Émigré Cultures in Design and Architecture

Edited by Alison J. Clarke and Elana Shapira

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43 The key source here is the work of historian Jamie Cohen-Cole, who has traced the discourse on creative intelligence in the postwar American academy at large, and particularly in the social sciences. He argues that the concept of the creative mind both articulated a normative political vision of democratic citizenship in the Cold War context and translated into ideological terms the actual conditions of practice in the postwar academy. The model of the "thinking self," in which creativity played a central role, was thus at once a political and an academic ideal. Jamie Cohen-Cole, *The Open Mind: Cold War Politics and the Sciences of Human Nature* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2014). See also Anna Vallye, *Design and the Politics of Knowledge in America, 1937–1967: Walter Gropius, György Kepes* (PhD diss., Columbia University, 2011); Anna Vallye, "Politics of the Creative Mind: Educating Architects at MIT after 1945," in *Architecture Education Goes Outside Itself: Crossing Borders, Breaking Barriers*, ed. Daniel Barber and Joan Ockman (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, forthcoming).

44 On postwar professionalization in art education, and the introduction of studio courses into general education, see Howard Singerman, *Art Subjects: Making Artists in the American University* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1999); David Deitcher, "Teaching the Late Modern Artist: From Mnemonics to the Technology of Gestalt" (PhD diss., City University of New York, 1989).

45 [György Kepes], "Education of Vision," handwritten note, undated, Kepes Papers, AAA, Reel 5312, frame 505.

46 György Kepes, "Introduction," in *Education of Vision* (New York: George Braziller, 1965), vii.

47 László Moholy-Nagy, "Education of the Eye," in School of Design Bulletin, 1939–1940, reproduced in Peter Hahn and Lloyd C. Engelbrecht, eds., *50 Jahre New Bauhaus: Bauhausnachfolge in Chicago* (Berlin: Bauhaus-Archiv, 1987), 138.

48 György Kepes, "Kinetic Light as a Creative Medium," *Technology Review*, December 1967: 25, 26.

49 A.D., "Kepes Looks at Light; Sees Spots," *Interiors* 110 (January 1951): 78.

50 Ibid.

51 [György Kepes], *Light as a Creative Medium*, draft, c. 1964, n.p., Kepes Papers, Reel 5314, frame 955.

52 [György Kepes], untitled draft, 2, Kepes Papers, Reel 5314.

53 Ibid.

54 György Kepes, "Modulation of Light," in *Light as a Creative Medium* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University, 1965), 18.

11

The Architectonics of Perception: Xanti Schawinsky at Black Mountain College

Eva Díaz

When writing on John Cage's teachings and theatrical performances at Black Mountain College, work that appeared in my recent book *The Experimenters*, I became interested in the theories of stage design of Xanti Schawinsky.[1] Schawinsky (1904–1979), a Swiss-born artist who taught "Stage Studies" at Black Mountain in the years before Cage arrived in 1948, was initially known for his work in the theater department at the Bauhaus. In the mid-1930s, while teaching at Black Mountain, he further developed his drama theory and stage design, which involves multimedia productions examining elementary phenomena such as space, motion, light, sound, or color from scientific and technical-based perspectives. Schawinsky's work as a painter also addresses the dissolution of the medium's boundaries and focuses on process, for instance in his *Track* series, which he "painted" with the aid of a car. In addition to his work in stage design, Schawinsky also had a successful career in exhibition design, commercial graphic and product design, producing notable compositions for Olivetti typewriters, Illy Caffe, and an iconic poster of Benito Mussolini, in 1934, for example.[2]

