much of her work and eventually led her to found Brookgreen Gardens.

Born on March 10, 1876, Hyatt Huntington was surrounded by both animals and art from a young age. Her upbringing fostered her curiosity and love of nature, and she seemed almost predestined to work with animals. Her father, Alphas Hyatt, was a zoologist and paleontologist at Harvard University and MIT and the founder of the nation's first marine

biology laboratory. Hyatt Huntington cited him as a prominent influence over her interest in living creatures, a passion that continued throughout her life, and that she realized through sculptures such as *Winter Noon*.¹⁰ As her nephew, A. Hyatt Mayor, wrote, “As soon as she could crawl she inspected horses’ hoofs, and before she could swim she peered so intently at minnows that she toppled off our dock in Annisquam into the running tide.”¹¹ Her mother, Audella Beebe Hyatt, was an amateur painter who dabbled in watercolors, introducing Hyatt Huntington to artistic practice, in contrast to the scientific exposure her father provided.¹²

While her love of animals was present from a very early age, Hyatt Huntington originally aspired to be a classical musician. She studiously practiced violin for eight years before abandoning the instrument at the age of seventeen after discovering her talent for sculpting. This discovery happened when her sister Harriet, eight years her senior, asked for Hyatt Huntington’s assistance in creating a sculpture. Harriet intended to depict a great dane with his paws on a young boy’s shoulders, but struggled with capturing the dog’s form. Hyatt Huntington obliged, utilizing her years of careful observation of animal anatomy and the few recreational art classes she had taken. In a 1964 interview, the artist recalled creating an astonishing likeness of a playful Great Dane, an achievement foreshadowing the skill with which she would render animals throughout her career. The successful result of her efforts led her to pursue sculpture professionally.¹³

¹⁰ Cerinda Evans, *Anna Hyatt Huntington* (Newport: Newport News, 1965), 31.

¹¹ A. Hyatt Mayor, “Brookgreen Gardens,” in *A Century of American Sculpture: Treasures from Brookgreen Gardens* (New York: Abbeville Press, 1989), 24.

¹² Erica Hirshler, *A Studio of Her Own: Women Artists in Boston 1870-1940* (Boston: MFA Publications, 2001), 120.

¹³ Anna Hyatt Huntington, interviewed by Dorothy Seckler. Oral history interview with Anna Hyatt Huntington, circa 1964, Archives of American Art, Smithsonian Institution.

Hyatt Huntington's parents were unconditionally supportive of both sisters' artistic endeavors. Her father, described by Hyatt Huntington as "a poor professor on poor professor pay,"¹⁴ crafted a makeshift studio for the girls in the family's backyard. They both studied at Cowles Art School in Boston and modeled with sculptor Henry Hudson Kitson.¹⁵ Hyatt Huntington began to exhibit her animal studies in 1898, and held her first solo exhibition of such sculptures in 1900 at the Boston Art Club. While Hyatt Huntington studied the human form several years later in her career, she explained in an interview that she did so only to better her animal sculptures.¹⁶ Her observation suggests that in sculptures in which she combined humans and animals, the human figures are not the sole harbingers of meaning, but rather are complimented by and reliant on the animals placed beside them. For example, the male figure in *In Memory of the Workhorse* accompanying the grand workhorse is meant to reinforce the value of the horse's labor, rather than the other way around. The man holds in his right hand the horse's yoke, joining the two figures at points that are indicative of their relative kinds of labor: the horse as he pulls a wagon or piece of farming machinery, and the man who labors extensively with his hands. The man and steed are not merely joined in *In Memory of the Workhorse*, but the man hangs from the yoke, clinging to it for support against the forceful winds and bowing into the horse for protection. The man may be strong, but the viewer is left with the distinct impression that the horse is stronger. Without the workhorse by his side, the man would not have been able to complete his journey. The base of the sculpture is a steep incline leveling off to flat ground. The horse and man, reaching the threshold of flat land, after which their journey

¹⁴ Ibid.

¹⁵ Hirshler, *A Studio of Her Own: Women Artists in Boston 1870-1940*, 120.

¹⁶ "Woman Sculptor and Bison in the Bronx Zoo Exchange Confidences," *New York Times*, December 31, 1905, Section 3, 6.

will be presumably easier, persevere together through the last of the incline. While *In Memory of the Workhorse* conveys Hyatt Huntington's gratitude for the admirable labor of draft horses, the title is also tinged with sadness, since the word "memory" calls attention to the fact that in the modern industrial age the workhorse is no longer an integral part of the very society it helped to build.

Harriet Hyatt and Hyatt Huntington planned to open their own art school together, but that same year Harriet married and moved to Princeton, New Jersey. The tasks of managing a household and raising children consumed most of her time, and sculpture was reduced to a hobby.¹⁷ Unlike her sister, Anna Hyatt Huntington chose not to marry straight away and continued to sculpt under Kitson. She ceased her studies only when she was thrown out of the studio after she was said to have corrected Kitson on the muscular composition of a horse.¹⁸ The break was perhaps in her best interest; it provided the impetus for her to leave Boston at the age of twenty-four, when she moved to New York City to sell her animal sculptures in a more competitive market. In New York she lived in a studio on East Thirty-Third Street with three other bachelorettes: one sculptor and two professional musicians.¹⁹ This living situation was fairly common for aspiring women artists. They frequently cohabited because living alone or with a man out of wedlock would have tarnished their reputations and lessened their abilities to be taken seriously as artists.²⁰ While living with a husband would have been considered proper, it was not a

¹⁷ Ibid.

¹⁸ Charlotte Streifer Rubinstein, *American Women Sculptors: A History of Women Working in Three Dimensions* (Boston: G.K. Hall, 1990), 163.

¹⁹ "Woman Sculptor and Bison in the Bronx Zoo Exchange Confidences."

²⁰ Any accusation of impure actions jeopardized women's careers, and they truly feared this, referring to it as "the fall." Laura Prieto, *At Home in the Studio: The Professionalization of Women Artists in America* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2001), 70.

avored option by women with serious artistic aspirations. As had happened with Harriet, household responsibilities of married women, even those married to artists, overshadowed professional ambitions.²¹

Hyatt Huntington followed her professional ambitions relentlessly, becoming something of a workhorse herself, as did the girls with whom she lived. As Hyatt Huntington later recalled, “We were a very busy crowd. We didn’t have parties all the time or anything of that sort. We were too dead tired at night.”²² During this time, Hyatt Huntington continued her formal education, studying briefly with the Art Students League and the famed sculptor Gutzon Borglum. Hyatt Huntington had little time for leisure and frivolities, and partook in a grueling and dedicated self-imposed work ethic that would continue throughout her life.

Hyatt Huntington also cultivated her interest in animals through both careful study within zoos and hands-on interaction with animals at her family’s country estates.²³ She began studying wildlife at Norumbega Park in Newton, Massachusetts, and at Bostock’s Live Animal Show in Boston in the 1890s. She continued to study animals in captivity in New York at the Bronx Zoo.²⁴ Hyatt Huntington regularly visited her family in the countryside, where she was able to sketch and sculpt animals with great attention to detail. For example, she often travelled to her brother’s farm in Maryland to sketch wildlife and break colts. When sketching, she preferred to work directly in clay rather than with pen and paper, and

²¹ Ibid., 117.

²² Oral history interview with Anna Hyatt Huntington.

²³ While Hyatt Huntington noted her family’s poverty in a 1964 interview, the fact that her family had multiple estates would seem to contest this claim. Other scholarship and archival material provide no insights that have allowed me to resolve this apparent contradiction.

²⁴ Daria Rose Foner, “Anna Hyatt Huntington and her Big Cats,” Columbia University, accessed April 20, 2015, http://www.columbia.edu/cu/wallach/exhibitions/Anna-Hyatt-Huntington/essays/Foner/#_ftn3.

brought clay to zoos and fields to craft her studies.²⁵ Time on her brother's idyllic farm inspired works including the 1905 miniature bronze *Bulls Fighting* (Figure 3). Two bulls both heave forward from opposite sides of the sculpture, respectively, locking their horns together to create a dynamic angular composition. The bronze, despite its small scale, captures the inertia of the bulls as they charged at one another; the force with which their bodies collide creates an exhilarating scene. Their muscles tense and haunches heave as they plant their back hooves firmly into the ground and their bodies absorb the impact of their collision.

In *Bulls Fighting*, we see a different, more unrestrained side of the labor of the domesticated animal. The bulls are strong, as are the draft horses in *Winter Noon* and *In Memory of the Workhorse*, but their strength is not as tightly controlled. Where Hyatt Huntington's work horses demonstrate their power through a quiet resolve against a storm in *Winter Noon* and a directed strenuous march in *In Memory of the Workhorse*, her bulls unleash their ferocity at each other. One might immediately recognize bulls as part of the structure of domestic animal labor, but whereas workhorses are trained to obey a human hand and direction, domesticated bulls serve two primary purposes: that of breeding and that of the bucking bronco in a rodeo. Her different portrayals of horses and bulls reflect these different roles. Whereas Hyatt Huntington's horses demonstrate compassion—both for each other as they shelter one another from the storm in *Winter Noon* and for humans as the powerful workhorse in *In Memory of the Workhorse* allows the man beside him to use him for protection—her bulls show no such compassion and are enthralled in their brutal

²⁵ Oral history interview with Anna Hyatt Huntington.

combat. The bull's work in captivity—whether as a breeder or a rodeo performer—relies on its instinctive aggressiveness and physical power, which are displayed in *Bulls Fighting*.

Hyatt Huntington continued to capture the different aspects of the animals she portrayed, from bulls to horses to goats, and her diligent studies and numerous workings in clay proved fruitful. Her sculptures, which at the time were predominantly small bronzes, were well received by patrons in New York. In 1903, just three short years after moving to the city, the Metropolitan Museum of Art acquired *Winter Noon*. The museum also purchased another small bronze, *Goats Butting* (figure 4), also known as *Goats Fighting*, in 1905.²⁶ Modeled and cast in the same year as *Bulls Fighting*, *Goats Butting* shares a similar composition and subject matter. Like the bulls, the goats charge fiercely at one another, and the sculpture portrays the moment in which their horns intertwine in combat. The goat on the right has only one hoof on the ground as he leaps into the air, while the goat on the left assumes a defensive position, with only one hoof pawing at the air as he braces his body. Unlike *Bulls Fighting* and *Winter Noon*, which feature fairly nondescript bases, *Butting Goats* presents the scene atop a rocky, mountainous terrain as the base of the sculpture that rises, echoing the silhouette of the goats and symbolizing the ferocity and brutality of the combat.²⁷ The sculpture echoes the recurring themes of labor, but does not do so explicitly in its subject. Rather, it is a product of Hyatt Huntington's artistic process, which is in itself a form of work, from designing the composition to physically manipulating her medium. Rather than the labor of the animal, in *Goats Butting* we see the result of the sculptor's labor.

²⁶ Evans, *Anna Hyatt Huntington*, 14.

²⁷ "Anna Hyatt Huntington: Goats Fighting (12.51)," *Heilbrunn Timeline of Art History* (New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2000), accessed April 20, 2015, <http://www.metmuseum.org/toah/works-of-art/12.51>.

Hyatt Huntington demonstrated both the ferocity of her animal subjects in works like *Bulls Fighting* and *Butting Goats* and her own boldness throughout her career. Hyatt Huntington had such a passion and determination for her craft that she seemed to care little for her own safety while creating studies in preparation for her sculptures.²⁸ At her sister's home, Hyatt Huntington mounted the most recalcitrant and most intimidating horses, and she noted that she favored those never before ridden by a woman.²⁹ This bravery was as evident in her career as it was in her personal life, and she was unafraid to compete and show her competence in fields typically reserved for men. Hyatt Huntington's decision to postpone marriage in order to excel in her chosen profession is evidence of this, as are her accomplishments within that profession. Monumental sculptures like *In Memory of the Workhorse*, which dealt with themes like nostalgia and moralizing (in this case, labor), provided commentaries on societal progress, and were undertakings considered to be unsuitable for women because of women's perceived incompetence and inability to convey the intellect and depth required of monumental work.³⁰

Hyatt Huntington's boldness was not unlike that of Rosa Bonheur's (1822-1899). Bonheur was a prominent French painter of animals, and exhibited her work at the Paris Salon, in which most submitting artists were men. Bonheur entered her oil painting *The Horse Fair* (figure 5) and it was displayed at the 1853 Paris Salon. It depicts an eventful scene in which horses are led around a sandy enclosure and prospective buyers, barely visibly in bleachers behind a dense row of trees, watch and evaluate them. Ranging from

²⁸ In "Woman Sculptor and Bison in the Bronx Zoo Exchange Confidences," Hyatt Huntington explained that during visits to various zoos, a lioness had once batted at her from behind bars, and an elephant had knocked her sideways as she tried to model him.

²⁹ Ibid.

³⁰ Prieto, *At Home in the Studio: The Professionalization of Women Artists in America*, 3, 4.

shiny white to chestnuts and bays, the steeds have varying coat colors. Some men lead the horses from the ground, while others ride them, and two horses in the center of the composition rear, creating a dramatic scene made even more suspenseful by the looming dark clouds overhead. The painting resonates with the brazenness of the horses Hyatt Huntington described; half-tamed, powerful mounts likely to buck or rear, and thought suitable only for men. In fact, Bonheur herself dressed as a man in an effort to be more conspicuous when she attended the horse market in Paris to sketch studies for *The Horse Fair*.³¹ The painting was exhibited across Europe and the United States before Cornelius Vanderbilt donated it to The Metropolitan Museum of Art in 1887.³² Because of its acclaim and close proximity to her when she lived in New York City, it is likely that Hyatt Huntington knew was familiar with Bonheur and with this painting. Perhaps it even served as a demonstration of women artists' skill and capability.

Even with Bonheur's example, it took time to build the confidence and ability to make such bold works, and in her career Hyatt Huntington had not yet attempted a life-sized or monumental sculpture on her own. Apart from two sculptures on which she collaborated with her roommate, Hyatt Huntington's works, like *Winter Noon*, *Bulls Fighting*, and *Butting Goats*, were exclusively small-scale and intended to decorate mantles or tables.³³ The scale of Hyatt Huntington's work began to increase when she went abroad to study sculpture in France in 1907, a change perhaps related to her desire to change the

³¹ "Rosa Bonheur: The Horse Fair" (87.25) in *Heilbrunn Timeline of Art History* (New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2000), accessed April 18, 2015, <http://www.metmuseum.org/toah/works-of-art/87.25>.

³² Ibid.

³³ This followed a European tradition of small-scale decorative animal sculptures. Antoine-Louis Barye completed many intimate animal statuettes meant to adorn mantelpieces and the like, and the trend continued across the ocean in America as well.

status quo and sculpt subjects typically reserved for men.³⁴ While there, she sculpted two life-sized jaguars. In 1910 Hyatt Huntington single-handedly sculpted *Joan of Arc* (figure 6), a life-sized monumental equestrian sculpture of the French heroine (1412-1431) who saw heavenly visions of the Archangel Michael that instructed and inspired her to support the French king against the English in the Hundred Years' War. She was eventually captured by the English and burned at the stake. *Joan of Arc* was Hyatt Huntington's first monumental sculpture, and while it was met with much admiration when exhibited at the Paris Salon, the sculpture did not win first prize. Hyatt Huntington recounted in an interview that she received an honorable mention instead of first prize because the judges believed that a woman could not possibly have created such a vivacious, robust, and *original* work.³⁵ Despite the judge's skepticism, *Joan of Arc* proved to be a highly successful first solo attempt at monumental sculpture, and Hyatt Huntington would continue to prove to the exhibition judges that a woman could create such astounding monumental sculptures throughout her career. It is apropos that Hyatt Huntington would choose to sculpt the great French saint; *Joan of Arc*, like Hyatt Huntington herself, was a woman of remarkable ambition who worked tirelessly to achieve what she interpreted to be her calling. Both are, again, laboring entities demonstrating determination, diligence, and resilience in the face of gender bias and opposition.

Despite her success in Paris, Hyatt Huntington had to return home in 1911 due to a lack of funds. She did not want for money for long; her *Joan of Arc*'s acclaim helped her garner more public monumental commissions upon her return to the United States, and

³⁴ Katharine Solender, *The American Way in Sculpture 1890-1930* (Cleveland: Cleveland Museum of Art in cooperation with Indiana University Press, 1986), 27.

³⁵ Oral history interview with Anna Hyatt Huntington, and Solender, *The American Way in Sculpture 1890-1930*, 28.

Hyatt Huntington was listed in 1912 as one of only twelve women in the United States making \$50,000 per year, a clear indicator of the success *Joan of Arc* brought her.³⁶ One such commission was a replica of *Joan of Arc* to celebrate the 500th anniversary of the saint's birth, which was placed in New York City in 1915.³⁷ With this statue Hyatt Huntington became the first woman to have a public sculpture displayed in New York.

On March 10, 1923, Hyatt Huntington married Archer Milton Huntington, the man with whom she was to embark on an entirely new laborious endeavor: Brookgreen Gardens.³⁸ Six years her elder, he was an accomplished and wealthy intellectual who was best known for his translation of the Spanish epic poem *El Cid* (1897). Anna and Archer met after Archer asked her to design a medal of William Dean Howells in 1922, one of many projects he undertook to distract himself from the pain of his recent divorce.³⁹ He soon requested Hyatt Huntington's hand in marriage, seeing her as an escape from his sorrows, but she hesitated, still unwilling to compromise her career. She acquiesced to his wishes only when Huntington fell ill; he proposed to her again, this time from a hospital bed, and she said yes.

The marriage had many implications, both good and bad, for Hyatt Huntington's career. At the time of their marriage, she was forty-seven, which was considered an extremely late age to marry. The marriage proved advantageous because it allowed her to

³⁶ On returning to New York, see Oral history interview with Anna Hyatt Huntington. On Hyatt Huntington's income in 1912, see Hirshler, *A Studio of Her Own: Women Artists in Boston 1870-1940*, 123.

³⁷ Hirshler, *A Studio of Her Own: Women Artists in Boston 1870-1940*, 122.

³⁸ The date was both of their birthdays as well.

³⁹ Huntington's wife had left him for a British producer, sending him into a spiral of depression during which he gained a great number of pounds, drank copious amounts of black coffee, and smoked heavy, thick cigars. According to Hyatt Huntington's nephew, "she saw him as a wounded animal that has retreated into the thickets to die." Mayor, "Brookgreen Gardens," 24.

more easily receive large monumental commissions with the aid of Huntington's wealth, credibility, and connections. There were also disadvantages that came with married life. Managing the couple's many estates took Hyatt Huntington away from her sculptures. She became exhausted from balancing the pressures of work and family, and her fragile state supposedly caused her to contract tuberculosis in 1927, leading her to produce far less sculpture until she regained her health in 1933.⁴⁰

Doctors recommended complete bed rest and relaxation throughout her battle with tuberculosis, but Hyatt Huntington remained obstinate, stopping her artistic production only grudgingly. Although she created less sculpture during these years, Hyatt Huntington rarely ceased her work completely and traveled to North Africa, Spain, and Switzerland, among other places. In 1930 she was hospitalized in a sanitarium in Lausanne, Switzerland (the same town in which T. S. Eliot had been hospitalized less than ten years earlier) for her illness, and even then she refused to succumb fully to the disease and walked a bit every day.⁴¹ Even when exhausted, ill, and bed-ridden, Hyatt Huntington refused to be idle.

Despite her determination, she admitted that she required some form of quiet recuperation in the countryside, away from their bustling Fifth Avenue apartment in New York and in a more moderate climate. The Huntingtons soon found that South Carolina's lowland plantations fulfilled both requirements. As the Huntingtons sailed south on their yacht on one of their recuperative trips in 1930, they visited Brookgreen Plantation. They had seen an advertisement for its sale in New York and found it a proper destination to

⁴⁰ The dates of her tuberculosis are not exact and vary from source to source. Hirshler's *A Studio of Her Own*, 124, provides the given dates. Hyatt Huntington later claimed to have it while sculpting *Diana* in 1922 and describes it as a decade-long battle, so it would have ended in about 1933. Oral history interview with Anna Hyatt Huntington.

⁴¹ Oral history interview with Anna Hyatt Huntington.

break the monotony of their journey. When they toured the property, both its history and its grounds entranced them. In the old avenue of oaks, in the barely-preserved original box garden, and in the animals inhabiting the landscape, the Huntingtons saw a temperate place of respite and an opportunity to display Anna's sculpture in a picturesque space.

The search for relaxation and a reprieve from endless toiling resulted instead in the labor of creating an exhibition space to further venerate the labor—not of the workhorse, but of the artist.⁴² The land's potential as an exhibition space for American sculpture was fully realized when the Huntingtons opened Brookgreen Gardens to the public in 1932, with the intent of displaying and preserving American figurative sculpture and local flora and fauna.⁴³

Hyatt Huntington continued to sculpt and develop Brookgreen for the rest of her life. She worked steadily into her old age, stating that, "work is essential to happiness and what keeps people like me in their 80s alive. The unhappy ones are those always seeking 'fun.'"⁴⁴ Hyatt Huntington passed away at the age ninety-seven in 1973. From sculptures as early as her 1905 *Winter Noon* to those as late as her 1964 *In Memory of the Workhorse*, Hyatt Huntington's affinity for and strong connection to her own work ethic and those of others continuously influenced her work. As she noted of yet another sculpture honoring the horse, it was "another tribute to the work horse, my way of acknowledging the debt man owes the work horse for helping to develop the country."⁴⁵

⁴² For more on Brookgreen as a space of labor, see the Brookgreen Gardens chapter.

⁴³ A. Hyatt Mayor, "Introduction: Brookgreen Gardens," in *A Century of American Sculpture: Treasures from Brookgreen Gardens*, 17-31 (New York: Abbeville Press, 1988), 26.

⁴⁴ Anna Hyatt Huntington, *Anna Hyatt Huntington to Helen*, February 13, 1957, letter, Box 13, File 1, Anna Hyatt Huntington Papers, Special Collections Research Center, Syracuse University Libraries.

⁴⁵ Evans, *Anna Hyatt Huntington*, 49.

Chapter 2

A Woman among Men: The Work of Animaliers

Jaguar (figure 7) and *Reaching Jaguar* (figure 8), both completed in 1907, were Hyatt Huntington's first full-scale sculptures. Both feature bronze jaguars atop limestone pedestals as they prepare to leap from their perches. Both jaguars are cast in bronze so dark that they are nearly as black as the cats after which they were modeled. *Jaguar* shows a large jungle cat crouching with his hind legs curled and his paws resting loosely on the front of the rock. He gazes intently downwards, and his ears point in the direction of some prey scurrying about on the ground. His counterpart, *Reaching Jaguar*, also features a mighty jaguar crouching on a pillar of limestone. This sculpture, however, extends his paws down the post as he prepares to leap and pounce.

The pair was originally sketched at the Bronx Zoo using Señor Lopez, a jaguar from Paraguay, as a subject.⁴⁶ Hyatt Huntington enlarged them when she studied sculpture abroad in Paris at her studio at Auvers-sur-Oise.⁴⁷ They were placed in Brookgreen Gardens in 1932, the year of the garden's opening, where they still reside on opposite corners of a garden, complimenting one another and contributing a sense of the exotic to gardens otherwise populated by local flora and fauna.⁴⁸

⁴⁶ As human a moniker as Señor Lopez suggests the desire to domesticate the jaguar and make him less ferocious, an act not unlike Hyatt Huntington's when she sculpts static animal figures.

⁴⁷ "Exhibit #1 Brookgreen Collection, Jaguar," Brookgreen Gardens, accessed April 20, 2015, <https://www.brookgreen.org/VEwebsite/exhibit1/e10088a.htm>.

⁴⁸ A cast of *Reaching Jaguar* is also in The Metropolitan Museum of Art. For a discussion of the sculpture, see Anne Higonnet, "Detective Stories about Met Treasures, Part 3: A Sculpture Career—Anna Hyatt Huntington's *Reaching Jaguar*," accessed April 20, 2015, <http://www.metmuseum.org/metmedia/video/lectures/detective-stories-reaching-jaguar>.

Hyatt Huntington's *Jaguar* and *Reaching Jaguar* are participants in the tradition of American and European animal sculpture, the latter including works by famous animal painters including George Stubbs, Théodore Géricault, Eugène Delacroix, and Edgar Degas. Transformed from jungle cats meant to entertain viewers into relics of labor, the jaguar sculptures point both to the vital co-dependent relationship between animal sculptors and zoos and to the work ethic of sculptors like Hyatt Huntington. What is striking is that for her, an ideal "Americanness" was closely associated with labor, with hard work. This emphasis becomes apparent when examining *Jaguar* and *Reaching Jaguar* within the established tradition of sculpting wild beasts.

Hyatt Huntington and her Jaguars emerged from a long line of animaliers, or animal sculptors, in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. In America, the age of the animalier began several decades later than in Europe.⁴⁹ Prior to the Civil War, animal sculpture in the United States consisted largely of equestrian sculptures of powerful horses that accompanied revered forefathers, generals, and presidents. The first American equestrian sculpture was erected in 1770 in Bowling Green, New York. It was made of gilded lead and depicted King George III of England.⁵⁰ It was only after 1865 that animal sculpture akin to that of the European animalier became more prevalent in the United States, arising with the creation of American zoos. Two central genres of American animal sculpture emerged in the nineteenth century: wild animals in natural habitats and sculpture showing animals associated with the West, which were sometimes placed beside cowboys and Native

⁴⁹ The popularity of American animal sculpture reached its zenith during the century's closing decades, but, as Hyatt Huntington's career demonstrates, market demand continued well into the twentieth century.

⁵⁰ Merely six years after its construction, "ruthless iconoclasts" tore the monument down and melted it into 42,088 bullets for American forces during the Revolutionary War. "Equestrian Statues," *Art and Progress* 4 (1913): 995-98.

Americans.⁵¹ Both genres pointed to the American experience of settling the land; the sculptures of wild animals referenced untamed wilderness and sculptures of the West captured the taming of that wilderness.

American animaliers, while striving for individual and “American” styles, were unavoidably influenced by European traditions. Building on a long tradition of depicting animals in art, the nineteenth-century European animaliers began to alter the methods with which animals were artistically rendered. In Ancient Greece and Rome, animals were treated with both aesthetic and symbolic intents; they balanced compositions and provided beauty, and also indicated attributes like power, cleverness, or strength. This symbolism gave way to Christian symbolism found in animal art of the Medieval period.⁵² Beginning in the thirteenth century, there were some attempts to portray animals realistically, but not all were successful, because most artists could not observe the exotic animals they wished to depict.⁵³ In the eighteenth century and the Romantic period, animals were often anthropomorphized, or used to convey human subjectivity and emotions.⁵⁴ By the late nineteenth century, depictions of animals tended to become more empirical. The influences of Darwinian theories of evolution and scientific animal observation converged with those of the advancements of the Age of Enlightenment and led sculptors to abandon the unrealistic, religious, and symbolic depictions of animals that had preceded them. In the 1830s, European animaliers, such as Antoine-Louis Barye, conducted careful anatomical

⁵¹ James Mackay, *The Animaliers* (London: Ward Lock, 1973), 104-105.