My book was published early in 2015, and for a public event launching the book I went to great lengths to reconstruct as a half-hour audio/visual slide show Schawinsky's play *Spectodrama: Play, Life, Illusion*, a work he presented at Black Mountain College in 1936–1937. One of the earliest performances of abstract theater in the United States, *Spectodrama* was realized three times at Black Mountain College as part of the Stage Studies course Schawinsky introduced in 1936 (Figure 11.1). I based my recreation on rare audio from a stripped-down performance Schawinsky conducted at the Aspen Design Conference in 1953, and I drew upon the photographs from the original College production, and Schawinsky's storyboard drawings, collages, and photomontages.[3] The original production of *Spectodrama* was not filmed, and the films included in the play have been lost. There is no evidence the play was ever restaged, so the project of reconstructing the sequence and stage design of *Spectodrama* raised many questions about what I term the "architectonics of perception." Yet recreating a version of the work to accompany Schawinsky's audio performance of it revealed many things about Schawinsky's methods, and what changed for him in his design process and his conception of theater as an ordering of the space of perception in the move from the Bauhaus to the United States.

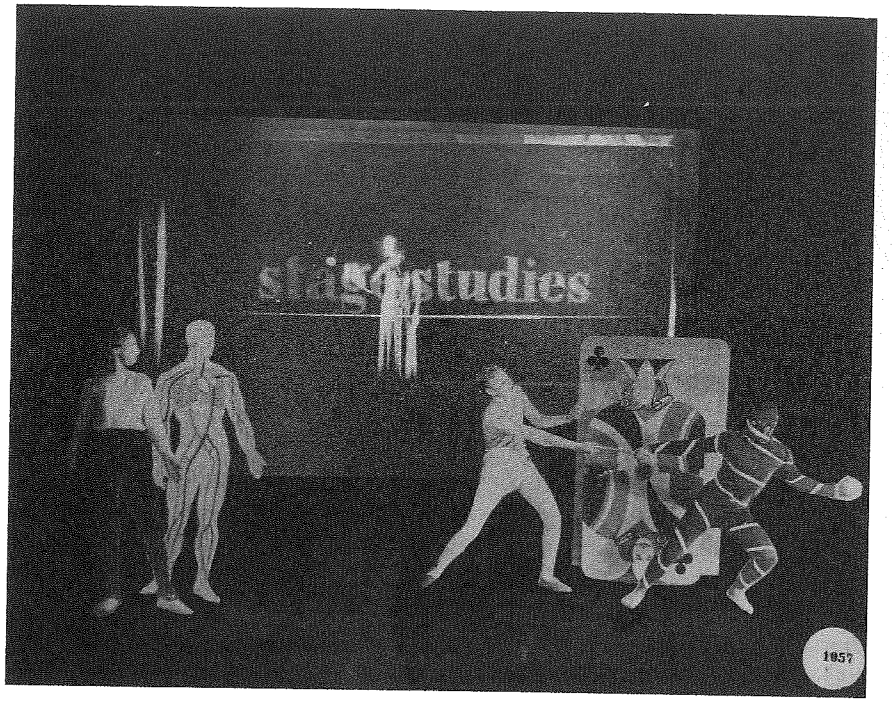

Figure 11.1 Xanti Schawinksy, Spectodrama: Play, Life, Illusion, 1936–1937. Black and white photographic collage, 16 × 20 in. The Xanti Schawinksy Estate.

In reconstructing *Spectodrama* I was interested in revisiting, rethinking, and revising some of what I published on Schawinsky in my Black Mountain College book based on the evidence of the work itself. To share some of the material I gathered about the *Spectodrama* production is important as there is literally no footage of performances at Black Mountain from the 1930s and 1940s, and only one ten-minute film exists, from the College's twenty-four year history: Nicholas Cernovich's 1951 *Inventions for Camera, and Thoughts Out of Season*.[4] More than merely sharing it with others, however, understanding the stakes of Schawinsky's work at Black Mountain is crucial as his career is currently being reconsidered in various quarters, including in a 2014 show at The Drawing Center in New York and a 2015 retrospective at the Migros Museum of Contemporary Art in Zurich.

* * *

Black Mountain College was one of the rare outposts in the United States during the interwar period for in-depth work in experimental performance—that is to say, productions coming out of a background in the visual arts that emphasized interdisciplinary collaborations, nonnarrative or workshopped methods (i.e., unscripted events lacking developed characterization or dramatic arc), and that closely considered how to demarcate or collapse the spaces of performance and audience. In particular, the College, a small unaccredited school in western North Carolina, was *the* key United States site invested in Bauhaus-influenced theater and live performance, thanks to Schawinsky's staging of several original productions there, including *Spectodrama* and *Danse Macabre: A Sociological Study* in 1938.

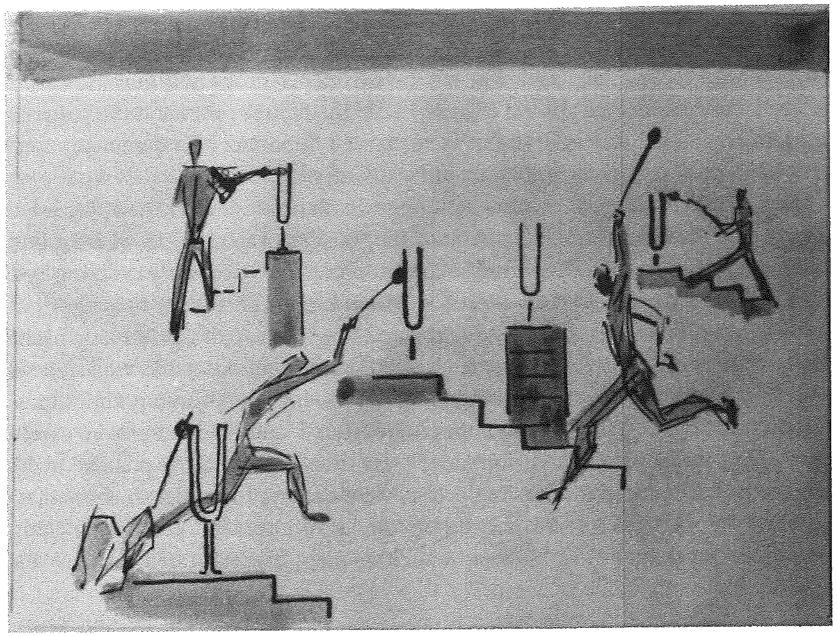

Figure 11.2 Xanti Schawinsky, Spectodrama 5: Sound and Chord Demonstration, 1936. China Ink on paper, 9.7 × 11.3 in. The Xanti Schawinksy Estate.

In 1936, artist Josef Albers, himself a Bauhaus alumnus who had come to teach at Black Mountain in 1933, invited Schawinsky, then living in London, to the College to teach painting and theater. At the time he arrived at the College, Schawinsky was the US sole proponent and performer of Bauhaus theater, and his ideas and performances remained very much part of the institutional memory and lore of the campus after his departure, and were later widely circulated in his published reminiscences about his time there.[5] Within months of Schawinsky's arrival, he organized a production of nonnarrative theater, a theater of what he called "total experience": *Spectodrama: Play, Life, Illusion*, with music by Kurt Schwitters (his sound poem *Ursonate*). In a series of episodes that were previously storyboarded in drawings and collages, *Spectodrama* staged short scenes of selected elementary concepts of theater, each falling into a specific category: "optics, form and color, acoustics, sound, language, music, time, space, architecture, technology, and illusion" (Figure 11.2).[6]

In each vignette of *Spectodrama*, the body of the performer, if evident at all (camouflage and illusion, and their constitutive elements of high-contrast geometric forms, were key features of the Bauhaus theater style), figured in a tableau of what Schawinsky termed "archetypal" geometric, spatial, or social situations: "play," "communication," "form," or "space." Each portion of the play contained elaborate sets and costumes designed so as to either conceal or set off the performer's placement and orientation with respect to the stage space and props. For example, one performer, trussed in a costume of stiff, intertwined white paper rolls, might emerge chameleonlike from a tangle of similarly twisted paper props and move toward the stark relief of a blank background (Figure 11.3). The figure's poses and the patterns of the props repeated throughout the space to create a "laboratory for demonstration" of the conditions of perceiving difference and similarity.[7]