⁵² Gerhart B. Ladner, “Review,” review of *Animals in Art and Thought to the End of the Middle Ages*, by Francis Klingender, Evelyn Antal, and John Harthan, *Speculum* (1975): 734.

⁵³ *Ibid.*, 737.

⁵⁴ Onno Oerlemans, *Romanticism and the Materiality of Nature*, (Toronto: University of Toronto Press Incorporated, 2002), 138.

research, going so far as to dissect their subjects.⁵⁵ They closely observed animals to accurately depict a range of animals, from domesticated dogs and cattle to panthers, lions, and elephants.⁵⁶ Sculpting or painting animals became a laborious act requiring immense concentration and meticulous detail.

Hyatt Huntington's jaguars can be rooted in a painstaking scientific interest akin to that of nineteenth-century European animaliers. *Jaguar* and *Reaching Jaguar's* muscles are exact and well-defined, their proportions proper, and their mannerisms true to those of actual jaguars. Hyatt Huntington never went so far as to dissect her subjects like European animaliers did, but she did spend much of her life observing animals, memorizing their musculature with her eyes and studies in clay rather than with a scalpel. The poses of her cats are so convincing, in fact, that one visitor to her studio in France remarked, "the muscles in the shoulder of the foreleg was a close subtle study and could only be obtained by patient waiting and the few instants that the creature could be made to hold that position by the threatening gestures of the keeper."⁵⁷ To capture Señor Lopez's pose, crouched atop a ledge, Hyatt Huntington amassed many hours of waiting and studying before she could create her jaguars. A newspaper article confirms her dedicated labor, describing her studies of Señor Lopez by noting that:

It was the animals habit once of twice each day to climb up the shelf-like ledge of rock within his enclosure, then, turning slowly, to begin the descent. Every day for two months Miss Hyatt sat before his cage, waiting with infinite patience for this moment when working rapidly she would model some muscle or portion of his lithe body in clay.⁵⁸

⁵⁵ William Thompson Walters, *Antoine-Louis Barye* (Baltimore, MD: Press of Isaac Friedenwald, 1885), 48.

⁵⁶ George Heard Hamilton, "The Origins of Barye's Tiger Hunt," *The Art Bulletin* 18 (1936): 250.

⁵⁷ Clipping from *The Paris-American*, 1907, The Hispanic Society of America.

⁵⁸ Corinne Updegraff Wells, "Personality Flashlights — Women in Field of Art — Fashion and Fairy Stories," *The Sun* (1921), 12.

Even if the quote above exaggerates the amount of time Hyatt Huntington spent with Señor Lopez studying for her sculptures, which perhaps it did not, the accurate reproduction of Señor Lopez's physical attributes was clearly the result of countless hours of observation, sketching, and painstakingly careful rendering of anatomical detail.

Hyatt Huntington's process in producing *Jaguar* and *Reaching Jaguar* is yet another aspect of her artistic practices that suggests she was something of a workhorse. Hyatt Huntington herself reinforced the notion of the artist as laborer when discussing her experience studying animals, explaining, "what you have to calculate on with animals is they never pose; you have to catch them and try to get a pose that you can find out the muscles in one leg and if they were trotting or walking or something of that sort. You had to watch the muscles all the time; at least that's the way I did it."⁵⁹ Again, the idea of tireless study and observational acuity come to the forefront. Because animal sculptors are not afforded the luxury of a subject that stands still for them, their job is made that much more strenuous than that of the artist sculpting stationary objects or people sitting for her.⁶⁰

Hyatt Huntington's labor was not the only one involved in the creation of her sculptures. Her subject, in this case, Señor Lopez, also contributed. Had he not climbed the rock numerous times, through training or of his own volition, Hyatt Huntington would have been unable to sculpt jaguars doing so. While climbing a rock may not suffice as true labor, it seems that Señor Lopez did indeed work. The jaguar labored simply by being an animal in a zoo on display, earning his food through forced interaction with a noisy public audience and artists like Hyatt Huntington. Zoos at the time provided little means of escape from the

⁵⁹ Oral history interview with Anna Hyatt Huntington.

⁶⁰ Hyatt Huntington also worked from photographs when live subjects were not available, as will be discussed later in this chapter.

public eye if an animal wanted it, and kept them in cages little like their natural habitats. Seen in this way, *Jaguar* and *Reaching Jaguar* depict the fierce cats acting instinctively in the wild and simultaneously capture Señor Lopez as a laborer, as an instrument working to serve a purpose both for the artist and the public.⁶¹

An endearing and humorous article published in the *New York Times* in 1905 provides another glimpse into Hyatt Huntington's time studying animals. The article paints a scene in which Hyatt Huntington sits at the Bronx Zoo, modeling a bison named Bos. As the two converse, we learn a great deal about Hyatt Huntington, her working processes, and her career, although that information is disguised in cheeky dialogue. The article presents an unusually playful and eccentric image of Hyatt Huntington, describing her as:

A tall young woman in a gray tailor-made frock and a red-plumed hat stood in the inner enclosure beside the buffalo range in the New York Zoological Park one day last week. She glanced at the shaggy animals that crowded toward her in hulking friendship, then turned to a mass of clay on a high stool and made deft motions with a modeling instrument. A bison shook his big head. 'So you don't like it?' said the young woman soothingly.

'Oh, it's all right,' replied Bos gruffly, "I'm not the public - only you promised me more grass for doing the sentinel act in this group.'

'Please excuse me. Here's a big handful of grass. But why do you insinuate about the public?'

'Nothing particular,' said the other, munching, 'Say, is it a fact that you're the only woman sculptor of animals in the country? Miss Anna Vaughn Hyatt - name sounds familiar.'⁶²

The juxtaposition of her plain "frock" and more elegant "red-plumed hat" reminds us of the constant balance Hyatt Huntington had to strike between her role as an animal sculptor and her role as a woman. The word "frock" carries with it connotations of labor, of a working-

⁶¹ The labor of zoo animals will be discussed in further detail later in this paper.

⁶² "Woman Sculptor and Bison in the Bronx Zoo Exchange Confidences."

class item of clothing, and associations with artists, who frequently soil the clothing they work in. A frock is neither frivolous nor fancy; it is something to be toiled in, something to be dirtied. A hat with a feathered plume is more stereotypically lady-like and fashionable, and altogether improper for ruining with smears of clay or the fur of animals, and perhaps unsuited for the company of buffaloes. This dual-depiction of Hyatt Huntington as a laborer and as a lady speaks to the dual-role serious women artists had to perform in their daily lives, a taxing one that led many to give up art in favor of a marriage and family, or else to be in danger of forgoing a marriage and family in favor of their careers.

The article's description of Hyatt Huntington goes deeper than merely recounting her clothing. Hyatt Huntington is given a quirky, playful, and nearly flippant portrayal, rather than that of the serious artist, throughout the piece. Conducting a conversation with a buffalo at all contributes to this in its impossibility and absurdity, and the nature of their conversation is jovial and familiar, striking light tones. Another article speaks of her time observing Señor Lopez, explaining,

The animal, a magnificent specimen owned by the Bronx Zoo, was so ferocious that even his keepers were unable to make friends with him. So violent was his temper that he killed a beautiful mate the instant she was admitted to his cage.... As the days passed the animal began to show signs of wishing to make friends with this gentle voiced woman. Finally, to the chagrin and admiration of the keepers, at the end of two months the jaguar would lie close to the bars to be scratched, muttering friendly jungle talk the while.⁶³

This article imagines Hyatt Huntington as taming the ferocious jaguar while conducting her studies of him, a feat seemingly requiring strength and tenacity. In the end, her work is described as involving neither, and her "gentle voiced" and stereotypically feminine disposition calms the beast. Hyatt Huntington actively avoided being portrayed as a divided

⁶³ Wells, "Personality Flashlights - Women in Field of Art - Fashion and Fairy Stories," 12.

entity like she is in the two articles above. Rather than being both a feminine creature and a serious sculptor, each detracting from her ability to be taken seriously as the other, Hyatt Huntington wanted any image of her to be an image of a laborer, of a master of her craft, and as someone to be taken seriously in the professional art world.

Hyatt Huntington's desire to be seen as a serious worker and artist was also driven by her need to be respected as a woman pursuing a career in art. Such respect was difficult to come by, even though by the close of the nineteenth century women made up the majority of art students and a large percentage of exhibitors in the United States. Women created a great number of works and trained with accomplished artists; despite this, many people believed that women, unlike their male counterparts, were incapable of producing academic and profound work of the highest caliber.⁶⁴ This prolific notion often relegated women to "lesser" forms of art; while they could become professional artists, women were expected to paint and sculpt only the "feminine" domains of portraiture and flower painting. Women could create art, it seems, but only so long as the process did not involve labor, because work was considered the realm of men and not respectable women. Because of this, women more often flourished in seemingly delicate subjects than in the "masculine" pursuit of monumental sculpture.⁶⁵ Hyatt Huntington eventually gained acclaim for her monumental sculptures, but, as previously mentioned, her first monumental sculpture, *Joan of Arc*, was met with skepticism as the judges of the Paris Salon thought no woman capable of creating such a work. This incident is reflective of the struggle for respect Hyatt Huntington endured, perhaps to a higher degree than most other women artists because of her desire to complete monumental works like the *Joan of Arc*. Monumental sculptures

⁶⁴ Prieto, *At Home in the Studio: The Professionalization of Women Artists in America*, 4.

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, 3.

were typically reserved for men, such as major monumental sculptors Martin Milmore (1844-1883), James Earle Fraser (1876-1953), or Daniel Chester French (1850-1931). It was generally thought that women were physically and mentally incapable of conceiving of and constructing monumental works. cultural stigmas and gendered conceptions of labor like these prevented Hyatt Huntington from wishing to be seen as a traditionally feminine woman, and instead pressured her to attempt to present herself as a worker.

At the time of the *New York Times* article's publication, Hyatt Huntington's sculptures were almost exclusively small-scale, and were intended to adorn mantels and coffee tables. Such artistic endeavors were more acceptable for a woman than monumental sculptures, but even early in her career, Hyatt Huntington's gender attracted attention. In the article about the buffalo, Bos wonders with interest if it is true that Hyatt Huntington is, in fact, the only woman animalier in the country at the time. It is both true and untrue; the genre of animal sculpting was socially acceptable for women, making it an economically and socially feasible endeavor.⁶⁶ In this sense, Hyatt Huntington was not the only woman animal sculptor at the turn of the century. She was the only American woman animalier of note, and in that sense Bos's query ends in a confirmation of fact. While other women may have sculpted animals, they did not do so with the success of Hyatt Huntington, who seems to have been relatively unmatched by any of her woman contemporaries. Hyatt Huntington's response when later asked about her commercial competition in New York is also telling of the lack of successful woman animaliers. Hyatt Huntington notes that the

⁶⁶ Hirshler, *A Studio of Her Own: Women Artists in Boston 1870-1940*, 122.

competition for animal sculptors was fierce, and that there were several truly great animal sculptors with whom she competed for business. All of them were men.⁶⁷

Hyatt Huntington was remarkable for her success as a woman in a field dominated by men, but her work itself, including *Jaguar* and *Reaching Jaguar*, followed the trajectory of most American animal sculpture. Many American animaliers were influenced by the European animaliers and many studied abroad in Europe, deepening their exposure to European works. Edward Kemeys (figure 9), for instance, was an important American animalier whose style is said to have differed from the European animaliers. His work was more impressionistic than that of the European sculptors, and it conveyed ideas of movement and strength instead of anatomical exactitude. Yet even Kemeys was not immune to the influence of Parisian artists, and he eventually studied in France.⁶⁸ Hyatt Huntington, who herself had placed emphasis on American training and art institutions, also went abroad. In 1907, she accompanied her mother, her sister, and her sister's children to England and then to France, where they stayed for four years, allowing Hyatt Huntington to sculpt and exhibit in the Paris salons.⁶⁹ Her journey yielded *Jaguar* and *Reaching Jaguar*, to much acclaim, as well as her famed *Joan of Arc*.

⁶⁷ Hyatt Huntington specifically mentions noted animal sculptor Alexander Phimister Proctor and "Dallon," likely American sculptor Cyrus Edwin Dallin (1861-1944). Oral history interview with Anna Hyatt Huntington.

⁶⁸ Mackay, *The Animaliers*, 103.

⁶⁹ Oral history interview with Anna Hyatt Huntington.

Hyatt Huntington went abroad relatively late in life. Her delayed travel was due in part to her aforementioned skepticism about the value of studying art abroad, a disdain she voiced several times throughout her career.⁷⁰ Hyatt Huntington once remarked:

It is unnecessary for a sculptor to go abroad and study today. We have schools and masters in this country who can give much. Art centers that are really art centers of the serious kind have been formed in the last few years. The flighty student life has little place in the life of those who really wish to do something. There are museums here with fine examples of the antique. There is in fact, every facility for study. Why go abroad?⁷¹

This sentiment was fairly common among Americans involved in the art world at the time; Augustus Saint-Gaudens expressed a similar opinion, although he too spent time abroad, and art critic and historian Charles Caffin echoed America's ability to educate its artists.⁷² Hyatt Huntington's skepticism of the value of studying abroad echoed popular opinion, but two other significant reasons also likely prompted her view as well. By the late 1870s, it was fairly common for women to study art abroad.⁷³ Doing so was very expensive, because for the sake of both their safety and reputation, women were unable to live in bohemian parts of Europe's cosmopolitan cities. Women also paid much more tuition than men, sometimes double, to attend many European art schools.⁷⁴ Therefore, Hyatt Huntington may have been unable to afford to go abroad until late in her life, and may have seen it as an act of frivolity because of the expense it required. Despite paying more for an education, the

⁷⁰ In 1905, Hyatt Huntington claimed that, "one ought to be perfectly independent in one's work and above outside influence to a degree before going abroad." From "Woman Sculptor and Bison in the Bronx Zoo Exchange Confidences."

⁷¹ "The 'New Spirit' in Women's Sculpture," *The Syracuse Herald*, March 25, 1917.

⁷² Amy Werbel, "The Crime of the Nude: Anthony Comstock, the Art Students League of New York, and the Origins of Modern American Obscenity," *Winterthur Portfolio* 48 (2014): 249-282. Sarah J. Moore, *John White Alexander and the Construction of National Identity: Cosmopolitan American Art, 1890-1915* (Danvers, MA: Rosemont Publishing and Printing Corp., 2003), 99.

⁷³ Hirshler, *A Studio of Her Own: Women Artists in Boston 1870-1940*, 76.

⁷⁴ Jo Ann Wein, "The Parisian Training of American Women Artists," *Woman's Art Journal* 2 (1981): 42.

work produced in women's classes was largely considered inferior to that produced in men's classes. Women studying art abroad were widely believed to be dilettantes engaging in artistic study as a part of their education as they learned to be proper ladies.⁷⁵

This stigma perhaps provided another reason for Hyatt Huntington to delay going abroad, as she adamantly desired to be perceived as an artist, rather than a proper lady. The idea of independence and work ethic as being ideal qualities for a sculptor also could have influenced Hyatt Huntington. When she was a young girl and her sister was enrolled in formal sculpture classes, Hyatt Huntington's father advised her to forgo attending art school, and to instead study animals, their anatomy, and their movements. He told her that everything she needed to know about sculpture she could glean from observation, and this became a belief Hyatt Huntington held throughout her life.⁷⁶ If Hyatt Huntington believed that honing one's observational skills was a task both necessary and sufficient for a satisfactory art education, then it comes as no surprise that she considered going abroad to be a frivolous, even flighty, endeavor. If one could observe at home, there was no pressing need to observe abroad. Hyatt Huntington's own statements make it clear that she believed independence and work ethic to be qualities essential in a good sculptor. All else, she implied, is a form of meaningless educational decadence.

Despite her reservations, Hyatt Huntington traveled abroad. While there, she maintained the disciplined routine of her artistic practices and worked diligently. As previously noted, the scale of her work changed while she was in France, shifting her artistic production from solely statuettes, or small bronzes intended for private display, to works of monumental scale. Hyatt Huntington's change in scale was partly influenced by

⁷⁵ Ibid.

⁷⁶ Oral history interview with Anna Hyatt Huntington.

the public monumental sculptures she saw in Paris. In an interview, she explained that she became interested in Joan of Arc as a subject because of the preponderance of Joan of Arcs French artists had created. She saw a challenge in creating her own original composition, and embraced it whole-heartedly.⁷⁷

It is also possible that the successful women artists in Europe inspired her to tackle larger-scale sculptures. Edmonia Lewis (1845-1911), a woman of both African American and Native American descent, had a successful career as a neoclassical sculptor and spent the majority of her career in Rome.⁷⁸ Rosa Bonheur also became a highly successful woman artist, and exhibited works at the esteemed Paris Salon. While Bonheur did sculpt occasionally, she was primarily a painter best known for her sympathetic depictions of animals.⁷⁹ When Hyatt Huntington went to Europe, there existed some precedent of successful and respected women artists, facilitating her ability to increase the scale of her work and be taken seriously as an artist. Lewis and Bonheur were exceptions to the rule of women artists in Europe; most successful women painted household scenes of domesticity or portraits. An 1899 article about American artists exhibiting at the Paris salon notes several women artists with acclaim, including Bonheur, but most are mentioned in conjunction to their portraits or family-oriented scenes. Mary Louise Fairchild, who married sculptor Frederick William MacMonnies, is referred to only as “Mrs. MacMonnies,” married her artistic and domestic life by painting childhood scenes of merriment,

⁷⁷ Ibid.

⁷⁸ “Lewis, Edmonia,” *Grove Art Online, Oxford Art Online* (Oxford University Press), accessed April 20, 2015, <http://www.oxfordartonline.com/subscriber/article/grove/art/T050781>.

⁷⁹ Heather McPherson, “Bonheur, Rosa,” *Grove Art Online, Oxford Art Online*, Oxford University Press, accessed April 20, 2015, <http://www.oxfordartonline.com/subscriber/article/grove/art/T009871>.

contentment, and innocence.⁸⁰ Women like these began to submit to the Salon in the 1860s, but throughout the nineteenth century and into the twentieth, they were greatly outnumbered by men, and were still expected to produce traditionally feminine works.⁸¹ This explains why, although women before her had been successful sculptors and artists, Hyatt Huntington's *Joan of Arc* was met with skepticism from Salon judges, who doubted that a woman could produce such a sculpture on her own.

While abroad, Hyatt Huntington continued to follow her father's advice and study live animals whenever possible, going so far as to hunt down delivery horses in Paris to prepare sketches for *Joan of Arc's* Percheron stallion, first watching them at the company stables and eventually having a horse brought directly into her studio.⁸² Opportunities like the live animal study proved to be her most valuable educational experiences and she would later claim, "I never studied with any one person. I worked on my own. I adored animals, so I studied in zoos. I spent years in zoos, especially the Bronx Zoo, just to study the animals."⁸³ Her love of live animal study continued throughout her life, an artistic practice that was supported by her husband's family. On nearly all of the Huntington's estates, Hyatt Huntington purchased and kept pastures for animals. In Rocas, for example, Hyatt Huntington built a zoo with animals ranging from llamas to bears to wild boars, who served as subject matter for her work.⁸⁴

⁸⁰ Helen Cole, "American Artists in Paris," *Brush and Pencil* 4 (1899): 201.

⁸¹ "The Parisian Training of American Women Artists," *Woman's Art Journal* 2 (1981): 43.

⁸² Oral history interview with Anna Hyatt Huntington.

⁸³ Anna Hyatt Huntington, quoted in Jean Tucker, "The Art of Work," *The Courant Magazine*, 24 May 1964, 6.

⁸⁴ Beatrice Proske, *Brookgreen Bulletin* XIII, 1983, Box 15, File 4, Anna Hyatt Huntington Papers, Special Collections Research Center, Syracuse University Libraries.

Many artists relied predominantly on zoos or animals in captivity for live study as Hyatt Huntington did, but some of her most notable contemporaries also used dead or taxidermied animals, a practice in which Hyatt Huntington did not partake. Alexander Phimister Proctor (1860-1950), for example, studied animals at the Bronx Zoo and contributed numerous sculptures to the institution, but studying animals in captivity was not his preferred method. He was raised in Ontario and Colorado and hunted animals from an early age. His passion for hunting met his passion for sculpture and throughout his career he hunted wild animals and dissected his kills, sketching them and making notes for his sculptures.⁸⁵ Edward Kemeys (1843-1907) also spent much of his childhood captivated by the frontier, though he divided his time between the prairies and New York City.⁸⁶ He sculpted the first American public wildlife sculpture, *Hudson Bay Wolves Quarreling over the Carcass of a Deer* (figure 9), which was installed in America's first zoo, the Philadelphia Zoo, the year it opened in 1874.⁸⁷ The bronze features two wolves, one gnawing on a fallen deer's leg, and one with his tail tucked between his legs, his paws on the other side of the carcass as he growls. The fur on the wolves bristles and flies from their skin as the wind blows it. Kemeys presented a scene of movement, capturing the brutal capabilities of nature and its creatures through the wolves' violence. Although Kemeys' sculpture was displayed in the zoo, he despised working from animals in captivity, instead hunting and observing

⁸⁵ Vivian A. Paladin, "A. Phimister Proctor: Master Sculptor of Horses," *Montana: The Magazine of Western History* 14 (1964): 11.

⁸⁶ Hamlin Garland, "Edward Kemeys, a Sculptor of Frontier Life and Wild Animals," *McClure's Magazine* 5 (1895): 121-122.

⁸⁷ Thayer Tolles, "Preserved in Bronze: The West's Vanishing Wildlife," in *The American West in Bronze*, ed. Thayer Tolles and Thomas Brent Smith (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2013, New Haven: Yale University Press, 2013), 59.

animals in nature, whether in forest or frontier, whenever he could.⁸⁸ Hyatt Huntington strove for the same anatomical correctness as Proctor and Kemeys, but never set out on hunting expeditions to help her achieve it; this was possibly because she was a woman, or because she always refrained from harming her subjects, using photographs when a scene would require harming an animal.

While Hyatt Huntington worked from real life whenever possible, throughout her career she also amassed boxes full of hundreds of photographs from which to draw information for her sculptures. She took some of the images herself, but others are newspaper clippings and many are prints purchased from zoos or photography agencies around the world. Some feature conventionally posed animals, such as a Greyhound or Standardbred properly poised for inspection in a show, while the majority of the photographs capture animals in motion. She kept hundreds of photographs of animals in movement: burros quaking under the weight of packs, horses falling after misstepping in steeplechase, and giraffes stretching their necks and sticking out their long, purple tongues.⁸⁹

Hyatt Huntington's preference for collecting photographs of animals in movement indicates her keen interest in prolonged anatomical study and in the idiosyncratic natures of animals; the wide-ranging subject matter showcases exciting, endearing, or even gruesome moments like those of the horses and giraffes, capturing experiences unique to each animal. Her photographs may also demonstrate her ethical stances when working with live animals. While she exhibited great patience in studying animals and their

⁸⁸ Ibid.

⁸⁹ Reference photographs, Boxes 113, 114, Anna Hyatt Huntington Papers, Special Collections Research Center, Syracuse University Libraries.

movements at the zoo or on her family's properties, the photographs allowed her to carefully examine muscular composition at exact instances. The photographs also allowed Hyatt Huntington to depict animals in poses and physical states that would have put them in danger. Rather than watching a horse fall and risk dying, Hyatt Huntington could turn to one of her many magazine clippings of show horses toppling over after missing a jump. Hyatt Huntington treated her animals well and she used her photographs to closely study animals that were treated less well. For example, she bought and kept several starving horses at Atalaya to serve as models for Rocinante while sculpting *Don Quixote* (figure 10), inspired by Cervantes' 1605 novel of the same name. "Rocin," the root of the horse's name, is Spanish for workhorse, but Rocinante is quite unlike Hyatt Huntington's other depictions of workhorses. Rather than the muscular, strong, unwavering laborers we have seen previously, Rocinante is elderly and slightly decrepit, mirroring his master's old age. To accurately depict the Rocinante described in the novel, Hyatt Huntington found herself in need of a horse in the same pitiful condition Rocinante was in. When she bought the starving steeds, Hyatt Huntington took an ample number of photographs, because, as she noted, "before I had time to model him he had grown so fat he was of no use to me."⁹⁰ Even when she needed an abused animal for her work, she never allowed him to remain in poor health, instead nursing her subject back to proper condition and taking photographs of their immediate bad condition for reference. As she noted, "I had to work very quickly because naturally when you get a horse of that type in your stable, you have to feed him and you want to feed him."⁹¹

⁹⁰ Evans, *Anna Hyatt Huntington*, 31.

⁹¹ Anna Hyatt Huntington, Oral Interview.

While *Don Quixote* is a result of Hyatt Huntington's work with photographs, her *Jaguar* and *Jaguar Reaching* are emblematic of many trends in American animal sculpture. They depict wild animals, were cast abroad, and were modeled after an animal in a zoo. The pair also demonstrates the ideals of labor manifest in Hyatt Huntington's work. Through the countless hours she put into her sculptures, her statements about the importance of study in order to create work, and the labor the domesticated zoo animals themselves contributed to the sculptures as artistic subjects, we see a reverence for hard work.

Chapter 3

Brookgreen Gardens: Culture and Nature during the Great Depression

Throughout this essay, I have generally considered labor as physical and intellectual work, as an individual's demonstration of effort and toil. In this chapter, I will discuss a different kind of labor manifested in Hyatt Huntington's legacy: the work of Brookgreen Gardens, considered through the service Hyatt Huntington believed it provided to the public. Brookgreen's pedagogical goals and its joining of art, culture, and nature come together in Hyatt Huntington's 1922 sculpture, *Diana of the Chase* (figure 11). *Diana* embodies the goals and enterprises of Brookgreen Gardens, and underscores the paradox of "public" education and charity provided by rich capitalist donors during the Great Depression.

Upon entering Brookgreen Gardens in 1936, one viewer described her experience viewing *Diana of the Chase* as such: "In the center of that [pool] is a bronze showing Diana, another of Mrs. Huntington's favorite subjects. This holds the center of an expansive terrace, the entrance of which is guarded by a pair of stone lions holding within the security of their paws the globe."⁹² Another viewer, visiting the gardens in 1932, noted that "the interpretation of this mythological character is refreshingly contrary to the conventional female of ample proportions and stern mein."⁹³ The first quote gives an idea of what *Diana's* original installation would have looked like, while the second signals that, although her

⁹² Laura Cromer Hemingway, "Huntingtons Donate Brookgreen to State," *The State*, February or March 1936, Box 14, File 12, Anna Hyatt Huntington Papers, Special Collections Research Center, Syracuse University Libraries.

⁹³ Noel, "Huntington Builds Fortress House and Museum in Georgetown, Gardens to Preserve State's Wild Flora," Box 14, File 12, Anna Hyatt Huntington Papers, Special Collections Research Center, Syracuse University Libraries.

subject matter was conventional, it was not executed in a conventional manner, forgoing ideal proportions in favor of a strong physical demeanor implying Diana's strength.