László Moholy-Nagy, himself a key figure in Bauhaus theater, had termed this research-like element of rational attention the "theater of totality," in which a body's movement transpired in a structured, architectonic space.[8] Rigorously ordering bodies in the theater demonstrated a kind of technical competence that, in orchestrating complex spatial relations on stage, extended the project of spatial organization into nontheatrical everyday life (the theater being a microcosmic exploration of the larger Bauhaus project of synthesizing the "living and working conditions of the environment").[9] Though spectators were seated and their attention carefully organized, "dynamism" in performance was nonetheless a frequently invoked term: kinetic sculptures and moving bodies were deployed in order to show that, to Moholy, "Material is employed only as the carrier of forces."[10] These forces charged the space of performance with a temporal component that expressed the true "unity of life."[11] In contrast to architecture, static sculpture, or painting, theater was the arena for an examination of transient, time-based events and movements intersecting environmental conditions with the body's temporal engagement with those socio-spatial circumstances. Stage design was emphasized, forcing "one to learn from the way an artist perceives" by estranging viewers' traditional emphasis on character and narrative, to instead fabricate complicated illusions of spatial perception.[12] This model of integration—the performing body and space joined in an "indissoluble unity"—radically simplified performance to its "fundamental" components: "light, space, plane, movement, sound, and human being."[13]

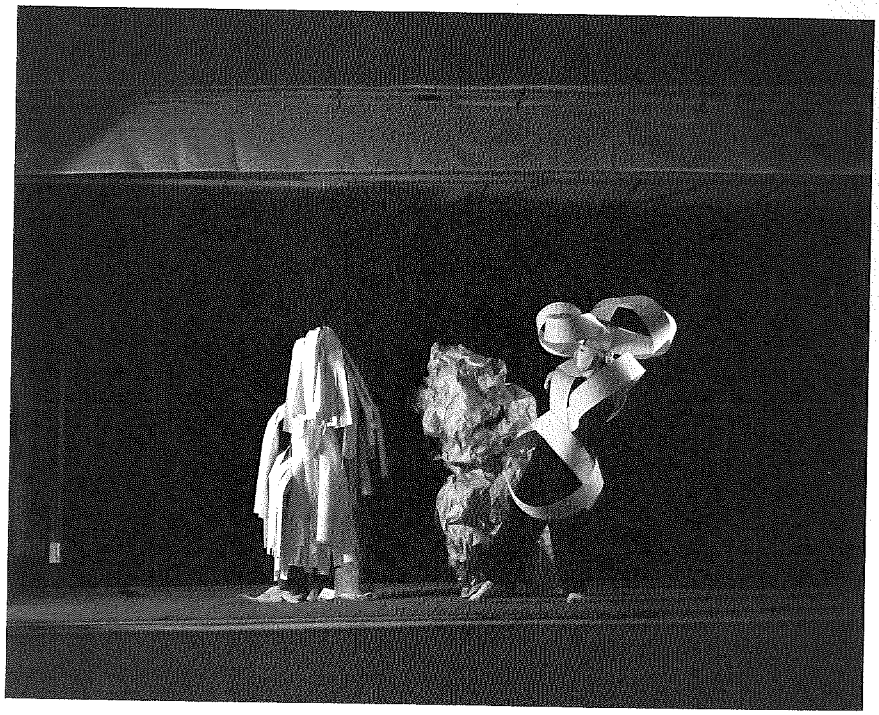

Figure 11.3 Xanti Schawinksy, Spectodrama: Play, Life, Illusion, 1936–1937. From Helen Post Black Mountain College documentary photo collection, reproduced courtesy of Peter Modley.

Walter Gropius, founder of the Bauhaus and its director from 1919 to 1928, was also at the forefront of theorizing performance strategies, and he underscored how spectatorial conditions of illusion and attention were influenced by the architecture of the theater itself. In the mid-1920s, Gropius proposed a "Total Theater" in which "new interpretations of theatrical space" were to be explored.[14] In Gropius' model, an elliptical arrangement of ascending seats was clustered around a central circular stage flanking a second cylindrical back stage.[15] The inner circular stage was designed to rotate, accommodating various seating arrangements that represented the major traditions of performance—the proscenium stage with a shallow performance space and fixed backdrop, the deep stage in which curtains and backdrops are arranged to reveal greater or lesser portions of the action and to accommodate more or less performers, and, finally, a theater-in-the-round set-up. In the latter scenario, according the Gropius, "The play unfolds itself three-dimensionally while the spectators crowd around concentrically."[16] He connected this spectatorial arrangement, as Schawinsky did, to precedents in other public, collective events such as the circus, the bull ring, and the sports arena.

Gropius's three possibilities of staging in the "Total Theater" engendered various spatial effects; more importantly, his flexible architecture (the rotating core of the structure) could transform the space during performance, surprising the audience and impelling it to "shake off its inertia."[17] The implied salutary social effects of heightening consciousness of the environment in Bauhaus theories of spectatorship were part of the larger interest in concentration, focus, and order as transformative elements of vision. The actor, according to Bauhaus theater master Oskar Schlemmer, was "space-bewitched"—"altered, transformed, or entranced" by the use of masks, props, and costumes so "that his habitual behavior and his physical and psychic structure are either upset or put into a new and altogether different balance."[18]

The emphasis on costume in Bauhaus theater also transfigured the human body and its everyday appearance by removing distinguishing characteristics and imposing an order of simple shapes and primary colors. According to Schlemmer, this abstracted the body and generalized its features in order to "reduce the differentiated parts of the human body to simple, unifying forms."[19] These unified forms thereby permitting viewers to see "new totality" beyond previous habit-driven and subjective understandings of form.[20] In most theatrical performance, and indeed in most everyday social behavior, subtle work of visual discrimination routinely helps to organize, categorize, and ultimately hierarchize relatively minor differences in human appearances; for example, assessments of the size of a nose or the contour of a foot become paramount indicators of beauty or grace. Stressing general forms, Schlemmer rejected the meticulous morphologies of fashion, the superficial interpretations of physiognomic variation, or the cultural conditioning that patterned gesture and exploited arbitrary differences to create regimes of infinitesimal judgment and distinction. As these historically specific, though relatively arbitrary, characteristics became naturalized, Schlemmer contended, they promoted fetishistic judgments regarding minute differences of form as compared to other fundamentally similar forms.

Bauhaus theater attempted to overturn this situation of tiny visual distinctions made according to socially determined, often conflicting habits. It did so by heightening the artifice on stage so that rationally discerned details would throw habitual patterns into sharp relief. In Schlemmer's system this perspicuous work of visual judgment focused on the broader concern of closely observing the relationship of bodies, not as compared to themselves, but rather seen as embedded in larger perspectival contexts and environments. Reducing theater to such basic design elements as form and color represented "an undertaking whose purpose, contrary to nature, is order."[21] Denaturalizing the actors' movements and costumes encouraged spectators to remain self-conscious about spatial relations surrounding the bodies on stage, estranging from habit their perceptions of, and judgments about, human form and gesture. This change in the actor's ingrained relation to gesture and its social intelligibility would impel an "inner transformation of the spectator" by his or her "receptivity" to the visual ordering of the theatrical field in performance.[22] Only a self-reflexive spectator could, "on the basis of the rational," understand the embeddedness of the actor in his or her surrounding space, a space that is itself "part of the larger total complex, building (Bau)."[23] As the actor "acts out" order in such a space, the spectator is able to rationally perceive the larger field of spatial and architectural illusions in which bodies are rooted, contextually in their environments.