Hyatt Huntington sculpted her *Diana* when she was in her mid-forties and enjoying a successful career. The form is carefully calculated to convey the exquisite, ethereal beauty and quiet power of Diana, the Roman goddess of the hunt. Diana, whose Greek counterpart is the goddess Artemis, presides over the hunt, the moon, and childbirth, and is often associated with virginal innocence. Diana's foot brushes the hound beside her as he bounds onto the globe with her, beginning the spiral composition of the work and leaping after the arrow she has just released into the air. The two are quite literally connected; both her flesh and the fabric surrounding her touch the hound, suggesting that it is a part of her. The canine's excitement conveys the exhilaration of the moment of release depicted in the sculpture, without which the work would stagnate, becoming still and heavy. The dog acts as a sort of primordial accompaniment to Diana, an inevitable and necessary part of her being. As hunting dogs are necessary to the hunter, Diana's hound is necessary to her, and the workhorse is necessary to the manual labor. Seen in this way, Diana's hound becomes a symbol of nature, and Diana herself, as a Roman goddess, emblematic of culture, while the sculpture itself represents art, completing the notion of culture and nature manifested in Brookgreen Gardens.

The Huntingtons had not originally intended for Brookgreen to become a beacon of culture and nature. Its land is composed of four former plantations: Brookgreen, Springfield, Laurel Hill, and The Oaks. Thriving rice plantations as early as 1720, they were grueling spaces of forced manual labor when slaves were commanded to harvest and care for the crops. For over a century, they were profitable enterprises, but plunged into

financial ruin after the abolition of slavery and the end of the Civil War.⁹⁴ The plantations' financial ruin led to the eventual decay of the developed portions of the land and the ruin of its buildings, which were still largely uninhabitable when the Huntingtons purchased the property. The decrepit state of the land, coupled with the economic depression from which the country was suffering, allowed the Huntingtons to pay only \$225,000, although the 6500 to 8000 acres included in the plot of land were valued between \$250,000 and \$350,000.⁹⁵ Less than half of the land was marshland formerly used for rice farming and the rest was a mixture of upland forests, river bluffs, swamps, and sand hills.⁹⁶ The land was relatively flat, trees were plentiful, and animals were found in abundance. Deer were particularly prevalent, and foxes, raccoons, and birds including partridges, quails, and wild ducks also populated the grounds, making the land an attractive hunting destination.⁹⁷ In a 1929 "Report of Investigation," Brookgreen was advertised as having "its greatest value as a game preserve. In other words, as a plaything for a wealthy person."⁹⁸

At the time, Northern aristocratic families regularly purchased Southern plantations whose use dissipated with the abolishment of slavery, often transforming them into seasonal homes and hunting grounds.⁹⁹ As members of America's fiscal and intellectual elite, this trend likely played a role in the couple's purchase of the land, but their reasons

⁹⁴ Albert H. Hindman, "Sculpture and Poetry Add to the Beauty of a Southern Garden," *Kansas City Times*, Saturday, June 2, 1956, Box 14, Folder 12, Anna Hyatt Huntington Papers, Special Collections Research Center, Syracuse University Libraries.

⁹⁵ Memorandum for Mr. O.D. Duncan from S.E.W. Giving a Report of Investigation Made by S.E.W. At Brookgreen During the Latter Part of April, May 8, 1929, and letter from ODD Duncan, "Memorandum to Mr. Warner," November 11, 1929, Box 11, Anna Hyatt Huntington Papers, Special Collections Research Center, Syracuse University Libraries.

⁹⁶ Salmon, *Brookgreen Gardens* (Charleston, SC: Arcadia, 2006), 8.

⁹⁷ S.E.W., Memorandum for Mr. O.D. Duncan.

⁹⁸ Ibid.

⁹⁹ Hemingway, "Huntingtons Donate Brookgreen to State."

seem predominantly practical rather than fashionable. Archer felt that he could not focus on his poetry in their New York City apartment, and Anna needed a country estate in which to recuperate from her tuberculosis. The Huntingtons originally intended to mold the land of Brookgreen into a space of leisure, and the plantations underwent a brief metamorphosis from places of back-breaking labor to places where the wealthy relaxed in isolation.

This transformation was short lived, as the Huntingtons decided to use the space to display the products of Hyatt Huntington's toil: her sculptures. After admiring her work on the grounds, the pair's intentions changed yet again. Brookgreen soon became a much grander endeavor, as the couple began planning to open the nation's first public sculpture garden.¹⁰⁰ It is also possible that sculptor Carl Paul Jennewein encouraged her to emulate Europe's sculpture gardens, in which artists of esteem could display their works in idyllic settings. As Jennewein's relative later noted in a 1989 newspaper article, Jennewein noticed that "a few parks in cities in the United States did have sculpture on display. But these parks were governed by the whims of the public, and some of the works going into them at the time were far from the concept of beauty and form which they - Mrs. Huntington and Jennewein - had grown up to design."¹⁰¹ Brookgreen would give Hyatt Huntington and other American sculptors a space to display their sculptures, but, importantly, those sculptures would be hand-picked by Hyatt Huntington to suit her own tastes, rather than those of the public.

¹⁰⁰ Oral history interview with Anna Hyatt Huntington.

¹⁰¹ Paul Jennewein, "Art is Nature's Guest at Brookgreen," *Star News*, April 24, 1981, accessed April 20, 2015, <https://news.google.com/newspapers?nid=1454&dat=19810424&id=WEdOAAAAIbAJ&sjid=TRMEAAAAIbAJ&pg=4899.5905289&hl=en>.

Hyatt Huntington drafted plans for a garden path in the shape of a butterfly with outstretched wings, and Archer Huntington began designing new buildings for the land. They aspired to develop a collection encapsulating American sculpture from the nineteenth century into the twentieth, and began gathering and commissioning works from American sculptures.¹⁰² The Huntingtons hoped to amass a wide-ranging collection of works on various themes, and stipulated only against portrait busts.¹⁰³ They continued to collect and display sculpture, and by 1936, \$300,000 worth of art had been installed.¹⁰⁴ Eventually, their collection grew to include the work of iconic sculptors including Augustus Saint-Gaudens, James Earle Fraser, Daniel Chester French, and Lorado Taft, as well as emerging sculptors in need of work during the Great Depression, such the social realist Mahonri Young.

There were multiple precedents, ranging from familial to societal, for the founding of Brookgreen and the public services it provided. Archer Huntington's mother, Arabella Duval Huntington, was known as a great art collector. After Archer's father's death, Arabella married Archer's cousin, Henry E. Huntington. In 1919, the couple founded the Huntington Botanical Garden, Library, and Art Gallery in San Marino, California. The gardens served the purpose of collecting and displaying both domestic and exotic specimens in an environment preened to appear similar to the plants' native habitats, in order to conduct scientific research and educate the public.¹⁰⁵ Brookgreen pledged a similar undertaking. The mission of the gardens, as explained in its charter, was to "exhibit the flora and fauna and objects of

¹⁰² Oral History Interview with Anna Hyatt Huntington.

¹⁰³ Brookgreen Gardens Constitution and By-Laws, Article VIII of the Constitution, Box 13, File 10, Anna Hyatt Huntington Papers, Special Collections Research Center, Syracuse University Libraries.

¹⁰⁴ Hemingway, "Huntingtons Donate Brookgreen to State."

¹⁰⁵ "The Huntington Botanical Garden," *The Cactus Journal* 4 (September 1935): 16.

art of South Carolina, to acquire land and have buildings for their exhibit and preservation and to promote learning in regards thereto.”¹⁰⁶ Archer Huntington, who had a penchant for founding museums and had established several already, said at Brookgreen’s convocation,

Brookgreen Gardens is a quiet joining of hands between science and art. Its object is the presentation of the natural life of a given district as a museum, and as it is a garden, and gardens have from early times been rightly embellished by the art of the sculptor, that principle has found expression in American creative art.¹⁰⁷

Brookgreen Gardens was meant to enliven, inspire, and educate the public about horticulture, wildlife, and art. While the flora and fauna was representative of the South, the sculpture was meant to instill a wider understanding of American identity through its greatest sculptures. To preserve the fauna of the region, the Huntingtons founded a zoo featuring animals native to the area that entertained children and allowed artists the opportunity to sketch live animals as Hyatt Huntington herself did. Scattered amongst the animal exhibits were appropriately placed sculptures of animals, so that as the gardens embellished the sculptures, so too did the zoo. The gardens themselves, as Huntington noted, served as another means of instilling patriotic pride in its visitors, as it reminded them of the grandeur of American landscape and its relationship with American art.

But who were Brookgreen’s visitors? Who was the public the Huntingtons served? It is worth noting that this area had Jim Crow laws until 1965, meaning segregation was widespread, though it is unclear whether access to the gardens themselves was segregated. Even if the Huntingtons did not serve the entirety of the local population through allowing them to visit Brookgreen, they did a great deal for the community. When the Huntingtons

¹⁰⁶ Noel, *The News and Courier, Charleston, SC, Sunday Morning*.

¹⁰⁷ Archer Huntington, quoted in Cerinda Evans, *Anna Hyatt Huntington*, 26. Other institutions Huntington he founded include the Hispanic Society of America and the American Numismatic Society.

purchased the tract of land, it was in an impoverished, isolated rural area with poor roads, no bridge to the mainland, and no electricity. The Huntingtons financed roadwork and laid the ground lines to allow electricity to reach the area.¹⁰⁸ They also financially supported more than one hundred families with their construction at Brookgreen, founded a school and a medical center in the local town, and donated land for community buildings. They also supported the area culturally outside of Brookgreen by donating works to local museum, persons, and archival materials about the antebellum south to the South Carolina Historical Society.¹⁰⁹ Again, it is unclear if or how many of these charitable donations aided African Americans in the region, though from archival resources it is clear that African Americans were employed at Brookgreen. The kinds of fiscal help the Huntingtons provided were not without precedent. Through the 1910s and 20s, John D. Rockefeller's General Education Board constructed many school houses in the South, stressing the poverty of the region and working to reform agricultural practices. The money went predominantly to whites in the area, but blacks did receive some aid.¹¹⁰

The Huntingtons were wealthy railroad magnates, and in founding Brookgreen they followed a well-established tradition of elite citizens establishing educational and charitable foundations and institutions. After World War II, the federal government became the predominant source of funding for education and scientific research, but before then, that responsibility fell to private foundations belonging to such industrial tycoons as

¹⁰⁸ *Atalaya and Brookgreen Gardens*, USDI/NPS NRHP Registration Form, 8, accessed April 20, 2015, <http://pdfhost.focus.nps.gov/docs/NHLS/Text/84002045.pdf>.

¹⁰⁹ Ibid.

¹¹⁰ Charles D. Biebel, "Private Foundations and Public Policy: The Case of Secondary Education During the Great Depression," *History of Education Quarterly* 16 (1976): 4.

Andrew Carnegie and Rockefeller.¹¹¹ The discrepancy between private and government funding for education was sizable; in 1913, the Carnegie Corporation gave fifteen million dollars to American colleges and universities, whereas the federal government gave five million to the same schools.¹¹²

The federal government began to fund more programs during the Great Depression. Brookgreen itself was founded during the Great Depression, only a year before the birth of various federal works projects intended to stimulate the arts. Those programs commissioned artists to create public displays of art, which often emphasized labor's ability to lead to a brighter future as a way to bolster public moral. Between 1933 and 1943, the government's financial support enabled the creation of 18,000 sculptures. This may sound like an astonishing number, but when one considers the 108,000 paintings, 250,000 prints, two million posters, and hundreds of thousands of photographs that the government also funded, the opportunities for sculptors were not as plentiful. These circumstances made Brookgreen's acquisition and exhibition of contemporary American sculpture all the more vital.¹¹³

On December 8, 1933, the Treasury Department launched the Public Works of Art Project, which employed 2,500 artists and 500 laborers. The Public Works of Art Project was closed on June 30, 1934, but by the time it ended it had employed 3,749 artists and fostered the creation of over 15,000 works of art.¹¹⁴ It also paved the way for the federal works programs that would follow it. The Treasury Department created several other

¹¹¹ Ibid., 3.

¹¹² Ibid., 4.

¹¹³ Erika Doss, "Looking at Labor: Images of Work in 1930s American Art," in *The Journal of Decorative and Propaganda Arts* 24 (2002): 250.

¹¹⁴ Belasario R. Contreras, *Tradition and Innovation in New Deal Art* (Lewisburg: Bucknell University Press, 1983), 47.

endeavors aimed at helping artists during the struggling economy, but the most important federal works program concerning artists was the Works Progress Administration (WPA), a subdivision of which was the Federal Art Project (FAP). The WPA opened in 1935, and employed many different artists. Holger Cahill, the man responsible for conceiving of, organizing, and executing the WPA, said, “anything painted by an American artist is American art,” a dictum belying the general nature of the art created under the auspices of the WPA.¹¹⁵ Cahill yearned to integrate art into the lives of everyday Americans, weaving art and public spaces, such as post offices and subway stations.¹¹⁶

Brookgreen Gardens was also intentionally founded as an art-infused public space. Entrance was free of charge and remained so until at least 1961.¹¹⁷ This was unconventional at the time. For example, two nearby gardens, Magnolia and Cypress, did charge admission.¹¹⁸ Brookgreen Gardens was intended to be a place of beauty and preservation for the masses, regardless of economic standing. From tourists to serious art enthusiasts to local patrons, the broad public was to be able to take advantage of the gardens. Brookgreen was not as public as the murals in post offices that were frequently decorated by WPA artists, because it was a place to which people would have to enter with the purpose of seeing art, rather than a subsidiary reason like mailing a package, but Brookgreen was openly accessible nonetheless.

Much of the art resulting from the federal works programs responded to the tragedy surrounding them during the depression or to the American landscape. Some featured

¹¹⁵ Ibid, 140, 169.

¹¹⁶ Ibid., 170.