The fact that this work of unification was enacted in the realm of time-based events was important to Schawinsky as he brought these ideas to Black Mountain; to him theater explored the fundamental conditions of perception underlying *all* specific disciplinary explorations. As he wrote of theater's interdisciplinary nature, "Our theater can, I believe, get its impulse from studies that go through all phases of knowledge."[24] In Schawinsky's next major performance at the College after *Spectodrama*, he attempted to push notions of spatial totality further. In the 1938 production *Danse Macabre: A Sociological Study*, adapted from a Latin hymn about the last judgment called *Dies Irae*, Schawinsky's theatrical staging, while still emphasizing elaborate masks and costumes modeled on abstract shapes, and employing dramatic spotlights and shadows, also included repetitive movements associated with funeral rites as well as highly mannered costuming. In staging a medieval morality tale, Schawinsky chose the Middle Ages' "single absolute concept: death" in an attempt to "find the 'absolute' of our own time."[25] He sought the limiting experience that transcended performance/animation and background/stasis dichotomies—mortality—though he later distanced himself from the direct reenactment of the macabre source material blamed for the suicide of one of its student actors. The theater in the round aspect of the performance, in which spectators were outfitted with robes and masks and given unconventional seating assignments in concentric circles around the central stage area, to him mimicked the "original plays [of the Middle Ages] which were usually performed on the market place in front of the cathedral."[26] To Schawinsky this focus on people and spaces outside traditional theater—for example, individuals in public space—updated Bauhaus precedents that focused on the circus and moved theater into the territory of history by studying constructions of social subjectivity. As he recalled, "While work at the Bauhaus theatre aimed at the modernization of theatrical means and concepts, and had a definite professional and artistic scope, at Black Mountain College an educational crack at the whole man seemed in order."[27]

What Schawinsky meant by such a "total experience" incorporating the "whole man" can be understood in relation to Schlemmer's explication of Bauhaus theater as a totality: to both men the stage was a site of spatial unity that provided, according to Schawinsky, "A general study of fundamental phenomena."[28] He added that theater was the most appropriate location to explore concepts of basic perception because "space on the stage was a very particular place … it is by nature a place of illusion."[29] Indeed, to Schlemmer too movements of bodies on the stage represented, by simplification and abstraction, the wider geometries of relationships in space perceived through *visual* illusion, and its inverse, penetrating observation. Bauhaus theater's work with perspective, with embedding the body in its space through complicated geometric formations, was often presented as a visual tableau in which the audience *perceives* space, but does not have any direct relation to the performer's *experience* of space. This results in the somewhat disembodied eye that the performances effect (why, for example, reproductions of Bauhaus performances look remarkably like friezes and pictures, or why Schawinsky envisioned the preparatory diagrams of "Spectodrama" as static tableaus). The abstraction of Bauhaus theater and its exploration of visual illusions were "unified," to use Schlemmer's language, only by the audience visually tracking the position(s) of the performer(s); Bauhaus and Bauhaus-derived theater expressly did not create cohesive spaces of unity between performers and spectators, and consistently maintained the illusion of the "fourth wall" even when seating arrangements were less frontally oriented.

These theatrical scenarios required a spectator's orientation to the staged events to be fixed and his or her attention carefully focused in order to perceive the precise and subtly changing visual effects on the stage. An immobilized spectator permitted Schlemmer and Schawinsky to apply the framing techniques of cinema to live performances. With such focused looking a montage of visual effects could unfold, in order for the spectator to observe phenomena with close attention to the order and sequencing of events that he or she would not normally notice if watching as a casual bystander. Though a "play instinct" for actors was encouraged in workshopping, the final productions were predicated on passive spectatorship; Schlemmer wrote that the elaborate visual fabulations encouraged a concentration that rivaled the intensity of "peep show."[30]