¹¹⁷ Arthur Gordon, *Treasure Towns: South Carolina: Georgetown*, July 1961, Box 14, File 3, Anna Hyatt Huntington Papers, Special Collections Research Center, Syracuse University Libraries.

¹¹⁸ “Coastal Topics,” December 1936, Box 14, File 12, Anna Hyatt Huntington Papers, Special Collections Research Center, Syracuse University Libraries.

scenes of salvation through machine and industry, looking ahead to better times, and many works were saturated with nostalgia for easier, happier times.¹¹⁹ Many themes that had been common in academic Western art until the Great Depression, including idyllic landscapes and heroized mythological characters, were largely abandoned as artists interpreted them to have lost their relevance in such trying times.¹²⁰ Popular symbolic character tropes became those of the strong laboring man as the head of household, the wholesome American family, and the dutiful and fertile housewife. The notion of labor as integral to American identity was not new, but gained renewed prominence around the time of Brookgreen's founding, and as such, became a central theme in much contemporary American art.¹²¹ Regionalist artists like John Steuart Curry and Grant Wood, for example, searched for a true America by celebrating localized identity, linking in their art a sense of community, region, and a deep nostalgia for the past.¹²²

In founding Brookgreen Gardens, Hyatt Huntington shared many of the concerns of other artists of the day: namely, an interest in celebrating regional difference, in helping foster and celebrate American art, and to do so in a way that was publically accessible. She created a space that looked back on the history of American sculpture and American artistic labor, while also acknowledging present artistic labor through acquisitions of contemporary artists' works. Whereas some art of the Great Depression looked ahead to a brighter American future or focused on the current suffering of those who were jobless and

¹¹⁹ Doss, "Looking at Labor: Images of Work in 1930s American Art," 237. Contreras, *Tradition and Innovation in New Deal Art*, 177.

¹²⁰ Doss, "Looking at Labor: Images of Work in 1930s American Art," 236.

¹²¹ For more on labor and American identity, see Robert N. Bellah et al., *Habits of the Heart, Individualism and Commitment in American Life* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1985), 66, and Daniel T. Rodgers, *The Work Ethic in Industrial America 1850-1920* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1974), xi-xiii.

¹²² Michael C. Steiner, "Regionalism in the Great Depression," *Geographical Review* 73 (1983): 432.

in need, Brookgreen Gardens as an institution looked back to the American past, demonstrating and idealizing the progress from which the country came and indicating the bright future to which it would eventually arrive through labor.¹²³

One example of Regionalist painting from the Great Depression is Grant Wood's *Fall Plowing* (figure 12), painted in 1931. In it, we see a nostalgic depiction of the past with Midwestern fields glowing in autumn sunshine. In the background, a farmhouse sits amid rolling green hills, while haystacks and stylized, leafy trees populate the center of the canvas. An old-fashioned hand-plow sits in the center of the foreground, a farm tool long out of date by the Great Depression, when farmers had turned to more mechanized agricultural methods. The fields are likely those of his home state of Iowa, a subject he frequently treated with fondness, tenderness, and light humor.¹²⁴

A 1935 article described Wood and other Regionalists as having

hoisted their overalls on a stick, so to speak, to scare away the city connoisseur and the academician. They avoid high sounding talk about art, and only want to be left alone with their pencils and paints and their friends. Their occasional embattled petulance only goes to show a passing remnant of the sense of inferiority that has heretofore afflicted both the American painter and his audience—to the profit and satisfaction of dealers in foreign art.¹²⁵

The Regionalists' sense of localized American pride is demonstrated well by this quote; they focused neither on the technical quality or moralizing mythological content of many academic painters nor on their ability to impress patrons of those artists. They painted, rather, for the pleasure of their local audiences and for their own pleasure, and to show great pride for their heritage.

¹²³ Doss, "Looking at Labor: Images of Work in 1930s American Art," 233, 251.

¹²⁴ Wanda M. Corn, "The Birth of a National Icon: Grant Wood's *American Gothic*," in *Reading American Art*, ed. Marianna Doezema and Elizabeth Milroy (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1998), 393.

¹²⁵ Ruth Pickering, "Grand Wood, Painter in Overalls," *The North American Review* 240 (1935): 271.

In displaying the flora and fauna of the southeast, Hyatt Huntington demonstrated a kind of regionalism akin to that of Wood's. Her *Diana* is academic art (it has a classical subject and a realistic style), demonstrating a national pride to coincide with Brookgreen's regionalist tendencies that were so popular at the time. Brookgreen Gardens may not have hoisted its overalls on a stick, but it did remove barriers of access to art for the broader public, and translated contemporary veneration of labor and nationalist sentiments into the nation's first sculpture garden.

Chapter 4

Brookgreen's Zoo: The Work of Art and Animals

Youth Taming the Wild (figure 13), designed by Anna Hyatt Huntington in the late 1920s, is an allegory for humanity conquering nature, and more specifically for the settling of the American West. It is a monumental limestone sculpture that captures the butting of wills between a strapping young man and the virile, powerful horse he seeks to tame. Nostrils flaring and muscles rippling, the steed raises his left hoof to paw frantically at the air, his mouth open and likely releasing a distressed bray as his tail and mane whip about in an alarmed fury. The man holds steady and fast to the horse's bridle, which he has managed to slip on, and leans into the beast as an equestrian trainer properly would.¹²⁶ This chapter will analyze *Youth Taming the Wild*, and Hyatt Huntington's zoo in general, in several different aspects, focusing primarily on two central claims: That the taming of the wilderness represented in the sculpture was a foundational part of American identity, and that the mythologies of the taming of the west are relevant to understanding Hyatt Huntington's zoo and the placement of *Youth Taming the Wild* near that zoo.

Youth Taming the Wild is both an allegory of youth conquering the wilderness and of American settlers conquering the western frontier. The first is implied by the title: the sculpture depicts the embodiment of youth as he undertakes the task of subduing the formidable wilderness, of creating a habitable environment, and of controlling nature. To understand the second allegory, one must recall that one of the two central themes in

¹²⁶ The sculpture began as a 1914 commission for gateposts, and simultaneously acted as a memorial to Hyatt Huntington's father-in-law, the railroad tycoon Collis Huntington, in Newport News, Virginia.

American animal sculpture was that of the American West, encompassing subjects from buffalo to bucking broncos. *Youth Taming the Wild* is an example of this theme, and thus serves as a symbolic rendering of the taming of the Western frontier.¹²⁷ Another sculpture with the same symbolic content is Alexander Phimister Proctor's 1922 *Bronco Buster* (figure 14), in which a cowboy hangs on to a bucking horse with one hand on the reigns and one in the air. The horse's two hind legs are tucked beneath him at the highest point of his buck, and his head bows between his front legs. The man's lasso, furry chaps, and pistol in a holster at his waist, are all stereotypical representatives of American cowboys and indicate the way he himself tames the West by breaking horses, working the land, and defending himself.¹²⁸ As in *Youth Taming the Wild*, the West is suggested not by a literally depicted background, but by the relationship between horse and soon-to-be master, a similarly perceived relationship between the wild, untamed West and *its* soon-to-be masters, the settlers and cowboys.

Both allegorical interpretations of *Youth Taming the Wild* imply the struggle and strife inherent in the young man's endeavor. For youth to tame the wild, he must employ all his strength and vigor, and for settlers to embark on a journey West and eventually carve a life for themselves there required tremendous effort, cunning (for better or for worse), and bravery in the face of danger. More simply, a young man attempting to overpower a muscular steed must work very hard to do so, and to even achieve the position in which he

¹²⁷ "Larger than Life: Sculpture and the American West," Charles M. Russell Center, accessed January 25, 2015, https://www.ou.edu/content/dam/finearts/Art_ArtHistory/Homepage/Russell%20Center/soaah_charlesrussell_Larger_Than_Life.pdf.

¹²⁸ Ernest Peixotto, "A Sculptor of the West," *Scribner's Magazine* 3 (1920): 273-274.

finds his body takes a great deal of skill, training, and the sort of sheer grit for which American cowboys were known.

The Start of the Race of the Riderless Horses (Figure 15), painted in 1820 by French painter Horace Vernet (1789-1863), presents a man and a horse who find themselves in a somewhat similar situation as the youth and stallion in Hyatt Huntington's sculpture. A white horse with a golden saddle and crimson ribbon tied around its tail rears, braying as the whites of its eyes become visible, signaling the horse's distress. In front of the horse stands a man with a red cap, his lips pursed in concentration. The man braces his left forearm against the horse's chest and holds fast to the reigns with his right hand. Underneath the frenzied equine a fallen black horse tries frantically to right itself, staring in alarm at the white horse whose raised hooves threaten to bear down upon him. A man has also fallen, and is attempting to crawl away from the danger of the spooked horses. To the right of the group, a bay horse rears as two men work to restrain him. In the background, we see yet another horse, but this one is calm, and being held by several men. An audience perches from the raised viewing area, watching the calamity unfold.

The Start of the Race of the Riderless Horses depicts men restraining horses before one of the popular races of riderless horses, a part of Rome's Carnival in which horses, terrified and without riders, run through the streets of Rome.¹²⁹ While this may seem very different from the allegorical symbolism of the American West found in *Youth Taming the Wild*, the two works share several important themes. Both focus on young men attempting to control wild horses, pitting their own strength against that of the beast. In doing so, they

¹²⁹ *The Start of the Race of the Riderless Horses*, The Collection Online, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, accessed April 20, 2015, <http://www.metmuseum.org/collection/the-collection-online/search/437888?=&imgno=0&tabname=label>.

test their masculinity. The man in Rome who restrains the white horse does so in the face of great danger and with great bravery, and with the same stoic resolve as Hyatt Huntington's Youth. Read in this way, *Youth Taming the Wild* is a coming-of-age sculpture in which a boy becomes a man through overpowering the unbridled force of nature.

Youth's journey is not complete after taming the horse. The trial does not end, it seems, even when the wild is conquered. Youth must maintain control, and those living in the West continued to engage in fierce labor to set up townships, homesteads, and to merely continue surviving. While humanity's labor is undoubtedly eased by, and perhaps even necessitates, taming the wild, jurisdiction over nature's power does not banish entirely the need for work. Maintaining a home in the West or herding and plowing with the aid of the horse is less difficult than without, but still taxing. The youth's labor continues.

The horse's labor is also present in *Youth Taming the Wild*, and differs from Hyatt Huntington's other depictions of animal labor. The horse, like nature, is molded into a laboring entity. He must succumb to the will of his owner, toiling on the farm or elsewhere, and surely engaging in exhausting labor. When compared to Hyatt Huntington's other sculptures of workhorses, such as *Winter Noon* or *In Memory of the Workhorse*, *Youth Taming the Wild* presents a radically different relationship between humans and their domesticated animals. The horse's wide eyes, bulging veins, and pinned ears communicate his obvious peril, one that will presumably end when he finally capitulates, and will likely result in a scene similar to *Winter Noon* and *In Memory of the Workhorse*, one where the horse's strength is quieted, where he protects the man rather than fighting against him, and where his service to society's progress is acknowledged and appreciated.

Like *In Memory of the Workhorse*, *Youth Taming the Wild* is steeped in nostalgia. *In Memory of the Workhorse* remembers the preindustrial era of manual labor, of the necessity of the horse, and of the harsh, though not endless, struggle that accompanied them. *Youth Taming the Wild* is also reminiscent of a bygone era as an allegory for the taming of the West. It conveys an exhibition of ferocity and power that no longer exists, in part because technological advances have rendered it unnecessary, and clings to a time when the wild was perceived to be still untamed. Many sculptures and paintings pertaining to the American West harbor a similar nostalgia. Paintings and sculptures depicting the West played a significant role in shaping ideas of the frontier. They were often purchased by wealthy East Coast elites as a means of accessing something simultaneously authentically “American” in their nostalgia and exotic, because they created scenes of wilderness, cowboys, and Native Americans that wealthy Americans would not have known for themselves.¹³⁰

The nostalgia present in those works provided, at least in part, the impetus for the creation of American zoos. Animals had been publicly exhibited as early as the Colonial era, when beasts were chained in front of taverns and exhibited in cages as part of traveling menageries, or private collections of animals that were precursors to the modern circus.¹³¹ The display of these animals was purely for entertainment and held neither educational nor preservative purposes. As a result, the animals were often maltreated and malnourished, and yet they amazed and captivated the public nevertheless, perpetuating the widespread belief in eighteenth-century America that animals were a form of wondrous spectacle.

¹³⁰ Tolles, *The American West in Bronze*, 58.

¹³¹ Jeffrey R. Stott, “The Historical Origins of the Zoological Park in American Thought,” *Environmental Review* 5 (1981): 54.

Americans at large felt little guilt in hunting, trapping, or exhibiting these animals. This opinion was also fostered in the burgeoning nation because the wild animals inhabiting the land seemed to be in endless supply, like most other natural resources the colonists encountered.¹³²

By the mid-nineteenth century, it became apparent that America's resources were not quite so limitless, a realization that prompted the founding of national and state parks in 1872.¹³³ The parks were used to instill national pride, ensuring Americans that the land they inherited was a great one, with its majestic forests, clear streams, and towering mountains. Because of efforts to portray the national parks as symbols of American pride and identity, they became central to American tourism by the 1920s. They were fueled by nostalgia akin to that of *Youth Taming the Wild*, and were frequently advertised as untouched natural havens left as the nation's forefathers had found them.¹³⁴

A similar nostalgia for an unconquered wilderness, for a pristine place of leisure away from the grime and soot of the cities, led to the birth of American zoos. The nostalgia that inspired zoos was not one that yearned for a return to *completely* untouched land, but rather one hearkening back to the beginning days of harsh labor, or as Leonidas Hubbard, Jr. put it in 1904, "what our country was like in the days when our fathers here killed deer and fought Indians."¹³⁵ Those days were wrought with strife and conflict, and afforded little leisure. It was a time requiring obstinance and perseverance like those demonstrated by the young man in *Youth Taming the Wild*. Considering it this way, *Youth Taming the Wild* seems

¹³² Ibid.