In important ways Schawinsky's work can be seen as a proxy, in time-based work, for what Josef Albers's pedagogy at Black Mountain hoped to accomplish in two dimensions. Much like Albers, Schawinsky promoted a model of experiment that stressed order, concentration, and serial repetition, and employed careful variations of formal elements—color, gesture, costume, set design, and lighting—that could be measured, compared, and repeated. These tests of perception were undertaken to dynamically reappraise the seemingly self-evident nature of vision, and to question the habit-driven tendency of physical gestures to be reproduced unwittingly. The experimental practices of both Schawinsky and Albers can be seen as but a corner of a larger Bauhaus project demanding that the experimental act of perceptual testing produce dynamic outcomes in a serial practice of repeatable trials. Schawinsky's performances were part of a collective project at the Bauhaus in which *all* forms of perception were being reconsidered, those of time, space, and theatricality too; for these reasons, the Bauhaus was the first art school to formally incorporate a performance department, then called a "stage workshop," into its curriculum. Just as Schlemmer envisioned his project as a "laboratory" exploration of space—isolating constitutive elements of light, color, and movement to attend to how underlying patterns and arrangements of forms outside the theater might function, Schawinsky pushed Albers's ideas of laboratory production toward concerns of duration, sound, and motion; toward the incorporation of bodies, theatrical audience, and three-dimensional space—concerns that have always been more pressing in theater than in visual art.

* * *

The tradition of Bauhaus experimental theater at Black Mountain would be extended, and in some ways, supplanted by John Cage's influence in the late 1940s and early 1950s, when he staged what has been termed the first "happening" in 1952. Though ten years separated Schawinsky's departure from Cage's first extended visit, the models these men investigated and developed at the College represent two of the most radical explorations of US-based experimental performance taking place between the wars and after. A third, I would argue, was Bertolt Brecht's notion of *verfremdungseffekts* ("distancing effects") and *lehrstück* ("learning through participation") in his "Epic Theater," which also found fertile ground at Black Mountain: Brecht's English translator Eric Bentley taught at Black Mountain for several years in the mid-1940s and staged productions of Brecht including a 1944 reading with sound effects and music of *The Private Life of the Master Race*. Stage events at Black Mountain had also adventurously sampled other European precursors beyond Bauhaus performance—for example, poet M.C. Richards's productions of several works by Jean Cocteau including *Knights of the Roundtable* in 1949 and a theater-in-the-round version of *Marriage on the Eiffel Tower* in 1950.

It is in Schawinsky's work, however, that we see a model of nonnarrative performance clearly opposed to those Cage came to embrace, the latter emphasizing a scattering of attention through a field of simulateously occurring events whose unfolding, though generated by chance processes, attempted to create a performance indeterminate as to its outcome. The approaches to experimental performance Cage developed at the College soon rose to prominence (and a great deal of notoriety), overshadowing the still to this day largely obscured Bauhaus model.