¹³³ Ibid.

¹³⁴ Marguerite Schaffer, *See America First: Tourism and National Identity, 1880-1940*, (Washington: Smithsonian Institution Press, 2001) 93, 129.

¹³⁵ Leonidas Hubbard, Jr., "What a Big Zoo Means to the People," *Outing*, 44 (1904): 670, quoted in Stott, "The Historical Origins of the Zoological Park in American Thought," 54.

to conjure a darker, harsher moment of the nation's past, which the youth faces with resolve; he stands tall and has firm footing, and his muscular form does not waver. Hyatt Huntington's sculpture acknowledges the intense labor he endured, but shows also that he will succeed, and that he is not truly in danger of failing. Both senses of nostalgia invoke times of jeopardy and menace, but do so with a sentiment of invincibility, and both reference a pre-industrial age with longing.

Capitalizing on that popular sentiment, early American zoos offered a reprieve for busy Americans in which they could visit, if not the mountains, then the wild cougars that lived there. Those who were unable to travel to national parks or escape the urban smog and clamber were provided the zoo as a pocket of greenery and a chance to be educated on the ecological dangers facing the nation.¹³⁶ Until the last quarter of the nineteenth century, public display of animals was expected to provide only entertainment and rarely scientific information. This would change. When Philadelphia opened America's first zoo in 1874, nostalgia and increasing awareness about the nation's dwindling wildlife populations led Americans to attribute a third purpose to such exhibitions; that of wildlife conservation and education.¹³⁷

Brookgreen Gardens and its zoo, though founded more than fifty years after the first American zoo, inherited that mission of conservation and sought to preserve and educate the public about local flora and fauna, accomplishing these goals better than most previous zoos. Zoological exhibition of the 1930s was far more spacious than that of the 1870s; animals were displayed in larger exhibits with lower walls and more natural barriers, such

¹³⁶ Stott, "The Historical Origins of the Zoological Park in American Thought," 57, and Keekok Lee, *Zoos: A Philosophical Tour* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005), 89.

¹³⁷ Ibid.

as moats or rocks instead of the bars they had known previously. Such environments made the animals more comfortable and benefited zoo-goers by giving them a better sense of the animals in their natural habitats.¹³⁸ While it is difficult to describe precisely the accommodations Brookgreen's zoo might have provided, from photographs it is clear that barbed wire was employed and animals were provided little reprieve from daily crowds.¹³⁹ The zoo maintained a spacious water exhibit for mute local waterfowl that was fairly open, perhaps the most open of the enclosures. Chain-link fences were used to cage the other animals, with the exception of the black bear. He was kept in a deep well-like depression in a round enclosure that allowed viewers to look down to him. This space allowed the bear little of anything like his natural habitat, such as trees or soil.¹⁴⁰ Though the zoos of the 1930s were a vast improvement over their predecessors and Brookgreen at the time of its opening would have been considered an up-to-date zoo, they would be considered poor quality by today's standards. In the 1970s, a movement in which zoos, including Brookgreen's, reformed, becoming more spacious and accommodating to their animals, set our modern ideas for what a zoo should look like.

The animals in Brookgreen's zoo, as in any zoo, must forfeit their freedom in order to perform a type of labor: zoo animals exist for the pleasure and study of humans. They worked, like the horse was destined to, even if their work was not physically taxing. Zoo animals endured the noise of the public, the cramped quarters, and regimented lives during which their abilities to feed, procreate, and even sleep were decided for them. While not domesticated to the extent of a workhorse, the animals in Brookgreen's zoo were far from

¹³⁸ Donahue and Trump, *Political Animals*, 4.

¹³⁹ Salmon, *Brookgreen Gardens*, 118-121.

¹⁴⁰ Salmon, *Brookgreen Gardens*, 118, 119.

wild. To be wild, an animal must be self-sufficient and live his life according to his species and habitat. Wild animals, unlike those at Brookgreen or in any zoo, control their own reproduction, social interactions, and sleeping schedules, and those things are in no way controlled by humans.¹⁴¹ Just as Hyatt Huntington controlled her medium to create exactly the composition she wanted for *Youth Taming the Wild*, animals in zoos are controlled by the zoo's staff and molded, as if an artistic medium, into what the zoo desires. Zoo animals are more akin to art than to animal, as visitors watch them, a carefully carved medium, and they lose their natural instincts and inclinations to domestication. The result of the taming of the wild, *Youth Taming the Wild* reminds us as we leave the zoo, can also lead to this kind of labor, rather than that of a draft horse.

It is clear that the scene in *Youth Taming the Wild* is one of intense effort and struggle. It demonstrates the labor involved in conquering wilderness, or wild things in general, a process that had underwritten American expansion and identity since the early nineteenth century. The work can also be understood in another way too. I will consider its meaning in the context of Brookgreen, a natural space that has been conquered, and particularly in the context of Brookgreen's zoo, in which exhibited animals engage in a labor of their own. Indeed, the zoo at Brookgreen Gardens is fundamental in my considerations of labor in Hyatt Huntington's work. The zoo also reminds us that Brookgreen Gardens' objects are not merely inanimate, as objects in museums tend to be; nor are they predominately animate, as those exhibited in zoos tend to be. Rather, Brookgreen's collection is a combination of the two. The dialogue between the animate and inanimate culminates in a viewing experience like the one found in *Youth Taming the Wild*, in which

¹⁴¹ Lee, *Zoos: A Philosophical Tour*, 21.

the sculpture offers a greater awareness of the labor of zoo animals and the zoo animals foster contemplation of the labor preceding and following the moment shown in the sculpture.

Brookgreen's zoo and the animals it houses are characteristic of Hyatt Huntington, who kept animals in nearly every property she owned. As previously mentioned, she spent no small amount of time in zoos studying animals, and constructed and maintained modest zoos on most of her properties. Many of the photographs she used when she was unable to study a live specimen as she sketched sculptures were taken at various zoos from around the world, including the Berlin Zoo.¹⁴² Brookgreen's zoo allowed Hyatt Huntington to share with the public her fascination with animals and the artistic benefits she gleaned from zoological institutions. While many zoos showcased exotic animals, Hyatt Huntington's zoo, in keeping with Brookgreen's original purpose, exhibited local and recognizable animals. It was small in comparison to zoos in large cities, like the Bronx Zoo to which she was so accustomed, but Brookgreen's original zoo showcased a number of animals, including black bears, Virginia (white-tailed) deer, opossum, bobcats, foxes, cougars, alligators, otters, and native birds.¹⁴³

Before seeing those animals in the zoo, visitors would likely encounter *Youth Taming the Wild*. It was placed on a popular and short path leading from Brookgreen to its zoo; it would have been the first and last sculpture visitors saw when they entered and exited the gardens and the zoo. Spotting *Youth Taming the Wild* as one enters the gardens makes it

¹⁴² Reference photographs, Boxes 113, 114, Anna Hyatt Huntington Papers, Special Collections Research Center, Syracuse University Libraries.

¹⁴³ Edna Ganter, "Blending Beauty, Brookgreen Gardens is a Landscape Guide," *The New York Times*, Box 14, File 12, Anna Hyatt Huntington Papers, Special Collections Research Center, Syracuse University Libraries. Salmon, *Brookgreen Gardens*, 111, 118-120.

clear that the taming of the wild was necessary to create Brookgreen Gardens' own carefully cultivated horticultural and sculptural displays. The monumental sculpture originally rested in the center of a reflecting pool, described by one 1936 visitor as follows: "The first pool is large. It has a waist-high coping of the honeycomb brick, and is planted with native water plants. In the center is a stone equestrian statue by Mrs. Huntington."¹⁴⁴ The sculpture embodies two reciprocal relationships of contemplation; one with Brookgreen's sculpture gardens, and one with its zoo. As the quote notes, the sculpture resides in a pool populated with plants, a seemingly natural though completely constructed setting. Brookgreen, like *Youth Taming the Wild's* limestone, was sculpted to suit the pursuits of the humans controlling it.

Youth Taming the Wild was also the result of the taming of nature, as Hyatt Huntington transformed limestone into flesh. Her labor becomes a feat of harnessing nature, of working to create one's will out of a block of stone, or to heat bronze and mold it into a specific form. The artist is a laborer controlling the fate of her medium as humankind labors and controls the fate of the landscape it alters.

Animals in zoos are also shaped by humans, and *Youth Taming the Wild* helps to crack and shatter any facade of wildness that zoo animals may have. While most audience members likely realized that the zoo animals were no longer wild, they may not have considered the extent to which the animals were domesticated, and that the animals do in fact work to earn their keep. Caged animals must withstand crowds, interact with a blundering, clamorous, constant stream of visitors, and allow themselves to always be observed, whether by sculptors making models and sketches or by the general public.

¹⁴⁴ Hemingway, "Huntingtons Donate Brookgreen to State."

Hyatt Huntington herself seemed to be aware of this transformation from beast into artifact.¹⁴⁵ On April 26, 1896, in a letter to her brother about a recent visit to the Maryland Zoo, she wrote,

It is very wild and green, the majority of animals having a large yard to run in. They have about all the varieties of foxes and wolves and even the Eskimo dogs. We stayed to see the lions and tigers fed. Before they were fed, they roared and lashed up and down [in] their cages as if they were furiously hungry, but when they received their meat, they lost all appetite, only biting and licking it. One old fellow grabbed his share in his mouth and holding his head very high, marched triumphantly around the cage as if he wanted to fool the spectators in the belief that he had caught it.¹⁴⁶

Hyatt Huntington articulates her awareness that animals in zoos are not preserved as truly wild, but rather only appear to be so. Here, she goes so far as to assign agency to the lion, describing him as actively and willfully taking part in the deception. Hyatt Huntington notes that the lions and tigers do not decide when they eat, losing that control over their lives, but maintain their predatory instinct, prowling and growling, when in the presence of meat before it comes into their possession. She seems to have realized the way animals in zoos are domesticated, though not entirely, and labor as performers of sorts for crowds and sculptors alike.

Zoos, including the Brookgreen zoo, enabled sculptors like Hyatt Huntington to capture such chaotic, violent scenes that would be otherwise impossible to achieve. Hyatt Huntington's 1935 *Jaguars* (figure 16), cast in aluminum, captures two fierce jungle cats killing and devouring an anteater of sorts. The anteater stands no chance against the jaguars' rippling musculature and sharp fangs, highlighted by the malicious roar of one jaguar crouching as the other viciously tears at the flesh of the anteater's head. Her *Vultures*

¹⁴⁵ My idea of animals transforming into artistic objects and controlled mediums was inspired by Lee's notion of a "biotic artifact," found in *Zoos: A Philosophical Tour*, 30.

¹⁴⁶ Anna Hyatt Huntington, letter quoted by Ronald Christ, "Anna Hyatt Huntington," *SITES*, 1986, 39-40.

(figure 17), cast in the same year and medium, features two of the birds of prey scavenging the carcass of an ewe. One bird looms over the composition, perching on the ewe's body and stretching upwards, his mouth open as he works to swallow a bit of meat. His wings unfurl, stretching to frame the group and folding around the young animal. Another vulture stands on the ground, to the left, his beak in the ewe's stomach, ripping its flesh. Hyatt Huntington was able to portray gruesome hunting scenes such as this and *Jaguars* because of her access to zoos, which allowed her to sketch animals in a variety of positions and temperaments.

The aluminum in which the sculptures are cast makes the works all the more visceral in its effect on the viewer. The details found in the tensing of the jaguars' muscles, the creases in the anteater's neck, the matting of the birds' feathers, and the fluff of the ewe's wool are magnified and intensified because they reflect more light than bronze or stone would. Works like these demonstrate the capabilities of zoo animals in the wild, and seeing them juxtaposed with Brookgreen's zoo reminds the viewer yet again that they represent a manufactured notion of the wild animal, much like the animals in zoos are, that arise through the hands of the artist or zoo trainer, sculpting her respective medium.

From early in their inception, American zoos provided exhibition space for paintings and sculptures, fostering a co-dependent relationship between artists and zoos. Most, though not all, zoological exhibitions were open to the public at little to no cost. Many sculptures were publicly placed and artists were often commissioned to paint murals on the backs of animals' enclosures to replicate their natural environments.¹⁴⁷ Zoos typically supported the artistic endeavors of American animaliers because their anatomically

¹⁴⁷ Donahue and Trump, *Political Animals*, 18.

accurate representations of animals gave credence to the attempted scientific and educational natures of early zoos.¹⁴⁸ Brookgreen's zoo adopted this emphasis on public accessibility, scientific study, and educational opportunities, and continued a similar co-dependent relationship between zoo and artists, publicly displaying fitting animal sculptures on the zoo's paths and allowing artists to sketch and observe its animals.

While zoos generally held accessibility, science, and education to be of utmost importance into the twentieth century, artistic emphasis on the latter two waned during the Great Depression as zoos relied on government funding to stay open and provide art. Even private zoos often relied on public resources, so the Great Depression posed an imminent threat to most, if not all, zoos, both private and public. As a result, zoos across the nation received funding from the Works Progress Administration (WPA) to help open new exhibits and maintain existing ones. The Federal Art Project (FAP), a subdivision of the WPA between 1935 and 1943, commissioned art for zoos.¹⁴⁹ The FAP aimed to integrate art into the daily lives of Americans and was primarily concerned with maintaining a high-volume output and employing as many artists as possible. As a result, both quality and style of the works commissioned by the FAP varied greatly.¹⁵⁰

Zoos that accepted government aid forfeited their choice in artists, so their emphasis on naturalism was challenged as works became markedly less scientific. Artists commissioned for zoo art through the New Deal followed many of the same stylistic trends as those commissioned by the New Deal elsewhere, and generally abandoned the anatomical correctness of previous American animal sculpture. Arthur Cox completed

¹⁴⁸ Ibid.