Notes

1. Eva Díaz, *The Experimenters: Chance and Design at Black Mountain College* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2015).
2. Schawinsky left Milan in 1936, citing his unease with the growing nationalism that followed Italy's invasion of Ethiopia in 1935–1936, as well as its alliance with Nazi Germany in 1936.
3. Upon his emigration Schawinsky remained in contact with fellow Bauhausler Herbert Bayer, who had settled in Aspen, Colorado in 1946. Bayer codesigned the Aspen Institute headquarters there, which was the umbrella organization for the International Design Conferences in Aspen. Bayer included Schawinsky in one of his "Great Ideas of Western Man" volumes in 1954, a series of books Bayer produced for the Container Corporation of America.
4. In a conversation I had with Mary Emma Harris at the launch of *The Experimenters* on February 12, 2015, she revealed that a few seconds of footage may exist of a Light-Sound-Movement Workshop performance at Black Mountain. The workshop was led by Betty and Peter Jennerjahn, students who became faculty at Black Mountain College by the late 1940s. The Jennerjahns, for example, in collaboration with about a dozen College students and faculty, had improvised short theater pieces, sometimes "limited to a minute, or so," incorporating projected slides, improvised music, and dance elements. The Jennerjahns were influenced by Bauhaus theater by way of Josef and Anni Albers' transmission of that legacy; Schawinsky was already gone by the time they were students at the College. I have not seen the footage. (Pete Jennerjahn quoted in Vincent Katz, *Black Mountain College: Experiment in Art* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2003), 187.)
5. On the topic of Schawinsky's publications on Black Mountain, see his "Spectodrama: Contemporary Studies," *Leonardo* 2, no. 3 (July 1969); "From the Bauhaus to Black Mountain," *The Drama Review: TDR* 15, no. 3 (Summer, 1971); and "My 2 Years at Black Mountain College, N.C," 1973, 7, BMC Research Project, NC State Archives.
6. Schawinsky, "Spectodrama: Contemporary Studies," 286.
7. Ibid., 283.
8. Moholy-Nagy, "Theater, Circus, Variety," in *The Theater of the Bauhaus*, ed. Oskar Schlemmer, László Moholy-Nagy, and Farkas Molnar (Middletown, CT: Wesleyan University Press, 1961), 60.
9. László Moholy-Nagy, *The New Vision: Fundamentals of Bauhaus Design, Painting, Sculpture, and Architecture* (Mineola, NY: Dover Publications, Inc., 1938/2005), 13, 18.
10. Ibid., 138.
11. Moholy-Nagy, *Malerei, Photographie, Film* (Munchen: Albert Langen Verlag), 1925, English translation in Victor Margolin, *The Struggle for Utopia: Rodchenko, Lissitzky, Mohloy-Nagy, 1917–1946* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1997), 140.
12. Ibid.
13. Schlemmer, "Abstraction in Dance and Costume" (1928) in Hans Wingler, *The Bauhaus: Weimar, Dessau, Berlin, Chicago* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1969), 472, and Moholy-Nagy, "The Coming Theater—the Total Theater," in Wingler, *The Bauhaus*, 132.
14. Gropius, "Introduction," in *Theater of the Bauhaus*, ed. Schlemmer et al., 10.
15. Construction of the theater was undertaken in Berlin in 1926 but abandoned when the Nazis assumed power.

16 Gropius, "Introduction," 12.
17 Ibid.
18 Schlemmer, "Theater," in *Theater of the Bauhaus*, ed. Schlemmer et al., 95.
19 Schlemmer, "Stage," (1927) in Wingler, *The Bauhaus*, 474.
20 Schlemmer, "Man and Art Figure," in *Theater of the Bauhaus*, ed. Schlemmer et al., 17.
21 Ibid., 21.
22 Schlemmer, "Theater," 92, and Schlemmer, "Man and Art Figure," 32.
23 Schlemmer, "Theater," 82, 85.
24 Schawinsky, "From the Bauhaus to Black Mountain," 44. For more on Bauhaus theater's currents of interdisciplinarity, see Juliet Koss's "Bauhaus Theater of Human Dolls," *The Art Bulletin* 85, no. 4 (December 2003): 724–745. See also Susanne Lahusen, "Oskar Schlemmer: Mechanical Ballets?" *Dance Research* 4, no. 2 (Autumn 1986): 65–77.
25 Schawinsky, "My 2 Years," 7.
26 Ibid.
27 Schawinsky in Mary Emma Harris, *The Arts at Black Mountain College* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1987), 40. In "From the Bauhaus to Black Mountain," 39, Schawinsky explained his interest in what he termed "the universality of dramatic idiom" thusly:

> A movement in space may be sufficient to demonstrate innate emotions. One cannot help but think that space might be the driving force behind the changes of spiritual and intellectual concepts, the key to unlock the secret of changing attitudes, from "primitive" but phantom-filled space to a fourth-dimensional and functional one, equally filled with unsolved mysteries.

28 Schawinsky, Description of Stage Studies Class, 1936–1937 Course Catalogue, Black Mountain College, NC State Archives.
29 Schawinsky, "My 2 Years," 4.
30 Schlemmer, "Theater," 82, 94.