¹⁴⁹ Ibid., 48.

¹⁵⁰ Jeff Hill, *Defining Moments The WPA - Putting America to Work* (Detroit: Omnigraphics, Inc., 2014), 73.

various sculptures for the Toledo Zoo with FAP funding, ranging from playful dinosaurs to stylized elephants.¹⁵¹ Completed in 1936, his limestone sculpture *Bison* (figure 18) stands several feet in height. Rather than the exacting detail of Proctor's and Kemeys' sculptures, which captured each lock of hair on the bison and every muscle as it moved, Cox's figure is recognizable but not as realistic. His hide is sleeker, his legs shorter, and his face less detailed. The shift in style becomes especially apparent when one compares it with Proctor's *Bison* (figure 19), from 1912. The muscles roll subtly under the beast's hide, and he stands, his weight naturally shifting and his mouth slightly agape. His face, in contrast to Cox's smooth, simplified design, has divots and wrinkles, and each hair on his broad face and beard are modeled with life-like realism.

Part of this stylistic shift was due to the artists' lack of professional training in scientific illustration or sculpture. Additionally, New Deal artists who created works for zoos tended to reject whole-heartedly the European tradition, and thought that art should be for the people and appeal to popular taste.¹⁵² These sentiments combined with the birth of modernism in Europe and America, in which realistic forms were broken down to simpler elements, and the 1920s Mexican mural movement, in which public art was intended explicitly for the public consumption. These cultural influences converged and led to a turn away from Hyatt Huntington's brand of turn-of-the-century realism was abandoned in favor of the sleeker Art Deco style that sought to capture the emotional essence of the creatures rather than proper muscular composition.¹⁵³ As they rejected the European tradition, New Deal artists tended to reject its animalier tradition as well, moving

¹⁵¹ Donahue and Trump, *Political Animals*, 58.

¹⁵² Contreras, *Tradition and Innovation in New Deal Art*, 22-23

¹⁵³ Ibid., 24. Donahue and Trump, *Political Animals*, 48-50.

away from that which had so strongly influenced Hyatt Huntington and the American animaliers before her.¹⁵⁴ Zoological education through art diminished in value as a result of these changes, in which style that captured emotion became more important than biological correctness.

These changes also resulted in artists portraying the zoo as a public space rather than a scientific or educational one, an idea closely tied to the artists' tendency to focus on humans more than animals. New Deal artists paid attention to the visitors rather than the zoo animals, focusing on accessible, interactive, and child- and family-friendly art. Rather than concentrating on social and political issues, zoo art tended to provide adorable, happy images of the zoo's animals, changing the zoo from a place of education to a place for jubilation and fun.¹⁵⁵

This trend, and how much Hyatt Huntington's own work differed from it, becomes apparent when considering a sculpture complex Brookgreen Gardens acquired in 1972, the 1936 *Gazelle Fountain* (figure 20), by Marshall Maynard Fredericks (1908-1998). In the center of the circular fountain a gazelle springs from a fountain, surrounded by a hawk, rabbit, grouse, and otter, which are placed around the fountain's base. The gazelle rears from a its rounded abstract base, arching its neck back and creating a swooping curve with its body that continues as its horns plunge downwards, extending past its tail. Its muscles are suggested with delicate curves of its skin, and indicated to the viewer mostly through the shadows they cast. Like Cox's *Bison*, the gazelle's face is smooth, its features stylized. The same stylization is more apparent in the smaller figures encircling the gazelle. The otter (figure 21) sits with its paws atop a fish whose scales are suggested only by a broad

¹⁵⁴ Ibid., 54.

¹⁵⁵ Ibid., 48-50.

cross-hatching pattern, and his skin is smooth. Likewise, the hawk (figure 22) is modeled in smooth bronze, recognizable through a suggested form of the bird rather than exact details. Hyatt Huntington's *Vultures*, cast only a year before *Gazelle Fountain*, are highly realistic, with rippling feathers, wrinkles in gizzards, and cracks on their feet.

Most American zoos embraced this stylistic change so long as it provided enough financial assurance to keep them open through the Great Depression, but it is worth noting that artists hired by zoos tended to be more anatomically correct after the end of New Deal funding. Their art was not as scientific as that in early zoos, because the Art Deco influence of the New Deal artists remained. While zoo art after the New Deal reverted to a more realistic style, accurate rendering was no longer always the most important quality of animal art.¹⁵⁶

Brookgreen's zoo was funded by the Huntingtons and their trustees, and as a result, was not subject to the whims of the government-employed artists and their stylistic trends.¹⁵⁷ Hyatt Huntington continued to collect figurative American sculpture suited to her taste. While much of the work she acquired for Brookgreen, and presumably also for the zoo, also had a focus on humans, Hyatt Huntington continued to sculpt animals and never left behind her more conservative mode of sculpture or her painstaking, laborious observational working method. The New Deal was intended to provide jobs, to provide the opportunity to labor, and did provide them to a number of artists. As a result, the New Deal changed what it meant for animaliers to labor, and for artists to labor. Rather than attention to detail and observational and technical skill, it was sentiment and accessibility that came

¹⁵⁶ Ibid.

¹⁵⁷ Salmon, *Brookgreen Gardens*, 8.

to the forefront, as well as an engagement modernism and markedly less interest in the Neoclassical style.

Youth Taming the Wild is emblematic of the multi-faceted notions of labor in Hyatt Huntington's work and in her zoo. The struggle it conveys in its subject matter, those it implies come before and after it, and how its labor connects to the labor of zoo animals all aid in a deeper understanding of the work. It speaks to the labor involved in domestication of nature and the domesticated animal's own labor, again reminding the viewer that humanity's labor succeeds because it is aided by the labor of animals.

Conclusion

The Torchbearer (figure 23), a bronze model of which stands in Brookgreen Gardens, shows a strong, idealized male figure atop a mount. He looks behind him, his cape wavering in the wind, while plunging a torch triumphantly into the sky. Hyatt Huntington had treated the subject at least once before she cast this work in 1959, with her 1955 *Torch Bearers* (figure 24), given as a gift from the Huntingtons to the University of Madrid in Spain.¹⁵⁸ This sculpture features two men, one of whom has fallen while carrying the torch, and now clings to a rock on the ground, using the last of his strength to pass the torch on to a young man on horseback. Both sculptures symbolize the passing of knowledge and success from one person to the next, and from one generation to the next.

Of her *Torch Bearers*, Hyatt Huntington remarked, "It is a symbolic study of Progress. The man on foot is reaching the torch to the man on horseback, the idea being that in this modern age, one cannot get very far on foot."¹⁵⁹ This quote speaks to the necessity of interdependent labor apparent throughout Hyatt Huntington's oeuvre. Not getting "very far on foot" is akin to not getting very far *alone*. Like *In Memory of the Workhorse*, it is clear in both *Torch Bearer* sculptures that man is relying on the labor of the horse to continue his journey. We witnessed the veneration of animal labor in helping mankind again in *Jaguar* and *Reaching Jaguar*, where Señor Lopez's provided labor allowed Hyatt Huntington to craft the sculptures in the first place. *Torch Bearers* and *The Torchbearer* both demonstrate

¹⁵⁸ "Anna Hyatt Huntington's *Torch Bearers* Realizes \$315,000," Heritage Auctions, accessed April 20, 2015, <http://www.ha.com/heritage-auctions-press-releases-and-news/anna-hyatt-huntington-s-torch-bearers-realizes-315-000-in-2-million-heritage-auctions-nyc-american-art-event.s?releaseId=2461>.

¹⁵⁹ Evans, *Anna Hyatt Huntington*, 41.

the importance of the horse, and both feature a steed with his nostrils flaring, one leg pawing at the air in anticipation. The horses are eager to leap forward and continue their respective journeys, and, as the man collapsed from exhaustion implies, without the horses, humankind would be unable to pass on the torch of their accomplishments.

The themes of labor I have explored in Hyatt Huntington's work have provided new lenses through which to view Hyatt Huntington, her work, and her sculpture garden. Her animal sculptures make us more aware of human labor. The work of the gardeners who make the animal sculptures visible at Brookgreen, the labor of the sculptor in creating paintings and sculptures, and the labor of animals themselves, are all in Hyatt Huntington's sculptures. While I have read her works in new ways, there is still much room for further analysis. This essay should spur research into aspects of her work other than labor. Themes of labor that may be subtler or previously unexamined in American art history, from the gendering of labor to how it appears in unsuspecting places, like Hyatt Huntington's animal sculptures, could also be investigated. My work will also, I hope, prompt far more research into Brookgreen Gardens. As the nation's first sculpture garden, it likely set precedents for other outdoor exhibition spaces that followed it, and its collection, which has previously been lightly researched only through books listing the works with paragraphs beside them, holds an important array of sculptures, allowing American sculpture to be studied from numerous viewpoints. A nuanced reading of how Brookgreen's history with slave labor infiltrates understandings of labor in its sculptures, and how Brookgreen's identity through labor continues today, would make for a compelling study.

My project focused on a limited time frame—Brookgreen's foundational years—and much has changed since its incubating years during the Depression Era. Where Hyatt

Huntington's work reminds us of the great assistance animals provided throughout human history and how that assistance ought not be forgotten, Brookgreen seems to dictate a similar sentiment. Brookgreen's emphasis on remembrance has only increased over time, expanding from flora, fauna, and sculpture, to include the cultural history of the area and its plantations. Brookgreen continues to be, in a sense, a torchbearer carrying the history of its land and sculptures and leading to the future, and Hyatt Huntington herself was a torchbearer with a lasting legacy. Hyatt Huntington's animal sculptures are far more than mere anatomically detailed representations of animals. They represent Hyatt Huntington's 70 years of artistic labor and her veneration of hard work and the necessity of toil. The nostalgia expressed by *Youth Taming the Wild* carries over onto many of her works, including *The Torch Bearer*, a nostalgia for an age of intense and grueling labor that had yet to be aided by the growth of industry and machines.

Exploring the many aspects of labor in Hyatt Huntington's sculpture allows for a more meaningful interpretation of her art and its legacy. When considered with Brookgreen Gardens, the sculptures may be read in a context of hope and value, emphasizing salvation through labor by venerating the past rather than focusing on the future. Brookgreen Gardens, I argue, carries with it many connotations of work, and imparts those onto the sculptures on its grounds, encouraging a reading Hyatt Huntington's works through a lens of labor. Rather than companions or mere beasts, Hyatt Huntington's animals become beacons of toil, endeavor, and meaningful production.

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Appendix: Illustrations



Figure 1: Anna Hyatt Huntington, *Winter Noon*, 1903, bronze, Brookgreen Gardens.



Figure 2: Anna Hyatt Huntington, *In Memory of the Workhorse*, 1964, bronze, Brookgreen Gardens.



Figure 3: Anna Hyatt Huntington, *Bulls Fighting*, 1905, Brookgreen Gardens.



Figure 4: Anna Hyatt Huntington, *Butting Goats*, 1905, bronze, The Metropolitan Museum of Art.



Figure 5: Rosa Bonheur, *The Horse Fair*, 1852-55, oil on canvas, The Metropolitan Museum of Art.



Figure 6: Anna Hyatt Huntington, *Joan of Arc*, 1915, bronze, reproduction in Brookgreen Gardens.



Figure 7: Anna Hyatt Huntington, *Jaguar*, 1907, bronze with limestone base, Brookgreen Gardens.



Figure 8: Anna Hyatt Huntington, *Reaching Jaguar*, 1907, bronze with limestone base, Brookgreen Gardens.



Figure 9: Edward Kemeys, *Hudson Bay Wolves Quarreling Over the Carcass of a Deer*, 1874, bronze, Philadelphia Zoo.



Figure 10: Anna Hyatt Huntington, *Don Quixote*, 1937, aluminum, Brookgreen Gardens.



Figure 11: Anna Hyatt Huntington, *Diana of the Chase*, 1922, bronze, Brookgreen Gardens.



Figure 12: Grant Wood, *Fall Plowing*, 1931, oil on canvas, Deere & Co., East Moline, Ill.



Figure 13: Anna Hyatt Huntington, *Youth Taming the Wild*, 1927-1930s, limestone, Brookgreen Gardens.



Figure 14: Alexander Phimister Proctor, *Bronco Buster*, 1922, bronze, Denver, CO.



Figure 15: Horace Vernet, *The Start of the Race of the Riderless Horses*, 1820, oil on canvas, The Metropolitan Museum of Art.



Figure 16: Anna Hyatt Huntington, *Jaguars*, 1935, aluminum, Brookgreen Gardens.



Figure 17: Anna Hyatt Huntington, *Vultures*, 1935, aluminum, Brookgreen Gardens.



Figure 18: Arthur Cox, *Bison*, 1936, limestone, The Toledo Zoo.



Figure 19: Alexander Phimister Proctor, *Bison*, 1912, bronze, The Metropolitan Museum of Art.



Figure 20: Marshall Maynard Fredericks, *Gazelle Fountain*, 1936, bronze, Brookgreen Gardens.



Figure 21: Marshall Maynard Fredericks, *Otter*, 1936, bronze, Brookgreen Gardens.



Figure 22: Marshall Maynard Fredericks, *Hawk*, 1936, bronze, Brookgreen Gardens.



Figure 23: Anna Hyatt Huntington, *The Torchbearer*, 1959, bronze, Brookgreen Gardens.



Figure 24: Anna Hyatt Huntington, *Torch Bearers*, 1955, aluminum, Chrysler Museum of Art.